THE NEW ZEALAND STUDENT CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT 1896 - 1936

P. E. Sutton

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PREFACE

The historian who attempts a research into student life in New Zealand is somewhat hampered by the lonely nature of his quest. He follows a course through virgin territory where few of his sources lie ready at hand. This is particularly true in a study of Christian society within the University, and the present writer is fully aware of such limitations in undertaking a history of the first forty years in the New Zealand Student Christian Movement. One could not ignore the forbidding tangle of untouched sources. At the same time some fresh wild roses are peeping out from behind their thorny defences. There is the fragrancy of student life, the rich colour of youthful aspirations, and the steady rhythm of change as each generation burgeons forth and gives place to new growth every three or four years.

By its very nature the Student Christian Movement provides a microcosm of the wider student community. With our attention concentrated on a comparatively restricted field, we may draw conclusions which transcend the immediate limits of the subject, and reach out into large questions of Church and State.

Such a work would be futile and deceptive unless it were founded on the sure base of original sources. Therefore, the writer has sought to mould his thesis from contemporary data in each period, with especial reference to letters, minutes of proceedings, memoirs, and reports of student activities. Correspondents in Australia, Canada, the United States of America, South Africa, and China have provided some revealing comparative information. Newspapers and periodicals have furnished valuable corroborative evidence. Sometimes books, and more frequently, study pamphlets, have supplied useful secondary information. But it was chiefly through personal interviews with past leaders
that the spirit of successive generations has been recaptured, however inadequately.

This method of research may involve more extensive investigation than is required for historical studies which bloom in a soil rich with acknowledged authorities; yet its potential value as original work is enhanced by the spontaneity of the evidence, and the complementary testimonies of persons who took part in the action. Almost certainly there has been some loss of mature judgment; this is inevitable when protagonists are allowed to tell their own story. But the added realism which is afforded by direct-reference serves as an effective counterweight to this tendency, and one is thereby enabled to judge more accurately from the personal viewpoint.

A thesis of this nature could not presume to deal adequately with anything beyond general outlines. While its scope is thus limited to the selection of significant events and trends in the Movement's life, it has been found possible to include incidents in some detail when these are characteristic of the Movement as a whole. The writer has sought to draw illustrations from the various centres, without attempting to enter upon a rigid series of comparisons between Colleges at given periods. At times one centre is used as the norm; more frequently it has been found advisable to blend the experiences of the constituent parts, and to refer only to specific centres when anomalies occur, or salient points emerge.

While this study is written against a background of University life, its dominant theme is the growing unity of Christians within the ecumenical movement. It may also be regarded as a study in federal organisation, since the New Zealand Student Christian Movement, a component member of the World's Student Christian Federation, exhibits in the development of its own constitution all the essential
attributes of a federation. Attention should be given to
the relationship between the Movement and the Christian
Church, in particular to its influence on foreign missions.
Religious history holds many snares but none perhaps
so enticing as the lure to partisanship. The present
writer has endeavoured to preserve impartiality by refraining
for the most part from general conclusions until the
final chapter. While reserving the right of a historian to
praise or condemn, he trusts that the main body of the
narrative will serve as its own interpreter. It may be an
infallible criterion of religious movements that they shall
be known by their fruits; but in this study it is also
imperative to bear in mind the indirect leavening influence
of the Student Christian Movement upon the community at
large. The writer is deeply conscious of incapacity to
deal justly with this aspect of his subject, and he hopes
that the bare indications which he has given will assist the
reader in forming his own objective conclusions.
INTRODUCTION

"The Student Christian Movement is a fellowship of students who desire to understand the Christian faith and to live the Christian Life." 1

Fifty years have passed since branches of the World's Student Christian Federation were first established in New Zealand. The Federation was then less than a year old, and its five national Movements comprised a total membership of 35,000 students. 2 During the last half-century its membership has increased tenfold, and the number of affiliated bodies now stands at sixty. The New Zealand Movement has grown within this world fellowship, and its own history is but a particular chapter in the parent body's life. It will be seen that the original aims and objects, while not envisaging many later developments, were sufficiently comprehensive to retain their validity throughout the period. They breathed the spirit of expansion and unity.

The Movement's roots lie deep in history. When, over four hundred years ago, Peter Faber, Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier shared a room at the College of St. Sulpice in Paris, they started a student movement which left its legacy for future generations. 3 There are records of religious societies in North American colleges from 1706 onwards, and a century later the celebrated "Brethren Society" of William College was formed "to effect in the person of its members a mission or missions to the heathen." 4

1. Extract from the constitution of the New Zealand Student Christian Movement.
3. Loyola went out from Paris to found the Society of Jesus and Xavier became a great missionary.
4. Declaration of the five students who formed the first student missionary organisation in 1806.
Probably the "Holy Club" of eighteenth century Oxford was the first clear manifestation of a religious movement among English students. All these early movements were sporadic and vaguely inter-related; they drew much from each other and their origins may be traced far back to those wandering bands of scholars who built up the medieval university. But the vigorous Evangelical movement of the early nineteenth century caught up all these streams of religious fervour, and mingled them in its own rushing flood of missionary expansion. On both sides of the Atlantic there was a haphazard growth of religious societies among students.

We read of a Glasgow University Students Christian Association which became default in 1869 on the emigration of its secretary to New Zealand. It would seem that the Young Men's Christian Associations, established in a World's alliance at Paris in 1855, did much to encourage the rapid spread of the Christian movement among students in the eighties and nineties of last century.

John E. Mott, a young secretary in the Collegiate Department of the North American Y.M.C.A. was the first man to envisage a world federation of Christian students. Much preparatory work had been done in Europe and Scandinavia by James E. Reynolds during the three years from 1889 to 1891. North America had been well served by the efforts of Luther D. Winshard, J. B. Studd and Professor Henry Drummond, all of whom did a great deal to consolidate and extend the effectiveness of Christian Associations in university colleges. But Mott was the man who worked and planned for a union of the Christian forces in all universities for home and foreign evangelism. His comprehensive policy aimed at encouraging the students in each country to

5. p.2. One Hundred Years, a Centennial publication by the National Council of the Y.M.C.A.'s of N.Z. Wellington 1944.
6. vide pp 2-6 John R. Mott, op. cit.
develop movements of their own, adapted in name, organisation and activities to their own particular genius and character, so that these might then be linked together in some simple federation.

This design was based on a careful study of the contemporary situation, with special reference to the increasing desire for closer relations between European and North American students. Mott noted how the tide of cooperation was being swelled by strong religious influences. In the summer of 1886 Dwight L. Moody, often described as the greatest evangelist of the nineteenth century, convened a conference of two hundred and fifty one students from eighty nine universities and colleges. 7 Eight nations were represented and on the last day a hundred students enrolled for foreign missionary service. This Mount Hermon conference was an earnest of still greater enthusiasm, for in 1887 eleven hundred missionary volunteers were recruited from the colleges of the United States and Canada. Meanwhile the British universities were being visited by Professor Henry Drummond of Edinburgh, and a band of Cambridge graduates led by the notable cricketer J. A. Studd. A comparison of methods would reveal that the British evangelist concentrated his appeal on the personal needs of students, while his American cousin was careful to stress the plan of organisation and group expansion.

By this time Christian students were beginning to plan imperially. The international flavour of conferences at Northfield, Amsterdam, Detroit and Keswick 8 gave Mott a clearer vision of that global fellowship which he had glimpsed on the slopes of Mount Hermon. As if to reinforce his own convictions, there came to him signs from all over

7. This conference was sponsored by the International Committee of the Young Men’s Christian Associations in North America.
8. Held in the period 1889 to 1891.
the world that the time was ripe for a universal student organisation. In 1894 he received invitations to attend conventions in Japan, India, Germany, Scandinavia, Switzerland and Great Britain. The mere fact that these six requests came independently with no possible collusion, was sufficient evidence that the student world was waiting to be united in a Christian federation. Mott spent the early months of 1895 in preparations for the expansion of existing societies.

Then, in August 1895, representatives of the five great intercollegiate movements met to draft the constitution for a world federation of Christian students. The scene of their labours was historic Vadstena Castle, whose quaint cupolas were raised by Gustaves Vasa to watch over a dreamy hamlet beside Lake Vattern. In a cloisteral room they composed a tersely-worded constitution which bears the true marks of Christian statesmanship, "combining vision, comprehension, reverent regard for the past, constructive ability, and the power to co-operate unselfishly." 9

Mott left Sweden as the first General Secretary of the World's Student Christian Federation. He now began a world tour which lasted for twenty months, included twenty-two countries, and resulted in the formation of seventy new Christian unions. He was enabled to visit Australia and New Zealand through the offer of two hundred pounds, cabled to Ceylon from the British Student Volunteer Missionary Union conference which was then in session at Liverpool. This gesture affords evidence of the spirit of solidarity that existed in the infant Federation. 10

Throughout his tour of New Zealand, Mott was impressed

by the isolation of the student centres. In no other country which he visited were students so far removed from the rest of the university world, while within the colony he discovered virtually unrelieved ignorance in each college concerning the moral and religious conditions of the sister institutions. So, at a time when confederation of the Australian States was being widely mooted, the General Secretary emphasised that every cause which had induced the students of other "Christian" countries to unite, applied to Australasia with even greater force. It was apparent from the attendance of over two hundred delegates at the Melbourne Convention that students were indeed eager to take the initiative by forming their own Australasian Students Christian Union. Three New Zealanders were present on June 6th when the constitution was adopted, a Student Volunteer Missionary Union organised, and general policy formulated. They returned to foster that spirit of mutual responsibility which held the scattered unions together in their early years.\(^{11}\)

At its inception the A.S.C.U. was welcomed as a channel of communication between the students of both hemispheres. Further, it represented "a direct attack on the chief menace of the Australasian colonies - the spirit of secularism."\(^{12}\)

Intelligent and devout Bible study would soon result in an awakening of interest in Christian sociology, with its attendant fruits of social reform. An aggressive missionary force might be developed in centres hitherto lying in the backwaters of missionary enterprise. In the spirit of the Federation's motto, many Union members would go down from College with larger sympathies and wider vision, looking

\(^{11}\) Vide infra Chap. I, pp 12, 13.
\(^{12}\) p.131 J.R. Mott, op.cit.
beyond denominational divisions to the one Church of Christ—“ut omnes unum sint.”

The New Zealand student of the late 'nineties was living in a plastic, changing world whose horizons seemed to be forever expanding. Richard John Seddon dominated the political scene as "King Dick" the genial autocrat. He was proving to the outside world that his experimental laboratory of social reform had many lessons in store for States whose constitutions had hardened with age. To the strains of Kipling's Recessional the old Victorian era of conquest and prosperity died away, and the British Empire began to assume a new character as the family partnership of responsible nations. Territorial frontiers had now solidified, but the volcanic forces of economic and industrial competition were threatening to erupt through the thin crust of international diplomacy. With the approach of the twentieth century there came a feeling that all things were being made new.

Set in the midst of such an environment, even the centres of higher learning were distracted by a medley of differing viewpoints, with no integrating principle to replace the medieval philosophy except a rather vague accent on sociolog- ogy. The University of New Zealand had close affinities with the English Dissenting Academies of the eighteenth century; moreover, its staple diet was examinations, and its arteries pulsed with the independence and initiative of a thriving adolescent colony.

A decisive challenge to the prevailing conception of University education was offered by the pioneers of the W.S.C.F. Its advent marked the reassertion within a secular framework of academic life, of the living reality of God. United in Christian fellowship, students of all faculties could now meet to study questions of theology, philosophy and the natural and social sciences in a common

13. St. John verse 21, Chapter 17. This is the motto of the W.S.C.F.
search for truth. It was inevitable that such a contribution to education should take some years to develop, especially since all the early leaders of the Student Christian Movement were Protestants of the Evangelical school. Besides there was at first a pietistic tendency which was Christocentric in emphasis, and stressed above all personal conversion. This was accompanied by a deep concern for the spiritual welfare of coloured peoples, expressing itself in foreign missionary work.

The universal sweep of the student movement was in full accord with the stirring watchword of its affiliated Student Volunteer Missionary Union — "the evangelisation of the world in this generation." The young visionaries who comprised this body were bold to regard their field as the whole world, and they refused to be daunted by the apparent impossibility of fulfilling their self-appointed task. Having heard the Macedonian call, they responded to it with the freshness and vigour, the unquestioning resolution of people whose crusade led them to every corner of the earth.  

14 Strengthened by the apostolic journeyings and powerful witness of Dr. Mott, the W.S.C.F. was drawn into ever-widening spheres of activity. Just as the missionary stimulus drove students into the international arena, so did their concern for truth lead them to theological discussion. The Protestant Churches in New Zealand owe a very real debt to the Federation for its contribution to the ecumenical movement, especially in the early years of this century. One legacy of the Evangelical revival was a loose, ill-informed tolerance which persisted among the denominations throughout the Victorian period. Some writers have been swift to draw a close parallel between the religious controversies which

flared up in nineteenth century England, and their Anti-
podean counterpart in the sectarian rivalries of Otago and
Canterbury; yet in their zeal to make generalizations from
isolated incidents and transient provincial jealousies they
tend to ignore the peculiarly liberal influence of colonial
life on the religion of its settlers. Terms of conflict
and dissent have certainly been introduced, but apart from
a few sporadic outbursts, they have seldom prevailed against
the stolid constitutions of New Zealand churchmen. It is
regrettable that this easy toleration should have resulted
more from a lack of clearly defined convictions, than from
mutual understanding and reasoned sympathy; hence the
unique value of an interdenominational movement among
students, from whose ranks are drawn so many leaders in
Church and State. Since students have to express their
faith in intellectual terms, the oblique attitude which
glosses over fundamental differences has never been accept-
able to them. They prefer "unity without compromise and
frankness without fanaticism" as the only sincere approach
to a painful subject.

Much water has flowed under the bridge of years since
the time when universities were floating communities of
doctors and scholars, the citizens of no particular country.17
These medieval schools exerted a unifying cultural influence
which permeated Christendom, and in the "nations" of Paris
we see the first traces of that cosmopolitan unity in
diversity which is the theme of this study. John R. Mett

16. W. A. Visser t'Hooft - Secretarial report for the period
17. In Pasquier's pregnant phrase, describing the universitas
as "batio et homo" we can appreciate something of the
medieval spirit, which finds a parallel in the modern
exodus of Chinese universities during the Sino-Japanese
War.
was greatly influenced by a lecture which Gladstone delivered in 1889. Speaking of the work of universities in the Middle Age, he advanced the view that they formed "a telegraph of the mind; and all the elements of intellectual culture, scattered throughout Europe, were brought by them into near communion. They established a great brotherhood of the understanding." 18 Mott's imagination kindled at the thought of a world-wide federation of students that would establish a telegraph in things spiritual. 19

In 1896, seven years after Gladstone delivered his memorable address, we find Mott arriving in New Zealand to link that small sea-girt community with the growing network of Christian students in distant lands.

CHAPTER I

"There is a tide in the affairs of men
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune."
Shakespeare, Julius Caesar.

The Student Movement arose in the mid-nineties, which were years of opportunity, when the world stage was set for vast changes. Such periods of transition are times of challenge. John R. Mott came to New Zealand with the conviction that Christian students were charged with a responsibility to proclaim their Gospel message in every country, and to all peoples. Africa and Asia lay wide open to the missionary, Australasia was ideally placed as a recruiting base for mission work in the Pacific Islands and the Far East.

Mott arrived in Dunedin on April 20th, 1896, with an introduction to Professor Salmond, who made immediate arrangements for him to speak in the old Chemistry lecture room at Otago University.¹ This was recognised as the temporary home of the Students' Association, and as such it was accessible to all students. Mott opened his campaign in each centre with an address on the Christian Movements among the Universities of Europe, America, and Asia. There are no reliable records of attendances at these inaugural meetings, but we are told that students crowded

¹. Letter from Miss J. Archibald, M.C., Secretary E.S.E.C.M., to Miss Blakley, 26.5.34.
on to the window-sills, and a parade by "the standing army of the debating club" lent colour to the proceedings. Its members came in force to heckle the unknown "student" secretary from North America, but they remained silent throughout his address. After the third evening meeting a group of students decided to form a Christian Union and an affiliated Student Volunteer Missionary Union. Some forty-five students joined in the first year, from a total undergraduate population of two hundred and twenty-six.

A week in Dunedin was followed by six days spent in Christchurch and Lincoln. On April 25th Mott gave his first Christchurch address to about a hundred and twenty students in the Canterbury College Hall. Mr. H.R. Webb, Chairman of the C.U.C. Board of Governors, was in the chair, and a party of representatives from the Protestant Churches occupied the platform. The General Secretary combined both statistics and his own impressions of the student missionary uprising, with references to Christian movements in the colleges of twenty-two countries. He concluded by expressing the hope that the students of Australasia would unite in one national movement of their own, to "take their

2. For much of the material in this paragraph the writer is indebted to Mr. E.J.D. Hercules, one of the 29 foundation members of the C.U.C.U.
place in the great federation on an equal footing with the students of other countries. At a later meeting of those interested in forming a Christian Union thirty-four signed their names and appointed a temporary committee under Mr. H. A. Hawkins. He was the student who introduced Mott to members of the Professorial Board, and played a leading part in organising the Union during its first year, before leaving for the Maori Mission Training College at Te Rau. The student committee met on April 29th to draw up a constitution, which was adopted by a general meeting in the Mathematics lecture room on the same evening. Future policy and methods of work were then formulated under the vigilant eye of the General Secretary. Sub-committees for missions, membership, meetings and Bible study were placed under separate chairmen, with the aim of developing initiative and delgating responsibility. As in Otago, the executive consisted of a President, Vice-President, recording Secretary, corresponding Secretary and Treasurer; these officers formed a central cabinet to supervise the various sub-committees, each of which had four members.

While the Otago Christian Union provides an interesting study of the student reaction to John R. Mott's visit, we

5. This committee consisted of Misses Grant, Lawrell, M. Walker and Ross, and Messrs. Hawkins, Norris and Inglis.
6. Letter from Miss A. C. Grant, 10/5/96.
are indebted to Canterbury for concise and detailed information on administration and policy-making. In all this the Unions followed Mott's suggestions, which were the fruit of experience in scores of Colleges. An extract from the minutes of the C.U.C.U. may serve to show the nature of his remarks at a committee meeting:

I The settled facts in a Christian Union should be:

(1) That the Union should primarily cultivate the College field.

(2) Its methods and agencies should be adapted to its particular and peculiar field.

(3) That it should keep touch with similar organisations in the College world.

(4) That the leaders should make a special study of their office.

(5) That each administration should have a definite, aggressive, and comprehensive policy.

(6) All the forces of the Union should be concentrated on new students to get them to attach themselves to Christ and His Church. There should be a Committee to welcome and help them at the beginning of their College course.

(7) Bible study should constitute the pivotal department of the Union.

(8) That the range of the Union should include the Missionary element.

(9) That the motive power should be the Spirit of God.

In the tabulation of these clear directives we see the characteristic emphasis on priorities which proved so invaluable in later years when the Movement was being tried by barren period of indecision and apathy. Basing his plans on broad principles of action, Mott left ample room for further development and interpretation. It is a significant fact, to which the Student Movement itself bears eloquent testimony, that the substance of Mott's theology was surprisingly modern, even if cast in thought-forms of the day. His vision of the World Church, with students as its leaders, differentiated him from most Protestant churchmen. It would be wrong to suggest that the young New Zealand students whom he inspired in 1896 could see the relation between missionary activity and the ecumenical movement as clearly as we can today, from our retrospective vantage-point. Growing together is always a slow and painful process for the human race. A true ecumenical pioneer, Mott was under no delusion as to the time required for this organic growth; but he does seem to have erred in his optimism concerning the actual evangelisation of native races. One need not censure Mott for mistakes born of faith, since these served the Movement as a sharp spur to action. His urgent call for recruits gave a wider meaning and purpose to the idea of a world federation as the servant of the ecumenical Church.
Before proceeding to the next step in their founder's progress, we may look more closely into his character and methods of working, as an aid to a clearer understanding of the Movement's future course. Like many leaders of youth movements, Mott was often hampered in his campaigning by the mistakes of inexperienced committees. He had also to contend with prejudice from those who believed that a world federation of Christian students was an impracticable ideal, or were opposed to the introduction of religion into a secular University. Above all, he came to New Zealand as a stranger, a young American graduate whose credentials were unknown to the great majority of staff and students.

Mott's rich fund of experience was built up from service in many lands on behalf of numerous societies. Beginning as a Student Secretary of the North American Y.M.C.A., he continued as Secretary of its Foreign Department, as General Secretary, and also as Chairman of the World's Y.M.C.A., the Student Volunteer Movement, the International Missionary Council, the World's Student Christian Federation, and the Institute of Social and Religious Research. While the range of his interests has been so varied and extensive, he has never lost sight of that first great objective, the establishment of vigorous Christian bridgeheads in centres of higher learning throughout the world. From 1896 to 1946 "the Federation has
been pivotal in his thought... Students are the lever by
which he has sought to move the world towards God - they are
'Strategic points in the World's Conquest' For him
every country, every nation, every race, every Church has its
vocation, its part to play in relation to the world's need;
his tries to convince them of their vocation.7

Four times Mott has made continuous journeys around the
world; he has raised over sixty million pounds for Christian
causes, and by his personal appeal to one man he was
instrumental in providing Australia and New Zealand with a
pioneer secretary from Yale University. Miss Ruth Rouse,
who joined him in 1904 to direct women's work in the Federatic
described him as possessing "an unusual combination of gifts;
statesman and evangelist; administrator, organiser and
spiritual teacher; preacher and writer."9 Our impression of
this "winner of energy"10 would be formal and incomplete
without some mention of his power of friendship, the secret
whereby he has made movements as well as men; "he unconscious
personalises a movement, believes in it, sees its possibilities
and pours himself out for it."11

A Canterbury College graduate who has given thirty years
of service in various secretarial positions, remarked that in

8. P.8, ibid.
the public meetings, and still more in smaller committees,

One soon began to realise that here was a man of great and compelling forcefulness; ... one who ever looked forward to greater things - 'the end of the planning is the beginning of the doing'; a man for whom an obstacle or a difficulty was not a stopping-place, but a challenge to conquest. 12

It may seem paradoxical that the A.S.C.U., whose nature was fundamentally democratic and based on free student fellowship, was at first entirely dependent on the guidance of its founder. Mott had a clear idea of strategy, and he ensured that his own bold plans were exactly reflected in the policy of each group.

Of some interest to the historian is the care and foresight he showed in laying sound foundations for future student leadership. A lesser man might well have neglected this aspect, essential for future cellular expansion, and concentrated on making his own momentary impact. But wide experience as North American Secretary of the Y.M.C.A. had taught Mott the value of both inspiration and delegation. Never did he impose his viewpoint upon an unprepared committee, and yet it should be noted that we have no evidence of any occasion when his advice was rejected by New Zealand students. Local responsibility within federation has always been the ideal of national S.C.M.'s; indeed, it is remarkable how quickly the young branches consolidated their

12 Miss M. Walker, communication to the writer.
organisation after April, 1896.

Mott certainly realised that the peculiar needs of New Zealand students, their isolation from the rest of the world, their parochial outlook, and the lack of vigorous group activity within individual Colleges, were factors which lent weight to his proposal for an intercolonial student union.13

The stumbling-blocks of ignorance, political division, and secular education became stepping-stones to Christian unity, for they served to stress both the urgency of the situation and also the advantages which would accrue from membership of a universal movement. The Seddonian spirit of individual enterprise and combination for effective action was not confined to politics; already it had influenced the everyday attitude of large sections of society, and students were naturally among those most affected. When Mott thrust home his telling reasons for an immediate alliance of student Christian forces, when he explained that the gates of non-Christian nations now lay wide open, and suggested that the opportunities for evangelism were equalled only by the responsibility of Christians to redeem the time, his words were falling on a ground which was partially prepared.

But that is not to say that when Mott arrived in New Zealand his ideas or his person were familiar to students.

On the contrary, it was with curiosity, mingled with varying degrees of amusement, that they came to hear John R. Mott, M.A., Ph.B., "a well-tailored clean-shaven young man with a distinctly American accent...." His scheme appeared "a little vague and most amazingly new, and some were sceptical."

As we have already noted, Mott was at once a man of vision, and an experienced organiser. He led others to emulate his own incredibly high standard of administrative efficiency, and ensured that in each centre there should be a compact and representative executive committee to supervise the specialised activities of its sub-committees.

A student society whose members appear and pass on in successive waves every three or four years, requires organisation which has continuity, and also sufficient adaptability to cope with changing conditions. It is a valid criticism of the S.C.M. in its first ten or twelve years that executives were too cautious in responding to new demands. Doubtless they had a conservative respect for the pioneers of 1896, but they often failed to see that while principles of Christian work and study may remain unchanged, the interpretation of these principles is always qualified.

by the requirements of the actual situation.

We may now turn to a general view of the Movement as constituted when he left New Zealand on May 12th. Unions had been established in St. John's and Prince Albert Theological Colleges at Auckland; but they were later merged in the struggling A.U.C.C.U., which Mott had tried in vain to organise during his last week in the colony. There were only fifty-seven matriculated undergraduates in that year, so one is hardly surprised to hear that three students, together with a few professors, attended the Auckland University College meeting arranged for Mott. Some twenty students from St. John's, and a smaller group in the Prince Albert College, took the initiative in July, 1896, by forming a consolidated A.U.C.C.U. A struggling Union was born in Canterbury Agricultural College, Lincoln, as a result of a visit by Mott; but isolation, lack of numbers and irregular hours of work seem to have led to its temporary disbanding early in 1897. No unions were founded in secondary schools, though this would certainly have been attempted had Mott sufficient time to visit them. He saw the need to organise study groups "wherever the

16. Letter from Miss C. Grant to Miss E. Walker, 15/1/34.
18. Letter from Mr. Y.T. Shand to the writer (Mr. Shand was the first president of C.A.C.C.U., and Mr. H.C.Pockley was his secretary.)
conditions insure (sic) a permanent and successful work."
His report of 1897 stressed that schools' work "is more important in Australasia than in any other country visited, because such a large proportion of the students do not enter the universities." This fact is supported by official statistics which give a mere seven hundred and sixty-four undergraduates as keeping terms on June 1st, 1896, in the ratio of two men to one woman. Within ten years the figure was nearly doubled.

Three New Zealand delegates sailed on May 22nd for the intercolonial convention which was held at Wyselaskie Hall, Ormond College, Melbourne. J. W. Burton of Auckland, H. A. Hawkins of Canterbury, and I. E. Bertram of Otago were among the representatives of thirty-four colleges who met to unite in the A.S.C.U. On June 6th, 1896, the two hundred and fifty-eight delegates adopted a constitution, organised a Student Volunteer Movement, and planned the general policy of the Union. Finance was involved to the extent of some two thousand pounds each year. To provide for sounder integration and expansion, it was unanimously decided that there should be a travelling secretary, and an advisory panel of eminent leaders in national life was appointed to give mature guidance in questions affecting

19. P.114, John R. Mott, op. cit.
the community at large. An executive General Committee included representatives drawn from the faculties of engineering, arts, medicine, law and theology. Sydney was chosen as the headquarters of the Union. 20

We pass to the second phase of the Movement's development. So far our concern has been mainly with theory, but now the blue-prints are handed over to the workshop for construction. The dynamic presence of John R. Mott is no longer here to inspire his team of workers. Inevitably the initial thrill of creating a new organisation is somewhat dulled by the mundane requirements of everyday routine.

Methods of work in the first decade may be summed up as united worship, the study group, visits from a travelling secretary, the comprehensive camp, and the field of outside service. Under these headings the activities of the Movement have developed and changed in many ways with the passage of years; but the basic subdivisions remain as true today as they were forty or fifty years ago. Interpretations and emphases have varied, yet the fundamental character has never changed.

Corporate life in the Student Associations of the nineties was limited to meetings for sport and debating. Except for a minority engaged in research, the main body of students had inadequate opportunities to cultivate their critical faculties in discussion groups. The Student Christian Movement has

20. P. 127, ibid.
always placed study groups at the very heart of its organisation, with a consequent critical influence on student thinking that is difficult to estimate. Tutorials may have proved more popular in secondary schools work, but the free study circle under a competent leader has proved indispensable to University branches.

There was a constant emphasis on Bible and missionary study during the early period, when "the evangelisation of the world in this generation" was an urgent challenge to all members of the Federation. Home mission work was not confined to study, though this was of real value in breaking fresh ground. Experiments in social service such as the Boys' Gordon Hall in Christchurch were signs that students wished to apply their sociology within the community. Later evidence reveals a growing sense of responsibility for the

H.A. Hawkins, in his 107 Presidential report to the C.U.C.C.U. for 1896, referred to the opportunities for social service among the poorer classes of Christchurch. He suggested night school work as one avenue of activity. By March, 1897, there was a C.U. Youth Centre at the Gordon Hall with over 130 names on its roll, and a regular attendance of over 100. The following classes had already been formed, and they give some idea of the scope of the work: Arithmetic, ambulance, singing, drawing, writing, shorthand, book-keeping, two gymnasium groups. Bible classes, tramping and football clubs, and Sunday evening entertainments were added later in the year.

evils of society, and a keener desire to pursue the social implications of the Christian Gospel.

It would not be an exaggeration to say that the Movement has had a genius for organising and conducting camps and student conferences. The first New Zealand conference, styled a "Summer School," was held at Nelson in the ten days beginning January 16th, 1899, and was attended by about a hundred students from New Zealand and Australia.21 "The whole movement came as a surprise to me," wrote one visitor; "I had no idea that there was such spiritual vitality in the universities."22 All that is best in the Student Movement is concentrated into a short period of physical, intellectual and spiritual fellowship.4

Leadership has always been of vital importance. It is drawn from two main sources, the General Committee of the Movement, and the Secretariat. Each year students have exercised their executive rights as members of the General Committee, which controls policy and serves as a forum for College opinion. Leaders look to this body as the gauge of spiritual vitality among branches. It was once a very small group, and is now a much larger one; but the essential

22. The Outlook, 17/2/1900.
characteristics remain as they were in 1896. In a similar way the Movement has always relied on travelling secretaries for personal leadership. They have provided College branches with inspiration and stability, and through frequent visits they have helped to make the fellowship of the Federation a living reality. Permanent secretaries from five countries have served New Zealand students.

During his term of three years as the first Australasian travelling secretary, William H. Sallmon founded ten branches in secondary schools, besides doing much to stimulate work in the existing University Unions. A graduate of Yale University, with several years' experience as Student Secretary of the North American Y.M.C.A., he brought to the Movement a keen interest in comparative Bible study. He made several tours through the country, taking every opportunity to extend the Movement's range by means of school work and conferences. Sallmon was the first of a long line of graduate secretaries who have served the Movement in New Zealand and it was largely through his administrative ability

Schools branches were organised by W.H. Sallmon in the following institutions.
Prince Albert (Boys') College, Auckland, March, 1898
Prince Albert (Girls') College, Auckland, March, 1898
Scinde Island School, Napier, April, 1898
Te Aute College, Te Aute, April, 1898
Girls' College, Nelson, May, 1898
Boys' College, Nelson, June, 1898
Girls' College, Wanganui, June, 1898
Braemar House, Dunedin, June, 1898
Normal Training School, Dunedin, June, 1898
Hawke's Bay Girls' School, Hastings, Feb., 1899
that the A.S.C.U. was placed on a sound executive footing after its foundation. In February, 1900, J.T. McWilliams,B., was appointed to succeed Sallmon as travelling secretary. Already the Australasian field had become too large for one man to supervise it effectively, and the appointment of New Zealander was prompted by repeated complaints from New Zealand branches that their work was not receiving adequate attention.24 The new secretary had been President of the C.U.C.C.U. in 1897, and though his travelling time was divided between the Australian and New Zealand branches, he was able to do much to bring the straggling and isolated Unions in New Zealand within the life of the A.S.C.U.

Perhaps the most influential Union in the first decade, considering its relatively small size, was that in Te Aute College, where young Maori leaders were being trained for their task of reviving the faded glories of Maori tangata. The Young Maori Party was largely recruited from Te Aute, which maintained a high standard of secondary education.

But Te Aute College has higher aims than mere intellectual culture; it takes for its object the moral and social elevation of the race; and as a centre from which 'sweetness and light' is slowly but surely spreading among the Maori people, it is, in the wide medieval sense of the word, a Maori University.25

By 1896 the Maori population had dwindled to fewer than 40,000, and a powerful movement for the resurgence of the race under the banner of Kotahitanga,† was claiming the enthusiastic loyalty of young tribal leaders. When Salmon visited Te Aute in April, 1898, his description of the W.S.C.F. as a world movement for Christian unity, was warmly received by the College, and forty foundation members combined to form a C.U. Peter Buck, Apirana Turupa Ngata, and F. A. Bennett were three early members who have since given distinguished service to their race; but the greatest contribution of the Te Aute C.U. has been its influence on the lives of many young men whose work cannot be appreciated by the distant pakeha observer. The C.U. taught them to be powerful witnesses for the Christian faith among tribes which were fast sinking into moral degradation and despair.

While it is true that Maori missions held a prominent place in the interests of New Zealand C.U.s, one should recognise the fact that this original work in Te Aute and Te Rau was of more lasting value than the combined efforts of pakeha groups to extend Maori mission work.

A review of the period from 1896 to 1910 would indicate that for nearly all that time the Movement divided its work under two main headings. There were the internal field of College activity, and the wider outside field of missionary

responsibilities. At first, missions were classed as being either home or foreign; but gradually students came to accept a more far-reaching interpretation of the meaning of evangelism. After 1902 there were growing indications of this desire to increase the range of study, and to relate all its aspects to the Christian faith. Probably because the Medical School was situated in Dunedin, the O.U.C.U. remained from its earliest days a reservoir of strength for missions. In particular, it supported the Missionary settlement for University Women at Bombay, and the Canton Village Settlement in China. Canterbury and Auckland retained a fair balance of interests in their study programme, while Victoria College concentrated on subjects of a sociological and philosophical nature.

Ever since its foundation in January, 1899, the V.U.C.C. has been marked by keenness and intellectual vigour, especially in facing the religious difficulties of students. 26 Its

26. The Union was actually formed at a preliminary meeting of intending students, held at Bishopscourt under the chairmanship of Mr. W.H. Salmon. This was the result of planning at the second Summer School, held at Nelson in January, 1900. Two months later, on March 7, the first official meeting was held in the St. John's Presbyterian Church Manager's Room. Mr. C.W. Haslam was the first President. For eight years the College was without its own buildings. During this period the Union meetings were held in the Girls' High School, where most of the University lectures were given.

(Communications from Mrs. M.E.J. Wallis, widow of the late Rt. Rev. F. Wallis, then Bishop of Wellington; also from Mrs. C. G. Wood, a contemporary student.)
social interest was naturally fostered by the presence of so many part-time students, and also by the environment in which it was placed. Victoria College was founded by the Liberal-Labour Government as a popular institution; such was Seddon's dream, and within practical limits his aim has been followed. Certainly it has not stood aloof from the community life of the capital city.

Victoria College was opened in March, 1889, towards the close of the pioneer period in the Movement's life. There is a remarkable contrast between the enterprise and strength which characterised C.Us. during the four years after Mott's visit, and the stumbling hesitancy of the succeeding years from 1900 to 1908. It is not sufficient to explain the depression as an inevitable outcome of Salmon's departure in February, 1900, though the loss of his strong leadership was undoubtedly a contributing factor. Rather should we interpret the period as one in which the young Movement was cutting its first teeth, and trying to find its feet without the assistance of an older brother.

Mott returned to New Zealand on April 19th, 1903. He came to revive the fading vision of a world fellowship of Christian students, and to stimulate the individual branches. His visit was prompted by three appeals from the Executive of

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27. This period of depression seems to have been general in the British and Australasian Movements. Viz. The Australasian Intercollegian, Vols. II-IV, also pp. 224-5 T. Tatlow, op. cit.
the General Committee, which reflected the growing sense of incapacity and weakness within the Movement. Lack of outstanding leaders was only one cause of the decline; geography still raised its isolating barriers between the scattered Colleges, and the pendulum of time had ushered in a fresh generation of students to whom April, 1896 was now only a page of history. The Movement felt that it had lost momentum; Mott was called in to give it a fresh impulse.

His prescription was simple and radical. Unions must concentrate more on their missionary task, and they must learn how to integrate all aspects of the faith, if they are to be true to their vocation in the University world. These principles emerged most clearly from the representative Conference of three hundred and eighteen delegates in Canterbury College Hall.28 Their importance was emphasised by Mott in stirring addresses at Auckland, Napier, Wellington and Dunedin.29 He had lost none of that passion for world unity which had impressed his hearers so deeply in 1896, but from his extended travels he had gained experience which was of great value to the New Zealand Movement. The

28. Student Conference on Home and Foreign Missions, May 2 and 3, 1903, Vide Appendix, also Australasia and the World's Evangelisation, the A.S.C.U. Sydney, 1903. 196 pp. The latter is a record of addresses given at the Conferences in Christchurch and Melbourne.

29. Vide The Australasian Intercollegian, Vol. VI, No. 4. (June, 1903).
thought that while the New Zealand Movement was in the doldrums, the Federation was serving 80,000 students in some forty countries, could not but have an invigorating effect. At this conference, the largest hitherto attended by New Zealand students, plans were laid for a forward movement based on Christian "expansion from within."

Mott was assisted by a panel of able speakers, all specialists in their particular subjects. Great stress was laid on the strategic geographical situation of New Zealand, standing at the open doors of China and Japan; and there was a compelling challenge for Christian leadership to mould the destiny of a young nation. "We are at the basis of nation building. We are laying the corner-stones; and one man and one woman, one law, one effort, one life now are worth fifty half a century hence." So spoke the man who had guided the Otago C.U. from its earliest days. Mott himself was convinced that the day was coming when the Christian Church would map out the whole world, wisely distribute the forces, and actually occupy the field.

but until that time let every delegate in this Conference plan with reference to the field within the range of his immediate influence. That will mean that those who are students will begin as never before to evangelise; that others here will in their cities and villages on the home field propagate the gospel; that the missionaries will go back to their fields and go about the work of proclaiming Christ with renewed determination and under the larger sway

* This represents an increase of sixty thousand members, and fifteen countries, since 1897.

of the power of the Spirit.\textsuperscript{30}

He concluded this call for a forward movement with words which epitomize the Conference's message.

In every way within our power we should seek to strengthen and extend the Student Christian Movement. This Movement, in the plan of God, is striking at the heart of the great problem of the world's evangelistic. It is this Movement which is raising up the workers who are to go out to the non-Christian lands in numbers sufficient to lead the forces of evangelism. And, in the second place, it is this Movement which must place the burden of responsibility upon the Christians going out from our universities and colleges who are to work at home as ministers or as laymen so as to develop a base of operations adequate to sustain the great campaign at the front.\textsuperscript{30}

The Christchurch Conference could not have been held at a more opportune time. Its immediate results were seen in increased attendances, greater initiative among College executives, and a desire to make the Movement reach out wider than ever before. The S.V.H.U. was strengthened, the Rev. W. Mawson M.A. toured the country in 1903 before leaving for China as a volunteer, and all four University Colleges had well-conducted missionary study circles. A New Zealand Co-operating Committee on Home and Foreign Missions was appointed at the meeting of General Committee in Melbourne, held in December, 1903. Vacation missions to outlying country districts were regular features of the

\textsuperscript{30} John R. Mott, The Need of a Forward Movement, an address to the Conference on Home and Foreign Missions \vide \textit{op. cit.}
Unions' activities for at least five years after the summer of that year. Students went out by pairs to speak in backblock halls and churches, and whenever possible they distributed Federation literature. All this was done in the spirit of the S.V.M.U. watchword, "the evangelisation of the world in this generation," and the student "bands" were recognised by Church missionary societies as effective agents of their work overseas.

During the five years after 1903 there was undoubted progress within the Movement generally. Travelling secretaries consolidated work in the different centres, S.V.M.U. statistics show a marked rise in membership, and successful summer conferences brought the Unions together in 1904, 1906, and 1908. In April, 1904, a New Zealand Cooperating Committee of the A.S.C.U. was established under Mr. H. H. Barton M.A. With the appointment in 1905 of Mr. E. K. Mules as travelling secretary the New Zealand branches received closer attention than had been possible with Australian secretaries. Over a quarter of the University students in Australasia were members of the A.S.C.U. in 1906. A cursory glance at the state of the Movement would indicate all-round development since Mott's second visit.

31. Vide Appendix for list of Conferences 1896 to 1946. It should be noted that until 1908 Summer Conferences were biennial, and students were billeted out. Trentham, 1908, saw the first camping Conference.

The body may have looked healthy enough, but its efficiency was being impaired by a cause which lay rooted in the past. This weakness can be traced to a failure of men and women to share in the control of Unions. Women looked to the men for leadership, and would not have entertained any suggestion that they should develop initiative in their own sphere of work. Such an attitude was indeed "the norm in the bowels" of all University societies, but it was foreign to the ideals of equality which the W.S.C.F. sought to actualize.

This anomalous position might well have obtained for some years, at least until the emancipating tragedy of 1914, had not Miss Ruth Rouse visited New Zealand in May, 1908. Her aim was to deepen the interest of Australasian women students in the evangelisation of the world, and to hold conferences on all problems connected with women's work in the A.S.C.U. As the feminine counterpart of John R. Mott, she too had a record of world service and an intimate knowledge of student work in East and West. We are told that all the University Unions eagerly awaited her visit; to quote from an Otago account:

A few days before the great event took place, the eyes of everyone entering the University were arrested by placards and posters of all sizes ... nailed up in lecture halls, common rooms, and corridors, proclaiming to all and sundry 'Miss Rouse is coming,' and exhorting everyone to 'come and hear her.'

A meeting at the Medical School, where the C.U. had previously been unable to gain a foothold, was attended by forty-four out of a total of seventy students. Very valuable work was done in co-ordinating the activities of the Y.W.C.A. and the A.S.C.U., which previously had existed side by side without related policies. Secondary schools also benefited from visits by this first ambassadress of the W.S.C.F.33

On July 11, 1908, the first Women Students' Conference in New Zealand met in Christchurch to discuss the future role of women in Christian work. From it there emerged two policy decisions which were responsible for a completely fresh approach to the status of women within the A.S.C.U. Miss Rouse gave much advice on the need for better machinery for training leaders, for organizing women's work more independently, and for finding definite work for individual members. "There should be a body of women to consider fresh work in high schools and private schools,"34 especially since a demarcation was developing between high schools and private schools. She further suggested that there should be more provision for the smaller schools, together with schoolgirls' camps and Bible study.

Provincialism among New Zealand students was partly

34. Vide The Outlook, 8/8/1908.
attributed to the lack of machinery in the A.S.C.U. for cultivating a knowledge of general and international affairs. Separate women's unions, and a woman travelling secretary, might foster the sense of independence which was a prerequisite to full cooperation between men and women. 34

Two motions were carried unanimously by the delegates. Miss Begg moved "That this conference is of opinion that the A.S.C.U. should appoint a woman travelling secretary as soon as possible." Miss Jacobs moved "That it is the opinion of this conference that there should be women representatives on the A.S.C.U. committee." While Otago supported Miss Rouse's suggestion that there might be separate women's unions, the other Colleges did not favour her proposal, and it was decided that the matter should be decided by individual unions. 34

Miss Rouse made a report to the General Committee at the conclusion of her tour. She commented on the energy and powers of organisation found among the four hundred women students of the New Zealand University, and noted that although the women were in a minority they were decidedly influential, and on the whole eager for higher education. Graduates' Unions were suggested as being "absolutely necessary under present circumstances," but they would need most careful guarding and limiting to certain functions. 35

34. Vide The Outlook, 8/8/1908.
She condemned the weak organisation of the Sydney headquarters and recommended the appointment of a general secretary who would spend at least the main portion of his time in the office. While praising work done for the Missionary Settlement of University Women, she complained that there was little "transfer" from interest in the special type of work in the Bombay Settlement to a more general interest in missions. Finally, she detected a weakness in the evangelistic spirit of the movement, and closely connected with it, a weakness in united prayer. 36

This bare outline of the most relevant points contained in Miss Housie's diagnosis reveals her comprehensive grasp of the total situation, and her desire for men and women to share their responsibilities in a common work.

It has always struck me as remarkable that in a country where women are so independent and have such powers of organisation as this, the women should be without privileges which have long been theirs in the student Christian movements in more conservative lands. 37

It might appear that an emphasis on women's work as such would seem to contravene the principle of united work; but in the final analysis one can understand the wisdom of this education for leadership, especially since its fruits were soon to justify it.

36. Ibid, Australasia F.
37. Ibid, Australasia G.
Before Miss Rouse left Australasia in August, the General Committee had decided to appoint a woman travelling secretary and women representatives both to itself and to the Executive, though the details of appointment were undetermined for the moment. Miss Florence Holden B.A., of Sydney University, was chosen to fill the new position, and under her enterprising leadership the women's work acquired character and independence, with most valuable contribution to schoolgirls' unions, conferences, and joint activities with the Y.W.C.A. The extent of her success is indicated by the fact that she was followed by two women, one a general secretary and one a Student Volunteer secretary.

Of course the Great War was largely responsible for the fact that women secretaries had to bear the brunt of most of the travelling in the decade beginning with 1915; but that does not affect the truth of the assertion that they had been swift to assume their rights in the Movement prior to this date. 38

Organisation was to be a lively topic among Unions for some years after 1908. Miss Rouse had ranged far beyond the immediate question of control insofar as it affected the

38. Material in this paragraph is largely derived from a thesis by Miss Wilmina Rowland, entitled The Contribution of Ruth Rouse to the World's Student Christian Federation, Chap. IV, Sect. C. Within the situation of joint work between men and women: Australasia. (Thesis written in the U.S.A., 1937.)
relative positions of men and women. She had detected flaws of organisation which were impeding the individual centres, and the A.S.C.U. as a whole. National development had some bearing on the question. No longer were the two colonies linked together in Union. The Tasman Sea divided Commonwealth and Dominion, and prevented any close liaison of control over the scattered branches. Moreover, the New Zealand Unions had won recognition for their confident leadership and their standing in the community. The Otago C.U. had the largest membership in the A.S.C.U. during 1906. There was no disparity in numbers between the women students of Australia and New Zealand. In literary resources, especially in The Australasian Intercolliegian, and in the administration of finance, New Zealand was at a distinct disadvantage. She had been granted a cooperating committee of three in 1904; but the responsible Executive in Australia served only to stimulate a desire for autonomy. In 1909 Miss Margaret Walker B.A., of Christchurch, had represented the A.S.C.U. at Conferences in Rome, Oxford, and Baslow. She returned to New Zealand with vivid impressions of the thirty national Movements whose delegates she had met "The Movement was the same everywhere - the modern spirit driving young men and young women to seek the best education obtainable and killing traditional religion in their minds. It was regarded as a time of great peril and opportunity."

By 1911 the adolescent Movement in New Zealand was asking for the right of responsible action within the A.S.C.U. Fifteen years had passed since that inaugural Convention in Wyselaskie Hall, when three young students voted for their country's inclusion in a federated Union; since then the Movement had experienced success and failure and revival. It had now consolidated its organisation and claimed independence.
The year 1911 marked a fresh advance in the life of the student Movement. During the previous seven years its total membership had almost doubled, and student volunteers numbered nearly three hundred in 1910. When one considers that they comprised a bare hundred in 1903, with an increase of eight times the number of students studying Missions in as many years, the rapid growth of the A.S.C.U. would appear beyond doubt. However, figures alone can be deceptive in the study of any Christian organisation. We are repeatedly reminded by the reports of College presidents that numbers and efficiency of administration are only means to an end, not ends in themselves. In later period we shall observe how increases in membership have been gained at the cost of giving undue prominence to to of relatively secondary importance. 

1. The following figures give details of progress throughout Australasia.

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* In Study Circles only.

2. Vide Chaps. IV, V.
has built on superficial foundations whose inadequacy is proved by the reaction of later student generations. But for the moment we are concerned with the period beginning with 1911, when the New Zealand Unions were granted a measure of self-government. Was the Movement healthy and vigorous, or was it becoming rather ponderous and sluggish under the accretion of numbers?

Probably the most satisfying answer to this question may be found in the General Secretary's report for 1910. There is no specific reference to the expansion of membership except insofar as occasional statistics speak for themselves. But stress is laid on the quality of work being done, and the tasks which face the Movement. "While the officers and workers ... are constantly busy, they seem to be able as yet only to nibble at the problems that present themselves - to touch only the fringe of the work waiting to be done." 3

In *The Student World* for April 1910, we read that the Australasian Summer Conferences "proved a strong climax to a year of study work in Bible and Mission Study and though smaller in numbers than usual were more resultful than any other such gatherings in the history of the Movement." 4 This is attributed chiefly to the spirit of consecration which pervaded addresses and discussions. For the first time we note a reference to the possible employment of

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4. vide *The Student World*, April, 1910.
permanent secretaries in University centres, later to develop into student chaplaincies. Dr. C.I. McLaren, Chairman of the Missionary Department, was commissioned to tour Australasia as travelling secretary, and the effect of his work was to double the number of volunteers offering that year.  

With prospects of extension in all fields, the New Zealand Unions felt somewhat hampered by the inevitable restrictions imposed on them by the Australian headquarters. In particular, they nursed financial grievances. They welcomed the move in June, 1910, when the Executive of the A.S.C.U., following a decision of the General Committee, centralized the office and headquarters of the whole movement in Melbourne. As was partly recognised at the time, this action began a period of consolidation which was to prove its true worth in the critical decade that followed. The previous distribution of offices in Melbourne and Sydney had been determined by considerations of outreach and service to the Unions in those two strategic centres of the Commonwealth. Broad foundations had been laid in the preparatory period of fourteen years, but the time had now come for placing the two directing systems of the Volunteer Movement and the A.S.C.U. under a unified administration.  

4. vide The Student World, April, 1910.
It was natural that reform of the governing body should be accompanied by attempts to re-organise its constituent members. The Australian States felt satisfied with their own secretaries and the integration which Melbourne headquarters now supplied. New Zealand Unions, however, were anxious for a greater measure of autonomy, and at the Waimate Conference they sought to achieve their aim. As yet there was no desire for a separate New Zealan movement; conservative voices emphasised the dangers of secession, which they described as running counter to the spirit of the Federation. But the Convention was unanimous in its desire to promote greater efficiency in the management of local affairs, and better liaison between New Zealand and Australia. So a Co-operating Committee and Executive was established in April, 1911, with its headquarters in Christchurch. Constituted as a Sub-Committee of the A.S.C General Committee, it was directed to meet at least once a year, and its powers were defined as consultative and directive; thus it was wholly responsible for its actions to the General Committee. The Rev. J. Mackenzie M.A., later chairman of the A.S.C.U., was first chairman of the New Zealand Executive.

6. The writer is indebted to the Ven. J.R. Young, sometime travelling secretary in New South Wales (1911) and New Zealand (1913), for information about A.S.C.U. organisation at this time.

While such a committee might appear unduly circumscribed in its constitution, in practice it soon developed increasing responsibility and initiative. Like the colonial assemblies of North America, its original rights were planted in a fertile soil, and then grew with the passing years. Distance from Australia, problems peculiar to New Zealand Unions, the national sentiment which was later accentuated by war, all these factors tended to give the New Zealand Movement a distinct character, and a consequent desire for full independence. For the moment these influences were brewing beneath the surface, and ten years were to elapse before their effects could be fully appreciated.

The year 1911 is significant not merely as a milestone in the organisation of the student Movement; more important still, it marked the beginning of a new attitude to life, and a fresh approach to society. Students demanded a faith which was truly integrated, and able to shed light on the complex issues of politics and science, economics and sociology. They had now become acutely sensitive of their obligations as members of society. In the past they had taken a more objective view of life, regarding themselves as bystanders who might soon be called to take part in the action. Possibly this was the reason why social studies and service had never taken secure root in the Movement during

7. College magazines and The Australasian Intercollegian reflect this change of outlook.
its first ten or fifteen years; students had banded together in Unions, but their outlook on society was essentially individualistic. They found little place for communal responsibility. The Cambridge Conference of December 1911 was chiefly concerned with the call to social service.\(^8\) Professor D.K. Picken\(^8\) and a strong group of student leaders from Victoria College were foremost in this movement, which was marked by keenness and intellectual vigour. It is rarely appropriate to mention names of students in such a history as this, but men like F. Gillanders, D.S. Smith, J.A. Ryburn, H.W. Monaghan, G.W. Morice, J.C. McDowall, T. Rigg and P. Burbidge should be noted here for the quality of their contribution. In January 1912 we find that the Cooperating Committee passed a motion appointing four fraternal delegates to represent the Movement at the Easter Labour Conference. Their purpose was to investigate "the ideals and practical proposals of the Labour Movement, with view to ascertaining what should be the relationship of the Christian student to the Labour Movement."\(^9\) Professor Picken, T.K. Haslett, D.S. Smith, and R. Urquhart were appointed to represent the Movement. This resolution was

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\(^{8}\) vide The Student World, October, 1912. As a direct result of this Conference we note the formation of a Social Service League in connection with the A.U.C.C.U. Members were students who had graduated from that College or from the Auckland Teachers' Training College. A similar organisation also existed in connection with the V.U.C.C.U.

\(^{9}\) Professor of Mathematics at V.U.C.1909-1914; Master of Ormond College, Univ. of Melbourne, 1915-1943; Chairman of the Australian Student Christian Movement, 1923-1931.

\(^{9}\) Minutes of the Executive of the New Zealand Cooperating Committee of the A.S.C.U. Christchurch, 12 Jan. 1912.
passed in accordance with the unanimous vote of the Cambridge student Conference, and in answer to the invitation of the Labour Conference.

The Movement's expansion at this time was also to be seen in its closer liaison with other youth organisations, especially the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. University reform was a burning topic of discussion among students, and we find repeated references to addresses on the function of the modern University, given by professors to C.U. meetings. Miss Constance Grant brought back from the Constantinople Conference her impressions of student life among the one hundred and forty-eight thousand members of the W.S.C.F. - Greek and Latin, Gregorian and Copt, Syrian and Armenian Churchmen, standing side by side with Anglicans and Presbyterians in a rich tableau of Christian unity. In 1912 the Rev. F.N.N. Paton visited New Zealand as chairman of the S.V.M.U. His itinerary included meetings with Churches and businessmen, besides the usual addresses to Colleges and secondary schools. Six months prior to his visit, in January 1912, the Cooperating Committee had

10. Communication from Mr. G.S. Falconer, Dominion Chairman, Y.M.C.A. of New Zealand.
11. College magazines record many instances of discussions on the ideals of a University; probably most of the stimulus came from the University Reform Association, but C.U.'s made their distinctive contribution.
12. Minutes of the N.Z. Cooperating Committee, July and August, 1912.
discussed a proposal that the A.S.C.U. should establish its own Foreign Department, as the natural extension of volunteer agency work. The proposal was rejected on the grounds that the A.S.C.U. was chiefly concerned with supplying workers for the existing missionary agencies, and that any decision to institute a Foreign Department would have to be considered in relation to work already being attempted by the Federation. Until the Movement was financially self-supporting, it was thought that no further commitments should be incurred. 13

Like the University itself, the student Christian Movement has usually maintained "a precarious stability" 14 in finance. We have just seen how missionary enterprise was hampered by lack of funds, and though it now appears that the 1912 decision was a wise one quite apart from the monetary considerations involved, it is true that until 1925, and after 1930, the Movement has been restricted by chronic budget weaknesses. 15 Travelling secretaries have regarded their work, with its very modest salary, as one way of repaying the Movement for assistance to them in their student days. But even so, the inadequate funds of the

15. Vide financial statements of successive treasurers in minutes of the Cooperating Committee and the Dominion Executive. For the period 1925 to 1930 vide infra Chaps. IV and V.
movement have consistently impaired efficiency both in the College field, and at headquarters. Often one has benefited at the cost of the other, as when a secretary remains at headquarters and is forced to neglect his travelling duties. Whatever might have been the contributing factors, finance was the chief immediate consideration which prompted the A.S.C.U. to set up its Cooperating Committee in New Zealand. The remarks of Mr. N. Gibson, who acted as local treasurer, together with evidence of tangled administration under the former provincial quota scheme, lend support to this view.\textsuperscript{16} But finance, as with all machinery in a student movement, invariably fills a very minor role in its activities. With an initial budget of four hundred and fifty pounds, rising by a hundred pounds in three years, the Movement was content to maintain two travelling secretaries and an unpaid headquarters executive for eight years.

Expansion came in 1919, when the estimated expenditure

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16. \textit{The Lyttelton Times}, 2 Jan., 1913. The quota was to be divided equally between Auckland, Wellington, Canterbury, and Dunedin, with about fifty pounds expected from other sources. Centralisation at Melbourne had resulted in considerable improvement in the administration of A.S.C.U. finance. But the provincial quota scheme for raising New Zealand's contribution did not encourage initiative; the appeal was too general to arouse enthusiasm. With the appointment of Miss J.O. Abernethy M.A. and Mr. J.R. Young B.A. as the first New Zealand secretaries at this Rangiora Convention, there was a more direct financial responsibility on the part of local New Zealand Unions.
\end{flushright}
reached fifteen hundred pounds; this in turn was increased by some three hundred and sixty pounds in 1920. Certainly from the financial aspect, New Zealand Unions had every right to consider themselves ripe for independence from Australia in 1920.

In 1913 the A.S.C.U. changed its name to the Australasian Student Christian Movement, as being more in keeping with its central aim of progress towards unity.\(^17\) The Great War brought isolation, and forced the New Zealand Committee to undertake responsibilities at its own discretion; hence this period of dwindling numbers was also a time of constitutional change by convention. Miss Irene Wilson and the Rev. J.R. Young were employed as travelling secretaries for the New Zealand zone, under the Cooperating Committee.\(^18\) After two years Miss Wilson was succeeded in 1916 by Miss Doris Gavin, who served the Movement until her departure for India in 1920. Both the Revs. J.R. Young and G.S. Bryan-Brown,\(^19\) who became chairman of the New Zealand Committee in 1914, left on active service in 1917,

17. cf. the British Movement, which changed its name in December 1905, from that of "British College Christian Union" to "The Student Christian Movement of Great Britain and Ireland." "The name B.C.C.U. was a hindrance in the work of the Theological College Department, it was inadequate to suggest either the significance of the Movement or the range of its activities, and it had failed to take hold of the public." F.149 T. Tatlow, op. cit.


19. Killed in action while serving as chaplain, October, 1917.
and the travelling liaison work of the Movement fell to women secretaries alone.

New Zealand Unions seem to have passed through two fairly distinct phases during the first World War. From August 1914 to the end of 1915 they appear to have been little affected by the abnormal conditions of wartime, apart from the constant attrition of their membership, and the abrupt change in theological emphasis. This initial phase was the prelude to a second darker period comparable with the barren years which followed W.H. Salmond's departure from New Zealand in 1900. Unions were stripped almost bare of their male leadership, missions were cut off from the home base and the Federation seemed hopelessly unreal to many students. Suffering overseas, and a spirit of serious preoccupation with home affairs, led to a general feeling of unsettlement, and made the Movement's work more difficult. Fortunately the outlook was relieved by several hopeful indications. College magazines and

20. For much of the background to this period the writer is obliged to Miss Irene Wilson. Vide The Outlook, 18 May 1915, for her full report on the Daylesford conference attended by 255 students. At the first conference, held there five years before, occurred "the most remarkable crisis of the Student Movement." This 1911 conference had extended the call to dedication which sounded in 1910; in the words of the New Zealand Chairman, "the call to dedication is not a call to a special profession; it is a call to surrender the will to Christ, and to go out into the world to make His Kingdom a reality among all classes of men, and in every sphere of human activity." (The Outlook, 9 Feb., 1915) Membership of the A.S.C.U. stood at 4,762 in 1915, representing an increase of 3,192 students and 29 C.U.'s in the last decade.
the programmes of debating clubs reflected a more practical interest in the life of the community. As in all times of crisis, faith and cynicism alike tended to become more intense. The conception of Christian discipleship was widened and filled with new meaning; but many students thought that the Church had betrayed its trust to mankind, and that after the war it would count for little in the community.21

There was a reduction of approximately fifty per cent in the membership of C.U.S, as with most other College societies.22 But through the experience in leadership gained by women students since 1908, the Unions were able to retain their positions of prominence in College affairs at a time when other groups were struggling and ineffective. The very fact that the Movement was increasing its range of vision, and considering the specific responsibilities of Christians in the community, was often resented by those who opposed it. One small passage from a College journal will serve to illustrate this critical attitude, even if the incidents found in it appear trivial in themselves.

21. Vide, T.H.Haslett art., The Religious Viewpoint of the Australasian Students, in The Student World, April, 1915. Also Student Movements and the War to be found in the same Journal, January, 1917.

22. Otago had a membership of 175 in 1913. Canterbury comprised 123 members in the same year, but this fell to 56 women and 6 men in 1917. Other centres were correspondingly affected.
The Christian Union is in many respects a good body. We have considerable sympathy with its worthier objects. But when it seems to go outside its proper sphere, we should be doing wrong if we did not protest against it. It ought to be understood that the C.U. has no official status whatever.

Being unconnected with the Students' Association it has no right to seek control of the affairs of students in general. Why, then, has it been for years an unwritten law, that the lady who is one year Vice-President of the C.U. shall the next year be Vice-President of the Students' Association? In many individual cases, this might work—it does work, very well; but the undesirable feature of the thing is the implicit connection of the C.U. with direct control over students' affairs. Why is it that the C.U. welcomes new students annually by means of tea plus social? This is regarded as an OFFICIAL College welcome. Surely the Students' Association is the only body which has the right officially to welcome students. We should like to see that Association tender the official welcome in future. We shall not go into further detail, but merely point out the present evil condition of things. A large number of students seem to regard what are termed the 'activities' of the College as coincidental with the activities of the C.U.

We can only say that (the present) Christian Union ideals are far removed from those it set out with. 23

It is interesting to read this paragraph from the editorial of an official student organ, both as some indication of the attitude of those who opposed the C.U., and also of its influence in College life. The very half-truths which the leader contains may be used to build up our conception of the C.U. in its Great War setting. Statistics often serve little purpose in understanding the status of a

student society, and we must turn to hostile critics, as well as to friends of the Movement, if we are to get a clear and accurate insight into the character of the C.U. during this period.

Our first impression to be gained from the editorial quoted is that the C.U. was recognised as a large and very influential society in the Students' Association of at least one College. Evidence from other centres tends to corroborate this view, and so it may be taken as a fairly safe generalisation for the Movement as a whole; remembering always that the Unions in the southern Colleges were numerically far in advance of those in the North Island. After 1914 the exodus of men students was matched by a greater influx of women, who began to take an increasingly responsible share in the control of student affairs. Here it would be apposite to note the contribution of Miss House in 1908, when she inaugurated a period of unexampled activity and training for future leadership by the women students of New Zealand. Her example and precepts were not confined to the C.U.s, though it was natural that they should derive the most immediate advantage. For six years before the Great War the women students of the A.S.C.U. had been building up their organisation, some on lines independent of the men, others by separate committees within the whole Union. The latter course was followed

22. Otago had a membership of 175 in 1913. Canterbury comprised 123 members in the same year, but this fell to 56 women and 6 men in 1917. Other centres were correspondingly affected.
uniformly in New Zealand and it was probably the better method of developing initiative while still retaining an integrated organisation. As the claims of military service drew more and more students from their lectures, and College societies found their male membership becoming almost decimated, the previous training which women had received in the C.U. was used to good effect. It appears that other student organisations had not encouraged the participation of women in the control of College clubs and societies; for during the Great War years the C.U. certainly led in this respect.

As was to be expected, the segregation of nations into two armed camps struck a heavy blow at the cause of world missions, which had made such promising progress since the great international Missionary Conference at Edinburgh. This unwelcome isolation resulted in a greater interest in social service and home mission work, while it sounded a call for reconstruction and reunion long before the War had ended. Theology was recast in a severer mould. Its central theme became the Kingdom of God, and students began to integrate their conception of the Christian faith in terms of suffering, sharing and rebuilding together in a

25. Vide Chap. XXI, T. Tatlow, op. cit.; also the statement of Dr.W.Temple that without the Movement "there never could have been held the Edinburgh Conference, which was the greatest event in the life of the Church for a generation." (p.96 The Student Movement, vol. XVII.)
single community, under the total rule of God. Social reformation and missionary activity were blended as never before. Catastrophe had smashed through the outworn religious traditions so dear to the nineteenth century mind and opened up new vistas of opportunity and responsibility. Planning for the future, rather than morbid concentration on the present upheaval, characterized the student Movement during the War years.

In the vast and transcendently important work of repair and reconstruction, the Christian Student Movements of the world, with their branches in 2,500 different universities and colleges in over 40 nations (including all the nations now at war) and their combined membership of over 155,000 students and professors, are destined to have a significant part. This is because their ranks embrace so largely the coming leaders of ... the most vital forces ... of all the countries and of all the races. What can be more important for the Kingdom of God in the coming age than that the work of Christ be carried forward with wisdom, unselfish devotion and consuming zeal among those who more than any others are to guide Christian thought and action in each nation. It would be difficult also to overstate the value of this world-wide Federation of Christian Students as a unifying force at a time of unparalleled strain and strife. How much hinges on the preservation of its solidarity! Only the prayer of our Lord "that they all may be one" can ensure this. 26

Near two years later, in December 1916, we find the

26. Call for a World Day of Prayer for Students, issued by W.S.C.F. in January 1915. (Held annually since 1898.)
Movement calling students to "special preparation of mind and heart in which to face the day of reconstruction, which is now breaking upon the world." 27

The crucible of war had heated the student Movement to a new intensity, and added fresh metals to strengthen the old alloy. Never before had C.U.'s entered into every sphere of study with such a sense of mission, or such confidence in the relevance of Christianity to every problem of modern life. Professors were constantly asked to give addresses on the ideals of a University, and under leaders like Professor Picken of Victoria College, students began to consider what were the Christian principles of social progress, or the relation between social environment and moral progress.

But the vogue of evolution as a law governing gradual human progress, so acceptable to mid-Victorian scientists and their Wellsian successors, received a serious setback with the outbreak of the Great War.

Future historians of thought will, no doubt, trace the vast and all pervading influence of the discovery of Darwin on the whole sphere of social, political and religious thought in planting the edge of all revolutionary thought and action. If the progress of nature was so unimaginably slow, how absurd it was for man to be impatient with human wrong. ... Even the religious mind of our time has found something gravely alien to it in the New Testament idea of sudden crisis....

But the outbreaking of this great earthquake of human passion has made this truth ring and blaze from one end of the world to the other. It is the most apocalyptic thing that has happened in modern history."

Divine intervention in human history was the leading thought of Unions at this time. Cynical scepticism was rife in the University, but Christian students believed that progress through crisis would be the outcome of the present world convulsion. For the moment their thinking was unreal and immature. Each year they had looked for the dawn of peace, and planned for the new world which was to rise from the ashes of the old. But four long years burned their deep scars in human nature, and Versailles brought disquieting signs of the old power politics. Still men looked to the League of Nations as holding the keys of peace; in this spirit they faced a decade marked by planning and reorganisation on an international scale.

New Zealand students were slowly carried along by this stream of internationalism. At the first meeting of

28. Professor D.S.Cairns, art. in The Student Movement, Vol. XVII No. 8 (May, 1915). At the same time we should consider the influence of wartime theology on the school of "Higher Criticism", which began to lose prominence during this period. The cleavage between moderate Churchmen and "Higher Critics" on the one hand, and Evangelicals demanding a belief in the literal inerrancy of the Bible, had already appeared in pre-war years; but it was not yet a divisive force in the New Zealand Movement.
the W.S.C.F. held after the war in August 1920, Miss House proposed that a committee under the auspices of the Federation should be set up to collect funds and goods throughout the student world to relieve starving students and professors. A report was also presented by the relief commission which the Federation had appointed to investigate conditions in Central Europe. There was long discussion before a unanimous vote could be taken; for while the Europeans knew the desperate need and were ready to help, the American, Australian and New Zealand students were at first totally opposed to starting European Student Relief. Basing their arguments on ignorance of the labour conditions, they insisted that needy students should earn enough money to pay their University expenses. This protracted debate revealed how little one continent knew of another.²⁹ The New Zealand committees for student relief have continually had to overcome ignorance of the actual situation in devastated areas, and often their efforts have been almost frustrated by apathy and isolationism.

At St. Beatenburg a European Student Relief programme was formulated, and all the Student Christian Movements affiliated with the Federation were invited to co-operate by contributing funds, supplies and workers. While E.S.R. began as a Federation committee, it was from the first

designed to be inclusive of all students. Cardinal
principles of work were laid down at this meeting in
August, 1920. Wherever possible self-help schemes were to
be initiated or supported; relief was to be administered
impartially, without regard to nationality, race, or creed;
both in the raising and in the administration of funds
cooperation with existing organisations should be arranged;
and each national student Movement should be encouraged to
promote in its own country whatever method of procuring
help would be most helpful. 30

New Zealand lost no time in forming a cooperating
committee of E.S.R., with Miss Constance Grant as its
leading member. 31 She had returned from Geneva in 1913
after representing the A.S.C.U. at Constantinople Conference,
and then working for two years as a Federation secretary
among Swiss students. During the eight years in which
E.S.R., later International Student Service, was a
department of the W.S.C.F., it had a pronounced moral and
spiritual effect upon the student Movement in New Zealand.
International fellowship was no longer just a fine aspiration
for New Zealand students. Now many of them saved and
worked for the starving students of Europe and Asia, in the
real cause of world student friendship.

Student Relief of the World's Student Christian
Federation, Geneva, 1923.

31. Letter from Miss Grant to the writer. At first the
W.S.C.F. co-opted University representatives as members
of E.S.R. Later chapters will outline the changes in
administration of student relief.
Donald Grant was the organizing secretary in Europe during the first "emergency year"; when he came to New Zealand as General Secretary of the student Movement in 1925 he found a country whose students were vitally aware of current trends in world affairs, despite their solitary geographical situation.32

Besides their general contribution to international student relief, the New Zealand C.U.'s were also linked with Indian students through the appointment of Miss Doris Gavin as foreign secretary to the Y.W.C.A. of India in October, 1920. For sixteen years the student Movement paid her entire salary as a gesture of solidarity with Christians in a distant continent. Personal links like this have always been favoured by the Federation, and it is certain that Miss Gavin was fulfilling a dual role of interpretation throughout her long term of service among Indian women students. Having been a travelling secretary in New Zealand for four years before her appointment to the Indian Y.W.C.A., she was peculiarly fitted to represent New Zealand students overseas.33

Almost twenty-five years had passed since John R.Mott brought the Federation message to isolated New Zealand. The Movement was now an integral and fully responsive member of that expanding world movement which served some

32. Vide Chaps IV and V.
33. Vide minutes of New Zealand Cooperating Committee, also annual Conventions of the Movement from 1921 to 1936.
hundred and sixty thousand students in forty countries. Soon it was to become completely independent of Australia. Whatever may have been the mistakes and failures of the student Movement during this period of tutelage, it remained consistently true to the ideal of Christian unity. Attention may have centred first on missions, then on social service, now on Christian internationalism; but the Movement has always stumbled on towards its unchanging goal - the Kingdom of God. Only when we consider this preparatory period as a whole, with the continuity of all its related trends, can we see its real significance for the future course of the New Zealand Student Christian Movement.
CHAPTER III

The twenties were years of searching and planning. They were the interim breathing-space between the raging storms of the War and the hopeless depression of an economic slump. Students in particular were trying to piece together some coherent fabric from the frayed and tangled strands of politics and economics. Within the Movement it is noticeable that Christian standards of conduct, rather than the study of "pure" theology, were given an increasing measure of attention after 1920. The stern apocalyptic element of war time was replaced by a humanist strain which deepened the interest in social questions, and continued its almost frantic plea for world brotherhood until the economic illusion of 1932 froze it into silence and forced men to withdraw into national blocs and enclaves for temporary security. 1

We can detect serious weaknesses in the spiritual condition of the Movement during this post-war decade, but at no other period before or since has it been so closely attuned to the thought and sympathies of the majority of New Zealand students. This may be attributed to a variety of causes, the most patent of which was the influence of returned men upon a Movement which had been almost destitute of male leadership from 1915 to 1919. Ex-servicemen were naturally opposed to a return to the status quo ante bellum, with its narrow distinctions of doctrine and membership. Besides, the atmosphere of College life had undergone a radical change since those comfortable years of the Edwardian decade. 2

Academic life in the pre-war days was more secure


and sheltered; students as a class were separated from the rest of society, like plants in an intellectual hothouse. Now they made a conscious effort to reach out into the wider community life, and to identify themselves more closely with other classes of society. The Movement became interested in various forms of social service, and the institution of "work days" to raise funds for European Student Relief was soon adopted by other national organisations. It was decided that committees should "appeal to the public through the students" and the soundness of such a policy may be judged by New Zealand's contribution of nearly two thousand pounds to E.S.R. in 1922.

An outstanding feature of the early twenties was the vigorous approach to international relationships. In one year the Movement was directly represented at five student conferences in China, Holland, Denmark, Romania and Australia. The League of Nations seemed to offer a ray of hope to those students who had been rudely awakened from their Utopian dreams of the Armistice months by the harsh realism of Versailles; so the S.C.C. gave constant support to the Covenant and to the Fellowship of International

3. Minutes of the Ashburton Convention, 4.1.22.
4. In 1924 New Zealand stood sixth among the contributory countries.
5. New Zealand students attended the following conferences in 1922:
   E.S.C.F. Conference, Peking (Miss A. Moncrieff)
   A.S.C.M. Conference (W. H. P. McKenzies)
   Eastern Student Relief Conference
       (D. Robertson)
   International Bible Study Conference, Holland, (Miss A. Pope)
   International Discussion Conference, Denmark, (R. C. Miller and J. Allen)

Direct correspondence was arranged with members of the Czecho-Slovakian Movement and Miss Govin sent regular reports of life among Indian Students,
Reconciliation in central Europe. College magazines show evidence of frequent study circles and addresses on the subject of race relationships; and the visits of distinguished student leaders from East and West helped to promote a more intimate appreciation of world affairs.

In January 1921, the New Zealand Movement was constituted as an independent member of the W.S.C.F. Acting in conjunction with a Convention which was being held simultaneously in Australia, the delegates at Te Kuiti resolved "that the Student Christian Movement become independent," and then proceeded to adopt a constitution in keeping with its new functions. While the primary aim is grounded on foundations laid by the pioneers of Woodstock and Ycaslaki Hall, there are also unmistakable signs of the desire to present the Christian faith on a basis for constructive action - "challenging students to devote the whole of life to the service of the Kingdom of God by the application of Christian principles to the practice of their profession." 

6. Vide infra Chap.IV for extension of this interest under Donald Grant.
7. Bishop Aswath of Dornakal and Dr. Suvandra K. Dasgupta visited New Zealand in 1921. Another notable visitor during this year was G.E. Harvey, who was engaged on a world tour for the W.S.C.F. The Rev. A.C. Bowick of Guicsta, and the Very Rev. A.A. Barrow, Dean of Bristol, visited New Zealand on behalf of the Federation in 1925.
8. New Zealand was officially represented by J.W.P. McKinnon, who was to become acting General Secretary for six months in 1925.
9. Minutes of the first Convention of the S.E.S.C.F.
5.1, 21
or business and to all problems of individual and social, national and international life. 10 We look in vain for a revived Student Volunteer Movement, which is superseded in favour of a Foreign Service Representative. More was to be heard of this in coming years. Dr. E.L. Pettit 11 may have lacked a large measure of support from present students but his was no voice crying in the wilderness. Criticism arose from a minority group of strict "fundamentalists," who were dissatisfied with the modernist attitude to the Bible and to foreign missions in particular. 12 There can be little doubt that the Movement had transferred much of its initial enthusiasm for overseas evangelism to the more attractive and less exacting interest in what might be termed "world community." 13 Whereas there had previously existed a strong organization for the recruiting of missionary volunteers, the first Convention of the N.Z.S.C.M. was content to leave the issue - except for the above mentioned

11. Member of the Nelson College Christian Union, 1899 - 1903; Otage University C.U. 1904, Vice-President 1906; medical missionary in India, 1910-15; Chairman of Marton Conference, 1917; undertook special work in organizing the finances of the Movement during 1918 in order to enable it to carry out the Greater Service Scheme adopted at the Marton Conference, which committed the Movement to the support of Miss Devin in Calcutta. The Movement had a budget of less than five hundred pounds in 1913; this rose to nineteen hundred pounds in 1919. Dr. Pettit was directly responsible for most of the financial advance during this period.
12. Vide J.C. Miller, LL.B., historical sketch in New Zealand Inter-Varsity Papers, No. 2. A.H. and A.W., 1941.
13. "The pioneering phase in modern Christian Missions is passing and the engineering phase of development is approaching . . . . . ." (Extract from the report of the Commission on Foreign Missions, appointed by Convention in January, 1925.)
appointment of a Foreign Service Representative — as a matter of purely personal concern: "The movement challenges
every student to recognise the urgent need of the whole
need for Christ, without limit of race or nation, and to
consider his own responsibility in regard to the evangelisation
of the world in this generation." 15

One should not criticise the Movement too harshly for
what was, after all, merely a symptom of the general malaise
which was sapping the energy of the Church during this con-
fused post-war period. Many students regarded the churches
as outdated and ineffective in a rapidly changing society;
they turned more willingly to an organisation which catered
especially for their needs. Here again we must note the
effects of the first Great War. The churches had not
provided that authoritative lead which was expected of them,
and many people thought that they had failed in their trust.
There was a reaction from religious institutions. Students
looked to the E.C.R. as a free communal body with widening
horizons. Miss Doris Gavin in India, and the frequent
excursus of New Zealand students to Federation conferences in
Europe and Asia, served to remind the Movement of its place
in a world partnership. Four secretaries were now engaged
in full-time work among secondary schools, University
Colleges and Teachers’ Training Colleges. A headquarters
secretary was appointed in 1921 to co-ordinate the Movement’s
activities and to maintain liaison with the E.C.R. 15

Under this larger secretariat the E.C.R. became strongly establish-
ed in the five years after Te Kuiti, and the advent of
Donald Grant in 1926 seemed to herald a period of even
greater expansion.

14. This course was also adopted by the Australian Movement
at its Convention (A.Z.S.C.M. Dominion Executive Cor-
respondence, 10.2.21)
15. Aims and Objects of the A.Z.S.C.M.
16. Vide annual report of Dominion Executive to the
   General Committee, January, 1922.
The post-war decade presents a rather remarkable story of development in the Student Movement. Unlike the preparatory period that we have just considered, there is a certain continuity, an increasing purpose, in the growth of the Movement after it attained independent status in 1921. One might describe these years as the spring season in the Movement's life, a time of transition which follows the dark winter of war.

Among the branches which shot forth in this formative season were the Auxiliary and the secondary schools department. The former began at the Geraldine Conference, where more than sixty past members of the Movement decided to combine "in some loose form of confederation" which would foster and conserve the faith and idealism of student days. At Te Kuiti in the following year provision was made for such an Auxiliary, with representatives in the four main centres. Subsequent history has proved the value of this informal fellowship, which now provides the bulk of the Movement's finances, holds annual conferences for past students, and serves the ecumenical movement among the churches.

Secondary schools have come within the Movement's scope over since W.H. Aitken was Travelling Secretary for Australasia. Though schoolgirls' camps and regular study circles had been held since 1912, it was not until January, 1921, that a special secretary was appointed to supervise this department of the Movement's activities.

17. The formation of an Auxiliary was discussed by the Christchurch Co-operating Committee in 1916, and three years later a motion was passed in favour of establishing it as soon as possible. (Minutes of the N.Z. Co-operating Committee of the A.R.O.J., 1.1.16, 4.1.16, 14.1.19)
18. The Outlook, 15.3.20
19. Minutes of the Te Kuiti Convention, 5.1.21.
20. Vide supra p.16.
There can be little doubt that the strength of the women students' contribution to the S.C.M. is attributable to the preparatory work done by the branches in girls' schools, and it is equally significant that the Movement has never succeeded in establishing a secure foothold in boys' schools. 21 This weakness on the men's side may be traced back in part to Teachers' Training College branches, where women are always in a large majority. Consequently the schools are fed with a reasonably high proportion of women who are both willing and suitably equipped to form branches, while boys' schools suffer from an unrelieved dearth of leadership. 22 In almost all cases school branches have provided the leaders and secretaries on the women's side at University; how much more effective would the Movement's witness have been if there had been equal initiative in secondary schools for boys.

After 1923 there was considerable discussion on the question of the ascension of Training Colleges from the parent University College branches. It was maintained that the peculiar problems of Training College students, and their comparative immaturity, together with the minor inconvenience of finding suitable times and places for joint meetings, were sufficient reasons for establishing separate Unions. In opposition to this view it was held that the weak state of Training College branches made it essential for them to continue in the closest co-operation with University Unions. No binding decision was made, as delegates considered that a rigid policy for the Movement

21. For many details of schools' work in the Movement at this time the writer is indebted to Mrs. I. Fraser (nee Miss Alexa Stewart) and Miss Alison Burns of Christchurch
22. Cf. figures for school branches in the report of Executive to General Committee, 25, 5, 23 Out of sixteen school in which permanent S.C.M. work was done, no less than twelve were for girls alone.
would only hamper development in the future. Auckland had chosen independence in 1923, and its organisation functioned so effectively that the other three Training Colleges followed suit two years later. 23

It would be well now to review the general structure of the Movement's administration during this period. Under the new constitution which was adopted at Te Kuiti, the General Committee was given plenary powers in matters of policy, and its decisions were to be implemented by a Dominion Executive meeting throughout the year. 24 A resident headquarters secretary was appointed to the Christchurch office, 25 while the travelling work was shared between Miss Elsie Graham (Schools and Auxiliary), Miss Agnes Moncrieff (University) and Howard Mackie. In the past it had been virtually impossible for travelling secretaries to deal adequately with the business which accumulated at headquarters; consequently the Movement had lacked co-ordination and efficiency at the centre. The problem proved insoluble until both a General Secretary and an Office Secretary were appointed in 1925. Until that time the business organisation of the S.C.M. was muddled and incoherent. Travelling secretaries were obliged to take turns in supervising the office work, and it was as much as they could do to cope with routine requirements. The Dominion Executive comprised a small committee of ex-students who were admirably suited to the general direction of affairs, but they could hardly be expected to fulfil all

23 Vide minutes of General Committee, 27.12.23, for a report of discussion by college delegates. Also minutes of August, 1925.
24 These were four District Councils, one in each of the University centres, to co-ordinate the work of Auxiliaries, Schools and Colleges, and to co-operate with the national Executive.
25 Communication from Mrs. R.S. Watson (nee Miss Evangeline Homes) who was the Movement's first headquarters secretary in 1921.
all the functions of an office secretary. 26

When the New Zealand movement was formed it was decided to discontinue taking the "Intercollegian" which students regarded as of little value to local branches. A further resolution provided for the publication of a periodical "setting forth the activities of the N.Z.C.C. to keep the various branches of the Movement better in touch with one another." 27 Under the title of the "News Sheet," this paper appeared in October 1922, and continued to be published monthly during the academic year until its demise in 1925. A terminal journal for schools called "The Torch" had been produced at some loss to the Movement since 1916, but in 1921, the Dominion Executive decided to discontinue it in favour of including school news in the "News Sheet." As a bulletin which was intended to serve as a link between branches, it served to tide over the transition period of uncertainty, and its substitution by the journal "Open Windows" in 1927 was symptomatic of increasing vigour within the Movement generally. 28

The publication of study books was developed systematically during this period, and this was a prelude to even greater expansion of literary resources in the late twenties. 29 Most of the books were assigned to stimulate discussion on current questions of politics, economics, and international affairs. It would be wrong to infer that

26. During the pioneering stage of the Movement, when it formed part of the A.I.C.C., Miss I. Walker of Christchurch was responsible for maintaining with branches and with the Australian headquarters.

27. Limits of Ashburton Convention, 1912.

28. The "News Sheet" ran into sixteen pages, which were almost invariably filled with short paragraphs of news. "Open Windows," as its title suggests, was designed to serve as an outlet for student opinion.

29. Vide annual budgets of the Movement for this period, as an index of rising expenditure on literature.
there was a consequent neglect of missionary and Bible studies, simply because these do not figure so prominently in the expenditure columns of successive budgets. The most satisfying explanation is to be found in the fact that such subjects are more dependent upon personal leadership than on the guidance of study books. This view is sustained by the evidence of regular College notes in the "News-Sheet" where centres are shown to be maintaining a sound balance of topical and inspirational activities. The missionary aspect was by no means forgotten after Te Kuiti, even though a Volunteer Movement had ceased to function; for the General Committee was now responsible, and it approached the question in a rather different spirit from that which obtained in pre-war days. Then it was customary to regard the S.Y.M.U. as a channel of supply for missionary agencies; now the whole Movement felt, rightly or wrongly, that its responsibilities extended over the entire gamut of Christian civilisation.

It was not enough to send out preaching missionaries to the Eastern races. Christian Unions must "develop an all-round interest" because "China, Japan and India do not want people to evangelise them --

For a contrary opinion vide W.H. Pettit, Experiences in Christian Work among New Zealand Students, an address published in New Zealand Inter-Varsity Papers No. 2 by the Inter-Varsity Fellowship of Evangelical Unions (N.Z), A.R. and A.W. Reed, Wellington, circa 1941. In describing the Temuka Conference (December, 1925) when the Foreign Missions report was finally adopted, he says: "If we were to turn aside to some self-appointed task of internationalism and social betterment, it would be at our peril. This protest, however, fell on deaf ears, and was immediately followed by a declaration that the new viewpoint in regard to foreign missions did not indicate any vital change, but was only a new way of presenting the old message. The enthusiastic applause which greeted this statement showed that the Conference stood practically unanimously for the modern view of the missionary enterprise which the report so definitely presented. It had now become clear that no effective evangelical witness was possible in student circles through the S.C.M.° (pp. 27, 28)
they want Christian doctors, teachers, engineers, diplomats, civil servants —— " 31 A clear manifestation of this outlook is seen in the resolution passed by General Committee in September, 1926, requesting the Senate to seek facilities whereby graduates of the New Zealand University might be eligible to enter the Civil Services of Crown Colonies and the other Dominions.

Students believed that the study of social evils was apt to be sterile unless it were fertilised by the practical application of Christian principles. Thus we find that the Auckland branch conducted a Dock Street Mission in the poorest quarter of the city, and Victoria College formed a Social Service Club at the Porirua Asylum — Canterbury, which had started so suspiciously with its Gordon Hall venture, was less successful in visitation work at Eydenham. 32 All these efforts were comparatively insignificant when contrasted with other welfare work; their real value lies in their effect on the students, whose ideals of social service were strengthened as they became embodied in action.

This attitude was far from typical of most students in "the roaring twenties." After the initial rehabilitation phase there was a period of bewilderment and frustration, when the props of society seemed to be undermined by unseen forces of destruction. One young contemporary wrote that "in the confusion of a post-war generation, we have lost what more than anything else is essential to our significance as a generation, the sense of any Divine Providence overarching our lives, the belief in any meaning or direction in human affairs. This is — a very deep conviction, and a conviction that has resulted in a gaping spiritual void." 33 Others, among whom were probably a majority of S.C.F. members,

took a more optimistic view of the contemporary situation. They believed that by constant criticism it would be possible for nations to adopt "honourable" and generous economic policies; moreover, they were convinced that "the complex field of modern commerce and industry can be moralized for the individual who works in it." 34

If this was a time of confusion, it was also a period of preparation and adaptation. These were evening years for the Movement, and critical for its future development. Perhaps the most revealing illustration of changing trends is to be found in the incipient unrest within the strict fundamentalist school, which was opposed to the prominence given to questions of "life and work" and modernist theology. 35 It has already been noted that the Movement's pioneers were staunch Evangelicals whose primary aim was to draw students together in a missionary fellowship. In course of time a cleavage had developed between the conservatives, who wanted to arrest the drift towards inter-denominational co-operation and liberal theology, and the progressives, who believed that in a "broad-bottomed" administration: New Zealand, for reasons which are outlined in the introduction to this study, was more tolerant of theological differences than the Mother country. Echoes of the Cambridge controversy, which had split the British Movement in 1910, took at least ten years to reach the Antipodes, and it was not until 1930 that the Inter-Varsity Fellowship of Evangelical Unions became established in the University of New Zealand. 36

34. Alfred E. Zimmermann, art. International Relations and Economic Policy, in "The Student Movement" Vol. XXII No. 5; February 1920, London. This view is endorsed in the pages of "News Sheet," and also in the studies pursued by branches.


36. Vide infra Chap. IV
Such disension within a Movement pledged to the cause of Christian unity was indeed a tragic paradox. It is not enough for us to dismiss the question as a particular manifestation of conflicting trends within the Protestant churches; for the differences which separated Liberal and Evangelical were basic in the Movement's life at this time, and they provide a key to much of its subsequent history. By 1924 it was becoming clear that there was no room for compromise; either the Movement must declare itself as a conservative body whose main tenets were belief in the literal inspiration of the Bible, the penal view of the Atonement, and the imminent return of Jesus Christ to judge the world; or affirm that its historic purpose has been to unite students of varying theological traditions in a spirit of broad comprehension.

In January, 1925, the Cambridge Conference decided that a Commission should be appointed to consider the problems in the Colleges in regard to personal religion. Unions and Auxiliary branches were requested to send information to the College District Council, and a full report of findings was presented at the August meeting of General Committee. The report was divided into three main sections; in the first, it sought to assess the impact of the C.U. on students, the Church, and the community; secondly, to evaluate the Christian Union as a University society; and finally to reach some general conclusions as to the state of religion among students. Each section was presented as a synopsis of replies from the centres, interspersed with critical comments. Throughout the report we can detect a spirit of dissatisfaction with the condition of the Movement, which seemed to be degenerating into complacency and inertia. But amidst all this pungent criticism of aims, methods and personnel there is a confident note of realistic hope and faith in the Movement as an outpost of the Church. Recognising that the separation of the educational system
into "two almost water-tight compartments — secular (Day School) and religious (Sunday School) — has worked against the existence of a definite religious life in the case of most students." 37 The Commission recommended that graduate students should make an earnest study of religious education. It also advised the energetic promotion of evangelism through the media of popular addresses, discussions, debates, and pertinent literature. Bible study was given close attention as it was thought that the Movement was particularly vulnerable in this respect. While the report was scathing in its condemnation of administrative weaknesses among College branches, it also warned them against becoming "organisations rather than influences." 37

Probably the most valuable part of this report is its final section which deals with the state of religion generally among students. "The students of today were born and have been brought up in a period of constant prosperity; have passed the war years in the upper standards of the primary schools, seeing probably only the glory of battle and hardly any of its evils; and have passed their adolescence in the post-war period, a period of youth very impressionable to social influences." 37 Students were deeply affected by the insecurity, suffering, and uncertainty of human life. Christian phraseology needed revision if the Gospel message were to strike home. The general background of College life, referred to in the Reichel-Tate Royal Commission 38 of that year, seemed to militate against reflection and prayer; for in such an atmosphere of pressure the mystical and contemplative aspect of religion was likely to be swept aside in favour of a mere code of morals.

38. This Royal Commission on University education was careful to stress the difficult conditions of "colonial" academic life, and its findings seem to have been closely followed by the S.C.M. Commission on Personal Religion.
Once the Commission's report had been adopted by
General Committee, it was only a question of time before
the fundamentalist party seceded from the Movement. The
die was now cast; after years of indecision, it was clear
that the S.C.M. would adhere to its original policy of
serving the ecumenical movement. We shall see how the late
twenties were to witness unprecedented activity within the
Movement, which began to claim the attention of increasing
numbers of students. For the Cambridge Conference had
decided that the S.C.M. required a thorough overhaul if it
were to cope with the changing demands of University life,
and to this end it appointed Commissions to investigate
national organisation, work in secondary schools and mission-
ary activities. The detailed findings of these groups need
not detain us here; for the substance of their advice is
realised in the Movement's development.

Gordon Troup, who was an active leader in the early
twenties, has written that the S.C.M. membership of seven
hundred did not increase proportionately to the growth of
the University, which numbered nearly four thousand students
in 1925. The Movement was vigorous in many respects, but it
was not "adequately assimilated within the whole student
body."

The visit of Charles D. Hurrey to New Zealand, in May,
1924, like that of Ruth House in 1908, resulted in a search-
ing diagnosis of the Movement's condition, together with a
radical prescription for national reorganisation. This was
readily accepted by General Committee in August. On the
retirement of the two women secretaries and H.J. Mackie in
1925 it was proposed that part-time secretaries, preferably
men, should be appointed to each of the University centres;
one woman travelling secretary to visit schools and

Colleges; and a new officer, created on the recommendation of Mr. Hurley, to be General Secretary at a salary of four hundred pounds per annum. An office and typist were to be maintained at the headquarters of the Movement, which had been in Christchurch since the days of the Co-operating Committee. This policy aimed at consolidating the Movement’s work in a transitional period, when it was essential for branches to have leadership and co-ordination.

Lack of continuity in the Movement’s leadership had been responsible for a weakness in strategy, and a failure to plan ahead. Democratic control by a General Committee of students may be ideal in many ways, especially in the sensitive field of College affairs, but it cannot provide the stability and clear direction of a permanent executive. A General Secretary would bridge the gap between present and future generations. He would be thinking ahead, feeding the travelling secretaries, informing, inspiring, co-ordinating their efforts, and preparing by correspondence the centres they are about to visit. By correspondence and reading of the literature of other Movements, he would bring the N.Z.C.F. into closer contact with New Zealand Students. Moreover, he would lay down and keep in constant repair lines of communication between headquarters and

41. This amount was eventually increased to five hundred pounds through the offer of a hundred pounds from a friend of the Movement in Hawke’s Bay.

42. It may be of some interest to note a statement made by Professor G.W. Von Zeiditz, a former member of the New Zealand University Senate. His words are useful by way of comparison. “The administration of the University is absolutely unique, because not only do laymen make up nearly the whole of the governing bodies of the four university colleges, but they are also in the majority on the Senate, which handles the purely academic side of University affairs.”
(The New Zealand Listener, Vol. XV, No. 389, December 6, 1940.)
branches. By articles and addresses, by representing the
Movement on public bodies, he could make the ideals of the
Federation better known and understood by the general
public. As the editor of a student Christian journal he
would also have the responsibility of laying the foundations
of a literature department and book-room.

It was decided to select the new General Secretary from
Great Britain, and Gordon Troup, a post-graduate student at
Poitiers University was asked to make the choice. After
prolonged negotiations, involving visits to London and
Glasgow, he succeeded in engaging Donald Grant, M.A. who
had proved his worth as an organiser of student relief in
eastern Europe. He was Scottish Secretary for the S.C.I.
from 1915 to 1918. In 1919 he worked with a unit of the
Society of Friends, rebuilding homes in the devastated
areas of France. Then in 1920 he went to Austria as W.S.C.F.
and E.S.R. secretary, spent three years there, and put
Student Relief and the Student Christian Movement on a
soundly organised and self-supporting basis. The University
of Innsbruck gave him an honorary degree in recognition
of his E.S.R. work. Miss House and M. Henri Louis-Reauid,
General Secretary of the W.S.C.F. commended him to the
New Zealand Movement in terms of the highest praise.

43. Minutes of Dominion Executive, 11.3.25
44. Personal letters written by Mr. Troup from Poitiers and
England have thrown much light on the state of the Move-
ment at this time. It was possible for him to review its
activities in broad perspective, with the additional
advantage of being able to draw comparisons with older
and larger Movements. Swinwick Conference, itself "a
racial salad," showed him the wealth of secretarial
talent to be found in the British S.C.I. In his ultimate
choice of Donald Grant we can see the workings of all
these influences, which inspired him to dream of New
Zealand as "a Rock's Art of culture in the Pacific."
45. For further biographical details of Donald Grant vide p.
693, Appendix I, T. Tatlow, op. cit.
46. The Rev. W.H.F. McKenzie M.A. editorial article in
"News Sheet," 31.4.25.
Under Grant's capable leadership the S.C.M. was raised to a high level of influence in the student world. His rich fund of experience and varied European contacts served to stimulate the Movement with a new vision of service and fellowship. In his person he combined so many qualities of leadership that the title "secretary" would appear to be something of a "mismomer." Rather did he come as a chaplain to the whole student field, a chaplain who was also a layman.

"When the students of a college ask for a secretary to visit them they are not thinking of somebody to come and organise something for them, somebody who works in terms of typewriters and agendas, but somebody who will help them to see further into the meaning of the world, who will help to enrich their thought of God as revealed in Jesus Christ, an who will inspire them to seek the attainment of new standard of devotion, discipline and duty." 47

It is in answer to such a call that Donald Grant and his wife came to New Zealand from Geneva in December, 1925. To an amazing degree the history of the Movement during the next four years is embodied in the person of its General Secretary, who was to inspire a veritable renaissance among young students. Arriving at a time when the fortunes of College branches were at an extremely low ebb, when the body was threatened with impending suicide, he breathed fresh confidence and resolution into jaded spirits.

CHAPTER IV

We now pass from a post-war period of inevitable confusion and readjustment, to what might be termed the Indian Summer of liberalism. The Movement's prestige stood very high among students generally in the years from 1926 to 1929, and under the powerful leadership of Donald Grant it was drawn together into a fellowship that remains unique in its half-century of development. A distinct tradition of international consciousness and social service was built up in the late twenties; there was little room for the study of theology when students were so preoccupied with proving the Christian faith in action.

Our attention has turned from an era of preparation and transition, a time when it was difficult to trace the blurred outlines of a body whose form was still in the process of development. Now there is a clarity of character which stamps the Movement's nature in this chapter of its life. Here we have the spotlight of criticism directed more clearly than ever before. The genius of the Movement, its raison d'être, are laid bare to the searching gaze of men. Dogmatic theologians of all schools unite in condemnation of this liberal period of diluted theology and friendly scepticism.1 Yet large numbers of contemporary students rally to its defence.2 When before they ask, has the Movement been such a force for propagating the principles of Jesus in College life? The Christian ethic endures through the ages; it is at once static and dynamic. Theology, on the other hand, is but the changing garb of missionaries as they journey down the dusty road of

1. The Rev. G.M. McKenzie B.A., Chairman from 1929 to 1931, refers to persistent attempts "to put theology in its central place" among studies at annual Conferences.
2. Articles in "Open Windows" for this period.
the centuries.... So we must leave these rival schools and form our own judgment by a closer investigation of the events and trends of thought which lie behind the scenes.

When Donald Grant arrived at the end of 1925 he brought a mind-trained in matters of administration and policy. It soon became apparent that the elimination of incompetence and mediocrity was the first objective of this Scottish reformer. It has been remarked in previous chapters how the Movement had been handicapped by frequent staff changes and inadequate attention to business at headquarters. Dilatory methods and outmoded techniques were swept away when Grant began his campaign of expansion.3 Professor J.B. Condiff became Chairman of the Movement in January, 1926, in response to a request from the General Secretary. A new journal called "Open Windows" appeared in March of that year,4 and its pages reflected the initiative of students and staff alike which was stirring throughout the S.C.M.

The outside world was by no means forgotten, as can be seen in an increasing volume of correspondence with public and kindred organisations, generous Press publicity, and

3. Communication from Miss Alison Burns, Christchurch, an Executive officer at the time.

4. Minutes of Dominion Executive, 3.2.26. The "News Sheet" had been produced at a loss for the last two years, and it was thought that its restricted scope prevented it from expressing student opinion. Accordingly a new organ called "Open Windows" was begun under Donald Grant as chairman of an editorial committee in Christchurch. Besides attempting to mould student thought in favour of the Christian ethic, it served as an effective vehicle of College opinion. There was a constant flow of articles from students and staff, some of the most prominent contributors being Gordon Treap, W.T.G. Airey, H. Belshaw, Eleanor Sewell and C.N. Burton.
frequent secretarial addresses to interested groups.

A strong impetus to this extension was given by the third visit of John R. Mott in April, 1926. Now a veteran of the Movement that he had served so faithfully, Mott came on a tour of the eastern Pacific basin, and he laid special emphasis upon his meetings with staff and students. The Dominion Executive saw the occasion as an opportunity to extend the range of the Movement beyond academic walls. In each of the four centres there was a public meeting in the largest hall available, a luncheon where business and public men could meet with and hear Dr. Mott, and also a meeting for all the clergy of the city. Since the main purpose of Mott's visit was to stir up missionary enthusiasm, it was natural that his three weeks' tour should centre around an interdenominational Missionary Conference in Dunedin, where over two hundred delegates assembled to share their experiences in planning for the future.

As one reads Mott's challenging addresses to that Conference, and compares them with those which he delivered to the Student Conference in May, 1903, it is impossible to ignore the vast changes which had been wrought in society during the last two decades. Mott now spoke of "a plastic world ... a time of great break-up," when "the rising and

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5. There was much closer co-operation with the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. during these years, especially in the sharing of methods in youth work. Among outside bodies, Grant concentrated on the League of Nations Union and the Rotary Club, but there is evidence of his having addressed many other groups.

6. Letter of Dr. Mott to A. Verney, his organiser in New Zealand written from Sydney before leaving for Auckland. He stressed the importance of giving first priority to his time with staff and students, as the aim of his tour was to revive the Student Volunteer Movement in home bases, and to co-ordinate missionary work in the field.

7. He hoped that half the delegates would be students, but this proved quite impracticable. Eventually 29 S.C.M. delegates attended, from a total roll of 206.

...and surging tides of courageous and forward-looking thought
and of social passion, especially in the minds and hearts of
a new generation, afford an added advantage to a movement
centring in the Divine Personality and teaching of Jesus
Christ."

In the light of his recent contacts with the youth in
all parts of the world, he had come to the conclusion that
"in some respects they constitute possibly the most alert
intellectually the world has ever known. On every continent
of the world there have sprung up in very recent years gen-
une youth movements. Some of them are highly organised and
widely extended; others are less formal and audible, but
nevertheless they are making their influence felt. They have
widely differing aspects - political, social, economic,
ethical, religious. Generally speaking, they are protests
against much in the past and in the present. They are
characterised by restlessness of mind causing the youth to
question, to criticise, and to re-value everything. A most
hopeful characteristic of most of these movements is their
responsiveness to the note of reality wherever they find it.
The prevailing social interest and concern in so many of
these movements affords a rare opportunity to reveal Christian
ity—at its best as the great, unique, social dynamic. With-
out doubt, we of the Christian Movement have a greater
opportunity than ever if we do not stand aside and view
these manifestations of youthful interest as mere spectators
and critics, but rather get into the middle of the remarkable
stream and do all in our power to guide it."

So this architect of missionary endeavour led his

Zealand Missionary Conference. New Zealand Miss. Conf. Comm-
ittee, Dunedin, 1926. (All the extracts quoted are from
Mott's first address entitled "The Present Advantageous
Position of the World-wide Christian Movement.")
healers through a masterly survey of the world situation. He showed how New Zealand, on the very frontiers of civilization could not hope to pursue a policy of neutrality in such an environment of upheaval and uncertainty. The past twelve years had constituted "an almost infinite process of exclusion, serving to withdraw the gaze of confidence of mankind from one after another of the pillars of nations and of society. One by one the supports of our modern civiliza-
tion have broken and fallen in pieces before our eyes. Some of the longest established traditions and social sanctions, which for centuries had governed the actions and relationships of whole peoples, have relaxed their grip and no adequate substitutes have been supplied. Never has there been such a chance to put the Christian movement in its proper central place in the thinking, planning and relationships of men. Over against all the failure, disappointment, unrest and questioning up and down the wide world, we see the cause of Christ as a vast, world-wide peacable, constructive, vitalizing force." 9

Against this background we must consider the New Zea-
land Movement in 1926. Minute though the scene and its players may appear when set upon such a vast stage, they are still part of the drama, and help us to appreciate the full meaning of the plot. So, as the curtain is rung down on "Dunedin 1926," we may follow the twenty-nine student delegates back to their Colleges, and note how the stimulus of that Conference was to influence the Movement in its major activities. 10

tee, Dunedin 1926. (All the extracts quoted are from Mott's first address entitled "The Present Advantageous Position of the World-wide Christian Movement.")

10. A select conference of approximately 50 student leaders was held at Waikanae from May 3rd to 5th, just before Mott left the country. (Conversation with the Rev. D. Calder, chairman of the National committee which prepared for the visit.)
It is significant that the study book for Temuka Conference in January 1926, was entitled "Racial Relations," and also that the Executive decided in June of that year to print fifteen hundred copies of Professor Condliffe's pamphlet on Pacific questions, "The Third Mediterranean in History." The General Secretary reported that while many students had received much help and inspiration from Dr. Mott's visit, many were disappointed and dissatisfied. It was considered most necessary that the visit should be carefully followed up in the Colleges by study, reading, addresses and at summer conferences. A letter to this effect was sent to the Unions, and it was suggested that the time was opportune for a survey of the S.C.M.'s position in the Colleges.

Among those who expected a sudden evangelical revival were Dr. Pettit of Auckland and Mr. Greer Brown of Dunedin. On Dr. Mott's arrival in New Zealand they presented him with a statement which contained the following passages:

"We feel that the Movement in this country stands at a crisis in its history. Unless your visit results in a real spiritual awakening, I believe that God will set the Movement aside and raise up men and women outside of it to carry on the Christian message to our University students.

11. Minutes of Dominion Executive 4.6.26. The Conference study book was still in demand six months later - evidence of keen interest among students.

12. It would appear that there was general disappointment over the results of Mott's visit, particularly among senior leaders and former members. They had hoped that the Movement would emerge free from all its present troubles; but surely the experience of 1923 had shown that a conference is only the beginning of a forward movement.

13. Address delivered by Dr. Pettit to the first I.W.F. Conference, held at Wellington in 1926."
"In the recent report of the commission on personal religion the fact was noted that the Movement was failing to present Jesus Christ as Saviour and did not understand the meaning of the Atonement. Perhaps it might have been truer to state that a large number of those within the Movement had no experience of Jesus Christ as Saviour and denied the necessity of the Atonement.

"We are anxious to meet you because we feel that from your wide experience and intimate knowledge you may be able to enlighten us regarding some of our difficulties. We are very anxious not to withdraw from the Student Movement as long as we can serve God by furthering its work." 14

In addition to this personal appeal, a small group of about a dozen men issued a call to prayer on behalf of the University Colleges, "that God will raise up men and women who are able to conserve the results of Dr. Mott's work; that Dr. Mott's visit may be the beginning of a mighty work of the Spirit of God in our University Colleges." 14 Dr. Pettit visited Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin in April, 1925, and tried "to bring the leaders of the S.O.M. back to the evangelistical emphasis of former days." 14 He was disappointed in Mott's addresses, which appeared to lack a definite Gospel appeal and contained no clear condemnation of ---

14. Quoted by Dr. Pettit in pp. 25, 29 of New Zealand Inter-University Papers, No. 2 (undated)
of the modernistic drift so abhorrent to all fundamentalists.\(^{15}\) After the Solway Conference in 1927 a positive break was made, and the first constitution of a sectarian Student Bible League was adopted by Auckland students on the 15th August 1927. Nothing was known of the overseas Inter-Varsity Fellowship until Dr. Howard Guinness visited New Zealand under its auspices in October, 1930. His visit saw the formation of Evangelical Unions in A.U.C. and Otago, while preparatory work in Wellington and Christchurch resulted in branches being created in those centres three years later.\(^{16}\)

Although this rupture was regretted by all who had the unity of the Movement at heart, it was by no means fatal to future development. For some years, at least until the mid-thirties, the Movement's membership remained

15. "In its early days the S.O.M. was far more evangelical than it is today. Dr. John R. Mott, who devoted his unselfish gifts to the building up of the Movement, was fearless and un-compromising in his witness to the Deity of Christ, His virgin birth, His atoning death, His bodily resurrection, and His second advent. He believed that a Movement confessing and proclaiming the Deity of Christ would attract Christians from every denomination and keep them true to the faith, but the Movement bore no clear witness to the infallibility of the Holy Scriptures, which is the ground of our belief. The result was that the influence of the Higher Criticism and modernism was early felt in that Movement and their conclusions in the main became accepted as its standards." (Statement by Dr. Pettit)

While the Movement was split ultimately on the issue of verbal inspiration, one group holding that belief in the literal inerrancy of the Bible was a primary article of faith, and the other maintaining the inclusive view of general inspiration, it is noteworthy that Mott himself seems to have been strongly affected by the popular trend of liberal theology. To quote one sentence from the opening chapter of a book written about this time: "The great internationalism is the world mission of Christianity." (p. 21, J.R. Mott, The Present-Day Summons to the World Mission of Christianity, Cokesbury Press, Nashville

virtually unaffected by the secession of a minority group whose tenets had always tended to segregate them in College life.\(^\text{17}\) Moreover, the "Grant regime" left little room in its programme for discussions on literal inerrancy or theological doctrine. We can picture Donald Grant as "a full-time Secretary with large experience, a modernist with a keen desire to translate the Christian faith and ethic into practical action. Bible classes and personal piety were not in the forefront of his program; but he succeeded in arousing enthusiasm among a wide circle of leading students, both men and women, who never before would have anything to do with the S.C.M. Moreover he made the Movement a force in the community, raised a large budget and spent it wisely and reflectively."\(^\text{18}\)

Thus wrote a former Chairman of the Movement. Another, and perhaps more discerning judgment, comes from one who was at this time an Auckland undergraduate, and later became General Secretary. While roundly condemning the prevailing mood of vague modernism in theology — "making relatively little of the Church as the Community of Belief, but

17. Vide ibid., for details of the slow growth of Evangelical Unions. Their spirit is well described in the following sentence: "The deeply significant fact about the development of the E.U's in New Zealand, and indeed the world over, is the way in which groups have grown up simultaneously without any knowledge of each other's existence, but simply seeking to promote, for their own part, an evangelical witness in their University or College." (p.7, Rev. J.C.Miller LLB., Historical Sketch of the E.U.F. in New Zealand E.U.F. Papers, No. 2)

18. Professor J.P.Condliffe, letter to the writer from Berkeley, Calif., U.S.A. 26,12,44. He asserts that after 1929 "The movement lapsed again into the routine of private Bible study and prayer meetings and so lost its appeal both to the student body as a whole and to the community." It should be recalled however, that Prof. Condliffe left New Zealand early in 1927 to join the Institute of Pacific Relations in Hawaii, and so his evidence must be regarded as second-hand.
tremendously seized with the vision of world brotherhood and with the inspiration of the example and the way of Jesus as the means of getting it." 19 - he is careful to add that the S.C.M. of that period did his student generation an inestimable service. It formed and sustained a vital social conscience, expressed through movements for international reconciliation, pacifism, and prohibition. Finally, "it was that wholesome concern for persons which was the healthy emphasis of the S.C.M. in that period." 19

More than any other leader in the Movement's history, Grant served to nurture a spirit of sacrificial fellowship among students whose parents were mostly prosperous. 20 There can be little doubt that he also weakened its already tottering theological position, while remaining true to the letter of the Aims and Objects. 21 Both these facts should


20. The following passage is typical of Grant's message to the Movement, "Let us work with all our power for our examinations, degrees, future position and the fulfilment of our hopes; let us also widen our horizons so that China, India, Europe, America, "come alive" for us; let us read newspapers, periodicals, books, that we may have knowledge; let us sympathise with, share in, Youth Movements, national aspirations, racial ideals, international reconciliations. By these means and by degrees we shall learn to live as citizens of the world, called to make the way of Life of Jesus normative for the relations between peoples and nations as between individuals..." (Donald Grant, Open Windows, Vol.IV.No.1, April, 1930.

21. The Aims and Objects are in harmony with the historic Christian creeds, but their stress is ecumenical rather than evangelical. The responsibility to evangelise rests upon individual members, as can be seen in the Movement's attitude to foreign missions after 1920. There is no doubt that the challenge is implicit; many members would prefer it to be explicit. Certainly the Movement's history since the first World War has been marked by increasing neglect of missionary obligations.
be borne in mind when one is considering this much-criticised liberal period. Later years may have witnessed a revival of interest in theology, but students were not nearly so altruistic about getting into the rough and tumble of social obligations. If only Karl Barth or Reinhold Niebuhr had been writing ten years earlier, the story might have been very different.

Under Donald Grant the student Movement began to tread the road of inter-national understanding. General Committee meetings of the W.S.C.F. were attended by New Zealanders throughout this period, and a delegation of three was sent to the Far Eastern Conference of the Federation in Tokyo during 1927. At the Tsukuba Conference in 1926 it had been decided to approach the Rockefeller Institute in the hope of facilitating the interchange of students between China, Japan or India and New Zealand. This was followed a year later by a proposal that the Movement should institute a fellowship for a foreign student. A group of Wellington members were keen to introduce an Asiatic subject, but after a discussion with Sir Apirana Ngata they considered it desirable to have a Samoan student. It was felt that the foreign secretary supported by the Movement in distant Calcutta was severed from the interests of present members and some personal contact was required. The matter was again raised at General Committee in 1929, when a delegate suggested that New Zealand might support a Samoan medical student by bringing him to Otago University and returning him to his people after a training which was denied to coloured races in South Africa. In December the representatives were appointed to sit on a joint committee of 22. Reports of the W.S.C.F., Geneva; letter from T.K. Haslett to J.E. Brett, Tokyo, 5.5.27; also minutes of Dominion Executive 25.12.26.
24. Minutes of General Committee, 27.5.27.
25. Minutes of General Committee, 4.1.29.
investigation, comprising the International Student Service, the National Union of Students, and the N.Z.S.G.M. After negotiations with Max Yergan, General Secretary of the South African Movement, a Bantu student arrived at Knox College in 1931.

An event which deeply affected the Movement’s outlook at this time was the World Missionary Conference at Jerusalem. This great ecumenical gathering succeeded “Edinburgh, 1910,” in much the same way as the Dunedin Conference had succeeded Christchurch. “On the ridge of the Mount of Olives,” wrote its historian, “men and women of fifty nations, chosen from the leadership of the Christian community in every continent under heaven, came together through Passiontide 1929.”

Though the Movement was not directly represented at this Conference, the mere fact that its Chairman was Dr. Mott served to link New Zealand students with its deliberations. In the same year there appeared a small book entitled “New Zealand a Nation,” by Willis T.G. Airey, who had been an ardent disciple of Grant’s internationalism in his undergraduate days at Auckland. This short work is an accurate reflection of the spirit which prevailed in the late twenties when Airey, Goad, and Troup were leaders in the movement for cultural maturity. “As a community,” writes Dr. J.G. Bembridge, “we live on two planes: the national and the international; and nationally, we live in a self-conscious age.” These words epitomise the Student Movement’s outlook in the late twenties, as it stood on the frontier of a changing civilisation.

27. Vide infra Chap. V
It has already been noted that the General Secretary brought with him an intimate knowledge of administrative machinery which he was anxious to apply within a young and expanding movement. A rising income of two thousand pounds called for a search into the foundations as the pre-requisite to drastic reorganisation. So it was decided in 1927 to send out a comprehensive questionnaire to District Councils and former leaders. Upon the solid blocks of data which were thus accumulated the new structure of the Grant regime was firmly established. Inevitably the General Secretary was its keystone, since nearly all the burdens of administration rested on him; and it was therefore equally certain that his departure in February, 1929, would weaken the whole organisation at its centre. For Grant had an attractive power of personality which permeated his work, whether official or otherwise, to such an extent

30. Vide an extensive report of an interview with Donald Grant in the Otago Daily Times, 24.3.26. Besides sketching the administrations under which he had served in western and central Europe, Grant gives a vivid picture of student relief work under S.E.R. (International Student Service had become securely established in New Zealand since 1925 under a Dominion Committee, to which representatives of the N.Z.S.C.M. were appointed by General Committee)

31. Most of the questions were concerned with actual administration, though the schools, missions, literary and canonical aspects were also considered. The enquiry was precipitated by a remit from the Auckland District Council, expressing dissatisfaction with the condition of the Movement. For a comparison with British problems, vide pp. 320 - 323, T. Tatlow, The Story of the Student Christian Movement of Great Britain and Ireland, S.C.M. Press, London, 1939. (Chapter on re-organisation in the twenties.) The Australian situation may be compared in less detail in an essay by Professor D.K. Picken, in Other Men Laboured - Fifty Years with the Australian Student Christian Movement, ed., Margaret Holmes, A.S.C.M. Melbourne, 1956.
that the historian feels compelled to name this period after its General Secretary.

When he left New Zealand to serve as secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in Vienna, Miss Eleanor Sewell M.A. acted as General Secretary of the Movement until the end of the year.\textsuperscript{32} The Ashburton Conference was faced with the prospect of an approaching depression, a reduced budget and an anaemic headquarters organisation.\textsuperscript{33} The General Secretaryship was dispensed with, though Miss Gavin was still supported in India as the sole surviving link with the early twenties.\textsuperscript{34} For two years Ramsey Howie acted as travelling secretary and Miss Alexa Stewart was in charge of headquarters.

This period from 1929 to 1931 seems like a pallid reflection of the vivid years of liberalism which preceded it. In the light of subsequent history this recession would appear providential, for it served to settle the Move

\textsuperscript{32} In 1930 she served with Gordon Troup in the internation secretariat of the W.E.C.F. at Paris.

\textsuperscript{33} A few figures of budgets since 1911 may serve to illustrate the work done by Dr. Pettit (Greater Service Scheme in 1917-18) and Donald Grant. It should be remembered that prior to 1919 New Zealand contributed a proportionate share of secretarial expenses to the Australian Movement, and the burden was inevitably increased when separate officers were engaged.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>$487</td>
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<td>1917</td>
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<td>1919</td>
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<td>1920</td>
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<td>1922</td>
<td>$1994</td>
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<td>1932</td>
<td>$1157</td>
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\textsuperscript{34} There was a tendency for the Movement to neglect the personal challenge of foreign missions so long as a secretary was personifying its corporate obligations. While it is true that the Evangelical criticism of missionary policy was largely justified, one should also note the descending graph of financial support to mission fields throughout the world. Devolution overseas meant that the home Church had less direct interest in the affairs of indigenous churches. Vide The World Mission of Christianity, International Missionary Council, London, 1928. Also the report of the N.Z.S.C.F.Foreign Missions Commission, 1927.
ment on more modest foundations in preparation for the still
darker days which lay ahead. If this be true of organisa-
tion, it is even more applicable to the prevailing mood of
the time. One sees fewer signs of that spontaneous
vitality in local groups which had previously enlivened the
S.G.M. International relations seemed to have lost much
of their challenging relevance since the persuasive voice
of Donald Grant was no longer to be heard. The cold
language of pure theology was still spurned by students in
their wisdom; surely theirs was the task of interpreting
the Christian faith as the way to self-development and
integrated personality.35.

So the Movement had limped onwards, leaving behind
it the liberal epoch of vigorous expansion. Now the road
lay over rougher country which would test the endurance and
reveal objectives. Economic storm-clouds were lowering
on the horizon, and the thunder of totalitarian ideologies
began to rumble across the earth. Christian missions,
including the work of the U.S.C.F., suffered a startling
shrinkage as their financial roots were sapped by the
depression. In the words of a contemporary statement:

"Throughout the world there is a sense of insecurity
and instability. Ancient religions are undergoing mod-
ification, and in some regions dissolution, as scientific
and commercial development alter the current of men's
thought. On all sides doubt is expressed whether there is
any absolute truth or goodness. A new relativism struggles
to enthronè itself in human thought.

"Along with this is found the existence of world-wide
suffering and pain, which expresses itself partly in a
despair of all higher values, partly in a tragically earnes

35. Vida contemporary issues of "Open Windows" for a
confirmation of this view.
quest of a new basis for life and thought, in the birth-
pangs of rising nationalism in the ever-keener consciousness of race- and class - oppression.

"Amid widespread indifference and immersion in material concerns we also find everywhere, now in noble forms and not in licence or extravagance, a great yearning, especially among the youth of the world, for the full and untrammeled expression of personality, for spiritual leadership and authority, for reality in religion, for social justice, for human brotherhood, for international peace." 36

As we look back over that feverish post-war decade which saw the birth of the New Zealand Student Movement, its organic growth until 1929, and its increasing debility in the next few years, there seems to be little continuity of purpose in the rise and fall of events. But as the pattern of the Movement’s development is unfolded before us, we can at least determine the leading strands which determine its texture. There is the many-coloured warp of internationalism, and the unbroken woof of the ecumenical movement. Woven together, they have already proved their durability in the Church’s service.

It is indeed the ecumenical spirit which is destined to play a leading part in the Student Movement during the thirties. Already in this period there had been indications of a more direct approach to the question of co-operation among Christian Youth Organisations, 37 and

in the World Mission of Christianity.

37. In the twenties the N.Z.S.C.M. provided Church youth groups with a considerable amount of literature from its agent Mr. W. Nash, and later from the headquarters bookroom in 769 Colombo St., Christchurch. A former secretary attributes much of the expansion in the Movement's literature department to the initiative of Church youth directors travelling through the country.
the inauguration in 1929 of an annual conference between
the leaders of such bodies was an earnest of increasing
fellowship in later years. Among those within the
Movement who were prominent in this work was Edmund Burton,
M.A., a pacifist who sought to conserve the liberal impulse
to social service while stressing the need for a stronger
church-consciousness. He stands almost alone at this period
as a leader who was convinced that the ethos of Donald
Grant's day required only the infusion of sound theology for
it to regain its former vigour. To the distant observer,
regarding all these scenes in retrospect, such a view would
seem natural and almost inevitable; but it must be remem-
bered that the background of contemporary events, confused,
contradictory and disturbing, was distracting and blurring
the vision of that student generation. Some years were to
pass before the Movement could launch out boldly in its new
role of interpreting theology within the academic world.

There is no deeply significant event to mark the end of
this liberal period, and to usher in the new. Quietly it
slips away "unwept, unhonoured and unsung." Yet in a sense
it is divided from succeeding years as distinctly as the
valley from the hill. For with the dawn of 1931 we find
that the Movement is once more in the ascendant, eager to
shake off the clinging mists which swirl below, and gaining
ecumenical experience with almost every step.

38. Mr. H.A. Tremewan, Chairman of the first Wellington Aux-
iliary in 1920, wrote in reply to the questionnaire on
reorganisation (1927) that the S.C.M. would henceforth be
greatly handicapped numerically because of the growing
strength of the Bible class movement, which had developed
new techniques (in particular with study circles) from
the S.C.M. Further, students would often prefer to join a
group whose members were a cross-section of society,
rather than one which was limited to College life. Mr.
Tremewan wrote as the Bible class organizer for the Baptist Church in New Zealand, and so his opinion was based
on wide experience.

of the Methodist Church.
CHAPTER V

Leaving behind the clouded period of 1930 and 1931, when vague idealism seemed to dim the Movement's vision, we entered upon an era of hard struggle and enduring achievement. These were years of grim reality. A deep social pressure was forcing students into society, confronting them with the dole and the strike, and causing them to study the problems of internal maladjustment rather than international relationships. Thousands of students in Europe and America were condemned to unemployment and a corresponding "disillusionment" which led them "to seek in the fellowship of the masses that vital human warmth which has disappeared from our bourgeois society."  

Young New Zealand, with its small population and relatively immature technical development, was spared the worst effects of this economic plague as it swept across the world. Continental conditions were a true caricature of New Zealand's disease in the troubled early thirties, for they emphasised the harsh background to College life during those years.  

Against such a sombre canvas of distress and despair the Movement played a part of increasing significance and challenge. Gone were the liberal humanisms of the twenties, and the aesthetic hopes of the last two years; now there was a resolute acceptance of the need for a truth to live by, an integrated faith, a willingness to serve and to sacrifice. Church, community and state became the central terms of reference. Some torrid campaigns had to be fought

2. Vida Calla for the observance of the Day of Prayer for students during this period. "We are living in an hour of world-wide suffering and moral and spiritual confusion — our present economic order is in a chaotic condition — the more deeply one investigates the details of the present world political situation, the stronger becomes the impression of a terrifying confusion." (July 3rd, 1932)
3. Issues of "Open Windows" reflect something of this
before theology was restored to its proper place as the
pivot of the Movement's thought; but throughout this period
it was clear that the apologists of the Grant regime were
fighting a losing battle. Just as nationalism was triumph-
ing over Geneva, and international trade agreements were
being replaced by nationalist protective tariffs, so in the
social sphere there was a tendency to contract into small
groups for more effective action. New Zealand was mildly
affected in comparison with the older countries of the north;
yet even here the contemporary trend found expression in
the vigorous growth of councils and societies, leagues and
fellowships within the community. Fear and suspicion were
helping to breed a hedgehog mentality in many quarters.

All these separatist influences were in a sense trans-
formed and purified by the S.C.M., which interpreted the
vogue for sectional organisations as an opportunity build up
the Church as the "ecclesia," the society of Christian men
and women with a mission in the world. This idea dominated
the Movement's policy to an increasing degree after 1931;
it became the rock of unity on which the ecumenical pile
began to rise.

It would be wrong to infer that this growing loyalty
to the Church was largely determined by extraneous forces
impinging on student thought, though it is certain that they
were not without some effect. The mainsprings of the move-
ment must be sought in an earlier period before the depre-
ssion, when a minority group were protesting against the
neglect of Bible study and sound Church doctrine. Gradually
their numbers had swelled since 1926, and as the liberal
party sank into fitful slumber a year or two after Donald
Grant's departure, they found themselves left with scarcely
any opposition. 4 The Rev. G.M. McKenzie had used all his
powers as Chairman of the Executive in support of the
4. Annual reports of College branches, and studies conducted
at Summer Conferences.
orthodox viewpoint, with the heartening result that by 1933 the Movement appeared to be more conscious of its task as servant of the Church than ever before in its history. No was this the climax; for succeeding years were to witness a steady progress towards the still-far-distant denominational ideal. As one considers the whole period from 1931 to 1936 it is remarkable to observe the unbroken continuity of development which appears throughout, linking together the various trends and activities in a single chain.

Bitter experience had taught the Movement several salutary lessons in organisation during the last three decades. Above all, it had shown the necessity for long-range planning and sharing of responsibilities among District Councils. The Feilding Convention meeting in January 1931, decided to adopt an Auckland remit which proposed a five-year plan for the allocation of certain duties to each centre. One District Council would supervise the publication of "Open Windows," another would be responsible for studies and schools, a third Conference, and the fourth would be situated with Headquarters. Provision was made for studies, schools and Conference duties to be shared in rotation, so that the impact of fresh minds might stimulate initiative. Financial stringency during the depression years prevented the appointment of another General Secretary until 1935, with the result that for three years the Movement was forced into a process of partial devolution. When Headquarters was removed to Wellington in January 1932, Miss Jean Archibald took office with a very

5. The new Dominion Executive which controlled Headquarters after the removal to Wellington in January 1932, did much to foster this movement.
6. Minutes of Convention, 1. 1. 31.
7. Vide minutes of General Committee 29.12.30, and 28.12.31 for detailed discussion on this re-organisation.
meagre salary. In many ways she was much more than a business secretary; for she infused a spirit of consecration into every aspect of her work, and kept contact in close touch with one another by means of regular newsletters and flying visits. 8 A straitened budget 9 may have deprived the Movement of the luxury of having an outstanding leader religious thought to co-ordinate all its activities, but it had not sapped the energy of local branches; rather had it pruned them for fresh growth.10

National reorganisation and a recouping of slender resources was accompanied by a complete change in the personnel of Dominion Executive.11 Its new Chairman was the Rev. H.W. Newell M.A., B.D., who came from India and Great Britain with a sound theological equipment, a missionary vocation, and an intimate knowledge of the Student Movement overseas.12 Under his sensitive guidance the ecumenical ideal began slowly to take shape; first through increasing co-operation with other youth groups, and closer relationships with individual churches,13 then by means of

8. The esteem in which she was held by the Movement may be seen in the minute of appreciation which was passed by General Committee on her resignation in December, 1934. (Minutes, 7.1.35) She was succeeded by Miss Nova McLaren, B.A., who remained until July, 1956.
9. Budgets of £1021 in 1933, and £931 in the succeeding year, were the lowest since 1915.
10. No doubt the prevailing economic conditions had encouraged students to accommodate themselves to the new order.
12. The son of a Samson missionary, he had graduated from Cambridge University before undertaking educational missionary work in India. Just as Donald Grant had personified the liberal era, so the present Chairman was typical of the mood in the early thirties. Humility and intellectual ability were his outstanding qualities.
13. Theological colleges were given increasing attention at this time.
the Faith and Order campaign, which stressed the need for a clear definition of theology as a prerequisite to Christian reunion. In Donald Grant's day it was common for members to join the Fellowship of Reconciliation, but now attention was focused on bodies like the Friends of Reunion and the Council of Religious Education. Pacifism and disarmament were still live issues for many students, though here again the change of attitude can be seen in the way that questions of public interest came to be identified with the duties of Church membership. Students wanted to project their faith into the vital problems of society.

As branches became more self-contained under the elastic organisation adopted in 1931, there were repeated demands for the appointment of regional secretaries on the British model. No doubt this was due in part to the expansion of New Zealand Colleges since the Great War, though it must be conceded that the chief reason lay in the specific needs of each centre, and the inability of a depleted headquarter's staff to cope with them. Since finance was required to the extent of some four hundred pounds, even if men were to be appointed on a part-time basis, the scheme had to be shelved until 1937, when an

14. All this work was preparing the ground for later development. Its significance lies in its pioneering character, which prevented much publicity.

15. Vide supra closing pages of Chap. IV.

16. For a well-informed treatment of British regional secretariats, vide pp. 874 – 78, Tatlow op. cit. Conditions in Great Britain had naturally required such local organisation long before New Zealand.

17. Continuity of direction in each centre was another likely advantage, though the temporary nature of these appointments would detract from their value.
ordained chaplain was secured for Christchurch. Though it had not succeeded in its chief aim within this period, the Movement had already sunk deep shafts for future foundations.

Another manifestation of the changing outlook may be seen in the fate of "Open Windows," once a repository of liberal treasures and expressions of international goodwill. This journal enjoyed a large circulation while it remained under the Auckland editorial committee, but in 1932 its control was transferred to Otago, since when its popularity had gradually waned. The cause of this decline may be partly attributed to a growing dissatisfaction with the literary tradition which had been built up in the late twenties, a tradition that gave little place to the problem of both conviction and tolerance. Barthianism had "done much to strengthen the conviction of members, and to save the S.C.M. from a tendency to vague humanism," and the strong call of Niebuhr was challenging students of differ-

18. Conversations with the Most Rev. C. West-Watson, then Bishop of Christchurch, also with the Rev. S. E. Woods, M.A., first Chaplain in Canterbury College. Auckland, Wellington and Dunedin appointed chaplains in February 1942. Vide minutes of the Dominion Executive for detail of negotiations between the churches and the N.Z.S.C.M. The delay in appointments would appear to have been caused by difficulties in finding suitable men and in raising finance. Half of the Movement's contribution was paid by the Dominion Executive, and half by respective District Councils.

19. Conversations with Alan Richards and Willis Airey, who were editors in 1929 and 1930. In 1931 the circulation had ranged from 1700 to 1300 copies, which contrasts most favourably with the present figure of 1160 copies for "The Student" in 1946. Indeed, "Open Windows" had reached its high-water mark under the Auckland committee and since the inauguration of "The Student" in July 1932 its popularity has never been rivalled.

environments "to agonise together" 21 in search of a personal faith. Students were seeking for an authoritative word, a transcendent loyalty, which would give fuller meaning and reality to life.22

The spirit of this period is also reflected in the return to evangelism as the central preoccupation of Movements throughout the Federation. In fact, the outstanding characteristic of these years was the world-wide rediscovery of the meaning of evangelism. Visser 't Hooft records that "Movement after Movement has again begun to understand that the raison d'être of a Student Christian Movement consists in the Witness which it gives in the University world. It is not that the Movements have forgotten all that they have learned about their responsibility in the areas of study and social action, but rather that they are coming to the conclusion that these activities must receive their substance and meaning from the definitely evangelistic work which aims at bringing students to a decision of personal faith." 23 The old conception of individual conversion which was so readily accepted by many Evangelicals thirty years ago was yielding to the contemporary idea of conversion-within-society. Evangelism was recognised as crucial, but it must imply an active membership in a real community.24

21. From the Pauline Greek, "to wrestle with problems of the faith."
22. "The age of apologetics is past, and people will only listen to certainties," said a visitor to the General Committee of the British S.C.M. in September, 1955.
23. p.16, Visser 't Hooft, op.cit.
24. "The salvation of societies now perishing will come from leagues and corporations that have a solid foundation or are inspired by faith. The essentials of the gospel are becoming clear once more after the obscurity of the conflict over biblical criticism and the like ---- individualism is not enough." Man needed "a movement which has a society at the heart of it and the redemption of the world as its object." (From the editorial of The Student Movement, Vol. XXXV, No.2, November 1933.)
The breakdown of optimistic idealism regarding the League of Nations had led to wide discussions on peace and war under the Democlean sword of resurgent nationalism. Here again students turned to the Church as a supra-national reality, and the New Zealand Movement sought to as a bridge across the wide gulf which separates students from the Church. 25 "We have begun to feel conscious of ourselves as the Church-at-work-among-students, and with this in mind we are seeking after greater co-operation with Church-leaders. The idea, which was in some measure prevalent a few years ago, that the S.C.M. was for students a refuge from the Church and substitute for it, is dying out. There is a greater sense of oneness with the Church, and a desire to help all students to realise their heritage in the Church." 26

In 1934 the Auxiliary held a notable conference on "The Church and Her Task," when representatives of the chief Protestant denominations met to undertake "an enquiry into the actual position of the Church — and an attempt at mutual understanding." 27 Perhaps their most valuable conclusion may be summed up in the following words which might be applied with equal truth to the Student Movement itself:

"The Church in her task has been governed by two great and conflicting, but not finally conflicting necessities, the necessity of giving shape and embodiment to its beliefs and activities, and the necessity of allowing for growth through free and autonomous response through the creative spirit in Christianity." 28

The sense of fellowship within a world Federation

25. Vide The Student World, Fourth Quarter, 1936, for three articles from New Zealand and corroborative evidence from other Movements.
28. The New Zealand Methodist Times, 15.9.34.
was stimulated by the visits of Dr. T.Z. Kee in May 1931, and the Rev. G.F. Andrews from India in June, 1936. The New Zealand delegates went to the Java Conference of Eastern Movements in September, 1933, when a plan for closer collaboration was initiated. The question of Miss Gavin's retention in India was raised annually at Convent and though doubts were sometimes raised as to the wisdom of maintaining a foreign secretary in such a time of economic crisis, it was invariably resolved to continue supporting her until 1936. Another personal link with coloured peoples was provided by Katidi Pilise, the Bantu medical student who arrived at Knox College in February, 1931.

29. The latter came to conduct missions in the four centres and his deeply spiritual personality made a great impact upon the Movement. His visit might be said to mark "the end of the beginning" in the theological rehabilitation of the Movement.

30. Communication from Miss Winifred Mather (present Vice-Chairman of the Movement) who with Alan Richards represented New Zealand at this Conference. Richards lectured the Colleges in March and April, 1934. Vide to New Zealand report to Java, 1933, also minutes of the Dominion Executive, 28, 7, 33 and 12, 9, 35.

31. When Miss Alexa Stewart attended the General Committee of the W.S.C.F. at Zeist in 1932, the fate of the foreign secretariats was in the balance. Kella Ram, Miss Laura Jackson and Miss Sarowani Jesudian, member of the Indian delegation, begged that Miss Stewart should stress the urgent need of continuing the support of Miss Gavin for another five years, by which time another Indian student would be able to become the National Student Secretary. Owing to the great diversity of peoples and traditions it was necessary to have a person who could co-ordinate all the work. Miss Gavin was eminently suitable for this task as she had the confidence of all sections. "We feel," said Kella Ram, "that Miss Gavin was raised up at this time to come to us."

32. Minutes of General Committee, 29, 6, 30.

It was hoped that a second African student might be brought out with financial support from the Rotary Club, but unfortunately for Pilise this proposal did not eventuate.
He came as a graduate of Fort Hare College with the intention of completing a course in medicine at Otago University. Unfortunately his stay in this country was marred by frequent misunderstandings, due to psychological troubles and the South African background of racial discrimination, which rendered him acutely sensitive to real or fancied insults. All this culminated in 1933 in his departure for Glasgow University after the Dean of the Medical School had pronounced him to be unsuitable for a further year at Dunedin.\textsuperscript{33} The Movement was loath to break its relationship, and continued to pay money into the African Student Scholarship Fund until Piliso qualified for a diploma in 1936.\textsuperscript{34} A failure the scheme might have been, but it was a failure attended with high aspirations and generous sympathies.

In 1934 the Dominion Executive made tentative enquiries about the possibility of securing an Indian graduate secretary for a term of one year in New Zealand. After correspondence with Miss Gavin and the Rev. Augustine Ralil Ram, Secretary of the Indian S.C.I., it was decided that the project was too hazardous in view of the inflamed state of Indian nationalism and the likelihood of mutual misunderstandings.\textsuperscript{35} The Java Conference had resulted in the formation of an Eastern section in the W.S.C.F. under Ralil Ram's supervision, with the aim of drawing together the students of the sixteen Pacific countries which participated. Thus when the second Conference was held at Mills College, California, in August, 1936,

\textsuperscript{33} Communication to the writer from the Rev. H.W. Newell, who notes the complicated issues which arose from this experiment. Vide minutes of General Committee, 30.6.33, for Dr. J.D. Salmond's report on behalf of the African Student Committee.

\textsuperscript{34} Letter from Katidie Piliso, Anderson College, to the Rev. H.W. Newell in 1936.

\textsuperscript{35} Minutes of the Dominion Executive, 27.2.34, and 25.5.34 Also minutes of General Committee, 29.8.34.
the New Zealand Movement could send its delegates with
a more intimate knowledge of Pacific problems than had
been possible in 1933. 36 Donald Grant and Willis Airey
may well have viewed this aspect of the Movement's work
with the liveliest satisfaction.

Indeed, the S.C.M. had lost little of its liberal
interest in social study and international relations,
though it had disciplined them within the new order of
orientation. "The Federation" wrote Visser 't Hooft,
"is neither 'nationalist' nor 'internationalist' but
'scumenical' in character; that is to say, its conception
of human relations is based on the reality of the Univer-
sal Christian Community." 37 Reference has already
been made to the contemporary situation out of which this
conception developed: one should now consider a few of
its expressions in the limited field of the New Zealand
Movement. Students had become aware that decisions
about war and peace, and about the kind of social and
economic order which would replace the old forms of
society were of immediate interest to themselves. 38
And so the signs of this concern began to appear in many
directions. A Peace Ballot was conducted in the Univer-

36. The Revs. H.W. Newall and A. Miller, and Miss Sybil
Williams represented the N.Z.S.C.M. Vide report of
Dominion Executive to this Conference, as a succinct
account of the state of the Movement at this time.
37. p. 56, Visser 't Hooft, op. cit.
38. Frequent animated discussions in General Committee
substantiate this view.
sity during 1935; discussions on Communism, political freedom, and the social obligations of the State, were featured on Conference programmes. Yet the Movement refused to be anything more than a forum for the ventilation of these issues. A resolution of the General Committee in August, 1935, passed after prolonged discussion by Convenion and the Dominion Executive, set the seal of impartiality towards public questions of the day. This decision was in harmony with the policy of the Federation as a whole, which maintained that however paradoxical it may appear, "the greatest service which the Student Christian Movement (like the Church) can render to the cause of social justice is not to identify itself with parties or systems, but to call men and women to a totalitarian obedience to God, and then to send them out into society." 

From all these signs of rekindled interest in social

39. The National Union of Students delegated this to the S.Z.S.C.M. For the British attitude and statistics, see The Student Movement Vol. XXXVIII, No. 1, October, 1935, Charles Westphal summed up the more passionate French students when he said: "If it is asked what Christian students propose to do at the time of the next war, the answer is: All are ready to die, some from French bullets under the auspices of the military tribunals, others from the gunfire of the enemy. That is undoubtedly the reason why this enquiry has met with such repugnance in our midst. We know that we have no other choice than that of our death." The New Zealand Movement refused to identify itself officially with either conscientious objection or compulsory military service during this period, but we note that after the second visit of Dr. T. Z. Koo in April, 1937, this neutral policy was abandoned by the S.Z.M. affiliating with the New Zealand Youth Peace Council. (Minutes of General Committee 3.4.37.)

40. Minutes of General Committee, 31.8.35.
41. p. 51, Visser 't Hooft, op. cit.
questions two facts emerge most clearly; first, that the
Movement was now attempting to prepare students for the
responsible choice which they must make as soon as they
enter into society; and further, that its detachment from
active participation in social work was alienating the
sympathies of many students. It is significant that the
Executive report to Geneva in 1933 expressed criticism of
the Movement's ignorance of Marxism, whose total claims
deny the relevance of Christianity. There also appears
the rather sweeping statement that most of the real
intellectual strength and alertness in the Colleges lay
outside the Movement. 42 Natural enough, no doubt, when
one considers the relatively small numbers of active
Christians in a modern University; but surely it is
intended to be a private diagnosis of the Movement's
intellectual condition, rather than an open comparison. 43
Together with this decline in leadership since Donald
Grant's day, there was a conviction that the Movement
should maintain strict neutrality over controversial
public issues. This was affirmed in resolutions passed
by the General Committee in December, 1934, and August,
1935. 44

Slowly the leaven of liberalism was brewing beneath
the surface, so that the new mixture would soon react
in a ferment of concern for social justice. This came
at a time when Karl Barth was thundering forth from his

42. Ibid.
43. It is impossible and undesirable to give detailed
figures of the Movement's membership, since it has
always sought to serve the University community in
general way rather than form itself into an inclusive
fellowship. Statistics are available for the first
decade, after which they were usually discarded. Bear-
ing in mind these reservations, it would be true to
say that the Movement has declined in membership
proportionately to the matricular rolls.
44. Minutes of General Committee, 29.12.34 and 31.8.35.
refuge in the Swiss Alps, calling on men to accept the whole Bible as the medium of revelation and the rule of life for the Church. Students were deeply influenced by the prophetic challenge of this German theologian, whose message seemed to slash through the menacing Gorgon's head - totalititarian philosophies. When the Rev. A. Miller N.A. 45 became General Secretary in January, 1935, he tried to build up the prevailing social interest with the strong coherent element of "Barthianism." His undergraduate years were spent in the liberal camp, but he now sought "to utilise the new theological insights without losing the original social passion." 46 Franciscan work among the unemployed during the long vacations 47 was one suggestion which came from this young Christian socialist, who had demanded several cuts in his own salary when the Movement's finances were tottering. During this latter period one reads of "a considerable return to the study of actual Bible text, rather than topical studies with a Biblical background." 48 Such a tendency was in accord with the growing desire to find a common basis in doctrines, not by glossing over differences and concentrating on points of agreement, but by united study of the whole Christian faith. "The hunger of the oncoming generation," write Francis P. Miller, "is to reconstruct society through the instrumentality of public forms rather than personal forms." 49 It was this urge towards community which caused the Movement to consider more closely the problems of co-operation


46. Letter to the writer from Toronto, 5.5.45.

47. This, however, was ultimately rejected by students at General Committee. (Minutes, 6.1.46)


49. Quoted by Visser 't Hooft, p.43, op. cit.
with similar youth organisations, intercommunion between the denominations, theological conferences and summer schools, and the revival of a Foreign Service Group. Admittedly very little of a permanent nature was achieved in all these operations; yet they left their mark for the guidance of future generations, and only thus can we evaluate the work which was done. Not least among the influences of this time was the firm leadership of the Rev. H. W. Newell, whose overseas background coloured his ecumenical policy with a rich variety of interests. The W. E. C. F. struggled to keep open lines of personal communication despite its losses in staff through the depression, and the birth of a Januvess Movement within the new Eastern Section in 1933 heralded a short period of vigorous development around the Pacific basin.

50. Under the Chairman much investigation of religious education in church schools was carried out in 1936, and a statement clearly defining the Movement’s relationship to the churches over the question of intercommunion was published at this time. Here it is apposite to note the official attitude of the Evangelical Unions to the ecumenical movement. “Most of our Evangelicals sincerely believe that the Ecumenical Movement exhibits a trend which would be disastrous for the survival of those truths which are most surely believed among us.” (p. 21, J. C. Miller, Inter-Varsity Papers No. 2, I.V.F. Wellington, circ. 1941)

51. This Group had been formed in Dunedin after the publication of the report on foreign missions in 1926, but it was disbanded in 1930. Correspondence from Dr. Robert F. Wilder, the founder of the S.V.M.U., resulted in a strong group, mostly medical students, being established in 1934. (Letters from Dr. Wilder to Miss M. Walker, 12.1.35 and 17.1.35)

52. “Practically every item in the budget has had to be reduced drastically; but the most serious reduction has had to do with staff. Looking over the list of the secretaries whom we have lost during these last four years, one realises that each name stands for a wide circle of personal influence, and for significant aspects of Federation work.” (p. 58, Visser ’t Hooft, op. cit.)
In previous chapters it has been possible to compare the outstanding characteristics of the British and New Zealand Movements, noting the many close resemblances which have existed in bodies geographically remote from one another; but now a new phase has begun for the Dominion S.C.M. No longer may we look to Great Britain for a confirmation of specific trends and emphases. The New Zealand Movement, true to the national age in which it lived, was following an independent course that could not be mirrored by illustrations drawn from other countries. Much has been learnt from the past, and many historic traditions are still shared with the Federation; yet maturity and indigenous leadership were calling the S.C.M. to carve out its own destiny. Familiar figures, once prominent in the Movement’s councils, are now flitting from the stage as

53. This applies in some measure to the previous period also, though the Movement was then still in its adolescent stage, and Grant had brought with him many influences from the British Movement.

54. In December 1931, Miss Margaret Walker, retired from the Executive, and it is interesting to recall the vote of thanks which was accorded her on this occasion: “This Convention of the New Zealand Student Christian Movement wishes to pay a grateful tribute to the loyal and devoted service of Miss Margaret Walker, who for thirty-five years has played such a prominent part in the building up of the N.Z.S.C.M. Her record of service is unsurpassed in our own Movement, and probably in any other national Movement. In 1896 when the Christian Union was founded in New Zealand by Dr. Nott, Miss Walker was elected secretary of the Canterbury College Executive. For twenty-three years, during which time the New Zealand Movement became separate from that in Australia, she was corresponding secretary; (in fact, Miss Walker and Headquarters were synonymous). When in 1924 a General Secretary was appointed, Miss Walker retained office as Minute Secretary to the New Zealand Executive, until she was elected Vice-Chairman of the Movement in 1927, which position she held until the end of 1931.” (Minutes of Convention, 31.12.31)

Another veteran leader who retired during this period was Miss Daisy Tait, who resigned from the Vice-Chairmanship in December, 1934, after long service on the Wellington District Council, the Finance Committee and the Auxiliary.
fresh generations take their place. This is a time of temporary organisation and adaptation to meet changing conditions in the University world. Administration becomes more flexible as students are compelled to restrict their already slender budgets, and branches are taught the evils as well as the benefits of decentralisation.

The period which ends in 1936 will be remembered for its formative years of purposeful development. Little light and shade, but rather a subtle blending of elements into an harmonious whole, may be observed in the Movement's work at this time. Coming after the highly controversial and ill-balanced liberal era, when so many students had been drawn within the fellowship, these years of steady, though unspectacular progress might almost appear to be the reconciliation ending of a noble play. Yet history demands that we look beyond the fleeting event to the larger organic growth of later years, when the past can be judged on its merits in true perspective. Even now it is possible to appreciate justly something of the lasting contribution that the early thirties brought to the Student Movement, for it is not too early to see these years as a meeting-ground of traditions which once stood stubbornly at variance. Here we can detect a conjuncture of different but complementary influences, where Barthian theologian grapples with social problems, and a future missionary attempts a critique of the Marxist dialectic.

By 1936, the Movement's course had been well plotted and its loyalty to the ecumenical ideal proved in action. Still small in numbers, and riddled with imperfections, it must journey far ahead before attaining the haven of a united Christendom; yet in the distorted reflection of the last few years we see an earnest of that distant consummation, and the pioneering efforts of four decades are touched with the bright glow of hope.
CHAPTER VI

"It is a holy sight," said Disraeli, "to see a nation saved by its youth." It is a sacred and still more impressive sight to observe some three hundred thousand students from every nation under heaven banded together to promote the faith of Jesus Christ throughout the world. We have been following the progress of one small unit in this great company through a border campaign of forty years; we have seen it mobilised, trained, and under service conditions; been with it in moment of reverse as well as during the advance; till at last it has emerged as a fully-fledged section with its own special esprit de corps.

But, one may ask, to what avail all this struggle and endeavour? Surely the Student Movement has made little impression on the life of New Zealand, and even of the University itself. Such a fundamental question demands immediate answer, for it strikes at the very heart of our subject, and challenges its right to survive.

First it must be admitted that when judged by purely intellectual criteria the Movement has nothing, or scarcely anything, to justify its existence within a secular University. It is as much at home as an Indian Guru who leaves his spiritual Ashram for the halls of a Russian University. However, the Student Movement is not concerned with the material syllabus and examinations which it is the sole duty of the University to provide; its province is to be found among living students, not faded manuscripts. It comes to assert the essential relevance of Christian faith in a society that is thirsting for a synthetic philosophy of life. Students could find such a Weltanschung in the Universities of Hellenic times and in the medieval schools of Bologna and Paris, however much these latter were bound by clerical authority; yet the modern university is doomed to feed the souls of its scholars on a fatally unbalanced diet, which is the product of the general life of
our time. Let us hear the reasoned words of a distinguished
German Secretary of State, in an address on the German
university ideal:

"When we speak of the aim and the character of the Univer-
sity," said Dr. Becker, "we have before us a vision — a sort of
Holy Grail, of pure science and research, whose knights per-
form the holy task of wandering through the whole world, each
on his own path, each using his own methods and means, all
in duty and unity devoted to the aims of the Grail. The
number of knights is small, and some spend a life-time without
gaining entrance to the sacred precincts. . . . To the Holy
Grail there are as many roads as there are seekers. Here the
multitude forms a unity, at least, a unity of aims, which is
the real meaning of Universitas. The university is not an
aggregation of quantities. The idea of the whole is under-
stood in terms of quality."

All this presupposes that in some way or other the
university has succeeded in relating its varied curricula to
the central ideal. But if the University of New Zealand has
ceased consciously to form personalities, if it no longer
offers the Platonic balance of Logos and Eros, or the later
medieval unity of knowledge, but is content to display its
motley wares in an academic jumble, then surely the Student
Movement has a right and a duty to proclaim the integrating
message of Christianity within the walls of every College in
this country. We must therefore judge it rather by the
extent of its failure to achieve this end, than by the
pertinence of its work in a secular environment. Moreover,
we should remember the sage warning of Professor Sir Walter

1. pp. 32, 33. Context of address on The German University
Ideal as given by Secretary of State Dr. Becker, of Berlin,
printed in minutes of the Elmau Conference of European
Student Relief delegates. W.S.O.F., Geneva, 1924.
Raleigh: "You cannot apply the test of utility to knowledge that is living and growing." Neither can we expect superficially quick returns from a Movement which serves the spirit of man.

In previous chapters we have followed its history by the empirical method, looking back and assessing the cause for the effect it has produced at a given time. Thus in a very real sense, the Movement has passed judgment on itself in each crisis of its development. It remains for us to draw the picture into true focus, fixing many roads to the Holy Grail in proper perspective, until "the multitude forms a unity," and the historian can pronounce his final verdict.

It is important to realize the setting of College Life in which the Movement worked during its first forty years; for without an appreciation of the University sect-plot, how can one study the growth of any particular genus that sprouts in its soil? In this connection one should note the high percentage of non-residential students who attend lectures, since they require the services of the S.C.M. even more than the fortunate minority who share a common life in hostels. Moreover, the Movement's organisation has been naturally moulded by the requirements of a student environment, and its problems have largely arisen from the peculiar conditions which obtain in an academic society. Partly for this reason, to preserve the unity of theme, the scope of this study has been limited to a consideration of the University Field, with only passing reference to other aspects such as schools and Training College by way of illustration.

The flexible nature of the S.C.M., the variety of traditions predominating in different groups, together with

2. Quoted by Professor J. Packer in an address on Teaching in the University, published in p.16 University Reform, Canterbury University College Students' Association, Christchurch, 1945.
geographical considerations, have all favoured the travelling secretary as a vital link between centres. In many ways this officer embodies the genius of the Movement, for his main pre-occupation is helping students to understand the Christian faith and live the Christian life in a fellowship which transcends national boundaries. A democratic General Committee that meets twice yearly is the fons et origo of leadership, in that body has always suffered from the bane of fluctuating personnel. Sensitive reaction to rapidly changing moods and situations is essential for a student organisation, and here one can see the stimulating contribution which an annual Convention of all members can make in matters of constitution and general policy. However, it is regrettable that lack of continuity has impaired the efficiency of the General Committee, in which is vested the responsibility of direct control-over the Movement's activities. Too often the bold strategist has become a hesitant tactician, or past failures are repeated in the bliss of ignorance. 3

This constitutional defect, partly inevitable and partly due to a reprehensible gliding over the lessons of experience, has been remedied from time to time by the assiduous labours of secretaries, but it can never be completely eradicated from the system so long as the Movement is popularly controlled. There is some consolation in the remark that President Woodrow Wilson once made to Mott: "Students are the most conservative class in the world, when shouldered with heavy responsibilities."

Finance has been a natural stumbling-block in the way of expansion, and yet it has also proved a valuable curb for impulsive delegates, teaching the Movement to husband its slender resources, challenging it to self-discipline by regular and generous subsidies to Geneva, and demanding a considerable measure of sacrifice from individual members. This was especially true in the sordid days of the depression, when economic priorities became clear-cut. While the Auxiliary

3. Vide Appendix B for constitutional details.
could be relied upon to contribute approximately two thirds of the total income, each College was expected to raise at least fifty pounds per annum after 1920, in addition to its share in student relief funds.

The challenge to practical application of the Christian faith was pursued along the avenues of social service and international relations. Te Rangi Hiroa, Rewi Alley and James Bertram⁴ of China, and Professor D.K. Ficken are notable products of this school, which numbers the present Chancellor of the University⁵ among its ranks. In each of his three visits to New Zealand, which he described as one of the greatest among the eighty countries he had seen,⁶ John R. Mott was careful to stress the fundamental importance of the need for students to make the Christian ethic incarnate in their own lives by energetic participation in welfare work and reform in the community, the nation, and the world as a basis for international peace and goodwill.⁷ When one takes account of the intense mental activity and readjustment to new realms of thought which characterise the life of so many students, it is indeed remarkable how much time has been spent on social study and service. During the last decade an expanding literature department was publishing numerous pamphlets and study books designed to foster this concern for "social righteousness." Certainly the Movement had advanced a long way in its interpretation of the Christian gospel since the pioneering days of Nelson, 1899.

Yet amidst all these secondary interests which at times have obscured the true objective, one can discern a spirit of evangelism that lives on through the vagaries of changing generations, and renews its vigour with the passing years.

4. Son of the Rev. J.W. Bertram, who was an original delegate to Wycliffe Hall Convention in 1896. Prominent in Chinese Relief work, and a former Rhodes scholar.
5. The Hon. Mr. Justice Smith was a President of the V.U.C.G.U i 1909. Sir Theodore Rigg was a contemporary member.
7. Mott was awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1946.
Rise, flourish and decay is a thesis that may hold with temporal civilizations, but its meaning is foreign to this brief study. In the last chapter we observed a resurgence of evangelism throughout the world, and while this movement was very different in temper from that which carried the infant Federation forward on the flood-tide of opportunity, its basic emphasis was the same - the unifying message of God's sovereignty over every aspect of life. Here was "the unity of aims," the one thing needful which led a small band of knights along different paths towards the Holy Grail.

So much of the Movement's most significant work is hidden, like the submerged mass of an iceberg, beneath the surface of times and events. The example of its fellowship, and the contribution of former students, exerted a deep and often imperceptible influence on the Protestant churches. Other youth organisations are undenominational or founded on Christic principles, but the S.C.M. is unique in its witness to the ecumenical ideal. From the Movement's ranks have gone forth most of the interconfessional leaders throughout the world, and while New Zealand cannot boast of great figures like Temple and Soderblom, Asaph and Kee, she can look forward to a harvest of co-operation which will be rich indeed. Other men laboured, and the churches are entering into the reward of their labours.

3. At the national conference on Christian Order which was held under the sponsorship of the National Council of Churches in August, 1945, over seventy per cent of the delegates (drawn from all walks of life) were past or present members of the S.C.M. For further information on the Movement's share in ecumenical work, vide the foreword to the Report of the Conference on Christian Order. The N.C.C. in New Zealand, Christchurch, 1945. The National Council of Churches was formed after Visser 't Hooft had written to the Rev. H. W. Hewell in 1940, suggesting that New Zealand churches might establish a body to further the cause of co-operation.
Since 1936 the S.C.M. has followed a course which was foreshadowed in the early thirties. Six years of war served only to underline the story of 1914, and to reiterate its warnings for the aftermath. It is noteworthy that the theme of the annual Conference in 1946 was "The Church in the World Today," and that missionary work was given the greatest attention on the agenda of Convention. Signs are not wanting to show that the Movement now has a stability and sense of direction which it sorely needed after the First World War.

It is still too early to pass a mature judgment on the years prior to 1936, but the historian feels constrained to remark on the underlying unity of the period, which moves from Wyculaskie Hall in 1896 to the Pacific Conference forty years later in a pattern of gradually unfolding development. Each generation has its own significance, and all are combined in organic relation as different members of the one body. Before them lies a vision, the ideal of a united Church, which transcends the achievement of any existing church, and makes each church's interpretation of Christianity incomplete. They are looking for a fuller Christianity in a nobler Church.
APPENDIX A

CONSTITUTION OF THE WORLD'S STUDENT CHRISTIAN FEDERATION.

ARTICLE I - NAME

The name shall be "The World's Student Christian Federation."

ARTICLE II - OBJECTS

The objects shall be:
1. To unite students' Christian movements or organisations throughout the world, and to promote mutual relations among them.
2. To collect and distribute information about the condition of students in all lands from the religious and other points of view.
3. To promote the following lines of activity:
   a. To lead students to accept the Christian faith in God - Father, Son and Holy Spirit, according to the scriptures and to live as true disciples of Jesus Christ.
   b. To deepen the spiritual life of students and to promote earnest study of the scriptures among them.
   c. To influence students to devote themselves to the extension of the Kingdom of God in their own nation and throughout the world.
   d. To bring students of all countries into mutual understanding and sympathy, to lead them to realise that the principles of Jesus Christ should rule in international relationships, and to endeavour by so doing to draw the nations together.
   e. To further either directly or indirectly those efforts on behalf of the welfare of students in body, mind and spirit which are in harmony with the Christian purpose.

ARTICLE III - COMPOSITION OF THE FEDERATION.

The Federation shall be composed of such Student Christian Movements or organisations as comply with the following conditions:
1. The movement shall comprise a national or international group of unions or associations in universities and colleges.

2. Its aims and work shall be in full harmony with the objects of the Federation as stated above.

(ARTICLES IV, V, and VI concern the Committee, conferences and amendments respectively.)
## APPENDIX B
### CREDENTIAL REPORT

**CHRISTCHURCH CONFERENCE ON HOME AND FOREIGN MISSIONS,**

**MAY 2nd and 3rd, 1905**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Student Delegates</th>
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<td>New Zealand -</td>
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<tr>
<td>Auckland University College</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria University College</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canterbury University College</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
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<td>Otago University</td>
<td>43</td>
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<td>Sydney and Adelaide Universities</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Secondary School Delegates</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pupils</td>
<td>24-64</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

| Theological Hall Delegates (not elsewhere included) | 9 |

| Other Institutions of Higher Learning (not elsewhere included) | 9 |

| Other National Movements | 4 |

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Professional Delegates</th>
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<tr>
<td>Professional staff</td>
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<table>
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<td>Leaders of Missionary Agencies</td>
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| Leaders of Movements among Young People | 7 |

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<td>Religious</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Secular</td>
<td>2-5</td>
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</table>

**Grand total: 318**
REMARKS ON THE CREDENTIAL REPORT

I. Several delegates should be classified under more than one head.
   (a) The total number of clergy present was 31.
   (b) Theological Halls had 31 representatives.
   (c) Other institutions had 12 representatives.
   (d) The total representation of University students and ex-students was 190.

II. 22 separate Missionary organisations were represented.

III. Of New Zealand University delegates there were 79 men and 69 women.

IV. 146 delegates travelled to Christchurch.

V. There were 12 missionary volunteers among the delegates.

VI. There were 150 men and 168 women delegates.
APPENDIX C

CONFERENCES OF THE NEW ZEALAND STUDENT CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT

1896 - 1936

As part of the A.S.C.U.

Sydney 1896 (January) five representatives from New Zealand.

Nelson 1899 "
Nelson 1900 "
Wanganui 1902 "

Canterbury
University College 1903 (April), A Missionary Conference during Dr. Mott's second visit.

New Plymouth 1904 (January)
Oslo 1906 "
Trentham 1907-8 (December/January) attended by Miss R. Rouse.

Sheffield 1908-9 (December/January)
Horten 1909-10 " "
Waimate 1910-11 " "
Cambridge 1911-12 " "
Rangiora 1912-13 " "

This was a Conference and Convention for the whole field, Australian delegates being present.

Woodville 1913-14 (December/January)
Waimate 1914-15 " "
Te Awarua 1915-16 " "
Rangiora 1916-17 " "
Horten 1917-18 " "

There was no conference in 1918-19 owing to the influenza epidemic.

Geraldine 1919-20
Te Kuiti 1920-21

At this Conference a Convention was
held simultaneously with one in Australia, and the A.S.C.M. and N.Z.S.C.M. were established independently.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<tr>
<td>Ashburton</td>
<td>1921-22</td>
<td>(December/January)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solway</td>
<td>1922-23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waitaki</td>
<td>1923-24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambridge</td>
<td>1924-25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taranaki</td>
<td>1925-26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solway</td>
<td>1926-27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waitaki</td>
<td>1927-28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambridge</td>
<td>1928-29</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashburton</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fielding</td>
<td>1930-31</td>
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<tr>
<td>Waitaki</td>
<td>1931-32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auckland</td>
<td>1932-33</td>
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<tr>
<td>Geraldine</td>
<td>1933-34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fielding</td>
<td>1934-35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waitaki</td>
<td>1935-36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auckland</td>
<td>1936-37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Besides these Summer Conferences, there were annual Auxiliary Conferences after 1926. A small leader's conference was held at Walkana in 1926 during Dr. Hett's third visit to New Zealand.
APPENDIX B
CHAIRMEN OF THE NEW ZEALAND MOVEMENT

I. The New Zealand Co-operating Executive of the A.S.C.M.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Chairman</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Rev. J. Mackenzie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

II. The New Zealand Co-operating Executive of the A.S.C.M.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>Rev. J. Mackenzie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>Rev. G.S. Bryan-Brown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>Mr. E. Gibson (Rev. H.D. Breakhead acting during the year.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>Rev. A.F. Thompson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>Rev. E.P. Planipes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

III. The Dominion Executive of the N.Z.S.C.M.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Chairman</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>Rev. J.R. Young</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>Mr. T.M. Haslett</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>Rev. W.H.P. Mackenzie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>Professor J.E. Gendriff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>Mr. G.S. Troup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>Rev. G.H. McKennie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>Rev. H.W. Newell</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX II

The following extracts are included to give an outline of the Movement's organisation in 1936.

CONSTITUTION OF THE NEW ZEALAND STUDENT CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT

PREAMBLE

WHEREAS the delegates of the Christian Unions of the Universities and Colleges of Australasia, assembled in Convention at Melbourne on the 6th day of June, 1896, recognising their common basis, and their unity of spirit and purpose, solemnly united in forming an Australasian Student Christian Union and adopted a Constitution which became binding on the said Australasian Student Christian Union and the Unions thereafter affiliating with it.

AND WHEREAS the delegates to the Business Convention, held at Raglan, New Zealand, on the 26th, 27th, 28th and 29th days of December, 1912, decided that the word "Movement" should be substituted for the word "Union" in Article I of the Constitution and that all necessary consequential alterations should be made therein.

AND WHEREAS by reason of the growth of the Movement and of the increasing difficulty of working the New Zealand Field with Headquarters in Australia the delegates to the Convention held at Torrens Park, Adelaide, Australia, in January 1921 decided to transform the Australasian Student Christian Movement into two independent and co-operating Movements to be known as the Australian Student Christian Movement and the New Zealand Student Christian Movement.

AND WHEREAS the delegates to the first Convention of the New Zealand Student Christian Movement held at To Kuiti on the 5th day of January 1921 adopted a Constitution for the said Movement.

AND WHEREAS the above-mentioned Constitution of the 5th day of January 1921 was amended at Conventions held at Ashburton, on the 4th day of January 1922, at Waimate on the 3rd day of January 1924, at Temuka on the 7th day of...
January 1926 and at Selwyn on the 5th day of January 1927.

AND WHEREAS the delegates at the Convention held at the
Waikato Boys' High School, Oamaru, on the 5th day of Janua
1926 suspended the Constitution of the 5th day of January
1921, as amended, and adopted a new Constitution which has
since been amended at the Conventions held at Cambridge on
the 11th day of January 1929, at Feilding on the 1st day
of January 1931, and at Wairarapa on the 31st day of December
1931.

AND WHEREAS it is desired that the said Constitution of
the 5th day of January 1926 be further amended and the
Constitution and several amendments consolidated and
FORM REJUDGED by the Delegates in Convention assembled at
Geraldine on this first day of January 1934, as follows:

ARTICLE I - NAME
The name of the organisation shall be the New Zealand
Student Christian Movement.

ARTICLE II - AIM AND OBJECTS
The New Zealand Student Christian Movement is a fellowship
of students who desire to understand the Christian Faith and
to live the Christian life.

The Movement seeks to present Jesus Christ as the supreme
manifestation of God and of true manhood, the Saviour of the
world, the source of power for the overthrow of evil, and
the Lord of life in all its relations.

It sets forth the Christian faith as challenging students to
devote the whole of life to the service of the Kingdom of
God by the application of Christian principles to the prac-
tice of their profession or business and to all problems of
individual and social, national and international life.

The Movement challenges every student to recognise the
urgent need of the whole world for Christ, without limit of
race or nation and to consider his own responsibility in
regard to the evangelisation of the world.

To this end it calls students to explore Christ's teaching;
to seek the guidance of His Spirit; to prepare themselves
by study, discipline and prayer for the tasks of the future;
and to enter the fellowship of worship, thought and service
which is the heritage of the Christian Church.
With this aim in view the work of the Movement shall be to
promote the establishment of branches of the Student
Christian Movement in institutions of higher learning in
New Zealand, and to act as a link between such branches in
order to afford them the help of fellowship with one another.

ARTICLE III.—Basis of Admission

Section I. Any Society in New Zealand, having carried on
effective work in line with the Aim of the Movement for at
least six months, may be affiliated with the New Zealand
Student Christian Movement on the following conditions:

(1) If it be a society in a university or institution of
higher learning other than a post primary school,

(a) It shall adopt as its Aim the Aim of the Movement as
set out in Article II and shall embody this in its
Constitution.

(b) It shall adopt the name ..... Branch of the New Zea-
land Student Christian Movement.

(c) Its membership shall be open to students and teachers,
who, having considered the Aim and Object of the
Movement, seek to understand the truths embodied there-
in, desire to enter the fellowship of the Movement,
and propose to take an active part in its work.

(2) If it be a society in a post primary school,

(a) It shall adopt, and embody in its constitution, an aim
in accord with the Aim of the Movement, as set out in
Article II.

(b) It shall adopt the name ..... Branch of the New
Zealand Student Christian Movement.

(c) Its membership shall be open to scholars who, having
had the aim of the Movement explained to them, desire
to take an active part in its work.
(3) If it be a society not covered by clauses (1) or (2) above mentioned (hereinafter called an Auxiliary),
(a) It shall adopt as its aim an aim in accord with the aim of the Movement as set out in Article II and shall embody this in its constitution,
(b) It shall adopt the name ...... Branch of the Auxiliary of the New Zealand Student-Christian Movement.
(c) Its membership shall be open to all persons, who, having considered the aim and objects of the Auxiliary of the Movement, seek to understand the truths embodied therein, and desire to enter its fellowship.

Section 21- (1) A Theological College as such may affiliate with the Movement provided that its application for affiliation shall have been recommended by its District Council and approved by the Executive.
(2) A Church School or such school as carries on its own programme of religious education may affiliate with the Movement provided that some responsible member of the Staff undertakes to keep the School actively in touch with the Movement.

Section 31- Any Society College or School applying for affiliation must be recommended by its District Council and where possible must submit to the Executive a copy of its Constitution, and must satisfy that body that it has fulfilled the conditions of affiliation set out above.

Section 41- Any affiliated Society wishing to withdraw must notify the Executive and the Secretary of its District Council immediately of such decision.

ARTICLE XV - DISTRICT COUNCILS

Section 11- There shall be four District Councils in New Zealand to carry out the objects of the Movement in each University District and to form a connecting link between the General Committee and the branches of the Movement in their District.

Section 21- Each District Council shall be composed of
representatives of affiliated societies in its University District appointed as follows:

(1)

(a) Every affiliated society in a University or Training College shall appoint two representatives one a man and the other a woman PROVIDED that if the membership of such society contains only men or only women such society shall appoint only one representative.

(b) In the event of there being no Training College in a centre, the affiliated society in the University College shall be entitled to appoint one additional representative.

(2) Every affiliated society in any other institution of higher learning shall appoint one representative.

(3) The Local Schools Committee in each District shall appoint two representatives but if and so long as there is no such Schools Committee the District Council shall co-opt two persons who shall represent all affiliated societies in Post-primary Schools in that District.

(4) The branch of the Auxiliary located in (or nearest to) the centre of each District Council shall appoint two persons who shall represent all Auxiliary branches and supporters of the Movement within the District.

Section 4: Each District Council shall appoint its own officers annually and notification of such appointments shall be promptly made to the Executive of the Movement.

PROVIDED THAT a District Council may co-opt by a unanimous vote any person or persons for the positions of Chairman, Secretary and/or Treasurer of District Council.

Section 5: Each District Council may appoint such sub-committees of its own members for the furtherance of the work of the Movement and may co-opt such other persons on such sub-committees as may be deemed desirable. The Chairmen and Secretary of the District Council shall ex officio be members of all sub-committees.
Section 6.- Each District Council may make rules as to the governance of its affairs and its meetings PROVIDED THAT during the University Sessions meetings shall be held not less frequently than once a month.

Section 7.- Duties: The District Councils shall in their Districts act as agents of the General Committee and their duties shall be as follows:

1. To furnish the Executive of the Movement with monthly written reports.
2. To keep in touch with the work of the various affiliated bodies in their districts and co-ordinate their activities.
3. To arrange in consultation with the Executive of the Movement the programme of secretaries, overseas visitors and guests of the Movement who are visiting their district.
4. To undertake responsibility for the collection of the District's quota of the Movement's budget as allotted by the General Committee.
5. To keep a register of students and supporters of the Movement in their Districts with their addresses.
6. To co-ordinate the work of the Movement in their District with that of the Churches, the Bible Class Movement, the Y.M.C.A. and other kindred organisations.
7. To ensure that all delegates to General Committee from the District are well informed and able to express the opinion of their Council or local branches on all subjects to be discussed by General Committee.
8. To undertake such further work as General Committee or Executive may from time to time direct.

ARTICLE V - GENERAL COMMITTEE

Section 1.- The control, management and direction of the Movement except as herein modified, shall be vested in the General Committee, provided that matters of general policy must be referred to Convention for consideration and recommendation before decision by General Committee.
Section 21 - The General Committee shall consist of:

(1) The Executive.
(2) Three representatives of each District Council, of whom a one proportion shall be students.
(3) One representative of the Auxiliaries of the New Zealand Student Christian Movement who shall be appointed by the Auxiliary Conference, or in the event of no Auxiliary Conference being held in any year, by the Executive of the Auxiliary Movement.
(4) One representative of all post-primary school branches of the Movement to be appointed by the District Council for the time being responsible for the organisation of the working of the Movement in the Schools in New Zealand.

Section 61 - By way of illustrating and not by way of limiting the powers hereinbefore vested in it, General Committee may do all or any of the following acts:

(1) It may devise and adopt such measures as it deems to be best calculated to achieve the objects of the Movement indicated in Article II, and to give effect to the recommendations of Convention.
(2) It may make such regulations as may be necessary for the practical and effective working of the Movement, and decide any questions of procedure not provided for by the Constitution.
(3) It may convene and arrange the programme of, each Convention.
(4) In order to further the aims of the Movement it may arrange from time to time conferences of the whole or part of the Movement or of any groups of the affiliated bodies. Such conferences may make recommendations to the General Committee, but shall have no powers of legislation.
(5) It may appoint and direct such secretaries, agents and other employees as the exigencies of the work may
demand, and the finances of the Movement permit, and
determine the terms of appointment and salary.

(6) It may appoint a committee of reference on constitutional
questions to give binding interpretation to the Constitu-
tion, such committee to consist of three persons not
members of the General Committee.

(7) It may delegate all or any of its functions to any
committee either of its own members of otherwise and the
receipts of deliverance of such Committee without
reservation by the General Committee shall ratify and
make binding upon the General Committee such deliverance
provided that General Committee may at any time revoke
such delegation, by calling for the report of such
committee and receiving it or rejecting it as it sees fit.

Section 7:— On the first day of each Convention, the General
Committee shall submit thereto a report of its work and of
the general conditions of the Movement and a report of the
Treasurer properly audited (for the twelve months ended on
the 31st October last past) together with a copy of the
budget proposed for the ensuing year.

ARTICLE VI.— EXECUTIVE

Section 11.— The administration of the work of the Movement
shall be controlled by an Executive.

Section 2:— The Executive shall consist of:
(1) Chairman,
(2) Vice-Chairman,
(3) Minute Secretary,
(4) Treasurer, and
(5) Four Committee Members, all of whom shall be resident
at or near the Headquarters of the Movement.
(6) General Secretary or Secretaries appointed by or by the
authority of the General Committee.

Section 3:— (5) The four Committee members shall be appointed
by the four officers of the Executive above mentioned after
consultation with District Council of the District in which Headquarters is situated, as early in the year as possible.

(4) All members of the Executive shall take office immediately upon election or appointment and shall continue in office until their successors are elected or appointed PROVIDED THAT any member may resign from office at any time by notice in writing delivered to the Executive.

(5) Interim vacancies shall be filled by the Executive.

Section 4: The General Secretary or Secretaries shall be ex officio a member or members of the Executive but shall not vote on any matters affecting the staff. The General Secretary and/or Secretaries shall also be responsible to the Executive and shall undertake such duties as the Executive may from time to time determine.

Section 5: The Executive shall be responsible to the General Committee and shall carry out the directions of the General Committee. It shall make reports on the work of the Movement to General Committee and may exercise such of the powers of General Committee as are expressly delegated to it PROVIDED THAT General Committee may at any time revoke such powers.

Section 6: The Executive shall represent the General Committee in its relation with affiliated bodies and other organisations and with the World Student Christian Federation.

Section 7: Not later than the end of September in each year the Executive shall prepare and submit to District Councils a budget for the estimated income and expenditure for the ensuing year.

Section 8: The Executive shall keep full minutes of all conventions of the Movement and of General Committee meetings.

Section 9: The Executive shall appoint annually an honorary auditor.

Section 10: Five members of the Executive shall constitute a quorum.
ARTICLE VII - CONVENTION

Section 1.- Regular Conventions of the Movement for the discussion of the work of the Movement shall be held annually

Section 2.- The Delegates to Convention shall be appointed as follows:

(1) Each University College or Training College Branch of the Movement shall be entitled to send one delegate for every ten members or fraction of ten.

(2) Each affiliated Theological College shall be entitled to send one delegate for every ten members or fraction of ten.

(3) Each District Council shall be entitled to send two delegates to represent the school branches in their district.

(4) Each District Council shall be entitled to send one delegate.

(5) Each branch of the Auxiliary shall be entitled to send one delegate.

(6) The members of the General Committee shall be ex officio members of the Convention.

Section 3.- Members of affiliated Societies not accredited as delegates, and such other persons as General Committee may invite, may be present at Convention, but shall not participate therein except by invitation of the Convention, and shall not have the right to vote.

Section 4.- The delegates to Convention shall elect a Chairman and vice-chairman who shall be persons properly attending Convention either as delegates or under the provisions of the last preceding clause. The chairman shall have a casting vote only.

Section 5.- The General Committee or its Executive shall be responsible for preparing the business for Convention. Convention may make recommendations to General Committee on any aspect of the work of the Movement but shall have no power to bind the General Committee in any way whatsoever by such recommendations.
ARTICLE VIII - AMENDMENTS

ARTICLE IX - TRUSTEES
Section 11 - Appointment. All property whether real or personal, belonging to or held in trust for the Movement, other than the moneys arising from the sources shown in the annual budget, or moneys properly in the hands of the Treasurer, shall be held on behalf of the Movement by Trustees, who shall number not less than three and not more than five. Trustees shall be appointed when necessary by General Committee and may be appointed for indefinite or indefinite period. In either case the office of a Trustee shall be automatically vacated upon the carrying by General Committee of a resolution to that effect.

Section 21 - Duties. The duties of the Trustees shall be to get into their possession all property (including gifts and legacies) mentioned in Section 1, and to hold and preserve the same for the use and benefit of the Movement. In the conduct of their office the Trustees shall carry out the decisions of the General Committee and the Movement shall indemnify any trustee against personal loss incurred in so doing.

ARTICLE X - HEADQUARTERS
The Headquarters of the Movement means the office of the Movement and they shall be located at such place in New Zealand as General Committee may from time to time determine.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. PRIMARY SOURCES.

The chief authorities are:

Minutes of the New Zealand Co-operating Committee of the A.S.C.U., 1911 to 1913.

Minutes of the N.Z. Co-operating Committee of the A.S.C.M. 1913 to 1920.

Minutes of the Dominion Executive of the New Zealand Student Christian Movement, 1921 to 1946.

Minutes of the General Committee of the N.Z.S.C.M. 1921 to 1946.

Minutes of the Conventions of the N.Z.S.C.M., 1921 to 1946.

The following sources have also been consulted:

Official correspondence of the N.Z.S.C.M. from 1921 to 1946, on the Movement's files at Headquarters in Wellington.

Annual reports of the Dominion Executive to General Committee, 1921 to 1946.

Memoirs on the Student Volunteer-Missionary Union, the World's Student Christian Federation, and the organisation of the New Zealand Movement, by Miss Margaret Walker B.A. (By courtesy of the author, without whose assistance in supplying copies of missing periodicals and documents much of this work would have been rendered impossible.)

Reports of College Executives to annual general meetings and to General Committees.

Reports ad hoc committees of the Movement since 1921.

Minutes of District Councils, 1921 to 1946.

Minutes of College Executives.

Minutes of the inaugural meeting of the New Zealand
Auxiliary, held at To Huki in January, 1921.

Minutes of the Wellington Auxiliary.

Minutes of the Finance Committee.

Minutes of the Literature Committee.

Minutes of the Conference Committee.


Fragment of a letter by Miss Agnes L. Grant, a foundation member of the O. U. C. C. U., dated April 1896, giving information about the formation of the first executive during Dr. Mott's first visit.

Letter from Dr. Mott to Miss Constance Grant in 1903, revealing some of the problems which faced New Zealand Unions at that time. (By courtesy of Miss Grant.)

Letters written by G.S. Troup in 1924 and 1925.

Letter from Dr. Mott to D.G. Grant in 1926, outlining plans for his projected tour of the New Zealand Colleges.

T. G. Haslett to Dr. Mott in 1927, proposing a comprehensive Far Eastern Conference in Tokyo.

The Rev. R. C. Hawkins to Miss Walker in 1934. This was written when the latter was contemplating a history of the New Zealand Movement, and it gives valuable corroborative data to supplement the extant fragment of Miss Agnes Grant's letter.

Miss Constance Grant to Miss Walker in 1934, giving historical reminiscences of Dr. Mott's visit to Auckland in 1896. As the records of this centre have been lost since 1900, the letter supplies some essential information concerning the early period.

Dr. R. P. Wilder to Miss Walker in 1935 and 1936 on the subject of missionary work in the Movement. His dissatisfaction with the neglect of responsibilities led to an
inquiry and the subsequent formation of a Foreign Service Group in Dunedin.

The Rev. G.M. McKenzie to Dr. Howard Guinness and the latter's reply, on the occasion of his visit to New Zealand on behalf of the Inter-Varsity Fellowship in 1930. These letters reveal the uncompromising stand which the Evangelical schismatics had now adopted.

Scrapbook of the Otago Student Christian Movement, giving items of historical interest from 1905 to 1941.

Thesis by Miss Wilmina Rowland, entitled *The Contribution of Ruth Rouse to the World's Student Christian Federation*, presented for the degree of Master of Arts at Ohio University, 1937. Material in Chap. IV, Section C, has been used by the present writer in reviewing the position of women in the Movement before 1908.

Report of Miss Ruth Rouse to the W.S.C.F. on the conclusion of her world tour in 1908.
NOTE

The writer is indebted to the following persons who have supplied a large body of essential information by written communication or interviews:

Mr. V.T.G. Airrey M.A. Editor of "Open Windows," 1930.
The Rev. J.W. Bertram M.A. Foundation member A.S.C.U.
Dr. R.D. Broadhead M.A., Litt.D. Sometime treasurer N.Z.S.C.M.
Miss A. Bums B.A. Sometime secretary of School's Committee.
Professor J.E. Concliffe M.A., Chairman N.Z.S.C.M. 1925.
Mrs. F. Cotterell B.A. Secretary of N.Z.S.C.M. Auxiliary.
The Rev. H. Davies M.A. Chaplain to C.U.C.C.U. 1941-44.
Mrs. I. Fraser B.A. (nee Stewart) Headquarters secretary 1930-1.
Miss C. Grant B.A. Foundation member of C.U.C.C.U.
Mr. E.J. D. Hercus B.Sc. Foundation member of C.U.C.U.
Mrs. E.J. D. Hercus B.A. Foundation member of C.U.C.U.
Miss M. Holmes M.A. Foundation member and General secretary of A.S.C.M.
The Rev. F.C. Long M.A. Member of A.U.C.C.U. 1899-1901.
Mrs. W. McDaid M.A., Litt.D.
Miss J. Mather M.A., Dip. Ed. Vice-chairman N.Z.S.C.M.
Dr. C. North M.B., Ch.B., B.A.  Foundation member C.U.C.U.
The Rev. Canon S. Parry M.C., M.A.  President C.U.C.U., 1913,
C.U.C.S.A., 1921.
Mr. A. M. Richards M.A. Dip.  Editor of "Open Windows," 1929.
Miss G. Riddel M.A.  Travelling Secretary N.Z.S.C.M. 1942-5
Mrs. A. Salmond B.A.  (nee Wood)  Headquarters secretary N.Z.S.C.M.
Mr. T. Shand  Foundation member and first President of Lincoln College C.U. 1936.
The Rev. R. Thornley M.A.  General secretary N.Z.S.C.M. 1942-4
The Rev. H. W. Turner M.A.  Chaplain to C.U.C.U. 1942-
Mrs. E. S. Watson B.A.  (nee Evans)  Headquarters secretary N.Z.S.C.M.
The Most Rev. C. West-Watson, M.A., D.D.
Miss M. Walker B.A.  Foundation member C.U.C.U.
Miss I. Wilson M.A.  Foundation member C.U.C.U.
The Rev. S. E. Woods M.A.  Sometime secretary and Chairman
The Ven. J. K. Young M.A.  N.Z.S.C.M.
SECONDARY SOURCES

Newspapers and Periodicals.
Reference has been made to the following papers. Where dates are given, the files for those years only have been consulted.

New Zealand Endeavour, Wellington, November, 1897.
Nelson Evening Mail, 1899 and 1900.
Nelson Colonist, 1900.
The Outlook, Christchurch, official organ of the Presbyterian Church in New Zealand.
The Otago Daily Times, Dunedin.
The Dominion, Wellington, 1906.
The Evening Post, Wellington, 1900.
The Wanganui Chronicle, 1902.
The Bourke Free Press, New South Wales, 1901.
Lyttelton Times, 1896.
New Zealand Church News, Christchurch, 1899.
The New Zealand Listener, Wellington, 1948.

In addition to these publications, use has been made of student magazines to ascertain the spirit of successive generations. The following list claims to include only those organs to which constant reference has been made:
The Australasian Intercollegian, Melbourne, 1898 to 1920.
The Student World, Geneva, 1909 to 1946.
Review, the official organ of the C.U.C.S.A., Christchurch, 1897 to 1936.
The News-Sheet, official organ of the N.E.S.C.M., Christchurch, 1922 to 1925; succeeded by
Open Windows, Auckland and Otago, 1926 to 1936; and
Student, Wellington, 1936 to the present day.
The North American Intercollegian, New York, 1907 and 1908.
The Student Movement, official organ of the British S.C.M., London, 1909 to present day.
2. Pamphlets and study books.

The writer has had access to all pamphlets and study books published for the E.S.C.U. These included an anonymous historical sketch of the Movement, printed in 1915 by Brown, Prior and Coy. Melbourne. Conference study books have given very little factual information, but they reflect the moods of students in successive years.

Reports of affiliated bodies:

Reference has been made to the following annual reports:
- The World's Student Christian Federation, Geneva.
- The Missionary Settlement for University Women, Bombay.
- The European Student Relief Committee of the W.S.C.U.
- The International Student Service Committee, Geneva.

3. Reports of conferences:

Australasia and the World's Evangelisation, the A.S.C.U.,
Sydney, 1903. 196 pp. This is a record of addresses given at the Conferences in Christchurch and Melbourne in May, 1903. It provides detailed information on the contemporary situation with a broad treatment which is naturally lacking in student publications.

The Student Volunteer Movement after Twenty-five Years, addresses given at the anniversary of the origin of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions at Mount Hermon, Massachusetts, September 10, 1911. The occasion of these addresses demanded general treatment rather than detailed reminiscences. They provide a record of the spirit in which student volunteers began their work for "The evangelisation of the world in this generation."

Report of the New Zealand Missionary Conference, held at Dunedin, April 27 to 29, 1925. Otago Daily Times, 1926. 108 pp. A full report of addresses and important discussion at Dr. Mott's last New Zealand conference,
valuable as a background to the early "liberal" period. The World Mission of Christianity, Messages and recommendations of the enlarged meeting of the International Missionary Council, held at Jerusalem, March 24 to April 8, 1928. Morrison and Gibb Ltd., 1928. 100 pp.

A penetrating analysis of missionary requirements throughout the world.

Published Works:

Though the chief primary sources of this study are unprinted, the following works have provided certain essential secondary information:

Airey, W.T.G. New Zealand a Nation, Whitcombe and Tombs Ltd., Auckland, 1928.

A slim book of provocative design, illustrating the prevailing interest in cultural development.


This book is characteristic of the "larger evangelism" which is portrayed in Chap. V.

Alpers, O.T.J. (Vide Irvine, R.F.)

Beaglehole, J.C. The University of New Zealand, an historical study, Council of Educational Research, Auckland, 1937.

As the sole authority on the complete history of the University, this work has been referred to constantly for information about academic conditions.

essay, History and the New Zealander, in The University and the Community, Whitcombe and Tombs Ltd., Wellington 1946.

In a brief compass Dr. Beaglehole sums up the leading trends of New Zealand history and the attitude of New Zealanders to national development.
A report by a committee of the C.U.G.S.A., with four selected addresses on special topics. This publication is relevant as an expression of student opinion on University administration.

Clarke, F.


An overseas background to Chap. V of this thesis.


Here Professor Clarke discusses the effects of the Industrial Revolution upon modern education.

Coggan, F.D. ed.


This gives the history of fundamental activity in Universities throughout the world. It is written with a strong evangelical bias.

Condiffe, J.B.

The Third Mediterranean in History, N.Z.E.C.M., Christchurch, 1926.

A survey of new racial alignments within the Pacific basin, and a forecast of their significance for the world’s history.

de Dietrich, Suzanne


In this symposium of national reports the Huguenot secretary of the W.S.C.F. brings into clear relief the salient problems which still face the ecumenical movement.
Dodd, C.H.  

The author concentrates on the idea of crisis as divine judgment in human history.

Ehrenstrom  

This book is a product of the trend towards closer community which appears in the early thirties.

Elder, J.R.  
*The History of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand*, Presbyterian Church, Christchurch, 1940.

Useful as a scholarly treatment of growth within one Protestant church during the century. The Presbyterian Church is rightly portrayed as being more amenable to ecumenical influences than the Church of the Provinces of New Zealand.

Eliot, T.S.  

A concise essay on questions which have confronted the Student Movement in every generation.

Fenn, E.  

Though written in an informal style, this book gives a mature appreciation of the British Movement, from the pen of one who has never lost touch. Valuable for comparisons with New Zealand conditions.

Figgis, J.N.  

A consideration of the forces which had been working against religion in the Edwardian decade.
Gairdner, W.M.T.
The Repr ech of Islam, Church Missionary So ci ty, Lon don, 1911.
A pop ular book for study among stud en t volunteers be fore 1914.

Lowe, A.
The Universities in Transformation
A good academic back ground to Ch apter V of this thesis.

Macfarland, C.S.
International Christian Movements,
Fleming H. Revell Co., New York, 1924
Poor style and faulty arran gement of ma teri al do not prevent this work from prov ing a use ful perspective view of world youth movements.

Macmurray, J.
A Challenge to the Churches, Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd.,
London, 1941.
An appeal for solidarity among the church es in their approach to problems of na tional importance. Should be read in conjunction with Chapter V.

Martin, H., ed.
The World Task of the Christian Church, B.C.M. Press, London, 1925.
This is an account of a Conference on International and missionary questions held at Manchester from December 31, 1924, to January 6, 1925. Some 1,500 delegates were drawn from 37 nations, and its find ings might be taken as general representa tive of the W.S.C.I.F. at the time. The Conference was one of a series held every four years to study the world situation in the light of the Christian faith. The book is valuable as an introduction to Chapter IV.

Holmes, Margaret, ed.
Other Men Asboured, Fifty years with the A.S.O.E., A.S.C.M., Melbourne, 1946.
The chief historical value of this series
of essays lies in its panoramic description of the period as a whole, rather than in its record of dates and events. Geographical barriers are shown to be an even greater hindrance to Australia than to the New Zealand Movement.

Hoyland, J.S.  

A Christian interpretation of history by an author whose studies have deeply influenced the New Zealand Movement.

International Consultative Group  
Spiritual Factors in the Peace Failure, 1919 to 1939, Palais Wilson, Geneva, 1940.

This report furnishes much official information to corroborate the views of students in the decade following 1925.

Irving, R.F. and Alpers, C.T.J.  

A general history of New Zealand written during the genesis of the S.C.M., and therefore of particular value as an expression of contemporary trends of thought.

Jessop T.  

Lindsay, A.D.  

A typical manifestation of the growing interest in Church, Community and State.

Mathews, B.  
Roads to the City of God, a world outlook from Jerusalem, Edinburgh House Press, London, 1928.

A popular condensation of the message sent out by the Jerusalem Conference of the International Missionary Council in 1928.

New Zealand naturally receives little direct attention, but the book provides a comprehensive account of the foundation and consolidation of the W.S.G.F.

Miller, J.G.

historical sketch in *Inter-Varsity Paper*, No. 2. I.V.P. Wellington, circ. 1941.

This represents the fundamentalist Evangelical viewpoint, and explains the reasons for the cleavage between S.C.M. and Evangelical Unions during the period.

Morse, R.C.


An autobiographical study of methods of youth work and co-operation with churches in North America. The author's principles were closely followed by John R. Mott, who succeeded him as General Secretary of the North American Y.M.C.A.'s.

Mott, J.R.


Chapters XII and XIII give an account of the Australasian tour from April to June, 1896.


An appeal for interdenominational support of missions throughout the world.


Here Mott enunciates his conviction that the Student Movement is the mainspring of cooperation among the churches.

Written after the international conference at Edinburgh, which Mott chaired, this book calls for increased initiative and co-ordinated planning by missionary societies and churches.


The founder's survey of the first quarter-century, with an optimistic approach to future tasks. As usual, Mott gives graphic statistics to illustrate every phase of development.


These lectures give, inter alia, a description of the separatist forces which were dividing the nations and classes of society.


A plea for unity of planning as well as for spiritual solidarity.

Five Decades and a Forward View, Harper Bros., New York, 1939.

Through the eyes of intimate experience Mott reviews the work of the world Church, and expresses his confident hope of ultimate reunion.


In his foreword the editor evaluates the S.C.M.'s contribution to the ecumenical movement.
Oldham, J.H. and Visser 't Hooft, W.A.

Such a book should be read as a fitting epilogue to Chapter V of this thesis.

Pettit, W.H. art.

This address gives a full account of the events which preceded the formation of separate Evangelical Unions in 1927. It is naturally biased in favour of the fundamentalist school.

Reeve, Jessie

A succinct account of the growth of the Student Volunteer Movement in its first fifteen years.

Rouse, Ruth,

A character sketch of Mett by the leader of women's work in the Federation.

Rusden G.W.,
History of New Zealand, Melville, Mullen and Blaode, Melbourne, 1895.

Like Irvine and Alpers, Rusden was writing contemporaneously with the birth of the Student Movement, and so his work is rendered more pertinent than that of later and more competent historians.

Salmon, W.H.,

In a concise report of twenty pages the Canadian secretary has distilled the essence of the A.S.C.U.'s development from 1897 to 1900.

A cursory glance at influences which presaged the rise of the W.S.C.F.


A scholarly research into the growth of the colonial Church. Useful as a background to the early period.


Evidence of the returned serviceman's attitude to the Church and the Christian faith. The book was popular among branches in the early twenties.


In an exhaustive volume of over 900 pages the author examines every significant aspect of the Movement's work prior to 1933. The history has been used throughout as a yardstick with which to measure the younger New Zealand Movement.


A secretarial report of four year's activity within the Federation, including many specific references to New Zealand conditions.


Reports from ten countries on the attitude of students and particularly of Christian students to modern nationalism.
Toronto, 1902.

A general survey of the growth of missions
and indigenous churches.

Young Men’s Christian Association,

*One Hundred Years*, a centennial
publication, National Council of
the Y.M.C.A’s of N.Z., Wellington,
1944.

A concise account of the Y.M.C.A.’s growth
since 1844.