

Religion, Churches and Childhood in New Zealand, c.1900–1940*



CHILDREN'S RELIGION has not aroused a great deal of interest among historians. In New Zealand, historians of religion periodically lament a tendency within 'mainstream' historical writing to downplay religious voices. The case of childhood could be taken to fit this pattern since the form, extent and significance of children's encounters with religion have all been largely neglected.¹ Even within historical studies of religion, youth involvement and experience have often been ignored.² Contrary to what this lacuna might suggest, the intersection of religion and childhood is important. Religious ideas are usually encountered first in childhood, and the ideas formed during these years are enduring. Messages for children always indicate adult communication priorities and so offer a window into social values. This feature is even more pronounced in religious contexts where ideals are so fundamental. In short, the intersection of religion and childhood provides a rich source for investigation of broader social and religious patterns.

This article explores the influence of organized Christian religion on Pakeha children's lives during the first half of the twentieth century. Arguably, during these years, New Zealand religion was mostly for children. It was encountered in more ways and with greater intensity during the childhood years than at any other time. Adults introduced children to a range of religious ideas and practices, and children responded to these in various ways. Children's engagement with institutional forms of religion reached its highest level early in the twentieth century, and continued to exceed adult participation for many years. Within the home, religious activity was often encouraged with children's benefit in mind, though seldom in forms that excited them. This concentration of religious activity in childhood reflected substantial levels of investment. It also indicated a reasonable level of consensus within the community concerning the role of religion in children's lives. Paradoxically, the concentration of religious activity in childhood created difficulties for the churches. Youthful connection never secured more general support for organized religion. Children's religion had its own distinctive vocabularies and expectations. These could be outgrown, but links to adult forms of organized religion were generally weak. Moreover, high levels of involvement by children reinforced a correlation of religion with childhood. This worked against ongoing engagement in adulthood, but ensured that religious ideas and identities continued to shape New Zealand life.

A range of factors contributed to extensive investment in religion for children. Romantic notions of childhood innocence supported a basic assumption that children were naturally religious.³ Reflecting on children's love for Jesus, one religious educator claimed that: 'A child instinctively loves that which is good. Tell a child about an admirable man and he intuitively admires and reverences that character.'⁴ There were also pragmatic and strategic reasons for investing

in children. Weak institutional foundations in New Zealand added urgency to the churches' interest in Christian nurture, for religious frameworks were considered essential to individual and societal well-being. Since children were unusually responsive, it was easier to grow the church and reach the nation through them than adults.⁵ In addition, children had particular value in an expanding colony. Intensive investment in children's religion was consistent with a wider climate that increasingly emphasized the welfare, protection and intrinsic worth of the child. In a context where religion, morality and national prosperity were frequently linked, children's religious identity was a matter of national significance. The Education Act of 1877, which introduced 'secular' state education for primary children, also had a profound effect. Protestant and Catholic responses to the Act diverged, but both expanded their religious education programmes. Desire to cater for a growing population and compete with an increasingly well-funded and professional state education system were catalysts for church action.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, the Sunday school had become established as the centrepiece of Protestant religious education. It was a significant feature in New Zealand religious life and a normal part of childhood experience. Sunday schools had originally arisen in Britain in the context of worker child education, and the traditional New Zealand Sunday school inherited both the mandate and formality of the early movement. In the era of settlement, Sunday schools were tools for strengthening church life. They were often established in developing areas before churches, and attendance rose significantly as transport conditions enabled better networks to collect students.⁶ The more authoritarian parental styles of the mid-Victorian period may have benefited the Sunday school movement; parents had tighter control over children and could direct their attendance to some effect.⁷ Still, the success of the New Zealand movement was notable given that colonial childhood is considered to have been comparatively unrestrained.

Participation peaked in the decade prior to World War I. According to census returns from 1896 to 1911, rates of enrolment in Sunday school ranged between 65.9% and 69.3% of all children aged 5 to 14. This was roughly 10% less than the enrolment rate at government primary schools.⁸ Numerically, rolls did not decline significantly until the 1960s, though the proportion of children connected with the three main denominations had dropped to around 40% by 1960.⁹ These figures point to an enormous level of exposure, even during the later period. Yet they do not provide a complete picture. Few 14-year-olds can have attended, as most Sunday schools concentrated on children up to about age 12. Conversely, most schools did provide for pre-school children and participation was typically higher in the younger age groups. Crucially, these figures do not include a Catholic proportion of at least 10% of the population. Late nineteenth-century attendance rates of between 65% and 75% of enrolments seem to have persisted into the twentieth century.¹⁰ By contrast, church attendance generally was probably never higher than 29.8%, in 1896.¹¹ Most Sunday schools were organized denominationally. However, many children simply attended the nearest accessible school and happily shifted association as circumstances required. Parents moved their children for a range of reasons, but children also initiated changes on account of friendships.¹²

By the twentieth century, conceptualization and organization of Sunday school life was beginning to change. Goals had narrowed to become more firmly 'religious',¹³ while child-centred approaches and psychological notions of childhood were increasingly utilized to achieve them.¹⁴ These trends reflected the increasing importance of child-centred approaches in education generally.¹⁵ They also indicated interest in more scientific and therefore, it was hoped, more efficient methodologies and the waning appeal of austere commandment-based forms of religion. In the 1920s and 1930s, active religious education committees mediated these shifts through curricula, resources and training for the denominations. The New Zealand Council for Religious Education played an important role from 1924 under the direction of the leading Methodist, the Rev. E.P. Blamires, while Dr. J.D. Salmond was particularly influential in Presbyterian circles.

Sunday schools became increasingly colourful, interesting places. Imparting knowledge was important, but there was a marked shift away from what David Keen has called the 'dryly catechetical' approach of earlier times.¹⁶ The function of catechism changed and its use diminished. Modern teaching methodologies disparaged rote learning, and sharp dispute among Presbyterians over the continuing value of catechism in 1908 focused on this tension.¹⁷ Still, catechism persisted in reduced form in Presbyterian Sunday school examinations as late as 1932,¹⁸ though scripture memorization had become more important. The emergence of 'expression work' and use of new teaching aids were major developments. Inspired by international trends, superintendent George Tiller introduced the cradle roll, sand table and other innovations to the Wesley Methodist Church Sunday school in Wellington in 1900. These quickly spread to Methodist junior departments throughout New Zealand.¹⁹ Their success prompted Blamires to question whether classes for older children now appeared



Figure 1: In the early twentieth century, Sunday schools were often located in facilities like community halls and outgrown church buildings. Despite efforts to soften these formal settings and the introduction of new teaching aids like blackboards and sand tables, older mandates continued to shape Sunday school life for many years.

Interior view of the Menzies Hall, used by the Silverstream Sunday School, 1920.

A.P. Godber Collection, G-779-1/2-APG, Alexander Turnbull Library.

dull by comparison.²⁰ Developmental ideas increasingly shaped instruction for older children, too. Attention to heroic biblical narrative and gospel stories increased, as did provision of music, singing and colourful, comfortable accommodation fit for each developmental stage. Yet, even without these embellishments, simple religious knowledge could be attractive for children. Learning involved the acquisition of ideas that adults deemed important, and rewards and prizes sweetened the process. Occasions like Sunday school anniversaries provided opportunities for children to display knowledge and skills and thus receive praise and recognition.

In the evangelical tradition from which they arose, Sunday schools were an aid for the conversion of the child, as well as a preparation for life in the church. Education was the key to ‘destroying sin in the midst of us — even within the children’.²¹ By 1936, the evangelistic imperative was evident in claims that: ‘The supreme task of the Sunday School is to bring every scholar into vital relationship with the Living Christ.’²² However, that emphasis was generally softening, reducing the pressure it could place on children. The American theologian Horace Bushnell’s domestic ideal of ‘Christian nurture’ became influential in Protestant religious education in New Zealand. This moved the focus away from children’s sinfulness and adult conversion, aiming instead for the child to ‘grow up a Christian, and never know himself as being otherwise’.²³ Child conversion was stressed alongside gradual enlightenment from within Christian experience, and appropriation of religious feeling rather than doctrine.²⁴ ‘Decision day’, an annual event in most Protestant churches, became increasingly understood as a mechanism to promote church membership by assisting the transfer of children graduating out of Sunday school. Expressing commitments became as important as making them.²⁵

Sunday schools served a variety of social functions. At one level, they were supported because of a widely held belief that religion was good for children — primarily because it was thought to teach morality. Sunday school was the main contact between church and community, since many more children attended than came from actively religious families. For parents whose own connection with organized religion was slight, sending children to Sunday school could be a matter of respectability. It also provided a way to fulfil religious responsibilities and ensure that socially accepted moral values were inculcated. Moreover, Sunday schools were important social centres. Sunday school lessons may also have been viewed as a form of leisure, especially for girls.²⁶ Fund-raising, entertainment, anniversaries and picnics were integral to school life, and were conceived as important community occasions. Especially in smaller centres, these routinely attracted large proportions of the population, transcending denominational loyalties. Sunday schools also provided a break from parental responsibilities, though this function can be exaggerated. Sunday could be very busy: attendance at Sunday school in the afternoon was often additional to church attendance in the morning and, occasionally, again at night.²⁷ Organizing this attendance required effort, the time break for parents was limited and association with Sunday school added a range of further responsibilities.²⁸ But whatever the motivations, Sunday schools were well supported. And, at times, they did prove to be capable of instilling religious convictions — even when domestic religious influence

was minimal. Martin Sullivan, who later became Dean of St Paul's Cathedral London, recalled as much, though he judged that the teaching he received was indifferent.²⁹

Sunday schools often had diverse programmes. Highly involved children, and leaders, could be kept thoroughly occupied. Fund-raising initiatives demonstrated the scope of activity and the demand placed on time and resources. In 1920, the Brooklyn Methodist Sunday school was operating separate funds for a piano, furnishings and the annual picnic, as well as a general school fund.³⁰ Children were also actively involved in raising money for worthy causes. The following year, the same Sunday school raised £12 for the Methodist Orphanage in Masterton. Sending money 'home' to Britain in support of Barnardo's was also popular.³¹ Hugh Morrison has indicated the enormous contribution children made to Protestant missionary activity in and from New Zealand and the array of fund-raising activities involved. Children made a significant financial contribution, but inculcation of a *mentalité* of service and mission was probably the primary motivation for enlisting their support.³² Temperance-promoting churches frequently organized a 'Band of Hope' in addition to the Sunday school. Like other groups clustered around the Sunday school, these aimed to impart religious values in particular ways and expanded the range of activities on offer.³³

Religion played a less significant part in most children's week-day school experience. In the first half of the twentieth century, about 90% of New Zealand primary school children were educated in 'secular' state schools.³⁴ The 1877 Act did not technically exclude God from school, but ruled out formal religious instruction.³⁵ However, interpretation of the secular clause of the Act imposed considerable limitations on religious expression. Religion only appeared in the *School Journal* in cautious and oblique ways, and generally for the very young. After World War I, Father Christmas supplanted Jesus during the festive season. Patriotic Empire Day messages in the *Journal* utilized assumptions about shared Christian identity to extol the virtues of the British Empire. Like the religion promulgated through the Boy Scouts, these messages promoted vaguely defined notions of 'Christian civilization' and 'faith and trust in God'.³⁶ Such an approach presumed that children's religious identities were self-evident or already formed. Clearly this did not satisfy the Methodist Church, which in 1940 campaigned unsuccessfully to have Bible passages included in the *Journal*.³⁷

Religion did feature in schools, despite its exclusion from formal curriculum. Individual Education Boards had the right to permit (or refuse) posting of copies of the Ten Commandments on classroom walls, and this authority seems to have been exercised at times.³⁸ In 1940 the Wellington Board controversially instructed all headmasters to make posting routine.³⁹ Anxious to ensure that all children had access to religious education, the churches engaged in an ambitious Bible-in-Schools campaign. This initially failed to achieve legislative reform, but the 'Nelson system' did become increasingly popular. The Nelson system allowed for instruction (rather than un-interpreted reading of the Bible) outside of regular school hours and under the guidance of volunteers. In 1925, it operated in only a handful of schools catering for less than 5% of primary school children.⁴⁰ But at that point it was not the only

option. By 1936, nearly half of children in state primary schools may have been participating in religious exercises or instruction. When the Religious Instruction and Observances in Public Schools Act of 1962 legalized the Nelson system, it already operated in some 80% of state schools.⁴¹

Church schools, and Catholic schools in particular, aimed to provide a more comprehensive religious experience. An explicitly Christian education was promoted as indispensable to children's moral and religious well-being, and this helped produce an environment that could be quite intense.⁴² Free from the constraint of appearing sectarian, Catholic schools aimed to inculcate faith through a thoroughly religious atmosphere. Half an hour was devoted to specific religious instruction dominated largely by the catechism.⁴³ During the child's early years, instruction focused on the simple process of rote-learning questions and answers. As the child progressed, there was more extensive commentary and a programme of doctrine and religious history.⁴⁴ But the total religious environment was crucial. Standard hymns, prayers and the Apostles' Creed were recited throughout the day,⁴⁵ children participated in Mass at the local parish, and classrooms were well equipped with religious art, including statues and shrines.⁴⁶ In contrast to the *School Journal*, Catholic literature was replete with religious content. According to Amelia Batistich, the structure of Catholic education helped specific teachings like the Sermon on the Mount, and more general principles of social justice and love of neighbour, to become embedded.⁴⁷

Home continued to be the most important site for cultivating religious faith and values. Longstanding puritan and evangelical models privileged the family as the primary religious unit. The Sunday school was to complement rather than replace religious teaching and observance within the family.⁴⁸ As Peter Lineham has indicated, strong traditions of family piety did exist in colonial New Zealand, but came under increasing pressure.⁴⁹ The churches aimed to support the family, and family religion, though intervention was difficult and influence hard to measure. Presbyterians considered that the family was the 'true unit of human society', and therefore essential to social harmony and religious revival.⁵⁰ Families formed children's lives, shaped adult character and consequently influenced the overall nature of society.⁵¹ Methodist parents were frequently reminded that they were responsible for securing their children's Christian allegiance.⁵²

Children encountered religion in the home in structured and informal ways, and through 'diffusive' Christianity. Of the structured forms, family worship was perhaps the most central. Catholic family worship had not always been common, but strengthened during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁵³ Favourite standard prayers were common in personal, family and public settings.⁵⁴ One Catholic publication outlined five requisite prayers for night and morning.⁵⁵ The rosary was the central element in shared worship for many families, even if it was intermittent or contested.⁵⁶ Recitation of the catechism was also important.

Evangelicalism has been dubbed the 'religion of the home', and family worship 'the badge of evangelical allegiance'.⁵⁷ Evangelicals like the Rev. Joseph Kemp of Auckland's Baptist Tabernacle and the Bible Training Institute were often the greatest advocates for family worship.⁵⁸ In the 1920s, Kemp

was still promoting relatively formal patterns under paternal direction. While he argued that children's participation was essential, recommended aids made no obvious concessions to their needs. The Bible was a valued element in most Protestant family worship. Popular devotionals like *Daily Light* and *My Counsellor* compiled inspirational verses from throughout the Bible, although Kemp himself preferred R.M. McCheyne's comprehensive reading-plan since it helped 'younger members of the families become familiar with every part of the Bible'.⁵⁹

Culture and denomination shaped patterns of religious observance. The special character of Sunday was particularly important to Presbyterians, although expression of this varied.⁶⁰ Catholics emphasized Sunday less, but their support of other domestic religious practices partly reflected religion's role in protecting the identity and social cohesion of minority groups. Family religious observance may have been most strongly reinforced in rural areas where daily patterns of work and leisure supported it. But it was probably significant that evangelically oriented groups who valued family devotions, like Presbyterians and the Brethren, were more numerous in rural areas.

Though outwardly esteemed, Family Bibles were not always read. From the late nineteenth century church leaders became increasingly concerned that attention to domestic religious responsibilities and family devotions was declining.⁶¹ By 1900, Presbyterian leaders in Otago and Southland feared that family worship was on the verge of total collapse.⁶² Attempts were made to reinvigorate the practice. In 1917, Presbyterians produced a book of prayers for use in the home.⁶³ Methodist congregations were exhorted to make 'Family Religion, or Parental Responsibility' the subject for a special Children's Year service in 1923.⁶⁴ Then, in 1927, the Life and Witness Committee of the Presbyterian General Assembly began to promote the Family Altar Card system printed by the Australian Presbyterian Church. The system aimed to promote Home Religion through an annual cycle of prayers and readings and 'examination of conscience' based around reflection on the Ten Commandments and the beatitudes of Jesus' Sermon on the Mount.⁶⁵ By 1928, 2000 Family Altar Cards had been sold — a significant, although not overwhelming, response.⁶⁶

As the popularity of family devotions waned, Christian educators increasingly encouraged less proscribed forms of domestic religion, emphasizing that it was essentially a question of 'atmosphere'. By 1940, religious resources and guides still asserted the central place of the home, but stressed that love and healthy activity were the vital elements in the initial stages.⁶⁷ This strengthened maternal religious influence. Praying and loving were the guiding principles of religious life, and mothers were encouraged to let 'the beauty and simplicity of Christ's example' control their daily lives. In 1939, J.D. Salmond affirmed Bushnell's dictum that religion never permeates the life of a nation until it becomes domestic. He commended family worship, but considered that it was not more significant than precept and the example of parents' own growth in faith and respect for personality.⁶⁸ In effect, if not intent, this sanctioned forms of un-institutional, practical Christianity that were already commonly espoused. The shift indicated that formal home religion was waning. It also demonstrated growing prioritisation of actions over words among some Christians.

Bedtime prayer was one aspect of domestic religion that persisted even when other forms of participation were not high. It was particularly important for younger children, on whom simple rituals could have a profound effect. In later life, Martin Sullivan could still recall the first prayer his mother taught him: ‘Jesus, tender shepherd, hear me, Bless Thy little lamb tonight, Through the darkness be thou near me, Keep me safe till morning light.’⁶⁹ Prayers for children were often prayed to Jesus, and regularly contrasted children’s foolishness and naivety with the goodness and reliability of God. The comfort, tenderness and protection of the Shepherd were frequently invoked, and formed the theme of the simplest, most common prayers: ‘Now I lay me down to sleep, I pray the Lord my soul to keep.’ Emphasis on protection at night was common to Protestant and Catholic devotion, though Catholic prayer seemed more overtly concerned with death: ‘Into Thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit: Lord Jesus, receive my soul . . . preserve me from a sudden and unprovided death and from all dangers, and bring me to life everlasting with Thee.’⁷⁰ Day or night, children were taught prayers that encouraged them to be gentle, kind and good.⁷¹

Material culture and imagery helped to form children’s religious attitudes in domestic and institutional settings. This was usually richer and more overt in the Catholic tradition. Crucifixes, altars, oleographs and images of the Sacred Heart served as markers of identity and centres of devotional reflection in many homes.⁷² Supposedly ‘word-centred’ Protestants had iconographic traditions that were less explicit, but still meaningful. Pious sentiments and biblical texts were hung around the home, together with the kind of quasi-religious, improving verse that Judith Ellmers recalls had a ‘quiet effect’.⁷³ There were also favoured images. Prints of Holman Hunt’s *The Light of the World* were especially popular in Protestant homes following a tour of the painting in 1906.⁷⁴ The meanings attached to such images were malleable. They



Figure 2: Children’s religion served broader community goals. Sunday school life incorporated a wide range of activities, and many of these were important social occasions. *Procession of members of the Sunday school of the Baptist Church in Brooklyn, Wellington. S.C. Smith Collection, G-23002-1/1, Alexander Turnbull Library.*

varied according to the location of their display, the context of their acquisition and the particular feelings individuals associated with them.⁷⁵ Often they were hung for children's benefit, but feelings and sentiments attached to them in childhood persisted into later life. Material religion helped reinforce cultural and religious identity. This could be comforting. Yet as Lauris Edmond's unexpected encounter with an image of the Sacred Heart of Jesus indicates, it could also be profoundly disturbing when taken out of context: 'I saw the spectacle of Jesus, his robes undone at the front and his very body opened to show his heart, big and shining and dripping with blood. This seemed so macabre that I had a bilious attack when the time came for my next lesson.'⁷⁶

Religious ideas were also garnered from literature. Secular reading was acceptable in most homes by the turn of the century. There was a large increase in religious literature for children, especially after World War I. This output came in the form of columns for children in religious periodicals, pamphlets and stories by writers like John E. Parsons, T.T. Garland and Rita Snowdon. Before the war, Presbyterians and Baptists had begun producing their own missionary magazines for children, and a young people's column was added to the *Harvest Field* from 1911. The Methodist *Lotu* began in 1923. Most Sunday schools included a library, and some were quite extensive. Books were also standard Sunday school prizes, though H.C.D. Somerset listed them among the old, defunct and dreary books to be found, often unread, in the houses of Littledene.⁷⁷ Before the advent of book tokens, adults chose these prizes. Significantly, selections were not always explicitly religious, but provided 'secular' moral messages to counteract undesirable models.⁷⁸

Music was one of the best-loved aspects of religious activity. Most children valued it highly and some were profoundly influenced by it. A.L. Austin recounted that her call to missionary service in China came while singing the popular hymn 'I think when I read that sweet story of old' as a six-year-old child. She felt the impact of the words: 'I should like them to know there is room for them all, and that Jesus has bid them to come.' Taking herself as the subject, Austin pictured Chinese children of whom she had already heard.⁷⁹ Singing was ubiquitous in Sunday school life, where denominational hymnals and special compilations for children were used.⁸⁰ Memoirs regularly recollect hymns as the most memorable and appreciated component of church services, though children usually preferred those written specifically for them.⁸¹ Hymn singing became increasingly common in the home with the establishment of organs in church life and the growing availability of pianos and harmoniums. Ira D. Sankey's folksy and sentimental revival music was favoured in many families, but other hymns were also popular. Music was pervasive, memorable and evocative. Hymns and songs supplied a theological vocabulary, as well as vivid religious models and metaphors. These were possibly the most enduring mediators of religious ideas and feelings.

Children's religion could be both restricting and enabling. Activities associated with church and Sunday school helped form many children's social worlds.⁸² At an interpersonal level, religion could broaden or contain social interaction. Participation in organized religious activities helped some children to transcend social barriers. For H.P. Kidson, this meant crossing the urban-

rural divide to befriend children from the country, as well as Maori.⁸³ For others, the voluntary basis and special context of religious gatherings provided better opportunities to relate with peers than week-day education did.⁸⁴ Of course, religion could also reinforce social distinctions in a range of ways. The memoirs of Prime Minister John Marshall, a committed Presbyterian, highlight distinctions made between children who went with their parents to church and those who did not.⁸⁵ More enclosed or denominationally conscious communities like the Brethren sometimes guarded social interaction and controlled children's potential playmates closely.⁸⁶ Nora Sanderson's Protestant upbringing was devout but relatively free of denominational or sectarian considerations. Her family received ministerial visits from the various denominations and her best friends at school were Roman Catholics. Yet suitable playmates were still carefully distinguished on social and moral grounds.⁸⁷

Religion could shape the rhythms and routines of life, providing predictability and order. Where practised, prayers and devotions framed existence. Sabbatarianism was at its strongest in the nineteenth century, but reverence for Sunday and differentiated patterns of Sunday activity persisted much longer. Attendance at church services was only one form. Others included support for improving leisure and a ritualized main meal at lunchtime. Organized religion also provided rites of passage like First Communion and Confirmation which had both personal and social significance.⁸⁸

Children's religion fostered an imaginative world to inhabit and test experience against. Religious reading matter could be narrow in scope, but stories could also enlarge children's worlds. Biblical narrative offered a wealth of heroes and villains, and introduced exotic foreign lands. Participation in denominational clubs like the League of Young Methodists connected children at a national level, aiding development of a national consciousness. Involvement in support for foreign missions also introduced a vast and colourful world outside the Dominion. Popular religious music proposed ideal imagined worlds to shape children's ambitions and expectations. Itinerant preachers, of whom there were many, etched indelible impressions on formative minds. Edmund Clark was remembered for his expressive face, imaginative stories and impressive visual aids. Returned missionaries like E. Palgrave Davy possessed seemingly endless funds of colourful anecdotes.⁸⁹ Grotesque details of damnation terrorized some children at Redemptorist missions, but Catholic ritual delighted others with its sheer theatricality.⁹⁰

Religious teaching and literature provided models of ideal childhood. These were closely tied to notions of social morality, and it is perhaps here that social control interpretations of children's religion are most pertinent. Ideals were proposed through a number of means, but the example of Jesus' childhood was important. Ironically, the New Testament provides scant reference to either his childhood or family, so that themes were often simply expressions of conventional expectations. In both Catholic and Protestant models, the child Jesus' primary virtue was his obedience — usually expressed in helpfulness around the home. Readers of the *Month* were informed that if 'Catholic children wish to be like the obedient Jesus, they must strive to be truthful, unselfish and obedient, watching for opportunities of doing things for others, as Jesus did for

Mary and Joseph'.⁹¹ Industry was another allied attribute. For many years the *Tablet* included a page called 'The Family Circle'. The title included a picture of the Holy Family, featuring Jesus at a workbench alongside Joseph with Mary looking on. Presentation of Jesus as a conscientious young carpenter in the family workshop accorded with nineteenth-century patterns of work, but was increasingly at odds with moves to protect children in the twentieth century.

Methodist layman A.H. Reed, whose publishing enterprise was founded on importing and printing religious literature for Sunday schools, produced what was probably New Zealand's first children's Bible Story Book. This included an illuminating exposition of Jesus' childhood.⁹² Reed portrayed a childhood characterized by enthusiasm for nature, diligence in work and virtue and responsibility in relationships. Reflecting New Zealand values, Reed's Jesus loved to play in the outdoors: 'Jesus loved the countryside, its birds, and beasts, and flowers.' Perhaps less characteristically, his play was always contained to its proper time and place. Jesus had schoolwork to do and had to 'work hard at his lessons, just as boys and girls must do to-day, if they want to get on, and make themselves useful in the world, and bring credit to their parents and friends'. He was a diligent helper in the workshop and around the home: 'we may be sure no job he was ever called upon to do would be scamped'. According to Reed, Jesus' character was unerring. He was a 'real boy' who 'would not hesitate to stand up to a bully in aid of a smaller boy, and always had courage to say No to anything wrong. Though we know little about his boyhood, we do know that he was manly and true, kind and courteous, obedient to his parents, and always showed respect to women and girls.'⁹³

Such sentiments indicate the predominance of moral concerns and the extent to which religion and moral guidance were often conflated. A great deal of religious instruction tied moral training to notions of 'civilization' and social order. This partially explains the intense concern with memorization and display of the Ten Commandments. Yet other favoured biblical passages like Psalm 23, the Sermon on the Mount and 1 Corinthians 13, also conveyed strong ethical messages.⁹⁴ When Brooklyn Methodist agreed to display a copy of the Lord's Prayer in church, it was expected that Sunday school scholars would derive benefits from viewing it.⁹⁵ Jesus fitted this milieu. He was the Children's Saviour and Friend, but also their chief moral guide. As children learnt about Jesus, it was hoped that they would 'consciously and unconsciously take Him as their model and judge actions by His standard'.⁹⁶ These ideas were evident in domestic as well as institutional settings. Even when attitudes to churchgoing were ambivalent, 'Golden-rule' Christianity and strict sexual morality were still commonly promoted.⁹⁷

Children responded variously to these strictures. In one sense, the moral frameworks of religion offered safety and certainty. Moreover, groups like the Band of Hope offered children the fun and rare privilege of a moral high ground from which to criticize adult society. The conflicts created by an idealized moral world became sharper as children grew older, though some recollections suggest that issues of sexuality could arise at an early stage.⁹⁸ Experiences associated with distinctive religious cultures, like Catholicism, the Brethren or

the Salvation Army, tend to be remembered in the most extreme terms — either nostalgically or with hostility. Yet processes of reaction against childhood religion need to be considered more closely. Frank Turner has argued that the Victorian ‘crisis of faith’ was partly connected with maturation and assertions of growing independence. Rejection of faith was essentially a religious act: it required a religious environment (usually intensely so) and was generally replaced by new forms of faith that mirrored the old.⁹⁹ New Zealand certainly had its share of adolescent unbelievers and similar patterns may have operated. However, as the religious decisions of J.H.G. Chapple’s children illustrate, such reactions could support movement toward traditional forms of religion as well as away from it.¹⁰⁰

Children imbibed feelings about religion as much as they absorbed information. From a child’s perspective, religion was often a serious business, even where attempts were made to brighten it. Memoirs are shaped by the passage of time and subsequent experiences and commitments. Some recollections emphasize the warmth and happiness of Sundays and Sunday school. Others emphasize the solemnity of formal religious occasions and an association of religion with things forbidden.¹⁰¹ Children’s own writing reflected their view of the important ideas. Contributions to religious periodicals were normally self-conscious and earnest.¹⁰² Eileen Soper remembered her first, somewhat affected, attempt at poetry: ‘Oh Jesu, Oh Jesu, Majesty of Love / Look down on Thy people from Heaven above’.¹⁰³ Emotional responses to religious messages could be complex. Ian Dixon recalls knowing that Jesus was ‘wonderful’ and ‘perfect in every way’. However, he also experienced Jesus as a snoop. Jesus’ interest in every detail of a child’s life was supposed to be comforting, but could be invasive and unsettling.¹⁰⁴

One consequence of the concentration of religion in childhood was a marked differentiation in the forms of religion children encountered. In general, children’s religion emphasized obedience, heroism, sentiment, nature and Jesus more than adult religion did. Differentiation also meant that aspects of ‘adult religion’ remained inscrutable. Children who attended church services often missed much of what transpired there. The more evangelistic churches had vastly more of their share of children than they did adults. Yet services made few concessions to them. Music and the aesthetic environment were sometimes appreciated, but sermons were invariably recalled as dull and lengthy.¹⁰⁵ For Protestant children in particular, doctrine, liturgy and the sacraments were familiar mysteries belonging to another, adult realm. Even children from strong church-going families could be taken aback on learning the meaning of the communion service.¹⁰⁶ Perhaps unsurprisingly, some children had difficulty distinguishing between Santa Claus, Jesus and the angels.¹⁰⁷

More significant forms of differentiation related to age and gender. Hew McLeod has noted that his family exhibited a common pattern wherein children were required to attend church but fathers were not. Moreover, moral expectations for fathers and children seemed to vary.¹⁰⁸ The striking differences in adult and child adherence raise the question why so much religion appeared to dissipate with the end of childhood, particularly among men. It is possible that something in the structure and content of children’s religion contributed

to this trend. The language of children's religion was typically homely and sentimental, and this became less meaningful as childhood dependencies were outgrown. Contemporary critics also complained that overly feminized religion had a detrimental effect on boys, a problem only partially resolved by promotion of heroic masculinity, manly Christianity and conversion of older boys.¹⁰⁹ Perhaps the very intensity of childhood religion became increasingly unsustainable.

Expectations were important. There seems to have been less pressure on boys to attend Sunday school, for example. This gender disparity became most pronounced in the growth years of the movement from the end of the nineteenth century. Indeed, much of this growth was driven by higher participation among girls.¹¹⁰ By 1911, they outnumbered boys by a ratio of 55 to 45.¹¹¹ Yet boys slightly outnumbered girls in the general population and enrolled in government primary schools in higher proportions.¹¹² This suggests that gendered differences in social, educational and religious expectations were in some way linked. Expectations of boys' behaviour differed, too. As during the school week, boys seemed more likely to earn kudos from their peers by pulling pranks on Sunday school teachers or through truancy.

To some extent, differentiated patterns of participation in organized religion merely replicated adult models where the predominance of women's religious adherence was even more pronounced. Men's religious expression often reflected traditions of practical and diffusive Christianity — derived in part from the moralistic framework of childhood religion. Lower rates of church attendance did not always indicate loss of religious values. Some families appear to have functioned on the basis of representative attendance at church services. Fathers who avoided church attendance occasionally assumed other responsibilities, like cooking the Sunday meal. Tasks like this relieved mothers of a regular chore. They also reinforced the special character of Sunday and supported the religious observance of the family as a whole.¹¹³ Sometimes fathers who disapproved of Sunday school still encouraged their children to memorize the Bible.¹¹⁴

Perhaps religion was only expected to provide some groups with basic moral orientations. Moral formation occurred during childhood and association with religious institutions provided some insurance that the process was in train. Once moral orientations were established and childhood ended, formal religious association became less significant. Parents gave children permission to let go of religious affiliation, and this clearly occurred at a younger age for boys than for girls. The social utility of religion fuelled support and helps explain why New Zealanders appeared to prefer structures of childhood religion that kept it contained. The emphasis on morality and ideals that permeated religion offered to children arguably posed problems for the churches. Criticisms of organised Christianity often focused on its failure to practise the teachings of its founder. In this, religion had supplied the vocabulary for its own critique. For emphasis on Jesus' exemplary life and teaching was a leading characteristic of religious instruction for children. The continuing rhetorical value of such appeals to Jesus suggests that, to some degree, religious teaching had been successfully inculcated.

We need to know much more about changing patterns of children's religion, their consequences and implications for broader patterns. For instance, we need to consider the decline of Sunday schools more carefully. The changing shape of leisure was important. Sunday schools flourished at a point when 'wild childhood' was being questioned and disciplined but provision for leisure was minimal. In the case of the Methodists, it is tempting to posit a modified *Selfish Generations* argument. According to Frank Hanson, emphases within Methodist religious education shifted subtly in the 1930s from children to youth and then to adult education from the 1960s.¹¹⁵ Yet the strength of religious practice within the home was probably more significant, as religious educators recognized. What might consideration of childhood religion contribute to our understanding of processes of secularization? Did religious provision for children decline or did forms simply change? How did childhood religion shape later adult experience? Callum Brown has recently argued that secularization in Britain was largely a feature of the 1960s, tied closely to the breakdown of the traditional transmission of religion from mother to child.¹¹⁶ It is a hypothesis that could well be tested in New Zealand.

In the early twentieth century, the disparity between children's and adults' participation led to a close association of religion with childhood. As Lauris Edmond observed: 'God was apparently for children, like bread and milk when you were sick, or going to bed early'.¹¹⁷ However, while many New Zealanders moved out of organized religion with the end of childhood, religion did not die — institutionally, or in individual experience. Indeed, religious ideas inculcated during childhood were often remarkably persistent; they continued to shape habits of belief, feelings and moral expectations in profound ways. Much of this terrain is yet to be mapped.

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NOTES

*I wish to thank Peter Lineham, Allan Davidson, Hugh Morrison and Jeanine Graham, for their comments on earlier versions of this article.

1 See John Stenhouse, 'God's Own Silence: Secular Nationalism, Christianity and the Writing of New Zealand History', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 38, 1 (2004), pp.52–71. For example, James Belich discusses childhood, but has little to say about Sunday schools or the role of religion in children's lives; see *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the Year 2000*, Auckland, 2001, esp. pp.356–67.

2 Some notable exceptions include, D.S. Keen, 'Feeding the Lambs: The Influence of Sunday Schools on the Socialization of Children in Otago and Southland, 1848–1901', PhD thesis, University of Otago, 1999; E.F.I. Hanson, 'The Relationship between Sunday School and Church in the History of New Zealand Methodism', DTheol thesis, Melbourne College of Divinity, 2002. Important international studies on religion and childhood include, Diana Wood, ed., *The Church and Childhood*, Oxford, 1994; Marcia J. Bunge, ed., *The Child in Christian Thought*, Grand Rapids, 2001.

3 *War Cry*, 12 December 1908.

4 Cited in *Sunday School Teachers' Guide*, Christchurch, 1940, p.3.

5 *Outlook*, 6 February 1922.

6 G.M. Troughton, 'Christianity and Community: Aspects of Religious Life and Attitudes in the Wanganui-Manawatu Region, 1870–1885', MA thesis, Massey University, Palmerston North, 1995, ch.4.

7 Compare with H.R. Jackson, *Churches & People in Australia and New Zealand, 1860–1930*, Wellington, 1987, p.162.

8 *New Zealand Census* (Census), 1906, p.329. Also, Census, 1911, p.221, and Appendix D, xlvii.

9 D.J. Coles, 'The Remodelling of the New Zealand Sunday School', MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1966, p.33. In 1921, the census indicated an enrolment proportion of 54% of children aged 4 to 13. Census, 1921, p.225.

10 Keen, p.129.

11 See tables in Allan K. Davidson and Peter J. Lineham, *Transplanted Christianity: Documents Illustrating Aspects of New Zealand Church History*, 2nd ed., Palmerston North, 1989, pp.181–3, 246–8.

12 For example, Ernest Crane, *I Can Do No Other: A Biography of Ormond Burton*, Auckland, 1986, pp.4–5.

13 Statistics for Sunday school enrolment ceased to be included in the education section of the census from 1906.

14 Geoffrey Troughton, 'Religious Education and the Rise of Psychological Childhood in New Zealand', *History of Education Review*, 33, 2 (2004), pp.30–44. This article suggests that the significance of psychological conceptions of the child before World War II has been underestimated. Arguably, the crucial feature of psychological childhood after World War II was its dissociation from earlier notions of social capital. Compare with Dugald McDonald, 'Children and Young Persons in New Zealand Society', in P. Koopman-Boyden, ed., *Families in New Zealand Society*, Wellington, 1978, pp.44–56.

15 Compare with Helen May, *The Discovery of Early Childhood*, Auckland, 1997.

16 Keen, p.172.

17 *Outlook*, 11 January 1908; *Outlook*, 30 May 1908.

18 See *Sunday School Exam Committee Minute Book, 1893–97*. PCNZ/GA: Location AD12/4. PCANZ Archives, Knox Hall, Dunedin.

19 See *New Zealand Methodist Times* (NZMT), 11 April 1925; NZMT, 14 July 1928.

20 NZMT, 28 October 1922.

21 *New Zealand Church News*, January 1900.

22 *Sunday School and Bible Class at Work: Text-Book for Teacher Training Classes, Study Groups, and General Use*, 2nd ed., Melbourne, 1936, p.16.

23 See Robert Bruce Mullin, *The Puritan as Yankee: A Life of Horace Bushnell*, Grand Rapids, 2002, pp.99–126; quote, p.117.

24 Margaret Bendroth, 'Horace Bushnell's Christian Nurture', in Bunge, p.353; compare with *Outlook*, 6 February 1922.

- 25 See *Proceedings of General Assembly* (PGA), 1908, p.66; NZMT, 4 November 1939.
- 26 Caroline Daley, *Girls & Women, Men & Boys: Gender in Taradale, 1886–1930*, Auckland, 1999, pp.100–1
- 27 See <http://www.nzine.co.nz/features/guinz28.churchgoing.html>. Accessed 14 July 2005.
- 28 Jim Sullivan, ed., *As I Remember: Stories From 'Sounds Historical', Volume 3*, Auckland, 2002, pp.119–21.
- 29 For example, Martin Sullivan, *Watch How You Go*, London, 1975, pp.24–25.
- 30 *Brooklyn Methodist Church Sunday School Minute Book, 17 December 1918 – 5 July 1932*, 16 February 1920 and 12 July 1920. Methodist Archives, Christchurch.
- 31 *Brooklyn Methodist Church Sunday School Minute Book*, 10 February 1919; 7 March 1921. Also, Mary Collie-Holmes, *Where the Heart Is: A History of Barnardo's in New Zealand, 1866–1991*, Wellington, 1991, pp.10, 38.
- 32 H.D. Morrison, “‘It is our Bounden Duty’: The Emergence of the New Zealand Protestant Missionary Movement, 1868–1926”, PhD thesis, Massey University, Albany, 2004, pp. 260–6.
- 33 Other groups include the Christian Endeavour, Boys’ Brigades (which became influential after World War I), and non-denominational groups like the Scripture Union and Children’s Special Service Mission. On this, see Peter J. Lineham, *No Ordinary Union: The Story of the Scripture Union and Children’s Special Service Mission and Crusader Movement of New Zealand 1880–1980*, Wellington, 1980.
- 34 In 1925, 25,933 students were enrolled in private primary schools, compared with 214,724 in state schools; by 1940 the balance was 28,454 to 203,869. *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (AJHR), E-1, 1926, pp.5–8; AJHR, E-2, 1941, pp.9–13.
- 35 Colin McGeorge, ‘Religious Aspects of the Secular System Before the Great War’, in Roger Openshaw and David McKenzie, eds, *Reinterpreting the Educational Past: Essays in the History of New Zealand Education*, Wellington, 1987, p.167.
- 36 *School Journal*, Part III, 13, 3 (May 1919), p.83; *School Journal*, Part III, 23, 5 (June 1929), p.134.
- 37 *Minutes of Annual Conference, Methodist Church of New Zealand* (MAC), 1941, p.82.
- 38 See AJHR, 1909, E-2, p.46; AJHR, 1905, I-14B, p.3; Dorothy Sellar, ed., *When I Was a Child: Reminiscences of Childhood in New Zealand*, Christchurch, 1998, p.66.
- 39 Ian Beward, *Godless Schools? A Study of Protestant Reactions to Secular Education in New Zealand*, Christchurch, 1967, p.89.
- 40 C.J. Parr estimated that the Nelson System was utilized in only 40 of 2700 schools, catering for about 10,000 of the nation’s 230,000 students. C.J. Parr to L.M. Isitt, 5 October 1925, ‘Syllabus and Instruction — Bible in Schools, 1925–26’, Education Department, Series 2: E2/1926/1a_8/4/32, Archives New Zealand, Wellington.
- 41 Beward, pp.87–88; Colin McGeorge and Ivan Snook, *Church, State and New Zealand Education*, Wellington, 1981, pp.24–25.
- 42 *NZ Tablet*, 5 February 1920.
- 43 Pat Lawlor, *The Demanding God: Some Boyhood Recollections*, Dunedin, 1972, p.14. This pattern persisted into the latter half of the twentieth century. See Jane Tolerton, ed., *Convent Girls*, Auckland, 1994, pp.188, 214.
- 44 For example, Jim Sullivan, ed., *Catholic Boys*, Auckland, 1996, p.190; compare with Nicholas Simmons, *100 Years of Catholic Education in Palmerston North*, Palmerston North, 1985, p.17.
- 45 Simmons, p.16; Tolerton, p.24; Lawlor, pp.13–14.
- 46 Tolerton, p.188.
- 47 See Tolerton, pp.25, 189.
- 48 The best Christian nurseries were therefore the ‘Sabbath schools and the firesides’ together. *Evangelist*, 4, 8 (1873), p.214.
- 49 Peter J. Lineham, ‘How Institutionalised Was Protestant Piety in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand?’, *Journal of Religious History*, 13, 4 (1985), pp.370–82.
- 50 ‘Preface’, *Prayers for the Home Circle. With a selection of Bible Readings*, Dunedin, 1917.
- 51 On this long-standing theme, *Presbyterian Church News*, 4, 8 (1876), p.87.
- 52 For example, MAC, 1901, p.19; MAC, 1906, p.27.
- 53 Jackson, p.165.
- 54 Sullivan, *Catholic Boys*, pp.131, 187–8.
- 55 A Parish Priest in New Zealand, *Conversations on Christian Re-Union*, Dunedin, 1924, pp.66–68.

- 56 Pauline O'Regan, *Aunts & Windmills: Stories From My Past*, Wellington, 1991, pp.156–60; Sullivan, *Catholic Boys*, pp.118, 134, 163.
- 57 Paul Sangster, *Pity My Simplicity: The Evangelical Revival and the Religious Education of Children 1738–1800*, London, 1963, pp.71–72.
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- 59 *Reaper*, August 1926. McCheyne's plan covered three or four Bible chapters a day, thus covering the whole Bible once, and the New Testament twice, each year.
- 60 See Alison Clarke, 'A Godly Rhythm: Keeping the Sabbath in Otago, 1870–1890', in John Stenhouse and Jane Thomson, eds, *Building God's Own Country: Historical Essays on Religions in New Zealand*, Dunedin, 2004, pp.46–59.
- 61 PGA, 1890, p.66; PGA, 1893, p.94.
- 62 *Proceedings of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Otago and Southland*, 1900, p.47.
- 63 See *Prayers for the Home Circle*.
- 64 NZMT, 6 January 1923.
- 65 PGA, 1927, p.189.
- 66 Adult membership and attendance for that year were 83,869 and 52,121 respectively. PGA, 1928, p.198.
- 67 For example, *God and the Little Child*, Wellington, n.d., pp.1–4.
- 68 J.D. Salmond, ed., *The Church and Her Young People*, Christchurch, 1939, p.19.
- 69 Martin Sullivan, *Children, Listen: Talks to Boys and Girls*, Christchurch, 1955, p.39; compare with *Prayers for the Home Circle*, p.67.
- 70 *A Simple Prayer Book*, Wellington, 1964, pp.8, 13. Similar sentiments were expressed in the catechism, where the devout were to occupy themselves after night prayers with 'the thoughts of death; and endeavour to compose myself to rest at the foot of the cross, and give my last thoughts to my crucified Saviour'. H.T. Cafferata, *The Catechism Simply Explained*, rev. ed., London, 1954, p.164; compare with Sullivan, *Catholic Boys*, p.187.
- 71 *Prayers for the Home Circle*, p.66.
- 72 Jackson, pp.155–7; Lawlor, p.10; Sullivan, *Catholic Boys*, p.16.
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- 74 *Lyttelton Times*, 15 May 1906; *Otago Daily Times*, 25 May 1906. See Geoffrey M. Troughton, 'Light at the End of the World: Holman Hunt's *Light of the World* in New Zealand, 1906', *Australian Historical Studies* (forthcoming).
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- 76 Lauris Edmond, *An Autobiography*, Wellington, 1994, pp.18–19.
- 77 H.C.D. Somerset, *Littledene: A New Zealand Rural Community*, Wellington, 1938, pp.25–26.
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- 79 A.L. Austin, *The Beckoning Land: The Diary and Memoirs of A.L. Austin, 1920–1927*, Christchurch, 1979, p.11. Also, Edmond, p.19.
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- 81 Eileen L. Soper, *The Green Years*, Dunedin, 1969, p.37. For a semi-autobiographical literary equivalent, see Robin Hyde, *The Godwits Fly*, Patrick Sandbrook, ed., Auckland, 2001, p.46.
- 82 See R. Goodyear, 'Black Boots and Pinafores: Childhood in Otago 1900–1920', MA thesis, University of Otago, 1992, pp.185, 328, 332–4.
- 83 Harold Percy Kidson, *A Nelson Boyhood*, Wellington, 1969, p.30.
- 84 For example, http://www.nzine.co.nz/features/guinz29_churchgoing.html. Accessed 14 July 2005.
- 85 John Marshall, *Memoirs. Volume One: 1912–1960*, Auckland, 1983, p.22.
- 86 See Peter Lineham, 'Brethren Childhood as a Historical Pattern', unpublished manuscript.
- 87 Nora Brocas Sanderson, *One of the Family*, Wellington, 1999.
- 88 See Christopher J. van der Krogt, 'Catholic Spirituality and Religious Identity in Interwar New Zealand', *Pacifica*, 18, 2 (2005), p.207.
- 89 On Clark and Davey, see Lineham, *No Ordinary Union*, pp.24–30.
- 90 Tolerton, p.154.

91 *Month*, 1 November 1932, cited in Christopher van der Krogt, 'Imitating the Holy Family: Catholic Ideals and the Cult of Domesticity in interwar New Zealand', *History Now/Te Pae Tawhito o te Wa*, 4, 1 (1998), p.16.

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93 Reed, p.196.

94 Marshall, p.22.

95 *Brooklyn Methodist Church Sunday School Minute Book*, 20 April 1926.

96 C.T. Symons, *Teaching Temperance: A Guide-Book for Youth Workers*, Wellington, 1941, p.13.

97 Gwendolen Somerset, *Sunshine and Shadow*, Auckland, 1988, p.20.

98 See for example, B.R. Simon Rosser, *Gay Catholics Down Under: The Journeys in Sexuality and Spirituality of Gay Men in Australia and New Zealand*, Westport, 1992.

99 Frank Turner, 'The Victorian Crisis of Faith and the Faith That Was Lost', in Richard J. Helmstadter and Bernard Lightman, eds, *Victorian Faith in Crisis: Essays on Continuity and Change in Nineteenth-Century Religious Belief*, London, 1990, pp.9–38.

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101 See <http://www.nzine.co.nz/features/guin28.churchgoing.html>. Accessed 14 July 2005.

102 The children's page of the *New Zealand Methodist Times* often included letters and other contributions from children.

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104 See <http://www.nzine.co.nz/features/guin28.churchgoing.html>. Accessed 14 July 2005.

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107 For example, Goodyear, p.193.

108 Hew McLeod, *Discovering the Sikhs: Autobiography of a Historian*, Delhi, 2004, pp.11–12.

109 For example, *Outlook*, 30 May 1908; *Outlook*, 6 June 1908; NZMT, 3 February 1923.

110 See the historical tables in Census, 1906, p.329.

111 Census, 1911, Appendix D, xlvi.

112 Census, 1906, p.329.

113 Goodyear, p.319.

114 Rewi Alley, *An Autobiography*, Beijing, 1994, p.13; compare with Somerset, *Sunshine and Shadow*, pp.18–19; also Goodyear, p.319.

115 See F.I. Hanson, 'An Analysis and Critique of Adult Christian Education Within the Methodist Church of New Zealand From the 1950s to the 1990s, and the Implications of this for the Future', MTheol thesis, Melbourne College of Divinity, 1993; David Thomson, *Selfish Generations? The Ageing of New Zealand's Welfare State*, Wellington, 1991.

116 Callum Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation, 1800–2000*, London, 2000.

117 Edmond, p.19.