

The Anglican Historical Society of New Zealand *Te Rōpu Hītori o te Hāhi Mihinare ki Aotearoa*

Anglican Episcopal Leadership during World War Two

Author: Geoffrey Haworth

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Two quotations express the polarities of attitude shown by the bishops of the Church of the Province of New Zealand during World War Two.

One came from the address of the Bishop of Waiapu, George Vincent Gerard, to his Synod in October 1939: 'As far as possible the life of the Church must be allowed to progress normally for the sake especially of the children and adolescents, who will be the churchmen and women of tomorrow.'¹ His attitude was the official 'business as usual' voice of the Church leadership, echoing one of Winston Churchill's catchphrases.

At the other end of the attitudinal pole was the ethos expressed by the writer of 'We Won't Go Back', a verse from an unnamed South African church weekly newspaper, quoted in Church News, the magazine of the Diocese of Christchurch, in August 1942:

'We can't go back, to cant and pious phrase,
(No 'wishful thinking' this!)
We're out to change the ways of men,
Pull down the old and build anew,
Come, help us reconstruct!
Let's start afresh - it can be done.'

The writer is challenging the Church to move away from its perceived inertia and close alignment with the political status quo, and to become a prophetic voice for social and spiritual change.

Bishops in New Zealand were already facing stern challenges before war broke out. Struggles for financial viability, adequate stipends for clergy, better living conditions for clergy families, and for a better deal for the badly under-resourced

Māori section of the Church, were a legacy of the Great Depression, although the root causes of these problems were deeply imbedded in the Church's history in Aotearoa. Another world war simply exacerbated the problems. It is understandable that the question 'how do we keep this Church afloat until the war's over?' dominated the thinking of the Bishops. A maintenance mindset was inevitable, given the shortages of clergy, key lay people, and finance. Yet such a mindset was offset by the hopes of the bishops that the Church with the largest following in New Zealand (according to the 1936 census, 39% of New Zealanders declared themselves to be Anglican, when Māori are included) should have an influential voice in reshaping post-war New Zealand. For all the hardships it brought, the war also offered 'dazzling opportunity'² in the fields of evangelism, ecumenical cooperation, and moral and spiritual leadership. With imagination and united effort, the Church had opportunities to win a following from thousands of young men moving into military service, whose loyalty to any church was already regarded as marginal. But a failure to take these opportunities would threaten the Anglican status as the country's numerically strongest Church. While strong patriotic voices called for the churches to maintain 'business as usual' for the sake of national stability, bishops were aware that a policy of maintenance would be constantly pressured by the wartime winds of change

Business as Usual

Sermons, bishops' addresses, and magazine editorials all reflect the Church's determination

that, despite temporary adjustments and inconveniences, domestic and religious life should continue as 'normally' as possible. Some bishops, Gerard, Cherrington and Simkin for instance, issued directives to clergy that communion should be celebrated daily in parish churches, and intercessory prayers said twice daily. Parishioners were exhorted to join their clergy in prayer whenever possible. If these directives were followed punctiliously, the amount of weekly worship in parish churches would have been, in many cases, increased. 'Business as usual' soon proved impractical, when it came to programmes of rebuilding. Projects already in the planning phase to build new cathedrals in Wellington, Napier and Auckland were put on hold, as financial priorities changed to reflect wartime urgencies. Simkin appealed to his diocese to continue the new Cathedral campaign in Auckland: 'The Cathedral would be a witness to the faith we profess in Him in these dark days of war. How can we consistently not go on?'³ But he had to wait until 1957 before the foundation stone of 'his' new cathedral was laid. Most church-related building and refurbishing projects came to a halt in wartime.⁴ Building programmes resumed in earnest from 1946 to 1956, as funds were freed up, labour and building materials became once more available, and permits were issued.

'Usual' in wartime soon proved different to 'usual' in peacetime. Clergy were disappearing from parishes and cathedrals to become military chaplains. During the war, the Anglican Church provided 85 chaplains to all three services. Of those, 72 served overseas. The supply of new clergy was interrupted when St John's College was requisitioned as a geriatric hospital in 1942. Many parishes accustomed to having a priest assistant had to manage without. In some cases, because clergy were unavailable, lay readers were licensed to care for parochial districts.⁵ The shortage of clergy also forced some bishops to merge neighbouring ministry units.⁶ This

situation strained the patience of most bishops. Simkin complained to Archbishop West-Watson: 'unless I am by some means compelled to do so, I do not intend to nominate any more chaplains. I have been fooled so much and seen so much of wasted time on the part of those appointed.'⁷

Maintaining 'business as usual' meant, for the Church, 'holding the line' on issues of public morality. In wartime, when large groups of men and women were gathered in camps, when women joined the armed forces, and both sexes were sometimes removed from the safety of home by manpower regulations, such moral issues as sexual behaviour and consumption of alcohol were seen to be imbued with extra urgency. Bishops and parish clergy threaded many issues of morality into their sermons and magazine editorials.

Bishop Stephenson, in denouncing gambling, told his Nelson Synod: 'A time of war is no time for loosening of moral restraint. It is a time for conserving all the moral and spiritual forces of the community.'⁸ Bishops advocated 'keeping the lid' on morality, because they saw the moral watchdog role as consistent with the Church's identity. It was also seen as a patriotic duty, in which the Church supported the state in wartime. One of the greatest challenges to the Church's self-appointed moral watchdog role came with the arrival (in June 1942) of thousands of American servicemen. Wartime censorship, and a reluctance to criticise the American ally in public, might explain why warnings about the impact of the 'American invasion' from Anglican leaders are very hard to find. Questioning of rigid moral codes was more likely to occur at the 'coalface', especially in front-line military chaplaincy. Manu Bennett, for example, from his experience with Māori Battalion soldiers in Cairo, came to believe that 'brothels were an absolute necessity as an institution. One of the things that helped the fellows to remain normal.'⁹

While 'business as usual' sounded both plausible

and patriotic, in practice, the policy ran into many difficulties. 'Holding the line' in morality was problematic when wartime upheavals constantly threatened to push accepted moral boundaries out of shape. Staffing parishes at pre-war levels often proved impossible. Fund-raising and financial giving were frequently re-routed into patriotic channels. Building programmes were usually put on hold. New strategies had to be employed, to give some semblance of 'normal' church life.

Plugging Gaps: Short Term Changes

Three main methods were used, to plug the gaps that kept appearing in the ranks of ordained ministry, as many clergy left their parishes to become military chaplains. One method was to put two parishes under the care of one vicar - as happened, for example, with the Waitaki parochial district, which for some time was run from Oamaru. A second was to induce retired clergy to return to full-time ministry. Former vicar of St Luke's, Christchurch, F. N. Taylor, ran St Michael and All Angels in the same city for two years, while its vicar, Cecil Muschamp, was an Air Force chaplain. The third method available to bishops was to license more lay readers to lead non-sacramental worship and in other ways to assist ministry units during the clergy shortage. This method was widely used in Māori pastorates in the dioceses of Wellington and Waiapu. In several instances, Church Army officers took responsibility for a unit, as O. L. Christian did in Murchison for a year.

In the absence of men, gaps were also plugged by women. As curates became almost unobtainable, bishops allowed women to be appointed in a number of units, to do pastoral work, run women's groups, and take charge of Sunday schools. Because of their training and experience, obvious candidates were Church Army sisters and deaconesses. These women included Deaconess Margaret Taylor at St Mary's, Karori, Deaconess Mabel Henn at St

Matthew's, Hastings, and Sister Ailsa Cranswick at St Mary's, Merivale. Some women without formal qualifications were recruited as 'women workers' and were paid as staff members - as was Jean Henderson at St Paul's, Papanui. In some cases, these women retained their positions after the men returned, as the need for their ministry remained, and because they had proved their worth. Three women also appeared as Synod representatives during the war, all from the Diocese of Wellington.

Long Term Changes

Changes, expected to be temporary in some cases, took root during and shortly after the war. Many parishes voted in their first women vestry members in wartime, expecting these appointments to last only until the men returned. In some cases, this is what happened, but in many others, women had come to stay. Wartime had largely halted building developments necessary to expand church plant, as parishes expanded beyond the confines of buildings designed for a settler population. As wartime restrictions were eased, church building boomed, especially in such areas as the Hutt Valley, the fringes of Christchurch, and Auckland's North Shore. Churches of all denominations built for the long-awaited age of prosperity and expansion.

Province v. Diocese: Struggling for Permanent Change

Since Selwyn's constitution of 1857 and the first General Synod of 1859, General Synods had met triennially. For some years before World War Two, the perceived slowness and ineffectiveness of provincial church government had engendered criticism. Archbishop Averill, in his President's Charge to General Synod in 1940, proposed remedies, such as initiating annual General Synods, doing away with the Synod's Standing Committee, and legislating for equality in lay and clerical representation. His proposals gathered little support, and General Synod did

not meet again until 1943. It was obvious to all that a body meeting so infrequently could not react in any meaningful way to the dramatic changes and developments of the war.

This state of affairs suited those bishops who believed that Anglican leadership was rooted in the diocese, not the province. Averill and West-Watson, his successor as Archbishop, wanted the provincial structure to have more status and authority. Opposition came in particular from Bishops Fitchett of Dunedin, Cherrington of Waikato, and Simkin of Auckland. In 1945, Fitchett told his synod that those who wanted more frequent General Synods were 'a younger generation [who] elevate the Province at the expense of the Diocese to such an extent, that there is a definite threat to liberty in Diocesan administration.'¹⁰ To those bishops who regarded their dioceses as fiefdoms, increasing the power of General Synod was a threat. Fitchett was fond of quoting Selwyn's view, expressed at the 1865 General Synod, that diocesan synods have 'all authority, except that which is reserved to the General Synod, which can neither prevent them from meeting, nor in any way control their deliberations.'

But if diocesan synods held 'all authority', how could the unity of the Church be made manifest? It was a constitutional weakness that the war underlined. The Church's disunity became obvious when the seven dioceses failed to agree on whether or not to participate in the ecumenical Campaign for Christian Order that began in 1942. Nelson, Wellington and Christchurch supported the Campaign, and Auckland and Waikato opposed it, with guarded resistance from Dunedin and luke-warm concern from Waiapu.

Such disharmony moved the Wellington Synod to resolve that 'in the opinion of this Synod, the gravest disservice is being done to the cause of the Church in this land by the existing lack of unity and co-operation between its several

parts.'¹¹ West-Watson, who was Archbishop at the 1943 General Synod, tried to nudge the body towards biennial meetings and more effective leadership. 'The war,' he argued, 'has called for quick decisions and better means for effective action ... our machinery is somewhat cumbrous and out-of-date.'¹² His assessment was correct. General Synod's standing committee was unable to meet in 1942 and failed to raise a quorum in 1945. West-Watson's initiative was put to the move in 1946, and narrowly lost, by a 4-3 majority. Biennial synods were approved only in 1961 and begun in 1966. Long-standing constitutional disagreements and personal animosity ensured that during the war, General Synod was an effective force neither for provincial unity, nor for leadership.

Styles of Leadership

Particular qualities were required of bishops in wartime, as they endeavoured to steer their dioceses through financial stress, shortages of key personnel, and times of emotional upheaval as news of military reverses and New Zealand dead became to arrive. All bishops were concerned to maintain regular worship, financial stability, administrative capacity, and the provision of stipendiary ministry. Beyond that, they were divided by differences of goal and style. Fitchett, Simkin and Cherrington were concerned to 'hold the line' in terms of Anglican identity, and to offer 'business as usual' as regards the Church's weekly routines. This approach was reinforced by an authoritarian style of leadership. Gerard belonged by inclination to this group but was absent from his diocese for most of the time until his resignation in 1944, as he became a Senior Chaplain to the Forces, and a prisoner-of-war in a camp in Italy.

Holland, West-Watson, Bennett and some extent Stephenson were able to look beyond a tight 'holding the line' policy, and to see in wartime creative opportunities for evangelism and ecumenism. All four backed the Campaign for

Christian Order and were present at the 1945 Conference on Christian Order at Christ's College, Christchurch. Their understanding of 'Church' was broader than that of their colleagues, and they were prepared to engage in cooperative ventures with other denominations. As Archbishop, West-Watson had a genuinely provincial focus; and Bennett, who lacked his own diocese, made Māori people throughout Aotearoa his concern, especially North Island Māori. For the other bishops, their effectiveness was centred on their own dioceses. Struggling, as they had to, with severe shortages of money and capable clergy, the inward-looking focus of Cherrington and Fitchett is understandable. Survival was more important to them than change, Anglican identity more defensible than ecumenism, and the diocese more vital than the province. Simkin took a somewhat pugilistic stance against the bishops of what to him were more dominant dioceses, Wellington and Christchurch. As a result of these tensions, unity and teamwork were in short supply among Anglican bishops during World War Two. As Archdeacon William Bullock wrote, in 1941: 'The Bishops make a difficult team who could not be led or driven by an Archangel.'¹³

The Māori Church: Assimilation or Self-Determination?

In his history of the Diocese of Waiapu, Watson Rosevear remarks that in the 1930s, Māori work was 'hampered by lack of finance and was badly understaffed.'¹⁴ This comment might justly be applied across the whole province, before and during the war. In 1939, despite its significant Māori population, the Diocese of Waikato had no Māori pastorates. Nor did any South Island diocese. 'Native pastorates' were located in Waiapu (15), Wellington (5) and Auckland (14). Four had been created in Waikato by 1942. F. A. Bennett, first Bishop of Aotearoa, had no diocese, and needed the diocesan Bishop's permission to enter that particular territory. His own people called him 'the man of war without

guns' or 'the tukutuku without the poupou.'¹⁵ In 1940, Averill invited him to take a seat on General Synod 'by virtue of his Episcopal Order', but his Order was not deemed to have sufficient virtue to accord him voting rights.

Despite all the needs and struggles of the Māori section of the Church, in 1940 General Synod held no debates, received no reports, and passed no motions or bills to address any of those needs. Māori were not even mentioned in the President's Charge. Even allowing for the distractions of wartime and the need to elect a new Archbishop, this represents a collective failure of leadership.

In 1943, General Synod tried to address issues to do with Māori educational trusts and Anglican schools. Bennett was allowed to join other bishops on the St John's College Board of Trustees. There was, among the Pakeha bishops, some anxiety about the state of the Māori section. Holland admitted in 1941 that 'the work among the Māori community in this Diocese has become a matter of grave concern to me.' His response was to create more lay readers to plug ministry gaps in pastorates, and to ensure that Māori priests in the Diocese of Wellington had the most generous stipend paid to any Māori clergy.¹⁶

Simkin disliked the apparent separation of a 'Māori Church' from the 'Pakeha Church', although the distinction between 'Mihinare Church' and 'Settler Church' was historic. He told the 1943 Auckland Synod that 'the policy of regarding Māoris as almost members of another Church, 'The Māori Church', and ordaining clergy to minister to them only is, in my opinion, open to serious question.'¹⁷ Behind his opinion lay his conviction that a Bishopric of Aotearoa undermined his episcopacy, and that it was his responsibility to assume Episcopal authority over Māori Anglicans in 'his' diocese. In Wellington, Holland asked his synod: 'Is the Church to maintain the present policy of segregation? ...

How can a Church profess to be the universal fellowship of Christ ... if it fails to unite Māori and Pakeha within its communion?'¹⁸ This debate reflects the efforts of Pakeha bishops to find Pakeha solutions to the problems of the 'Māori Church.'

In Waiapu, Bennett and the Māori section exemplified a type of partnership, in that the Māori section ran a 'Māori Conference' of synod each year, although Pakeha dominated the partnership. The struggles of Māori pastorates must have seemed a world away to the Anglican dioceses in the South Island, who had not a single pastorate among them, nor any Māori priest. West-Watson drew attention to the Church's lack of support for its Māori people when he told the 1941 Christchurch synod: 'we seem to do so little for the Māoris within our own gates [who] seem to be outside our general Church life.'¹⁹ Despite hand-wringing and the airing of assimilationist ideologies, the Church showed few signs of bolstering the finances or ministries of the Māori section, until the second half of the war.

By that time, the exploits of the Māori Battalion had been promoted by the media. Bennett shared the vision of his colleague Apirana Ngata that successful co-operation by Māori with the government's war effort would enable Māori leaders to pressure the government for a better economic deal for their people, and a more equitable share in leadership. This strategy, described by James Belich as 'brilliantly subversive co-operation',²⁰ paid dividends in the efforts of Māori Anglicans to secure Pakeha support for a better deal for 'the Māori Church.' A 1942 report on Te Wai Pounamu College in Woolston, Christchurch, proclaimed that 'the wonderful deeds of the Māori Battalion overseas have stirred the public ... After the war it is to be hoped that the people of New Zealand will show their gratitude ... by doing everything that can be done to restore and elevate the status of the Māori people.'²¹

A 'Māori renaissance' was optimistically announced at the first meeting of the Commission on Christian Order and the Māori People, chaired by Bennett in Rotorua between December 1944 and January 1945. Delegates believed that, after a long period of decline, 'the present-day Māori is experiencing a strong and definite re-awakening.'²² The influence of the churches and the war record of the Māori Battalion were identified as important causes in this 'renaissance.' Bennett's considerable influence had much to do with the creation of a Māori section of the National Council of Churches, set up after the 1945 Conference on Christian Order. But the 'renaissance' was slow to develop in the Anglican Church. The ideological struggle between those favoring self-determination for Māori Anglicans, and those preferring assimilation, continued for many years. So too did under-funding and staff shortages.

The Bishops in Wartime: Housekeepers or Prophets?

Probably no bishops would have taken serious issue with Archbishop Averill's statement, at the 1940 General Synod, that it was the Church's 'primary duty in time of war to elevate and strengthen the Nation's ideals so that it may contribute real moral support to the men at the front.'²³ From the Anglican bishops, prophetic voices were not heard questioning the morality or conduct of the war. This was because all or most genuinely believed that militant fascism had to be resisted by armed force, and because none wished to disturb the traditionally close relationship that the Anglican Church enjoyed with the government. Their patriotism was, however, tempered by memories of pulpits being used as recruiting platforms in the previous world war, an example they discouraged clergy from imitating.

Pacifist voices were heard from a small minority of Anglicans, whose main group was a

determined and vocal body in Christchurch. West-Watson, Cherrington and Holland did not associate themselves with pacifist thought but upheld the rights of pacifists to express their beliefs. Simkin, Fitchett and Gerard, on the other hand, made it clear that pacifist views were unwelcome in their dioceses. No New Zealand bishops showed the courage and prophetic critique of Bishop George Bell of Chichester, who in the House of Lords attacked the Allied saturation bombing of German cities, or of William Temple, who passionately but unsuccessfully urged the Lords to grant temporary asylum to any Jews able to escape the Nazis.

Those bishops who showed an ability to engage in prophetic thinking were Bennett, West-Watson, Holland and Stephenson. All showed a forward-looking interest in the numerous debates about post-war reconstruction, and all supported the wartime ecumenical initiatives. Simkin, by contrast, declared that the Church's role when victory came was 'an intensification of spiritual effort, a more stern and unflinching dedication of the nation's life to the service of mankind.'²⁴ More depth of insight came from West-Watson, who told General Synod in 1946 that the Church's task was 'not so much the recalling of mankind to truths which it has forgotten, as proclaiming to it truths which it has never learned. The Church today exercises its influence rather from the outside than from the inside, from the circumference rather than from the centre of the Social Order.'²⁵ Prophetically, he acknowledged that the Church was losing its central place in New Zealand society. It was, he said at the same General Synod, 'in a condition of change in practically every department of its life.' Evangelism would in future have to proceed from different assumptions and employ new strategies. Bennett also showed prophetic insight, as he looked ahead to the resurgence and revitalisation of Māori people. At the 1945 Conference on Christian Order, he said: 'The

Māori is growing up, and will soon take his rightful place as a grown-up ... There is something about this Conference that will appeal tremendously to the Māori people. They see all sections of Christ's Church working together. They don't see the sense of our divisions.'²⁶

In Summary

It could be tempting to portray most of the wartime bishops as conservative, Anglophile, and visionless, an ill-matched group of conflicting personalities divided also by ecclesiologies and diocesan rivalries. But in fairness, some had directed their priorities into building up dioceses badly battered by wartime pressures and financial hardship. Several groups of them worked well together, but as a bench of bishops, they seldom agreed on anything. Bennett's vision of two churches working under one umbrella, which operated to some extent in Waiapu, had little following among other bishops. There was little attempt in wartime to work towards a model of being Church that would enable the Māori section to reach its potential.

West-Watson, Stephenson, Bennett and Holland shared a common vision of a more unified, ecumenically minded Church, offering spiritual leadership to a world desperate for stability and direction. Their ecumenism pushed at the boundaries of fixed Anglican notions of identity and ecclesiology. Ecumenism remained a divisive force within the Church, a fact underlined when the 1976 General Synod decided not to accept the 1971 Plan for Union, after years of debate on the church union issue.

Wartime urgencies illuminated the inefficiency of General Synod as a decision-making body and accentuated its historic authority struggle with the dioceses. Efforts to enable General Synod to meet more frequently and to assume more responsibility were forestalled by a lobby of bishops determined to safeguard the quasi-autonomy of their dioceses. Major changes to the structure of church government were

delayed by almost a generation.

Of the Pakeha bishops, probably the most forward-thinking was West-Watson. His English patrician manner and his ponderous public utterances may have partly concealed his perceptive and prophetic insights. He was the anchor of the ecumenical movement in New Zealand. He recognized and tried to address the ineffectiveness of General Synod. He tolerated often strident dissent from Anglican pacifists. As Archbishop, he recognized the need to give more equitable and generous support to 'the Māori Church.' Wartime pressures do not seem to have narrowed his vision.

Post-war, the Church required leadership that moved out of 'business as usual' channels and into a more dynamic frame of mind. Cathedrals and new churches needed to be built. New housing areas needed their own local churches and halls. The badly balanced relationship between the Māori and Pakeha sections of the Church needed to be energetically addressed. Between 1946 and 1954, a new generation of bishops, all strongly influenced by the war, replaced those who had held office during the war. Five of the new bishops had been military chaplains.²⁷ To them fell the responsibility of leadership during one of the Church's most vigorous and prosperous eras.

Endnotes

¹ Gerard, Bishop's address to Waiapu Synod, *Waiapu Church Gazette*, November 1939.

² Bishop Hilliard of Nelson, "Bishop's Letter", *Witness*, 1 October 1939.

³ Address to Synod, *Yearbook*, Diocese of Auckland, 1941, p.34.

⁴ There were exceptions. In the Diocese of Wellington, for example, in 1941, new churches were consecrated at Lyall Bay (St Jude's) and Ngaio (All Saints).

⁵ This happened, for example, in Kaikoura and Murchison.

⁶ Examples include the merging of Pukekohe and Bombay-cum-Pokeno (Diocese of Auckland), and Hinds and Methuen (Diocese of Christchurch.)

⁷ Simkin to West-Watson, 29 November 1944, West-Watson Correspondence, St John's College Library.

⁸ President's Address, *Yearbook*, Diocese of Nelson, 1941, p.28.

⁹ Interview with Bishop Manu Bennett, Rotorua, 1 August 1997.

¹⁰ Fitchett, "Presidential Address", *Yearbook*, Diocese of Dunedin, 1945. His criticism seems ill-aimed, as two of his opponents were the veterans West-Watson and A W Averill.

¹¹ Synod motion, *Yearbook*, Diocese of Wellington, 1943, p.53.

¹² West-Watson, "President's Charge", *PGS*, 1943, pp 27-8.

¹³ Bullock to West-Watson, 6 December 1941, West Watson Correspondence, St John's College.

¹⁴ Rosevear, *Waiapu: The Story of a Diocese*, Hamilton and Auckland, Paul's Book Arcade, 1960. p.134.

¹⁵ "The lattice-work without the supporting pillars". Renatus Kempthorne, *Maori Christianity in Te Wai Pounamu*, Otautahi, Te Hui Amorangi o te Waipouamu, 2000, p.185.

¹⁶ The Diocese of Wellington paid its Maori priests £275 p.a. compared to £140 in the Auckland Diocese.

¹⁷ Simkin, "President's Address", *Yearbook*, Diocese of Auckland, 1943, p.8.

¹⁸ Holland, "President's Address", quoted by Simkin in his 1943 President's Address.

¹⁹ "President's Address", *Church News*, November 1941, p4.

²⁰ Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, Albany, Penguin Press, 2001, pp 214-5.

²¹ "Te Wai Pounamu College", *Church News*, September 1943, p.28.

²² "The Maori Portion of the Church: Christian Order and the Maori People", *Waiapu Church Gazette*, February 1945, p.8.

²³ "President's Charge", *PGS*, 1940, p.2.

²⁴ "President's Address", *Yearbook*, Diocese of Auckland, 1944, p.34.

²⁵ "President's Charge", *PGS*, 1946, pp 29-30.

²⁶ Bennett, "Plenary Sessions: Summary of the Discussions", *Conference on Christian Order*, Christchurch, NCC, 1945, p.166.

²⁷ John Holland and Alwyn Warren had been Army chaplains overseas; W. N. Panapa had been a chaplain in New Zealand camps; R. H. Owen had been a Royal Navy chaplain, and Hulme-Moir of Nelson had been Assistant Chaplain-General to the Australian forces in the Middle East.