

Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.

Bringing Faith to the Front

Catholic Chaplains with the Second New Zealand Expeditionary Force
1939-1945.

Barry Buckley

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of
Arts in History at Massey University 2007.

Abstract

The contribution made by the chaplains who were part of New Zealand's 2nd Expeditionary Force (2NZEF) during World War Two has received relatively little recognition. Yet their presence began with the First Echelon that sailed to Egypt in January 1940 and remained an established part of the fighting forces in the Middle East, Europe and the Pacific until the end of the war. Their principal role was one of spiritual leadership and guidance and although unarmed non combatants, they shared the dangers of combat and were an important element in the treatment and care of casualties. Chaplains were acknowledged as being integral to the maintenance of morale. Many men needed assistance to cope with the violence and destruction and the military recognised that for many, a spiritual dimension was required which would provide assurance that there was some meaning behind it all.

At the outbreak of war the suspicion with which the Protestant denominations and the Catholic Church had viewed one another had eased considerably and the beginnings of a much more cordial relationship were beginning to show. The military sought to have an ecumenical structure where denominational boundaries were minimised, with provision for separate Catholic liturgy. One of the successes of 2 NZEF was the manner in which Protestant and Catholic clergy worked co-operatively to provide a chaplaincy service that ministered to all yet preserved denominational integrity.

Catholic chaplains had a different set of priorities than their Protestant colleagues. Their emphasis was to ensure that the sacraments were available to all Catholic soldiers and that no Catholic soldier would be disadvantaged by the failure to discharge that duty. Catholic teaching stressed that the way to God was through the reception of the sacraments and as such Catholic chaplains were constantly visiting their parishioners, who were scattered across the army, to say Mass, hear confessions and distribute communion. Consistent with the visiting was their attendance at battlefield stations to give fatally wounded

Catholic men the last rites. While Catholic soldiers were their priority, in practice they provided support and comfort to whoever needed them, just as their Protestant colleagues did.

For the Protestant denominations, religious worship in 2NZEF became more ecumenical over time. The Catholic chaplains had neither the inclination nor authority to embrace ecumenism and retained liturgical independence throughout the war. Yet the soldiers saw ecumenism practised in spirit, especially as the duties of Catholic and Protestant chaplains overlapped in an environment where co-operation was intrinsic to the success of the army and discord actively discouraged. In post war New Zealand the experiences of Catholic soldiers and their chaplains helped break down some of the artificial barriers between Catholic and Protestant and give some impetus to a slow ecumenical shift that would bear fruit some 20 years later.

Introduction

Seeking the protection of the divine or at least minimising any potential harm has been a staple in battle ritual from early pre-Christian history. Religion and war have been intertwined throughout the ages and military chaplaincy has, in some form or other, has been to the fore. Military sociologists hold that any system of military organisation expresses the social order from which it springs.¹ The relationship between the form of the organisation and the society from which it springs is likely to be complex. So the role of religion and the place it has in the military organisation reflects the degree to which religious observance was valued in the society from which it came.

Religion has been used to legitimise causes, bolster morale and give both confidence and trust that allows death to be faced with equanimity. Military chaplains or the accompanying priests had an important place in the ritual of how men prepared for battle. Machiavelli wrote that 'The ancient lawgivers, and governors of kingdoms and republics took great care,to inspire all their subjects – but particularly their soldiers - with fidelity, love of peace, and fear of God.....Who are under greater obligations to God than soldiers, daily exposed to innumerable dangers, men who have the most occasion for his protection'.² Warriors were, and remain, complicated individuals who needed assurance about what was before them and have to face the potential consequences of battle. Their death needed to have some express purpose.

But just as importantly the chaplaincy has always been perceived by the State and by those who commanded armies as an important element in providing a sense of good morale. At the same time they recognised familiar religious practices have provided a powerful connection with the soldiers' home. It was at this point the interests of two powerful institutions meet. On the one hand there

¹ John Keegan, *A History of Warfare* (London, 1993).p223

² Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Art Of War* Ellis Farnsworth trans. (Cambridge, 1965). p4.

is the State whose interests are secular and political in maintaining an army with its capacity for violence and death while on the other hand the Christian Church has an ethical base around a gospel of peace and love. Ordained priests and ministers have accompanied armies at the invitation of the State and with the full acquiescence of the Church.

In New Zealand military chaplaincy effectively began with the appointment of clergy to the Imperial and volunteer forces deployed in the Land Wars. Since then chaplaincy has remained a consistent presence in New Zealand's armed forces, and when those forces have served outside of New Zealand, chaplains have accompanied them. Chaplains served in South Africa at the beginning of the 20th century, in both World Wars and later in Korea, Malaya and Vietnam.

A significant achievement that occurred within 2nd New Zealand Expeditionary Force was the transition by their civilian clergy, both Protestant and Catholic, into a smoothly operating chaplaincy service. During the inter-war years in New Zealand the relationship between the Catholic Church and the major Protestant denominations had become increasingly less suspicious and verged on the cordial. Although inflammatory rhetoric erupted from the more excitable ends of the spectrum of both sides, Catholics by and large succeeded in showing that they could retain their faith and be loyal subjects. Their involvement in World War I was testament. Yet the Catholic Church in the observance of its religious beliefs and practices brooked no compromise and steadfastly refused to lend any sort of validity to the Protestant Churches.

Ecumenism was unthinkable at the outbreak of World War II, yet by the end of the war a group of Catholic chaplains and thousands of Catholic men had continued to worship in an environment that in itself was ecumenical in spirit. The chaplaincy service endeavoured to reach all servicemen while preserving denominational integrity where possible. The net effect was that many Catholic men had Protestant clergy as their Unit chaplains and it was those chaplains who

were with them in the heat of battle and conversely the first contact a wounded Protestant soldier might have had was with a Catholic chaplain providing support in an Advanced Dressing Station or Regimental Aid Post.

This study considers the experiences of New Zealand Catholic chaplains during World War II and how they integrated into a mainly Protestant military. These men were all ordained into the priesthood in the 1930s, a priesthood which was imbued with the necessity of strengthening the faith of their people and combating the corrosive affects of a secular society upon Catholics. They were the products of their time.

I would like to express my gratitude to the many people who have assisted me with the work of this thesis. In particular I wish to thank my supervisor Associate Professor Peter Lineham for the support and encouragement he willingly gave. Peter initially suggested this topic and despite some initial misgivings, I found the work much more interesting and enjoyable than I could have anticipated. Our meetings were always positive and they provided inspiration at times when I needed it. My thanks to Associate Professor Hugh Laracy whose knowledge of the Marist Order was of great help.

Special thanks to the staff of Auckland Catholic Diocesan Archive, the Wellington Archdiocesan Catholic Archive and the Marist Archives. I was made welcome at all three Archives and given unimpeded access to material. I am grateful for the personal reminiscences that some of the older staff were able to give about those World War II chaplains. Being invited to share morning and afternoon tea with them was a big bonus.

My family have been patient and their encouragement helped to get this work completed.

Structure

The thesis is divided into four parts:-

Part One provides an historical context for the development of chaplaincy.

Christian military chaplaincy began with Christianisation of the Roman Empire and its armies. The essential nature of the work, namely the provision of spiritual ministry to the military, has remained remarkably similar over time. Fourth century Roman military chaplaincy embraced a largely ceremonial role. Priests conducted ritual and ceremonies before battle, but as both the political and religious environments changed during the next millennia, the fundamentals of modern Christian military chaplaincy were established. Issues surrounding the notions of 'Just War' are considered. This section concludes with a review of the development of military chaplaincy in New Zealand.

Part Two. Given that this study is concerned with Catholic chaplaincy, this section considers the situation of Catholics and the church in New Zealand during the inter-war years. The Catholic responses to the rise of fascism and the Nazis are of interest. As Susan Skudder noted 'The threat to the faith, not only in Spain but in the other parts of Europe as well meant that Catholics had a particular interest in international affairs. The fact that they belonged to an international Church organisation gave New Zealand Catholics a wider perspective in the outside world.'³ The defence of the fascist regime in Spain and the increasing disquiet about Nazi Germany provided a great deal of the international coverage of the Catholic press in New Zealand. The priests who became chaplains would have read and preached about the situation, while some of the priests had travelled in Europe during the mid-1930s as part of their advanced studies. The distinction between the efforts of the Catholic Church in Germany to resist the tide of anti-Christianity and the actions of the Nazis was a

³ Susan Mary Skudder, "Bringing It Home. New Zealand responses to the Spanish Civil War 1936-1939." (Waikato, 1986).p169.

staple item of published news and opinion. The situation was somewhat more complex than the press was able to convey.

Part Three is the substantive section of this study. It is divided into four sections:

-*In New Zealand*: the response to the outbreak of war by the Catholic Church and the situation as regards the training of troops in New Zealand;

-*Pastoral care*: setting up a working structure in the war theatres, the role of the chaplain as shepherd and servant on active service and the facilities used to undertake their work;

-*Coping with the big concerns*: the chaplain and morale, moral and spiritual issues, welfare;

-*Religious worship in 2NZEF*: including a theological perspective and co-operation across the denominations and whether military religion superseded the traditional denominational religions.

Part Four looks at other types of chaplaincies, in particular the work of Vatican Radio and some immediate post-war issues, of which welfare work was one area where the returned chaplains had significant involvement.

The main archival resources used were the Auckland Catholic Diocesan Archive (ACDA), the Wellington Archdiocesan Catholic Archive (WACA) and the Marist Archives Wellington (MAW).

CONTENTS

Introduction	i
Structure	vi
<u>Chapter One</u>	
The Beginnings of Chaplaincy	
From Rome to the Crusades	1
Just War	6
Chaplaincy for New Zealand	8
<u>Chapter Two</u>	
Catholic Religious Identity In New Zealand	
The Inter-War Years	11
New Zealand Catholic Responses to the threat of war	15
The Troubles of the Catholic Church in Germany	20
<u>Chapter Three</u>	
Becoming a Military Chaplain	
The Outbreak of War	24
The Call for Catholic Chaplains	25
Training to be a Military Chaplain	29
Coping with Mobilisation	32
Providing Welfare Services in New Zealand	37
Equipping Chaplains	39
<u>Chapter Four</u>	
On Active Service	
Setting up a Workable Structure within 2NZEF	41
The Role of the Chaplain-Shepherd/Pastor	46
Enemy Prisoners of War	53
Spiritual Wellbeing	54
Facilities	56
<u>Chapter Five</u>	
Coping with Significant Concerns	
Morale and the Chaplain	60
The Moral and the Spiritual	69
Welfare	74
<u>Chapter Six</u>	
Religious Worship in 2NZEF	
The Place of Religion	82
Catholic Participation	85

Co-operation across the Denominations	93
A Military Religion?	98
 <u>Chapter Seven</u>	
The Chaplains point of view	
A Theological Perspective	101
Back in New Zealand	107
 <u>Chapter Eight</u>	
Other Chaplaincies and some Post-War issues	
Vatican Radio	111
Escape Network in Rome	118
Welfare Work and the Transition to Peace	121
-Catholic Services Welfare	
-Returned Services Association	
Returning Home	128
 Conclusion	 130
 Appendices	 134

Chapter OneThe Beginnings of Chaplaincy

From Rome to the Crusades

War had religious connotations, both in Israel and in the ancient Near East. Ramses II in the 11th century BCE 'named his formations for the principal gods of Egypt'⁴ In the Hebrew Bible, God needed to be consulted (1 Kings 22.5). Sacrifice was offered before the conflict began (1 Sam 7.8-10) and the camp was a holy place where God was present (Deut 23:14) In Deuteronomy, the priest's war speech gives counsel- 'Hear, O Israel, you draw near this day to battle against your enemies: let not your heart faint; do not fear, or tremble, or be in dread of them; for the Lord your God is he that goes with you, to fight for you against your enemies, to give you the victory.(Deut 20: 3-4). Here the priest was acting as chaplain, giving both encouragement and hope that God's support was with them. Israelites knew themselves as a people of God, and God's support was essential if their nation was to survive. Joshua's marching around Jericho was a story that showed how God would and could support them in battle (Joshua 6.3-4). Priests blowing rams horns were a crucial element in the bringing down of the walls.

The Roman army had a strong, centuries old military-religious tradition. Soldiers swore oaths to the gods and the emperor while officers led regular cultic observance and sacrifices. Sacred powers were believed to be invested in Unit standards and eagles that led the army into battle. Religious practices had a useful military function because of the association of having the gods on their side and that death would have the twin effect of the soldier journeying to the glories of the Elysium fields while his family would receive honours. In addition shared religious practices gave meaning to the sense of cohesiveness within the army.⁵

⁴ Mary Tagg, "The 'Jesus Nut': A Study of New Zealand Military Chaplaincy" (Auckland, 2000).p7

⁵ David Bachrach, *Religion and the Conduct of War c.300-1215* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2003).pp7-9.

Constantine and his Christian successors needed to ensure that reforms in the army did not diminish the effect that military-religious practices had on motivating soldiers to fight and die. Old religious practices were overlaid with Christian sensibilities, so for example, the oath of service maintained its old form but had the extra clause whereby the soldiers swore to undertake their duties by God, Christ and the Holy Spirit.⁶ The Christianisation of the army meant the gradual replacement of the traditional military standards, and their pagan associations, with the Chi-Rho symbols of the new faith. Part of a battlefield prayer composed by Ambrose of Milan 'claimed "there are no eagles here, nor do the flights of birds lead this army, rather it is you, Lord Jesus, your name, and your cult"⁷

Military pastoral work continued to be an important element of warfare during Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages.⁸ As Roman society and its armies eliminated paganism and heterodoxy, religion served as a force for cohesion and *esprit de corps* among the soldiers. Bishops and priests celebrated mass, preached to the soldiers, carried relics and interceded with God, but over time military-religious practice changed. Issues concerning the very nature of warfare and the sinfulness of killing with the prospect of damnation brought about a compromise in the nature of how penance was practiced. Confessing sins, previously a once-in-a-lifetime occasion, became a repeatable event. Soldiers were able to go into battle with a clear conscience.⁹ This increase in pastoral duties led to a greater demand for priests to serve with the military as chaplains. From this grew the development of tariff books for the chaplain-confessors to use. These books listed both sins and penances and were meant to aid the

Machiavelli, *The Art Of War* p128 . Machiavelli wrote: Religion too, and the oath soldiers took when they were enlisted, greatly contributed to making them do their duty in ancient times; for upon any default , they were threatened not only with human punishments, but the vengeance of the gods. They also had several other religious ceremonies that had a very good effect on all their enterprises.

⁶ Bachrach, *Religion and the Conduct of War c.300-1215*.p9.

⁷ Ibid.p10.

⁸ David Bachrach, "The Friars Go To War. Mendicant Military Chaplains, 1216-C1300," *The Catholic Historical Review* XC (October 2004).p618.

⁹ Ibid.p619.

confessor in prescribing a penance which fitted the sin, particularly important given the real possibility of death.

Carolingian military-religious developments emphasised the responsibility of individual soldiers to reconcile themselves with God before and after battle, particularly through the use of confessional and penitential rites.¹⁰ The rite of confession was considered an integral part of Frankish military life. Every unit in the Carolingian army was, in 742, required to have priest capable of hearing confessions and assigning penances. Frankish leaders made wider religious observances a prominent feature of the army, and soldiers were encouraged to participate in prayers, processions, alms giving and fasting. A strong religious role and the prevailing sense that God's aid would benefit His faithful had obvious benefits in terms of moral and discipline. But it also gave the individual soldier a sense of his place in the wider Christian community.¹¹

The conduct of war after the collapse of Carolingian power in the latter part of the 9th century was characterised by an increase in Christian against Christian conflict. Soldiers needed to be reassured about the righteousness of the cause and the evil intent of the other side as the rulers in post-Carolingian Europe fought one another in a changing political and social environment. The military-religious practices increasingly included receiving the Eucharist, which was believed to give strength to the bodies and souls of the soldiers.¹² That God was on their side was important for morale, and many rulers had public prayers said for their fallen soldiers, both as a means of maintaining morale and a demonstration of God's support for their particular cause.

Heavenly intercession for the soldiers through prayer and masses remained the principal military-religious rite, whether fighting against fellow Christians or Muslims. Bishops and clerics would perform blessings of the troops, preaching,

¹⁰ Bachrach, *Religion and the Conduct of War c.300-1215*, p32.

¹¹ Ibid. p43, 49, 62.

¹² Ibid. p64.

hearing confessions, assigning penances, saying mass and giving the last rites. The preparations for the battle of Hastings included senior bishops and a large number of priests and monks who were brought to England in order that 'they might fight with their prayers'. These clergy not only kept a prayer vigil during the night, but during the battle continued to pray in portable chapels that the Norman army shipped across the channel. In preparing himself for battle, William the Conqueror heard mass, received communion and put on a chain of relics. Relics were important and bearing them in battle was one of the recognised tasks for the chaplains. When William chose to wear them, it helped promote the sense to his soldiers that his cause was just and God was on their side.¹³

During the 10th and 11th centuries in Europe, the Church was involved in redefining the sinfulness of homicide in war. Remorse for killing fellow Christians had sometimes impelled rulers to go on pilgrimages or give endowments of land to religious bodies as means of expiating the sin. Possibly the most famous penitential foundation was Battle Abbey, built by the Normans after the battle of Hastings. The Abbey was not only the commemoration of a victory but part of the negotiated heavy penances imposed on William by papal legates in 1070.¹⁴ Individual soldiers were also required to undertake penance for killing, whether or not the war was justified.

However in the 11th century the Papacy attempted to change the traditional views on homicide in war by asserting that the Pope could grant a remission of sins that the soldiers incurred while on campaign. Killing could be justified, and wars against heretics and schismatics became virtuous. Initially this change was directed at the fight against the Saracens in Spain but soon became acceptable against a Christian enemy. This transition soon meant that penances for

¹³ Ibid.p84.

¹⁴ Ibid.p77.

homicide after battle disappeared. By the middle of the 12th century, 'the problem of sinfulness for killing in the course of just war had become a moot point.'¹⁵

During the period of the crusades (1095-1291), another powerful idea took hold, namely that spiritual benefits would accrue from participation and a martyr's crown promised to those who fell in battle. All participants were offered full remission of any penance imposed by the Church. Pope Urban II, in his sermon at Clermont just prior to the First Crusade in 1095, convinced crusaders throughout the 12th and 13th centuries that the undertaking was a contract with God and they had an assured place in Paradise.¹⁶

Pope Innocent III (1199-1216), in dealing with the failure of the Fourth Crusade, gave specific direction that chaplains were to accompany the crusading armies. They were to preach, exhort the men to behave as Christian soldiers by giving a good example. These directions were not new for the role of the chaplains had been established over several centuries, but for the first time a link had been established between the provision of military chaplaincy and the papacy. Previously the papacy had played no part in the imposition or control of military chaplaincy. Secular leaders had included clerics in their armies, but the papacy chose to exercise its authority when its own interests were at stake.¹⁷

Confession and communion remained the staple rites used in the preparation for battle while prayer and preaching helped both the morale and sense of purpose. Commanders wanted their men to participate in the same cycle of religious observances as they would in their home parishes and religious observances played a significant role in maintaining both *esprit de corps* and discipline in the crusader armies.¹⁸ The clerics were an integral part of those armies and their pastoral role continued to develop. During a battle with the Turks in 1190,

¹⁵ Ibid.pp103-106.

¹⁶ Jeremy Johns, *The Oxford Illustrated History of Christianity*, ed. John McManners (New York, 1990).p171.

¹⁷ Bachrach, "The Friars Go To War. Mendicant Military Chaplains, 1216-C1300."p 620.

¹⁸ Bachrach, *Religion and the Conduct of War c.300-1215*.p149.

German clerics with the Emperor Barbarossa's army went amongst the fighting troops to administer to the dying and provide inspiration to the soldiers by their personal bravery. This action of tending to the dying during battle was later observed in battles in Europe, where mendicant monks attached to armies as chaplains, gave succour.¹⁹

The clerical role of providing spiritual support for an army at the invitation of the ruling authorities has remained consistent since the crusades. Senior clerics, such as bishops, were prominent in many of the armies of Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages but the bulk of the chaplaincy work was done by ordinary priests, sometimes parish priests, and in the 13th century clerics of the mendicant orders. Thomas Aquinas's *Summa Theologiae* argued that priests, although not permitted to carry arms, should provide spiritual care to soldiers. Aquinas traced the obligation back to the Old Testament requirement that the priests should make noise with horns around the walls of Jericho (Josh 5:13-6:27).²⁰

Just War

The dilemma that faced the early Christian soldiers in the Roman armies was the issue of taking human life. Christian leaders initially maintained a strong position against homicide and Christian soldiers faced the prospect of putting their souls in jeopardy when in defence of the empire. At that stage penitential rites were limited to annual acts. But the early church was not totally pacifist and attitudes to the state and obligations varied.

Christian just war thinking began with Ambrose, who was a Roman governor before becoming a bishop. He taught the need for Christians to serve society as well as God. His reflections on justice, duties and conflicts were influential on Augustine, whose own assessment of the issues provided a doctrine that frames rules about war. Augustine's work is not a 'neat package' and 'Augustine evades

¹⁹ Ibid.p139.

²⁰ Bachrach, "The Friars Go To War. Mendicant Military Chaplains, 1216-C1300."p621.

any attempt on our part to find a neat systematic and single coherent treatment of war in his writings'.²¹ Consequently the just war tradition remains part of the modern moral and political discourse.

Augustine's theory was based upon moral principles which determined whether or not to go to war (*jus ad bellum*), conduct during war (*jus in bello*) and the transition back to peace (*jus post bellum*). Warfare is sometimes morally permissible and a ruler owes his people the duty of self protection. But the ruler must have pure intentions, which is love for his people and not be motivated by hatred, anger, bloodlust or greed, which are grievous sins.²² These principles embrace just cause, proper authority, formal declaration, the intention to secure a just peace, retribution as distinct from revenge and the discrimination between innocence and guilt.²³

Christian charity is the central feature of Augustine's perspective on war. Charity and justice must work together in the public good, even to the extent of employing coercive force to rebuke, restrain and intervene. Justice rather than peace is the presumption upon which just war thinking begins and justice itself must work through charity to achieve a just peace. Thomas Aquinas also understood that force *per se* was not evil, for it could be necessary to achieve a civic peace. The extent of force used is the question and in the end any just war must incorporate the demands of charity, justice and human dignity.²⁴

Martin Luther also believed that military service could be a work of charity, and Christian love must protect and defend a whole community with the sword to avoid oppression. Calvin was of the view that it was not murder to use the sword in obedience to heavenly needs. During the 16th century legal theorists such as

²¹ J. Daryl Charles, "Presumption against War or Presumption against Injustice? The Just War Tradition Reconsidered," *Journal of Church and State* 47 (Spring 2005).p343.

²² Brian Orend, "When is War Justifiable," *Military History* 24 (October 2007).pp18-19.

²³ Charles, "Presumption against War or Presumption against Injustice? The Just War Tradition Reconsidered."p346.

²⁴ *Ibid.*p339.

Francisco de Vitoria (1480-1546), Francisco Suarez (1548-1617) and Hugo Grotius (1583-1645) began work which subsequently influenced the international laws of armed conflict. In the modern era Reinhold Niebuhr, John Courtney Murray, Paul Ramsey are just some of the thinkers who have continued to argue for the relevance of the just war principles.

Chaplaincy for New Zealand

New Zealand's military chaplaincy grew out of the British Army traditions plus the symbolism and ceremony that was part of the English church.²⁵ Reforms in the British military, driven by the serious public concerns about the conditions of the troops during the Crimean war, had led to significant welfare changes. Conditions of service, housing and education for the men and their families were improved. These reforms brought about a distinct pastoral role for the chaplain that complimented the religious ceremonial obligations. The inclusion of Methodists as a recognised denomination in the British Army Chaplains Department did bring about emphasis upon temperance, piety and the beginnings of organised Bible study.²⁶

The Land Wars of the 1860's marked the beginning of active military chaplaincy in New Zealand. Four chaplains were brought from England as part of the build-up of Imperial troops. During the Waikato campaign Bishop Selwyn was asked to serve as a chaplain and he in turn appointed three other clerics. All together some twenty three chaplains served with the Imperial and Colonial Forces.²⁷ At the close of the Land Wars, the chaplaincy became an honorary position in the various volunteer and Armed Regular units that made up New Zealand's military force during the period 1870 to 1911. Local clergy who were willing to serve became honorary chaplains. Some attended weekly parades and were gazetted

²⁵ Tagg, "The 'Jesus Nut': A Study of New Zealand Military Chaplaincy".p19.

²⁶ Frank Grenfell Glen, "New Zealand Army Chaplains at War, 2 NZEF 1939-1945" (Waikato, 1996).pp44-46.

²⁷ Tagg, "The 'Jesus Nut': A Study of New Zealand Military Chaplaincy".p22.

as Chaplain-Captains, while others held occasional church services, usually at annual camp.²⁸

New Zealand sent five chaplains with the over 6400 volunteers who were sent to South Africa as the New Zealand Mounted Rifles. But they were not sent until the latter part of the war and the reason for the delay was attributed to the sectarian division that existed amongst the main denominations in New Zealand. No national body existed to manage the chaplaincy and this lack of unity as well as inadequate selection process meant it took two years before the first chaplain travelled to South Africa.²⁹

As a direct result of the South African war, the Territorial Army Chaplains' Department was created as part of the 1911 Defence Act. This allowed the Defence Department to approach the national bodies of the major denominations for chaplaincy appointments, rather than individual unit commanders contact a local pastor. Initially the Chaplains Department involved only four denominations: Church of England, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic and Methodist. A short while later the Salvation Army, Baptist, Associated Churches of Christ and Congregational denominations were included. No one denomination had authority over chaplains from another denomination.³⁰

The rapid mobilisation that occurred after the outbreak of World War I meant that three chaplains were able to go overseas with the New Zealand-Samoa Expeditionary Force that sailed in August 1914. By the end of hostilities in 1918, over 130 chaplains served with New Zealand forces in France, Gallipoli, Egypt, Palestine, Greece and Samoa.³¹ Four New Zealand chaplains were killed in

²⁸ J. Bryant Haigh, *Men of Faith and Courage. The Official History of the Royal New Zealand Chaplains Department* (Auckland, 1983).p38.

²⁹ Glen, "New Zealand Army Chaplains at War, 2 NZEF 1939-1945".p48.

³⁰ Tagg, "The 'Jesus Nut': A Study of New Zealand Military Chaplaincy".p24.

³¹ Haigh, *Men of Faith and Courage. The Official History of the Royal New Zealand Chaplains Department*.p46.

action during World War I; two died of wounds/sickness, another as a result of an accident on active service and one as a direct result of war service.³²

During the inter-war years, the New Zealand Chaplains' Department was brought under the control of the Adjutant-General's office and three District Chaplains' Advisory Committees (Northern, Central and Southern) were set up. These Committees comprised of volunteer civilian clergy who recommended appointments and as World War II got underway, helped co-ordinate the communication between the military and church authorities. Father Michael Bleakley, a World War I chaplain, was on the Northern Committee and consequently able to advise Bishop James Liston about issues of chaplaincy requirements and other matters that effected chaplains.³³ In 1942 the Advisory Committees were superseded by a Chaplains Dominion Advisory Council to facilitate the recruitment of clergy.

³² Ibid.p89. The men killed were- William Grant (Presbyterian) at Gallipoli; James McMenamin (Catholic) Messines; Guy Bryan-Brown (C of E) Passchendale; Alexander Allen (Methodist) Somme. Patrick Dore (Catholic) died of wounds received at Gallipoli, Cecil Mallett (C of E) in a fire at the NZ base in France, Frederick Rands (Methodist) of influenza in Cologne. John Luxford (Methodist) died in 1921 as a direct result of war service. Luxford had been an honorary chaplain to the New Zealand Armed Constabulary (1881), South African War (1902), Chaplain to the Permanent Forces (1912), and with the main body of the NZEF in October 1914.

³³ M J Bleakley, "Letter to Liston 8/12/39," in *Liston Papers 111-1 ACDA* (1939). In a letter to Bishop Liston he advised 'We had a meeting of the Chaplains Advisory Board this morning. Strong representations are to be made to the Defence Dept. re the inadequacy of the arrangements for Military Chaplains at the Hopuhopu Camp. A request is also being sent as asking that a deputation from the Board be received to discuss the whole matter.'

Chapter TwoCatholic Religious Identity In New Zealand

The Inter-War Years

The Catholic community in New Zealand during the 1930s was readily identifiable. Its religious beliefs and practices, schools and social institutions gave the community a distinctive quality but not at the expense of full participation in the wider society. Catholics in New Zealand made up only some 13.5% of the population and had neither the inclination to isolate themselves nor the ability to be self sufficient. As a well spread minority, Catholics lived in a society where Christianity was largely defined in Protestant terms. The teaching that Catholic Church was the sole authentic church inhibited any meaningful contact with other Christian Churches, since that would imply that the Catholic Church was but one of a number of denominations.³⁴ Accordingly the Catholic Church strove to fortify the religious commitment of its people, both as rejoinder to Protestant belief and practice, and to combat general religious indifference.

The obvious point of difference was in the religious rituals and observances, based on the doctrine of transubstantiation. These rituals distinguished Catholics from other Christians, but Catholic spirituality as such was seldom the cause of inter-confessional strife. Rather criticism of Catholic practices tended to be an affirmation of one type of Christianity as opposed to another.³⁵ Attendance at Mass on Sundays and the regular reception of the sacraments were the minimum expectation of an observant Catholic, but the numbers who did regularly attend are not particularly accurate. One authority concludes that only about one third of Catholics regularly met this obligation.³⁶ Yet that figure does not probably do justice to the level of Mass going. Census estimates of Mass

³⁴ Owen Chadwick, ed., *'Great Britain and Europe'*, The Oxford Illustrated History of Christianity (Oxford, 1990).p373.

³⁵ Christopher van der Krogt, "More A Part than Apart the Catholic Community in New Zealand Society 1918-1940" (Massey, 1994). p157.

³⁶ Allan K Davidson and Peter J Lineham, *Transplanted Christianity. Documents illustrating aspects of New Zealand Church History.*, Second Edition ed. (Palmerston North, 1987).p244.

attendance tended to underestimate actual attendance given the use of 'largest attended service' as a measure rather than the cumulative Sunday total across all Masses (often four Masses in urban parishes). Another authority has conservatively estimated that Mass attendance in Wellington during March 1934 was 46%. This figure appears more robust, given 'that only half the catholic population attended Mass.'³⁷

While there was no church law compelling parents to send their children to Catholic schools, parents were strongly urged to do so, to avoid the danger that young Catholics would drift away from the Church and fall under non-Catholic influences.³⁸ There were frequent complaints about parents who ignored the Church's demand that children be educated in Catholic schools, thereby risking their moral development for the dubious benefits of social advancement. In providing its extensive national educational system, the Church sought to combine the ability to inculcate Catholic beliefs and practices as well as equip pupils to take part as good citizens of New Zealand. The hierarchy had made it quite clear that the point of Catholic schooling was to prepare children for living as good citizens, and religion was essential in achieving that aim.³⁹ Religion was a significant feature of Catholic education but the actual teaching conformed to the same values and syllabus as state schools.

It was distinctiveness rather than isolation which identified the Catholic community. That distinctiveness was born of the defensive attitude the Church developed as it strove to keep its people, particularly the young, committed. Within that community there was a network of institutions, groups and associations that made it possible to have reduced contact with the non-Catholic world. Various charitable, cultural and sporting organisations had been

³⁷ van der Krogt, "More A Part than Apart the Catholic Community in New Zealand Society 1918-1940".p151.

³⁸ Nicholas Reid, *James Michael Liston, A Life* (Wellington, 2006).p204.

Christopher van der Krogt, "Catholic Religious Identity and Social Integration in Interwar New Zealand," *Catholic Historical Review*, 86 (Jan 2000).p5.

³⁹ van der Krogt, "More A Part than Apart the Catholic Community in New Zealand Society 1918-1940". p223.

developed which together with newspapers and schools tried to nurture Catholics as they interacted with the larger non-Catholic community. Catholic schools, benefit societies, sports clubs, drama, debating, dancing and singing groups were common in many parishes while hospitals and orphanages were established in many of the bigger cities. These were complemented by a range of pious sodalities such as the Holy Name Society, the Legion of Mary, the Children of Mary, and the Grail, all of which had a broad profile and smaller groups like the Knights of the Blessed Sacrament, the League of Night Adoration, the Sacred Heart Sodality and others whose appeal tended to local and reflect the enthusiasm of the parish priest. These sodalities, where the specific emphasis was upon personal piety and obedience to the hierarchy, reflected a degree of triumphalism in the public expression of their Catholicism. Catholic Action or 'the apostolate of the laity' was established in late 1935. Catholic Action was not a pious organisation as such but rather it attempted to have the laity exercise a Christian influence, under the direct authority of the hierarchy, on society at large.⁴⁰

But these expressions of commitment were also demonstrations of their opposition to religious indifference. Pervasive secularisation rather than an opposition to Protestantism was the enemy and although public displays and processions were reasonably frequent, open Protestant antagonism was limited.⁴¹

Many of the young men who were to go overseas with the armed forces would have attended catholic schools and learnt, as a minimum, the rudiments of the faith. Nuns, priests and brothers, belonging to different religious orders and

⁴⁰ Reid, *James Michael Liston, A Life*.p207.

⁴¹ van der Krogt, "More A Part than Apart the Catholic Community in New Zealand Society 1918-1940".p155.

many of them Irish, taught a Catholic spirituality that 'was still a sixteenth-century world in its essentials'.⁴² They would have been taught in crowded classrooms, beneath the large crucifix above the teacher's desk and the blue and white statue of the Virgin Mary in the corner and the pictures of the Stations of the Cross around the walls, and between the morning prayers and the midday Angelus and the rosary after lunch and the final prayers, we headed every page with 'AMDG' to remind ourselves that there is nothing we do that is not a prayer if we keep God in our minds and hearts throughout the day. From the age of five when we entered school, we learned that it is the purpose of our lives to achieve that cast of mind.⁴³

Catholics were more prominent in the lower socio-economic groups. They were prominent in the police-force, railways, post office and other government agencies where unskilled labour was needed; likely to be involved in the liquor industry or where drinking and gambling occurred. They tended to have more children but not live as long, more likely to remain single and be over-represented in hospitals and charitable homes. They were also over-represented in the Criminal Justice system, most frequently with offending in terms of vagrancy, drunkenness and common assault. Catholics, in the interwar years, had the highest proportion of unmarried men, and it was from this group that the majority of offending occurred.⁴⁴

The Catholic profile in the wider community did provide some social distinction when compared to the other denominations. By the interwar period they were predominately of Irish extraction, with the Irish born becoming a minority. Other nationalities were represented, such as the Dalmatians in Auckland and the Italians of Island Bay, but although the Church depended upon Irish priests and nuns, the wide dispersion of Catholics meant any strong sense of Irish identity

⁴² K O Arvidson, "Out of Irishtown," in *The Source of the Song, New Zealand Writers on Catholicism*, ed. Mark Williams (Wellington, 1995), p54.

⁴³ Ibid. p53.

⁴⁴ van der Krogt, "More A Part than Apart the Catholic Community in New Zealand Society 1918-1940". pp67-69.

was becoming diluted. Regardless, they remained a minority in a non-Catholic society.

Yet almost all Catholics wanted their faith to be accepted as being a valid and legitimate part of New Zealand's social and religious makeup. Although Catholics were not allowed to participate in other denominational rituals, they lived a full social life in the wider community. There were neither a Catholic political party nor trade union although the Labour Party enjoyed considerable Catholic support. Educationally the Catholic school system was respected and gained wide approval, while Catholic sports clubs provided competition across a range of activities. Relationships between the Catholic and Protestant churches were becoming less wary and the establishment of Interchurch Council of Public Affairs was a forum which allowed interdenominational contact. Archbishop O'Shea's support during the Bible –in –Schools controversy, despite the opposition by other Catholic bishops, was a sign that an accommodation with other faiths was possible, especially when it involved mutual interests.

New Zealand Catholic Responses to the Threat of War

To the readers of the Catholic newspapers, the worsening situation in Europe was played out through the coverage of the on going crisis for the Catholic Church in Germany and the Spanish Civil War. The tone of the coverage left no doubt that Christendom itself was being severely challenged. In January 1938 readers were told that, in Germany, the Christian 'must tolerate ridicule and contempt, lack of liberty and oppression on account of his faith without being able to defend himself.'⁴⁵ Headlines such as 'The Church in Germany- Holy Father's Protest - real religious persecution in Germany' signalled the continuing difficulties of the German Catholic Church, but the opposition to communism was given equal prominence. Claims that democracy itself was under threat ran alongside the news from Germany, 'England Wakes Up – Communism threat to

⁴⁵ "The Nazis and the Church- National Unity in Danger – Driving Out Christianity," *Zealandia*, 6/1/38 1938.

Democracy'⁴⁶. Communism and Nazism were linked by the German Prelate Cardinal Faulhaber who 'made an obvious reference to the anti-church policy of the Nazis and the Communists when he spoke of 'the two great parties which are fiercely antagonistic to each other in every way, but which in their methods of attacking the Church have a fearful similarity.'⁴⁷ Internationally the Church was being attacked and readers of the Catholic press in New Zealand knew where the problems lay, namely international communism and the persecution of Christians in Europe.

In New Zealand the Catholic Church and its press had, since the early 1930s, attacked communism.⁴⁸ Although the problems in Hitler's Germany were becoming more evident internationally from about 1935 onwards, communism had been a feature of New Zealand's political life since the Communist Party (CPNZ) was formed in the 1920s. Prior to World War I, Archbishop Redwood had issued pastoral letters showing the incompatibility of Socialism and Catholicism, and post war continued to condemn communism. Papal encyclicals taught that concern for the working class was essential for defeating communism and Catholics needed to take an active role in combating its spread.⁴⁹ This put the two systems in direct conflict as they both saw themselves as representing working class interests.⁵⁰ These two systems were seen by some in New Zealand during the 1920s as very similar, in that they were both authoritarian and alien, 'Rome and Bolshevism being equally destructive of the British Empire.'⁵¹ This pairing did provide ammunition for anti-Catholic diatribes, but the Catholic Church did have a much higher proportion of working class amongst its membership than the other two major denominations. Although not a proletarian

⁴⁶ "Communism – England Wakes Up – Communism threat to Democracy " *Zealandia*, 6/1/38.

⁴⁷ "Nazis and the Church, Absurd Slanders Spread- Cardinal Faulhaber- 8000 at St Michaels in Munich-," *Zealandia*, 7/4/38.

⁴⁸ Reid, *James Michael Liston, A Life*.p226.

⁴⁹ van der Krogt, "More A Part than Apart the Catholic Community in New Zealand Society 1918-1940".p384-5. The encyclicals were *Rerum Novarum* of Leo XIII (1891) and Pius XI's *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931).

⁵⁰ Nicholas Reid, "Struggle for Souls. Catholicism and Communism in Twentieth-Century New Zealand," *Australian Historical Studies* 128 (2006).p72.

⁵¹ *Ibid*.p73.

Church as such, the fight for the soul of the urban working class was given a significant political context by the tendency for Catholics to vote for the Labour Party. While the hierarchy remained publicly neutral, they did have warm but informal links with the Labour leadership. James Liston for one had a long standing friendship with Michael Joseph Savage. Over time Liston's rhetoric became radicalised, and he linked the solutions to unemployment with issues of charity and social justice.⁵² This was in contrast to the bishop's attitude to communism, which was described by Father Ernest Simmons as being 'implacably and almost unreasonably opposed to communism.'⁵³ Mutual hostility between Catholic and communist during the 1930s was to do with gaining influence in the Labour Party, where the Church wanted a programme which it could accept, in line with the social ideals set out in the Papal Encyclicals.⁵⁴

In his Encyclical (*Quadragesimo Anno*) of 1931, Pius XI distinguished between communism and socialism. Redwood had condemned socialism as evil because it was fostering class antagonism, denied property rights and exalted the place of the state. Pius wrote that socialism 'at times come very near those that Christian reformers of society justly insist upon.'⁵⁵ The distinction between socialism and communism was a moot point during this period. Socialism, social justice and the Church's teachings attracted considerable debate in the press. Should Catholics, in light of the Church's teachings, support a political party which might hold socialist views? But individual Catholics, like most other voters, supported the party that most appealed to them. Over time Labour had modified its stricter Socialist principles in order to appeal to a broader constituency that included Catholics. Church authorities, rather than endorsing Labour, 'failed even to state unequivocally whether or not Catholics could vote Labour.'⁵⁶

⁵² Reid, *James Michael Liston, A Life*.p220.

⁵³ E.R Simmons, *In Cruce Salus A History of the Diocese of Auckland 1848-1980* (Auckland, 1982).p239.

⁵⁴ Reid, "Struggle for Souls. Catholicism and Communism in Twentieth-Century New Zealand."p77.

⁵⁵ van der Krogt, "More A Part than Apart the Catholic Community in New Zealand Society 1918-1940".p385

⁵⁶ *Ibid*.p392.

While concern persisted about any flirting by Labour with communism, and the stricter tenets of socialism and anti-religious policies, the Church was anxious to promote its social teachings, given its large working-class congregations. It claimed the ability to lead social reform as 'the guardian of moral law' and best able to 'expound the principles necessary for the welfare of human society.'⁵⁷ Lay study of social issues was occasioned by the Depression. Archbishop O'Shea encouraged a young Marist, John Higgins, who was extending his senior Christian Doctrine classes at St. Patrick's College into adult education classes on Catholic sociology.⁵⁸ Social doctrine became a staple for Catholic Action and articles on social principles and justice were regularly in both the *Zealandia* and *Tablet*. The *Tablet*, particularly under the editorship of Father James Kelly, favoured the working-class as opposed to the capitalists and supported a moderate Labour Party. The message from those groups such as that of Higgins was that capitalism was unjust and its regular and on-going abuse was systematically evil.⁵⁹ The Catholic Church not only repudiated communism but maintained that it alone had the principles needed for social reconstruction.

International matters made the anti-communism of the Church much more evident. The Spanish Civil War brought into focus what appeared to be sympathy for Fascism. Support for the Spanish rebels was largely confined to the Catholic Church.⁶⁰ Republican behaviour towards the Church allied with strong anti-clericalism gave the Catholic press plenty of material to claim that Franco was the saviour of Christianity. After the Francoist uprising in July 1936, the Catholic press ran regular articles on the deceitfulness of the Republican government, aided by creeping communism. Propaganda played its part. In April 1938 the *Zealandia's* headlines claimed

⁵⁷ Ibid.p401

⁵⁸ Michael O'Meeghan, *Steadfast in Hope. The Story of the Catholic Archdiocese of Wellington 1850-2000*. (Palmerston North, 2003).p228.

⁵⁹ van der Krogt, "More A Part than Apart the Catholic Community in New Zealand Society 1918-1940".p402.

⁶⁰ Skudder, "Bringing It Home. New Zealand responses to the Spanish Civil War 1936-1939."p120.

Ruins Reveal The Truth, Destruction of Guernica, Reds Savage Crime –
....Guernica was not destroyed by bombs from foreign planes in the
service of Franco. It was razed by the retreating Reds by dynamite and
incenderism, with the deliberate sacrifice of life, to discredit the Nationalists
in the eyes of the nations....⁶¹

The attitude of the Catholic Church in New Zealand towards the Republicans in Spain did cause the Labour Party to be careful about supporting them. Overt support was measured against the possible defection of the Catholic vote.

Salazar in Portugal and Dollfuss in Austria, both of whom led marginally Fascist regimes, received some guarded sympathy from the Catholic press. Pius XI seemed to prefer authoritarian civil leaders, such as Mussolini and Salazar, because of their claimed allegiance to the Church.⁶² Certainly the anti-republicanism of the Catholic Church was perceived by some who had left wing leanings as pro-fascist. Yet the Catholic press was generally critical of Fascism.⁶³ As early as 1931 Liston spoke in strongly disapproving terms of how men 'are being led in wrong directions by a group of pernicious theories which teach that the state is supreme in spiritual as well as temporal matters.'⁶⁴ But that ambivalence towards fascism was also shown in the secular press, where Mussolini, in the early days, had been given some praise.⁶⁵ If the situation in Spain did mean the Church favouring the anti-republican cause, there was an increasingly strident condemnation of Hitler. Although all the Churches preached positive sermons about the triumph of the Munich agreement, the excesses of Hitler's regime bought an increased sense of outrage that Christianity itself was under attack.

⁶¹"Ruins Reveal The Truth, Destruction of Guernica, Reds Savage Crime " *Zealandia*, 21/4/38.

⁶² Robert A Krieg, *Catholic Theologians in Nazi Germany* (New York, 2004).p164.

⁶³ Reid, *James Michael Liston, A Life*.p232

⁶⁴ *Ibid*.p232.

⁶⁵ *Ibid*.p233.

The troubles of the Catholic Church in Germany

From the early 1920s when National Socialism first appeared in Germany until 1933 when Hitler became Chancellor, Catholic bishops, priests, and lay leaders, through sermons, public addresses and newspaper articles, condemned its racism and neopaganism. The German Catholic bishops warned that the social-political views of National Socialism stood in direct contradiction to the fundamental truths of Christianity and declared their opposition to membership of the party because of the official programme of false teachings. From 1931 until 1933 the Church's opposition to Nazi party membership went to the extent of, for example, denying communion to anyone in Nazi uniform. This had not always been the church's ruling, particularly in the early days of the Party in Munich. In the early 1920s as the first embodiment of the Nazi Party gathered momentum, when

its identity was still fairly fluid and its constituency still limited primarily to Munich and its environs, an integral role was played within the movement both by Catholic ideals and Catholic activists, many of whom saw themselves acting not in contradiction to their religious identities and traditions but specifically in accordance with them.⁶⁶

1933 did hold out hope that some of the problems of German society would be resolved with communism and liberalism defeated. For thousands of German Catholics and their clergy, the revival of the Reich was something they wanted to be included in; they did not want to be seen as enemies of that Reich. Nazi emphasis on traditional family values, combating unemployment and confronting a lax morality meant many Catholic clergy welcomed Hitler's rise. To the socialist

⁶⁶ Derek Hastings, "How 'Catholic' was the Early Nazi Movement. Religion, Race and Culture in Munich 1919-1924.," *Central European History* 36 (2003), p384. This article goes on to show how the Catholic tradition in Munich especially had a much more open attitude to crossing the boundaries between Catholicism and Social Democracy, which was not the case elsewhere. Munich was 'also home to a fairly open tradition of Catholic ultramontaniam (or at least a coolness towards ultramontaniam based on the distinction between political and religious Catholicism) that was well rooted among believing Catholics and was by no means confined to the margins of Munich Catholic Society.'

and Catholic editor Walter Dirks, Catholicism was situated 'close to the less coarse forms of fascist ideology' and 'the words "authority", "trust in the leader", "peace and order" find attentive ears [among Catholics]'.⁶⁷

During the Third Reich, the Catholic Church continued to function. It had to learn to cope with the turbulence of an authoritarian state. The course its leadership chose was to say or do nothing that might provoke Hitler into closing the churches and produce another *Kulturkampf*.⁶⁸ So long as the parish churches were functioning, the Pope and the bishops were fulfilling their duty.⁶⁹ Prior to the outbreak of the war, most priests shared a traditional sense of German nationalism. But as the state intruded further into the affairs of the Catholic Church, the level of mistrust grew. Many priests reacted when the state violations clashed with their church and ministry, but claimed they were not opponents of the state and were trying to avoid political activity. By questioning and challenging the Nazi *weltanschauung*, and restating its own position, the Church did provide some respite for its people from the all-encompassing and

⁶⁷ Krieg, *Catholic Theologians in Nazi Germany*.p160.

⁶⁸ Ibid.p27. *Kulturkampf* was the conflict between the German government under Bismarck and the Roman Catholic Church. The promulgation (1870) of the dogma of the infallibility of the pope in matters of faith and morals within the church sparked the conflict; it implied that the pope was the defender of the church against incursions by states. The German bishops and most lay Catholics supported this dogma. Bismarck, who was anxious to strengthen the central power of the new German Empire, feared the strongly organized church, which found its political voice in the Catholic Center party (organized 1870). In his opposition to the church, Bismarck found himself in alliance with the liberals, the traditional opponents of the church. The struggle was initiated by the abolition (July, 1871) of the Catholic department in the Prussian ministry of culture. Feelings grew stronger when Bismarck gave support to the small group of churchmen led by Dollinger who refused to accept the dogma of papal infallibility. In 1872, Bismarck gave the state direct control of the schools in Prussia and obtained the expulsion of the Jesuits, first from Prussia and then from Germany as a whole. The May Laws (of May, 1873) restricted the disciplinary powers of the church, placed the education of the clergy under state supervision, and provided for the punishment of those who refused to cooperate. Next, civil ceremonies became obligatory for marriages in Germany. The church resisted these laws, and many clerics were imprisoned or removed from office for their refusal to comply. Meanwhile, the Center party increased its strength significantly. After its large gains in the Reichstag elections of 1878, Bismarck began to moderate his policy, influenced also by the alienation of the liberals through his protective tariff policies. The death of Pope Pius IX (1878) aided the gradual resolution of the conflict. Many of the antichurch laws were repealed or fell into disuse. In 1887 a *modus vivendi* was reached with Pope Leo XIII. In evaluating the *Kulturkampf* in Germany it is important to remember that the church was at odds with a number of European states during this period. *The Columbia Encyclopedia*, Sixth Edition. Copyright © 2001-05 Columbia University Press. <http://bartelby.com/65/ku/Kulturka.html>.

⁶⁹ Ibid.p158.

increasingly restrictive claims the state made on its citizens.⁷⁰ Individual bishops, such as Konrad Preysing, Clemens Galen and Joseph Frings did speak out on issues such as euthanasia, human rights and the treatment of the Jews. But the leadership's collective silence left a moral vacuum.

Catholics in New Zealand learned about the tribulations of the Church in Germany in their weekly press. The articles usually covered outrages that the Nazis had perpetrated. By the outbreak of war, regular readers would have been left in no doubt that the Catholic Church in Germany was subject to outright persecution and that there was a clear distinction between the Nazis and ordinary German Catholics. The descriptions of repeated attacks upon the reputation of the clergy, the restrictions on pastoral ministry and the manner in which the authority of the Church was trampled upon gave readers a vivid sense of Christianity under siege. There was little information about the persecution of the Jews and the other abuses of human rights while the complexities of the Church's position in Germany and the position of the bishops tended to be underplayed.

But the international nature of the Catholic Church encouraged New Zealand readers to recognise the plight of fellow Catholics. The Catholic Church in Germany was portrayed as a victim of the Nazi state and readers in New Zealand, including the priests who would go to war as chaplains, would know that not all things German were collectively guilty. An editorial in July 1940 referred to the 'misguided German people' who 'have yet to realise that Nazism is incompatible with civilisation'. 'But', it continued, 'they are not likely to learn that lesson if it should happen that they are opposed by an unchristian mentality of national hatred.'⁷¹

⁷⁰ Kevin Spicer, *Resisting the Third Reich. The Catholic Clergy in Hitler's Berlin* (DeKalb, 2004).pp101-102.

⁷¹ "Charity above All.," *Zealandia*, 18/7/40.

Some bishops were ascribed heroic status. Cardinal Faulhaber and Bishops Galen and Frings were often portrayed as speaking out against the regime, and throughout the war the Catholic newspapers continued to carry these reports. In 1942 Galen was reported as condemning the Gestapo over the seizure of a Religious House, and Faulhaber as opposing increasing restrictions placed upon the Church.⁷² As late as November 1943 an article headed 'Bishops condemn Hatred and Violence', deals with a Pastoral letter issued by the German bishops which does not openly condemn the Nazis or Germany but deals with the more generic issues of hatred and violence.⁷³ The coverage of the German Catholic Church over the years would have given readers a sense of the difficulties the hierarchy faced, although any questions as to the lack of leadership from that hierarchy were for post war recriminations. In the newspaper coverage sympathy for the Church rather than any criticism predominated.

The sense that the real enemies were the forces that lead to irreligion and the breakdown of civilization, rather than the German people per se was articulated by Father Edward (Ted) Forsman. Ted Forsman, who was one of the first New Zealand Catholic chaplains in North Africa, wrote,

Our war was to be a virile struggle for a new Christian Order, not an orgy of hate or gloom session of neurotic women. Suffering, privation and even death might be our lot, but what of that? Surely a lasting Christian world order was worth it.⁷⁴

⁷² "Cardinal denounces Nazis," *Zealandia*, 11/6/42. "German Bishops and the Gestapo," *Zealandia*, 2/4/42.

⁷³ "Bishops condemn Hatred and Violence," *Zealandia*, 4/11/43.

⁷⁴ Ted Forsman, "Catholicism in 2NZEF," in *Mackey Papers Mac 122-2 ACDA* (Undated).

Chapter ThreeBecoming a Military Chaplain.

Outbreak of War

When war was declared in September 1939, New Zealand was not in a position to provide a quick response. Professional army formations did not exist and the Territorial Force was to provide the equivalent of a Division for both overseas and home duties.⁷⁵ When the Labour Party came to power in 1935, it presided over a reorganization of the Armed Services that created a separate Air Department, a Navy Department and Army Department. The navy was in the process of modernization and the new air force was in the process of receiving planes and equipment from Britain. The army, in the meantime, had become 'the Cinderella of the services'.⁷⁶ Its comparative share of Armed Services expenditure was well below that of the Navy after 1927 and by 1938 eclipsed by the air force.⁷⁷

When war arrived Catholics played their full part.⁷⁸ The first call for volunteers came on 12 September 1939; the immediate target being 6600 men aged 21–35 years. By the weeks end some 12,000 men had volunteered.⁷⁹ The first echelon entered camp on 3 October. The Catholic hierarchy knew that young Catholic men would volunteer in numbers approximately in proportion to their percentage of the population. Catholics made up just over thirteen percent of the non-Maori population of interwar New Zealand.⁸⁰ Just as in international affairs, the Hierarchy was determined to protect and support the church's interests in terms of the enlisted Catholic men.

⁷⁵ W. David McIntyre, *New Zealand Prepares for War. Defence Policy 1919-39*. (Christchurch, 1988).p227.

⁷⁶ Ibid.p247

⁷⁷ Ibid.p173

⁷⁸ Michael King, *God's Farthest Outpost, A History of Catholics in New Zealand* (Auckland, 1997). P 164.

⁷⁹ Nancy M Taylor, *The Home Front* 2vols., vol. 1 (Wellington, 1986). p69.

⁸⁰ van der Krogt, "Catholic Religious Identity and Social Integration in Interwar New Zealand."p1. Davidson and Lineham, *Transplanted Christianity. Documents illustrating aspects of New Zealand Church History*.p246.

The call for Catholic chaplains

The hierarchy of the Catholic Church was able to respond quickly to request for chaplains. All ministers of religion were exempt from military service but the Catholic hierarchy was acutely aware of their obligations as regards the Catholic men who would be going to war. This obligation had been evident during WW1 and the bishops were then unhesitating in their response. But this was going to be a very different kind of war. The Nazi regime had been attacking the Christian Church, and the difficulties of the Catholic Church in Germany in particular, had been a major topic in the *Zealandia* and *Tablet*. Newspapers and newsreels in cinemas had for some time shown the triumphalism of the regime and its future ambitions were plain. In a broadcast in September 1939, William Temple, the Archbishop of York, said Britain was united and dedicated to its task of checking aggression of and bringing to an end the 'perpetual insecurity and menace which hangs over Europe, spoiling the life of millions, as a result of Nazi tyranny in Europe'.⁸¹ If the First World War had begun with excitement which collapsed into disillusionment, the Second began with a sense of conviction about the justice of the cause, which deepened as the war continued.⁸²

A Military Ordinariate is an ecclesiastical jurisdiction responsible for the pastoral care of Christians serving in the armed forces of a nation. Such an institution had been established in the Archdiocese of Wellington as part of the Metropolitan's responsibilities.⁸³ Monsignor Tom Connolly, who had served as a chaplain in World War 1, became senior Catholic chaplain, 'responsible for the spiritual well being of all Catholics in the three services at home and abroad'.⁸⁴ Connolly was the parish priest of the Basilica in Wellington and the Archdiocesan Chancery became the liaison point with the military authorities. He was to remain as senior chaplain throughout the war and continue to co-ordinate and manage the

⁸¹ Alan Wilkinson, *Dissent or Conform. War, Peace and the English Churches 1900-1945*. (London, 1986).p244.

⁸² Ibid.p249.

⁸³ Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Military_ordinariate

⁸⁴ O'Meehan, *Steadfast in Hope. The Story of the Catholic Archdiocese of Wellington 1850-2000*.p233.

relationship with the military. An essential role was to work closely with all four diocesan bishops and heads of religious orders regarding the supply of men for chaplaincy duties.

Father Leo Spring SM was the first Catholic chaplain to join the New Zealand Expeditionary Force, sailing with the First Echelon on 5 January 1940. He was a Marist priest and curate in Napier and had been asked by his Provincial Superior, Dr V Geaney, if he could, at very short notice, report to Burnham Camp. A letter to Bishop James Liston, dated 21 August 1939 from the Catholic representative on the Northern Chaplains Advisory Committee, Father M Bleakley, asked, as a matter of urgency and in the event of mobilisation, that two priests be nominated to go into camp.⁸⁵ Liston wrote to Fathers William Sheely and Edward (Ted) Forsman. Both men replied by the 24th August that they were willing to go.⁸⁶ Forsman and Sheely served as chaplains at Ngaruawahia and Papakura before going overseas.

In June 1940 Father J J Fletcher, a curate from St Josephs Parish Wellington, became a chaplain at Trentham and Father J Henley to Papakura. Likewise during July 1940, parishioners in Rangiora farewelled their curate Father J A MacKay, who went into camp at Burnham. In December 1940 Father R Marlow went into Burnham from his curacy in Oamaru. Another Marist, Father Jesse Kingan SM, from St Patrick's College, Silverstream, became chaplain at Trentham in January 1941.

Certainly the most prominent of the religious orders in providing priests was the Marist religious order. Their prominence in Catholic education in New Zealand meant that many of their old boys would be in the Armed Services and this particular link was one of the many bonds that helped give unity and cohesion to the Division.

⁸⁵ M J Bleakley, "Letter to Liston 21/8/39," in *Liston Papers Lis 111-1 ACDA* (1939).

⁸⁶ Ted Forsman, "Telegram 24/8/39," in *Liston Papers Lis 111-1 ACDA* (1939).

That old boy network was a powerful link between Catholic servicemen and their chaplains. Although the statistics regarding church attendance up to 1926 showed that many Catholics did not maintain regular Sunday worship, Catholic schools were well attended. The church's insistence upon Catholic children attending Catholic schools meant networks were built that gave the chaplains the opportunity to draw into worship and participation both the enthusiastic and those whose Catholicity was rudimentary.

The choice of men to serve as chaplains lay directly with either the bishops, if they were diocesan clergy, or the Provincial of their religious order. Catholic religious life required a vow of obedience upon ordination or profession and that vow meant an acceptance of the decision made by the senior cleric. Although the bishop or provincial would have expected their decision to be obeyed, they were somewhat more consultative. Liston, for example, had surrounding him a 'phalanx of senior clergy' and a handwritten memo showed that the decision about appointing a particular priest to the chaplaincy was referred to a number of them for their counsel.⁸⁸ Not that there was a lack of those offering to serve. During September 1939 two priests from the Auckland Diocese wrote to Liston offering their services.⁸⁹

But given that there was an age restriction (maximum age 45) and a reasonable degree of physical fitness required, the choices were, not unreasonably, to appoint younger men who had a certain rapport with and ability to relate to large groups of men. Ted Forsman's brother wrote of him that

Ted showed a rare ability to relate easily and well to the ordinary man, untouched by sophisticated scholarship and unaffected by the rich cultural heritage of centuries. This is a very important aspect of Ted's character

⁸⁸ Reid, *James Michael Liston, A Life*.p189; Memo 13/3/41 *Liston Papers, Lis 111-2*(Auckland).

⁸⁹ Patrick Fahey, "Letters to Liston 1939," in *Liston Papers Lis 111-1 ACDA* (1939).

that must be grasped by those who wish to come to an understanding of him. For me, it lies at the heart of his success as a chaplain.

When Forsman was appointed to the Ormond parish just outside Gisborne in 1937, his brother was of the opinion that '... his work with the road and rail construction teams in the various camps on the Gisborne to Opotiki Road from 1937 to 1939 was not unlike his work as a padre to the New Zealand Armed Forces.'⁹⁰ Jesse Kingan was the sports master at St Patrick's College, Silverstream where he was also involved with the school cadets. Leo Spring had had some years of parish work and J J (Hec) Fletcher was a popular curate in a busy Wellington parish. Norbert Berridge had served in the Territorial Army with the rank of Sergeant.⁹¹ The hierarchy was astute and sent into the Armed Forces men who they deemed to be physically, emotionally and theologically sound.

As the war continued, the Senior Chaplain continued to ask the dioceses for more priests. The Marist Wilfred Ainsworth SM became the first Catholic chaplain to the Royal New Zealand Air Force. Auckland supplied Fathers John Pierce, Joe Rodgers, Peter Battersby, William Ryan, Norbert Berridge, Frederick Walls and Henry Boyd. From Wellington, Louis Aldridge SM, Vince Callaghan, Peter Hannah SM, Bernard Keegan, Harold Trehey, Frank Walsh and A S Ward S M. Francis Columb, Peter Halley and J T Martin came from Dunedin and Edward Joyce and John McKay from Christchurch.

These priests appointed to serve in the chaplaincy were theologically sound and had no difficulty with the soldier-priest role. These were not men uncertain of their faith or of their role within the Church and considered to be able to operate without hierarchal oversight. They had a clear sense of their pastoral obligations to the Armed Services, which at the basic level was simply an extension of their

⁹⁰ Henry Forsman, *E A Forsman - Priest, Padre and Poet 1909-1976*, p 20-21.

⁹¹ Norbert Berridge, "Chaplain's Report," in *Military Ordinariate WWII #386 WCAA* (1946).

fundamental civilian obligations. Their parishioners were Catholic men who would, by and large, know something of worship in the Catholic tradition.

Some of the Catholic chaplains had studied outside of New Zealand. Ted Forsman had continued his studies in Rome after ordination and after the war lectured in philosophy on a part time basis at Auckland University, Jesse Kingan had begun a Doctorate in Theology in Rome after his ordination, but illness forced him to return home. He did complete a B.A. at Victoria University. Frank Walsh completed a Doctorate in Rome and after the war lectured in history at Victoria. Harold Trehey was sent to the Catholic University of America in Washington for four years of specialized postgraduate studies in sociology and economics, before becoming a chaplain.⁹²

Training to be a chaplain

Many chaplains, especially those first clerics who went away with the 1st Echelon, had little in the way of specific training for their role in the military environment. The Rev. Michael Underhill, the Anglican chaplain, describes the transition from civilian clergyman to soldier in the Official War History. At the beginning of the war, the clergyman coming into camp knew very little about his official position. 'He knew that he was expected to take services on Sundays, but for the rest he had to work out his own destiny and evolve his own daily programme.'⁹³

A busy military administration was trying to cope with a rapid mobilization and chaplains were just one of the problems. It was not until 1942 that a specific chaplains' course was made available at Trentham military camp. Two Schools were held in 1942 and a further two in 1943. By the end of 1943, 50% of all chaplains had received basic training at one of the schools.⁹⁴

⁹² O'Meehan, *Steadfast in Hope. The Story of the Catholic Archdiocese of Wellington 1850-2000*.p298.

⁹³ Michael Underhill et al., "New Zealand Chaplains in the Second World War," in *Official History of New Zealand in the Second World War 1939-45*, ed. Howard Sir Kippenberger (Wellington, 1950).pp5-9.

⁹⁴ Glen, "New Zealand Army Chaplains at War, 2 NZEF 1939-1945".p321.

But it is likely that most of the Catholic chaplains would have had some knowledge of the military system. Other than Jesse Kingan, who was actively involved in school cadets prior to enlistment, and Norbert Berridge none of others had had specific peace-time Territorial experience. But it was estimated that 'at least 75% of those who undertook chaplaincy duties did so with a very slender basic working background of the military system', principally through their own experience as school cadets. School Cadet Corps featured as a component of secondary education for boys since the early twentieth century.⁹⁵

Catholic priests were, through their training and life style, reasonably well prepared for military life. They had, as a minimum, spent seven years in the often austere environment of a seminary. They were used to a form of institutional domesticity, living communally with other priests in a parish presbytery or as a member of an in-house teaching staff at a school or in a religious house. Military disciplines, as such, would not have been particularly difficult for them and their experiences in the parish or at school allowed them to work with the soldiers in terms of utilizing their clerical skills, such as administering the sacraments, preaching and other pastoral work. The challenge was to bring those skills into play when dealing with soldiers who were not practicing Churchmen and had little or no religious context in their lives.

Catholic chaplaincy was not expected to put aside denominational differences and become part of an ecumenical ministry. Because of its distinct authoritarian clerical model and doctrinal position regarding the valid performance of sacramental ritual, there was no substitute for a duly ordained Catholic priest administering those sacraments.⁹⁶ King's Regulations recognized the separateness of the Catholic Church and the Catholic chaplains maintained that stance since they had no authority to do otherwise.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ Ibid.p320-321.

⁹⁶ Thomas Bokenkotter, *Essential Catholicism, Dynamics of Faith and Belief* (New York, 1986).pp182, 266.

⁹⁷ See Appendix 1 –Kings Regulations as they pertain to Chaplains.

General Freyberg had urged the putting aside of sectarian perspectives and as one Protestant chaplain recalled "Officially we went overseas representing our own church and to serve its members, but with Gen. Freyberg's wish and blessing line units of the 2nd Div. had unit parades that ministered to the men of their Bn. or Regt. as well as they could. RC padres looked after their own from the religious point of view, and for the most part did not make good Unit padres. By 1942 they were usually attached to Brigade HQ. They had a very high commitment to hearing confessions and taking Mass for all the men in the Brigade. This is not to say that they didn't make major contributions to the morale and life of the 2NZE." ⁹⁸ Ecumenism within the Protestant denominations worked, "for within eighteen months of mobilisation denominational distinctions were greatly reduced. 'The only difference between serving the men was between RC and Protestant'" ⁹⁹

The relationship between Catholic and non-Catholic were relatively harmonious at the beginning of the war. But the war did bring about a revival of Catholic-Protestant tensions, especially over the perception that the Catholic Church was receiving 'special treatment'. Any protests tended to come from the more evangelical end of the Protestant church as the larger Protestant churches tried to avoid sectarian debate. ¹⁰⁰ Co-operation was the byword and the Catholic hierarchy had provided the lead for their church. O'Shea, Liston and the other bishops had made distinctly friendly gestures to other denominations and state and civic occasions meant Anglican, Presbyterian and Catholic clergy and laypeople met and socialized. Boundaries did exist and the Catholic chaplains, who had worked in the wider community in various capacities, were attuned to what that constituted. What Catholic chaplains knew as the boundaries were more to do with history and theology but in the military co-operation was actively

⁹⁸ Glen, "New Zealand Army Chaplains at War, 2 NZEF 1939-1945".p323, p412 Q14:6.

⁹⁹ Ibid.p327.

¹⁰⁰ Peter J Lineham, " The Religious Face of Patriotism," in *Kia Kaha, New Zealand in the Second World War*, ed. John Crawford (Auckland, 2000).

encouraged. Cohesion was evident in the training camps in New Zealand as all the chaplains sought to work with their 'parishioners', an attitude which continued when they went to war.

Coping with mobilisation

From the outset, mobilisation provided the churches with a problem regarding their status in the training camps. The army initially attached chaplains to echelons. A chaplain went into a camp and while there provided chaplaincy services. When that group of men went overseas, those chaplains went with them. The First Echelon sailed from New Zealand on 5 January 1940 with seven chaplains—two Church of England, one Presbyterian, one Methodist, one Congregationalist, one Salvation Army and Father Leo Spring.¹⁰¹ Priority was given to training and getting men to the Middle East, and there needed to be sufficient chaplains to accompany them. However James Liston, for one, wanted resident chaplains in the training camps, rather than those chaplains being attached to echelons only.¹⁰² But this did not become an issue for he did not get support from the other bishops.

However there was a more general interdenominational concern. The Army was 'not concerned with the spiritual functions of the chaplains, but only with their administration. The earliest problem was the proportion to be maintained among the various churches and denominations.'¹⁰³ In December 1939 the Chaplains Advisory Board recommended to the military authorities that camps with 500 or more men should have at least one Anglican chaplain, one Roman Catholic and one chaplain from another denomination

¹⁰¹ Haigh, *Men of Faith and Courage. The Official History of the Royal New Zealand Chaplains Department*.p107.

¹⁰² Reid, *James Michael Liston, A Life*.p215.

¹⁰³ William George Stevens, "Problems of 2NZEF," in *Official History of New Zealand in the Second World War 1939-45*, ed. Sir Howard Kippenberger (Wellington, 1958).p122.

They made the point that 'a chaplains work involves more than an occasional Church Parade', and managers of the Institutes, such as the YMCA, were not substitutes for doing chaplaincy work.¹⁰⁴ Commanding Officers in the various Military Districts wanted direction as to how chaplaincy services were to be managed in the training camps, and this problem went overseas with the troops of the 1st Echelon.

In New Zealand facilities for chaplains in the training camps were lacking as the existing camp structures were upgraded or new buildings and facilities built. Leo Spring recalled that at his first mass at Burnham Camp, troops were 'marched into a marquee where the wild turnips were about two feet high. There were no seats of any kind-only a table on which to lay the Mass kit.'¹⁰⁵ As early as 23 September 1939, Archbishop O'Shea wrote to James Liston regarding Catholic Halls and chapels in the Military Camps. O'Shea referred to what had occurred in World War I and had asked the St Vincent De Paul Society to begin fundraising to establish similar types of facilities.¹⁰⁶ In those early days of the war, Catholic congregations were asked for donations for huts and chapels to be built in military camps. At the same time the Government was trying to bring some order to wartime fund raising. In 1919 there were no fewer than 938 separate War Funds Committees in existence for World War I and the Government wanted properly organized channels for requesting donations.¹⁰⁷

By mid-October a Patriotic Fund had been set up by the Government and this fund became the main vehicle for soliciting voluntary funding for the war effort. But the regulations allowed for separate fund raising, such as a Spiritual Fund, and this could be used for the establishing denominational buildings in military camps. James Liston was quickly alert to the potential of the Patriotic Fund and

¹⁰⁴ Chaplains Advisory Board, "Letter from Chaplains Advisory Board 10/1/1940," in *National Archives World War II AD1 321/1/2*.

¹⁰⁵ Haigh, *Men of Faith and Courage. The Official History of the Royal New Zealand Chaplains Department*.p107.

¹⁰⁶ Thomas O'Shea, "Letter to Liston 23/9/39, 27/9/39," in *Liston Papers Lis 111-1 ACDA*.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

made sure his congregations were acquainted with the needs of the Catholic Fund and not to confuse the two.¹⁰⁸ In March 1940, parishioners in the Auckland Diocese were asked for £1000 for a Marquee Tent at Ngaruawahia Camp and a Hall for Papakura Camp, both for use by Catholic soldiers.

Facilities continued to be an issue in the early part of 1940 as the number of training camps increased. For a newly appointed chaplain coming into one these camps with no previous military experience, the first task would be to sequester his church building. The options tended to be a canteen, a welfare hut, a cinema, or a parade ground. Garrison churches, a feature of military complexes outside of New Zealand, were not favoured in 2NZE. ¹⁰⁹ This was one of the challenges for a chaplain, to make do with what was available, especially in those camps which were still being built. All chaplains had no choice but to adapt. The ability to work in an ever-changing environment was to pay dividends when in battle zones overseas.

Archbishop O'Shea was of the view that 'the Military Authorities are earnestly co-operating with us to provide every facility for the Catholic boys to attend to their spiritual duties,' and knew that 'gradually things would be straightened out', but the hierarchy were concerned about the proportion of chaplains to the numbers of men being absorbed into the services. O'Shea was clear about how 'it is on the Military Authorities that lies the onus to provide an adequate number of priests for the needs of the Catholic soldiers. They know that otherwise the Recruiting of Catholics will soon fall off.'¹¹⁰ Dissatisfaction at the lack of permanent chaplains at both Ngaruawahia and Papakura Camps continued, and since there were many young men 'among our Catholic Soldiers' and their parents fully expected this provision, Liston advised O'Shea to see the Minister of Defence and if necessary the Prime Minister.¹¹¹ Whether or not voluntary

¹⁰⁸ St Vincent de Paul Society, "Letter from SVP to Liston 8/10/39," in *Liston Papers Lis 111-1, ACDA*.

¹⁰⁹ Michael Underhill et al., "New Zealand Chaplains in the Second World War."pp5-9.

¹¹⁰ Thomas O'Shea, "Letter to Liston 3/1/40," in *Liston Papers, Lis 111-1, ACDA*.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

recruitment would have been affected by the failure to have an adequate number of catholic chaplains available was never tested. Voluntary enlistments rates had been falling since the initial burst of enthusiasm after the declaration of war and, despite raising the age limit to 40 years, conscription was introduced on 23 July 1940.

Although chaplaincy issues still needed to be dealt with, the tone of the Bishops' correspondence emphasized co-operation with other denominations and non-Catholic organizations. As early as September 1939, the YMCA had invited Bishop Matthew Brodie of Christchurch to become a member of their War Service Council and Father Michael Bleakley asked Liston to write to the Director of the YMCA to express thanks for the assistance the Catholic chaplain at Hopuhopu had received.¹¹² Father Norbert Berridge wrote to Liston explaining how helpful he found the other Padres (two Anglican and a Presbyterian) when he arrived at Ngaruawahia unexpectedly and as there was no separate facility for mass, the Church Army offered the use of their Chapel.¹¹³ These were not isolated incidents and reflected what was occurring at the front.

The drive to ensure adequate facilities were available in the training camps was given impetus by the realization that young men going into the military were particularly impressionable. It was the lot of chaplains in the training camps to have a relatively short time in which to get know their 'parishioners', as personnel changed frequently.¹¹⁴ Reporting to Liston about the activities of the Chaplains Advisory Board, Bleakley was of the opinion that

now that boys of eighteen are conscripted, this work is given an added importance. All the future Catholic manhood of our country is now being placed at our disposal just at the critical age. Even at the cost of

¹¹² Thomas O'Shea, "Letter to Liston 29/9/39," in *Liston Papers, Lis 111-1, ACDA*.

M J Bleakley, "Letter to Liston 21/8/40," in *Liston Papers, Lis 111-1, ACDA*.

¹¹³ Norbert Berridge, "Letter to Liston 30/7/41," in *Liston Papers, Lis 111-2, ACDA*.

¹¹⁴ Michael Underhill et al., "New Zealand Chaplains in the Second World War."p8.

understaffing our parishes, we must find priests to give whole time attention to them at camps wherever situated.

In his view providing chaplains required to be given high priority and if the cost was understaffing parishes, then so be it.¹¹⁵ The chaplain had to increase the tempo of his work to achieve what he could in the time available. Wilf Ainsworth made the point, in relation to Air Force Stations, that

General Catholic morale on both Stations a poor average. Six months of service life without spiritual care will make the best Catholic indifferent.....Some Stations have scarcely seen a priest since the outbreak of the war.¹¹⁶

In Auckland, Liston reacted to the realities of ministry in the training camps by forming the Catholic Soldiers Welfare Committee. This Committee was 'to promote the welfare of Catholic men in camp and to engage the interest and enlist the assistance of Catholics in Auckland in the work.' There was no intention to compete with the Salvation Army or YMCA in terms of games or amusements, but to 'interest Catholics personally in the welfare of the men and to give men whose homes are at a distance or not readily accessible during short leaves, the opportunity of meeting Catholics or visiting Catholic homes during their weekend leaves.' Encouraging the wider Catholic community to become involved in soldiers welfare was one means of assisting the chaplains to maintain a Catholic presence in their lives while training.¹¹⁷ In October 1940 Liston wrote to all his parish priests with a military camp in their parish, asking how the Camp was going, did the priest know how many Catholic were there, if the tent supplied by the Catholic Soldiers Welfare Committee was erected and functioning, what was needed by way of prayer books, rosaries etc. He also wanted to know if the local branch of the Holy Name Society was helping with visits to the camp.

¹¹⁵ M J Bleakley, "Letter to Liston 3/7/41," in *Liston Papers, Lis 111-2, ACDA*.

¹¹⁶ W Ainsworth, "Letter to Liston 29/5/41," in *Liston Papers, Lis 111-2, ACDA*.

¹¹⁷ Catholic Soldiers Welfare Committee, "Draft Charter (undated)," in *Liston Papers, Lis 111-2, ACDA*.

By this stage of the war, satellite camps were in many areas e.g. Cambridge, Rotorua, Te Aroha and various parts of North Auckland and sodalities such as the Holy Name Society were pressed into service in support of the chaplaincy.¹¹⁸ In other dioceses, sodalities such as the Catholic Women's League and the Grail played similar roles.¹¹⁹

Providing Welfare Services in New Zealand

The provision of welfare services had a testy start although the disagreements didn't involve the Catholic Church but rather were between the YMCA, the Anglican Church and the Salvation Army. Archbishop O'Shea had agreed, very soon after the outbreak of war,

to co-operate and they assured me that the YMCA would offer every facility to us in regard to the use of their buildings for our Religious services in Camp in which we had no convenient place ourselves. I believe we can work with them.¹²⁰

In accepting the YMCA offer, O'Shea broke with the past. In WWI the policy had been not to co-operate with the Protestants and to provide for separate Catholic Huts. But, according to Major General W G Stevens writing about the 'Problems of 2NZE',

The experience of the First World War had been lamentable, in that there was no proper central control, and a mass of committees of all sorts set to work to collect money, often in competition with one another, and often at a cost which swallowed up the contributions. By the end of the war the number of bodies that had been engaged in this activity ran into hundreds, and many had never handed over a penny to army welfare.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ James Michael Liston, "Circular to Parish Priests 19/10/40.," in *Liston Papers, Lis 111-2, ACDA*.

¹¹⁹ Matthew Brodie, "Letter to Liston 26/8/40.," in *Liston Papers, Lis 111-2, ACDA*.

¹²⁰ O'Shea, "Letter to Liston 29/9/39."

¹²¹ Stevens, "Problems of 2NZE."p235.

The problem lay in determining which bodies were to provide a welfare ministry to 2NZE. Determined to avoid having a plethora of welfare agencies seeking donations for parochial purposes, the Government passed in early October 1939 the 'Patriotic Purposes Emergency Regulations' which in turn created the 'National Patriotic Fund Board.' This Board became, in July 1940, the sole body responsible for raising and expending money for military welfare.

The Government determined the YMCA would become the lead agency. The undenominational, although Protestant affiliated YMCA had credentials from WWI, a long association with the army, and had many church members on its local boards. The main Protestant churches opposed the choice of the Salvation Army as an agent for the Board. They considered it was an act of discrimination in that numerically it was one of the smallest denominations in the country. The prospect of having uniformed Salvation Army officers represent a range of Protestant denominations within 2NZE was presented to the Prime Minister as not only setting a precedent but possibly destroying the co-operation that had come about between churches.

That same group opposed the accreditation of the Church Army, although the Church of England considered that numerically it deserved the right. The Government determined that if the Church Army and Salvation Army were to operate they would do so under the authority of the YMCA. This forced arrangement suited 2NZE, who wanted the administrative ease of working with one organization. It did, however, take some time before the three started working in some sort of harmony.¹²²

The Catholic War Services Fund Board had raised money for building and amenities. By May 1940 O'Shea had arranged to hand over to the Board the Catholic Huts, which remained in the control of the priest in the camp, and to

¹²² Glen, "New Zealand Army Chaplains at War, 2 NZEF 1939-1945".pp210-215.

obtain credit for the furnishings and items such as the Mass Outfits, and expenses incurred in managing the huts. The Report to Parliament by the National Patriotic Fund Board for September 1940 showed the transfer of these assets from the Catholic War Services Fund Board.¹²³

Equipping Chaplains

Fund raising amongst the Catholic community was not restricted to providing buildings and facilities at various camps. Aside from money they may have given to the National Patriotic Fund, the Church urged donations for specific religious activity. As early as September 1939 money was being solicited for mass kits, a set of equipment including vestments and accoutrements (chalice etc.) that allowed the chaplain to say mass. The Sacred Heart Old Girls Association was fund raising for mass kits and money came in from various societies and sodalities.¹²⁴ The kits themselves cost approximately £36 and remained with the chaplain for the duration.

Ted Forsman, when accepting the posting to the chaplaincy, asked if he had to supply his own Mass kit, although he had his own chalice.¹²⁵ Leo Spring considered the 'Mass kit for every soldier-priest was his most treasured possession. Without it he was like a soldier bereft of his arms.'¹²⁶ When he was evacuated from Greece, he had to abandon everything, 'except that I clung to the essentials for Mass, which happily I was able to celebrate on the troopship.'¹²⁷ There are various photographs of Mass being said in combat zones, with the priests in their full regalia.¹²⁸ Because he had lost his Mass kit in the retreat from

¹²³ National Patriotic Fund Board, "Report to both Houses of the General Assembly 30/9/40.," in *Military Ordinariate, World War II*, #378, WACA.

¹²⁴ "Mass Kit Fund Increase," *Zealandia*, 27/6/40. Various sodalities gave money for chaplains' Mass kits, *Children of Mary*, "Note (undated) advising of donation for Mass Requisites," in *Liston Papers, Lis 111-1, ACDA*.

¹²⁵ Ted Forsman, "Letter to Liston 15/9/39," in *Liston Papers, Lis 111-1, ACDA*.

¹²⁶ Haigh, *Men of Faith and Courage. The Official History of the Royal New Zealand Chaplains Department*, p109.

¹²⁷ Leo Spring, "Letter to V Geaney, 25/6/41," in *Accession No 81, MAW*.

¹²⁸ Photographs of Fathers Kingan and Spring saying Mass in the desert and on the slopes of Mt Olympus. *Accession No 81, MAW*.

Greece, Father Bill Sheely couldn't say Mass on Crete for 'the boys' on the Sunday prior to the last battle.¹²⁹ Sheely was evacuated to Palestine prior to that battle because of illness contracted during his escape from Greece. In one of his letters back home, Sheely, by then a prisoner of war, writes '... Still managing to say Mass. I have clung grimly to my Mass outfit.'¹³⁰

Appeals for specific religious activities continued throughout the war. In September 1941 readers were urged to donate money so that 400 copies of the *Zealandia* could be regularly sent to the troops overseas. This appeal was run regularly. Chaplains reported back that Catholic men appreciated this contact with home, especially the local news.

¹²⁹ Spring, "Letter to V Geaney, 25/6/41." In this letter Spring is critical of another priest who was being evacuated from Crete and failed to loan Sheely his Mass kit.

¹³⁰ W Sheely, "Letter to Liston 29/10/43," in *Liston Papers, Lis 111-2, ACDA*.

Chapter Four

On Active Service

Setting up a workable structure within 2NZEF

When Leo Spring arrived in Egypt with the First Echelon in 12 February 1940, there was virtually no structure for him to work with. From that group of seven chaplains who were part of the 1st Echelon, Ernest Moore, an Anglican chaplain who had served as a soldier in the First World War, was appointed the Senior New Zealand Chaplain until the arrival of Bishop G V Gerard in 1941. To 'this group fell the task of laying the foundations for New Zealand Chaplains work in the Middle East.'¹³¹ The command structure for the chaplaincy within 2NZEF consisted of a Chaplain in Charge, who was the official liaison between the Chaplains' Department, the Army, and the Chaplains' Council in New Zealand. Known as the Senior Chaplain, his principal task was to ensure that the chaplains, as a body, had a voice in the senior military command. But the Senior Chaplain had jurisdiction over chaplains of his own denomination only and needed to work with the Senior Roman Catholic Chaplain and the Senior Chaplain at Divisional Headquarters to ensure the requirements of the Army and needs of the chaplains were met. In North Africa and Italy the position of Senior Chaplain was held by Bishop Gerard, followed by Rev. J W McKenzie, a Presbyterian and upon his return to New Zealand in 1944, another Presbyterian, Rev G A Spence.

Leo Spring became the Senior Roman Catholic Chaplain and retained that position for the duration. As Senior Chaplain he was responsible for managing the disposition of his chaplains throughout the Division and liaising with the other denominational representatives. He also liaised with the military command. His position required a degree of tact, especially when dealing with Unit commanders

¹³¹ Senior Chaplain, "Report on Chaplaincy," in *National Archives WWII DA 9/10/2* (1941).

who didn't understand the freedom of movement the Catholic chaplains needed for their work.¹³²

An early issue requiring resolution was the denominational representation within 2NZEF. Prior to conscription, denominational information came from the attestation form completed by the enlistee, but after conscription civilian religious statistics were used, which in 1942 were as follows:¹³³

	%		%		%
Church of England	44.25	Roman Catholic	15.10	Other Denominations	4.80
Presbyterian	27.10	Methodist	8.75		

In April 1942 the religious denominations of personnel in 2NZEF was assessed and calculated similar figures. As far as Archbishop O'Shea was concerned 'The Army Regulations, as far as they apply to New Zealand, do not provide that Catholic Chaplains should be as numerous as the Church of England.'¹³⁴

Of the Other Denominations, Baptists, Protestant, Salvation Army, Church of Christ, Mormon, Brethren and Ratana had more than 100 adherents, while those who showed 'no religion' were the third highest category. Thirty two other denominations were recorded in this census.¹³⁵ The final establishment for 2NZEF, excluding one chaplain who was with a Forestry Group in England, was as follows

Church of England	20
Presbyterian	14
Roman Catholic	8
Methodist	4
Other Denominations	4 ¹³⁶

¹³² Michael Underhill et al., "New Zealand Chaplains in the Second World War."p42.

¹³³ Ibid.p16.

¹³⁴ Thomas O'Shea, "Letter to Liston 4/10/39," in *Liston Papers, Lis 111-1, ACDA*. (1939).

¹³⁵ Army Headquarters, "Religious Denomination of 2NZEF Personnel as at 8/4/42," in *National Archives, W W II DA,1/9/61, 1/9/62*. (1942). See Appendix 2 for the religious denomination of 2NZEF personnel as at 8/4/42.

¹³⁶ Michael Underhill et al., "New Zealand Chaplains in the Second World War."p16.

Early on New Zealand chose to depart from the British chaplaincy model whereby chaplains ministered to their own denominations, a practice which New Zealand had followed in WW1. Instead 2NZEI instituted the Unit Chaplain. A chaplain was appointed to a unit, with the expectation that all church services be conducted by that particular chaplain. Roman Catholics were excepted.¹³⁷ The initiative, endorsed by General Freyberg, meant that the Unit Chaplain was to be a friend and advisor to everyone in the unit and conduct church services on a non-denominational basis.¹³⁸ From the outset it was recognized that Catholics would maintain a distance from this degree of ecumenism that had come about.

However this method of utilizing the chaplains did not suit the Catholic chaplaincy. Kings Regulations permitted separate worship and being attached to a unit would not allow the opportunity to minister to Catholics who were by now scattered in various units throughout the army. The effect of having a Unit Chaplain constantly away from their assigned unit, as a Catholic chaplain would have been, was disruptive and as 85% of each unit was Protestant, there was enough work for the Protestant chaplains without them trying to include the Catholics. Accordingly, at Leo Spring's suggestion, Catholic chaplains were attached to Field Ambulances with freedom to move about the Brigade Group and minister where needed.¹³⁹ One priest was appointed to each Brigade. But within the Units, the Catholics were perceived to be part of a tight knit extended Christian family group and the Unit Chaplain would minister to all the men regardless.¹⁴⁰

This roving commission was not always understood by Commanding Officers. Father Vince Callaghan was attached to 1 Convalescent Depot in Palestine, and in line with the agreement, he attended the 3 NZ General Hospital in Beirut and the Railway Construction Company. Considerable travel was involved. There

¹³⁷ Senior Chaplain, "Report on Chaplaincy."

¹³⁸ Michael Underhill et al., "New Zealand Chaplains in the Second World War."p15.

¹³⁹ Chaplain, "Report on Chaplaincy." *National Archives. WAI DA 9/10/1*

¹⁴⁰ Glen, "New Zealand Army Chaplains at War, 2 NZEI 1939-1945".pp124,126.

was opposition to his work away from the Depot by senior officers and Headquarters 2 NZEF was asked to provide a ruling on the special status for Catholic Chaplains. HQ made clear that Catholic Chaplains were attached to medical units for the purposes of convenience and the unit was to be regarded as a base from which to operate over an area.¹⁴¹ Leo Spring's tact was important in soothing 'the doubts and fears of many officers who did not realise that the work of Roman Catholic chaplains had to differ in many respects from the work of the others.'¹⁴²

Catholic chaplains went into battle with their Field Ambulances. But they were well aware that their Protestant colleagues were usually at the front line and in the thick of battle. In battle, the Unit Chaplain became responsible for all the men, including Catholics. There was no possibility of selective ministry in those circumstances.¹⁴³

The rationale for concentrating their pastoral work in the medical and field hospitals was directly associated with the priority given to administering the sacraments. Stationed in the field hospitals and clearing stations they could ensure that Catholics received the last rites if necessary and give comfort to the wounded. The priority given to this work did attract criticism from some Catholic chaplains 'who believed it was as important to minister in the front-line as to the wounded in the rear.'¹⁴⁴ After the North African campaign, Leo Spring proposed a change, whereby his chaplains became attached to their respective Brigade Headquarters and as such able to move into the front line or wherever needed. This was considered to be a better use of Catholic chaplains.¹⁴⁵ But most Catholic chaplains, in the Middle East and Italy, served as hospital and medical chaplains rather than in the front line.

¹⁴¹ Frank Walsh, "Catholic Chaplains of 2NZEF in M.E and C.M.F.(undated manuscript)," in *Liston Papers, Lis 111-2, ACDA*. (1947).p11. Also see Report by Senior Chaplain Nat. *Archives WAI DA 1/9/61*, 2.

¹⁴² Michael Underhill et al., "New Zealand Chaplains in the Second World War."p43.

¹⁴³ Glen, "New Zealand Army Chaplains at War, 2 NZEF 1939-1945".p134.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.p164

¹⁴⁵ Chaplain, "Report on Chaplaincy." *National Archives WAI DA 9/10/1*

In the Pacific the dynamics of chaplaincy work was quite different to that of North Africa. New Zealand troops were initially on garrison duty in Fiji, Tonga and Norfolk Island. In 1942 the 3rd Division was formed in Fiji, sent back to New Zealand for training and late in 1942 moved to New Caledonia. Units of the Division saw action on Vella Lavella (September 1943), the Treasury Group (October 1943), and Nissan Island (February 1944). In an environment that consisted of units or groups of men scattered across many islands, often jungle covered, chaplains were frequently isolated and had to operate quite independently, without the structure that had been developed for North Africa.

The 2NZEF Unit chaplain policy was implemented under the Senior Chaplain Rev. Keith Liggett. The approach to placing chaplains in units was much less driven by denominational concerns, as was the case in the Middle East, but rather who was suitable for the physical demands of the postings. Father John Pierce was the Senior Divisional Catholic chaplain and besides ministering to New Zealand soldiers, he liaised with the senior US chaplain in the area for his chaplains to minister to US troops who had no Catholic chaplain. Father Bill Ryan, for example, was attached to a General Hospital but worked the American Hospital, Divisional units and another Brigade besides.¹⁴⁶

The structure in the Pacific was much more fluid than in North Africa. When New Zealand troops were simply on garrisoning duties in early 1941, the Catholic chaplain needed to ask Bishop Liston to clarify the chaplain's responsibilities. 'What is my position, my Lord?'¹⁴⁷ Once the 3rd Division was formed and the experience of North Africa for the Chaplains Department was available, the chaplains had a process that worked for them. John Pierce described how the process of successfully changing his chaplains from being attached to a Battalion

¹⁴⁶ J C Pierce, "Letter to Liston April 1943," in *Liston Papers, Lis 111-2, ACDA*.

¹⁴⁷ Joseph Rodgers, "Letter to Liston (undated)," in *Liston Papers, Lis 111-2, ACDA*. (1941).

to Brigade Headquarters was handled with sympathy. This same issue 'was a vexed matter last year.'¹⁴⁸

The role of the Chaplain-Shepherd/Pastor

Perhaps the most significant image for the role of the military chaplain is that of shepherd. God will be the Good Shepherd (Ezekiel 34:11-31), Jesus as the Good Shepherd remains a scripturally powerful image. (1 Pet 5:1-2; Acts 20:28). Shepherd imagery is common throughout the Bible for political and religious leadership. Psalm 23 is the most famous and well known evocation of the shepherd. Because New Zealand's Military Chaplains were all volunteers, they chose to give up their ordinary routines and lifestyle and go to war as a non-combatant, with all of the uncertainty and danger, death and injury that came with that decision. Jesus is the Good Shepherd who knew and loved His sheep to the point of dying for them.¹⁴⁹ As shepherds they could expect to be in situations of real danger as that would be when their men needed them most. The term pastor applied to priests who had the cure of souls (*cura animarum*), that is, who were bound in virtue of their office to promote the spiritual welfare of the faithful by preaching and administering the sacraments and, if required, applying correction and direction.

When Chaplain Spring arrived in Egypt, his first task was to organize a building where mass could be heard by the troops who were in Maadi Camp. They were to ensure that the sacraments were available to Catholic soldiers and that no Catholic would suffer from a chaplain's failure to discharge that obligation. This agenda was the principal driver of their work. But coupled with the spiritual was the very clear obligation to provide for the welfare of the men, and as such chaplain-pastors needed to use a range of skills and abilities.

¹⁴⁸ Pierce, "Letter to Liston April 1943."

¹⁴⁹ Raymond E. Brown, Joseph A. Fitzmyer, and Roland E. Murphy, eds., *New Jerome Biblical Commentary* (London, 1991).p 1346.

As civilian-clergy they were one small part of the armed forces that were created out of a civilian population. New Zealand was a relatively homogeneous society, and within 2NZEAF the links between men and officers, who had often lived near each other and had overlapping networks of schooling, work and recreation, made for a close and understanding relationship.¹⁵⁰ Religious affiliation was often linked into those networks. Chaplains came from that same milieu which gave them the entrée into the comradeship that existed in 2NZEAF.

While those chaplains who went overseas with the first echelons had to learn 'on the job', they invariably had some precedent available to them as to what their role entailed. Memories of World War I were still relatively fresh, and for the various churches, the chaplains who served in that war 'had a strong influence within the Chaplaincy committees of most churches.'¹⁵¹ Monsignor Tom Connolly was the Senior Catholic Chaplain in New Zealand during World War II. He had served on a Hospital Ship and later with the 3rd New Zealand (Rifle) Brigade in France during World War I, and was awarded an OBE for his services. His sense of who would make a good chaplain was reflected in the length of service of many of the Catholic chaplains. Bishop Liston's predecessor, Bishop Henry Cleary had spent time at the front in France, while a chapel at the seminary at Holy Cross College Mosgiel had been dedicated to Father J. McMenamin, who was killed in France. A mentor for Jesse Kingan was Father Alex McDonald SM, another World War I chaplain.¹⁵² Father Michael Bleakley, who was Liston's appointment on the Chaplains Advisory Board, was another veteran. Other returned chaplains were active in the dioceses, so the priests who volunteered to go to war would have had known something of what was expected.

¹⁵⁰ John McLeod, *Myth & Reality. The New Zealand Soldier in World War II*. (Auckland, 1986).p166.

¹⁵¹ Glen, "New Zealand Army Chaplains at War, 2 NZEF 1939-1945".p69.

¹⁵² J. Q. Cameron, "A Tribute to Fr. Alex McDonald (undated)," in *MAW, Accession 277*.

Chaplaincy roles were both spiritual and pastoral. From the military point of view, chaplains were to attend to a number of functions including 'the Sunday services, baptisms, churchings, funerals, attending the sick in hospital and reading prayers with the convalescents, visiting soldiers under sentence in military prisons or detention barracks at least once a week,' and 'attending generally to the religious instruction and welfare of the officers and soldiers.'¹⁵³

Compulsory church parades were a military requirement for denominational public worship. The efficacy of compulsory parades was questioned by some chaplains, on the grounds that the compulsory nature rather militated against the voluntary involvement in the spirit of the service. Catholics were, in any event, separated from the main body of the parade and marched off for Mass.

In this regard the pastoral component became the area where Catholic and Protestant worked most closely together. The Catholics were not prepared to undertake the ecumenical journey that the other denominations were embarking upon in 2NZEF, but they had identical pastoral aims. Healing, guiding, sustaining and reconciling are common pastoral functions in Christian ministry.¹⁵⁴ Yet each of these functions was both very necessary and particularly difficult in the war zones and called upon all the chaplains to exercise particular skills in delivering them. In a sense the familiarity of a religious service, while often delivered to a congregation under trying or dangerous conditions, allowed for the spiritual benefits to serve a number of participants at the same time. When the Mass was over (*Ite, missa est*, the closing words of the Mass), it was over. But those pastoral demands often demanded much more of the chaplain. Individual problems and issues were articulated in an environment of constant danger and required the chaplain's skill to try and deal with them without affecting the soldier's ability to do his job.

¹⁵³, "The Kings Regulations(1935) Chaplains." See Appendix 1.

¹⁵⁴ Glen, "New Zealand Army Chaplains at War, 2 NZEF 1939-1945".p243.

The structure in which the Catholic chaplains worked differed from their Protestant colleagues. Unit chaplaincy assigned chaplains to particular units, whereas Catholic chaplains had, in effect, a roving commission. A Unit Chaplain in North Africa usually had an establishment of between 700 to 900 soldiers and, in ministering to them, was aided by the visiting Catholic chaplain who would in turn visit all the units which made up the Brigade.¹⁵⁵ During battle, Catholic chaplains were based with the medical units, but continued to visit in battle areas to provide the sacraments, often at considerable risk. Arriving in the front line in a vehicle kicking up dust did attract criticism as the unit's position could be revealed to the enemy. As Ted Forsman's brother Bill recalled a reaction to one of Ted's visits to a front line unit, "Here comes your brother, Bill, we love him you know, but tell the bastard to stay away".¹⁵⁶

In many ways the role of shepherd and servant were intertwined. Their specific responsibility was to provide spiritual leadership and guidance and by working as a Unit Chaplain or maintaining a constant round of visits, they were providing that leadership. Chaplains' secular authority was limited, but the Army recognized a level of religious authority that they, the Army, could not fulfil. Kings Regulations required the chaplains' active participation in both the religious instruction and welfare of the men, which implied they were to be both shepherd and servant. By being unarmed, yet involved, they exercised a passive non violent counterpoint to the violence of war.

Involvement was crucial to their role. Without it they could not expect to engage or sustain the soldiers. Religious services and rituals were one aspect of providing leadership, but they also needed to try and keep a moral leveling in the midst of the destruction and devastation. Jim Henderson in his book *Gunner Inglorious*, writes of action at Sidi Rezegh and how a padre hands out chocolate and asks the men if they would like to pray together?

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.p134.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.p533.

We look at one another. We read the answer in one another's eyes.
Toppie says: "We don't mind if we do, padre." So we kneel down among
the empty blackened shell-cases and from the rise ahead machine-guns
clatter like giant typewriters and from between my fingers I watch drifting
smoke from a burning truck as the padre and men say the Lords
Prayer.¹⁵⁷

Tending to the wounded and burying the dead was at once a pastoral ministry
and at the same time the work of servant and shepherd. These duties were the
most arduous, as

the chaplain did not set out to be a shining example of courage He found it
hard enough to find courage for his own routine duties. The regular visiting
of front-line positions demanded much physical strength and all the
physical courage he had, for unless he appeared calm and cheerful and
helpful when he arrived his visit was worse than useless. In addition to his
regular visiting the chaplain had to try to comfort the wounded in the
Regimental Aid Post, steeling himself to remain strong in the presence of
terrible wounds.¹⁵⁸

In dealing with the dead, the chaplain usually had to make the identification,
gather the identity disc and collect personal belongings, something their civilian
life had not prepared them for.¹⁵⁹ Again at Sidi Rezegh, another soldier noted in
his diary that in dealing with the casualties, 'Doctor Les, Padre Willis, the
orderlies and even the captured German Doctor worked until they were on the
point of collapsing.'¹⁶⁰

Burial was never easy. During the evacuation from Crete, forty men were
killed when a 500lb bomb hit the boiler room on HMAS Perth. The poor

¹⁵⁷ Jim Henderson, *Gunner Inglorious*, 2nd ed. (Wellington, 1945).p21.

¹⁵⁸ Michael Underhill et al., "New Zealand Chaplains in the Second World War."p57.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.p58.

¹⁶⁰ H R MacKenzie, *On Active Service, War Diary and Letters Home, World War Two 1939-1945*
(Wanganui, 1996).p55.

old Padre kept on reading the burial service, going over and over and over again until we got rid of the whole lot of them.¹⁶¹

Jesse Kingan's Advanced Dressing Station (ADS) was bombed and two machine gunners were killed. 'The first one I examined was Barney Mathews of New Plymouth, who had been at Mass and the sacraments just two days before.' He was an old boy of the college where Kingan had been a master.¹⁶² But chaplains, as with other soldiers, formed friendships outside of their immediate circle. Kingan recounted an event which killed his Commanding Officer and obviously a close friend. The incident emphasises the centrality of the sacraments in the Catholic chaplain's *modus operandi*.

....Twas on that night our first case was my CO Colonel Jan Peart DSO. As our chaps were going through a gap in the minefield Jerry simply plastered the area with mortars. Jan had gone to ground but a shell landed just near his head-he did not regain consciousness-a most skilful, experienced soldier lost to the Division & a most lovable & entertaining gentleman. I prayed harder for him that night than for anyone, probably because he was without the help the Sacraments give our Catholic boys....¹⁶³

When working in the Regimental Aid Post or Advanced Dressing Stations, the chaplain was part of the team who assessed incoming patients. But chaplains had to make a call as to where to spend their time, with the living or the dying and where the greatest need lay.¹⁶⁴ It was not unusual for the chaplain to assist with the assessment of the severity of the wound, work as nurse, bandage and comfort the wounded.¹⁶⁵ Owing to a 'generous and active spirit of co-operation which was such a marked characteristic of our hospitals', Catholic chaplains

¹⁶¹ Richard C. Begg and Peter H. Liddle, eds., *For five shillings a day, Experiencing War, 1939-45*. (London, 2000).p144.

¹⁶² Jesse Kingan, "Letters from Overseas," *Blue and White. The Magazine of St Pats College Silverstream*.(1942) *MAW Accession* 85.p36.

¹⁶³ Jesse Kingan, "Notes on photograph (undated)" in *MAW Accession* 81.

¹⁶⁴ Glen, "New Zealand Army Chaplains at War, 2 NZEF 1939-1945".p265.

¹⁶⁵ Walsh, "Catholic Chaplains of 2NZEF in M.E and C.M.F.(undated manuscript)."p8.

were permitted, in the case of Catholic casualties, to initial the medical ticket which was pinned to the patient's jacket. 'Thus "X", "C", and "H.C." indicated that the sacraments of Extreme Unction, Penance and Holy Eucharist had been received.' This practice was to give information to the next priest in the chain and avoid repetition.¹⁶⁶

The pressure was often intense. Jesse Kingan reports his Advanced Dressing Station 'put through over 800 cases in one hectic night when we were bombed' during August 1942.¹⁶⁷ Pressure was also in the dilemma of choosing who had the greatest need. As one chaplain recalled,

There was a burden of the priority of ministry. Who would live and who would die? You were one individual, there was need. Was it to the living or was it to the dying who were brought to the dressing stations? The chaplain had to make a decision regardless of friend or enemy.

Sometimes the medical officers could not be there, you were on your own, you did the bandaging, the nurses work. You were the only friend the poor bloke had, friend or enemy and could you let him down.¹⁶⁸

Yet the spirit of dealing with casualties in a non-judgmental manner was not always evident. There was always a percentage of men who described themselves as atheist, agnostic or declared no religion,¹⁶⁹ but they were usually considered a challenge for a clergyman. Many soldiers who acknowledged a religious affiliation were not active in terms of religious services, ('backsliders' as Catholic chaplains would refer to them), but it was exceedingly rare that Christian rites would be withheld on the grounds of a man's lack of vigorous church going.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.p12.

¹⁶⁷ Jesse Kingan, "Photograph and caption," in *MAW, Accession 81*.

¹⁶⁸ Glen, "New Zealand Army Chaplains at War, 2 NZEF 1939-1945".p265. Kingan formed a team with the 26th Battalion Doctor and YMCA Secretary whose 'friendliness, courage and devotion to duty as they cared for the spiritual and material needs of the men had a profound influence on the Battalion. The Official History recorded that 'Father Kingan was widely known and respected by all denominations in the 6th Brigade, in which he served with valour and distinction from the time he was posted to the 26th Battalion in 1941 till the day when he was seriously wounded in an Advanced Dressing Station in Italy.' Michael Underhill et al., "New Zealand Chaplains in the Second World War."p72.

¹⁶⁹ Headquarters, "Religious Denomination of 2NZEF Personnel as at 8/4/42."See Appendix 2.

One soldier records how his brother was refused a Christian burial by a hospital chaplain. Bill's death was accidental but '...there was an unseemly and hurtful refusal by the Hospital Padre to conduct a funeral service because Bill had flippantly described himself as an 'Atheist' on his official army papers. An unsuccessful meeting with Ted and brother Don to plead the case ended with the Padre storming out of the room.'¹⁷⁰

A number of chaplains voluntarily chose to accompany captured and wounded soldiers into captivity. This was a major act of faith and courage, testament to their understanding of the servant/shepherd role, especially given the very uncertain future. Four chaplains stayed behind with the wounded during the retreat from Crete and another two volunteered to go into captivity with a group of wounded soldiers captured during the battle of Sidi Rezegh in 1941. Bill Sheely was the only Catholic chaplain to be taken as a Prisoner of War. These men continued their ministry in the POW camps and were not released until 1945.¹⁷¹

Enemy Prisoners of War

The universality of Catholicism allowed Catholic chaplains to include prisoners of war in their ministry. Many captured German and Italian soldiers were Catholic and needed access to the sacraments, the provision of which New Zealand Catholic chaplains undertook as part of their responsibility. The common Latin based liturgy did allow a level of communication that didn't rely upon national language fluency, but having a command of German and Italian was useful. Ted Forsman and Francis Walsh were two of the New Zealand Catholic chaplains to speak both languages fluently. Protestant chaplaincy also exercised pastoral care in the POW camps.

¹⁷⁰ Sue Greenwood, *A Soldier's Journey, The Wartime Diary of Corporal E (Ted) Paul* (no date of publication). There were no page numbers, but the entry is part of a section of the book entitled 'History of Edward (Ted) Paul'.

¹⁷¹ These men were Rev Robert Griffiths, John Hiddlestone, Henry Hopkins, Walter Hurst, Robert McDowall and Fr. Bill Sheely.

Not that the POWs were always co-operative, according to an article in the 'Zealandia'. 'Father Forsman is catering for the spiritual needs of the German prisoners in a prisoner of war camp near him. There are only three hundred-odd Germans in this big Italian POW, but out of these one hundred and thirty are Catholics. Father Forsman's first interviews with them were rather fruitful, and it took him three hours to hear their Confessions. Since then, however, the devil has been at work: "You can go to Mass", says one ringleader," but no German can humble himself before a British officer."¹⁷²

Spiritual Wellbeing

Spiritual wellbeing would be the cornerstone of a chaplain's ability to sustain himself in the midst of war. 'It was essential the chaplain maintain this discipline for it kept him in touch with his God, it was his source of strength for the challenging physical and spiritual daily task.'¹⁷³ For Catholic chaplains, the disciplines involved in the maintenance of a robust spiritual life were learnt in the seminary when training for priesthood. At ordination priests took vows that required them to undertake daily devotional exercises that were commensurate with keeping in touch with God.

These daily obligatory spiritual requirements would have been second nature for the Catholic chaplains. Mass was said daily and that ritual in itself was an acknowledged source of spiritual strength. Jesse Kingan wrote that

Once Mass was offered I felt that I was ready for anything that might arrive; it also gave me great confidence that the Lord would care more for the lads, as well as inspire and direct the whole team aright. Mass has always been my war effort No.1; and I am profoundly grateful that I have so constantly been able to offer it.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷² "Catering for Spiritual Needs of POWs," *Zealandia*, 31/7/41.

¹⁷³ Glen, "New Zealand Army Chaplains at War, 2 NZEF 1939-1945".p335.

¹⁷⁴ Jesse Kingan, "From El Alemain to Tunis," *Blue and White -the Magazine of St Patrick's College, Silverstream (1943)* MAW Accession 85. p40.

Aside from the Mass, all Catholic priests were expected to read their Office daily, a vow they shared with Anglican ministers.¹⁷⁵ The military environment, at least in New Zealand, did not seem to cause any difficulty in maintaining these obligations, for despite the occasional lack of facilities, the priest could still maintain his obligations.

Retreats were a regular part of a priest's life. They were usually organized by the bishop, involved the priests in the diocese and lasted for two or three days. Often the bishop would bring in specialist preachers, such as the Jesuits, to conduct the retreat.¹⁷⁶ As a means of regenerating or strengthening spirituality, the retreat was not exclusive to Catholic chaplains and was used by clergy of other denominations as part of their spiritual refreshment.¹⁷⁷ Once overseas, Catholic chaplains organized their own retreats, often in the company of Catholic chaplains from other Allied troops in North Africa.¹⁷⁸ Retreats, chaplains' conferences and contact with churches and non military clergy in their areas were part of the means by which all chaplains dealt with the demands of chaplaincy. Conferences were an opportunity for all the chaplains to get to know one another and become friends, and at the same time deal with problems and issues that were more common than individual chaplains may have realized.¹⁷⁹

Military life demanded a considerable degree of self reliance and an inner strength, 'to be strong when others were weak.'¹⁸⁰ Most of the chaplains had been involved in parish work or taught at a school, and were able to work within routines that allowed for spiritual, religious and pastoral activities, often with the support of colleagues. In the Army, chaplains had to accept the army timetables and requirements and adapt accordingly. Frequently they were on their own, in

¹⁷⁵ Glen, "New Zealand Army Chaplains at War, 2 NZEF 1939-1945".p335.

¹⁷⁶ Reid, *James Michael Liston, A Life*.p187.

¹⁷⁷ Glen, "New Zealand Army Chaplains at War, 2 NZEF 1939-1945".p336.

¹⁷⁸ Jesse Kingan, "Letter to Father Alex McDonald," in *MAW* (Wellington, 1942), Jesse Kingan, "Letter to Father Alex McDonald 1/6/42," in *MAW, Accession 81*.

¹⁷⁹ Michael Underhill et al., "New Zealand Chaplains in the Second World War."p15.

¹⁸⁰ Glen, "New Zealand Army Chaplains at War, 2 NZEF 1939-1945".p337.

stressful situations and required to be 'Men of Faith and Courage'.¹⁸¹ One chaplain recalled that 'In the line or under battle conditions one was often dependent only on one's inner experience of response to the demands of often stressful situations.'¹⁸² In many ways the spiritual disciplines as a civilian cleric were even more imperative in the military, where self reliance was essential in the stresses of battle.

Facilities

When Leo Spring sought out a convenient building in which to say Mass for the New Zealand troops in the Maadi camp, he met the proprietor of the camp cinema, 'a Mr. Shafto and he kindly offered me the use of his building for church services on Sunday mornings.'¹⁸³ This building

was a cross between a circus tent and the community centre of a shanty town, a structure thrown together using all the scraps of timber, planks and poles he could lay his hands on. The roof and empty spaces around the walls were covered with a sort of cheap multi- coloured Egyptian cotton material. A more ramshackle and dilapidated structure you could never imagine. Extending out of an end wall was a hut built on raised poles, and this housed the two projectors.¹⁸⁴

Mass continued to be celebrated there throughout the war until New Zealand forces left the camp. Shafto's cinema was a well known landmark, and its association with Catholic worship coined it the name of the 'Latin Cathedral'.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸¹ Haigh, *Men of Faith and Courage. The Official History of the Royal New Zealand Chaplains Department*. This phrase is the title of the book.

¹⁸² Glen, "New Zealand Army Chaplains at War, 2 NZEF 1939-1945".p424, Q18:16.

¹⁸³ Leo Spring, "Letter from Egypt(extract undated)," in *MAW, Accession 81*. See Appendix 5 for a fuller description of Shafto's Cinema.

¹⁸⁴ John Johnston, *I Didn't Have a Choice* (Auckland, 2006).p187.

¹⁸⁵ Walsh, "Catholic Chaplains of 2NZEF in M.E and C.M.F.(undated manuscript)".p2.

In the small city of El Maadi, some two miles away from the camp, a German convent became 'the other spiritual home of the New Zealand Catholics in Egypt.' The nuns made all Allied soldiers welcome, but the New Zealand Catholics felt they occupied a 'special place in their affections'.¹⁸⁶ Leo Spring, as the first New Zealand Catholic chaplain began the relationship, and, besides looking after the priests vestments, the nuns hosted a range of religious ceremonies. Rosary and Benediction were said every Sunday afternoon followed by tea. On the major feast days, such as Corpus Christi, more solemn ritual and a procession would take place in the convent, usually with Allied Soldiers of many nationalities. The convent was particularly useful for baptisms and confirmation, especially for men who were being received into the Catholic Church, as the atmosphere was somewhat more conducive than a military camp.

In July 1942 a Catholic chapel was built in Maadi and, as Father 'Hec' Fletcher wrote 'The new chapel is a great asset here....It has "Catholic Chapel" written in huge letters across the façade which is rather as eyesore I'm afraid to other Denominations.'¹⁸⁷ This comment does not necessarily denote tensions between the denominations, but more likely to have reflected this priest's unease with the aesthetics of the sign.

Facilities for worship in the field were, of necessity, makeshift. When Leo Spring arrived he had no transport. He then got hold of an army motor cycle ('I had never ridden one in my life before and had always had an aversion to them').¹⁸⁸ As the size of the army increased and more chaplains arrived, other means of transport was requisitioned, begged, or borrowed. It became necessary to utilize the vehicle as an altar on which to say Mass if there was no tent or building available. Moving around the desert as the Catholic chaplains did, improvisation

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.p10.

¹⁸⁷ J J Fletcher, "Letter to A McRae 17/7/42.," in *Military Ordinariate World War II, History of Chaplaincy, WCDA*.

¹⁸⁸ Leo Spring, "Letter to V Geaney 14/4/40," in *MAW Accession 81*.

was essential. Protestant chaplains were faced with similar problems and solved them in much the same way. The pictorial record of the chaplaincy shows the different ways in which religious services were conducted and the ingenuity adopted to meet the need. One of the more popular photographs that the Catholic newspaper 'Zealandia' ran between 1939 and 1945 was that of Mass being said in unusual places. In the desert with a scattering of men around a chaplain and makeshift altar or with the altar set up on the tailgate of a truck and the priests saying Mass, these images would have given New Zealand readers assurance that Catholic soldiers were not being neglected. The front page photograph on the 4th February 1943 issue of *Zealandia* was of Father James Henley celebrating Mass in the desert on the eve of the El Alamein battle. The soldier who acted as altar server in that photograph identified himself in a letter home and wrote that

...The altar was set up in the shadow of a small truck, the canopy of which was rimmed with a halo of early sunshine, which as the priest knelt at the time of consecration, the shafts of light caught the gold edging of his white vestments.....and, surely, no cathedral dome could be a tithe as impressive or as beautiful as the sheer glory of the sky, blue above.¹⁸⁹

Confession was an integral part of the administration of the sacraments. Confession was a sacrament of the Catholic Church, where the penitent's confession and expression of contrition, made in the presence of a priest, were the outward signs of genuine contrition. The penitent then received God's forgiveness and grace.¹⁹⁰ Having soldiers in a state of grace allowed them to receive Holy Communion, which in turn was the provider of grace. If a soldier died in the state of grace, his entry into the presence of God was assured.

The hearing of confessions did not require much in the way of equipment. So long as the priest and the penitent could hear or understand one another, the

¹⁸⁹ "Mass in the Desert," *Zealandia*, 18/2/43.

¹⁹⁰ Bokenkotter, *Essential Catholicism, Dynamics of Faith and Belief*.p226.

sacrament could be completed. Leo Spring would hear confessions in his car. So when Catholic chaplains went into the field to say Mass, it would be preceded by Confession. Opportunities for Confession were regularly available in the Base areas, but the need to ensure the delivery of the sacraments on the front line meant improvisation. Jesse Kingan describes how it was done in the desert.

As often as possible when not in action, Fathers Forsman, Henley and I would meet together. From the group gathered for Confession, individuals would peel off and enter the bull ring. There before the whole world would three priests and three penitents pace up and down in three different directions setting things right with the Three Persons that count most in the lives of us all. This sort of behaviour was queried by non-Catholic soldiers, but after a while 'summarily dismissed with the casual remark, "Oh, the Doolans are at it again."¹⁹¹

¹⁹¹ Walsh, "Catholic Chaplains of 2NZEF in M.E and C.M.F.(undated manuscript)."p7.

Chapter Five

Coping with Significant Concerns

Morale and the Chaplain

Morale or *esprit de corps* has long been recognized as a defining component of success or failure in an army. It clearly has application outside of the military, where business or sports teams may well be affected by a failure to maintain a belief in the institution or goals or with one another. An army, especially a civilian army, needs an *esprit de corps* that shares a common goal and the collective confidence that the goal can be achieved. Combat is a highly stressful and dangerous situation and the ability of the individual, his unit and the army to cope, will in all likelihood, help determine the outcome. Morale is dependent upon coping.¹⁹²

Good morale is 'sustained by giving the soldier every possible assistance in combating his fears and stresses – for example, good food, sufficient rest, adequate welfare amenities, confidence in himself and his leaders, membership of a contented unit, and an understanding of what he is fighting for.'¹⁹³ The chaplain's role was in the application of the pastoral and spiritual skills to help combat those fears and stresses.

Kings Regulations directed the chaplains to provide religious instruction and welfare for officers and men, which in themselves are morale sustaining activities. But the chaplains were only one component of how an army maintained morale and their particular skills needed other aspects of military management in place to achieve that outcome. For 2NZEF one of those key aspects was in the leadership of their commander, Lieutenant-General Bernard Freyberg. John McLeod is of the view that Freyberg's most valuable contribution

¹⁹² McLeod, *Myth & Reality. The New Zealand Soldier in World War II*.p62.

¹⁹³ Ibid.p62.

to the New Zealand war effort was the maintenance of his men's morale.¹⁹⁴

Freyberg was described by one of his subordinates as 'kind, considerate, gentle, compassionate, always ready to listen, always approachable' and willing to face the dangers faced by his men.¹⁹⁵ He provided the type of leadership the men of the civilian army respected. He continued to visit the men, often small groups and in dangerous situations. Actions such as this showed his concern and helped maintain morale. Sir William Gentry, one of Freyberg's staff officers tells of such an occasion.

Gentry and Freyberg were visiting small groups working on a defensive position in the desert. They would stop at each one, and Freyberg would go over and talk to the men. At the conclusion of the conversation, he would ask the men if they had seen the latest copy of the NZEF Times. Invariably, the answer was no. Freyberg would then offer them his personal copy and call out to Gentry to bring over "his" newspaper. Gentry would take one off the top of the large pile in the back of the car and give it to the men.¹⁹⁶

The principal responsibility for maintaining good morale belonged to the officers and the senior NCOs. They managed the Unit and were 'on the spot' in terms of recognizing problems or issues and dealing with them, but New Zealand officers and NCOs received very little training in personnel management. They had to learn from daily experience and the demands of the battlefield.¹⁹⁷ Respect, usually earned in combat, was particularly important and in the early stages of the war there was considerable doubt about the skills of the officers. The 'Great New Zealand Clobbering Machine' tended to put overbearing officers in their place. New Zealand soldiers didn't have, in John Mulgan's words 'that automatic

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.p62.

¹⁹⁵ Ian McGibbon, ed., *The Oxford Companion To New Zealand Military History*. (Auckland, 2000),p183-4. Also John Tonkin-Covell 'Lieutenant General Bernard Freyberg: A Necessary Commander?' in Glyn Harper and Joel Hayward, eds., *Born To Lead, Portraits of New Zealand Commanders*. (Auckland, 2003).

¹⁹⁶ McLeod, *Myth & Reality. The New Zealand Soldier in World War II*,p81.

¹⁹⁷ Glen, "New Zealand Army Chaplains at War, 2 NZEF 1939-1945".p232.

discipline that never questions orders to see if they make sense.¹⁹⁸ Increasingly though, the officer cadre came to be drawn from the ranks when merit and the need to use the best men available became the condition for leadership.¹⁹⁹ While the military functioning didn't realistically allow for unmitigated egalitarianism across the ranks, there was still a 'kind of democracy of its own' in how 2NZEF operated, which tended to reflect the ideals of home.²⁰⁰ There was closeness between all the men of 2NZEF which enhanced battle efficiency and discipline but when that relationship became too relaxed, as it did in Italy, particularly after Cassino, those very qualities fell away as did the morale of the men. Morale did suffer after the losses in Greece and Crete, the second Libyan campaign and the static positions around Alamein in July –August 1942.

A recent study of combat endurance of German and British soldiers at the Western Front during World War I examines soldiers' mental coping strategies, and argues that for many soldiers survival was based upon deliberate self deception. The author argues that 'at the root of soldiers' resilience lay a number of perceptual filters and psychological strategies which presented them with a distorted, overly-optimistic but beneficial view of their surroundings and personal chances of survival.' In addition 'they displayed an amazing and, indeed, unrealistic level of optimism about their chances of survival.'

The study contends that the means by which a man assessed risk were crucial to both his mental and physical survival. Risk was underestimated by poorly trained recruits and, through ignorance, they exposed themselves unnecessarily to danger and death. Veterans, on the other hand, had sufficient experience to know of their own impotence in the scheme of things and were also inclined, through apathy or obsession with fear, to endanger themselves, vastly overestimating risk and suffering mental collapse. In order to achieve a balance between the extremes, coping strategies were essential to deal with the graphic

¹⁹⁸ Vincent O'Sullivan, *Long Journey To The Border* (Auckland, 2003).p244.

¹⁹⁹ McLeod, *Myth & Reality. The New Zealand Soldier in World War II*.p161.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.p165,169.

and destructive events. In both the British and German armies, men reinterpreted and confronted their fears through black humour, irony and sarcasm. By such means, they steered a middle way in their assessment of risk, recognizing danger without becoming overwhelmed by it.

This middle way in the risk assessment was not particularly realistic. Even experienced combatants were normally convinced that they would survive the horror of the trenches unscathed. Two phenomena appear to account for this largely unjustified belief. Firstly, soldiers used religion and superstition to impose sense and structure on their environment. Many believed that they were protected by a loving God. For others, the thought of such a figure behind the chaos gave some order and sense to the bloodshed, making it less threatening. The widespread adoption of amulets and rituals added further structure to the environment, as they placed in soldiers' hands the apparent means to determine their own fate. Secondly, the feelings of security these beliefs encouraged were furthered by men's own view of the front, which incorporated a strong optimistic bias. They eagerly identified the positive aspects of their situation, insisted that the war was coming to an end and believed that their own martial skill would ensure their survival in the interim. So equipped, they looked forward confidently to peace.

The study asks if the unrealistic optimism was justified. For new recruits it could be highly dangerous, but soldiers believed that optimism was crucial in the trenches; contemporaries remarked on how the closer men were to the line, the more cheerful they became. Psychological research supports this in that 'positive illusions . . . may be especially apparent and adaptive under circumstances of adversity, that is, circumstances that might be expected to produce depression or lack of motivation'. A close examination of First World War soldiers' optimistic attitudes suggests that they were, indeed, highly adaptive. Firstly, by imposing an imagined order on the frightening and unpredictable environment in which they operated, soldiers made it seem less

chaotic and threatening and provided themselves with a sense of security and empowerment crucial for mental health. Concentration on short-term risk not only gave a more positive prognosis for survival than cumulative risk calculations but, by encouraging soldiers to focus on immediate threat, probably also raised the likelihood of their leaving the trenches alive. Overestimation of personal control was similarly beneficial as it discouraged soldiers from sinking into a state of dangerous apathy by motivating them instead to interact with their environment and thus protect themselves. By lacking a truly objective sense of risk and of their surroundings, and instead embracing positive illusions, soldiers certainly protected themselves from mental strain, probably prolonged their life expectancy and remained willing to risk their lives despite danger and disempowerment. Human faith, hope and optimism, no less than cultural traits, discipline, primary groups and patriotism, explain why and how men were willing and able to fight in the horrendous conditions of the Western Front for four long and bloody years.²⁰¹

The findings of this study have application for the manner in which morale was maintained for 2NZEF and the chaplains' part in it. Although the conditions were quite different from the Western Front in WWI, the sense of resilience is much the same as is the sense of optimism. This optimism is reflected in the way descriptions of battle or skirmishes were reported. The tone minimizes the danger, which was very real but survivable. Describing the retreat from Greece, Gunner Neville Brewer played down the danger, '...and in battle too, I think our work was less dangerous than theirs, (infantrymen and machine gunners) although it should be mentioned that every driver (Brewer was a driver) was subject to attention from the enemy. Vehicles which were in the road, or hidden under trees in the field, were sought out by the enemy planes and dive-bombed and machine-gunned'.²⁰² In another letter to his mother, Brewer describes an

²⁰¹ Alex Watson, "Self-deception and Survival: Mental Coping Strategies on the Western Front, 1914-18," *Journal of Contemporary History* 41 (2006).

²⁰² Neville H Brewer, *The Soldier Tourist, A Personal Account of World War II* (Auckland, 1999).p110.

attack where 'one bullet entered the side window of my vehicle and went out through the other window. It nicked the back of my neck as it passed me'²⁰³

For Christian men, imposing a sense of structure on their environment by their belief in a protective God was consistent with their sense of belief. So, in a sense the following report in the *Zealandia* of 4 September 1941 was not surprising.

Whilst at Mass on Sunday last (the church was crowded) we had a wonderful experience, in so far as showing our trust in God, and any expression of our faith (writes a member of the NZEF in the Middle East). Just at the Canon of the Mass we heard the drone of planes and a warning which would at other times cause most, if not all, of us to take cover. At the Elevation, the candles on the altar were snuffed out by the blast of bombs nearby, and just prior to that at the Sanctus, it was difficult to hear to hear the bells owing to the noise of anti-aircraft fire and other noises.....At the Communion as we were at the rails, it was starting up afresh and it was wonderful to witness the whole congregation receive the Blessed Sacrament, feeling quite at ease and ready for anything to happen, come what may. When the priest came down to say a few words to us, he was exalted and when he said he was proud to have the honour of ministering to us, one could see it in his eyes and flushed face, and I can tell you I felt proud too, and wanted to poke my chest out. Not one man left that church, and it wasn't easy to stay there when there was a shelter twenty yards from the front door.²⁰⁴

Optimism about survival was also assessed in terms of the chances of being hit by bullets, shells or bombs. The World War I study revealed that the soldiers' knowledge of the relative inaccuracy of the weaponry lent itself to considerable optimism. A similar sense of optimism was evident among the New Zealand troops. Jesse Kingan reported after an air raid 'It is a revelation how much

²⁰³ Ibid.p125.

²⁰⁴ "Letters from our Soldiers Overseas," *Zealandia*, 4/9/41.

dangerous stuff can fly round without anyone being hurt' and on another occasion 'Strange as it may seem, despite the bombing, ground-strafting and the rain of infernal fireworks, I didn't see a thing set alight.'²⁰⁵ The underplaying of the danger, the 'positive illusions', with the use of black humour, irony and sarcasm was also evident in the New Zealanders.

Our boy friends [*Germans*] have called on us this morning. First we had several bombers which did their best to bash up the guns (ours and others). Then the ME 109s which apparently had been escorting them dived down and let us have a few bombs which they were carrying. Their luck was not in....²⁰⁶

It would not be an exaggeration to suggest that most of the personal accounts, as opposed to biographies or accounts of battles, of life in 2NZEF are a mixture of humour, irony, praise (for their comrades), complaint, disgust, and a considerable sense of pride in the Division. In a letter home one veteran soldier is at pains to point out that he is not 'fed-up with constant traveling and years in the army. ... We have quite a good time.'²⁰⁷

If Freyberg's most valuable contribution to the war effort was the maintenance of his men's morale, then his chaplains were an important link in the chain of responsibility. In a sense all their work, both religious and pastoral, was directed towards maintaining morale amongst the soldiers. Chaplains gave public and private reassurance of the potential for divine intervention in the lives of the men. For some that would have restated what they had always believed, while for others it would have helped provide an assurance of some meaning behind the chaos. When Jesse Kingan walked slowly along the start line where hundreds of soldiers silently waited for the order to attack El Alamein 'he touched each soldier, without exception, on the shoulder saying 'God bless you my boy'. This

²⁰⁵ Kingan, "Letters from Overseas." pp29, 35.

²⁰⁶ Brewer, *The Soldier Tourist, A Personal Account of World War II*. p147.

²⁰⁷ Ibid. p162. We get enough food –the life is healthy and the weather is good. We get a swim in now and again and we have a lot to be thankful for. And when planes come down like meteors in a trail of flames and sparks or when trucks go up in flames and ammo bursts all over the place we see some sights.

action, aside from its powerful spirituality, was undeniably linked to the maintenance of morale, since each soldier was commended to God's care, none excluded. It was also an act of sustenance, a sense of strengthening the soldiers' ability to face the battle. 'For many dozens of men that evening it proved to be the last words of spiritual comfort before their death.'²⁰⁸

Comradeship, the determination not to let down his mates and the confidence that they would not let him down, was the glue that sustained New Zealand soldiers in combat during World War II.

Men who were fighting alongside their fellows from their own town, alongside men who will remember their success or failure throughout the rest of their lives, have strong incentives to do their best. You cannot let a man down if you are going to meet him in the street every remaining day of your life.²⁰⁹

Within the Unit, small intimate groups formed which became the backbone of the Unit. Whether a gun crew or a rifle section, these were the men the soldier was most close to and would rely upon. Chaplains were attuned to the sense of common endurance that made comradeship so effective. Kingan recalled during the Battle of Takrouna how

Nights of repeated attacks, days of vigilant watching and ceaseless battering from the artillery of an enemy making his last frantic stand made life a hell for the boys who simply had to hold on. Utter fatigue, hunger and thirst, the filth that necessarily attends hard work and the inability to change clothes for days on end, the constant danger and anxiety that such circumstances bring-all these together would seem sufficient to break the spirit of any man. I never cease to marvel at the magnificent doggedness and sticking power our chaps reveal.²¹⁰

²⁰⁸ Glen, "New Zealand Army Chaplains at War, 2 NZEF 1939-1945".p363.

²⁰⁹ McLeod, *Myth & Reality. The New Zealand Soldier in World War II*.p 65.

²¹⁰ Kingan, "From El Alemain to Tunis."p41.

Why morale remained high is possibly best summed up by John Mulgan's 'lapidary assessment' of the New Zealanders in the desert. Mulgan had been born in New Zealand and, having lived in England for some years, had joined an English Regiment, which had operated and trained with the New Zealand Division.

They were mature men, these New Zealanders of the desert, quiet and shrewd and skeptical. They had none of the tired patience of the Englishman, nor that automatic discipline that never questions orders to see if they make sense. Moving in a body, detached from their homeland, they remained quiet and aloof and self-contained. They had confidence in themselves, such as New Zealanders rarely have, knowing themselves as good as the best the world could bring against them, like a football team in a more deadly game, coherent, practical, successful.

It seemed to me, meeting them again, friends grown a little older, more self-assured, hearing again those soft, inflected voices, the repetitions of slow, drawling slang, that perhaps to have produced these men for this one time would be New Zealand's destiny. Everything that was good from that small, remote country had gone into them—sunshine and strength, good sense, patience, the versatility of practical men. And they marched into history.²¹¹

²¹¹ O'Sullivan, *Long Journey To The Border*.p244.

The Moral and the Spiritual

Moral standards and behavior have always been severely tested in wartime. The expectations about how New Zealand's soldiers conduct themselves while fighting a war in another country tended to be optimistic. The image of the New Zealand soldier was, in the newspapers, always positive as were the achievements of the 2NZEF. New Zealand's newspapers and magazines were closely censored.²¹² A former war correspondent noted there had been a rosy censorship and a style of presenting official "news" which makes it appear that everything is elaborately right and perfect with the most perfect of all divisions, no-one ever laughs, no-one ever cries, no-one ever grumbles and no-one ever dies.²¹³

Given that soldiers needed to let off steam, especially after a spell of front-line service, they tended to drink too much grog, run wild, break furniture, fight with one another, other nationalities and the military police and seek out sexual partners without much discrimination and infected with venereal disease.²¹⁴ This attitude was understood, and as one chaplain reported, a leave

with the big fat wads that most have in their pay books, itching to be blown in the place that gets the Kiwis for leave will certainly know all about it, and what furniture remains unbroken in the local place of amusement, I should say, would not be of great value. The taste of beer after nine months is not going to be without its consequences'

He considered that the local merchants could afford a few breakages as they didn't very well out of the New Zealand soldiers.²¹⁵

²¹² Jock Phillips, ed., *New Zealand celebrates victory*, Kia Kaha, New Zealand in the Second World War (Auckland, 2000).p303

²¹³ McLeod, *Myth & Reality. The New Zealand Soldier in World War II*.p14.

²¹⁴ *Ibid*.p120.

²¹⁵ J J Fletcher, "Letter A McRae 24/ 4/43.," in *Military Ordinarate, World War II History of Chaplains. WACA*. (Wellington).

But it was also realised that promiscuous behaviour was likely to occur. One Catholic chaplain, in writing to a friend, knew that, on leave 'a rather large percentage of whom unfortunately, are sure to 'poke' fairly regularly!'²¹⁶

Military chaplains were expected to show high standards in terms of personal behaviour, consistent with their calling. Authority and respect was earned, usually by the extent of their involvement with the men, and each chaplain had to learn how to respond to those occasions when moral issues arose.

Prostitution looting and other acts of problematic behaviour continued throughout the war, but most chaplains avoided direct moral censure.²¹⁷ The willingness not to censure reflected a maturing of chaplaincy practice. They were generally older men who had been involved in parish work for a number of years and as such they had some experience of pastoral work before the army. But their exposure to the vicissitudes of war did temper the urge to judge when balanced against the danger of battle and what the men went through. One Catholic chaplain who voiced moral censure was considered unsuitable by a colleague.²¹⁸ This colleague had been attached to a General Hospital and in his correspondence with a friend during the war years, voiced no opinion of those men who were being treated for venereal disease.

That is not to say that sexual indiscretions or other 'sins' were in any way acceptable, but given the realities of war and the manner in which other moral values had been overturned, 'life, comradeship and sacrifice were more important'.²¹⁹ Killing was part of the business in the Armed Services in wartime and Christian values needed to be sustained in spite of the death and destruction. In these circumstances, litanies of moral or social sins, which had

²¹⁶ J J Fletcher, "Letter to A McRae 21/7/41," in *Military Ordinariate, World War II History of Chaplains, WACA*.

²¹⁷ Glen, "New Zealand Army Chaplains at War, 2 NZEF 1939-1945", p331.

²¹⁸ J J Fletcher, "Letter to A McRae 7/3/43," in *Military Ordinariate, World War II History of Chaplains, WACA*.

²¹⁹ Glen, "New Zealand Army Chaplains at War, 2 NZEF 1939-1945", p334.

relevance in New Zealand, had little relevance in war zones. Chaplains themselves realized that good men were those who gave their all in terms of their comrades and the job to be done in the front line. 'Greater love than this no man hath than that he lay down his life for his friends' (John 15:13) was the text Jesse Kingan used for his Anzac Day sermon to 26 Battalion in 1941 and in it he exhorts the men to persevere in spite of the 'frightful scourge' of war. "Yet war reveals & in many ways, even makes the man. In it are made manifest many of the highest and most inspiring qualities to which the human soul can aspire".²²⁰ Chaplains strove to keep a moral compass, trying to separate the Christian values from the violence and destruction of war.

When the Allies reached Tripoli in January 1943, General Freyberg asked the chaplains to give special attention to the subject of prostitution. Tripoli had been the Axis base in North Africa and the rates of disease were particularly high. The chaplains did not consider that it should be the subject of sermons on Church parades and' it was felt that a clear-cut statement of the fundamentals of the Christian faith, not ethical lectures, was the best answer to moral problems'. Doctors were better placed to warn of the risks associated with prostitutes. Chaplains were to be given time in the weekly schedule to talk to the men. In agreeing to this, the Division ushered in what was later to become the 'Padres Hour'.²²¹

On a more practical level Chaplain J T Holland organized a debate on prostitution which had two teams of soldiers, with a doctor and chaplain providing technical expertise.²²² The Padres Hour and other initiatives seemed to have worked until 1945 in Italy. During the last months of the war 'there was an appalling increase in the numbers affected by venereal disease,' a rate that was,

²²⁰ Jesse Kingan, "Sermon Anzac Day 1941," in *MAW, Accession 81*.

²²¹ Michael Underhill et al., "New Zealand Chaplains in the Second World War," p70.

²²² Ibid.p49. Issues debated were not restricted to those of morality. H. R. MacKenzie recalls 'I have looked back on notes that I made about the affirmative and negative aspects of religious instruction in schools. These were made originally at the Padre's suggestion as the basis of an open debate where the teachers were to argue the negative aspects and the Padre defend the affirmative.' MacKenzie, *On Active Service, War Diary and Letters Home, World War Two 1939-1945*.p181.

in one month ten times as high as that for British troops. Although one medical officer considered that the attractiveness of the women and failure to use 'precautions' were partly to blame, the Senior Medical Officer considered there was inadequate discipline and moral laxity of the troops in an area so beset with sexual opportunities.²²³

In some ways Catholic soldiers had a particular advantage in terms of their behaviour, namely with the sacrament of penance. They could confess their 'sins', receive a penance from the priest and so long as their contrition was sincere, they were free of sin. This was not, as might have been perceived, a licence to 'sin' again with impunity, but rather a sacramental process by which the 'grace' that came with absolution strengthened the penitent to avoid sin in the future.

For Catholic chaplains, confession was an essential component of their men's spiritual behaviour. All Catholics knew that whatever was said in confession stayed in the strictest confidence, so no 'sin' was too great to confess. But, as part of the process, the confessor-priest would give the penitent comment on the moral aspects of the 'sin'. If the issue was sex, it might be to do with the Church's teaching, if 'too much grog', the responsibilities of moderation. Confession was a chance to reinforce proper behaviour in an environment where norms the soldiers knew at home were absent, to remind the man of his spiritual and temporal duties. Public reminders, by way of a sermon, made sure the Church's teaching on 'sin' were reinforced. Kingan told his listeners that '...mortal sin is the most hellish, the most stupid, the most treacherously and basely ungrateful thing that we can be capable of. By serious sin we are lunatics enough to tell the Almighty Omnipotent God to clear off, to get out....'²²⁴.

²²³ T. Stout, Duncan, M., "New Zealand Medical Services in Middle East and Italy," in *Official History of New Zealand in the Second World War 1939-45*, ed. Sir Howard Kippenberger (Wellington, 1956).p684.

²²⁴ Jesse Kingan, "Sermon (date unknown)," in *MAW, Accession 81*.

Making an issue of minor things such as swearing was only ever going to have a temporary effect. The Presbyterian Chaplain Stanley Read recalled that he only once gave a sermon on bad language in his five years overseas.

I was never keen on ticking the fellows off in a sermon, but one Sunday I took each of the more common words as text. Several came to me afterwards and agreed that swearing was a senseless habit. That evening as the plonk began to produce the usual songs, I noticed that "Bless them all" was vigorously adhered to. For once the usual imprecation was forgotten and as I lay in my bivvy tent I was proud of my influence which had lasted for 12 hours!²²⁵

Chaplains frequently had to deal with the aftermath of the 'Dear John' letters. Men received letters from New Zealand telling of broken engagements or unfaithfulness which caused considerable grief. In the Pacific the Rev Kenneth Liggett, concerned about the numbers of such letters being received by the men, wrote to the Archbishop of New Zealand (Anglican) asking the church to appeal to the women of New Zealand to consider the hardships their men had to undergo. Liggett, as Senior Chaplain in the Pacific, wrote on behalf of all chaplains. He made the point that contact with home for the men was very important and urged 'some of the girls consider their responsibilities, especially the married girls.'²²⁶ One chaplain was reported as handling fifteen cases and Liggett felt that there were many more occasions the chaplains did not hear about.

The Archbishop wrote a draft statement to all the churches asking for their support, which was readily given. Archbishop O'Shea urged that the statement be sent to the newspapers, because in his view 'if the evil is not checked it will nullify any victory, no matter how complete'. It was couched in terms of how much

²²⁵ Haigh, *Men of Faith and Courage. The Official History of the Royal New Zealand Chaplains Department*.p141.

²²⁶ Kenneth Liggett, "Letter to Archbishop of New Zealand (Anglican) 13/5/43.," in *Military Ordinariate, World War II #386, WACA*.

the soldiers rely upon news from home, that unfaithfulness was tantamount to cruelty and betrayal and that the women at home played a large part in the success of the campaigns. But the appeal was also about the future. 'Every home broken up by heartlessness and disloyalty is going to prove a defective part in the new order which we hope to build after the war.'²²⁷

Entertainment for the troops was a welcome event and concert parties regularly visited and gave performances. The programme was usually a series of skits, song and dance routines and stand up comedy. It was often bawdy and risqué, in the tradition of the Music Hall, but there were limits. The Kiwi Concert Party shows were very popular, and 'they did not rely on smutty jokes to get laughs from the men.'²²⁸ The '*Catholic Soldier*' periodical asked Catholic soldiers to protest whenever shows crossed the boundary of indecency or were of 'a beastly and horrible nature.'²²⁹ This objection to 'over the top' material did, in the opinion of one chaplain, show that the average soldier had a scale of values and a moral tone that was expressed when 'some hundreds of Kiwi lads attending aConcert Party began to boo when one item was considered indecent.' Another chaplain recalled that 'Conspicuously there was the RC padre who would walk out in faith at times of entertainment.'²³⁰

Welfare

The Kings Regulations made welfare a specific obligation for the chaplains and how they managed that role was part of evolution of their wider responsibilities within 2NZEF. The direct provision of comforts and amenities lay with the agencies contracted to do so, and the chaplaincy provided welfare to the soldiers

²²⁷ Archbishop Ward-Watson, "Draft statement from Anglican Archbishop to O'Shea 1943," in *Military Ordinariate, World War II* #386, WACA. See Appendix 4 for a extract taken from Judith Fyfe, ed., *War Stories Our Mothers Never Told Us*. (Auckland, 1995). This extract considers some of the issues that faced women in New Zealand during the war, including the 'American invasion' and its impact..

²²⁸ Brewer, *The Soldier Tourist, A Personal Account of World War II*, p168.

²²⁹ "'Beastly' shows for Troops denounced by General " *Catholic Soldier*, May 1943.

²³⁰ Glen, "New Zealand Army Chaplains at War, 2 NZEF 1939-1945".p 426;Q17, p427;Q18.

in conjunction with those agencies and as a ministry. Welfare was a contribution to good order of the armed services.

The YMCA held the pre-eminent position in terms of the provision of welfare in 2NZEF. The Church Army and to a lesser extent the Salvation Army were involved, but the international, interdenominational character of the YMCA and its dedicated staff gave it a special affection amongst the soldiers.²³¹ Men from these welfare organizations were credited with the continual provision of comforts during every campaign. The chaplains were deeply indebted to these men and the organisations for which they worked.²³²

From the beginning of the war, the Catholic authorities in New Zealand were concerned for the welfare of their young men in the Armed Services. Early co-operation with the YMCA allowed the use of their facilities for religious services, and the establishment of Catholic Services Welfare was an attempt to engage civilian Catholics to assist with the welfare of their men.²³³

Welfare ministry was, quite simply, reacting to the needs of their men and was inexorably linked to the chaplain's pastoral and spiritual roles. 'Whoever gives you a cup of water to drink because you bear the name of Christ' (Mark 9:41) expressed the spirit of this ministry. In 2NZEF effective welfare was the combination of chaplain and the YMCA and Church Army men who worked the various tents, trucks and huts. These agencies ran canteens, provided accommodation in leave destinations, and social centres where the men could get away from the army for a while. Hot tea and biscuits, fruit, cigarettes, chocolate were available at the front, often from a tent or truck with a staff of one. YMCA secretaries or the Church Army officer would collect and distribute the mail, which according to a senior officer, 'there is no element of welfare so potent

²³¹ Ibid.p215.

²³² Michael Underhill et al., "New Zealand Chaplains in the Second World War."p32.

²³³ Catholic Soldiers Welfare Committee, "Draft Charter (undated)."

as the prompt and frequent receipt of letters'.²³⁴ They were sports officers, choir masters, librarians and organizers of religious activity, especially if the unit chaplain was unavailable. Criticism of YMCA secretaries was rare and their assistance to chaplains renowned.²³⁵

The spirit of providing comfort to the troops was evident in the actions of the chaplains and in a tribute to Leo Spring, a soldier recalled

....that the capture and death of so many of his lads was a hard blow to Father and he immediately started to organise for the comfort of the men who were left on Crete and Greece. He thought of a scheme where his men could leave a few piastres behind after church and he, by methods best known to himself, bought and dispatched to the prisoners parcels and sundry comforts. His aptitude for coming by and acquiring anything the lads wanted was fabulous. He never went empty handed from the ration dumps after any of his periodic visits. Tea, milk, sugar, all went into the back of his car to be distributed to the hospitals and to any Kiwi he met who looked as if he could do with a mug of tea. The writer had the pleasure of watching Father valiantly trying to get a bag of sugar into the back of his always over laden car and trying to appear as if he was not there....²³⁶

Catholics in New Zealand generally had a tolerant attitude to liquor and gambling. Some other churchmen considered them a prime social evil.²³⁷ But for a chaplain to remain close to his men and maintain a credible presence, some parochial issues needed to be put to one side. Distasteful as it may have been

²³⁴ Stevens, "Problems of 2NZE."p253.

²³⁵ Glen, "New Zealand Army Chaplains at War, 2 NZEF 1939-1945".p216.

²³⁶ "Obituary- Leo Spring," *Tablet*, 20/11/68 1968.

²³⁷ Glen, "New Zealand Army Chaplains at War, 2 NZEF 1939-1945".p574. It was virtually an unwritten rule that Salvation Army Officers (chaplains), Baptists, Methodist, Churches of Christ, and a number of Presbyterian chaplains would be non-drinkers. Some clergy of the 1940 period did not approve of dancing, or card playing. Gambling of any description was unknown among Other Protestants. The liberal attitude towards alcohol which RC chaplains appeared to tolerate was distasteful to many Protestant clergy of the time. The "signing of the pledge" for a life of teetotalism was a significant influence within the bible class movement of the 1930s.

for some, the attitude of the senior military command was tolerant towards drinking and gambling. In North Africa, Cairo saw the most trouble as New Zealanders' lack of moderation when alcohol was involved led to acts of 'bravado or sheer stupidity' which would not have occurred if sober. The beer bar alongside the New Zealand Forces Club in Cairo became somewhat like 'the Friday night swill in a New Zealand pub.' Its notoriety reached New Zealand and brought calls from temperance and religious organisations there for it to be closed down. One of the 'authorities' who advised the Dunedin Council of Christian Congregations of drinking problems was a 'chaplain who had returned to New Zealand on account of 'constitutional emotional instability.' But General Freyberg was of the view that it was better to have the men in area where they could, to an extent, be controlled rather than going to the undesirable parts of Cairo. He rejected calls, including some from of his senior officers for its closure, on the grounds that 95% of the men didn't cause trouble and it was a case of the minority spoiling it for the majority. Among Freyberg's senior officers, the field staff wanted it kept open while the Base staff voted for closure. Its closure would, it was believed, effect morale and only transfer trouble elsewhere in Cairo.²³⁸

Catholic chaplains had no difficulty in accepting alcohol as being part of military life and recognising its benefits. One wrote that 'I never travel far without spirits; I find they work wonders in mellowing & jollyng-up chaps a little afraid of facing the barrier...' ²³⁹ During the Tunisian campaign Jesse Kingan using his ability to speak French made contact with some French priests in a North African town and discovered a supply of wine.

We tasted and commented very favourably on the vintage- a couple of my companions were so in love with the cheering fluid that in true Kiwi fashion they were quaffing it as though it were nut-brown ale. I sensed trouble; got the lads to empty out the six two gallon water tins on the car and a

²³⁸ McLeod, *Myth & Reality. The New Zealand Soldier in World War II*.pp127-128.

²³⁹ Kingan, "Letter to Father Alex McDonald."

couple of four gallon Jerry cans, and....filled the lot. Needless to say, we were very popular members of the NZEF on our return –laughter and song rang out into the evening air both at the LAD (our Workshops section with the Brigade) and at the ADS, where we had callers with an expectant look in their eye for some days (mostly evenings) to come. That was a light interlude.²⁴⁰

In the Pacific, Wilf Ainsworth was the first RNZAF Catholic chaplain to go to the front. On his journey to Forward Base, he writes 'My personal luggage was light comprising one kit bag, my Mass outfit in a leather case, and 14 cases of whiskey for the Squadrons at Santos and Guadacanal.'²⁴¹ Alcohol was used to help aircrew after a mission. Ainsworth and the Squadron Doctor would take aside any crew members showing signs of distress and administer a "B&B" (a double brandy followed by a beer), which 'apparently it did wonders and helped settle those whose nerves had become very frayed.'²⁴²

One of the characteristics common amongst many of the chaplains was a sporting ability. As player, referee or organizer, it was a particularly good means of communication with the men. Sport has been promoted as a means of sustaining morale, keeping troops occupied and helping with fitness and skills by the military and impromptu games began wherever there was space.²⁴³ After the disasters of Greece and Crete, General Freyberg instituted sports events as a means of getting the men competitive again. Rugby was regarded as character building, given its bodily contact, aggression and team focus and the Freyberg Cup was the premier trophy for inter-unit competition.²⁴⁴ Athletics, swimming cricket and race meetings were all part of the sporting agenda. Most chaplains,

²⁴⁰ Jesse Kingan, "From El Alemain to Tunis," *Blue and White -the Magazine of St Patrick's College, Silverstream* (1943) *MAW Accession* 85 (1943).p40.

²⁴¹ W Ainsworth, "Untitled narrative of wartime service with RNZAF in the Pacific," in *MAW, Accession* 85.p1.

²⁴² Wally Ingham, *The Avengers. Historical Record of No.30 (Bomber) Squadron & Servicing Unit, Royal New Zealand Air Force 1943-44.* (Wellington, 1990).p65.

²⁴³ McGibbon, ed., *The Oxford Companion To New Zealand Military History*.p506.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid*.p426.

estimated at 70% by a senior officer, took an active part organizing unit sports meetings.²⁴⁵

Jesse Kingan had been sports master at St. Pats College, Silverstream and gained a quite prominent sporting role in 2NZE. He coached the 26 Battalion rugby team and 'welded it into a fine side', referred the final between the Maori Battalion and Divisional Signals. 'Father Kingan was consigned by the Maori spectators to a country much warmer than Tripoli for penalising Maori offside play, and one of the consequent free kicks had gone over the bar.'²⁴⁶ He refereed the Kiwi-Springbok game in Bagush Box just before the 1941 action. He was also an official, together with Joe Henley, at the Divisional Athletics Championships. Leo Spring had been an active horseman and boxer. He was involved in army boxing, rode at a race meeting in Cairo and organized a number of donkey races in the desert.²⁴⁷ Ted Forsman was an active cricketer who, as a curate prior to the war, evaded his Bishop's ruling against participating in competitive sport by playing under a pseudonym.²⁴⁸ He played and coached cricket in 2NZE. The chaplains' willingness to be included in the general welfare of the men was significant and contributed to the level of rapport with the troops.

Sport's efficacy was universally accepted, but not at any price. During action against the Italians towards the end of 1940, a gold cup had been taken as booty by 'someone at Brigade H.Q.' The cup was named the 'Graziani Cup' and presented to the winners of a football match. Leo Spring heard of it and suspected that it was a Catholic chalice, consecrated for use in the Mass and taken from an Italian chaplain. He discovered that it was a chalice and 'offered to replace it with anything they like if they will hand it over to me.'²⁴⁹ He managed to recover the item and replaced it with another cup, which he purchased himself. An Italian family living in Helwan paid to have the cup restored, and the Apostolic

²⁴⁵ Glen, "New Zealand Army Chaplains at War, 2 NZEF 1939-1945".p577.

²⁴⁶ J. F Cody, "28 (Maori) Battalion.," in *Official History of New Zealand in the Second World War 1939-45*, ed. Howard Kippenberger, Sir (Wellington, 1956).p255.

²⁴⁷ Glen, "New Zealand Army Chaplains at War, 2 NZEF 1939-1945".p578.

²⁴⁸ Reid, *James Michael Liston, A Life*.p192.

²⁴⁹ Leo Spring, "Letter to Family 1940.," in *MAW, Accession 81*.

Delegate who, when visiting the Italian Prisoners of War, consecrated the restored chalice.²⁵⁰

One of the features of welfare for men of 2NZEF was the reunion. That could range from a 1942 dinner in Cairo for bank tellers from Dunedin to school reunions.²⁵¹ Leo Spring records a reunion of men from the Napier area at the Maadi Recreation Tent in February 1941. He had been a curate in Napier and knew many of the soldiers. There was a concert, impromptu speeches and messages recorded for replaying back in New Zealand. 'It was a great afternoon.'²⁵²

For Catholic chaplains the reunion was exercise in the welfare of Catholic soldiers. School reunions and Holy Name reunions were, for the chaplains, an important factor for in Catholic identification and keeping together the network of school old boys. The *Zealandia* reports on a 1941 'Reunion In War Zone-Sacred Heart Old Boys in Cairo'. The article was about pride in their College. It was written by Lieutenant W S Jordan, who some years after the war entered the priesthood. Mass was celebrated by Bill Sheely, who was an Old Boy, and he spoke of the superior education received from the Marist Brothers and because of that education, they were obliged to practice their religion under any circumstances.²⁵³ Old Boys of St. Bede's, St Pats College, Wellington and St Pats Silverstream had a reunion lunch in July 1942. Jesse Kingan addressed the gathering and spoke of the pride he had 'because you have proved in action, beyond all shadow of doubt, that you really are the men your college aimed at helping you to be'. Harry Taylor, the Anglican chaplain to the Divisional Cavalry

²⁵⁰ Leo Spring, "Letter to his sister 17/2/41.," in *MAW, Accession 81*.

²⁵¹ John MacGibbon, ed., *Strauns War, Battleground, Recreation and Sightseeing in North Africa 1941-44 in the Photographs and Diaries of New Zealand Division Gunner Straun MacGibbon*, (Wellington, 2001).p47.

²⁵² Leo Spring, "Letter to his sister 17/2/41.," in *MAW, Accession 81* (1941). Spring wrote that Bishop Gerard, at a moments notice, asked him to say a few words for broadcast back to New Zealand. He forgot to send greetings to everyone he wanted to and asked to be forgiven for the oversight.

²⁵³ "Reunion In War Zone-Sacred Heart Old Boys in Cairo," *Zealandia*, 7/8/41.

Regiment, also spoke 'very beautifully to the lads on their great good fortune in having been educated at a church school.'²⁵⁴

²⁵⁴ Kingan, "From El Alemain to Tunis."pp35-36.

Chapter SixReligious Worship in 2NZEF.

In War the soldier and God are well sought. In peace neither are cared for. (Anon. Military proverb)

'After being an agnostic from the age of ten, I'd started saying my prayers again—there's nothing like mortal danger for putting you in the mood; as Voltaire observed, it's no time to be making enemies.' George MacDonald Fraser's WW II experience as a young soldier in the Fourteenth Army in Burma.²⁵⁵

The place of religion

Religion was the least talked about factor that sustained New Zealanders in combat. The lack of overt religious discourse did not necessarily mean an irreligious army, rather a reflection of the manner by which religion was practised in New Zealand. 'It was not something that is openly discussed in New Zealand society'.²⁵⁶ Many of the men would have encountered some formal Christian teaching as children either at Protestant Sunday Schools or religious education at Catholic schools.²⁵⁷ In New Zealand church attendance was decreasing, and there was a sense that the place of religion was peripheral rather than central in most men's' lives.²⁵⁸ Much religious observance was limited to births, deaths and marriages, church as a public convenience as the *Church Chronicle* would have it.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁵ Chris Mann, "Chaplains Military," in *The Oxford Companion to Military History*, ed. Richard Holmes (Oxford, 2001).

²⁵⁶ McLeod, *Myth & Reality. The New Zealand Soldier in World War II*. p 72.

²⁵⁷ John Stenhouse, "Christianity, Gender, and the Working Class," *Journal of Religious History* 30, No1 (2006).p29

²⁵⁸ Davidson and Lineham, *Transplanted Christianity. Documents illustrating aspects of New Zealand Church History*. P 243, 251.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p249.

But declining church attendance records did not necessarily mean a rejection of Christianity and 'varieties of popular Christianity flourished beyond the ranks of active churchgoers.'²⁶⁰ Many men did not see regular churchgoing as critical to their understanding to the practice of Christianity, but instead tried to live the beliefs and values they had learnt. This 'Golden Rule', a simple, minimal creed, was the essence of Christianity for many working people. Work throughout the week often meant treating Sunday as a day of rest and as regular church going was principally a female dominated activity, the men still vicariously maintained a link.²⁶¹ The fact that many soldiers did have a Christian sensibility was not lost on some chaplains. As one later recalled 'Most were not "religious" in the churchy or devotional sense.....Their religion was of the "do unto others" variety. Strong sense of fair play, and brotherhood. Regarded almost as a religious article.'²⁶² This rather suggests the minimalist 'Golden Rule' expression of Christianity was carried into the Armed Forces, where the significance of church going theology and doctrine ranked well below that of practical behaviour. Jim Henderson's recollection of a group of men in action reciting the Lords Prayer and evoking memories of Nelson Cathedral, the coloured windows, the choir, is not implying deep religiosity but rather a connection with home and the comfort which this well known prayer could give.²⁶³

Yet the army was an environment in which religion was officially sanctioned and public religious observation made compulsory. Official statistics showed a wide range of predominantly Christian religious affiliation, although the mainstream churches were dominant.²⁶⁴ 'People identified themselves according to the various denominations, indicating that they wanted the church in the community, but actual participation by the majority was minimal.'²⁶⁵

²⁶⁰ Stenhouse, "Christianity, Gender, and the Working Class."p18

²⁶¹ Ibid.pp38-39.

²⁶² Glen, "New Zealand Army Chaplains at War, 2 NZEF 1939-1945".p418, Q16:1.

²⁶³ Henderson, *Gunner Inglorious*.pp21-22.

²⁶⁴ See Appendix 2.

²⁶⁵ Allan K. Davidson, *Christianity in Aotearoa, A History of Church and Society in New Zealand* (Wellington, 2004). p106.

Church services may have been poorly attended in New Zealand, but the Kings Regulations prescribed that all ranks were to attend Divine Service. Each serviceman was allowed denominational preference.²⁶⁶ Accordingly the vast majority of soldiers in 2NZEF were exposed to some sort of Christian liturgical service at some stage, usually when on a Compulsory Church Parade. Public worship by way of a Compulsory Church Parades was not a specific Kings Regulation, but despite the obvious criticism that compulsion was not conducive to worship, these parades remained a part of 2NZEF throughout the war.

The public nature of worship was affected by the very ordered nature of military life. Men were trained, from the beginning, to obey orders, and those orders were, outside of battle conditions, directed at the good order of the institution or the welfare of the men. Being ordered to attend a medical inspection or being ordered to attend a church parade were, in a sense, one in the same in that they were considered important for the soldier and, by extension, the army.

Upon enlistment, the recruit gave religious affiliation as part of the personal detail and since the vast majority were Christian, the Army provided Christian chaplains as a ratio of the overall denominational split. Yet a soldier could have avoided the Compulsory Parades by changing the religious designation to one of 'atheist'. But the Rev. Michael Underhill in the Official History was of the opinion that, despite some moaning, the majority of men 'unconsciously appreciated' the compulsory nature of those parades, evidenced by the exemplary behaviour during them. In the early days, the marching to and from these parades caused much resentment, especially when some 'square bashing' was involved. But the services themselves were enjoyed by the men once they were there.²⁶⁷ That view was not necessarily shared amongst the chaplains, where the topic of compulsory parades versus voluntary worship was 'discussed endlessly.' One Presbyterian chaplain was of the view 'that while a man could be compelled to

²⁶⁶ See Appendix 1.

²⁶⁷ Michael Underhill et al., "New Zealand Chaplains in the Second World War."p97.

parade, it was ridiculous to imagine that he could be compelled to worship. Further, I believed that 'freedom of religion' involved freedom not to worship if one so desired'.²⁶⁸

Within 2NZEF the support for the chaplains' work came from the top. Field Marshall Montgomery regarded chaplains as essential for the maintenance of spiritual morale. He was a strong believer in the 'God of Battles'.²⁶⁹ Freyberg made it clear that the chaplains' role was an integral part of the army and provided support to ensure that they could do their work unimpeded. Compulsory church parades meant the Catholics parading separately from their Protestant comrades. Separate parading could mean considerable disruption for a Unit, especially a front line Unit, as some men needed to be transported to a venue or provision made for a visiting chaplain. Freyberg was willing to allow the inconvenience, because he had 'a deep insight into the value of the spiritual and the part religion plays in the morale' of his men.²⁷⁰

Catholic Participation

The extent to which Catholic servicemen attended Catholic services when on active service cannot be fully known but is likely to have been greater than in New Zealand, closer to 50% of eligible men attending.²⁷¹ Mass attendance was a measure that the chaplain would report on in his letters back to his superiors. The tone of such letters makes it quite clear that individual chaplains knew precisely what their priority was, namely having as many Catholic soldiers as possible attending Mass and the sacraments.

²⁶⁸ Haigh, *Men of Faith and Courage. The Official History of the Royal New Zealand Chaplains Department*.p140.

²⁶⁹ Wilkinson, *Dissent or Conform. War, Peace and the English Churches 1900-1945*.p296.

²⁷⁰ Walsh, "Catholic Chaplains of 2NZEF in M.E and C.M.F.(undated manuscript)."p8.

²⁷¹ Glen, "New Zealand Army Chaplains at War, 2 NZEF 1939-1945".pp168, 467.

In the training camps in New Zealand, Mass attendance was likely to have paralleled a domestic level which was approximately one half of the eligible Catholic population.²⁷² Chaplains at Papakura and Waiouru during 1941 complained mass attendance was not great, but numbers fluctuated. While both priests were disappointed, they acknowledged the difficulties in soldiers getting to mass or other services. In Waiouru out of 120 Catholics, about 20 go to communion ('they miss breakfast to do so'), while evening devotions attract about 30-40.²⁷³ This situation was not untypical, and was influenced by training priorities and leave. The other difficulty was not being able to get to know their 'parishioners' as the training demands meant groups of men moving through the camps relatively quickly. 'From 8.30 to 9.30 on a Sunday morning is the most important hour of the week –it's the only time I have all the Catholics together & they are only here from 4 to 6 weeks at the most & then off overseas.'²⁷⁴

Once overseas the pattern of religious observance tended to change. As far as the Chaplains who accompanied the Echelons on board ship were concerned, that began immediately. Leo Spring sailed with the 1st Echelon, on one of five ships. The only way to try and reach all the Catholic soldiers was to call upon the other ships when they made ports of call. As one 1st Echelon man wrote,

For six weeks I had not attended Mass owing to the fact that of the several troop-ships which left New Zealand early in January of this year, only one and that was one of the smallest-had on board a Catholic priest. For the duration of the voyage, therefore, the men on board the other ships were unable to hear Mass. Catholic officers on some of these ships gathered the Catholics together on Sunday mornings to say the rosary. On board the ships I was on, the only way the Catholics were

²⁷² van der Krogt, "More A Part than Apart the Catholic Community in New Zealand Society 1918-1940".p151.

²⁷³ Letters from Catholic Chaplains at Papakura and Waiouru, see *Liston Papers Lis 111-2 ACDA*.

²⁷⁴ B Kavanagh, "Letter to Liston 14/4/43," in *Liston Papers, Lis 111-2, ACDA*.

distinguished from the men of other denominations was that we were always dismissed from the Church parade on Sundays.²⁷⁵

At sea chaplains on board began to give religious instruction as part of the daily routine. Ted Forsman, in a letter to Liston, managed to make arrangements for giving Catholics on board two half hour instructions per week. This attracted additional men to Mass, a 'few new faces to the rails'. His instructional approach was to deal with the fundamentals of the Catholic faith.

I am dealing in the lectures with the X Commandments + 6 precepts of the Church as aspects of charity. My aim is not to teach them merely to avoid doing evil but to enable them to develop their souls and thereby please God by the practice of virtues, especially charity.

He used the following diagram to open each lecture:



This diagram illustrated the path by which prayer and the sacraments led to God.

²⁷⁵ *Zealandia*, 14/11/40 ACA

²⁷⁶ Forsman, "Letter to Liston (undated, on route to Middle East)." *Liston Papers*, Lis 111-2, ACDA.

Catholic chaplains had the quite specific task of ministering to Catholic soldiers and the principal manner in which this was achieved was in providing religious worship in the Catholic tradition. The place of the Mass and the other sacraments were at the core of Catholic belief. In a sense the Catholic chaplain's religious role was no more than an extension of their principal civilian obligation, namely bringing their people to God.²⁷⁷ Because of the imminence of death or injury in war, the Catholic chaplaincy needed to ensure that their men were in a state of Grace, which could only be achieved through those sacraments. The absolute necessity for saying Mass and providing the other sacraments, particularly Communion, Confession and the Last Rites (Extreme Unction), set the Catholic chaplain's agenda.

Instruction on board ship, which was voluntary, was a forerunner to the 'Padres Hour.' Forsman, encouraged by the success of religious instruction given during what were regular training hours, albeit on a boat, proposed at a Chaplains' Conference that the practice be continued. 2NZEF HQ agreed, but it was not until early 1943 that the 'Padres Hour' was instituted as part of the training regime, on a voluntary basis and subject to the demands of the campaign.²⁷⁸ In practice, organizing a "Padres Hour" became difficult. But when it did occur the lectures were appreciated by the men, 'who, apart from imbibing the sound principles of a sane philosophy, expressed huge merriment in the round laughter they lavished on the absurd antics of the sad, raucous ranters of atheistic inanities.'²⁷⁹

²⁷⁷ Forsman, "Catholicism in 2NZEF."

²⁷⁸ Ibid.

²⁷⁹ Ibid. Forsman's scorn for those who rejected Christianity and its dogma was evident in his poem 'Dregs'

The drunkard and the liar
May yet escape God's ire,
The strumpet and the thief
May also win reprieve;
But the shallow, vulgar breed
Who deem respectable a creed,
Or who worship brother man,
Yet revile their Father's plan
Or whose minds grow so somatic
That they shun all truth dogmatic,

The facilities available for Catholic services were gradually improved. A chapel at Maadi, Shafto's cinema and the convent at Maadi were permanent places for worship. Chaplains put a great deal of energy into maintaining the constant round of visits to Units scattered across the war zone, but at the same time keeping a visible presence in the Base areas. Because of the sacramental emphasis and its priestly function, their role differed from that of their Protestant colleagues. Attendance at Mass, the sacraments and other rituals were the measures by which the Catholic chaplains gauged their effectiveness, and the levels of participation were reported on in their letters back to New Zealand.

Participation was the key but it was couched in terms of general statements. 'War brings out the Catholicity of our men very well & often the remark is heard "Well I've been a much better Catholic since I came to the war than in civil life" and I am pleased to say that in that regard our NZ boys can show them all a lesson....'²⁸⁰ After being in North Africa for a year, Leo Spring reported that 'Practically every Sunday I have said three Masses & sometimes twice on a week morning. With the constant movement of troops & their irregular hours particular (sic) the Transport Companies, it is very difficult to get full musters. However, taking all in all, I am fairly well satisfied....'²⁸¹ Joe Rogers enthused about the 'hundreds and hundreds at Holy Communion every Sunday', and Ted Joyce was of the view that 'We have a number of very young Catholic Officers products of our Secondary Schools & their unfailing reception of Communion each Sunday has been an example to all.'²⁸²

Are far deeper in the mire
 Than the drunkard and the liar,
 And have greater cause for grief
 Than the strumpet and the thief. (Forsman, *E A Forsman - Priest, Padre and Poet 1909-1976*.p100).

²⁸⁰ J J Fletcher, "Letter to O'Shea, 1/12/42," in *Military Ordinariate, World War II History of Chaplains, WACA*.

²⁸¹ Leo Spring, "Letter to V Geaney (Feast of the Epiphany 1941)," in *MAW, Accession 81*.

²⁸² Joseph Rodgers, "Letter to Liston (undated)," in *Liston Papers, Lis 111-2, ACDA*.
 Edward Joyce, "Letter to Liston (April 1943)," in *Liston Papers, Lis 111-2, ACDA*.

These views typify the information about religious participation sent back to the Catholic hierarchy by way of letter. It was in the main positive and provided a degree of assurance that Catholic soldiers were being given access to their faith. 'It is a real treat to see how our lads, our Old Boys, stick to their religion, not only by the very regular reception of the Sacraments, but by their very effective readiness to give the Catholic slant on things that frequently come up for discussion.'²⁸³ Leo Spring noted during the evacuation from Greece that 'there were few who did not value the Mass and Sacraments-100% at Holy Communion'.²⁸⁴ The 'No Atheist in a Foxhole' syndrome probably had a significant bearing on the participation, but the Chaplains were quite vigorous in 'rounding up the boys for Mass'.²⁸⁵ Joe Rogers reckoned, at odds of 30:1, that if he found a man who hadn't been to Confession and Holy Communion for many months, he had only recently arrived and hadn't yet been under fire. 'The odd one slacker among the older hands is sure to be a base wallah.'²⁸⁶ The school Old Boy network was utilised by the Chaplains to set an example to other Catholics as to what was expected. Another group able to supply a degree of assistance to the chaplains was the Holy Name Society. A photograph of 'Holy Name Men on Active Service' in the *Zealandia* was accompanied by an article pointing out that 29% of the total membership of the Holy Name Society in the Auckland Diocese was on active service.²⁸⁷

Rounding up the boys for Mass also allowed the chaplain to maintain contact with his 'parishioners.' The normal course of events for a visiting chaplain was to hear Confessions, followed by Mass and Holy Communion. Because of the need to move about the Division, Catholic chaplains didn't have the same opportunity as a Unit chaplain to form bonds with a small group of men. Rather their opportunity for social contact was during visits to say Mass and tended to be

²⁸³ Kingan, "Letter to Father Alex McDonald."

²⁸⁴ Spring, "Letter to V Geaney, 25/6/41."

²⁸⁵ J J Fletcher, "Letter to A McRae 13/6/44.," in *Military Ordinariate, World War II, History of the Chaplaincy, WACA*.

²⁸⁶ Rodgers, "Letter to Liston (undated)."

²⁸⁷ *Zealandia*, 6/5/43.

extensive rather than intensive.²⁸⁸ These conditions applied in both North Africa and Italy.

In the Pacific, participation was constrained by the availability of transportation. Bill Ryan described his routine of spending two weeks covering all the Units in and around the Base, with another week 'touring.' For this he needed to travel by barge, saying Mass twice daily and three times on Sunday. 'The usual procedure is to have the boys gather somewhere handy to the sea shore then I hear confessions and say Mass on the barge again and away to the next place. However the number of stations is growing and I think it will be necessary to alternate the places of mass.' He needed to work his schedule in with that of the barges, but the numbers who receive the sacraments gives him 'great joy.' Ryan's experiences were typical of the demands in the Pacific, and his assessment of participation was shared by the other Catholic chaplains.

Aside from the routine visits from the chaplain, there were occasions when a major event was celebrated by way of a Solemn Mass. When Tripoli was captured Catholic servicemen from across the 8th Army celebrated Mass in the Tripoli Cathedral. The numbers attending were too great for the Cathedral with hundreds standing in the rain.²⁸⁹ Other special Masses of Thanksgiving were held in Rome, Siena and Trieste. Later in Trieste in the presence of General Freyberg and his staff, Vince Callaghan sang a Solemn Requiem for the fallen.

Other types of Catholic religious participation were provided for men willing to attend. In August 1943, a one day retreat was held at Maadi, with over 400 men attending. Retreats for laymen, as opposed to those for clergy, were not strongly supported in New Zealand, but efforts were made to give men the opportunity to partake in a feature of Catholic spirituality that mirrored parish life at home.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁸ Walsh, "Catholic Chaplains of 2NZEF in M.E and C.M.F.(undated manuscript)."p7.

²⁸⁹ *Zealandia*, 29/4/43.

²⁹⁰ van der Krogt, "More A Part than Apart the Catholic Community in New Zealand Society 1918-1940".p153.

Reunions and retreats help keep the network of Catholic servicemen functioning. The strong Irish ancestral influence was part of that network. H J O'Donohue of Central Otago writes of Mass in the desert '...Rooney, Horgan, O'Neill, Spillane, Ryan, McCarthy, Falvely, O'Donohue and Co. are on time, about a dozen of us from this Company.'²⁹¹

Although we are reliant upon anecdotal evidence, just over 50% of Catholic servicemen in 2 NZEF attended services. This figure is not inconsistent with the pre-war estimates for attendance in New Zealand.²⁹² Evidence that their men were able to receive the sacraments and, if killed, would be in a state of grace was very important for families back in New Zealand. Photographs and articles about Catholic religious activity in the war zones were important for morale back home and the reporting of deaths invariably gave details of a recent reception of the sacraments. 'When reinforcements were due to go from base to Libya, the priests did not spare themselves for a moment to ensure all Catholics "going up to the blue" had been to the Sacraments. I know of one officer who came down from the desert. His first action the first morning of his leave was to go to Mass and Communion at a Cairo church. That officer was killed in action, and I am sure he was well prepared for death.'²⁹³

Typical of the obituaries in the Catholic newspapers and magazines was the following, whose consolation was born of the belief that in death there was to be the meeting with God.

Lt. Terry Hanrahan, who was near Joe when he was killed, wrote to Joe's parents telling them that he and Joe had been to Holy Communion the previous morning. Major Eastgate, his commanding officer, and also the

²⁹¹ Ibid.

²⁹² van der Krogt, "More A Part than Apart the Catholic Community in New Zealand Society 1918-1940".p151.

²⁹³ Zealandia, 7/5/42.

Church of England Chaplain, wrote of their high personal regard for him.²⁹⁵

Co-operation across the Denominations

From the outset, the senior command of 2NZEF wanted as much co-operation between the various denominations as possible and actively encouraged an ecumenical spirit amongst the Protestants.²⁹⁶ This was born of pragmatism, as the disposition of chaplains was managed more easily if one chaplain could minister to many, albeit of multiple persuasions. Catholics were not expected to come under the ecumenical umbrella. So long as there was independence of worship and ministry, Catholic chaplains worked happily alongside their Protestant colleagues. At the Senior Chaplain level, Leo Spring was recognized as successfully ensuring that the Catholic approach and position was understood by both the military and the Protestant chaplains.²⁹⁷ Once the Catholic situation was in place for a short period, it became the status quo and was accepted across the Division.

In the Pacific Father John Pierce needed to ensure that the military authorities were cogniscent of the different working arrangements for the Catholic Chaplains. But Pacific fighting conditions evolved a more ecumenical approach to ministry. This is not to suggest that the Catholic insistence upon separate worship was compromised, but rather that the caring was non-denominational. The Methodist Minister A R Witheford considered 'We were too isolated to get pompous....we had to depend upon each other'. Jungle, surrounded by sea together with long periods of isolation all meant all the chaplains had to try and deal with all soldiers spiritual needs.²⁹⁸ In the opinion of the Rev O Baragwanath,

²⁹⁵ "Obituary Lance-Sergeant Joseph O'Shaughnessy," *Bedeian-The Magazine of St. Bedes College, Christchurch (1944) MAW, Accession 85.* (1944).p59.

²⁹⁶ Glen, "New Zealand Army Chaplains at War, 2 NZEF 1939-1945",p323.

²⁹⁷ Michael Underhill et al., "New Zealand Chaplains in the Second World War."p43.

²⁹⁸ Glen, "New Zealand Army Chaplains at War, 2 NZEF 1939-1945".p545.

the isolation meant Catholic chaplains cared for Protestants and Protestants for Catholics.³⁰⁰

Ecumenism was a feature of 2NZEF and the claim is made that 'the New Zealand Army after 1943 was the most ecumenical body within any part of New Zealand society at home or abroad.'³⁰¹ The ecumenical journey was a Protestant one. There was resistance from some Anglicans of High Church persuasion. Bishop Gerard could not accept the notion of inter-communion and wanted Anglican men receiving instruction and ministry from Anglican chaplains and regular denominational parades. The Rev J W McKenzie recognized that the other Protestant denominations would be at a significant disadvantage if the spread of chaplains throughout the Division had a strong denominational element to it. McKenzie foresaw co-operation as the only way in which the Chaplains of 2NZEF could properly function.³⁰² General Freyberg had asked that sectarian differences be put aside and chaplains to minister to all the men. This approach was implemented.³⁰³ By and large resistance to sharing the ministry evaporated as the structure of Unit chaplains meant the need to act for all became a part of army life.

Catholic chaplains maintained their distance doctrinally and sacramentally. They could not and would not compromise the Church's claim to be the One True Catholic and Apostolic Church by allowing a Protestant cleric to have some status in the delivery of the sacraments. This was their exclusive preserve. So when there was an occasion for a significant religious service, such as a thanksgiving or victory ceremony, Catholics, or at least their chaplains would not take part, unless it was non-denominational. So on those occasions a special High Mass would be held, such as the Solemn High Mass of Thanksgiving in Tripoli Cathedral in 1943.

³⁰⁰ Ibid.p205

³⁰¹ Ibid.p205

³⁰² Michael Underhill et al., "New Zealand Chaplains in the Second World War." P17

³⁰³ Glen, "New Zealand Army Chaplains at War, 2 NZEF 1939-1945".p412:Q14 No1, 6.

An early instance of demarcation occurred in Cairo after the death of Michael Joseph Savage. The Senior Anglican Chaplain had begun arrangements for a memorial service to be held in the Anglican Cathedral in Cairo. Upon hearing this, Leo Spring went to the Senior Chaplain and explained what he understood was the late Prime Minister's religion. Savage had reconciled with the Catholic Church in the last months of his life.³⁰⁴ A cable requesting advice was sent to the New Zealand Government, and the reply advised the memorial service was to be conducted by the Catholic Church. As a result Spring arranged for a Mass the following day, which was attended by some 400 men and senior military officers. This occurred in April 1940, early days in terms of the Chaplains Department. Spring quite enjoyed upsetting the plans of the Anglicans because, in his view, they 'like to steal every show and were endeavoring to steal this one too, but I will say, in good faith.'³⁰⁵

While Catholic priests reserved to themselves the right to minister to Catholics, they claimed to be able to minister to non-Catholics. The right was not reciprocal, although in practice unit chaplains of whatever denomination would and did minister to all their men during battle. In times of death or injury, the 23rd Psalm was a favourite, known to Protestant, Catholic and Jew alike. A non-Catholic chaplain recalled, 'You could always tell if you were attending a Roman Catholic, he would call you Father and if he could, make the sign of the cross. One was always on safe ground when ministering to Catholics in saying the Lord's Prayer or the 23rd Psalm. For many of these brave fellows it was the last words they heard before they departed this life.'³⁰⁶

The autonomy available to the Catholic chaplains was recognition of their right to order their own religious programme and how it was to be managed. So the Senior Catholic Chaplain's role was, in part, 'to save us from being ordered

³⁰⁴ Reid, *James Michael Liston, A Life*.p224.

³⁰⁵ Spring, "Letter to V Geaney 14/4/40."

³⁰⁶ Glen, "New Zealand Army Chaplains at War, 2 NZEF 1939-1945".p 255.

around by parsons.³⁰⁷ This sense of Catholic religious authority was a strong element in how those chaplains viewed themselves theologically and doctrinally. One or two of the Catholic chaplains were more than willing to argue with their Protestant colleagues. As Fletcher reported 'There have been some very interesting arguments with Forsman squashing some of the parsons pretty badly & the poor old Bishop..... not knowing whether he is on his head or his heels.' Another priest started an argument on the Divine Inspiration of Sacred Scripture, but the result left a 'slightly nasty feeling.'³⁰⁸ Forsman and the others had trained in Thomist theology and were, as a matter of course, always willing to argue the finer points of doctrine. But it was not always appreciated. Hec Fletcher found argument for arguments sake tiresome.³⁰⁹ Scoring points off Protestant chaplains in argument seemed to have little point to it, when the tasks at hand were much more important. Pettiness that could accompany sectarian differences evaporated over time as the war and 2NZEF demanded that everyone work together.

Initial mistrust between Catholic and Protestant chaplains was a feature of the early days of the Chaplaincy in 2NZEF. The Rev Michael Underhill was quite clear on this.³¹⁰ This was largely a reflection of the situation in New Zealand where communication between different denominations was lacking. But central to the change in attitude that did occur was the understanding of each other's position. All the chaplains were working in an unusual and dangerous environment and each had to adapt in order to cope, and in the process mutual regard replaced mutual suspicion. Remaining aloof from interacting with other chaplains was not an option and there is a sense of practical men simply doing what they had to do.

³⁰⁷ J J Fletcher, "Letter to A McRae 16/11/41," in *Military Ordinariate, World War II, History of Chaplains, WACA*.

³⁰⁸ J J Fletcher, "Letter to A McRae 2/12/42," in *Military Ordinariate, World War II, History of Chaplaincy, WACA*.

³⁰⁹ J J Fletcher, "Letter to A McRae 4/12/43," in *Military Ordinariate, World War II, History of Chaplaincy, WACA*.

³¹⁰ Glen, "New Zealand Army Chaplains at War, 2 NZEF 1939-1945".p156.

An example of how these men instinctively co-operated occurred when a medical station in Libya was overrun by the Germans in November 1941 during the battle of Sidi Rezegh. Seven chaplains of different denominations were temporarily attached to the three Main Dressing Stations and a Mobile Surgical Unit. Some nine hundred wounded, including two hundred enemy wounded plus a large medical staff were captured.

Ted Forsman, Jesses Kingan and Bill Sheely were the Catholic chaplains involved and together with the others spent the next days comforting and praying with the wounded and helping to maintain morale. During this time the camp was under considerable artillery fire from the Allies, as the Germans and Italians had sited guns close by the camp.

Forsman, who spoke German and Italian, became the interpreter and established communication with them. He was able to negotiate with General Rommel for better treatment for the wounded. The earlier treatment provided to the enemy soldiers paid dividends in terms of the German's relatively benign attitude towards their captives. But Forsman was also able to warn of a plan to remove some wounded further behind the lines by truck. New Zealand drivers consequently disabled their truck engines and frustrated that move.

Then a group of walking wounded was taken back behind the Axis lines and two chaplains, Bill Sheely and Rev Bob McDowall, volunteered to stay with them. McDowall, in his diary, is terse and his contempt for his fellow padres is evident. He saw his duty where others chaplains who were there, chose not to.³¹¹ Sheely exercised his right as the 'senior' of the three Catholic chaplains to accompany

³¹¹ Mary Tagg, "The Prisoner Padre. The Impact of War on a New Zealand Cleric" (Waikato, 1997).p49. McDowall had shown a willingness to confront the Germans. When the Germans set up a heavy gun in the hospital area, McDowall remonstrated openly with them until it was removed and when they laid telephone wire through the camp where the prisoners were held, he cut it. When Italians, who relieved the Germans, tried to seize food from a hospital supply truck, McDowall, on his own, took it from them and delivered it to the hospital depot.

the captives.³¹² The actions of McDowall and Sheely were in the true spirit of the chaplain as servant, knowing their men would need support and accepting whatever was in store for them.

Bishop G V Gerard, who was the first Senior Chaplain for the 2NZEF, was also captured during the fighting at Sidi Rezegh. He was taken to Italy and remained a prisoner-of-war until he was repatriated in 1943. The repatriation process owed a great deal to advocacy by Archbishop O'Shea. He wrote to his Anglican counterpart, Archbishop Campbell West-Watson, offering to contact the Vatican 'to see if they can bring about an exchange in the case of the Bishop of Waiapu.' The Apostolic Delegate contacted West-Watson and advised how the Vatican authorities could 'further the exchange of Bishop Gerard and other New Zealand prisoners, like doctors, chaplains and invalids who might be eligible for repatriation...' ³¹³ Interfaith co-operation continued to grow.

Military Religion?

New Zealand's contribution to the war effort in terms of resources was immense. Between 1942 and 1944 just over half of its national income was directed at the war, while the overall figure was nearly a third. This big sacrifice, which included 5,999 deaths and 16,543 wounded, gave it the distinction of having lost the highest proportion of its population amongst the Commonwealth countries and ratio of wounded a third higher than for the United Kingdom and Australia.³¹⁴

Such a level of commitment by New Zealand gives rise to the suggestion that, in 2NZEF, some form of military religion overlaid the traditional denominational religious practices. Given the level of commitment, to what extent did religion

³¹² Walsh, "Catholic Chaplains of 2NZEF in M.E and C.M.F.(undated manuscript)."p9.

³¹³ Thomas O'Shea, "Letter to Archbishop Ward-Watson 30/4/42," in *Military Ordinariate, Vatican Radio #380, WACA*.; Apostolic Delegate, "Letter to Archbishop O'Shea 15/5/42," in *Military Ordinariate, Vatican Radio #380, WACA*.

³¹⁴ Ian McGibbon, *New Zealand and the Second World War. The people, the battles and the legacy*. (Auckland, 2004).pp211-2.

McLeod, *Myth & Reality. The New Zealand Soldier in World War II*.p82.

collude with the state and the military authorities to prosecute the war? Was the religious culture in 2NZEF such that it used religion to promote and justify the killing and other acts of war? A military religion would have manipulated, turned or incorporated some or all of the tenets of the church into serving and justifying all of the corporate objectives of the military.

The attitude of the churches to the outbreak of war had much less of the unabashed jingoism that greeted World War I and more a measured resignation.³¹⁵ Other than from pacifist churchmen, there was little difficulty in the churches accepting the necessity for war and support came from across the denominational spectrum. The emphasis, through sermons and conferences, was upon peace and safety, rather than just praying for victory. In 1939 the Archbishop of York, William Temple, warned about acting as judge. 'We dare not come into the presence of the Holy God pointing out to Him that some others of his children are even worse than we are. We all stand before the judgment seat of God.'³¹⁶ Catholics were told that victory was only part of the solution and it was necessary to work towards freedom and democracy. When the King called for various days of prayer, all the Churches joined in, although the Catholic Church needed some prodding by the Papal Nuncio. Church support for the war and the men and women involved had a much more united sense to it, as the war brought the New Zealand Community together. But there was no sense that the Churches were being used to identify with the purely military aims of 2NZEF. Victory, very much the aim of the Allies, was celebrated by all of New Zealand, but the churches were looking towards the aftermath of the war and how society was about to change. Their support for the war was unequivocal, but they were also looking beyond the military conflict.

Within 2NZEF concerns of life and death were much more immediate. Chaplains vigorously continued to keep denominational services and Christian teaching to

³¹⁵ Davidson, *Christianity in Aotearoa, A History of Church and Society in New Zealand*.p102.

³¹⁶ Wilkinson, *Dissent or Conform. War, Peace and the English Churches 1900-1945*.p258.

the fore. Yet the pull of religious services did not touch everyone. Religious illiteracy in the forces was commonplace. Compulsory church parades did require compliance with orders to attend, and having to go church under those conditions was resented by some.³¹⁷ Yet the camaraderie that comes from having to rely upon your mates and they upon you was credited with providing a cohesion and sense of purpose that was critical in battle.³¹⁸ Whether 'be a good mate, don't let your cobber down', with all its implications was substitute for institutional religion is difficult to assess, but some chaplains were of the opinion that it had a religious connotation.³¹⁹

Chaplains were as committed to victory over the Axis forces as any soldier but their rhetoric was not simply designed to bolster the men for the next battle. By linking the soldiers' tasks to a more transcendental Christian theme, the Chaplains helped further morale by giving greater meaning to their role than the purely military. Ted Forsman spoke of 'a Christian army fighting for the cause of persecuted Christianity' and the war 'as only part of the greater task of restoring all things in Christ'. While regretting the 'havoc and wanton destruction caused by war, we want nothing short of a lasting peace based on the sound principles of religion, justice, order and charity.'³²⁰ His views were typical of the chaplains' approach to their instructional work.³²¹ The Chaplains were not bound to the military in any propaganda sense and were free of censorship in their sermons and instructions. Although the 'mateship' in 2NZEF was a powerful and cohesive force, there is no evidence that the military tried in any way to co-opt the Christian religion to simply serve their ends or promote religion as a justification for the violence and destruction.

³¹⁷ Michael Underhill et al., "New Zealand Chaplains in the Second World War."p91.

³¹⁸ McLeod, *Myth & Reality. The New Zealand Soldier in World War II*.p65.

³¹⁹ Glen, "New Zealand Army Chaplains at War, 2 NZEF 1939-1945".p418,Q16.

³²⁰ Forsman, "Catholicism in 2NZEF."p2.

³²¹ Bernard Montgomery, "Personal Message from the Army Commander " in *MAW* (Wellington, 1943). This printed message for all the troops sets out the intention of the 8th Army. 'We will not stop, or let up, till TUNIS has been captured and the enemy has either given up the struggle or been pushed into the sea'. It finishes 'FORWARD TO TUNIS! DRIVE THE ENEMY INTO THE SEA!' Jesse Kingan clearly endorsed the message and the language used by writing on the top of his copy 'Good Stuff'.

Chapter SevenThe Chaplains' point of view

A Theological Perspective

Keeping a Christian perspective on all that went on was an unspoken prerequisite for the chaplains. Ted Forsman was a poet of ability. His poetry of the war years spoke of a theology that linked Christ, sacrifice and the righteousness of fighting this particular war. While the chaplaincy constantly sought to keep the flame of Christian belief and values as a part of each man's *raison d'être*, Forsman was able to articulate how this war was about Christian civilization and Christ would be the source of strength to see it through.

'*Lest We Forget*', originally entitled '*To our Resurgent Dead*', is clearly set in North Africa and evokes the strong image of sacrifice and redemption. Men killed in action *lie in trackless wadis deep/Among strange dead*, but with the immediate assurance that in Christ that is not so. The *vital dead* will live again. 2NZEF soldiers, for whom Forsman had great affection, were not mere killers but were building a new Christian civilization and about to bring peace to *bare unrepentant lands*. The last line brings it all back to New Zealand. The poem was accepted for the Christmas 1942 edition of the '*NZEF Times*', and published in '*The Catholic Soldier*' June 1943.

Lest We Forget

*What though they lie in trackless wadis deep
Or by some barren, lonely sand-knoll sleep
Among strange dead: They are not dead who Christ
Upon the altar, daily sacrificed,
Received with reverent knee on faithless sands;
They drench with grace bare unrepentant lands
Until the Cross above their desert tomb*

*Burst peace- abundant in effulgent bloom.
Then shall hushed hermits rise in vocal song:
"Come Holy Ghost, the earth rebuild
Because of these, the temples Thou hast filled!"
Such vital dead shall thrive amid rechristened Sands,
Though all things solid shift and shake in greener lands.* ³²²

In 'Our Southern Cross'³²³ the primary imagery is the juxtaposition of the celestial formation and Christ's cross- *O fair cross!*

*O rare cross
Above our native land!
O wild cross!
O mild cross
No man can understand!*

The poem made it quite clear why the soldiers were going to war. '*There's wisdom in our folly/amid a world gone mad.*' And this was a crusade-

*The seas that bred us restless
Have launched us on our raids,
But the Southern Cross is reckless
And has made our wars crusades.
We'll wash the world with laughter.*

The cross was not a symbol of sorrow, but quite the opposite -*The cross that makes us jolly/can never make us sad.* Hope is embedded in faith – *We'll gird the globe with song,/For we've God and His Hereafter/Though all things else go wrong.*

³²² Forsman, E A *Forsman -Priest, Padre and Poet 1909-1976*.p98.

³²³ Ibid.p98.

Jesse Kingan thought that this imagery 'helped the boys "to take it", "to give it" and to go into the tough stuff, to stick it manfully and with a smile. "Introibo...ad Deum qui laetificat juventutem meam".'³²⁴

Forsman wrote about the essence of his work as a chaplain in *Hosts*

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

All in 2NZEF were potential 'Grist for Thy mighty flour'. But the poem spoke to Catholic soldiers that their being part of the sacrifice of the Mass, *Christ in His Sacred Host*, meant death need not be feared, as *Grace shall us need suffice/Whole in our sacrifice*. The chaplains' role was to make sure the men could be ready for the ultimate sacrifice. The poem '*In Lucem*' was another that touched upon the chaplains' role and how the violence of war needs to be seen from the inside to be understood. Forsman had no time for pacifism or morbid sentimentality.³²⁵ Again the strong reference to the righteousness and explicit Christian nature of the struggle for a new Christian order.

³²⁴ Kingan, "Letter to Father Alex McDonald." Alex McDonald was a WWI Catholic chaplain who was with the New Zealand troops in the Sinai Campaign. 'Introibo ad altare Dei. Ad Deum qui laetificat juventutem meam'-I will go in to the Altar of God. To God, the joy of my youth- was part of the opening phrases in the Latin Mass.

³²⁵ Forsman, *E A Forsman -Priest, Padre and Poet 1909-1976*.p26.

*In Lucem*³²⁶

What do you know of war or man's high hopes
Whose mawkish songs can sob but "shot and shell"
Then, grown nostalgic, paint God's earth as hell
Where monstrous death in noisome darkness gropes
Amid a shattered world of blacked out hopes?
Sour Manichean! Gloomy infidel!
Misjudging pain in Christ's own citadel,
What do you know of war or man's high hopes?

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

This poetry provided a strong Christological basis for fighting the war and the sacrifices it entailed; the end justified the means. The crucifixion of Christ, the sacrifice of the Mass, the real reward for suffering and death were his themes. But his poetry also reflected a scholarly enthusiasm for history and the classics, infused with the metaphysical. Forsman gained his doctorate in Rome and the classical world of the Mediterranean is reflected in his poetry, as is his mastery of Latin. But the New Zealand landscape was frequently alluded to as were the men of 2NZEF. *Dedication to 2NZEF* is self explanatory, and the reference to 'Balls of Fire' in the opening lines were an extension of the metaphor Churchill used when he described General Freyberg as the 'Salamander of the Empire', to include all of 2NZEF.³²⁷ *When you whose union set the world ablaze/ New Zealand's 'Ball of Fire' who proudly reared/Your skies cross-splendour where the*

³²⁶ Ibid.p111.

³²⁷ Ibid.p123

true cross spread. He also wrote light hearted verse and was not above poking fun at the army hierarchy.

*The Donkey's Serenade*³²⁸

*Two donkeys who two sentries met
Began to boast and then to bet
That if they wore such arms and dress
No one alive would ever guess
Who was who and which was which
By shape or thought or dohby-itch.*

*A drink or two and 'twas arranged
The donkeys and sentries interchanged.
'Twas then revealed a plot so dread:
The donkeys shot the sentries dead.
Let no one grieve or shed salt tears
For thus we gained two brigadiers.*

Forsman's poetry was unusual amongst the 2NZEF chaplains, especially in its theological content. Many Protestant chaplains kept diaries and some later wrote books, but there is no record of any Catholic chaplains having kept a diary nor did any write a book of their war experiences. This poetry is the only known war poetry written by a New Zealand Catholic chaplain with 2NZEF.

Poetry as prayer was included in some of the religious booklets made available for Catholic servicemen. An example was Eileen Duggan's poem, 'An Airman's Prayer', included in '*A Manual for Catholic Soldiers and Airmen*'.

³²⁸ Ibid.p101.

*An Airman's Prayer*³²⁹

*Lord, mind my kin!
Till Thy last breath,
The chimney songs
Of Nazareth
Were dear to Thee
My body goes apart
From these, my kith,
But not my heart.
I am still of them
As the wool's the fleece.
I go to skies on fire-
Give then Thy peace.*

Forsman's view that the conflict was necessary and the inevitable sacrifice justified was shared amongst his fellow Catholic chaplains. Jesse Kingan found the poetry 'a clarion call to us here, keeping alive our Christian ideas.'³³⁰ The war dead had a special place. 'Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori (It is a fine and fitting thing to die for one's country) was the theme of a sermon preached by Father Harold Trehey at a Military Requiem Mass.'³³¹ Dying for country 'is a sublime Christian virtue,' and that such sacrifice be taken in mitigation for the sins of those who fell in a just cause. The certainty of divine reward was reinforced through sermons, 'We must never forget that we are not fighting alone, we have a Leader, the King of Kings, Christ the Son of God.'³³²

³²⁹ Eileen Duggan, "An Airman's Prayer," in *A Manual for Catholic Soldiers and Airmen*, ed. Noel (Rev) Gascoigne (Wellington, 1942).

³³⁰ Kingan, "Letter to Father Alex McDonald."

³³¹ Harold Trehey, "Military Requiem Mass for Catholic soldiers of 2 NZ Div.," in *Military Ordinariate, World War II* #386, WACA.

³³² Kingan, "Sermon (date unknown)."

Back in New Zealand

The role of the chaplain in providing spiritual support to the soldiers gave them a profile in Church publications in New Zealand. Leo Spring, Ted Forsman, Jesse Kingan, Wilf Ainsworth, 'Hec' Fletcher, John Pierce, Bill Ryan and others featured in various accounts, published either in the national weeklies, *Zealandia* and *Tablet*, or in local magazines. 'Hec' Fletcher regularly sent a column to his local parish magazine, while Jesse Kingan had many of his letters amalgamated for publication in the St Pats Silverstream School annual magazine. The national weeklies featured letters from the chaplains, articles from soldiers and photographs.

Throughout the war, the chaplains and their work received considerable coverage. This coverage was, in line with the general approach of the secular newspapers, positive and treated the war news without criticism. Critical articles were directed at the usual targets; Communism and Russia, contraception and the state of the nation's morals. Possibly the most frequent news item in the *Zealandia* was the defence of the Catholic Church in Germany coupled with an ongoing criticism of the Nazis. But the work of the chaplains was given a slightly heroic flavour. The chaplains were portrayed as eager to share the men's burdens on the field of battle, and at the same time keep their Catholicism to the fore, proof that the Church was helping to fight the good fight.

There was little need for hierarchal oversight. In New Zealand, each of these priests would have answered to a senior cleric, whether a bishop or the head of their order in the case of the Marist priests. They continued to maintain contact with them by letter. Letter writing was the main means of contact with home and, like the other men, they wrote to family, friends as well as their superior. Letters to their superiors were deferential in address ('*My Dear Lord*' in the case of a bishop) but, aside from being polite and limiting any clerical gossip, did tend set out the problems and successes of their work. Their superiors were diligent

correspondents in turn. The tone of their replies was to reassure the priests that they were being remembered, that their work was appreciated and to give advice on problems raised. The problems could be the supply of altar breads to the Pacific Islands or how to combat an interest in communism in the training camps.³³³

Leo Spring was the first Catholic chaplain to arrive and until the 3rd Echelon arrived in September 1940, he operated alone. The 2nd Echelon went initially to England and did not arrive in Egypt until early 1941. So Spring's appointment as Senior Roman Catholic Chaplain was made on the grounds of his experience and that he was the only one in the field for the time being. 'Hec' Fletcher observed, in November 1941, that

Leo is I should say the most popular priest over here and the best known. He has a great facility for yarning and generally mucking about and making every joker he meets think that he (Leo) specially came to the war to see him and him alone.'

Fletcher also observed that Spring was not a particularly good manager, but despite that criticism, Spring remained as Senior Chaplain.³³⁴ Underhill was of the view that Spring was largely responsible for the good relations that existed between the Catholics and other Protestant clergy.³³⁵

This group of Catholic chaplains was self disciplined and despite the inevitable disagreements and personality clashes, tried to keep their concerns in house. In New Zealand they lived in the company of other priests, and because of the discipline expected of them, issues or problems were kept within a process that was controlled by that bishop or superior. They maintained that style of discipline when overseas. In North Africa an issue concerning transport, which was difficult to come by, caused problems but 'he (Spring) can get away with it of course,

³³³ Norbert Berridge, "Letter to Liston 1/12/43.," in *Liston Papers, Lis 111-2, ACDA*.

³³⁴ Fletcher, "Letter to A McRae 16/11/41."

³³⁵ Michael Underhill et al., "New Zealand Chaplains in the Second World War."p43.

because in order to do anything would mean taking our little arguments to outsiders, which we won't do of course.'³³⁶

There were problems concerning the physical and mental abilities of some chaplains to withstand the demands of the environment. The Senior Chaplain, Rev J McKenzie, wrote to the Army Administration about the unsuitability of some chaplains sent to North Africa, and cited examples of how existing complaints were overlooked and little assessment given to the fitness of new chaplains. In his opinion all chaplains should be fit for field service and able to 'stick it out with the toughest...'³³⁷ Chaplains were expected to lead a soldier's life and cope with all its discomforts. By and large the Catholic chaplains managed to do so. Aside from one priest who went home ostensibly because of his health, the others were determined to remain.

A number of the chaplains were over the age of 40 when they went to war. McKenzie himself was 56 when he returned home in 1944; Gerard was 43 when appointed Senior Chaplain; Leo Spring and Jesse Kingan both 40 when they arrived in Egypt. Other Catholic chaplains ranged in age from Henley (38) to Walsh (31). Age was a factor, but a balance was needed; maturity, experience and physical fitness.³³⁸ But the war zone was demanding. Ill-health forced John McKay to return to New Zealand towards the end of 1941 as it did to Peter Halley. He returned to 2NZEF in early 1945.³³⁹ Peter Hannah remained in North Africa for a year before indifferent health sent him back home. Leo Spring and Ted Forsman were able to go back to New Zealand on leave during 1943 and

³³⁶ J J Fletcher, "Letter to A McRae 21/3/42," in *Military Ordinariate, World War II, History of Chaplaincy, WACA*.

³³⁷ J W McKenzie, "Letter to Army Headquarters 30/10/42.," in *National Archives, WAIL. DA 1/9/61, 2.* (1942).

³³⁸ Greenwood, *A Soldier's Journey, The Wartime Diary of Corporal E (Ted) Paul*. Paul provides a impression of Leo Spring in a diary entry for '26 May 1945 Saturday – today I met Father Spring again. The last time I saw him was at the Maadi Convent. There is no doubt that he is something of a hard case, his manner of expression (he 'buggers' most things) and general conduct hardly being in accordance with his rank of Colonel or role of Priest.' (no page numbers) Possibly a little harsh given that Spring had been overseas since 1940.

³³⁹ Walsh, "Catholic Chaplains of 2NZEF in M.E and C.M.F.(undated manuscript)."pp5-6.

1944, while Francis Walsh returned as he was over establishment and rejoined 2NZEF in 1944. Jesse Kingan was wounded in 1944 and returned to New Zealand to recuperate. Some did not return home until the end of the war. Bill Sheely was a POW from November 1941 until released in Europe in 1945, and Hec Fletcher did not return until 1945.

Chapter Eight

Other types of chaplaincy and some immediate post war issues

Vatican Radio.

Perhaps one of the most significant humanitarian contributions made to the people of New Zealand was that of Vatican City Radio. Between June 1941 and the end of the war, the Vatican War Prisoners Bureau broadcast weekly the names of prisoners of war and relayed messages to and from family and relatives. This service was available to anyone and at no expense. The initial response from New Zealand was almost overwhelming as after the setback and losses during the campaigns in Greece, Crete and Libya many families had little or no news of their men. The official channels were particularly slow, other than reporting that a soldier was missing, and Vatican Radio was able to bring relief to many families in New Zealand that men only known as missing were in fact prisoners of war.

The Bureau began during the early stages of World War I. During August and September 1914, the Vatican received many inquiries as to the whereabouts of captured and missing soldiers. The Vatican set about dealing with the correspondence and in January 1915 Pope Benedict XV had an office for POWs set up at Paderborn, Germany followed shortly by one at Fribourg in Switzerland and another at the Nunciature in Vienna. War broke out between Italy and Austria in May 1915 and at that point Benedict decided to have his own office, run by his Deputy Secretary of State, Monsignor Tedeschini. The Vatican established 'Centres of Information' throughout Europe and in Turkey, Japan and Syria.³⁴⁰ After the war motions of thanks were passed in the House of Commons regarding the work for POWs and the Turkish Government set up a statue of Benedict for his work.³⁴¹

³⁴⁰ "Vatican War Prisoners Bureau," *Zealandia*, 26/4/41 1941.

³⁴¹ Peter McKeefrey, "Letter to A McRae 30/6/41.," in *Military Ordinariate, Vatican Radio #380, WACA*.

Benedict instructed his bishops as to his expectations, a principal one being that the bishops supply prisoners with chaplains who can speak their languages. In addition he directed that these priests were to 'labour zealously for the prisoners' spiritual and material welfare; ensure that prisoners have written or sent news of themselves to their family and if not urge them to do so, and if incapable 'charitably undertake to write for them and in their name.'³⁴²

Substantial international conditions regarding the treatment of prisoners of war did not come into place until the Third Geneva Convention of 1929. Amongst the range of humane conditions that were required of the detaining power, it became the detaining power's responsibility to notify the captured soldiers' government of their captivity.³⁴³

The War Prisoners Bureau gathered information by using its own representatives. These representatives, accredited clergy, visited POW camps, physically noted details of prisoners which were then catalogued in Rome for broadcast abroad. Detaining governments did not send lists to the Vatican, as their obligation was to notify POW names through official channels, principally the International Red Cross in Geneva.³⁴⁴ This official channel had a number of layers of bureaucracy and relied upon the speed with which the detaining power complied with its Geneva Convention requirements. It usually took many months and the first news was often a telegram with the words 'Missing in Action'. By contrast the Vatican Bureau provided much prompter information about POWs. Its service was provided to both the Allied and Axis nations.

News that Vatican War Prisoners Bureau work was being extended to Australia and New Zealand was made known in April 1941. The *Zealandia* featured an article which gave details of the Bureau and, more importantly, how to access the service. It was made quite clear that the Bureau was 'open to all people

³⁴² "Vatican War Prisoners Bureau." *Zealandia* 26/4/41.

³⁴³ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Third_Geneva_Convention, Article 69.

³⁴⁴ "Vatican and Prisoners of War," *Zealandia*, 17/7/41.

irrespective of denomination and Catholics should advise their non-Catholic friends of the fact.³⁴⁵ Inquirers were asked to write to the Apostolic Delegate in Sydney. In June 1941 the *Evening Post* reported that 'News of Australian and New Zealand prisoners of war in Italy has been broadcast from the Vatican City Radio station to the Apostolic Delegate in Sydney.' It went on to say how it was hoped that weekly transmissions would be sent from the Vatican 'giving news of the whereabouts and health of Anzac prisoners.' Again the point was made that assistance would be given to soldiers 'without the distinction of religion.'³⁴⁶ Details of the procedure to be followed was published in the secular press throughout the country shortly afterwards.³⁴⁷ The Bureau not only broadcast names of prisoners, but was able to send personal messages both to and from POW camps.

One of the first to hear the broadcasts was Mrs. Catherine Clayton then living in Karori. She had received no news of her husband for some time. She was
twiddling knobs on my radio-one that stood on the floor, a bit like a cocktail cabinet-when I suddenly heard a resonant New Zealand voice read out names and information about New Zealanders. I took them down and wrote to the families. They all wrote back. Some of them had received no news for two years.³⁴⁸

Some of the families Mrs. Clayton had written to contacted their Members of Parliament and as a result a listening post was set up in Parliament Buildings.³⁴⁹

The response from New Zealand was swift. By the 23rd July 1941, the Apostolic Delegation in Sydney sent a cablegram to Archdiocesan office in Wellington

³⁴⁵ "Vatican War Prisoners Bureau," *Zealandia*, 26/4/41.

³⁴⁶ *Evening Post*, 23/6/41.

³⁴⁷ 'Forms will include the soldiers name, and unit, his father's name, and-so there might not be any confusion- his mother's maiden name. Space is also provided for such item's as the soldier's place of enlistment, his relatives present address, where and when he was reported missing, and the address to which the reply is to be forwarded. It will also be possible for relatives to send personal messages.' *Evening Post* 4/7/41

³⁴⁸ Rosaleen Conway, "Dodging the Gestapo in Rome," *Tablet*, 31/6/81.

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

saying that 'Mail from NZ overwhelming.'³⁵⁰ The Vicar General, Monsignor Arthur McRae, apologized for the volume, having assumed that the delegation would have been equipped for this eventuality. He added that the New Zealand Government was somewhat concerned that the impression was being formed that the only way to get news of POWs was through the Vatican.³⁵¹ The size of the response led the Government to assure the public that it was the source of official notification that a serviceman was a prisoner, not the Vatican Radio, and it was setting up a Joint Council of the Order of St. John and the New Zealand Red Cross to help to coordinate this information. Archbishop O'Shea agreed that the Apostolic Delegation would work with the Joint Council. Any inquiry made by relatives would, if lodged with the Joint Council, be dealt with by the best available means, either through the Vatican or the International Red Cross in Geneva.³⁵² The Government's intention was shared by the Church authorities, who quickly realized that they alone could not handle the demand, as they were trying to do from the Archdiocesan office in Wellington.³⁵³

The size of the response was mainly due to the slowness of official channels. During the retreats from Greece and Crete and the North African battles, captured New Zealanders and other allied soldiers were often housed in a number of temporary camps then taken by boat to the Italian mainland. Many stayed in Italy but others were sent to Germany. As a result notification to the government through official channels was slow. By contrast the Bureau was able to give basic information relatively quickly. This was further enhanced when details of the transmission times were made available to listeners in New Zealand. When the Archdiocese in Wellington received an inquiry, it advised the sender that the inquiry was being forwarded to Sydney and also sent the inquirer a schedule of transmission times.

³⁵⁰ Apostolic Delegation Secretary, Sydney, "Cablegram 23/7/41.," in *Military Ordinariate, Vatican Radio #380, WACA*.

³⁵¹ Arthur McRae, "Letter to Apostolic Delegate 23/7/41.," in *Military Ordinariate, Vatican Radio #380, WACA*.

³⁵² Arthur McRae, "Letter to Peter McKeefrey, 3/7/41.," in *Military Ordinariate, Vatican Radio #380, WACA*.

³⁵³ McRae, "Letter to Apostolic Delegate 23/7/41.,"

The reaction was felt in Sydney as, in early 1942, the Secretary of the Delegation cautioned McRae about releasing the broadcast times. 'People seem to be endowed with extraordinary imaginations and hear names, etc. that are not given at all. This 'false' information created more inquiry work. But McRae replied that keeping transmission times from the New Zealand public 'was quite out of the question.'³⁵⁴

The military, however, seemed to have doubted the authenticity of the broadcasts. The Base Records Section of Military Headquarters in Wellington began to send out circular letters addressed to relatives of POW who were named in the Vatican broadcasts. The letters cast doubt on the reliability of the reports and emphasized the information 'cannot be accepted as official unless, and until, confirmation is received through the International Red Cross, Geneva or other source.'³⁵⁵ The Vicar General responded, complaining about the circular and particularly the allegation about the reliability of the information. Base Records could only cite four instances of error, and did concede that the Vatican broadcasts were substantially correct. After some further correspondence, the circular was reworded to recognize the credibility of the broadcasts.

Once the process was established, inquiries continued throughout the war. One of the more notable requests was from Peter Fraser to Archbishop O'Shea asking him on behalf of Mrs. J Hargest to send a message to her husband Brigadier Hargest who was in a POW camp. Mrs. Hargest offered to defray expenses, but O'Shea replied that the 'Apostolic Delegation authorities to the dispatch of messages of Prisoners of War and the relatives of theirs as an act of

³⁵⁴ Arthur McRae, "Letter to Apostolic Delegate, 2/3/42.," in *Military Ordinariate, Vatican Radio #380, WACA*.

³⁵⁵ Arthur McRae, "Letter to Base Records, Army Headquarters, 29/8/42.," in *Military Ordinariate, Vatican Radio #380, WACA*.

POWs in Australia.³⁶¹ Although the information gathering involved many Vatican representatives, much of the information Snedden gathered was first hand. As a representative of the Vatican he would visit camps, say Mass and make whatever inquiries were necessary. He continued this work until the Italian surrender.

³⁶¹ Susan Jacobs, *Fighting with the Enemy. New Zealand POWs and the Italian Resistance*. (Auckland, 2003).p205.

The escape network in Rome

The Italian surrender in September 1943 created a volatile state of affairs within Italy. As the Allies moved north, refugees headed for Rome. At same time many ex-POWs were roaming the countryside. Over half of the 80,000 Allied POWs in Italy escaped during the turbulence of the German occupation, but the majority were recaptured and sent to camps in Germany. But Rome became a favourite destination for many of the escapees, many of whom would have known the priests who had come from the Vatican to visit their camps. In the absence of civic authorities, the Vatican assumed much of the responsibility for relief work.

The flood of escapees led an Irish priest attached to the Vatican Secretariat, Monsignor Hugh O'Flaherty, to establish an underground organization which hid over 3,000 escaped Allied POWs in and around Rome during the German occupation.³⁶² O'Flaherty's organization made use of many priests and clergy who lived in the Vatican. Both Snedden and Flanagan became part of it, given the code-names 'Horace' and 'Fanny'.

The priest-underground workers joined a wide variety of men and women who gave accommodation for escapers, moved escapees between billets, ran supplies, worked the Black Market, provided money and worked in the German administration.³⁶³ Escapees were hid in the villages on the outskirts of Rome, in houses in Rome itself and in the colleges of the Vatican. Ironically O'Flaherty, who quickly became the target of Gestapo attention, had a room in the German College (Collegio Teutonicum) and Owen Snedden's 'place of safety' for escapees was a German monastery, the Santa Maria del'Anima. The German religious and clerics who staffed these buildings never betrayed the organization, which made considerable use of their facilities. Escaped prisoners who were

³⁶² Ibid.p204

³⁶³ J P Gallagher, *Scarlet Pimpernal of The Vatican* (London, 1967).pp82-83.

hidden in the Santa Maria del'Anima could watch Field Marshall Kesselring, who was in charge of all German forces in Italy, crossing the courtyard for Mass.³⁶⁴

It was dangerous work moving around occupied Rome, although clerical garb did provide a degree of anonymity and a semblance of protection. Many an escapee had to don a soutane when being moved from one place to another. However the clerical garb was no protection if caught, with a very real possibility of death if discovered. Snedden and Flanagan survived the increasing severity of the Occupation and were able to watch the Germans leave the city in early June 1944, from a balcony in the Vatican.

Naturally a number of New Zealand escapers passed through the organization. Of particular note was Paul Freyberg, son of the General Freyberg. He had been captured at Anzio, escaped and was able to get to Rome where he was hidden. Paul Freyberg turned twenty one a few days after arriving in Rome and Snedden and Flanagan were able to arrange and help celebrate a party in his honour.³⁶⁵ But they were priests as well. In 1979 a Parish Priest in Hawkes Bay wrote to the then Bishop Snedden wanting to validate baptismal records. He asked the Bishop if he remembered baptizing an escaped soldier in Rome in 1944. Snedden wrote back confirming the baptism. The soldier had been undergoing instruction with an Italian Chaplain in a POW camp, escaped and ended up in Rome. Snedden continued the instruction while the soldier was in hiding, visiting him whenever he could. The baptism was conducted by a German bishop in the Church of Santa Maria del'Anima. As for proof;

In those days documentation was hardly thought of, and I would doubt very much if Bishop Hudal made any entry into his register. For one thing, that would have been dangerous in the possibility of search operations by the Gestapo. I can, however, firmly testify to the fact of his baptism.³⁶⁶

³⁶⁴ Jacobs, *Fighting with the Enemy. New Zealand POWs and the Italian Resistance*, p212.

³⁶⁵ Ibid. p207.

³⁶⁶ Owen Snedden, "Letter to Father M Mariu, 26/4/79," in *Military Ordinariate, World War II #386, WACA*.

For both men the arrival of the New Zealanders in Rome was a time of great celebration. They had both been in Rome for seven years, each of them a Doctor of Divinity and Canon Law. They not only acted as guides for the troops but joined in the celebrations. As 'Hec' Fletcher reported 'We had a strenuous round of sightseeing piloted by Snedden and Flanagan.'³⁶⁷ Visits to the Opera and picnics were organized as was a private audience with the Pope for General Freyberg, his senior officers and the 2NZEF Catholic chaplains. Jesse Kingan was not with that group, which moved Freyberg to write

....Father Kingan is a very old and valued friend.....Tell him how sorry I was not to have the honour of including him in my list of Roman Catholic priests to whom His Holiness gave an audience yesterday morning. I took with me Colonel Spring and four of our priests from the Division, two New Zealand priests from the Vatican and an Air Force priest from nearby – eight in all. The Holy Father was most cordial to us all. I took also my two senior Roman Catholic officers and my Brigadiers to the Audience.³⁶⁸

Fathers Snedden and Flanagan were made military chaplains by General Freyberg so as to help with their repatriation back to New Zealand.³⁶⁹ Yet, in reality, their work was that of a military chaplain although not within the structure of an army. They were both shepherds and pastors to large numbers of soldiers, in the same sense as their fellow chaplain/priests in an environment that was volatile and potentially dangerous, visiting POW camps and showing a personal commitment to helping escaped prisoners of war. Both men were awarded MBEs in 1945. The work with Vatican Radio was of great significance to

³⁶⁷ J J Fletcher, "Letter to A McRae 25/7/44," in *Military Ordinariate, World War II History of Chaplains, WACA*.

³⁶⁸ Bernard Freyberg, "Letter from General Freyberg," *Bedeian-The Magazine of St. Bedes College, Christchurch (1944) MAW, Accession 85.p 94*.

³⁶⁹ Conway, "Dodging the Gestapo in Rome." Former Staff –Sergeant Buster Foster returned to New Zealand on the same troop ship and recalled "I was Fr Snedden's altar boy on board. He said Mass in a tiny room, six by six, used for printing menus. When he turned round to say 'Dominus vobiscum', I got a clip on the ear."

thousands of New Zealanders, and in its own right affecting the morale of New Zealand during the war years.

Welfare Work and the Transition to Peace- Catholic Services Welfare

When the outcome of the war became obvious, the Government began to plan for the return of the armed services and the discharge of thousands of men and not an inconsiderable number of women. The Government, through the Department of Rehabilitation, became the principal provider of assistance to returned servicemen. The Churches had been enthusiastic supporters of soldiers' welfare and, after some persuasion, co-operated in ensuring that the social and spiritual needs of the men were met. Chaplaincy and the auxiliary services were the most obvious contributions during the war. The demobilization of army, navy and air force personnel posed significant issues, not only in adjustment to civilian life, but the need to cope with the ongoing psychological and physical consequences of repeated exposure to risk of death and destruction. Men had changed and the families and communities to which they were returning needed to recognize that these men were very likely to have an altered view of the world.

In 1941 the National Council of Churches was formed, and one of its aims was to have a substantial impact in the post-war reconstruction of New Zealand. The Catholic Church was not part of the National Council, but had been speaking publicly of the need for social justice, an oft repeated Papal concern. The Catholic hierarchy was, however, much more cautious when pressed about possible reform.

In 1943 the Baptist chaplain, Reverend A. H. Findlay, printed, at his own expense, a small tract, *When your Man Gets Home-What*. It warned that the men coming home from the war will have a new maturity. "Has he not been

battered on the callous anvil of army life?"³⁷⁰ Social, political and religious beliefs were likely to have changed. Religious faith may have been lost, alcohol used without any qualms and long held political views overturned. Molly Whitelaw was another who wrote of the issues facing returning men. Her concerns were for women and as mothers, sisters, wives, the need to deal with changes to their men and the likely impact upon relationships. Whitelaw's publication, *When The Boys Come Home*, was backed by the Campaign for Christian Order, an offshoot of the National Council of Churches. The Campaign's aims were not dissimilar to the concerns which soldiers had expressed to their chaplains about the sort of New Zealand to which they wished to return: the removal of unjust political, social or economic discrimination; the availability of those material things necessary for the health and security of themselves and their families; the freedom to develop religious and cultural life; the freedom to hold and express diverse opinions.³⁷¹ Archbishop O'Shea publicly supported the Campaign for Christian Order, although he would have preferred a State-run event as he was concerned about its denominational bias. The *Zealandia* and *Tablet* continued to publish the Papal teachings on social justice throughout the war, so it was no real surprise that at the end of March 1946 a pastoral letter from the bishops about the welfare of returned servicemen was read to the laity. In the letter they commended the organisation to the laity and asked them to take a close interest in the work.³⁷²

As Catholic chaplains returned from overseas during 1945, they began to undertake work to assist in the rehabilitation of returned service personnel. Initially it began at a diocesan level. In Auckland Fathers Ted Forsman and John Pierce had formed groups within the laity to assist the returning troops and this pattern was followed in Christchurch and Wellington. Care was taken to consult with the local Rehabilitation Committees that had been set up by the Rehabilitation Department. Contacts with the local rehabilitation committees

³⁷⁰ Glen, "New Zealand Army Chaplains at War, 2 NZEF 1939-1945".p372.

³⁷¹ Ibid.p378.

³⁷² Catholic Bishops, "Pastoral Letter 31/3/46.," in *Liston Papers, Lis 111-2, ACDA*.

were cordial.³⁷³ Emphasis was upon assisting returning Catholic men and women, but as an adjunct to official rehabilitation efforts and was in no way an attempt to create a rival structure.³⁷⁴

By November 1945 the bishops began discussing the possibility of the work being extended nationally, and the Catholic Services Welfare (CSW) was brought into being as a national organisation in January 1946. Monsignor Tom Connolly, as the senior Catholic chaplain and a World War I veteran/chaplain, told the bishops that the work to aid the spiritual and temporal rehabilitation of returned men was a vital problem. O'Shea notified the Prime Minister who in turn promised full co-operation from the Government.³⁷⁵ The bishops placed the CSW under the patronage of St. Camillus and in the hands of the former military chaplains. They operated out of offices in Wellington, Auckland, Christchurch and Dunedin. But military welfare was not their only mandate. The CSW and the ex-chaplains who ran the organization were also charged with ensuring the 'due observance of Anzac Day' and compiling a Catholic Roll of Honour.³⁷⁶

Parishes were the focus of their work. Parish priests were encouraged to make visits and establish who amongst their parishioners were returned personnel. The clergy were encouraged to talk to groups of servicemen and women in their parishes on the issues, both spiritual and temporal, of rehabilitation. Family rehabilitation was particularly important, especially as 'So many will be restless, uneasy in mind, and have the wanderlust after service in the Forces.' Timely chats and advice might help keep a home together.³⁷⁷ The assistance envisaged was largely social work, either counseling or providing practical help as regards accessing pensions owed, what rights were available, employment options and

³⁷³ Catholic Services Welfare, "Report of Proceedings 14/1/46.," in *Military Ordinariate, World War II* #386, WACA.

³⁷⁴ Patrick Lyons, "Letter to James Liston 24/11/45," in *Liston Papers, Lis 111-2, ACDA*.

³⁷⁵ Peter Fraser, "Letter to O'Shea 8/4/46," in *Military Ordinariate, World War II* #378, WACA.

³⁷⁶ Bishops, "Pastoral Letter 31/3/46.."

³⁷⁷ , "Catholic Services Welfare: Rehabilitation of Servicemen and Women (undated-probably 1945- list of possible fields in which the Clergy might assist)," in *Liston Papers, Lis 111-2, ACDA*. (1945).

housing entitlements. A pamphlet was prepared showing all available benefits for returned soldiers and the clergy were urged to use it.

In Auckland Ted Forsman and John Pierce had tapped into the Catholic networks for help as regards employment and advocacy. Advice on 'business matters', 'new vocations or employment' was aimed at getting 'sound businessmen' involved and lists of contacts were drawn up.³⁷⁸ This networking was repeated in the other dioceses. But much of the drive came from the chaplains themselves, whose empathy for returned men was obvious. In a letter to Ted Forsman Jesse Kingan refers to his keenness to have a young man placed in a job because 'he was 3 ½ years with 5th Field Regiment.'³⁷⁹ The chaplains kept in contact with one another to provide updated lists of men returning from overseas and make sure men who had sought their help were not lost sight of as they moved about the country.³⁸⁰

The CSW worked through existing diocesan lay organizations. The Catholic Women's League dealt with accommodation for female ex-service women, the Catholic Rural Movement for land settlement, the Catholic Youth movement and Catholic University Students Guild for dependants of returned service personnel, and the Holy Name Society to maintain religious observance.³⁸¹ The Holy Name Society in each parish arranged a special Sunday Mass and breakfast to welcome returned men back and get them involved in parish life again.

The other task the bishops assigned the CSW was the compilation of a Catholic Roll of Honour. Some 1400 Catholic men were estimated to have died during the

³⁷⁸ , "List of Businesses and Contacts for rehabilitation purposes (undated probably 1946)," in *Mackey Papers, Mac 122-2, ACDA*.

³⁷⁹ Jesse Kingan, "Letter to Forsman 15/3/46," in *Mackey Papers, Mac 122-2, ACDA*.

³⁸⁰ Ibid.

³⁸¹ , "Catholic Services Welfare: Rehabilitation of Servicemen and Women (undated-probably 1945- list of possible fields in which the Clergy might assist)."

war.³⁸⁴ The Roll was not only for commemorative purposes, but important to identify the children of the fallen in order to allow them to take part in Catholic education.³⁸⁵ Parishioners were asked to complete cards showing the name of the person killed, schooling, where died, where buried together with any message.³⁸⁶ These cards and the lists extracted from official sources were the source of the Roll, which was being added to as new names were known. Both the *Zealandia* and *Tablet* printed the main roll and continued to print supplementary lists as they were compiled.

Returned Services Association

Membership of the Returned Services Association (RSA) was considered important for all Catholic returned servicemen and women. The ex-chaplains were in no doubt as to the importance of membership, because of the collegiality and fellowship it afforded.³⁸⁷ They were aware of the distance that had grown between the men overseas and the people in New Zealand. As 'Hec' Fletcher explained in a letter written from Italy in November 1944,

Most of those who return from Furlough say that, although they have had a very pleasant time there, they are not too pleased with the place. They say that most of all the people are not much interested in the war & the 2NZE & have no conception of what it is like. How could they. They have never seen it. But it is as well they have not....³⁸⁸

Bishop Patrick Lyons of Christchurch felt that the work of the CSW should in no way detract from RSA membership, because membership allowed them to 'best protect their religious rights.'³⁸⁹ This protection of rights referred to the issue of Anzac Day observance, which had, in some centres, a religious dimension

³⁸⁴ Bishops, "Pastoral Letter 31/3/46.."

³⁸⁵ Welfare, "Report of Proceedings 14/1/46.."

³⁸⁶ A small number of completed 'RIP' cards are held in the Marist Archives Wellington (*MAW Accession* #85)

³⁸⁷ Welfare, "Report of Proceedings 14/1/46.."

³⁸⁸ J J Fletcher, "Letter to A McRae 14/11/44," in *Military Ordinariate, World War II History of Chaplains, WACA*.

³⁸⁹ Lyons, "Letter to James Liston 24/11/45."

unacceptable to the Catholic Church. Lyon's attitude was rigidly against any form of involvement in Protestant worship as Jesse Kingan discovered at his first peace-time Anzac Day, 1946. Kingan had 'bent the rules' at the RSA parade, not surprising given his years away as a frontline chaplain.³⁹⁰ Lyons wrote chastising him, saying

The only comment I can make is to emphasise....that the Catholic Church, its chaplains, its returned Services personnel, and its people generally, are not prepared to discuss any form of combined religious service, as we will have nothing to do with it under any condition. The only thing that will satisfy us is a purely civic celebration without any prayer, scripture readings or blessings. We also desire that no clergyman, Protestant, Catholic or Jewish, should officiate at the celebration. In fact it would be far better if the clergymen were not on the platform at all in order to let the public see that the celebration was strictly civil. I think it important that the celebration be described in any publicity and in the official programme as a "civic celebration" for the use of the word "service" would still create doubt in the minds of many.³⁹¹

In Auckland James Liston had reached an agreement with the Auckland RSA, in 1931, regarding the format of the Anzac Day ceremony, with which 'we are wholly satisfied.'³⁹² So the issue was not a problem everywhere. However in March 1946 Christchurch the chaplains raised concerns with Bishop Lyons about the religious nature of the ceremony, which effectively disbarred Catholics from participating. The 1946 ceremony in Christchurch was to be conducted by the Dean of Christchurch Rev A K Warren MC, himself a 2NZEF chaplain. When contacted, the Christchurch RSA claimed it was too late to consider the Catholic position for 1946, but promised to do so in the future.³⁹³ A similar problem had

³⁹⁰ "1500 Gather at Memorial for Dawn Service," *Dominion* 1946.

³⁹¹ O'Meehan, *Steadfast in Hope. The Story of the Catholic Archdiocese of Wellington 1850-2000*.pp301-02.

³⁹² James Liston, "Letter to Kingan re Anzac Day 18/5/46.," in *Liston Papers, Lis 111-2, ACDA*.

³⁹³ Secretary Christchurch RSA, "Letter from Christchurch RSA re Anzac Day 21/3/46," in *Liston Papers, Lis 111-2, ACDA*. (1946).

emerged in Temuka which, as the *Otago Daily Times* had reported, 'If the New Zealand Returned Services Association could arrange for the service to be civic rather than denominational, it would enable comrades from the Catholic denomination to join.'³⁹⁴ Consequently the hierarchy issued a confidential instruction to military chaplains, in July 1946, directing all Chaplains 'to maintain most strictly the right of Catholics in the Services to religious parades and assemblies of their own: and to see that they and the Catholic members of the Services take no part whatsoever in any form of combined religious worship or prayer.'³⁹⁵ The Decree on Ecumenism by Vatican II in 1964 completely reversed this position.³⁹⁶

The issue was resolved by having the matter submitted to the New Zealand RSA for their decision. They wanted the issue discussed fully with the Combined Churches, so Jesse Kingan and Wilf Ainsworth met with Rev. Michael Underhill (Anglican) and Rev. Douglas Spence (Presbyterian). Both Underhill and Spence were ex-chaplains and Kingan considered them 'honest and reasonable men', a view which was hardly surprising given the approximately 4 years they had spent together.³⁹⁷ Consequent upon that meeting, the Dominion Conference agreed that Anzac Day was to be a civic rather than a religious ceremony, managed by the local RSA.³⁹⁸

The heat died out of the ANZAC day issue, possibly helped by the departure of Bishop Lyons back to Australia in 1950. By the mid 1950s the ANZAC day platforms were being shared by clergy of all denominations. A contemporary recalls how, in Nelson in 1954, the ANZAC day ceremony had civil dignitaries and several ministers of religion, some of whom were in academic gowns or church regalia on the platform. They were joined by Jesse Kingan who was then

³⁹⁴ "Report of a Meeting of the Temuka RSA," *Otago Daily Times* 1946.

³⁹⁵ Catholic Bishops, "Religious Parades and Services for members of the Forces. Instructions to all Service Chaplains. Confidential.," in *Liston Papers, Lis111-2, ACDA*.

³⁹⁶ O'Meehan, *Steadfast in Hope. The Story of the Catholic Archdiocese of Wellington 1850-2000*.p302.

³⁹⁷ Jesse Kingan, "Letter to Liston re Anzac Day," in *Liston Papers* (Auckland, 1946).

³⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

a parish priest in Nelson. The Anglican Dean read the lesson, the other clergy each said a prayer followed by a Mayoral address, a military salute, the 'Last Post', and a final hymn. This combined observance became a familiar event for ANZAC day.³⁹⁹

Returning Home

Those priests who returned to New Zealand from the war could not be expected to fit back into routine parish life immediately. They had had life experiences which were far removed from that of their fellow priests and would have faced repatriation issues like other returned servicemen. The issue was what to do with them. In Auckland, Liston's relationship with those priests who had seen the war, either as chaplains, such as Ted Forsman or servicemen who became priests such as Ernest Simmons or those caught up in the war such as Owen Snedden was somewhat different. Nicholas Reid describes it as 'the relationship of an institutional superior to well educated, mature men. They obediently did the bishop's bidding, but they were not schoolboys cowering before the college rector'.⁴⁰⁰ It is highly likely that this type of relationship between returned chaplains and their superiors, respectful but not afraid to challenge, was replicated in other dioceses.

³⁹⁹ The information about the Nelson ANZAC day service came from Brother Gerard Hogg of the Marist Archives in Wellington. He recalled attending 8am Mass on the morning of ANZAC day, in uniform together with other Catholic members of his CMT unit. 'We formed up afterwards outside the Catholic Church and marched to the gathering area where we joined another 30 or more Soldiers. We then paraded and marched to the Church Steps which is at the top of the Main Street in Nelson. The steps lead up the hill behind to the Anglican Cathedral. Seated on the Dais were the Civil Representatives and several Ministers of Religion, some of whom were in academic gowns or church regalia. Father Kingan arrived in a black clerical suit, black hat and wearing his medals while we were standing waiting for the service to begin. He climbed the steps to where the Mayor and others were gathered and approached them. He was met by an official and introduced to those present who had taken their places. There was a brief change of the seating arrangements in order to provide Fr.Kingan with a seat in the front row. Fr.Kingan was a bit late in arriving and it was near the starting time and because of his having received the Military Cross and was wearing it, it was necessary to recognise this and accord him the honor of being at the front of the dais. I know that each A.N.Z.A.C Day while he was in Nelson, Fr.Kingan attended the Service. In his papers we have here it is clear that EVERY A.N.Z.A.C Day he attended Services and often was the Listed Speaker or he recited a Bible Verse or a Prayer. I note also that Archbishop McKeefrey also attended a Service. Other Catholic Priests around the country seem to have also been at services in those years immediately after the end of W.W.II.'

⁴⁰⁰ Reid, *James Michael Liston, A Life*.p193.

Many of the ex-chaplains became involved in welfare work with returned men and retained links to the military through the Chaplains' Dominion Advisory Council. But it took some time before they were put back into parish work. In the case of Ted Forsman, his brother wrote that James Liston 'was "most understanding" and showed "caring and perceptive awareness" of Ted's needs.'⁴⁰¹ Forsman was made Parish Priest of Parnell in 1949 and remained there until 1975. Other records show a similar picture where, in the immediate post-war years, these men were not expected to take on the responsibility of a parish. Clearly the hierarchy allowed the returned priests time to adjust. While they did not have to re-establish their relationships with wives or get used to being a father in a household, they did have to revert to the role of an obedient cleric and put their years of war behind them.

Bill Sheely became Parish Priest of Dargaville in 1950, and 'Hec' Fletcher spent time on the West Coast, before taking on a large parish in Wellington. The Marist, Jesse Kingan, spent the immediate post-war years as a curate in Wanganui and in 1950 became Chaplain to the New Zealand Forces in Korea for some months. One Catholic chaplain was ordained a bishop. Ted Joyce, who saw war service in the Pacific, was consecrated Bishop of Christchurch in July 1950. He remained as Bishop in Christchurch until his sudden death in January 1964. Owen Snedden, the voice of Vatican Radio, was made Auxiliary Bishop of Wellington in 1962 until his death in 1981. A number of the other returned chaplains were made Monsignor, a title that elevated them above that of clergy but carried with it no particular hierarchal prerogative.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid.p193.

Conclusion

The military chaplains of 2NZEF were men of distinction. This is not simply due to their status as clergymen, but rather because of the distinct nature of their function. They were civilian clergy who volunteered to serve in the armed forces, and developed a vigorous chaplaincy which became a small but highly pertinent aspect of New Zealand's armed forces. In the civilian army that was 2 NZEF, the chaplains created an important link with home for the men. Although the participation in religious services in New Zealand had been declining before the War, most men would have had some exposure to the rituals of religious service, together with the religious and social ethics and values that were inherent in New Zealand society. By having prayer and ritual at the battlefield, that link with New Zealand was sustained. The consolation of the Christian faith may not have been important for all the men, but the chaplains could and did bring about a consolation about how and why the massive acts of violence that was war could continue.

One of the significant achievements of 2NZEF was the manner in which a variety of religious denominations were able to work co-operatively and successfully. The major denominational divide was between Protestant and Catholic and the very real accomplishment was the manner in which they worked together yet remained distinct. Amongst the Protestant denominations the need to work much more co-operatively than had been the case in New Zealand, did lead to genuine ecumenism, where religious services for men of different Protestant standings were often combined. 2NZEF was recognised as having a distinct ecumenical culture in its religious observances, the Catholics being the exception.

At the beginning of the war there was an element of distrust between chaplains of the two faiths. It took time for the relationship to develop. Pre-war contact

between Catholic and Protestant clergy had been minimal, although organisations such as the Inter-church Council of Public Affairs did create a forum for dialogue among senior clergy. But over a relatively short period of time the climate of suspicion was broken down, mainly by the demands of war and the insistence that the arrangements for ministry be made to work. The Senior Chaplains of the main denominations were men of integrity and able to work with a system for which no precedent had been set and driven by military priorities over which they had no say.

From the start, the principal obligation for the Catholic chaplains was to deliver the sacraments to their Catholic men. For the Catholic chaplain it was crucial that a Catholic soldier have all the benefits of the sacraments given the high risk of death or serious injury. In many ways they were to continue what had been the practice in New Zealand, that is to say Mass, preach, hear confessions and administer the other sacraments but with an urgency not usually found in ordinary parish work. Their role placed the sacramental ahead of the pastoral and put the soldiers' spiritual wellbeing to the fore. Only a Catholic priest could legitimately administer the sacraments, and the sacrament was more vital for Catholics than Protestants.

That is not to say that the pastoral was neglected. Outside of the sacramental, the work of all the chaplains was broadly the same. They immersed themselves in the daily routines of military life and made themselves available to the men as needed. They shared the dangers and helped deal with the physical and emotional damage that was ever present. The war and the strong appeal to minimize denominational differences made the Protestant - Catholic divide at the front shrink in size and intensity. The reality was not that Catholic men were necessarily indifferent to their faith, but that, as soldiers, their sense of camaraderie with their comrades became paramount. Their mates became all important while those trappings of their civilian life, such as denominational distinction, became less important.

But post-war New Zealand society was changing and the experiences of a number of clergy and thousands of Christian servicemen during World War II invariably had an impact upon how the Christian church functioned in that society. There were too many examples of the denominations working together in the armed services, often in difficult circumstances, for there to be a return to pre-war circumspection. In New Zealand the Churches were willing to support the war effort and any denominational rivalry was suppressed, as the failure to do so would lose credibility with the population at large.

The Churches recognised that change was happening. Service personnel were coming home with a different attitude to a number of things they left behind when they went to war. In terms of the clergy Mary Tagg tells a particularly interesting story of a post war friendship that her father, a Presbyterian minister and prisoner of war, made with a Catholic priest. The Rev. McDowall

developed a close working relationship with the neighbouring Catholic priest, Father (later Monsignor) Bradley, who regularly shared discussions with McDowall over their respective parish difficulties. For many years they co-operated over weddings, which McDowall would take for Bradley when he was unable to marry non-Catholics or divorcees. The vicar of the nearby Anglican Church also worked with them and they called on each other regularly for assistance when someone in the district was in need. McDowall's close friendship with Bradley was recognised when he and his wife were invited by the RC Church to attend Bradley's funeral and stand in place of his family, as Bradley had no family in New Zealand.⁴⁰²

This friendship would not have occurred in pre-war New Zealand.

The Catholic chaplains were not men whose war experiences radicalised their attitudes about the Church and its place in the world. But they had shared in the camaraderie of 2NZEF. So the artificial barriers imposed by the hierarchy in

⁴⁰² Tagg, "The Prisoner Padre. The Impact of War on a New Zealand Cleric" ".p167.

1946 as to the sharing of ANZAC ceremonies with Protestant clergy were hardly seen as binding. Their role in the slow ecumenical shift was important since the public sharing of prayer on these occasions was a precursor to the substantive exchanges between Catholic and Protestant after Vatican II.

Appendix 1Kings RegulationsDivine Service, &c.Paras. 1571-1578, Sec XII.**11.- DIVINE SERVICE, CHAPLAINS, RELIGIOUS
INSTRUCTION**

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

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

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

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

Chaplains

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

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

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

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

Officiating Chaplains

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

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

1581. The duties to be performed by an officiating chaplain in receipt of pay from army funds are as laid down for a chaplain in para.1575 and in the "Instructions for the guidance of chaplains..... in their ministrations to His Majesty's Army", so far as they apply to officiating chaplains. Officiating chaplains will not demand fees for the performance of any of these duties.

Religious Books

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

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

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

12-MISCELLANEOUS

Soldier-Servants and Orderlies

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

(b) The conditions under which allowances in lieu of soldier-servants may be drawn are laid down in Allowance Regulations, but an officer will not employ a European soldier at

Appendix 2

Religious Denomination of 2NZEF Personnel as at 8/4/42
(National Archives WAI DA 1/9/61,62)

Anglican	14025 (44%)	United Churches	1
Presbyterian	9376 (29.4%)	Free Thinker	22
Catholic	4613 (14.5%)	Central Mission	2
Methodist	2233 (7%)	Greek Orthodox	1
Baptist	408	Theosophist	1
Salvation Army	223	I C of Wales	1
Church of Christ	142	British Institute	3
Protestant	113	All Saints	1
Wesleyan	20	Non-denominational	17
Christian Scientist	31	Church of Scotland	3
Apostolic	6	New Church	1
Mormon	108	Revival Fire Mission	2
Non-Conformist	4	Mohammedan	2
Rationalist	4	Holy Trinity	1
Unitarian	1	Ratana	108
Congregationalist	87	Ingarangi	1
Plymouth Brethren	18	Ringatu	59
Brethren	124	Atheist	23
Commonwealth		Agnostic	9
Covenant Assembly	3	No Religion	225
Christian Church	1	Religion not stated	154
Quaker	3	Total	32281
Jewish	56		
7th day Adventist	17		
Liberal Catholic	3		

A detailed return to Army HQ of the Territorial Force dated 12 March 1942 shows the following 'denominations': Agnostic, Anglican, Apostolic, Assembly of God in NZ, Atheists, Baptists, Brethren, British Israel, Christian, Christian Scientist, Christian Socialist, Christodelphian, (sic) Commonwealth Covenant, Congregational, Church of Christ, Evangelist (sic), Free Thinker, Gospel, Greek Orthodox, Jewish, Latter Day Saints, Lutheran, Methodist, Mission Church, Mormon, None Shown, No religion, Open Brethren, Orthodox, Pentecostal, Plymouth Bretheren, Presbyterian, Protestant, Quaker, Ratana, Rationalist, Ringatu, Roman Catholic, Salvation Army, Seventh Day Adventists, Spiritualists, Sun Worshipper, Wesleyan.
(National Archives WAI AD1 300/1/9)

Appendix 3

National Patriotic Fund Board

(Report) For the year Ended 30th September 1940

Presented to both Houses of the General Assembly pursuant to Regulation 21 of the Patriotic Purposes Emergency Regulations 1939

.....Catholic War Services Fund Board

The Board was established on the 7th July 1940 for the purposes of assuming control of Catholic huts already established at Papakura, Trentham, and Burnham. As from the 30th June 1940 the assets of the Catholic War Services Fund Board, to a value of £3,289.3s.6d were taken over by the National Patriotic Fund Board and liabilities amounting to £1438 5s 4d were discharged.

All previous donations given by the Catholic Congregations for war relief work were considered to have been made to the National Patriotic Fund Board. Henceforth activities of the Catholic War Services Fund Board will be financed from the National Patriotic Fund. The recreational huts managed by the Board are conducted on similar lines to those of the national welfare and church organisations, and entertainment and benefit facilities are provided where possible. Proposals are in hand for the provision of a Catholic Service Hut at the mobilisation camp at Waikouru. (Wellington Diocesan Archives *World War II (378) National. Patriotic Fund Board/Cath. War Services Fund Board/ Woburn Hostel*).

Appendix 4

Extract taken from *'War Stories Our Mothers Never Told Us'*. Edited by Judith Fyfe from a film by Gaylene Preston. Penguin Books, Auckland. 1995. pp 12-15.

'Themes and issues became apparent, and it emerged from the research that there were five main categories of women in their twenties and early thirties, during the war:

Married with young children with husband at home. Settled routine, relatively stable, day-to-day lives. Usually say 'they didn't do anything in the war' but in fact they did an enormous amount of volunteer war and patriotic fundraising work.

Married with children, but husband serving overseas. Also claim that they 'didn't do anything' during the war. Very few were in any form of paid work. Effectively solo parents organising their own lives, managing their own finances and making their own decisions. Often returned to live with their parents, so usually had an extended family base. Those who didn't were usually in a less satisfactory situation often living in lonely bedsits with virtually no child care available.

Married, with no children, husband overseas. In some ways this is the most complicated category. They were neither 'single' nor were they mothers. They were working in order to support themselves or because they were manpowered. There was something heroic about this group-the 'women waiting', the bride without a partner.

Single women. Working, unless there was a good reason. Either manpowered out of their existing jobs into essential war or industrial work, or into jobs left vacant when the men went overseas. Some were jobs traditionally done by men but most would be defined as 'women's work'. There was a swelling in the bottom-ranked occupations rather than a storming of the executive or professional offices. The demand increased for women to go to work as the war continued (in 1942 all women aged 18-30 were ordered to register for direction to essential work). Some loved being manpowered, others loathed and resented it. Many involved themselves with patriotic fundraising, the entertainment of troops or concert parties. They often took advantage of the extra social life that started with farewells for the boys and then moved in to 'dance duty' at parties and socials organised for servicemen and the visiting American marines.

Single and in the services. The auxiliary services to the navy, army and the air force. Predominantly in nursing positions, some clerical and a few in more technical departments, communications and transport. They were in uniform, had rank and either stayed home or went overseas to the Middle East, Europe or North Africa. About 10,000 New Zealand women of eligible age went into the

services. They are like a breed apart, particularly those commissioned overseas. They had position, skills that were recognised and paid for and new experiences. Almost invariably they say that they gained confidence and self-respect. Unlike those that claimed they 'did nothing during the war', servicewomen had a great deal to talk about.

War was a time of heightened emotions. People fell in love very easily; there was an urgency that gave romance an edge and the instability added a certain zest to daily life. Virtual strangers made lifetime commitments. One of the milestones for a number of women in New Zealand was the wartime presence of American men-generally known as 'the American invasion'. In 1942, as 20,000 New Zealand men left the country, 25,000 American men arrived. (A hundred thousand were based here between mid-1942 and mid-1944.)

Many New Zealanders still think that the American troops were based in this country to protect it from the Japanese because the British couldn't, but in reality New Zealand became strategically important when the allies put the South West Pacific theatre into US military care. This country was a convenient and safe base unlikely to be attacked. It was also a food supplier for the American services and a place for sick servicemen to recuperate and for rest and recreation.

New Zealand women were generally impressed with the Americans. Hollywood manifested itself right here, 'down under'. They all looked like Clark Gable (numerous women raved about their 'great teeth!'). Basically the 'Yanks', as they were called with affection or with disparagement, had more money, more manners and more panache than the Kiwi blokes. They taught our girls how to jitterbug, do the swing and enjoy jazz, and they showered them with gifts of chocolates, flowers and highly desired nylon stockings.

Women had fun-they had a good and memorable time with the Yanks, who set new standards of male behaviour which women wanted their own brothers and boyfriends to emulate. Many Kiwi males did not like being told to 'smarten up' by their girlfriends and wives. On the one hand the men were grateful for the protection they believed the Americans were providing against enemy invasion but on the other they resented the fact that while 'our boys' were away fighting, the Yanks, loaded with money, were off with their women. This may explain the somewhat ambivalent attitude toward Americans in New Zealand, even today.

There are many, many myths about 'the American invasion', but there is no doubt that heads and hearts were turned momentarily and permanently. The year after their arrival there was a huge bulge in the statistics. The birth rate of children born out of wedlock rose significantly. There was an almost parallel rise in the rate of deaths of women from septicaemia as a result of back street or illegal abortions. These deaths should probably be included in the records as 'death due to war'. In March 1943, *Truth* newspaper expressed alarm at the

number of abortions being carried out and claimed that 30 to 40 abortion cases were admitted each week to Auckland Public Hospital.

The lives of many New Zealand women-the knowing and experienced as well as the innocent-were affected, directly and indirectly, by the Americans who introduced glamour, style and courtesy, and sometimes tragedy, into their lives. Who you slept with during the war is just as relevant as what you *did* in the war. It is a legitimate and seminal question in searching to find out what exactly did happen to the lives of young women during the war. Although this generation largely denies there was sex before marriage, the figures and anecdotal evidence tell us otherwise.

Wartime music and dancing seems to be the motif for these women. Dancing was more than just an excuse to get 'all dolled up'. It was a chance to dream and fantasise; an opportunity to get away from work at home, work at work, the daily drone of family life, and feel beautiful and desirable-to feel something more than your ordinary, everyday self. For young women in the 1940s, who led relatively restricted lives compared to young women these days, it was a freedom and physical pleasure with no strings attached. It stretched the thin line between childhood and marriage.

In many ways the war brought an end to the traditional extended family life. There were too many gaps in family gatherings after the war, and carefree families became remorseful families. Fathers and brothers turned into sour men and mothers were physically and emotionally exhausted by two world wars and a depression. 'Normal life' of pre-war days was out of reach and for many women the next five years -the post war period of readjustment- was in some ways even more traumatic than the war itself had been. They had to re-establish their relationships with their partners, get used to having a man as head of the household again and help their children adjust to living with their fathers who were or had become virtual strangers.'

Appendix 5

A description of *Shafto's Cinema* taken from '*I Didn't Have A Choice*' by John Johnston. (2006). Auckland, Reed Books. p187.

'There wasn't much to do in Maadi Camp, not in the evening anyway. When the day's duties - the parade ground drill, the weapon training and camp fatigues - were finished, how could a soldier fill his spare time?

Well, there was the YMCA Lowry Hut. There you could buy a cup of tea and a poor-tasting locally made biscuit - not very exciting for young fellows in their early twenties. There was the odd game of housie, but most of us quickly tired of that. There was also the NAAFI where you could buy the local beer, Stella. It was not such a bad beer really but it was usually lukewarm, and lukewarm beer served in the hot Egyptian evenings had little appeal.

But there was somewhere else we could go and that was the camp cinema -Shafto's. Shafto, so the story goes, was an Australian soldier who stayed behind in Egypt after the First World War ended. He saw the opportunity to make a bob or two with what had just become the world's new entertainment rage, the cinema.

He made a deal with the British Army authorities to set up and provide cinema entertainment in the many camps and military establishments scattered throughout Egypt.

Although Egypt gained independence in 1922, Britain still continued to have a strong military presence. This was due mainly due to Egypt's strategic position in the Middle East and also the need to keep control of the Suez Canal.

When the Second World War broke out the New Zealand Government offered to provide, and keep up to strength by regular reinforcements, a complete division and Britain immediately accepted the offer. It then decided the New Zealand Division would be used to support General Wavell's army in Egypt who were at the time facing the threat of an Italian invasion across the border from Libya.

When the New Zealand Division arrived in Egypt in early 1940 a base camp was established on the outskirts of Cairo in an area called Maadi. In addition to military requirements the troops would need recreational facilities, including a damp cinema. Who better to call on than Mr. Shafto?

So Shafto got the contract and built his cinema. Then, for the next six years, every evening the projectors would roll, scores and often hundreds would line up -"Pay three ackers and grab a seat."

Shafto's idea of a picture theatre was a cross between a circus tent and the community centre of a shanty town, a structure thrown together using all the scraps of timber, planks and poles he could lay his hands on. The roof and empty spaces around the walls were covered with a sort of cheap multi-coloured Egyptian cotton material. A more ramshackle and dilapidated structure you could never imagine. Extending out of an end wall was a hut built on raised poles, and this housed the two projectors.

Inside, the only furnishing apart from the screen, a bleached white material attached to an end wall, were hundreds of seats arranged in rows on the sandy ground. These seats, made of wood with straight upright backs, were most uncomfortable. The part of the seat you sat in was made from woven sea grass, and all had become heavily infested with bugs. These were a type of bug that bore a close relationship to the other bugs of which we were so familiar -bed bugs.

Each evening the boys would come in their shorts and conveniently provide these bugs with their evening meal: the back of their legs. The only defence against this form of

attack was to wear long trousers, but on a hot Egyptian evening this type of attire was very uncomfortable. So you really had only two options- suffer the heat or be eaten alive.

There were the days when a visit to a picture theatre was a complete evening's entertainment. It all began with an assortment of 'shorts', a brief interval, and then the 'big picture'. These shows usually started with a popular newsreel. But as the programmes at Shafto's were second- run films, more often than not, the newsreels were also old and out of date. In any case they were mostly about the war and we'd all had enough of that.

Following the newsreel there would be a cartoon. Some of these were about a cat called Felix and, if you were lucky - these would be more recent - about a mouse called Michael. Then we would often be shown a short comedy starring characters such as Buster Keaton, Fatty Arbuckle or Harold Lloyd.

Sometimes there would be a documentary film. These were often from a series called 'The March of Time,' usually about a chap in Germany called Hitler who, so the film told us, may one day start a war. Another American documentary was called 'Crime Does Not Pay!' These films were about naughty people who did naughty things and told of what happened to them when they were caught. Many of these stories were about murders and horror-killings. Well, at that moment in history, killing had become 'the name of the game'. As most of the audience has been well trained and experienced in this art, the moral of these stories didn't mean too much. In those days, before modern air travel, an overseas trip for most people was a once in a lifetime event. When the cinema came along some enterprising cameraman did the traveling for the masses and made cine films of all those exotic places that the average person had no hope of ever visiting.

One of those cameramen was a character named James A. Fitzpatrick. He brought to the screens of the world a feature he called the Fitzpatrick Travelogue and as he used a medium very rare at the time, colour, the audiences just loved them. Now Fitzpatrick must have been patient photographer because he always stayed at a location long enough to capture a beautiful sunset. This was used to make a suitable conclusion to his travel film. Fitzpatrick always did his own commentaries and coined what became a well-known phrase.

When the final scene, a beautiful sunset, came onto the screen, he would recite his cliché: "And, as the sun sinks slowly in the west we say farewell to....." At this point the boys would join in at the top of their voices; except they managed to get in an extra adjective beginning with the letter 'f' in front of the word 'west'.

After the shorts, the 'big picture' was usually an oldie from Shafto's collection of second-run films. But you could be lucky, and occasionally you would see a film you had not seen before. Some of them we enjoyed, but a lot of them were most unsuitable for an audience such as this. I don't suppose any of us wanted to be, or even needed to be, reminded of a world we once knew; a world without war; of what we had left behind; of things we missed so much.

Love scenes especially were disliked. Though not so explicit as today, the film directors even then included love scenes that had little to do with the story. Why such films were shown is hard to explain. They were hardly suitable for an 'all male, sex-starved audience' such as we were. Why, most of us had not even spoken to, let alone touched, a woman for many months, and as the war dragged on, this fact became years. When the heroine was shown locked in the arms of the hero and the shot became the least bit prolonged, there would be plenty of advice from the audience, such as: Oh for Christ's sake, do her over and get on with the film!"

Popular during the 1930s was a series about an Oriental detective who went by the name of Charlie Chan. Charlie Chan loved travel and visited many places. But the odd thing was he did not seem to be the slightest bit interested in sightseeing. No, all he wanted to do was solve a murder. Charlie became so well known worldwide that when he decided to visit a certain place and the local authorities got to hear about his intended visit, they would arrange to have someone murdered. Thereby Charlie would have a wonderful time in their fair city what he loved most -finding out who dunnit. So we saw Charlie Chan in London, Charlie Chan in Paris, in Shanghai, in Monte Carlo, in Honolulu, in Reno and Panama. Charlie Chan at the racetrack, at the opera, at the cinema and even at the Olympic Games. Murders! Murders everywhere. And strangely enough Charlie Chan had just arrived on the scene. He would look at a small piece of evidence and then with a wise Oriental expression would say to his son Lee -whom he always referred to as Number One Son -'Insignificant molehill, sometimes more important than conspicuous mountain.'

I could never understand why the producer of these films never came to Maadi and made a film, 'Charlie Chan at Shafto's'. It would have been a real hit.

Shafto must have bought a whole batch of Charlie Chan films to circulate around his cinema chain; they were always showing. So it was nice coming back to base camp, as we did from time to time, for we knew that Charlie Chan would always be there, waiting to greet us.

Shafto employed a projectionist by the name of George. Not that we were ever introduced, but he was Egyptian and the soldiers called Egyptians 'wogs', and all wogs were named George, so that's how I knew his name. Shafto must have been a hard taskmaster who worked his staff such long hours that they were always tired, so tired they invariably went to sleep on the job. Our George was no exception.

George would get the show going all right, but then he would settle down for a quiet nap. Soon the picture would start to fade and get darker and darker. These were the days when the projectors used carbon arcs, which had to be constantly adjusted manually as they burnt away. As the picture darkened the boys knew exactly what was happening and the time had come to wake up George. There would be loud shouting and yelling. George would be called some dreadful names and his parentage questioned.

The noise would awaken George, the picture would brighten and return to normal, then George would go back to sleep again. He was invariably asleep when the little dot on the top right corner of the screen flashed. This was the signal to start the second projector. George would also miss the second dot signaling the projector changeover. The film would run out and the screen becomes blank. More yelling, bad language and name calling from the audience, a short pause, and then-seven, six, five, four, three, two, a jumble of dots, lines and stars, then back on the screen.....behold.....the picture. Much cheering, clapping and whistles. George had woken up again.

Then there was the common occurrence of mixed reels. I don't suppose we could blame George altogether. As I said, George was an Egyptian, and Egyptians spoke Arabic, and Arabic is written differently to English. It was said that 90 per cent of Egyptian were illiterate, so even if the reels had been numbered in Arabic, it is quite likely he would have been unable to read it. If the reels were not in proper sequence, too bad, he just screened them in the order they arrived in the reel canister. The audience would settle down to the 'big picture', enjoy reels one and two- then there would be a jump to reel four. We would soon realise that something was missing in the story. But not to worry, we always knew we would be shown reel three sometime before the end of the show and then be able to work out the plot. Most of the time the mix-up didn't matter anyway, as we had seen the film before. In the case of Charlie Chan, that was never any problem. We already knew 'who dunnit'.

There was always plenty of audience participation. Shouting, yelling, whistling and rude comments-humorous and otherwise- were all part of the evening's fun. The actors were offered plenty of advice about what to do in the various situations they were portraying. And there was always George. Though unseen and protected in his projection box, he still came in for plenty of abuse.

But here the army didn't bother the boys, not at Shafto's. There were no ushers to tell them to be quiet and no managers to throw them out. For a couple of hours they could relax and perhaps escape. Yes, a visit to Shafto's was an entertainment in itself and I suppose, as the years went by, we old hands came to look upon the place with a sort of affection – a weird place where we could escape from the boredom of army life. In fact, escape for thousands of young fellows who had been wrenched from security and peace and thrust into a life so totally different. Thousands of miles from comfort of their homes, their friends and their loved ones, these things had become but memories. All they could do now was dream, dream of the day they would eventually return to a life they missed so much.

But for the moment it was Shafto's, and it was Shafto's that helped them forget. Standing near the entrance to Maadi Camp, this bizarre structure was usually the first thing we saw when we arrived back from a spell in the Western Desert, a sort of landmark. Most of us didn't see it as a tumbledown wreck of a place, built as it was of odd scraps of timber, poles and rags. We tended to look upon it almost in an affectionate sort of way, a place we could look forward to visiting, a place where we could escape from the boredom of army life.

What if we did have to push past old rags hanging across the entrance? What if the seats were bug-infested? What if the films were old and outdated? Charlie Chan would be there to greet us. What if the arcs faded, the reels got mixed up and George failed to change over the projectors? We went there just the same.

All through the war years, night after night, Shafto's opened. The projectors would roll and it was business as usual. There were always plenty of customers, plenty to line up. 'pay three ackers and grab a seat'. Grab a seat, in a place that came to be known affectionately as 'Shafto's Shitty Shin'ema'

Bibliography

Unpublished Primary Sources

Auckland Catholic Diocesan Archive (ACDA)

Lis111-1,111-2. From the episcopate of Archbishop James Liston. Two of the boxes from the 'Liston Papers' relating to the war effort and military chaplaincy during the period 1939-1945. Contains correspondence with priests, including chaplains, laity, sodalities and other parish and diocesan organisations, as well as bishops circulars and pastorals, and correspondence with government departments.

Mac 122-1,122-2. From the episcopate of Bishop John Mackey. Two boxes that mainly contain correspondence from 1945 onwards concerning post-war issues, such as Catholic Services Welfare and the Returned Service Association.

Father Noel Gascoigne. Letters which at the time had not been catalogued.

Marist Archives Wellington (MAW).

Accession Numbers 81, 85, 90, 277. Correspondence to and from the Marist Chaplains, in particular Fathers Jesse Kingan, Leo Spring and Wilf Ainsworth. There is an unpublished, undated and untitled typescript by Wilf Ainsworth of his wartime service with the RNZAF in the Pacific, most probably completed in the 1950s.

Wellington Archdiocesan Catholic Archive (WACA)

The main material was available in the 'Military Ordinariate World War II' series. Of particular relevance were the letters of Father J.J. Fletcher from February 1941 until 1945 and material relating to the Vatican Radio broadcasts.

National Archives Wellington

Chaplains Department 2 NZEF Unit Historical records DA9/10/2; Administration DA 1/9/6/1,2; Personal letters-RC Chaplains DA442. 2/3.
Chaplain-Roman Catholic-History DA9/10/1

Newspapers, Magazines and Newsletters

Blue and White. The Magazine of St Pats College Silverstream.

2NZEF Times

Dominion

New Zealand Herald

New Zealand Tablet

Prisoners of War Relatives Association

The Bedean. The Magazine of St Bedes College Christchurch.

The Catholic Soldier (1943)

Zealandia

Catholic Works of Piety

A Manual for Catholic Soldiers and Airmen, edited by Rev Noel Gascoigne, Wellington: Catholic Supplies (NZ) Limited, 1942.

The Catholic Sailors', Soldiers', Airmen's Prayer Book. Compiled by the Rev. G.F. Butler, MSC. Second Revised Edition. Published with the authority of the Catholic United Services Auxiliary, Queensland, Pellegrini & Co Pty, Sydney.

Published Secondary Sources

Arvidson, K O. "Out of Irishtown." In *The Source of the Song, New Zealand Writers on Catholicism*, edited by Mark Williams, Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1995.

Bachrach, David. "The Friars Go To War. Mendicant Military Chaplains, 1216-C1300." *The Catholic Historical Review* XC, no. 4 (2004).

———. *Religion and the Conduct of War c.300-1215*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, Woodbridge., 2003.

Begg, Richard C., and Peter H. Liddle, eds. *For five shillings a day, Experiencing War, 1939-45*. London: Harper Collins, 2000.

Bergen, Doris L. "German Military Chaplains in World War II and the Dilemmas of Legitimacy." *Church History* 70, no. 2 (2001): 232-247.

———. "'Germany Is Our Mission-Christ Is Our Strength!'" The Wehrmacht Chaplaincy and the "German Christian" Movement." *Church History* 66, no. 3 (1997): 522-536.

———. "Catholic, Protestants, and Christian Antisemitism in Nazi Germany." *Central European History*, 27 No3, (September 94) p329-349.

Boardman, John.Griffin, Jasper. Murray, Oswyn, eds *The Oxford History of the Classical World*. Oxford:Oxford University Press, 1995.

Bokenkotter, Thomas. *Essential Catholicism, Dynamics of Faith and Belief*. New York: Image Books, 1986.

Boyd, Fraser. ed. "Thinking Aloud. Thoughts and Reminiscences of New Zealand Defence Force Chaplains particularly since World War II." Military Christian Fellowship of New Zealand. April 2005.

Brewer, Neville H *The Soldier Tourist, A Personal Account of World War II*. Auckland: Reed Books, 1999.

Brown, Raymond E. Fitzmyer, Joseph A. Murphy, Roland E., ed. *New Jerome Biblical Commentary*. London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1991.

Chadwick, Owen, ed. 'Great Britain and Europe'. Edited by John McManners, *The Oxford Illustrated History of Christianity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Charles, J. Daryl. "Presumption against War or Presumption against Injustice? The Just War Tradition Reconsidered." *Journal of Church and State* 47, no. 2 (Spring 2005): 335-369.

Coady, Mary Frances. "Hitler and the Jesuits." *Commonweal* 131, 18 (2004):20-21.

- Cody, J. F. "28 (Maori) Battalion." In *Official History of New Zealand in the Second World War 1939–45*, edited by Howard Kippenberger, Sir. Wellington: War History Branch Department Of Internal Affairs, 1956.
- Cole, Darrell. "Good Wars." *First Things: A Monthly Journal of Religion & Public Life*, 116, (October 2001):27-31.
- Crosby, Donald F. *Battlefield Chaplains. Catholic Priests in World War II*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1994.
- Curran, Charles E. *Catholic Social Teaching, 1891-Present, A Historical, Theological, and Ethical Analysis*. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 2002.
- Davidson, Allan K , and Peter J Lineham. *Transplanted Christianity. Documents illustrating aspects of New Zealand Church History*. Second Edition ed. Palmerston North: The Dunmore Press Limited, 1987.
- Davidson, Allan K. *Christianity in Aotearoa, A History of Church and Society in New Zealand*. Wellington: The New Zealand Education for Ministry Board., 2004.
- Forsman, Henry. *E A Forsman -Priest, Padre and Poet 1909-1976: The Literary Estate of Rev Father E A Forsman*.
- Fyfe, Judith, ed. *War Stories Our Mothers Never Told Us*. Auckland: Penguin Books, 1995.
- Gallagher, J P. *Scarlet Pimpernal of The Vatican*. London: Souvenir Press Ltd., 1967.
- Greenwood, Sue. *A Soldier's Journey, The Wartime Diary of Corporal E (Ted) Paul*: Privately Published no date of publication.
- Haigh, J. Bryant. *Men of Faith and Courage. The Official History of the Royal New Zealand Chaplains Department*. Auckland: The Word Publishers Limited, 1983.
- Harper, Glyn , and Joel Hayward, eds. *Born To Lead, Portraits of New Zealand Commanders*. Auckland: Exisle Publishing Limited, 2003.
- Hastings, Derek. "How 'Catholic' was the Early Nazi Movement. Religion, Race and Culture in Munich 1919-1924." *Central European History* 36, no. 3 (2003): 383-433.
- Henderson, Jim. *Gunner Inglorious*. 2nd ed. Wellington: Whitcombe and Tombs 1945.
- Henderson, K.T. *Khaki and Cassock*. Melbourne: Melville & Mullen, 1919.
- Hutching, Megan. *Inside Stories, New Zealand Prisoners Of War Remember*. Auckland: Harper Collins Publishers (New Zealand) Limited, 2002.
- *A Fair Sort Of Battering, New Zealanders Remember the Italian Campaign*. Auckland: Harper Collins Publishers (New Zealand) Limited, 2004
- Ingham, Wally. "The Avengers. Historical Record of No.30 (Bomber) Squadron & Servicing Unit, Royal New Zealand Air Force 1943-44." New Zealand Aviation Historical Society, 1990..
- Jacobs, Susan. *Fighting with the Enemy. New Zealand POWs and the Italian Resistance*. Auckland: Penguin Books 2003.

- Johns, Jeremy. *The Oxford Illustrated History of Christianity*. Edited by John McManners. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.
- Johnston, John. *I Didn't Have a Choice*. Auckland: Reed Books, 2006.
- Kane, Pat. *A Soldiers Story, A Mediterranean Odyssey*. Wellington: Quality Publications, 1995.
- Keegan, John. *A History of Warfare*. London: Hutchinson, 1993.
- Keene, Jennifer Diane. "Intelligence and Morale in the Army of a Democracy: The Genesis of Military Psychology During the First World War." *Military Psychology* 6(4), 235-253.
- Kennedy, John. *Straight From The Shoulder*. Christchurch: Whitcoulls Publishers., 1981
- King, Michael. *God's Farthest Outpost, A History of Catholics in New Zealand*. Auckland: Penguin Books (NZ) Ltd., 1997.
- . *The Penguin History of New Zealand*. Auckland: Penguin Group, 2003.
- Krieg, Robert A. *Catholic Theologians in Nazi Germany*. New York: The Continuum International Publishing Group Inc., 2004.
- Laracy, Hugh. "Priests, People and Patriotism: New Zealand Catholics and War, 1914-1918." *Australasian Catholic Record* 70, no.1 (1993): 14-26.
- Lewis, Ted. *I Was No Soldier*. Wellington: Steele Roberts Ltd, 2001.
- Lineham, Peter J. *The Religious Face of Patriotism*. Edited by John Crawford, *Kia Kaha, New Zealand in the Second World War* Auckland: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- MacGibbon, John, ed. *Strauns War, Battleground, Recreation and Sightseeing in North Africa 1941-44 in the Photographs and Diaries of New Zealand Division Gunner Straun MacGibbon*,. Wellington: Ngaio Press, 2001.
- Machiavelli, Niccolo. *The Art Of War* Translated by Ellis Farnsworth. Cambridge: Da Capo Press, 1965.
- MacKenzie, H R. *On Active Service, War Diary and Letters Home, World War Two 1939-1945*. Wanganui: Hanton & Anderson Limited 1996.
- Mann, Chris. "Chaplains Military." In *The Oxford Companion to Military History*. , edited by Richard Holmes. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- McGibbon, Ian. *New Zealand and the Second World War. The people, the battles and the legacy*. Auckland: Hodder Moa Beckett Publishers Ltd., 2004.
- , ed. *The Oxford Companion To New Zealand Military History*. Auckland: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- McIntyre, W. David. *New Zealand Prepares for War. Defence Policy 1919-39*. Christchurch: The University of Canterbury Press, 1988.
- McLeod, John. *Myth & Reality. The New Zealand Soldier in World War II*. Auckland: Reed Methuen Publishers Ltd., 1986.
- O'Sullivan, Vincent. *Long Journey To The Border*. Auckland: Penguin Books (NZ) Ltd., 2003.
- O'Meeghan, Michael. *Steadfast in Hope. The Story of the Catholic Archdiocese of Wellington 1850-2000*. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press Ltd., 2003.
- Orend, Brian. "When is War Justifiable." *Military History* 24, no. 7 (October 2007): 18-19.

- Ovenden, Keith. *The Life of Dan Davin. Writer, Soldier, Publisher*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Phillips, Jock, ed. *New Zealand celebrates victory*. Edited by John Crawford, *Kia Kaha, New Zealand in the Second World War*. Auckland: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Porter, Patrick. "Beyond Comfort: German and the English Military Chaplains and the Memory of the Great War 1919-1929." *The Journal of Religious History* 29. 3 (October 2005): 258-289.v
- Pugsley, Chris with Laurie Barber, Buddy Mikaere, Nigel Prickett and Rose Young. *Scars On The Heart, Two Centuries of New Zealand At War*. Auckland: David Bateman Limited, 1996.
- Reid, Nicholas. *James Michael Liston, A Life*. Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2006.
- . "Struggle for Souls. Catholicism and Communism in Twentieth-Century New Zealand." *Australian Historical Studies* 128 (2006): 72-88.
- Simmons, E.R. *In Cruce Salus A History of the Diocese of Auckland 1848-1980*. Auckland: Catholic Publications Centre, 1982.
- Spicer, Kevin. *Resisting the Third Reich. The Catholic Clergy in Hitler's Berlin*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2004.
- Stenhouse, John. "Christianity, Gender, and the Working Class." *Journal of Religious History* 30, No1, no. February 2006 (2006): 18-44.
- Stevens, William George "Problems of 2NZE." In *Official History of New Zealand in the Second World War 1939-45*, edited by Sir Howard Kippenberger, 122-124. Wellington: War History Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, 1958.
- Stout, T., Duncan, M. "New Zealand Medical Services in Middle East and Italy." In *Official History of New Zealand in the Second World War 1939-45*, edited by Sir Howard Kippenberger. Wellington: War History Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, 1956.
- Troughton, Geoffrey M. "Jesus and the Ideal of the Manly Man in New Zealand after World War One" *Journal of Religious History* 30.1 (February 2006):45-60.
- Taylor, Nancy M. *The Home Front* 2 vols. Vol. 1. Wellington: Historical Publications Branch 1986.
- Underhill, Michael Rev, Winhall, N E, Ross, J M S, Waters, S D. "New Zealand Chaplains in the Second World War." In *Official History of New Zealand in the Second World War 1939-45*, edited by Howard Sir Kippenberger. Wellington: War History Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, 1950.
- van der Krogt, Christopher. "Catholic Religious Identity and Social Integration in Interwar New Zealand." *Catholic Historical Review*, 86, no. 1 (2000).
- . "Exercising the Utmost Vigilance:The Catholic Campaign Against Contraception in New Zealand During the 1930s." *Journal of Religious History*22.3 (October 1998):320-335.
- Watson, Alex "Self-deception and Survival: Mental Coping Strategies on the Western Front, 1914-18,." *Journal of Contemporary History* 41, no. 2 (2006): 247-268.

Watt, Alan J. "Which Approach? Late Twentieth-Century Interpretations of Augustine's Views on War." *Journal of Church and State* 46, no. 1 (2004): 99-113.

Wilkinson, Alan. *Dissent or Conform. War, Peace and the English Churches 1900-1945*. London: SCM Press Ltd, 1986.

Unpublished Theses

Glen, Frank Grenfell. "New Zealand Army Chaplains at War, 2 NZEF 1939-1945." Ph.D.History thesis, University of Waikato 1996.

Skudder, Susan Mary. "Bringing It Home. New Zealand responses to the Spanish Civil War 1936-1939." Ph.D.History thesis. University of Waikato, 1986.

Tagg, Mary. "The 'Jesus Nut': A Study of New Zealand Military Chaplaincy.", Ph.D Theology thesis, University of Auckland, 2000.

———. "'The Prisoner Padre. The Impact of War on a New Zealand Cleric'", M.Phil Religious Studies, University of Waikato, 1997.

van der Krogt, Christopher. "More A Part than Apart the Catholic Community in New Zealand Society 1918-1940." PH.D History and Religious Studies thesis Massey University, 1994.