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Te Rōpu Hītori o te Hāhi Mīhinare ki Aotearoa

A Quiet Beginning: How the Oxford Movement Discretely Infiltrated its Way into the Anglican Diocese of Dunedin

Author: Hugh Bowron

Part One

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Abstract

This paper explains how the Oxford Movement introduced itself into the Anglican Diocese of Dunedin in an unobtrusive manner through the ministry of the Revd Bryan King who would save a financially desperate working-class parish from financial collapse and imminent closure. His ritualist religion was quietly accepted because of his pastoral diligence and business acumen. In this way the suspicion and opposition that the Oxford Movement had initially attracted was quietly side-stepped. Two further remarkable successor vicars at Caversham, each displaying different and attractive features of Anglo-Catholicism, would cement in the Oxford Movement revolution there. The paper will assess bishop Nevill's role in this new diocesan development and will argue that it was movement from below initiated by remarkable individuals rather than the result of an episcopally imposed master plan.

Defining the Oxford Movement and Ritualism

The Oxford Movement was a holiness movement that began in the Church of England in the early 19th century that eventually came to be called Anglo-Catholicism. In the words of Jeremy Morris, it was “a movement of opinion rapidly gaining ground in favour of reasserting the spiritual independence of the Church of England, of recovering and restating its historic spiritual resources (and especially its doctrine and liturgy), and of galvanising its fading energies...it was a movement seeking to renew the theology, devotional life and liturgical practice of the Church of England.”¹ A key aspect of their renewal agenda was restoring the doctrine of apostolic succession.

It was a movement infused with the imaginative power of the Romantic Movement that coloured much of 19th century European culture. The propellant force of the Romantic Movement gave the Oxford movement its trademark quality of enthusiasm that marked it off from the more cautious and sober high church movement that had preceded it.

Above all it was an attempt to redefine Anglican identity as a variety of reformed Catholicism. One of the greatest prophets of the movement Charles Gore gave classic expression to this redefinition in these words. “I find that her history in many of its aspects and characteristics makes me feel ashamed and depressed. But if there is in history the stamp of a divine providence on any society, it is set on the Anglican Church. It was marked out in the sixteenth century to hold together the ancient Catholic

¹ Jeremy Morris, *The High Church Revival in the Church of England: Arguments and Identities*, (Leiden Boston: Brill, 2016), 2.

tradition both in creed and order with the appeal of the Reformation to the open Bible as the final court of reference for Christians; and so to present a type of Catholicism which the world had forgotten, which should have priests but not be priest-ridden, and should accept the Catholic tradition but keep it purged by the free use of reason and all-pervading scripturalness.”²

In much of what follows in this article we shall be concerned with ritualism, but this was the presenting symptom and public expression of the underlying and deeper reality of a holiness movement seeking to redefine Anglican identity. Its opponents sensed this even if at times they struggled to give clear expression to their objections. What then was ritualism?

Ritualist clergy wanted to see a more imaginative approach to Anglican liturgy. They wanted to transform their parishes into Eucharistic communities based on the regular reception of communion as the central ritual act of the church. This in turn meant that they were keen on ritual elaboration and ceremonial intensification.

The second phase of the Oxford Movement generated a revolution in Victorian worship practice. At the heart of this renewal agenda was the six point programme of ritualist Anglo-Catholicism, lighted candles on the altar, (popularly known as the crucifix and big six), the use of communion wafer breads, the admixture of water with wine at the offertory, the adopting of the eastward position by the priest at the altar, the use of incense, and the wearing of Eucharistic vestments. All of these changes had a particular impact on the celebration of the Eucharist, which Anglo-Catholics now sought to restore to the central place it had occupied in Sunday worship prior to the elevation of Morning Prayer and the Litany at the time of the English Reformation. An even more incendiary item on their programme of parish renewal was the commending of the practice of auricular confession to a priest. Nor was it lost on those with some degree of theological and liturgical acumen that the point of the priest wearing Eucharistic vestments was the strong proclamation of the doctrine of Eucharistic sacrifice – a doctrine strongly repudiated by the Protestant reformers. In a nutshell, the ritualists were intent on re-catholicising the Anglican Church by means of a liturgy with imaginative power that appealed to the senses and infused its theological doctrines by means of a sensuous symbolism.

Armed with this interpretive key we turn now to consider the build-up of tension and contestation around the entry of the Oxford Movement and of ritualism into the New Zealand Anglicanism of the 1870s and 1880s and the flash points of early conflict that almost always ended with the ejection of the pioneering ritualist clergy from their parishes.

The Newspaper War

By the 1870s some Otago and Southland Anglicans had become aware that ritualism was an emerging phenomenon in the Church of England and thanks to the latitude the *ODT* and *Evening Star* gave to correspondence on religious subjects we are able to track the impassioned local debates on the subject, which raged throughout the 1880s. There were the conspiracy theorists who maintained that Bishop Nevill gave preference in his appointments to high church clergy of ritualist sympathies who alienated their lay people and thus caused the financial problems and acute indebtedness of many Otago Anglican parishes.³ There were those alerts to the first signs of emergent ritualism with a concomitant

² Charles Gore, *The Reconstruction of Belief*.

³ *Evening Star*, 6 October 1882, 2. 9 Oct 1882, 2. 11 Oct 1882, 4. 16 Oct 1882, 1. 12 January 1884, 4.

determination to nip it in the bud. Clergy who intoned some of the prayers of the Book of Common Prayer and who encouraged congregations and choirs to face east for the recitation of the creed were thought to be highly suspect. Dressing choirs up in cassocks and surplices and permitting them a dramatic entrance preceded by a processional cross was another bad sign.⁴ There were those who longed for the introduction of ritualist religion as an invigorating factor that would bring much needed discipline, devotion, liturgical excellence and pastoral diligence to a slack diocese.⁵ There was also keen interest in ritualist controversies that had broken out in other dioceses.

The Opening Skirmishes

A series of brushfire ritualist incidents had occurred from Auckland to Wanganui to Napier to Wellington throughout this period. These incidents came closer to home when the Revd H.J. Davis encountered opposition at Naseby to his plans to introduce a surpliced choir. The year before 1881 a vandal had entered the Church to steal the candlesticks and cut up the altar cloth.⁶

The Revd J. Hobbs had immediately preceded Davis at Naseby before proceeding on to All Saints Gladstone, Invercargill where his three-year ministry there was dogged with opposition to ritualistic practices. He would leave admitting that his ministry had been a source of division and a cause for some to leave. The next six-year ministry at Gore was quieter but on departing from there the *Bruce Herald* would report that giving was down and that grumblings about ritualism were in some measure to blame.⁷

However, the real attention-getter was the Carlyon case in the Christchurch diocese in which the Vicar of Kaiapoi was embroiled in intense controversy from 1875 to 1877 before being removed from his position. It was a case of youthful immoderate zeal encountering entrenched Orange Lodge opposition from local elites. Apart from the more sensational incidents, such as the disrupting of a New Year's Eve Watchnight Service by drum beating and bell ringing outside and the ensuing fracas, there are several key features to note in what transpired.⁸

Carlyon was accused of the usual things, adopting the eastward position at the altar for the prayer of consecration, mixing water and wine at the offertory, elevating the paten and chalice at the words of consecration, teaching the doctrine of the real presence, adopting the liturgical dress of cassock, surplice and coloured stole. What was particularly incendiary was teaching that the Virgin Mary 'was the greatest Saint that ever lived,' and distributing pre-Confirmation communion manuals that encouraged private confession to a priest together with searching moral inventory questions. We can notice what Carlyon did not attempt – the wearing of Eucharistic vestments, the use of incense or the introduction of a daily Eucharist – but what was attempted was quite enough, particularly when colonial Victorian patriarchs thought that an inquisitive and interfering priest was enquiring in a covert way into the "purity" of the young women in his household.

We can notice the means used to eject Carlyon – cutting off the giving so the stipend could not be paid. This would become a favourite and standard tactic in New Zealand for sending unpopular clergy on their

⁴ *ES*, 1 August 1888, 4. *ES*, 6 July 1888, 4. *Otago Daily Times* 15 May 1883, 3.

⁵ *ES*, 27 November 1878, 1 (Supplement) 14 April 1879, 4. 15 April 1879, 4. 22 April 1879, 4. 3 May 1879, 2. 14 Oct 1882, 1. *ODT*, 3 May 1888, 4. 9 May 1888, 4.

⁶ *Mount Ida Chronicle*, 30 June 1881, 3. *Southland Times*, 23 December 1881, 2. *Otago Witness*, 28 October 1882, 13.

⁷ *Southland Times*, 18 May 1883, 2. *Bruce Herald*, 31 January, 3.

⁸ Hugh Bowron, "Anglo-Catholicism in the Diocese of Christchurch 1850-1920" (MA thesis; University of Canterbury, 1975), 99.

way but it took time to come in to effect in this case because Carlyon had his supporters. There was the calling of special complaint meetings and stacking the Vestry with opponents. However, this was a parish politics game that two could play and it gave opportunities for Carlyon and his supporters to gain their occasional tactical victories. There was appealing to the bishop to intervene in a disciplinary mode – ineffective in this case because Harper upheld many of Carlyon’s practices and doctrines while appealing to him to tone it down – he was afraid that he could not persuade other English clergy to work in his diocese if they thought that they would be constrained by tighter restrictions on belief and practice than obtained in the Church of England. The most effective tactic was appealing to the Ecclesiastical Courts provided under the Church Constitution, in other words appealing to a higher jurisdiction of other New Zealand bishops. That worked because Suter of Nelson was the co-ordinating bishop of the three other prelates and his evangelical sympathies made it clear to him that Carlyon was in the wrong.⁹

Here was a useful check list for determining whether ritualists would succeed or fail in the New Zealand context. You had to have mastery of the financial supply situation, not be opposed by lay popes and local elites, have the support of your diocesan, stay out of Provincial ecclesiastical courts, and have a degree of emotional intelligence and relationship skills sufficient to win a sufficient degree of lay support in your parish. The Dunedin diocese was about to have its own version of the Carlyon affair that would be another thought-provoking template for what did and did not work in introducing ritualism. It would provide a salutary warning about what could go wrong and how badly, despite initial advantages and intelligent opening moves.

The Kerkham Curtain Raiser

The Revd R E Kerkham had come out from England in 1879 to become the Vicar of All Saints Dunedin, an appointment that fell through. Instead, he was given temporary charge of the new district of St John’s Roslyn. Three years later the new Church of St John’s was consecrated and Kerkham was instituted and inducted as its first Vicar.¹⁰

He was a man of independent means – he had paid the 400 pounds necessary to travel to the diocese – an advantage that was just as well given what would transpire. He was moderate in the changes he made at St John’s, a new chancel screen, candelabra, and a surpliced choir preceded with a processional cross. It was at the mission Church of the Good Shepherd at Flagstaff that he showed his hand. There he wore Eucharistic vestments together with a biretta, incense was in regular use together with more elaboration in sanctuary and altar adornment than obtained at home base. It became known as the Church to go to for high worship and worshippers were drawn from as far as St Clair. From 1883 onwards a lively correspondence developed in the local press about the goings on at Roslyn.¹¹

The next six years were marked by a developing and eventually intense contestation over Kerkham’s liturgical preferences and doctrinal teaching. A Churchwarden and seven Vestrymen resigned. The usual round of parish protest meetings and the cutting off of financial support followed. What was unusual and disquieting was the utterly implacable nature of the opposition. When Kerkham offered to concede on

⁹ Hugh Bowron, "Anglo-Catholicism in the Diocese of Christchurch 1850-1920" (University of Canterbury, 1975). 93-133. See also Michael Blain, "Testing the Constitution," in *Shaping a Colonial Church: Bishop Harper and the Anglican Diocese of Christchurch*, eds. Colin Brown, Marie Peters and Jane Teal (Christchurch, Canterbury University Press, 2006), 148-160.

¹⁰ For biographical information of the Revd R E Kerkham go to Michael Blain, "Blain Biographical Directory of Anglican Clergy in the Pacific," http://anglicanhistory.org/blain_directory/bibliography.pdf. Accessed 9/3/18.

¹¹ For a representative selection see *ODT*, 15 May 1883, 3. 30 October 1883, 4. 2 November 1883, 2. *ES*, 20 April, 4.

most points that was not enough. He must concede on everything, and then he must go. When he did eventually depart in 1889 the now opposition dominated Vestry removed the Chancel screen and other recently installed sanctuary accoutrements of worship. The bishop ordered them to put them back and they refused. The bishop offered a compromise that these be put back for the seven major feast days of the year and they argued the toss with him about that. The compromise was further undermined when on the eve of a major feast day the box housing the candlesticks was opened and it was found that a stone had been substituted for them.¹²

The crucial factor here was the elite status of the lay opposition as typified by James Ashcroft, Dunedin's official assignee and former editor of the *Otago Daily Times* from 1878 to 1883. He was also the superintendent of the mission church's Sunday School. Sacked from that position for actively opposing the Vicar's educational policies, he would show that those who were used to getting their way in Dunedin society feared no-one in pursuing their exclusionary goals. When in his presidential address to the 1889 Synod Bishop Nevill criticised the Roslyn Vestry for "the sin of driving forth one of his (God's) most devoted servants," Ashcroft moved the adjournment of Synod the following day to deliver a lengthy apologia for himself and the Roslyn Vestry despite several interventions from the President and a frosty reception from the Synod.¹³ Nevill was renowned for his combative and irascible manner, a formidable controversialist and opponent, but Ashcroft and his fellow Vestrymen were quite prepared to talk back to him and, as we saw before, to get their way in the matter of Church furnishings.

Two succeeding incidents are worthy of note. Kerkham had his supporters and admirers. Upon his departure back to England the Guild of the Church of the Good Shepherd began its farewell address and presentation to him "Reverend and dear Father." There were lay people amongst Dunedin Anglicans who supported ritualist religion.

The build-up of tension in the Roslyn parish had been exacerbated by the news that Kerkham's wife had become a Roman Catholic. One of his sons would stay on in Dunedin and in 1896 would be farewelled from the Choral Hall as he left for Bombay with the 'Poona and Indian Village Mission,' an interdenominational missionary society. He had become a convert of G. C. Grubb, a member of the Dunedin Young Men's Mission focussed on evangelistic outreach to miners in the Otago and West Coast Goldfields. He subscribed to the style of religion of his father's persecutors.

The Episcopal Insertion of Brian King into Caversham

St Peter's Caversham had been dogged by financial problems and difficulties in securing the services of a resident clergyman from the time of its beginnings in 1864. The first Vicar to stay any length of time and to try to establish the parish's life on a secure footing was the Revd Ronaldson. His decision to move the Church's location from South Rd to Hillside Rd in 1882 and to build the second church in brick was a fateful one. He had judged accurately that the Church needed to move closer to where the rapid population growth was occurring. However, he had gambled on the capacity and the willingness of the local Anglican community to finance the new church and this turned out to be a major misjudgement. New Zealand's long depression of the 1880s and early 1890s had just begun and the land on which the original church had stood could not be sold until many years later. Ronaldson would be forced to leave the parish in 1887 amidst bitter acrimony about the debts racked up by the building of the church. His successor, the Revd

¹² *ES*, 19 May 1890, 2. 5 June 1890, 2.7 June 1890, 3. 10 June 1890. 2. *Otago Witness*, 1 January 1891, 21.

¹³ *ODT*, 7 November 1889, 3. 8 November 1889, 4.

F.E. Watson, a recently ordained and lightly trained clergyman, was quite unable to cope with the debt problem he had inherited and was also obliged to leave a parish that was now in serious trouble with major question marks about its continued existence.

Bishop Nevill resolved in his characteristic decisive manner to take action to save St Peter's Caversham. He determined that the parish was so insolvent and so lacking in lay governance that he had the right to impose his choice of vicar on it. His choice of incumbent the Revd Bryan King and his family moved in to rented premises at 13 Brunswick St (renamed Loyalty St after the Great War)¹⁴ across the road from the Church and so began a perilous ministry.

Here it is appropriate to say a few words about King's life and ministry up to this point. He had a remarkable family background for he had been raised within the fiery conflicts over ritualism in the east end of London. The second phase of the Oxford Movement, that of ritualism, and of its heroic phase the ritual riots, is generally supposed to have been initiated by the ritual riots that occurred at St George's in the East from 1859 to 1860. The tumultuous events that disrupted Sunday Services there drew in supporters from polarised extremes of the Church of England and local opinion, together with fitful attempts by police constables to bring the troubles under control. At the end of this proxy struggle the Rector, the Revd Bryan King, was driven off to the quiet country living of Avebury where he would end his days. Anglo-Catholic hagiography would henceforth hail him as a martyr of ritualism.

Bryan King junior was the oldest of nine children and was named after his father. He was born in the St George's Vicarage and would have been a teenager at the time of the troubles. What interests us here is his inscape on these events and his father.

Included in his papers held in the Dunedin Anglican Cathedral is one of the hagiographical accounts of the trials and tribulations of Bryan King senior. Bryan King junior was a convinced Anglo-Catholic who arrived at St Peter's Caversham with a ritualist agenda and was to some extent an admirer of his father. He wore his father's Eucharistic vestments there and set out to do what his father had done at St George's in the East.

Bryan King junior would succeed in introducing ritualism to St Peter's Caversham without conflict, and given his popularity amongst both his parishioners and the wider community would seem to have done so in part because he had the emotional intelligence and ability to get on with people. We will be assessing the other favourable background factors that helped Bryan King's ministry to succeed later, but the events at St Georges in the East in 1859-60 would have no doubt given him considerable food for thought about how to learn from his father's painful experiences there. In any event as an oldest son Bryan King junior would have been highly motivated to do well in the parish that would turn out to be his major life's work.

King junior's working life began in commerce when he joined the mercantile firm of George S. King based in Liverpool and Bombay. By 1863 he was located in Bombay and would be head of the firm there for the next five or six years. In 1869 he was admitted as a partner. Here was an advantage for his later life in ministry, a working knowledge of business, administration, and finance together with the experience of living and working in a different culture.

¹⁴ Wise's Directory 1909.

In 1874 he resigned from the firm and returned to Avebury to prepare for the ministry studying for the next 4 years under the direction of his father. In 1878 he proceeded to Perth in Western Australia where he was ordained and would serve two curacies and a vicariate there and in Tasmania.¹⁵

Dunedin Beginnings

In 1885 he arrived in Dunedin to become the theological tutor for ordinands, a position he would hold in tandem with being curate in charge of St Martin's North East Valley. This was a significant appointment, since Bishop Nevill believed that the only way to keep clergy in the diocese and end the instability of high ministry turnover was to train local ordinands locally for local conditions. King was moving closer to Nevill becoming a trusted lieutenant as reflected in his additional responsibilities as Diocesan Registrar. The stage was now set for King's advent at Caversham in 1892.

King faced a formidable set of challenges but he had several advantages in his favour. He had experience having overseen three parishes before this one. His pre-ordination business career in Bombay would have given him financial and administrative skills. He could count on the whole hearted support of his Bishop in the event of a showdown with his parishioners, support that would soon be put to the test. There were no lay popes or orange order extremists to oppose him. Perhaps most crucially, the parish was desperate. This was a ministry that had to succeed if they were to continue to exist as an Anglican faith community with any kind of coherence or a future.

Debt Reduction

Paying down debt, securing an adequate parish cash flow and ensuring regular stipend payments would be a major concern throughout the 1890s but King would prevail through a combination of a threat to resign and by persuading the Diocesan Trust Board to give the parish a mortgage of 500 pounds to pay off its more pressing debts thus avoiding an imminent mortgage foreclosure.¹⁶

The issue of debt reduction continued throughout King's ministry. He would succeed in bringing it down by a substantial margin. Here we can make two observations.

King had the support of the Guild, the women's organisation that could be counted upon to be a cash cow that indefatigably fund-raised for the parish on an almost continual basis. Perhaps women did not have the vote at parish meetings but they had indispensable economic power. Maintaining a relationship of co-operative goodwill with them was essential for clergy survival in marginal parishes. King was clearly able to do this.

Amongst the Caversham debenture holders was Nevill himself. He put his money where his mouth was and backed his parish priest to the hilt. What was more he had money for he had married it and used it in generous measure to resource his struggling diocese.¹⁷

Historical accounts of the beginning of the Dunedin diocese and of Nevill's ministry often get bogged down in the Jenner affair. They miss the point. Jenner was a gentle soul who after being blocked as first bishop

¹⁵ Biographical information on the Revd Bryan King can be found in "Blain Biographical Directory of Anglican Clergy," Accessed 27 February 2018.

¹⁶ Vestry Minutes 4 September 1893, 110.

¹⁷ He paid for the building of the Episcopal residence, gave generously to the building of Selwyn College and was a major contributor to the Church Fund, the diocesan fund that subsidised poorly paid clergy in struggling parishes. He was also a successful solicitor of donor funds in his visits to Britain.

of Dunedin because of his perceived ritualism retired to a country parish where he wrote hymns.¹⁸ Nevill was a difficult man, irascible, combative, often quarrelling with his clergy, but he had energy and drive and money, lots of it, and he used this private wealth to make things happen in his diocese. If Jenner had become the first bishop the diocese may well have not got off the ground. For all his faults, Nevill was the generator and saviour of the diocese.

We noted earlier that one of the pre-requisites for the successful installation of a ritualist ministry was for the newly arrived priest to have control of the cash flow situation. King had achieved that, though not without difficulty. The arrival and embedding of his ministry in the parish seems to have been achieved without major conflict. It was more in the nature of Trotskyite “entryism.” But how would he go about changing the worship of St Peter’s Caversham?

The Pattern of Worship

Frustratingly the vestry minutes tell us nothing about how King set about changing the worship of his parish. He does not seem to have thought it necessary to consult them about this. In the Anglican polity clergy are free to make decisions about services without consultation with laity, though it is often diplomatic and wise to do so.

St Paul’s Cathedral has the eucharistic vestments King bequeathed to them, explaining as he did so that they were his father’s and that he had worn them at Caversham. We know that he wore them at celebrations of the eucharist from the beginning of his ministry there because press reports of services at St Peters tell us so. King seems to have been at pains to tell reporters that they were his father’s vestments.¹⁹ It is highly unlikely that he ever used incense at those Services. That is confirmed by a letter written three years after King’s retirement from a parishioner of the newly opened Holy Cross, St Kilda, at the time a mission church of St Peter’s, soon to become a parish in its own right. The familiar subject is intra-parish tensions caused by ritualistic practices. The incoming Vicar, the Revd J L Mortimer, is advised as follows:

At St Peters Holy Eucharist Services, vestments are used, servers in plain surplice, two altar lights but no incense; the other services are plain. At Holy Cross, vestments, servers, altar lights and incense are used at the HE Services; we have lost a good many of the congregation in consequence of the use of incense, and several others strongly object to it. If the priest-in-charge would carry out the services efficiently without the use of incense we believe our people would be perfectly satisfied.²⁰

What tells us something about King’s change strategy are the service registers. The typical pattern of 19th century Anglican Sunday morning worship was 8 am Holy Communion, then a mid-to-late morning Service of the Litany and Morning Prayer or Matins as it was often called, followed by Evensong in the early evening. What King tried to do was to progressively reduce the number of Matins Services and replace them with Sung Eucharists. What emerged was a compromise in which Matins and the Litany were on the menu for two Sundays of the month with a Sung Eucharist on the other two and on high days and holy days.

¹⁸ Most notably “We love the place O God,” a great favourite at induction Services for Anglican clergy.

¹⁹ *ODT*, 19 April 1897, 2. 4 February 1901, 2.

²⁰ Letter from Edward Trythall to Vicar-nominee, J L Mortimer, 29 September 1914, Hocken Library.

However, communicant numbers were never high at these Services. Because King only recorded communicant numbers and did not bother to log how many people attended the Services without communicating, i.e. total worship numbers including communicants, we are left guessing as to parishioners' reactions to this new mode of Services. Did the Matins lovers sit out the Sung Eucharists without communicating, or was it only ever a sparsely attended service? Certainly, this is where the full suite of ritualist practices would have been on display, and for that matter choral additions to the liturgy. If there was going to be sales resistance it was likely to be at this service.

Caversham communicants tended to be early risers. The 8 am service usually had high numbers, and on the major feasts such as Christmas and Easter a 7 am Service was often tacked on to the programme with good attendances.

There is something else worthy of note about the revolution in worship practices. King kept a diary for much of 1897 in which he conscientiously logged his day-to-day activities in the parish. Often on Saturday evenings he would spend time in silent prayer in Church from 7.15 or 7.30 to 8.00 pm, sometimes alone, but often as the year wore on between 4 to 6 parishioners would join him. He would always log the numbers. This was clearly a preparation for what would follow on Sunday. The worship revolution was also a spiritual revolution.²¹

The diary records also the day-to-day ministry activities of a conscientious, hardworking parish priest – playing draughts with the old men at the Benevolent Institution in Eastbourne St, reading a paper on “Hints on success in life” to the Literary and Social Club, and on one morning clocking up an impressive 13 parishioner visits. This kind of pastoral diligence would have helped to make the worship changes acceptable to his parishioners.

Bringing the Ronaldsons on Side

We have noted before King's talent for human relationships. His ability to mend fences and soothe hurt feelings would be to the fore in his dealings with the Revd Ronaldson, who remained considerably aggrieved by the manner of his ejection from St Peter's. Furthermore, the difficult matter of the considerable sum owed by the parish to Ronaldson for the construction of the hall had remained an unresolved and escalating source of tension. C J Ronaldson, his son was a parishioner and a man of some ability.²² Here was a human relations challenge that could not be ignored.

Intense negotiations went on between Ronaldson and King-led vestry throughout 1895 to try and resolve the issue. The breakthrough came in 1896 when Ronaldson agreed to write down the debt to 250 pounds for a full and final settlement to be made.²³ From now on co-operation and good will was the order of the day between King and the Ronaldsons.

At about this time King took the momentous step of scrapping pew rents, a desperate financing measure introduced from the start of the parish's life, and a very contentious issue for the Victorian Church. This was another milestone in the King string of successes. The parish was now in a virtuous cycle of favourable developments.

²¹ Canon King 1897 Diary, 2,4,8, 9,10, 13, 14, St Paul's Anglican Cathedral archives.

²² He would ultimately become a bank manager in Christchurch. See *Christchurch Star* 21 August 1917, 7.

²³ Vestry Minutes, 14 October 1896. See also *Evening Star* report of King's AGM address 21 July 1896, 1.

Look! We Have Come Through!

As the 20th century began St Peter's was in a sweet spot. Not only could it afford to pay its vicar but it could afford a curate, the Revd E.L. Woodhouse, who from 1902 to 1906 was active in the St Kilda area to start a nascent Anglican faith community.²⁴ One of King's sons, Vincent Bryan King, had become active in parish life, first as a Sunday School teacher then as a helper to Woodhouse in what was then known as the Forbury Mission. He would be ordained in 1905 and after a brief period helping his father at Caversham would go on in a larger sphere of endeavour to become one of the most well-known and respected clergyman of the inter-war years. The parish also now had the assistance of Deaconess Sisters.²⁵ The parish indebtedness was being steadily whittled down.²⁶

When in 1911 King announced his intention to retire, the parish would raise a generous sum of money to top up his pension.²⁷ He would leave a much-loved parish priest. He had told the 1894 parish AGM that in, "seventeen years of pastoral work in three colonies and four parishes I have never had such overwhelming difficulties as in this parish; but, on the other hand, I have never had such promising and hopeful results."²⁸ He had made those promising and hopeful results happen.

The 1910 General Mission of Help

The arrival of the remarkable Edward Dering Evans as the next Vicar of St Peter's Caversham would be because of and following on from the 1910 General Mission of Help, a significant event in the life of the New Zealand Anglican Church that has received too little attention from historians. Church going in New Zealand as a percentage of the total population rose to its apogee in the 1890s and then began a gentle decline through the Edwardian era. Although the Anglican Church would have been aware of this concerning situation the genesis of the mission occurred for a different and unusual reason. The Revd T.H. Sprott was the Vicar of St Paul's Wellington.²⁹ He had heard good reports of a band of missionaries from England and of their 1904 mission to the Anglican Church of South Africa. It inspired his Synod sermon to the 1906 Wellington Diocesan Synod that caught fire with its hearers. Sprott argued that local parish missions and city-wide missions had little effect because their results were soon dissipated by the general tendency of human beings to sink back to the general level of thought, feeling and conduct prevalent in a society. This general tone was immensely influential because human beings had an essentially social nature that made them dependent on one another, physically, intellectually, morally, and spiritually. An effective mission then must be a national mission aiming to lift the spiritual level of New Zealand society as a whole. To do that it should aim to hold missions in every Anglican parish within a short space of time. "There must be an effort to uplift the whole community simultaneously. The thoughts of the whole community must be simultaneously directed to the subject of religion."³⁰

²⁴ Belinda Leckie, "Holy Cross St Kilda – 100 Years of Worship," 1. Mission Days, 5. 9. 10, 2. A New Chapel, 5, 6., last modified 12 April 2015, <http://holycrossstkilda.weebly.com./a-history.html>

²⁵ Sister May 1910-1911, Sister Mary 1913-1914, Sister Boyes 1919-1921, (Teal) F. Jane Davies, *The Church of St Peter in Caversham 1864-1882-1982*.

²⁶ The details of this will be dealt with in Chapter 7, *Financing the Church*.

²⁷ Vestry Minutes 7 December 1910.

²⁸ *Evening Star*, 20 July 1894, 1.

²⁹ He would go on to become the Bishop of Wellington from 1911 to 1936

³⁰ Quoted in H.W. Monaghan, *From Age to Age: The Story of the Church of England in the Diocese of Wellington 1858-1958*, (Wellington: The Standing Committee of the Diocese of Wellington, 1958.) 96-98.

The idea was enthusiastically taken up by the Wellington diocesan Synod and achieved widespread and general support from the other dioceses in the province. Fundraising began in each diocese.

The mission team consisting of 16 members of the British contingent began to arrive in Auckland on 3 September 1910. Some local clergy had been recruited to augment their number. The missionaries then began to move from diocese to diocese holding in general 8-to-10-day missions in the larger parishes and 4-day missions in the smaller ones. Most of them had concluded their work by the third week in December and then departed with a general feeling of satisfaction left in their wake as to what had been achieved.³¹

It is worth pausing at this point to consider the style and structure of this enterprise. The Edwardian Church had a clear idea about how to go about mission. To use modern parlance, it had a tool box of resources and of personnel who knew how to go about conducting parish missions. The Revd Algernon Colville had been diocesan missionary to the diocese of Hereford, then a diocesan missionary in South Africa and from 1908 to 1911 Bishop's mission Chaplain in the diocese of Auckland. He would remain in New Zealand becoming Vicar of St Mary's New Plymouth from 1912 to 1917 and would die in post in 1918 as Vicar of St Sepulchre's, Khyber Pass Road, Auckland. Sedgwick had migrated to New Zealand in 1901 and in 1914 would become the 5th Bishop of Waiapu. Frs Fitzgerald and Rees belonged to a religious community, the Community of the Resurrection, Mirfield that regularly conducted parish missions. Cyril Hopher, an extreme Anglo-Catholic, was the diocesan missionary in the diocese of Winchester from 1913 to 1919.³² Charles Ivens, another Anglo-Catholic, was "a legend in his lifetime, famous for his Men's Services which packed the Church."³³ Thus, the Edwardian Church knew what it was about when it came to missions and had a sense of confidence about how to go about them.

Counting the churchmanship affiliations of the missionaries 9 of them were Anglo-Catholics and 5 of them were Evangelicals. The General Mission of Help would assist with changing the New Zealand Anglican Church's mind about ritualism. Looking deeper into the heart of the matter the best of the ritualist priests in the second phase of the movement in Britain's slum parishes had been very mission minded, and as Dieter Voll has pointed out in *Catholic Evangelicalism* the likes of Arthur Stanton and Robert Dolling, two of the greatest heroes of the movement, had been very evangelically minded both in their spirituality and their methods.³⁴

The missionaries arrived in Dunedin in November. It is interesting that the very Anglo-Catholic missionaries were sent to All Saints, St Martins, North East Valley and St Matthews.³⁵ By contrast St Peter's Caversham received the ministry of the Revd H.W. Jones, described by the Blain Biographical Directory of Anglican Clergy as "Anglo-Catholic but not extreme."

Whatever impact the General Mission of Help made on the Anglican community in South Dunedin, something of greater significance had occurred far to the south in Riverton. There a late arrival amongst

³¹ Report of the Revd C. Coleridge Harper, Archdeacon and General Secretary to the Mission of Help, Proceedings of the 1911 Dunedin Diocesan Synod, 38-39.

³² Member of SSC (Societas Sanctae Crucis, Society of the Holy Cross, Catholic priest's religious society), member ECU (English Church Union, the leading Catholic activist group protecting Catholic interests), Blain Biographical Directory.

³³ Parish information online from his parish of Christ Church Sowerby Bridge, West Riding, Yorkshire, member of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament and of the Church Union, Blain Biographical Directory.

³⁴ Dieter Voll, *Catholic Evangelicalism: The Acceptance of Evangelical Traditions by the Oxford Movement During the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century*, (London: The Faith Press, 1963.)

³⁵ Fr J.C. Fitzgerald CR All Saints, Fr Cyril Hopher St Martins, Fr Timothy Rees CR St Matthews (CR Community of the Resurrection, Mirfield, a monastic community founded by Charles Gore.

the mission team, the Revd Edward Dering Evans, had pulled off a bravura performance. This would draw the attention of the parochial and diocesan nominators when St Peter's, Caversham went looking for a new vicar upon the retirement of Bryan King a year later.

The Riverton Mission

The mission to Riverton was unusual in that it lasted 14 days, considerably longer than the 8 days normally allotted to large parishes. Dering Evans appears to have had a flair for the dramatic. He began with an open air Service on Saturday evening outside the Church that attracted 150 church people. They then processed through the town singing hymns preceded by a large red wooden cross halting at two stations where the missionaries explained the purpose of the mission and invited the townspeople to attend. From then on, a procession would take place each evening from the Church to the Town Hall where a mission Service would follow to capacity crowds. Although the mission had been explicitly aimed at an Anglican audience it attracted a wider following. The *ODT* article that reported these details concluded by writing: "The mission is being welcomed by one and all, and the whole town has set aside all engagements until the mission is over."³⁶ Riverton at that time had a population of 1,000.³⁷

The impact that this mission had can be gauged by the *Evening Star's* summing up of it when it announced Dering Evan's acceptance of the offer of St Peter's Caversham the following year. "During the mission he was stationed at Riverton, where his preaching caused quite a stir, people of all denominations and some who had not been to any church for years making it a pleasurable duty to attend the Anglican Church and take part in the Service; and, it is said, as witnessing to the fervour of this congregation their contribution to the mission expenses was so largely in excess of local requirements as to enable a considerable sum to be forwarded to Dunedin."³⁸

Later that year Dering Evans would make a return visit to Riverton to deliver on a promise he had made during the mission to conduct a series of follow up Services, a revisiting process he would also deliver on at Waimate where apparently, he had also conducted a mission.³⁹ This was a man who had returned by popular demand and word was out about the effectiveness of his missioning ministry.

Mission Tactics in South Dunedin

Before outlining the course of Dering Evan's ministry at St Peter's, it is worth considering how he brought his repertoire of missional tactics to bear in South Dunedin.

Within a month of being instituted to the parish, Dering Evans commenced a mission in St Kilda. A margin note in the St Peter's register of Services for 30 April 1911 details an exhaustive and exhausting round of services and evangelising activities including open air preaching, a children's mission, a women's service, and addresses to men.

To get all this done Evans called in a favour and secured the help of the Revd J Morland, the vicar of St Mary's Riverton.⁴⁰ We can recall also the letter of complaint about the use of incense at Holy Cross Services from Edward Trythall to the incoming vicar J.L. Mortimer in September 1914 quoted earlier. This makes it clear that Evans had adopted the Kerkham strategy of keeping the worship style moderate back

³⁶ *ODT*, 17 November 1910, 8.

³⁷ Government 1910 Yearbook, Hocken Library.

³⁸ *Evening Star*, 10 March 1911, 4.

³⁹ *Western Star*, November 1911, 2.

⁴⁰ Quoted in Leckie, *Holy Cross, St Kilda – 100 Years of Worship, Chapter 2, A New Chapel*, 1.

at home base while turning up the volume of ritual adjuncts to worship at the mission church. Ritualist priests believed that ritual taught the faith and had converting power in mission situations.

Beachgoers at St Clair beach on the Sunday afternoons of January 1914 were startled to witness a procession beginning from Pargiter's corner of Queen Alexander Street wending its way on to the beach where Evans conducted a short Service "and preached simple Evangelical sermons to which large numbers listened very attentively."⁴¹

The Brief and Energetic Vicariate of Dering Evans

Dering Evans was unusual in several ways. His father was American--Frank Evans of Hendersonville, North Carolina.⁴² He had been trained at Lincoln Theological College, the first vicar of Caversham to receive this kind of priestly formation. Theological Colleges were regarded in the late Victorian Church as new-fangled inventions. Many thought them suspiciously like Roman seminaries. Dering Evans had only ever been an assistant Curate, first at Lowestoft, then at Newcastle on Tyne, his training Vicar being another very Anglo-Catholic 1910 General Missioner Cyril Hopher, who may well have recruited him into the enterprise. Caversham was his first incumbency.

Dering Evans did not stay long. Instituted in March 1911, he would leave in August 1914. In fact, his time in Caversham was even briefer because he had a 6 month leave of absence in early 1912 to go looking for assistant clergy in Britain and to assuage the grumpy feelings of his former parish about his departure to New Zealand.⁴³

After his departure Bishop Nevill would describe him as a man "of energy, ability, and considerable organising powers."⁴⁴ He certainly got things done. A Men's society was founded at St Kilda and the Caversham one was revitalised.⁴⁵ The foundation stone of the Holy Cross Chapel of Ease, St Kilda was laid in December 1911 and was completed and officially dedicated on the second Sunday in Advent 11 December 1912. The Vicarage was built in 1913. The last two projects had been on the parish's mind and in the organising pipeline for some time but Dering Evans seems to have been the sort of man who pressed the go button, galvanised people into action, and then moved on.

The Enigma of Fr Dering Evans

In August 1914 Dering Evans travelled to Baltimore. There he became the curate in charge of St Luke's, Baltimore, a large Anglo-Catholic parish with 1200 parishioners. They must have liked him for he was soon appointed the Rector. Then occurred the most remarkable event of his life when he married Helen Fiske in 1917, at the great Anglo-Catholic shrine of St Mary the Virgin, West 46th Street, New York. Her elite status is shown by the fact that her cousin Charles Fiske, coadjutor bishop of Central New York, married them, and that the Solemn Nuptial Mass was celebrated by Reginald Heber Weller, the bishop of Fond Du Lac, Wisconsin, traditionally one of the Anglo-Catholic dioceses of the Episcopal Church, assisted by the vicar of St Mary's. The wedding guests included the Governor General of Canada, the Marquis and Marchioness of Aberdeen, and another Episcopal bishop.

⁴¹ *The Church Envoy*, February 1914, 6.

⁴² Surrey County Council, "Surrey Coat of Arms" (https://www.surreycc.gov.uk/_data/assets/pdf_file/0006/36438/Surrey-Coats-o-f-Arms-A-H.pdf)

⁴³ *Evening Star*, 15 February 1912, 7.

⁴⁴ Presidents Address, 1915 Proceedings of the Dunedin Diocesan Synod, 14.

⁴⁵ *ODT*, 17 June 1913, 6.

Helen was the eldest daughter of Haley Fiske, a millionaire, whose wealth flowed from the fact that he was the President of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. He was a trustee of Rutgers University, a generous benefactor of St Mary's, having paid for their Lady Chapel, and also gave generous endowments to the diocese of Newark, New Jersey, which the notorious John Spong would later be Bishop of towards the end of the 20th century. He also gave generous financial support to St Mark, Mendham, where he was a churchwarden. The great golden doors of the Cathedral of St John the Divine, New York are a memorial to him.

From the 1920s Helen had many mystical and olfactory spiritual experiences, particularly of St Therese of Lisieux, the famous late 19th century French Carmelite Nun, but also of Jesus, both in the Tabernacle of the Reserved Sacrament and on the Crucifix, and also of our Lady and the Angels. She was encouraged by Fr Spence Burton, the head of the American branch of the Anglican religious order, the Society of St John the Evangelist, to write these experiences down, and publish them in book form. The book went out under the title *The Garden of the Little Flower and other mystical experiences*, and had prefaces by the Bishops of Maryland and Northern Indiana, both of whom were prominent Anglo-Catholics.

In 1919 Dering Evans went back to Britain and would move from parish to parish after comparatively short stays. Eventually he retired to the West Country, where he died in 1949. We are left wondering what motivated the constant moves in an endlessly peripatetic ministry. The longest stays he managed were 7 years in Baltimore, 6 years in Southwark diocese and 4 years in Mamhead in the diocese of Exeter. Perhaps a clue is offered in the remarks he made at the bon voyage parish function for him at Caversham in February 1912. "During the evening the Vicar had a few words to say about the work which had been carried on during the past months. There had been a lot of very strenuous work, full of anxiety, done since he came here last March. He had been helped through it all, in spite of fits of depression, by the great kindness showed to him."⁴⁶ There are some clergy with an underlying depressive personality who work in powered bursts of enthusiasm getting a lot done in a short space of time who then lapse into a sombre mood and then need to move on to the next challenge. Perhaps Dering Evans was one of them?⁴⁷

Back grounding John Lawrence Mortimer

In the sacristy of St Peter's Caversham is a photograph of Fr Mortimer arrayed in cope and biretta, a party statement if ever there was one, surrounded by his servers. The Guild of the Servers of the Sanctuary was but one of the sodalities and societies that became a hallmark of the well organised Anglo-Catholic parish. Seated to his left is the young Stanley Hurd, later to be ordained and serve his entire ministry in the diocese of Dunedin. Standing at far right along the back row is Edward M. McLevie, also destined for later ordination, who would turn St Barnabas Roseneath into the Anglo-Catholic shrine of the diocese of Wellington in the inter-war years.⁴⁸ For now we can note that this is the third of the trinity of clergy who would cement the Oxford movement into an enduring tradition in the parish's life and who would take its churchmanship further up the candle.

The photo shows a tall, thin man, with piercing sunken eyes, a hint perhaps of the latent tuberculosis that would carry him off in 1920. Probably it did not help that he had come to a smoke ridden industrial parish with its gas works close by above South Rd with another in the vicinity of the present Andersons Bay Rd

⁴⁶ *Evening Star*, 15 February 1912, 7.

⁴⁷ Details of his life and ministry obtained from the Blain Biographical Directory of Anglican Clergy

⁴⁸ Blain Biographical Directory

and a railway shunting yard in the heart of Kensington. Be that as it may he had come well-credentialed. He had a degree in economics at Oxford, was a graduate of St Stephens House Oxford, the most extreme Anglo-Catholic theological College in Britain, and was the son in law of the Revd Harry Burton, the barnstorming mission priest who in his brief ministry at St Michaels Christchurch from 1910 to 1914 would turn it into the premier Anglo-Catholic parish of New Zealand.⁴⁹ Burton had brought Mortimer with him as an assistant priest to be part of the change team.

Nor was Mortimer a stranger to pioneering controversy. After 15 months at St Michaels, he was appointed to the newly created parochial district of St Albans East that had been split off from the parish of St Matthews, St Albans, what is now called the suburb of Shirley. Almost immediately a section of parishioners threatened to withdraw the financial guarantee of the new priest in charges stipend on the grounds that if he was a curate of St Michaels, he must be a ritualist. They called a protest meeting and forwarded a motion to the bishop calling on him to withdraw his appointment. This Bishop Julius declined to do. The appointment proceeded.⁵⁰

There was something else about Mortimer that had drawn public attention – his Christian Socialism. He had nailed his colours to the mast in an address given to the Fabian Society at the Socialist Hall in 1913.

Nor did he leave it there. A month later he brought into existence a Christchurch branch of the Church Socialist League of which he would be the President, the curate of Holy Trinity, Avonside the Revd H.C. Money would be the Secretary, with a membership of 20.⁵¹ Perhaps it helped that Bishop Julius was a Christian Socialist too? Then in November Mortimer and Money would address over a hundred striking waterfront workers in Lyttelton telling them that their sympathies were with the strikers and that they should “stand firm in the fight without resorting to physical force.”⁵²

The Christchurch Press had already taken note of Mortimer and Money’s activities and had led off with a lively attack on their views with a leader entitled “Red-Fed Christianity,” which gave Mortimer an opportunity to expound his views further through the letters to the editor column.⁵³

Given all this publicity the nominators of Caversham could have had little doubt about what they were getting in their new vicar but there was an appropriateness in his interests. As the publications of the Caversham project have pointed out this was a suburb that had come in to existence as an advanced industrial suburb freshly minted without ever having been anything else before, unlike many centres of the industrial revolution in Britain. A parish priest who took an interest in industrial relations was therefore a useful and well informed local Christian leader.

There were a couple of other things to note about this scholarly priest. He was a poet and had also found time in 1913 to write a Christmas Mystery Play entitled *The Witnesses*.⁵⁴ His intellectual background also keyed in with a decisive shift that had occurred in Anglican theological opinion. The publication of *Lux Mundi*, a collection of 12 essays by 11 Anglican theologians under the editorship of Charles Gore in the late 1880s, had burst like a bombshell on the Anglophone theological reading world.

⁴⁹ Marie Peters, *Christchurch-St Michael’s: A Study in Anglicanism in New Zealand* (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 1986) 99,104-114., Hugh Bowron, “Anglo-Catholicism in the Diocese of Christchurch 1850-1920.” MA thesis. 165-176.

⁵⁰ *The Press*, 25 March 1912, 3. *Evening Star*, 27 March 1912, 4.

⁵¹ *Maoriland Worker*, 30 May 1913, 3.

⁵² *Christchurch Star*, 4 November 1913, 5. *The Press*, 5 November 1913, 11.

⁵³ *The Press*, 9 July 1913, 8. 15 July, 2.

⁵⁴ Details of his life and ministry obtained from the Blain Biographical Directory of Anglican Clergy.

It went through 10 editions in its first year of publication and was greeted with relief by many thoughtful and informed Christians who were troubled by the rise of biblical criticism, Darwin's theory of evolution and the social and political problems associated with living in an advanced industrial society. The *Lux Mundi* essayists, all of them Anglo-Catholics, appeared to have credible answers to these conundrums. The book horrified many of the older generation of the Oxford Movement but achieved a wide and appreciative readership both inside and outside the Anglican world. The book's editor Charles Gore was a towering figure in late 19th and early 20th century Anglicanism. Not just the founder a religious community, and successively Bishop of Worcester, Birmingham and Oxford, his books, lectures and sermons established him as a prophetic figure in the Anglican firmament. A moralist in the best sense of the word, with a keen interest in the prophetic religion of Israel, Gore became an inspiring spiritual leader whose influence extended throughout the Anglican Communion.

The Oxford Movement had moved into its third phase, what some called that of liberal Anglo-Catholicism, and had seized the high ground of theological scholarship. It could no longer be dismissed as a group of Romanising obscurantists, and was well on the road to being accepted into the Anglican mainstream. Mortimer then was of a piece with this new generation of theologically informed and socially and politically concerned Anglo-Catholic clergy who were not just looking back to a patristic or medieval past but who were interested in contemporary concerns and modes of thought.

Separating Off Holy Cross, St Kilda

Mortimer's ministry was notable for two events, the first of which was permitting and encouraging the coming into being of the parish of Holy Cross, St Kilda in 1917.

This was a wise and appropriate decision on several counts. It was ardently desired by the nascent Anglican community of faith in St Kilda, who since late 1913 had their own place of worship to base their community life around. Giving St Kilda Anglicans their independence made them more motivated and more likely to succeed in mission to their surrounding suburb.

It reduced the pastoral burden on Mortimer and his Curates. South Dunedin was rapidly growing into one of the most populous suburbs in the country and populous parishes in the diocese, with St Kilda at the forefront of this population growth. Mortimer's predecessors had frequently commented on the difficulty of maintaining a significant and realistic degree of pastoral contact with the Caversham Anglican community.

It brought an end to the complaints about ritualism at Holy Cross. Mortimer had ignored the letter of complaint from Edward Trythall quoted earlier in this chapter and continued the Dering Evans policy of deploying a richer menu of ritualist worship at Holy Cross. This policy was enthusiastically carried forward by one of his curates, the Revd Canter, who would later convert to Catholicism and become a racing commentator.⁵⁵ The first vicar of the new parish, the Revd Wingfield, would be free to tone the worship down to a more moderate and acceptable level. The Holy Cross Parish history refers to the written recollections of parishioner William Jacobsen who claimed a mass defection of the St Peter's Caversham choir in protest at Mortimer's ritualism with 10 new choristers gained thereby for Holy Cross.⁵⁶

Guild Socialism

⁵⁵ Leckie, *Holy Cross, St Kilda – 100 years of Worship*, Chapter 2, 6.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

In July and August of 1919 Mortimer gave three lectures on Guild Socialism to audiences of over a hundred at the parish hall. The first two were attended by mostly men, his audiences often applauded and the content of the lectures was widely and extensively reported by local newspapers.⁵⁷

Mortimer's proposals harked back to the medieval guilds whose co-operative and collective styles of incorporating and protecting workers in particular fields of skilled endeavour had been undermined, he claimed, first by Henry the 8th, whose seizure of the monasteries had created a class of proto capitalists who increasingly controlled workers and accumulations of capital, a process that had come full term in the industrial revolution. The contemporary wage system resulted in workers having to sell their labour as best they could without any control over its fruits.

In the exchange of correspondence in the *ODT* that would follow these lectures, Mortimer would be supported in his views by his friend the Revd L.G. Whitehead, the Warden of Selwyn College.⁵⁸ It was a measure of both men's intellectual ability that they used to read Bergson's *Creative Evolution* together in French.⁵⁹

Mortimer was invited to give an abridged version of his lectures at Port Chalmers. His impending final illness, forced early retirement and imminent death made this the last of his Christian Socialist activities.

What he had proposed was not an entire novelty. Rutherford-Waddell of sweating labour fame was a Christian Socialist and Dunedin had a Fabian Society. More would be heard about national guilds and guild socialism in the inter war period from leading Anglo-Catholic intellectuals such as Maurice Reckitt and V.A. Demant whose Christian Sociology, as they called it, would become a major part of the suite of ideas endorsed by the Christendom Group founded by T. S. Eliot. Later generations might smile at the naivety of some of what was suggested with its characteristic Anglo-Catholic romantic view of the Middle Ages and its lack of attention to the details of modern economics but they provided some of the background and resourcing of the influential COPEC conference,⁶⁰ which in turn influenced William Temple's widely read and much-admired *Christianity and Social Order*. This book is reckoned to be one of the intellectual tap roots of the creation of the British welfare state after World War 2.⁶¹ In some ways Mortimer had been a man ahead of his time.

The Death of Mortimer

In November 1919 Mortimer took six months leave of absence to go to Christchurch to try and deal with his failing health. He resigned in January 1920 and died in March. After a Requiem Mass at St Michaels, he was buried in the Burwood cemetery.⁶² One of his obituaries described him as "universally loved" by

⁵⁷ *ODT*, 29 July 1919, 8., 12 August 1919, 6., 26 August 1919, 6., *Evening Star*, 29 July 1919, 3., 26 August 1919, 7., See also *Maoriland Worker*, 1 October 1919, 6.

⁵⁸ *ODT*, 19 August 1919, 6.

⁵⁹ K.F.S. Cox, *Archdeacon L.G. Whitehead* (Christchurch: Pegasus Press 1977) 27.

⁶⁰ Conference on Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship, 1924. See Adrian Hastings, *A History of English Christianity 1920-1985*, (London: Fount Paperbacks 1987) 179, 184.

⁶¹ Hastings, *History of English Christianity*, 422.

⁶² Mrs Mortimer was 26 at the time of her husband's death and had three children. She returned to England and started a dance school at Camberley in the 1920's. She then joined forces with a Miss Crisp at Elmhurst to establish one of the first schools of dancing and education in England. Elmhurst developed into a boarding school of 350 children from all parts of the world. The Chapel was an important part of the school's life and was served by its fulltime Chaplain, Mrs Mortimer's ordained son. The school was famous for linking its ballet with an explicitly Anglo-Catholic faith. She died in 1958. *The Fisherman, Monthly Magazine of the Parish of Caversham*, May 1958, 3-4.

his parishioners⁶³ and perhaps he was. He is the only Vicar of St Peter's, Caversham to be memorialised by a stained-glass window. It is of Christ the Good Shepherd, and was given by the children of the parish.

Summing up the Three Ministries

By 1920 the three ministries of King, Dering Evans and Mortimer had cemented in a certain style of Anglican holiness movement known as Anglo-Catholicism as a core part of the identity of St Peter's Caversham. Each of these ministries had revealed a key aspect of the Oxford Movement. Pastoral diligence and an organised approach to pastoral care in the case of King. Flamboyant missional tactics in the case of Dering Evans. A care for social justice and a commitment to Christian Socialism in the case of Mortimer. There would be no going back on the parish's commitment to the Oxford Movement or an attempted counter revolution at any point in the future. From now on St Peter's Caversham would be a traditional Anglo-Catholic parish with a reputation as such in the city and in the diocese. Other clergy would be more low-key in the way they presented or championed this style of religion but none would contradict or oppose it. Indeed, from 1986 on the revolution would be completed with full catholic privileges extended to the parish in the ministry of Fr Carl Somers-Edgar.⁶⁴

Assessing Nevill

In conclusion, to what extent were the accusations against Nevill of ritualist sympathies and of high church tendencies true? He had been prepared for ministry at St Aidan's College, Birkenhead, a training establishment with scant sympathy for the Oxford Movement. Nor were his curacy and first incumbency parishes associated with high church religion. As his episcopal ministry began in 1871, he would have been keenly aware of Jenner's fate so would have been incentivised to downplay any nascent sympathy for the Oxford Movement.

He had tried to protect Kerkham at Roslyn from his detractors and persecutors but that would have been for the same reason Harper, no high churchman, tried to protect Carlyon. Colonial bishops had desperate need of a steady pipe line of imported clergy from Britain. This recruiting agenda would be imperilled if word got out back home that New Zealand dioceses were intolerant of recent developments in the worship practices of the Church of England. He had imposed King on Caversham but had done so to save a financially imperilled parish; not to advance the agendas of ritualist religion. He backed King with executive and financial support because he trusted him as a credible and reliable last chance ministry there. The rise of ritualist religion at Caversham was an almost accidental by product. Yet as time went on there were signs that Nevill was increasingly interested in and sympathetic to the Oxford Movement. Why might that have been?

A significant clue can be found in Nevill's charges to the annual diocesan synods. These were masterpieces of a widely informed and articulate episcopal speech making. They began with a summary of recent developments in world Christianity as influenced by current world events. They moved on to recent developments in the Church of England. They then reported on what was happening in the New Zealand Anglican church. They concluded with a roundup of Dunedin diocesan developments. What these charges reveal is a bishop very much in touch with the way things were heading back in the Church of England. He was aware that the followers of the Oxford Movement were steadily gaining ground as

⁶³ *ODT*, 25 March 1920, 7.

⁶⁴ Much of the material in this article is drawn from my Otago history department doctorate thesis, "St Peters, Caversham 1864-2000," 2022.

influencers and trend setters both at home and in the wider Communion. In his frequent trips back home, something colonial bishops were expected to do for fund raising purposes, he made it his business to meet and converse with high churchmen of the moment. Nevill was a big picture man keen to keep abreast of recent developments and to learn from them. Maybe he was a partisan supporter of local diocesan autonomy yet at the same time he was a supporter of and enthusiastic attendee at the first Lambeth Conference.

There was also a family connection that would have influenced him. Etheleen was the niece of his first wife and came out to New Zealand, together with her governess, with the Nevills in 1872. Eventually she would become a professed religious and as Sister Eveleen would be part of the cadre of nuns who would found and run St Hildas diocesan school for girls until they withdrew to England in 1930.⁶⁵ This was a project that the Nevills heartily approved of and supported.

Nevill was not pursuing a master plan of imposing the Oxford Movement on his diocese by means of a long game of partisan appointments. Cherrington, first bishop of Waikato from 1926 to 1950, would try that with almost disastrous consequences. The initial blow back would result in a motion of no confidence from the diocesan synod in the early years of his episcopal ministry. Having faced that down, he would go on to ordain many of suitable churchmanship but of often uneven ability levels. Few stayed in such a financially troubled diocese consisting mostly of isolated rural parishes with unreliable stipends. Cherrington and Nevill had the same problem of clergy who rapidly faded away because they could not adapt to rural ministry and low stipends. Cherrington tried to solve the problem by running a mini theological college out of his episcopal residence with the aim of producing ordinands with the right sort of religion and a personal loyalty to him. Nevill had more of a sense of the shape of institutions so he founded and funded Selwyn College as a residential university college with a mixture of university of New Zealand undergraduates and diocesan ordinands. Selwyn would survive, St Anselm's would not. As we have seen, L.G. Whitehead, Warden of Selwyn and Vicar of All Saints, Dunedin for many years was a priest of wide intellectual interests who had read his way into a variety of liberal Anglo-Catholicism. Cherrington was no scholarly slouch having a BD from Kings London and having been a tutor at Lichfield Theological College but he inhabited a narrower intellectual world and was not always wise in his choice of potential ordinands. Neither Nevill and Cherrington were strong in the charm department and both were pugnacious and adversarial in diocesan disputes but Nevill had more of a modicum of emotional intelligence and a long view of what needed to happen in a financial and institutional sense.

Nevill grew in his sense of Oxford Movement Anglican identity over many years and as the 20th century dawned, with several decades of episcopal rule under his belt and confident of his unassailable position he was prepared to come out of the closet. His becoming Primate in 1904 would have reinforced this self-confidence in a revealed churchmanship. A photograph in the Church Hall of Holy Cross, St Kilda tells the story. Bishop Nevill is presiding at the consecration of Holy Cross, St Kilda in 1913 gorgeously arrayed in Chasuble, Maniple and Mitre, the very image of a proud prelate. Coates the Curate of St Peters is clad in a Dalmatic, this is a High Mass. No doubt Dering Evans had strongly encouraged his diocesan to be fully kitted out in this way but Nevill looks as though he is enjoying himself and needed little encouragement. Yet for all this the reality is that the Oxford Movement in the diocese of Dunedin was a movement from

⁶⁵ John H Evans, *Southern See: The Anglican Diocese of Dunedin New Zealand*, (Dunedin, John McIndoe Limited, 1968), 63, 126-7.

below pioneered by remarkable individuals who lead the way. Nevill allowed this to happen but he did not make it happen.

Nevill's successor as bishop of Dunedin Isaac Richards was a "staunch catholic" who had been tutored at Oxford by H P Liddon, one of the prominent personalities and high-profile preachers of the Oxford movement.⁶⁶ Yet he was unable to impose his style of Anglicanism on the diocese in large part because the economic doldrums of inter war New Zealand meant that much of the band width of his episcopal leadership was taken up with financial and debt issue difficulties.

Anticipating the Part 2 Paper

Next month's paper will deal with the wider diffusion of the Oxford Movement throughout the Dunedin diocese. It will highlight two major influences; the ministry of the Revd Vincent Bryan King, one of New Zealand's premier social worker priests in the interwar years, and the infection factor generated by the Guild of the Servants of the Sanctuary, a holiness club that encouraged priestly vocations and high standards of elaborate liturgical worship. It will assess the limits of the spread of the Oxford Movement in the Dunedin Anglican diocese.

⁶⁶ Blain Biographical Dictionary of Clergy in the Pacific, 1898.