

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHURCHES ON THE NORTH SHORE, AUCKLAND¹

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Foreword

There was no blueprint for the process of transplanting colonial Christianity to New Zealand in the nineteenth century. As people came from England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales and elsewhere, they brought with them their own experiences of church life. For some their own denominational expression of Christianity was an important part of their identity. For others that was less so. Each colonial context took on its own particular colour as the denominational proportions varied from place to place and the kind of individual leadership given to planting and maintaining churches differed. For the North Shore that religious development was influenced initially by both local initiatives and decision-makers living across the Waitemata Harbour in urban Auckland. The story of the growth of churches on the North Shore is very complex with a mixture of pragmatism, inter-church cooperation, sectarian rivalry and individual aspirations.

The rapid growth of population from the 1960s following on from the opening of the Harbour Bridge turned what had been very much a rural farming area with its strip development along the holiday beaches into northern suburbs for Auckland. More recently the North Shore has taken on its own life with its own particular demographic reflecting patterns of migration from South Africa and Korea. Boroughs and a city emerged and through amalgamation have more recently become a part of Auckland City. While the bridge and motorway provides a link north and south the North Shore has its own distinctive institutions including Auckland University of Technology (AUT) and Massey University Albany, and the naval base at Devonport. The churches on the North Shore have developed a variegated response to their own context.

Professor Peter Lineham has taken on the difficult task of making sense of the religious diversity and pluralism on the North Shore. His work comes out of two lectures he gave, one to the Anglican Historical Society and the other to the Wesley Historical Society with a particular focus in each lecture on the respective denominations. He has brought that material together and developed it further adding much more about the other denominational contributions on the North Shore.

The Wesley and Anglican Historical Societies are indebted to Peter for his lively lectures and his painstaking research that have led to this publication. We would also like to thank David Verran who with his own considerable knowledge of North Shore history kindly looked over and made helpful comments on the manuscript.

This joint publication is a first for the Wesley and Anglican Historical Societies. In the nineteenth-century imported religious baggage from England resulted in some tension and moving away from each other. For Bishop Selwyn in 1843, Methodists were in “Schism ... in other words ... in a state of Separation from the Church” and he treated their ministers as laymen. In response some of the Wesleyan missionaries replied to Selwyn that “Our ‘position’ is not that of ‘schisms’, but of a separate section of the militant church, raised up, by the special providence of God, for the accomplishment of an extraordinary work.”

The Anglican Methodist Covenant signed in 2009 in contrast acknowledged the validity of each other's ministry and the two churches committed themselves "to seek a unification of ministries". There was an acknowledgement of the mutual recognition of each other's baptism and church membership and a commitment to strengthen relationships between the two churches. This joint publication is offered to both societies and parent denominations in the spirit of that covenant. As we seek to understand our history and where we have come from we will be better able to appreciate not only what divides us but also what we share in common.

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INTRODUCTION

The North Shore of Auckland has a long history of European settlement. Although it was mainly rural until about 1950, it was from a century earlier within the penumbra of the town and city of Auckland. So in this setting rural and urban themes converge. The development of the localities in New Zealand has fascinated historians, and areas as varied as Johnsonville, South Dunedin, Gore and Kaponga have been the theme of detailed work.²

The establishment of the churches in New Zealand is often traced backwards from the current institutions. In particular, the story is often studied through parish and congregational histories. In the process two crucial elements may be missed. One is denominational planning and extension. The other is initiatives in local communities, which do not necessarily take a denominational shape. These two factors did not lead to an orderly development of churches. This project seeks to give due weight to both factors.

Rich resources have been available to assist this study. The bibliography lists the many parish histories known to me. Anglican and Methodist denominational archives provided additional resources. David Verran was commissioned to write a history of the region just before its merger into the enlarged Auckland city, and I greatly appreciated the perspectives of this history and discussions with David on aspects of the story and his careful reading of my text.³ The National Library's Papers Past online newspaper archives enabled me to trace forgotten local aspects of the story. The research has been presented to various denominational and local audiences which have each added details. I hope I have been able to provide clues to questions, about the place of religion in colonial and modern society, about the coherence of regional identity, about the movement of New Zealand society from open to closed to open again. In some respects the North Shore is an unusual mix, neither suburb nor isolated country district, but its story may provide examples to illustrate both themes.

CHAPTER ONE

The Puzzle of Local New Zealand Religion

In recent years there has been debate on the place of religion in local society. Miles Fairburn's thesis suggests that nineteenth century New Zealand society was 'atomised' until it stabilised in the 1880s.⁴ This suggests that early community organisations must have struggled. Other researchers have argued that local communities were very aware of broader imperial issues, and invite us to place religious developments in broader perspectives. Theories of 'secularisation' may also be tested in the local degree of interest in religion. An alternative approach focuses on the growing competitiveness of religious suppliers and changing demand for religion; it offers an interesting perspective on local developments.

Such theories are highly relevant to the North Shore, because it was never just a rural community, given its proximity to Auckland due to the extensive ferry connections with the city; but it was not fully suburbanised until after the opening of the Auckland Harbour Bridge in 1959. If for these reasons it can never be typical, it illustrates many of the issues of the place of religion in rural society, in suburban society, and in modernising society. Moreover it is large enough to exemplify religious competition, yet small enough that most of the religious strands in the community can be traced.

When churches were planted in New Zealand among settlers from about 1840, religious pluralism had already emerged within the mission to the Maori. Maori had also learned to play off the various 'suppliers' off against each other. Thus there were two very clear tools for the evangelisation of Maori based on the North Shore. The Catholic College for Maori boys established with government land grants at Shoal Bay in 1847 was intended to parallel to St Stephen's College (Anglican) and Three Kings College (Wesleyan). A *New Zealand Herald* reporter in 1864 described a solid scoria building which had lost many of its Maori students but still retained fifty-seven students (twenty of them Maori, others of them 'white orphans'), under the direction of Fr Laurent Vinay, and another five staff.⁵ However this school was suspended soon after this date. Evangelization was also assisted by Anglican ministry. From 1866 to 1872, Benjamin Ashwell, the former Church Missionary Society missionary in the Waikato, served not only as vicar of the district, but was also licensed to the Maori communities of North Mahurangi and Te Muri.⁶ Eruera Maihi Patuone, a rangatira of

Ngapuhi, and elder brother of Tamati Waka Nene, was resident on the North Shore in the latter years of his life. In 1841 his wife had sold 9500 acres on the site of the present Alison Park and Waitemata Golf Course on the North Shore to the Crown, but the rangatira's family continued to live at Te Katu, by Lagoon Bay and, after some difficulties with settlers, Patuone was compensated in 1852 by 110 acres at Waiwhariki on Takapuna Beach and what is now Esmonde Road. He also had a pa, Riria, in Devonport. Some Maori of his settlement are reported attending occasional social and religious events on the Shore. As befitted a baptised Anglican he was buried in the graveyard of the Devonport Anglican parish church in 1872.⁷ Thereafter few Maori lived in the district having evacuated as a result of the 1863 curfew on local Maori imposed as a result of the fear of the invasion of Auckland.

European religious institutions were not primarily evangelistic, but they were still somewhat competitive. In Auckland, churches were denominational and competitive from the outset. Although the North Shore was very close to Auckland, church history in this district was somewhat different.

The religious providers were the denominations. They established churches and they needed the congregations to make them viable. At this point they faced the preferences and interests of local settlers. No-one had to attend church, and there were various motives for the choices they made. Supply and demand both played a role in the development of the churches. The religious history of the North Shore needs to be explored from both angles.

Denominational Strategies on the North Shore

Denominational strategies are more easily discerned than local trends, and the North Shore was close enough to Auckland to be targeted by church leaders. Each denomination had its own approach.

The Anglican approach developed by Bishop Selwyn was based on the number of clergy and income at his disposal. He quickly identified a small number of parishes, defined as financially self-supporting which were entitled to appoint their own vicar and be represented at synods. He divided the rest of his vast diocese into parochial districts, to which he appointed priests in charge. The church left it to settlers to build churches. Bishop Selwyn created a North Shore parochial district in 1856 and appointed a clergyman to it. This district stretched from Devonport to the

Wade (known to local Maori as Weiti, and known after 1911 as Silverdale) and to Helensville. The first clergyman, the Rev. Edward H. Heywood, itinerated through the district on a monthly cycle, although he focused on Devonport as the largest centre of population.⁸ He is recorded as holding services in houses of settlers at Stokes Point (later renamed Northcote), Lucas Creek (renamed Albany in 1890), at Helensville and possibly at The Wade. Three laymen, William Shakespear in Whangaparaoa and A. Long and Captain Charles Ross Cholmondley Smith in Long Bay, were licensed as lay readers and encouraged to read matins in their districts.

The Presbyterian Church was very active in Auckland, even though the number of Scots was few. The Rev. David Bruce, Presbyterian minister in the town, organised the Auckland Presbytery in 1856 and from 1862 was the first convenor of the Home Mission Committee of the Northern Presbyterian Church. He thought carefully about the task of building a Presbyterian community. His two priorities were firstly to secure sites for churches and to find ministers for the places where settlers were prepared to support them, and secondly to fund lay home missionaries for other regions. He asked the Scottish Presbyterian denominations to provide young ministers for the rural districts. Several new ministers were placed in churches, and several home missionaries were placed north of Auckland. The first home missionary was John Shaw who was placed at the Wade with responsibilities to Kaukapakapa and the Kaipara early in 1863, no doubt with the hope of supporting Albertland settlers.⁹ Bruce attended the opening of the church in the Wade, and he purchased property in many places including Lucas Creek. His reminders to the Presbytery of the needs of the north ensured that Presbyterians did not forget their obligations, but the northern districts were supported much less than those south of the Waitaki River, where the Free Church was more generous.¹⁰

The Wesleyan circuit system facilitated the planting of new congregations even in country districts. The district preaching plan identified preaching places and provided them with a regular supply of preachers, many of whom were laymen. The Auckland Wesleyan Home Missionary Society which was founded in 1862 set out to employ lay preachers to visit Maori and isolated settlers beyond the scope of the preaching plan. Such appointments depended on the availability of funds. The Rev. Isaac Harding made pastoral visits in districts from Auckland to Whangarei, and became aware that the need was urgent, describing how:

He found many who formerly were associated with the church in England and elsewhere, and who then behaved as became the gospel of Christ but who, in the bush, without the instructions and exhortations of the pulpit, or the quickening and strengthening of other Christian ordinances, had let go their Christian principle and forgotten their Christian duties. He found such neglecting the observance of the Sabbath, forgetful of family prayer, and allowing their children to grow up without baptism or religious instruction. He found some retaining their religious forms and phraseology, but without the spirit and temper which these were designed to cherish and express. At the same time he met everywhere with expressions of regret that the preacher of the gospel should be seen so seldom, and the kindly welcome accorded to their visitor proved the words of those who entertained him sincerely.¹¹

Initially the focus was on reaching out to isolated church adherents. Early appointments included William Burton as a home missionary in the Whangarei district, while the Kaipara region was placed under the missionaries to Maori, William Gittos and Mr Smith. The region from the Wade to Mahurangi was entrusted to J.S. Hudson, who had settled in the Dome Valley in 1859 and who in England had been a probationer for the ministry previous to his migration to New Zealand.¹² Hudson built a chapel in his valley and served as a home missionary there for the rest of his life at his own expense.¹³ Unfortunately there was no money to keep others in the field. The first missionaries had cost around £200, but the disruption of the New Zealand Wars and the decline in income for the Home Mission meant that the policy fell to one side.

The North Shore appeared on the Wesleyans' Auckland Circuit preaching plan in 1855 as North Head, along with other sites at Shoal Bay, Matakana and Wharerora (possibly Waiwera or Whareora near Whangarei).¹⁴ The plan utilised local preachers where available, but the organisation was the responsibility of the primary Auckland Circuit. It was not until 1882 that there was a North Shore Circuit.

Catholic strategies seem to have been predicated upon availability of priests on the one hand and community initiatives on the other. Providing ministry in the huge Auckland Diocese was made more difficult by the lack of support from male religious orders. So while Auckland had regular clergy, there were none north of Auckland. Fr James McDonald undertook peripetatic work in Northland and South Auckland, and this included the North Shore. The Bohemians who came to Puhoi in 1863 were eager

for a resident priest, but none was appointed until 1877 and the church was not completed until 1881.¹⁵ In the North Shore, the school at Shoal Bay was the only Catholic presence. After the school transferred to Auckland, the buildings were used as an orphanage and it was the only Catholic institution on the North Shore for most of the nineteenth century. The tiny chapel of the school was also attended by the local Catholic population. When Pompallier visited the school in 1867, Thomas Poynton gave the church an extra section of land bordering on Lake Pupuke.¹⁶

Community Churches

The other aspect of the planting of churches was the initiative of settlers. The North Shore was at first largely a country district. The population of the whole Waitemata electorate (which stretched far beyond the North Shore and into west Auckland) was only 2278 in the 1874 census and the Waitemata County had 3424 residents in 1878, fifty-three per cent of them Anglicans. Rapid growth in the later nineteenth century changed the situation, with the now separate Devonport reaching 3823 residents by 1901 while Waitemata County grew to 7035 residents. The Wesleyan Methodist minister, the Rev. Thomas Buddle in 1882 'gave a happy account of some of his visits to Northcote and other places in the North, which he made some thirty years ago. The early days of Mr Buddle's ministry were fraught with danger and great difficulties. The miles of rough travelling, the raupo whares to stay in, and other reminiscences and exploits were recounted to the great pleasure and interest of the meeting.'¹⁷

The country districts were not quite as bereft of the comforts of religion as one might suppose from denominational descriptions. Certainly they lacked regular clergy, but this did not deprive them of church services. The settlers arranged these services for themselves, usually with the help of a range of denominations. Joint use community churches and services in schoolrooms with alternating visits by clergy and lay preachers were very common in the early years of the colony. Typically one of the earliest public buildings in any district was a Protestant church on land provided by one person and built by community contributions. Clergy would use the building when they were in the district. Often the church would double as a school room, or the school room as a church; the provision of education and religion were associated in the popular mind. One denomination might own the church, but it would allow others to use it.

Lay preachers or ministers of denominations would take turns to provide services, and all Protestant settlers would attend them. Sometimes there were weekly services, sometimes less frequent. The typical sequence was that every month Anglicans, Presbyterians and Wesleyan Methodists took responsibility for one week, which left the fourth Sunday for other arrangements. In some cases a local layman would provide a community service, not necessarily identified with a denominational label.

This tradition of joint use churches was confined to Protestants. Some Catholics may have participated in these services but if a priest visited, services were not held in these buildings. Moreover, the status of these buildings was often unclear. Sometimes a local farmer would allow a church to be built on his property, but if the land were sold, then the building was lost. This is why some of these early buildings are very difficult to identify. While schedules for the holding of these services were established by locals, someone had to organise and lead the service, and attendance often reflected local opinion about the service leader. There are entertaining descriptions from other regions of ardent lay preachers whose conduct of services did not appeal to the tastes of all of their neighbours.

Many people on the North Shore seem to have been reasonably content to go to any service, regardless of who was leading it, be they Anglican lay readers, Methodist local preachers or other local people. The services were plain and unpretentious, those by Anglican lay readers following the liturgy for morning and evening prayer. People of different denominations were welcome at them. (An example is the Alison family who hosted the Anglican Bishop, assisted with the building of the Devonport Anglican Church, gave money to the Wesleyans and yet were buried in the Presbyterian section of the Mt Victoria Cemetery, according to David Verran.) To us this seems a very efficient arrangement, well suited to country districts, but there were a number of problems. Bishop Selwyn's ecclesiology made the system awkward, for in his view a joint use building could not be consecrated, and he had made it clear to Methodists when he first arrived in the country that he regarded their churchmanship as suspect. Moreover the need for volunteer ministrants probably outran the supply. The Rev. P.F. McKenzie expressed concern to the Auckland Presbytery that he had to provide services at Stokes Point, Lucas Creek and the Wade and he was unable to get supply preachers to fill in at his own church at

Devonport, so as a result he had to shut the doors there once a month.¹⁸ For all of these reasons joint use churches were generally seen as second best, and they were gradually succeeded by denominational segregation. A survey of the districts of the North Shore clarifies the issues.

North of the North Shore: the Wade, Orewa, Whangaparaoa and Lucas Creek

The Wade is a typical example of the confusion that could arise from community churches, at least among later historians. Evidence exists of a very early Wesleyan chapel and of a very early Presbyterian chapel. Various historians have invented buildings to satisfy stories but the logical way to reconcile these two stories is to combine them!¹⁹

The Wade featured on the Wesleyan Methodist circuit preaching plan from 1857.²⁰ The Auckland Circuit book for 1860 (based on attendance at Wesleyan classes) reports five members at the Wade, and three on trial, who contributed twelve shillings to the circuit but also records two deaths that year.²¹ There are later reports of a church opened on 8 April 1860 and separate reports of a chapel opened in 1862 built of heart kauri and roofed in local shingles on a site donated by Mr Lamont. A soiree was held at the Wesleyan chapel at Wade Bridge crossing the Weiti River in August 1866.²² The Wade's Wesleyan Methodist congregation was led by William Polkinghorn, a Cornish miner, who was listed on Wesleyan preaching plans as an exhorter. The Methodist historian, the Rev. William Morley, described his own struggle to cross the river bar to reach this isolated community. Services were also held at Wainui inland from here about 1880.²³ Much discussion has focused on the Wade building, which some claim was the old High Street Chapel which must have been dragged north. If this is correct, the little church now in the Silverdale Early Settlers Village may be the first Wesleyan chapel in Auckland erected in 1843.²⁴

As for Presbyterians, the Rev. David Bruce, the Auckland Presbyterian patriarch opened a church (which the newspaper called a Presbyterian Church) in April 1860, and John Shaw was appointed as probationer minister by the Auckland Presbytery in 1863. He fell ill and thereafter Presbyterians were dependent on visiting preachers from Devonport.²⁵ Presbyterians held regular services and social events at the church from the mid-1860s (at one of which a local Presbyterian leader dropped dead) and regular services continued there.²⁶

Three churches, two or one? In April 1864 a newspaper report on the Wade noted that because it had no regular shipping service it languished without church or clergyman, library or school.²⁷ At least one chapel was definitely opened at the Wade in April 1860,²⁸ and the clear evidence is that this building was later shared by all denominations. There is a significant overlap of such names as Thomas Lloyd, and William Polkinghorn. In January 1880 a soiree aimed to raise money for a harmonium for the church at the Wade.²⁹ A 1948 account recalls the time when members of different denominations shared the use of the one church, but notes that one Sunday when the Presbyterian service was under way, the Anglicans arrived for their service, and this stimulated them to build their own church.³⁰ This would have been in 1885, for Anglican services were begun in the Presbyterian Church in 1879 by Thomas Leigh, a local farmer and Anglican lay reader (who continued to serve until 1906). Leigh donated the land and advanced money for the timber when the Anglican Church was opened in 1885.³¹ Thereafter, the Anglicans became the most active religious body while eventually the Wesleyan Methodist and Presbyterian congregations folded. When the Parish of Warkworth was created in 1877 it extended south to Silverdale and Waiwera. The vicar was based at Warkworth, so services at Silverdale and Waiwera were generally conducted by lay readers with occasional visits by clergy from the North Shore and Devonport parishes. There was also a Sunday school conducted at the home of Tom and Mrs Percy at Stillwater and children were rowed across the Wade to attend it.³² In very recent years the building has been moved closer to where the area has finally become a place of booming numbers. The earliest firm evidence of services in Whangaparaoa comes from 1894 when services were held by Anglicans, Presbyterians and Methodists at the home of George Arkles in Arkles Bay.³³

Much further north in Mahurangi (Warkworth) there was a strong Presbyterian presence among the earliest settlers. The community church erected there on a site given by Captain Daldy in 1854 was effectively a Presbyterian church, although in the absence of clergy the services held were not denominational. David Bruce arranged for the parish to become a 'regular charge' and the Rev. Robert McKimney from Northern Ireland was inducted in October 1856 and served here for the next fifty years.³⁴ He also held services in various other places in the wider district including the

Wade. There was also a small Wesleyan presence in the district for in December 1860 a Wesleyan Class contributed £1 18s 8d to circuit income in Auckland.³⁵

Meanwhile in Lucas Creek (renamed Albany), which was reached by the Great North Road that ran from the Wade down to Northcote, David Bruce, bought eight acres for a church in 1858, and 'Bruce's Shed' was used from 1865 for lay-led services. Visits to the little chapel were being scheduled by Wesleyan and Anglican preachers from 1874, and in 1880 it was reported that monthly Anglican services were conducted by the Rev. P.S. Smallfield and Thomas Seaman. The harmonium was played at all services by Miss Smith of Long Bay. Salvation Army services were held here in the 1880s for a few weeks. An interdenominational Sunday school was led by Mrs Battersby from 1894 to 1920. By 1903 the church was formally a Presbyterian one although fortnightly Methodist services continued in the church until 1916 when they reverted to monthly.³⁶

If this all seems very chaotic, these areas were not highly settled, and other reports suggest that gum diggers and rough and ready settlers were not desperate for services. As a result the denominations took their time to get established.

Devonport

The first Protestant services on the North Shore were conducted by Bishop Selwyn in the home of Alexander and Jane Alison which was located near North Head on Torpedo Bay in the Hundred of Pupuke (the first local government structure) in the early 1850s. In May 1854 a community meeting decided to build a church and set up a committee which included most of the pioneer families, Duder, Alison, Wyles, Captain Isaac Burgess, O'Neill and Woodham. A little building was erected on land leased from Captain Burgess on the corner of Vauxhall Road and Church Street in January 1855. While this was described as an Anglican schoolroom, the building was available for services by any Protestant group.³⁷

The establishment of a Wesleyan Methodist class at the Flagstaff near Mt Victoria by a Mr Brown (possibly William Hoile Brown) was the first signal of denominationalism.³⁸ Better transport meant that it was possible to place Devonport on the Auckland circuit plan. Morley remembered being rowed over to Devonport in a whale boat by W. Holmes and J. Burnett on Saturday night and back on Monday morning.³⁹ This only took place once every quarter, but Devonport grew rapidly in the 1860s due to the advent of a boat building industry in the area, with rowing boats

crossing the harbour daily from 1861 and then in 1865 the paddle steamer *Enterprise* plied the route. This enabled the Wesleyan Methodists to make more regular provision for Devonport on their circuit plans.

The next development was when the Rev. Thomas Kerr, who had been given charge of the North Shore by Bishop Selwyn, called a meeting late in 1864 of Messrs. Beddoes, Duder, Alison, Holmes, Mays, and Captains Wynyard and Burgess and encouraged them to call tenders for a church at the Flagstaff. These tenders were called in November 1864, and on 27 December a soiree at which the Rev. Kerr was featured reading *Pickwick Papers*, was held at the Devonport Dockyard in support of this new church.⁴⁰

This building project meant that Wesleyan Methodists felt challenged to make provision for their own needs. Auckland Circuit was in a very ebullient mood due to many conversions at the time through the ministry of 'California Taylor', the great American preacher. The gift of a site by Mr Trevarthan led to a move to build their own church in Devonport. On 7 January 1865 a meeting was held to establish a Wesleyan Church in 'North Devonport' (the site of the current school which is on the eastern slopes of Mount Victoria in Old Lake Road now Church Street) since the main village, such as it was, lay near North Head.⁴¹ Taking advantage of Regatta Day (30 January) 'it was resolved to hold a tea meeting, in a large tent to be pitched on the chapel site, on Monday, the 10th instant (regatta day). Refreshment stalls, and outdoor amusements for the young folks, are also to be provided. A committee was formed to carry out the arrangements, with instructions to provide for the conveyance of parties from Auckland; the boat-fare is to be included in the price of the ticket.'⁴²

Unfortunately the Wesleyans were let down when their Auckland brethren were unable to make it across the harbour to the event.⁴³ Tenders closed for the Wesleyan building on 19 April.⁴⁴ Building had commenced by June, probably with the objective of beating the Anglicans.⁴⁵ This modest Wesleyan church, sized 25 by 38 feet, and adorned in the gothic style, was opened on 13 August 1865.

Divine service was conducted at eleven o'clock, forenoon, and six, evening, by the Rev. Thomas Buddle. A large congregation was present at each service, at the close of which collections were made in aid of the building fund. The want of such a building was much felt by the residents in that locality, and it

will be convenient for persons staying at that fashionable watering-place during the summer season. The church stands east and west on a beautiful site. It is erected in the decorated Gothic style of architecture. The frontage, which faces the west, extends 25 feet, and the length of the building is 38 feet. The walls are supported with buttresses, and the edifice is lighted by means of three pointed windows on each side and two in the west front. There is also in the western front an ornamental rose-window. The windows are so constructed as to serve, as ventilators. The western gable terminates with apex and cross. The roof is open timber work, with circular knees. There is a single aisle running down the centre of the church, with a small vestibule or lobby at the entrance, in front, while at the extreme end is a raised dais and pulpit. The building, which is constructed on a simple but ornamental design, was erected, by Mr. G. Holdship, from plans furnished by Mr. Cameron, architect. It is intended, so soon as the funds at the disposal of the committee will permit, to erect a small tower, with, octagonal turret, clock-face, and a spire, which will materially add to the ornamental appearance of the structure; The church will afford sitting accommodation of upwards of one hundred worshippers.⁴⁶

The trustees of the building were W.H. Brown, W. Holmes, J. Burnett, J.L. Wilson, with Messrs Welsman and French.⁴⁷ Services were held each Sunday at 11 am and 3 pm with Sunday school at 2:30 pm. The preachers listed included the Rev. James Wallis, Messrs Burton, Carr, Collis, Fletcher, Hogg, Otway, Welsman, Wilson, and one North Shore preacher, Blakey. Its quarterly collection contributed 13s 6d to the Auckland circuit in March and rose to 19s 6d in September.⁴⁸ The class led by Brother Brown had a modest five to six members in 1866 and contributed £1 14s and another £1 13s 2d rising in June to £3 16s 11d.⁴⁹

The much grander episcopal church was opened in the same street in September 1865. Anglicanism was the dominant church in nineteenth century Auckland, and the Devonport church asserted its pre-eminence. They took little notice of the competition:

The rapid increase of the population of the North Shore during the past three years has lately made the want of a suitable church for the district very strongly felt. The parish schoolroom, which for ten years has been placed at the service of all the Protestant denominations by the trustees, and the only

building in the district suitable for divine service, was no longer capable of holding the number of worshippers. The Church Building Committee however, persistently refused to build a 'barn', and preferred waiting until sufficient funds had been obtained to erect a building worthy of the name of a church and adapted to the growing wants of this favourite suburb.⁵⁰

It was an expensive building costing £550. The style was gothic, but the building was higher and longer than the Wesleyan chapel, and could seat 200 people, compared to the 100 seats provided by the Wesleyans. As early as 1866 it had crowded services.⁵¹ This church was removed to the back of St Augustine's, Calliope Road in 1911.⁵²

These congregations faced additional competition from the Presbyterians. The Auckland Presbytery sent a young minister, the Rev. John Wallace, to serve in Devonport and the Wade in 1867. Although services initially opened in the now deserted schoolroom, Wallace determined to erect a church in North Devonport, and this church was opened on 24 March 1867 also on Lake Road a little way from the Anglican Church. It was 44 by 22 feet and cost £250. The Rev. David Bruce presided at the first service.⁵³

Wallace moved on to the Whangarei church in 1870. The Rev. Robert Sommerville, the minister at the Whau, was recuperating from an accident and for eighteen months stepped in and led services.⁵⁴ The next Presbyterian minister, the Rev. P.J. McKenzie, did not enjoy having to preach in several churches each week, and soon resigned his charge. In 1875 the Presbytery were still struggling to find a successor.⁵⁵

There was some co-operation between the Presbyterians and Wesleyan Methodists, and in 1869 Wallace pressed for a more formal co-operation between the three denominations:

Suppose there was now a Wesleyan minister stationed at the North Shore, why should there not be an arrangement between that minister, and Mr. Ashwell, and himself (Mr. Wallace) by which, in turns, each should occupy the building in North Shore, while the other two went away to different parts of the district?⁵⁶

It was a noble hope, but Devonport had too much potential to let a Sunday pass without denominational services. The Anglicans used lay ministrations when Ashwell was on leave in England.⁵⁷

The Wesleyans proved to be the weakest of the three congregations. Some of the committed Wesleyans went to the Thames gold rush, leaving a debt on the building of £80 and those who remained felt overwhelmed by this burden.⁵⁸ In the course of two quarters in 1866-67 five members transferred, leaving four in Brother Brown's class.⁵⁹ Services may have become less regular and the quarterly meeting in December 1868 considered a proposal to sell the church although small collections and Brown's class's money were still arriving in 1869 and 1870.⁶⁰ However it was decided to suspend services over the winter months of 1871 and collections ended in 1871 when this building was sold to a District Committee as a site for the Devonport School.⁶¹ (The control of that school proved to be a very contentious local issue.⁶²) Cottage meetings led by Landers and Holmes kept the cause going, and then a small room for services was erected on the property of Mr Landers.⁶³

The Devonport Anglican congregation was very active. It had a day school and in 1881 a third church was built on the same site, which is the present church. In 1884 Devonport became a full parish.⁶⁴ Yet early ministers were supportive of cooperation between Protestants, and attended public events with the other ministers on the Shore. The Anglican Sunday school attracted 80 children of all denominations and had to be held in the Devonport Hall.⁶⁵

O'Neill's Point and Bayswater

Meanwhile Anglicans also moved up the coast towards Takapuna. In June 1865 a church was opened at O'Neill's Point in Bayswater, described as 'a large and elegant structure, designed by Messrs. Barnard and Allen'.⁶⁶ It was modest in size, 25 feet by 18 and the site was donated by James O'Neill, the person after whom the district was named. The Church cost £110, and on completion a debt of £45 remained on it.⁶⁷

Stokes Point (Northcote)

The road from the Wade terminated at the ferry wharf at Stokes Point (modern Northcote Point). Selwyn accepted a gift of land for a church site from Major Isaac Rhodes Cooper at the top of the hill above Little Shoal Bay and consecrated the land in June 1859.

The church was built at a cost of £144.11.9 which had been raised by donations from Auckland and North Shore worthies.⁶⁸ When the little church was opened by the Bishop on 24 June (the feast of St John), the steamer *Emu* brought citizens of Auckland across at 10 am and returned them at 1 pm. It was described as ‘the North Shore Church’ for it preceded everything except the schoolroom-church at Devonport.⁶⁹ The costs included a vicarage of two rooms, and this is where the vicar of the North Shore, E.H. Heywood, lived until he became vicar of St Mark’s, Remuera in 1863. His successor, Thomas Kerr, may also have lived there until the Anglican Church was built at Devonport. Heywood’s daughter wrote to Yolande Carter in 1948 describing all the walking that he did, and how his wife pumped the harmonium with one foot and rocked the cradle of her newborn son with the other!⁷⁰ There is a delightful account of the church in 1873:

Lying out among the shadowy hills was the happy vale of Mr Bartley, and to the left of the Wade-road we spied the simple spireless church, with its adjacent school, originally intended for some forlorn bachelor minister, but who never came. The parsonage, or manse, might have suited the modest views of some Dr. Primrose, ‘passing rich with four, by pounds a-year’ who would have been content therein.⁷¹

This church while much altered is the oldest building on the North Shore. But at this time it served as the local community church, with services provided by laymen and ministers from various denominations, initially every Sunday afternoon at 3 pm.⁷² Anglican services were held here on a fortnightly basis, and on the alternate Sundays, the Wesleyans. The Presbyterians too held fortnightly services in the church for some years until February 1882.⁷³ Meanwhile the unoccupied tiny vicarage was used for a while as the first school of the district at Stokes Point from October 1873 until 1878, with Thomas Seaman as headmaster.⁷⁴ His skills may have led to the commencement of a fund to replace the old harmonium which was actively pursued in 1881, giving marvellous opportunities for frivolity.⁷⁵

By 1868 most Anglican services at Stokes Point were conducted by a lay reader who was paid a small sum by the diocese, although an attempt was made to dispose of his services in 1868.⁷⁶ His duties also included conducting Anglican services at the Lake (Takapuna) Church as well, and the parish was urged to pay him for this work.⁷⁷ A few years later the Anglican lay reader was the school teacher

Thomas Seaman, who also farmed land in the Forrest Hill region, and he criss-crossed the North Shore holding services in one or more of the small churches every Sunday.⁷⁸

Seaman came from a Dissenting background in Norfolk and Hampshire. He and his wife emigrated in 1865; from 1870 they farmed in Forrest Hill, and then moved to Shakespeare Road.⁷⁹ Seaman financed himself by a school conducted at first in the buildings of the former Roman Catholic College at Takapuna.⁸⁰ By 1880 Anglican services were being held every Sunday morning by the lay reader, Edward Matthews of Woodside (Northcote) with occasional visits from the Rev. P.S. Smallfield and Joseph Bates.⁸¹ A church committee was organised, and with the establishment of a separate school, church services became more regular, with a choir; a cemetery was also provided.⁸² There was even a proposal to move the church to a more prominent site because the Wesleyans in Birkenhead had started to attract many locals of all denominations.⁸³ But it was still an agricultural district, and the celebration of the first harvest festival in 1881 was followed by a community dance in the public hall.⁸⁴ It is interesting to see that there was a participant from St Mary's, Parnell (Mr Slater) in one of the concerts to raise funds to replace the church organ.⁸⁵

The Lake (Takapuna)

Another little community school and church, 16 feet by 30 feet, was erected at the Lake (modern Takapuna) in 1861-62 by public subscription.⁸⁶ It was built on Benjamin Menary's property in Northcote Road (near the modern Smales Farm) on a co-operative basis and may have served initially as a school for the local community but by 1866 it was also in use as a church on Sundays.⁸⁷ The Methodist scholar, the Rev. E.W. Hames, recalled being taken as a boy to 'the tiny settlers church in the Northcote Road', as well he should have been, for his father, Luther Hames served as Sunday school superintendent there from about 1893 as well as the local schoolmaster.⁸⁸ In 1868 there were extensive newspaper accounts of the celebration of the second anniversary of the church, which was attended by folk from Auckland, who landed at Barry's Point in Shoal Bay and made their way to the Lake Church for a tea meeting and concert. The Presbyterian minister from Devonport, who attended, made much of the cooperative tone of the enterprise:

They had been worshipping in that church for two years, and had managed to keep themselves free from sectarianism, the whole congregation having

worked as brethren in one common faith. The church had been attended by ministers of all denominations, and the greatest union had been manifested in all their doings. They had gathered together for the purpose of being social with each other. It was their nature to be social; it was even more — it was their duty, but they should take care how their inclinations in this respect were gratified.⁸⁹

These words were echoed by other ministers present. The church was still going strong a year later, still rejoicing in its lack of sectarianism.⁹⁰ From 1874 to 1879 a Presbyterian minister, Peter Mason, was paid to conduct services there on alternate Sundays, and an interdenominational Sunday school was conducted by an Anglican woman assisted by a Presbyterian.⁹¹ Mason's successor, the Rev. Alexander MacCallum, was less enthusiastic, because the Anglican lay reader, Mr Evans, who alternated with him, was paid £35 per year while he received nothing. As far as he was concerned, the Presbyterian families hardly justified a separate service.⁹²

Reflections

'Supply side' analyses of religion from America have in recent years postulated the risk of simply looking at attendance patterns, and argued that the better supply of religious services resulted in a higher rate of attendance.⁹³

The founders of these joint use churches were key figures in the early European history of the North Shore. Menary, Shakespear and Leigh were all important early landowners of the North Shore. While most of the church builders were Anglican, they choose to create community churches. They wanted them to be used by the whole community and they knew that the Anglican Diocese was not in a position to provide ordained ministers for the churches. So these churches were interim solutions for the needs of the community.

As for the notion that New Zealand before 1880 was comprised of atomised individuals, this study shows some of the reasons for that impression. There was at first a striking absence of community resources. However, where the state and the denominations were slow to make provision, local leaders soon emerged who were eager to improvise local solutions. They focused on roads, churches and schools. The church was thus a community focus. The memories of Mrs Solomon of Wainui are doubtless typical:

A close relationship existed between church and school. The visiting clergy rode on horseback or walked, travelling long distances to outlying settlements before the churches were built. Religious instruction and scripture was taught in the schools by all faiths. People attended church whether they were religiously inclined or not. The church was the only place where they could meet other people. They stood outside the church before the start of the service, talking to one another. They lingered in groups afterwards, hungry for conversation.⁹⁴

The link between community church and community school was similarly evident in Devonport, Northcote, Takapuna and the Wade. It was only subsequently that the introduction of state schooling and of denominational churches brought a parting of the ways.

In the long term most people wanted to worship in buildings that reflected their idea of church. Anglicans wanted an altar and reverence; Presbyterians valued a plain church with a pulpit, and Wesleyans wanted singing and exhorting. Each in their own way were truly settling down in the community, and therefore they aspired to have their own church. Changing patterns of worship over the next few years made these needs more acute and undoubtedly the increase in churches also increased attendance, although it probably weakened the link between church and community.

CHAPTER TWO

Diversity among the Denominations on the North Shore

By the 1870s and 1880s, the process of denominationalisation of the North Shore had spread extensively, although not at the same rate, since it was roughly proportionate to the suburbanisation of the Shore. Along with this went a steady differentiation in styles of worship between the denominations, which reached a peak with the debate over ritualism in the Anglican Church and the revivalism which Wesleyan Methodism adopted. Meanwhile, the professionalization of local clergy differentiated the churches. This did not necessarily create divisions, for the clergy often fraternised with each other, appearing at social events for each other's churches and helping with the endless fundraising necessary to support all community facilities. There were now occasional fears that youths were not attending church and might be inclining towards larrikinism instead.⁹⁵

The most dramatic difference to the North Shore happened when the Chelsea sugar refinery workers began to arrive in 1883. Immediately the Wesleyans saw the opportunity for an evangelistic opportunity, and the Anglicans established a mission church.⁹⁶

Denominationalism was attractive to members, and it was effective in extending the church across the North Shore. In European history churches were highly intolerant. However, by the nineteenth century, Christianity was deeply denominationalised. Denominationalism emerged as a result of home and foreign missions and it seems to reflect the capitalist approach of competition providing incentives for growth. Denominations took responsibility for the various services and structures of a 'proper' church. The role of this differentiated and diverse Christianity is the focus of this stage of church development on the North Shore.

The Anglican Parochial District of the North Shore

The Anglican parochial district defined in 1856 stretched from Devonport to the Wade and to Helensville, and the diocese provided a vicar alongside the lay readers. The first vicar, the Rev. Edward H. Heywood, focused his ministry on Devonport.⁹⁷ At first he lived across the harbour at Auckland, but then moved into the vicarage beside the Stokes Point Church as he moved between Stokes Point, Lucas Creek,

Helensville and the Wade, holding services in the homes of settlers. Bishop Selwyn was concerned to ensure Heywood a full stipend, and when the members of the North Shore Vestry declined to underwrite this, he appointed him vicar of St Mark's in Remuera where the parishioners had guaranteed a stipend of £150.

Heywood was replaced from 1863 to 1866 by the Rev. Thomas Kerr who was given responsibility for the North Shore but also (in return for a special grant of £25 per annum) the settlements in the Kaipara, Mahurangi, Matakana and elsewhere. It was a vast area, but the offerings of settlers did not provide him with an adequate stipend.⁹⁸ Kerr had a maritime background. Christened at Portsmouth on 5 September 1824, he had trained at Greenwich as a cartographer for the Royal Navy. It was as master's assistant on HMS *Pandora* and HMS *Acheron* that he helped chart the New Zealand waters, and became master of HMS *Acheron*. He then helped to survey of the China coast, and 1858 was recruited by Selwyn to serve on the Melanesian Mission ship. He was ordained a deacon for this work in January 1862. When he fell out with another member of the mission in 1863 he returned to Auckland and was placed on the North Shore.⁹⁹ North Shore Anglicans had continued links with Melanesia through the Rev. John Palmer of the Melanesian Mission who lived his final years on the Shore and was buried at O'Neill's Point Cemetery in 1902.¹⁰⁰ Kerr's parish ministry was a brief interruption in his career, but his links with the North Shore remained, for he purchased land at Flagstaff and lived at Stokes Point after he ceased his ministry. He returned to the United Kingdom about 1869, becoming director of the Meteorological Observatory at Valentia, Co. Kerry.¹⁰¹

Selwyn next placed an evacuated missionary, the Rev. Benjamin Ashwell, on the Shore, giving him the dual role of Maori missionary and priest in charge of the North Shore parochial district. Ashwell had commenced his service with the Church Missionary Society in Sierra Leone in 1833 and came to New Zealand in 1835, serving at Taupiri in the Waikato, but had retreated to Auckland in 1865. Initially he assisted Kerr at Devonport but was inducted as Vicar of the North Shore when Kerr resigned. He served at Devonport until 1872 but then resigned in order to return to his mission station.¹⁰²

Ashwell was an evangelical who was very comfortable with Presbyterians and Wesleyans with the same outlook and uncomfortable with ritualistic outlooks and liberal theology.¹⁰³ Preaching thus on the North Shore, he affirmed the conservative

Protestantism of most settler Christianity. When he departed, Bishop Cowie persuaded church members to apply to become a parish, thus giving them choice of their new vicar, in return for financial responsibility. They enthusiastically agreed.¹⁰⁴ Action was not forthcoming, however, and Joseph Bates was appointed by the bishop as priest in charge. He supplemented his income by serving as the local schoolmaster and lacking a vicarage he lived initially in Auckland. In 1878 Bishop Cowie again urged the vestry to provide a full-time stipend of £200 per year and vicarage, which would enable Bates to take more responsibility for the outlying districts including the Wade, Lucas Creek and Takapuna. For his part, Bates was enthusiastic:

He would like very much to pay periodical visits to the settlements named in the Bishop's letter. He might mention that at the Wade no Sunday service of their Church had been held, but once, for four years. It might also be possible for him to visit the Waiwera, where the people were anxious for the visits of a clergyman, and readily contributed to his support. There were also many scattered settlements in this district equally destitute of religious supervision. He thought the district might conveniently be worked from Devonport as a centre.¹⁰⁵

This proposal reflected the maturing of Devonport's status and its stronger links with the city. It became much more common during that era for Auckland people to attend North Shore events and then head home on a special late ferry. The Vestry were reluctant to support the proposal, fearful that the congregation at Devonport would attend another denomination if their clergyman was not available. Finally in 1879 the Diocesan Synod approved the formation of the Parish of the Holy Trinity, Devonport, although until 1884 it still incorporated the rest of North Shore.¹⁰⁶ Bates was elevated to the status of vicar as a result. Average attendance stood at 130-150, although only 21 took communion. Bates was one of a number of low church Irish clergy in the Anglican diocese of Auckland, including Archdeacon George MacMurray and William Beatty, Warden of St John's College.

The parish prospered under Bates, and in 1880 plans were prepared by Edward Bartley for the erection of transepts and a chancel, as the first step towards a new church modelled on All Saints in Ponsonby.¹⁰⁷ In the same year seat rentals were adjusted to make them equivalent to Auckland charges.¹⁰⁸ Then in 1884 an elaborate

addition was made to the church, completely rebuilding the nave at the cost of a further £1000.¹⁰⁹

The Anglican diocese abhorred lay enthusiasm and preferred to find clergy and lay readers to provide services elsewhere on the North Shore. The Rev. Dr Robert Kidd was used to conduct services at Devonport in 1872.¹¹⁰ Thomas Seaman, the schoolmaster at Northcote, whose daughter was also a school mistress, began conducting services at Stokes Point about 1873. In 1880 Edward Matthews, Percy S. Smallfield and Thomas Seaman were conducting Sunday morning services at Stokes Point, the Lake (later Takapuna), Dairy Flat and occasionally at Lucas Creek.¹¹¹ Seaman was licensed as a lay reader by the bishop in 1881.¹¹² Frank George Evans who lived in the Wade, was another lay reader on the North Shore, holding services from Northcote to Waiwera.¹¹³ He was a former Presbyterian Home Missionary, who was initially employed as a stipendiary lay reader and was ordained at Devonport on 18 December 1881. His wife was the daughter of a well-known builder on the Shore, G.F. Rhodes.¹¹⁴ Evans moved to Thames as a parish priest in 1884 and later served as Archdeacon of Taranaki.¹¹⁵ He was replaced by the Rev. Fletcher Long, with responsibility for Takapuna, O'Neill's Point and Waiwera, while another priest was provided for Northcote, the Chelsea station, Lucas Creek and the Wade.¹¹⁶ Thomas Leigh continued to serve as lay reader at the Wade.

The Presbyterian Mission District

The Northern Presbyterian Church had established a Home Mission District in the 1850s, and it undertook to provide services in Northland, including Whangarei, Waipu, Mahurangi and the North Shore, as well as Onehunga and the Whau in the greater Auckland district. There were fortnightly services at the Lake, occasional services at O'Neill's Point, and services at Whangaparaoa, the Wade and Wainui.¹¹⁷ The Rev. John Wallace did not remain long at Devonport, but the lack of a clergyman was felt acutely after he left. In 1869 Dr Watt, who had preached at the Whau (Avondale) on Sunday morning, came to Devonport to preach on Sunday evening, and then went on to the Lake Church on Monday evening.¹¹⁸ David Bruce, as chair of the Home Missions Committee, was very anxious to find additional staff. From Scotland he recruited a theological student, Peter Falconer McKenzie (1832-1904), who was sent out by the Free Church Presbytery of Aberdeen, placed on the North

Shore in November 1871 and was ordained by the Auckland Presbytery in 1872. For two years McKenzie conducted two services at Devonport every Sunday, along with services every second Sunday at the Lake, and one every month at the Wade, Waiwera and at Dairy Bridge which may be somewhere near Weiti.¹¹⁹ Exhaustion probably explains his resignation in October 1873, and he went to Australia where he served as a minister in New South Wales.¹²⁰ North Shore Presbyterians were as reluctant to pay clergy as Anglicans, and a nine year vacancy followed with supply ministers providing ministry.¹²¹ The Thames gold rush and the economic depression of the Auckland province after the New Zealand Wars probably mean that the North Shore economy was fragile.

After McKenzie left, his place was taken by James Bruce (d. 1886), who had not yet been ordained and who later became minister of Onehunga.¹²² From 1874 to 1879 the Rev. Peter Mason (d. 1892), a former missionary in the West Indies, provided fortnightly services at Takapuna.¹²³ Preachers often travelled across from Auckland, and as late as 1890 services could be completely disrupted when ferry timetables were delayed.¹²⁴ In 1880-82 the Rev Alexander Murray McCallum (1832-1897) was a very popular minister, but in the end the need to educate his children led him to move Christchurch.¹²⁵ He was replaced by the Rev. Dr. John McLeod but after a disagreement McLeod turned to medical practice and his subsequent life after leaving the North Shore, included a charge of bigamy.¹²⁶ The parish then recalled McCallum back into his old post with better conditions, since his ministry in Christchurch had not gone well. He served as minister in Devonport 1883-88, and died on the Shore.¹²⁷ The Rev. I.E. Bertram was minister from 1904 to 1915, the longest period of service of any of the Presbyterians. Only by then had the North Shore Parish become a desirable ministerial placement.

The Presbytery in 1880 recognised the need for new churches. The site purchased by David Bruce at Lucas Creek was sold because of its poor location, there was no site at Stokes Point, and Presbyterians at the Lake were being deprived of the Lord's Supper because they were part of an interdenominational church.¹²⁸ A new church was built over the old one at Devonport in 1890 at a cost of £350. A crown grant provided a Presbyterian/Wesleyan and General cemetery on the corner of Albert Street and Victoria Road in 1890 and a new church was erected there in 1916 at a cost of £3050.¹²⁹ The building was constructed only when half the cost had been raised,

reflecting Presbyterian concern to minimise the debt. Meanwhile a very large manse was built to attract new ministers.

The Devonport Wesleyan Methodist Story

By the early 1870s there were no regular Methodist services anywhere on the Shore. The Wesleyan Methodists did not participate alongside the Anglicans and Presbyterians in the joint Sunday school picnic for the children on the North Shore at Motiti (Motuihi) Island in January 1874.¹³⁰ The June 1875 meeting of the Auckland Circuit discussed the necessity of recommencing regular services urged on by the Local Preachers Board, and they approached David Burn, proprietor of the Devonport Hall in Beach Road (now King Edward Parade) for the use of his hall for services at a nominal rate. He promptly agreed with the request.¹³¹ Weekly services at 11 am and 6.30 pm were resumed in the Hall on 22 August and the preachers provided included leading Auckland ministers such as the Revs Reid, Harris and Whewell.¹³² The class and congregational collections from the North Shore totalling £7 2s 4d were sent in to the Circuit in March 1876.¹³³ A Sunday school commenced on 29 August 1875 and soon had thirty-five students every week.¹³⁴ The congregational committee promoted the Sunday school anniversary on 5 November to Auckland Methodists:

The afternoon service at 3 o'clock will be the special treat of the day, as it is peculiarly the children's service. They will sing their sweetest songs, specially prepared. It is the time when teachers, children, and parents meet together, to be cheered, and instructed and urged to further effort in the coming year. The Rev. Gentleman - Mr Watkin, from Onehunga - will deliver one of his inimitable Sunday-school addresses, and to hear him is always a perfect treat. Perhaps many of the friends from town may favor the school with a visit tomorrow, to give encouragement to teachers and officers by their presence. A collection in aid of the school fund will be made at each service.¹³⁵

It was a great event, attended by the local Anglican vicar.¹³⁶ Then in January 1877 a group of 150 Sunday school children and parents were taken on a ferry trip to Takapuna (where rain forced them to take shelter in the barn owned by the then Mayor of Auckland, Mr Hurst).¹³⁷ Mr J. Hooker, the Sunday School Superintendent and Chapel Steward, was the leader of this congregation.

Soon the Wesleyan Methodist congregation resolved to erect its own building, so it canvassed members, raised some money, purchased the land next to the hall it rented in Beach Road (now King Edward Parade), was granted circuit permission to build, and called for tenders for its construction.¹³⁸ (The 1870s saw a great deal of strategic building by Wesleyan Methodists across New Zealand which proved a severe strain in the depression of the 1880s.) The Auckland District meeting had authorised the construction. The principle was that two-thirds of the costs had to be raised before building was commenced although this was not always exactly the case.¹³⁹ This new Devonport Church was designed by Edward Bartley and the foundation stone was laid by one of the few older members, C.J. Stone, on Boxing Day 1876, an occasion attended by all the great names of Auckland Wesleyanism.¹⁴⁰ The church was opened a mere three months later on 27 March 1877, and at the celebrations, fundraising was reported to have raised £513 against the costs of £533, and then the architect gave a donation of £20.¹⁴¹ Yet four years later this chapel still had an outstanding debt of £325 which was a substantial burden.¹⁴² Moving out of rented accommodation was viewed as a means to increase the congregation, and members took pride that ‘as regards taste, chasteness of design, finish, and general architectural appearance, it by far pushes Ponsonby into the shade’.¹⁴³ Four events were held in quick succession to pay for a harmonium for the church, in June, July and August, including contributions from the Pitt Street choir, a lecture from Mr Ewington on Dutch history and other delights.¹⁴⁴ In December 1880 a bazaar was held to the same end and raised £150 although a debt of £175 still remained.¹⁴⁵ Regular services were held at 11 and 6:30; Sunday school was at 3:30 and there was Tuesday preaching at 7:30 by Mr Parkes.¹⁴⁶ The Landers, Kinsey, Holmes, Green, Hooker and Burnett families were associated with the church at this time.¹⁴⁷

The congregation obviously was respected since its choir sang at one of the conference lectures in Pitt Street Methodist Church in 1887.¹⁴⁸ Yet the new chapel was quite small and in 1884 when the Rev. W.G. Parsonson replaced Spence as the minister of the circuit, subscriptions of £300 were taken up and a site was purchased round the corner in Church Street for a new church. Various plans circulated, but when tenders were called, the lowest was £1892. Also they failed to sell the Beach Road site and this placed a severe strain on circuit finances.¹⁴⁹ After much discussion it was decided to drag the Beach Road Church round the corner to the new site to

serve as the nave of the new church at a cost of £150, and add a new chancel at a cost of £560, although in the end costs rose to £837 after problems with the tender.¹⁵⁰ One of the great struggles of this over-denominationalised society during the recession was a struggle with debts incurred in the interests of expansion. The Connexion had to help out with the expense. The building was opened on 1 November 1885.

The Wesleyan Methodist North Shore Circuit

Despite these debts the 1880s were years of marked growth for the Wesleyans, not just in Devonport but elsewhere on the North Shore. This was spurred by the growth of population, for by 1881 there were some 300 Wesleyan Methodist adherents recorded in the census across the whole of Waitemata County. In September 1881 the Rev. William Morley (minister in charge of the Auckland Circuit) met with the office holders of the congregation, and argued that an unmarried minister should be placed on the North Shore so that services could be expanded there. This appointment could have been a third minister for the Auckland (Pitt Street) Circuit, but Morley recommended the creation of a new circuit covering all the North Shore stations. The major obstacle was the debt hanging over the Devonport building, but the leaders' meeting in Devonport was positive.¹⁵¹ William R. Wilson (of Wilson and Horton, the proprietors of the *New Zealand Herald*) and W. Thorne were the potential circuit stewards. The Auckland District meeting supported this proposal and the 1882 New Zealand Wesleyan Conference created the North Shore Circuit with G.W.J. Spence appointed as its first minister.¹⁵² The presence of J.S. Rishworth as a supernumerary at Devonport helped the circuit, and from 1900 two ministers were appointed to the circuit.¹⁵³

Developments in Birkenhead and Consequences in Northcote

By this time it was seen as a sign of progress when denominational churches replaced community churches. One settler commented on the changed circumstances:

The opening up of Northcote is making steady progress, cultivation is going on, and the hills extending towards the Lake are exchanging their rusty appearance for the more cheerful green clothing of grass and crops. Orchard planting is becoming a special feature, and as a suburb—the gradual increase of houses strongly indicate, that a large population will settle down along the cliff lands reaching from Kauri Point to the point at Shoal Bay, where the new

Dock is to be built, and present that life to our harbour which it seems to need. The new road from Stokes' Point to the Lake will be a short and pleasant way to that favourite resort, and likewise a more direct road to the Hot Springs. The new wharf in connection with the Main Trunk Road will shorten the distance to country settlers, and help to populate the lands in the centre of the district. The recently erected Wesleyan Church has already drawn a good congregation, also a Sunday-school. The Anglican Church, which is too small, is about to be enlarged, A Presbyterian Church is also contemplated. The communication is all that is necessary to make the district a success as a leading suburb, and ... a meeting of the residents will be held next Saturday to take the matter into consideration.¹⁵⁴

The Wesleyan Methodist Church at Zion Hill was one of the most notable proofs of this progress. John Creamer had given land in Birkenhead to the Wesleyan Connexion in the 1850s and the Hawkins family lived in the area, but no chapel was erected then. Horticulture and strawberry picking made the neighbourhood flourish in the late 1870s. At that time the local settlers used to walk to church at Northcote. The Wesleyan Local Preachers Association meeting considered commencing services at Woodside (the part of Northcote to the north of the Point) on 27 March 1878 and in December 1879 proposed a service at Stokes Point.¹⁵⁵ It may be that the Anglicans provoked what next happened, for just a few days later, it was announced that Wesleyan worship would in future be held in the schoolroom at Northcote.¹⁵⁶ They may have faced exclusion from the Northcote Church, which was Anglican-owned and part of the recently formed North Shore Parish. The Anglican vicar convened a meeting at the Northcote Church in January 1880 and urged the church to appoint wardens as a committee, and since it was freehold, to use its collections to bring in ministers more frequently.¹⁵⁷ In consequence the Anglicans may have excluded Wesleyan Methodists and Presbyterians from holding services in the Northcote Church. So the other denominations had to find their own solution. In March 1881 the Wesleyans began to think about building.¹⁵⁸ In June 1881 the Wesleyan Methodist local preachers agreed that services at Northcote should be increased from fortnightly to weekly.¹⁵⁹ The Circuit then built a little octagonal church on Creamer's site at Zion Hill for the modest sum of £111. Its opening (free of debt) took place on a stormy day on 12 June 1881 with services conducted by the Rev. H.K. Dewsbury and W.

McCallum attended by some 100 people.¹⁶⁰ A typical lavish Wesleyan soiree followed.¹⁶¹

One irregularity survived this separation: Thomas and Mary Forgham who had arrived at Lucas Creek from England in 1880 then moved to Northcote, and while Thomas attended the Anglican Church in Northcote he also founded the Wesleyan Methodist Sunday school at Birkenhead opposite his house.¹⁶² Such overlaps became uncomfortable. Once a congregation existed in a denominational world, its socialisation was in a sense closed off in a rhetorically separate sphere.¹⁶³

By the 1880s the differentiation was reflected in divergent styles of worship. Methodism was influenced by the interdenominational revivalist tradition. The Devonport tea meeting in 1876 included ‘sweet melodies from Moody and Sankey’ sung by the children and choir, and the Sunday school anniversary at Birkenhead chose only the hymns of Sankey while the Birkenhead opening began with No 1 from Sankey’s *Sacred Songs and Solos*.¹⁶⁴ In contrast when an Anglican service ‘not five miles from Lucas’s Creek’ used Sankey’s hymn book, a sarcastic observer viewed it as a scandal.¹⁶⁵ Anglicans were not however high church; and a parishioner at Devonport complained in 1898 that ‘they did not want these elaborate and ornate services, however beautiful and artistic they might be as performances, that did not give that veneration and respect and quietness to the worship which he and others expected and had been used to.’¹⁶⁶ One difference was over the use of alcohol. Methodism was being caught up in the temperance movement and G.W.J. Spence became a strong advocate of the cause on the North Shore.¹⁶⁷

The opening of the Chelsea Sugar Refinery in 1883 further altered the balance of population on the North Shore. Zion Hill had not been planned with that development in mind but the chapel proved to be fortuitously placed at the top of the Hill and Spence immediately planned evangelistic services for the labourers. The first page of the Congregational Book of the Birkenhead Chapel in 1884 reported that members thought it advisable to increase the size of the chapel, and resolved to build a new church. Within a month, £207 10s 6d had been pledged and a building committee had been established.¹⁶⁸ That committee had to use intensive canvassing to get enough to commence the erection of the building.¹⁶⁹ The large new church, which still stands on its very prominent site, was modelled on the Hamilton Wesleyan Church, and was opened in April 1885 at a cost of £510, while the old church became

its vestry and later was used by the borough council.¹⁷⁰ Subsequent adaptations included stables for the preacher's horse, since frequently the preachers would ride across from Devonport.

The Anglican Church made provision for the sugar workers by building St Peter's Mission Hall in 1885, in which Northcote clergy held services every Sunday afternoon.¹⁷¹ Meanwhile the tiny church in Northcote was extended in 1881-82, as locals recognised that the Northcote ferry was becoming as important an access to the North Shore as Devonport.¹⁷²

The Auckland Presbytery authorised the appointment of a home missionary in Northcote in 1888. They were doubtless aware of the denominational trends, and hired the Gladstone Hall for services from September of that year, employing J. B. Marshall to lead the services. They were later invited to buy the hall for £500, but instead built their own church in 1889 for £204, and the Gladstone Hall was bought by the Catholics in 1916.¹⁷³ This Presbyterian church seemed to attract people from all over the North Shore, including sugar workers at Chelsea and local farmers.¹⁷⁴

Some Wesleyan Methodist families still lived out on Northcote Point and did not find the trip to Birkenhead easy, and the Learmouths and the Sousters had occasional services in the dining room of R.J. Souster's large house, 'Kennilworth' in Queen Street, Northcote Point. In October 1893 Northcote Point was placed on the circuit plan, using a marquee tent, and a year later a mission hall 24 by 15 feet was erected, and proved very successful over the summer months. It was dragged on skids to the Bartley Estate on the corner of Queen Street and Stafford Road in 1901, and extended several times subsequently.¹⁷⁵

Controversy in Devonport Anglican Parish

The vicar of Devonport, Joseph Bates, experienced significant ill health, and died on 29 August 1897. Sydney Hawthorne, who had come from Australia in 1893 and previously served as Vicar of Naseby, was inducted as Vicar of Holy Trinity on 14 December 1897. Almost immediately he introduced high church rituals into the services at Holy Trinity, and at its associated churches in Bayswater and Takapuna. He placed an emphasis on the communion service, which had previously been simply an abbreviated service added on once a month to the usual service of matins. At this service he adopted the eastward position at communion with his back to the

congregation as he said the prayer of consecration, rather than the customary northern position. The consecration also included the mixing of water with wine, the elevation of the offerings of the people and the consecrated host.¹⁷⁶ Once a month the communion service was observed as a Choral Eucharist, and at this service he intoned rather than read the prayers. He introduced crucifixes and candles – probably candles on the altar, which were then a matter of controversy.¹⁷⁷ Later on he purchased a mechanical organ blower, but was forced to sell it when vestry approval was not given for its installation.¹⁷⁸

Loud complaints were soon heard about these innovations. A further complaint focused on the invitation to make what critics called ‘confessions’ to the vicar. The confessional was a classic focus of Protestant fear about Catholicism. The pamphleteer Robert Kirk was therefore shocked that confirmation candidates were told by Hawthorne that “if ever they were in trouble or had done anything they were afraid or ashamed to tell their fathers or mothers, to come to him”.¹⁷⁹ This was not strictly a confessional, but to suspicious people it sounded like the thin edge of the wedge.

These innovations were well in advance of customary practices in the New Zealand church, and a sudden change from Bate’s low-church Anglicanism, although Hawthorne did not introduce sacramental robes as the high churchmen in England had done. He was regarded as a ritualist, at a time when there was huge controversy in England as the boundaries of what was permissible were beginning to broaden, awakening huge popular protests against them.

The complainants were significant local identities, including Robert Kirk, Henry Brett, Mr Twentymen, Mr Ewington, and Mr Kearns. They were very confident they were in the right, and they decided on an appeal to the Bishop, which Robert Kirk penned in June 1898. Bishop Cowie declined to intervene and then in a subsequent letter declined to continue the correspondence.¹⁸⁰ Cowie was approaching the end of his long episcopate, and perhaps for this reason was cautious about taking action, probably reflecting the attitude of the bishops in England that modest variations in liturgical practice were acceptable. In 1899 Henry Brett published Kirk’s pamphlet *The Crisis in the Church: or, the Church & Christ versus Ritualistic Sacerdotalism*. There was also an extensive correspondence in the *New Zealand*

Herald about the weakness of the disciplinary procedures and lack of clear consensus within the Anglican Church – a frequent complaint from that day to this.¹⁸¹

The fury about this ritualism shows that much more was at stake than simply ceremony. It was a question of English values and identity. Kirk sensed that ritualism was emerging by stealth in Auckland, with the ritualists posing as moderates but actually adopting ‘essential idolatry’.¹⁸² The Orangemen entered into the debate and from the safety of Protestant Hall in Newton they expressed intense concern with the appearance of crypto-papists and ‘Romanism’ in disguise:

That this Grand Lodge, taking into serious consideration the alarming and insidious efforts of an unscrupulous Romanist party in the Protestant Church, who (with Jesuitical subtlety by introducing Ritualistic practices and by instituting Scriptural novelties for the simple teaching of Christ’s Gospel) labour perseveringly to pervert men’s minds and to seduce them from the pure faith of the Reformation, enjoins, every member of the Orange Institution to be watchful, and faithfully and unitedly by all lawful and proper means to oppose the designs and schemes of those agents of the Romish Apostacy, and determinedly to prevent the introduction into our Churches of Ritualism, retreats, the confessional, and other fanciful novelties which have no warrant in Scripture.¹⁸³

A few weeks later, they congratulated Robert Kirk for his efforts to suppress ritualism.¹⁸⁴

Hawthorne was very positive in his vision. He saw it as a way of promoting the Church of England against its competitors. As he explained,

He was placed in rather a new role. He had never been looked upon as a High Church man before. He had always been looked upon as a broad churchman, and had always thought he was a broad churchman. He thought the matter was premature. They did not know him. When he had been there 12 months probably they would find out that he was not so high and dry as perhaps some of them might say. He hoped to be able to say that he could, in 25 months’ work, with God’s help, arouse some in that parish to a sense of their responsibilities and their duties to their neighbours.¹⁸⁵

As for his manner, he explained that as a former schoolmaster he was used to telling people what to do.¹⁸⁶

The vestry of the parish lost confidence in their vicar and it was this which forced Hawthorne to compromise. Hawthorne attempted a settlement with the Takapuna congregation first, insisting that he had the bishop's backing but agreeing to stop the elevation of the offerings and the host.¹⁸⁷ Nine months later the church fell behind in paying Hawthorne's stipend and in a congregational meeting at Devonport fears were voiced about the confessional. A Mr Kearns announced that the ritual had driven him from the church.¹⁸⁸ A few days later the vicar agreed to submit to the bishop's advice on a series of controverted points, including the eastward position, the mixed chalice, the doctrine of the real presence and the confessional.¹⁸⁹ Hawthorne and his bishop both agreed to follow the guidelines which the Archbishop of Canterbury had just issued and had been much debated in the colonial press. A few days later at a parish meeting the vicar indicated his backdown. A conciliatory motion was agreed, which led Hawthorne to hope that his stipend would be paid.¹⁹⁰ Things must have improved at that point, for all the players seem to have attended a ball at Holy Trinity Schoolroom on 29 August. A year later, however, in August 1900, money was still owed, and the vicar even interrupted Evensong with reference to the next meeting of the debt committee.¹⁹¹ Finally in January 1901 the vestry members who had taken out bonds to pay for the vicarage were issued with writs for the principal of £600 and interest of £170 much to the amusement of secular observers.¹⁹² It may be significant that Hawthorne conducted few weddings in this period.

In 1902 Hawthorne took a break from his impoverished parish and served as a chaplain for the tenth contingent to South Africa, but unfortunately the Rev. Eyken, who had previously been vicar of Waihi and who deputised for Hawthorne, proved to be an unsavoury type and was later imprisoned in England for child molestation.¹⁹³ Hawthorne returned to parish duties a year later. Now he faced another distinctive Anglican phenomenon, a revolt by the choir. The choirmaster was Frank H. Templar, a prominent figure on the left of politics. He ran a good choir and in the earlier dispute, no doubt influenced by the opportunities afforded by a choral Eucharist, he had taken the vicar's side and argued that the New Zealand church was free to reach its own judgements on matters of ritual. Now his loyalty shifted. The bishop evidently sought to reconcile vicar and choirmaster, and when this failed asked Templar to

resign; as a result one by one the choir walked out. Hawthorne next offered to resign the parish if he received the arrears in his stipend. When he did not, he hung on, much to the outrage of the *Observer*.¹⁹⁴ The bishop attended a special parish meeting to urge payment of the arrears in the vicar's stipend and an end to the disagreements, but factions still remained. Shortly after this Hawthorne finally resigned, remaining in Devonport for some time, but then went to England, gained a position with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in mid-1904, and then took a position in the Diocese of Chester in 1906. He later went on to Canada and retired there.

Methodist revivalism and Anglican ritualism were both innovations of a common Protestantism. The Anglican variation proved much less acceptable, simply because Anglicanism still remained the church for the great majority of casual church attendees, and they found unfamiliar ritual disconcerting and foreign. In contrast the Wesleyan Methodists and the Presbyterians found new freedoms when they created their own separate churches. Denominationalism meant some diversity, but most of the Protestants of the North Shore still agreed on fundamental doctrines.

The Denominationalisation of Takapuna

Takapuna rapidly developed from the late 1870s, and in 1879 the government built a new schoolroom. Church services continued to be held in the old community church and school. Led by Thomas Seaman, local Anglicans organised the purchase of two acres of land for a church and a parsonage and a Sunday school.¹⁹⁵ On 1 March 1882 St Peter's Takapuna was opened by Bishop Cowie. The little church in Katrine Street (now Anzac Avenue) was 50 by 39 feet, but was 20 feet high, complete with belfry. The building was designed by Edward Bartley (who was until 1884 the choirmaster for the Wesleyan church), and cost £600.¹⁹⁶ It was dedicated to St Peter. Later that year Miss Seaman, a relation of Thomas senior, donated a window to the church.¹⁹⁷ The community church fell into Wesleyan Methodist hands. It was some distance from Takapuna's seaside and eventually land in the village was donated by Thomas Buddle (not the missionary). About 1899 the Wesleyan Methodists began to use a hall in what is now called Anzac Avenue for their evening services.¹⁹⁸ In 1901 a new section was given on the corner of Huron Street and Lake Road, and a building committee began to make plans. A.C. Caughey, the great benefactor of Methodists in

Auckland, laid the foundation stone on 9 February 1901. At a cost of £240 the building was completed in short order.¹⁹⁹

Presbyterians met in the Lake Hall in the 1890s, their services led by the minister of the church in Devonport. It took until 1902 for the Presbyterians to build St George's in Takapuna.²⁰⁰

At the Anglican Church, a key parishioner was Sir Henry Brett, who had been mayor of Auckland 1877-78 and also editor of the *Auckland Star*. Evidently he funded a part-time curate to conduct services at St. Peter's. The first curate was Fletcher Holliday Long (1845-1895) son of a pioneer Primitive Methodist minister, Joseph Long. Long served first at Takapuna and then elsewhere on the Shore until he returned to secular work in 1889 under a cloud of allegations about his morality. Hawthorne's ministry was as controversial here as it was in Devonport, and opposition was led by Robert Kirk, a lay reader and the elected representative of the Takapuna congregation on the Devonport vestry. Hawthorne dismissed the existing curate, and from 14 April 1898 to 1899 employed Francis Latter (1861-1944), presumably because he was prepared to follow these liturgical trends. Hawthorne later fell out with Latter who departed to become vicar of Te Awamutu.²⁰¹

The dramatic result of this was that Henry Brett and most of the parishioners at Takapuna walked out of the church and established their own independent chapel which met in the billiard room off Brett's house, next door to the church. This schism was not healed until April 1899, and the bishop in 1900 transferred Takapuna into the North Shore Parish.²⁰² The curate, Francis Latter, was replaced by an otherwise unknown the Rev. Pavitt, who, according to the satirical perspective of the *Observer*, was something of a disaster and was in the end dumped by the bishop in order to make peace. Pavitt was described as having 'turned his hand to carting timber, and is now engaged in building a boat dead in front of Henry Brett's Lake mansion, in order to become a "fisher of fishes"'.²⁰³

Takapuna was a minor place at the time of these events, although it was helped by the presence and influence of wealthy families like the Bretts, and it may have been new and wealthy patrons that stimulated the separation of the previous community congregation.

Protestant Issues

These events illustrate the extent of denominational competition and cooperation among mainstream Protestants in this period. The Anglican Church regarded itself, with some justification, as the natural religion of the settlers north of the Waitaki River. In Auckland it was the Wesleyan Methodists who provided the most effective challenge to this pre-eminence, while in other places it was the Presbyterians. Wesleyans grew rapidly at the expense of Anglicans in the late nineteenth century. Sometimes the first church to arrive in a district gained the permanent loyalty of people of other denominations. The Wilsons were originally Presbyterian, but associated with the Wesleyans because of their stronger showing north of Devonport.²⁰⁴

Battles between Catholics and Protestants were still profound, and there were more than a few formal jousts over Protestant issues in the nineteenth century. Such debates encouraged Irish Catholics to become better Catholics. Levels of Catholic participation rose radically in the nineteenth century among the Catholic diaspora, and a critical factor alongside the devotional revolution was the feeling that Irishness was under challenge. The Irish felt the need to strengthen their children's identity through church and education, while Protestants felt the need to identify with the 'good old cause'. The nearest this came to emerging on the North Shore was a struggle over the old Devonport cemetery in 1893.

A cemetery had been created on the western side of Mount Victoria in 1852, and it had three sections, an Anglican section, a Protestant section (of equal size) and a smaller Catholic section between these two. The Anglican and Catholic sections were consecrated ground. In 1890 the burial ground was closed and the Borough Council was considering widening the road into Devonport around this side of Mount Victoria. As it happened this coincided with a growing desire among Catholics to establish their own place of worship. Although they were holding mass in the public school, they were part of the St Patrick's Cathedral Parish. It seemed time to make a move, but as with the other churches, limited funds led to a curious expedient. A meeting of parishioners decided to move the mortuary chapel dedicated to St Francis de Sales in Symonds Street, erected in 1862, and place it at the front of the burial ground to serve as a church. In return for permission from the Council they agreed to hand over a section of the land for the new road.²⁰⁵

When the proposal was finally presented to the Council, there was an explosion of anger against the Mayor, Ewen Alison, who had approved this plan without reference to the Council. At a series of stormy meetings Oliver Mays led protests against the Mayor's decision, and finally won agreement that the legal advice about the use of the land could be tested in the Supreme Court so long as there was no expense to the Council.²⁰⁶ The incident seems redolent of sectarian Protestantism but not so much that supporters were prepared to fund it, and, after all, both protagonists were loyal Anglicans. There the matter died, and the Catholic Church opened on the site in March 1894 without further protests.²⁰⁷ The Presbyterians moved their church to their part of the old cemetery in 1916.

The Northern Irish factor probably also assisted the growing identity of the Presbyterian Church which had a broader constituency than Scots migrants. Co-operative churches inspired a vision of an Evangelical Protestant Church for New Zealand. So Methodists and Congregationalists had discussions about union with the Presbyterians after a national Presbyterian denomination came into existence in 1901. Anglicans had been comfortable leaders of the Protestant community, and hence the ferocious reaction when Hawthorne introduced ritualistic practices. Anglican resistance to Bible in Schools and temperance crippled the power of the Protestant alliance which was the ideal of many other mainstream Protestants.

There is an indication of attendance at churches on the North Shore in the *Auckland Star's* reports for 1882. They showed 194 at Holy Trinity in the morning and 165 in the evening, 118 at the Devonport Wesleyan Methodist Church in the morning and 123 in the evening, 64 at Devonport Presbyterian Church in the morning, and 75 at night, out of total Auckland attendances of 9799 in the morning and 8671 in the evening.²⁰⁸ There is no record of attendances at the country congregations of the North Shore.

The impact of the churches was probably broader than this. It was the special community festivities, the soirees, the bazaars, the tea meetings that bound the churches to their community. As community events they seem to have been remarkably successful. But they were also an economic necessity as most churches had too small an economic base to sustain their ministry on the offerings of congregations. The alliance between church and school was broken after the

enactment of the 1877 Education Act which excluded religion from schools and this reduced the significance of the churches.

Undoubtedly this was a period of significant congregational growth and extension. The government census recorded a growth in nationwide church attendance from 23% in 1874 to 29.8% by 1896, although it slightly declined from 1906. In New South Wales the high proportion of Catholics made church a crucial indication of identity. In New Zealand, where the proportion of Catholics was lower and the co-operation of Protestants was relatively good, competition was more limited. The traditional Dissenting Churches (Congregational and Baptist) did not flourish in New Zealand. As late as 1934 the undenominational emphasis still remained in many parts of Northland, and home mission stations remained common, and with them went a low level of church membership and loyalty.²⁰⁹

Some resented the emergence of a denominational atmosphere. When in 1888 the Presbyterian Church decided to establish its own church at Northcote there was considerable feeling among the Wesleyan Methodists at Zion Hill, who could see no value or point in the decision. As far as one writer was concerned:

I wish the time were come that Anglican, Presbyterian, and Wesleyan, and the ministers of the other sects, would occupy each other's pulpits. There is no valid reason why they should not do so. I have no bias against any sect, but at the same time I fail to see the necessity of these additional services? Northcote and Birkenhead united could support one church properly. Before this innovation these districts had two churches, neither of them being financially strong. This third establishment will not tend to improve religious matters.²¹⁰

Even local Presbyterian families were discontented, and the decision set off a correspondence in the newspaper (including some complaints that the standard of worship at the new Presbyterian Church was Primitive Methodist, not Presbyterian, using Sankey's hymn book partly because a home missionary was employed).²¹¹ At the annual meeting of the Wesleyan Home Missions, the chair, Mr P McArthur commented:

it was a sad thing to him to see in the thinly-populated country districts so many churches. It was playing into the hands of freethinkers and those opposed to Christianity, who had occasion to scorn when they saw how the

various denominations ignored each other. He thought a vast amount of money might be saved, if say five ministers of different churches met and decided that only one of them should go to a place which was able to support only one church and minister, whilst the other four clergymen went to labour in those other parts of the country where they were absolutely needed.²¹²

But this was a bit steep when we look at the long term story, for Methodists themselves were very willing to set up the same separate tabernacles. Denominationalism obviously meant a great deal to some in the community and little to others. As we turn to the modern era we will notice that new denominations emerged as the Anglicans, Presbyterians and Methodists grew more willing to unite.

CHAPTER THREE

Twentieth Century Developments: Suburbanisation

In the early twentieth century the North Shore was beloved by many Aucklanders as a place for their holidays and a place to retire. Ministers came here to recuperate from illness, or came as their last position before retirement.

Auckland's growth rapidly outstripped that of other New Zealand cities in the early twentieth century and in the interwar years, and after World War II it gained recognition as the manufacturing and business centre of the country. So the suburbanisation of the North Shore proceeded apace after the war, especially for those areas which could be linked by ferry with the Tamaki isthmus. There was no easy link with the industrial area south of Auckland, and this meant that the growth in the north was of suburbs for office staff not industrial workers. Thus although many Māori came from the north, few of them chose to live on the North Shore although the Maori Affairs Department provided some loans for housing in Birkdale, Beach Haven and Onepoto. The opening of the Harbour Bridge in 1959 massively inflated the prices of houses and opened up new suburbs, especially in East Coast Bays and Glenfield. It turned the North Shore churches into model suburban churches. But at the same time mainstream Protestantism declined and new denominations emerged. Enormous changes have swirled in the background of church life in the last fifty years. While it is impractical to outline them all, they can be explained as a radically different balance of denominational and community identities. It shows how very different the solutions are in the modern suburbanised community, and goes a long way towards explaining why urbanisation plays such a critical part in what is sometimes called secularisation.

Catholic History

It is very surprising that Catholic history on the North Shore is largely a twentieth century story. Although some services were maintained in the small College chapel at Takapuna, the nearest regular ministry was the parish priest at Puhoi. The Puhoi Parish had nominal responsibility for the northern part of the North Shore, indeed the parish nominally included all Catholics who lived north of Takapuna! A Catholic chapel was built in the Wade district by Maurice Kelly, owner of the local pub, but

the Puhoi priest did not minister further south than Lucas Creek.²¹³ Only in 1893, as we have seen, was a chapel erected on the cheap in Devonport.

Devonport was created a parish in 1904, the first Catholic parish on the North Shore. Fr M. Joseph Furlong, the second appointment as parish priest in 1905, served there for the next fifty years. In 1916 worship commenced in Northcote and in 1919 the Parish of Takapuna-Northcote was created.²¹⁴ These were separated in 1930 and then in 1966 the diocese decided to divide the Northcote Parish, separating out the Beach Haven, Glenfield and Albany areas, and churches were build there with a further parish created in Beach Haven in 1972.²¹⁵

In 1893 the old Catholic College building in Takapuna was given to the Mercy Sisters and they began an orphanage dedicated to St Joseph. A priest provided mass in the chapel for the nearby residents. In 1923 the orphanage was destroyed by fire, but the building was replaced in 1924.²¹⁶ In 1930 the orphanage began to take day pupils, and from it, Rosmini College eventually developed.²¹⁷ Meantime Carmel College had been established by the ‘Black Joes’ (the Sisters of St Joseph of Nazareth) in 1957.

New Denominations

In the late nineteenth century towns, the Protestant community became very fragmented. Once established, these denominations also raced to extend themselves into the suburbs.

Devonport was the first place on the North Shore to experience this fragmentation. In 1885 the Congregational Church commenced services in Devonport, and the Rev. H.M. Livens was appointed as the first minister.²¹⁸ This was one of a group of new congregations in Mount Eden, Onehunga and Parnell. A small church was soon opened in Victoria Street in Devonport, but the congregation could not raise enough money to pay for their minister – a perennial story for this church.²¹⁹

Meanwhile, the founders of the Salvation Army in Auckland held some meetings in the Devonport Hall in Beach Road in 1883 and at Lucas Creek at the same time.²²⁰ Meetings were held again ten years later but no permanent corps was opened until 1899. On 2 September of that year a group of officers held meetings in the public hall and recruited nine new soldiers, and established a band. A hall was opened in Hastings Parade in 1909.

In Devonport, a small cluster of Brethren families, including the Logans, the Emsons and the Millers formed an assembly as a result of an evangelistic campaign led about 1883 by Alex Jervis and Mr Cook. Mr H. Wilson of the *New Zealand Herald* evidently deserted Methodist traditions and became a keen member and by 1894 they had a public meeting hall.²²¹ Then in 1909 W.R. Wilson erected a hall in Takapuna and tried to establish an assembly there; this finally got underway in the home of C.J. Haselden in 1913.²²² At Birkenhead, a small group began to meet in 1912. In 1915 they moved from the Victoria Hall to the Foresters Hall, and opened their own hall in 1929.²²³

The Churches of Christ (then called Disciples or Campbellites) spread rapidly in New Zealand in the late nineteenth century from their Nelson base, due to the preaching of evangelists. Some North Shore people attended the Ponsonby Road Church, but the denomination was concerned to respond to this spread and in 1912, the church decided to create several Auckland branches. Devonport members were encouraged to form a church in the Post Hall behind the post office at the end of Victoria Road. There were just seventeen members and no full time evangelist. Then after this hall burned down, they moved to the Masonic Hall. The church was recognised as a full member of the Churches of Christ in 1922, but it continued to attract Baptists who did not have a local church of their own, and some (doubtless from one of the more conservative wings of the Disciples tradition) who were 'non-instrumental' and did not approve of the use of a harmonium. On 27 July 1924 the congregation formally adopted the liberal approach and in December they purchased land in Old Lake Road in Belmont. They erected a modest building opened in December 1927, employing their first minister in 1930. Some Methodists joined this church prior to the opening of the Methodist Church at Vauxhall. Then in 1950 they decided to move to Mairangi Bay, and literally moved their church building. In 1998 the church made a decision to become a multicultural church, which lessened its denominational focus but increased its following.²²⁴

Baptists were surprisingly late to commence on the North Shore, probably because of the imposing presence of the Tabernacle church in Queen Street. This did not suit all families. One Baptist, William N. Rushbrook and his family, consequently became adherents of Northcote Presbyterian Church when it commenced in 1888.²²⁵ In 1912 the Baptist Union was given a section in Milford Road by William

Rushbrook, and a Sunday school was commenced. Up until this point, Baptists mostly attended services at the Tabernacle or at one of the other evangelical churches. From 1907 the Rev. Joseph Clark, minister of the Tabernacle retired to a farm in Takapuna. A church building was opened in February 1913 at a cost of £675. Early ministry was provided by H.J. Farmer, then by the former missionary, E. Palgrave Davy. In 1916 E.R. Weston was appointed, followed by F.H. Radford in 1918, and Ernest Nicholls in 1922.²²⁶ One opportunity came from those Baptists from the city who had their summer holiday on the North Shore. Takapuna was the site of annual summer Bible Class camps and beach missions. From 1923 evening services in the summer months were held in the Milford Picturedome. Because of this growth in numbers a manse was purchased and tennis courts and a Bible Class hall opened.²²⁷ However the winter months were always difficult for the church. The Rev. John Hiddlestone became pastor in 1928 after a long vacancy.

Change, Unions and Decline

In 1954 the Hauraki Archdeaconry was created by the Anglican Diocese, with the goal of providing churches for the anticipated expansion of the district. Similarly a North Shore Presbytery was created in 1972. The very rapid growth in population during the 1950s led to hopes of many new churches. It was a time of great optimism in church life and many of the North Shore churches flourished by participating in various stewardship campaigns which sought to extend the church and improve its facilities. This expansion was, however, restrained after 1964 by hopes for church union between the Anglicans, Methodists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists and the Churches of Christ.

In 1969 the Anglican planning officer, the Rev. Ted Buckle, who was later to be bishop of the Northern Region, wrote his study, *Urban Development*, the first of several studies on the needs of the Auckland region for churches. At that time, the North Shore parishes showed up rather well, with assets of £561,794 and mortgages of £84,312, although the Glenfield Parish had heavy debts. Buckle rightly predicted a huge growth in the population from 82,000 in 1969 to 209,000 in 1986. He estimated some twenty-five additional clergy, several additional parishes, and bearing in mind existing land, the need for nine more acres of land costing \$1.35m. It was an ambitious plan and it did not allow for the decline in church-going.

The addition of new parishes happened quite gradually because of resistance from older parishes. Also in the key areas of expansion in the 1960s it seemed unwise to build new churches too close together. Church union was bound to mean that Anglican, Presbyterian and Methodist churches should complement each other and so they should be placed at a suitable distance apart. This had a major impact on planning for churches in the East Coast Bays and in Glenfield, leading to a curious distribution of churches in the district. By the 1990s it was clear that church union would not occur, and subsequent church building in Albany, Silverdale and Orewa has been made with denominational priorities to the fore. Moreover, since the 1970s there has been a significant aging of Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian congregations. Consequently energy for new developments seems significantly lower in these denominations than in the newer churches, especially the Pentecostal groups. The rapid expansion of branch churches in the 1950s and 1960s has been followed by a rather slower closing of many of those branches and a consolidation of ministry back to one church and congregation in each parish.

Broader Church Work on the North Shore

For a very long time the salubrious conditions of the North Shore meant that the district was seen as an ideal location for orphanages, campsites and retreat centres, until the rise in the price of land made this impractical. The Catholic Orphanage in Takapuna was a very early example; it burned down in 1923 but was rebuilt a year later. Church campsites like the Salvation Army camp established in Browns Bay in the 1920s are early examples of the church extending itself beyond congregational life. Community ministries emerged on the North Shore when the Auckland Methodist Central Mission established a 'Children's Rest Home' or health camp in Campbells Bay in 1937, with government assistance. Henry Brett gave his home in 1930 initially as an orphan home for girls, and this was merged with the homes in South Auckland in the 1970s to form the Anglican Trust for Women and Children.²²⁸

Schools were a major feature of church contributions to the community in many towns, but there were few of them on the North Shore, except for Catholic parish schools established in Devonport and Northcote. Hato Petara, the Catholic Maori College established in 1928 as St Peters Rural Training School for Maori Boys, fulfilled a major promise of the old Catholic College, while from the 1960s Rosmini

College and Carmel College provided secondary education for day students. Kristin School in Albany, founded in 1973, has some links with Anglican schools, and Kingsway School founded in 1986 is the most successful of several smaller evangelical schools.

Various social service projects were initiated by churches in the 1970s. The Takapuna Interchurch Community Social Service was one. The Glenfield Community Project commenced in 1977 was a significant organisation at its height, including a foodbank, counselling services and Community Centre although it faced challenges as ecumenical resources declined. Copeland House in Sunnynook Road, Takapuna, opened in 1975 as a Methodist family home for children, was transformed in 1984 into a counselling service for fostered and adopted children as part of the joint Methodist Anglican ecumenical project, but it passed into other hands in 2003 when the denomination came under pressure.²²⁹ At its height, counselling was a strong feature of Methodist work on the Shore.²³⁰

Thomas Vaughan gave land to the Anglican Church in 1963 but it took twenty years before the council would permit the creation of the present Vaughan Park, a very fine Anglican retreat centre looking out over Long Bay. A Baptist facility, Arjay House, was established in Torbay, with a similar focus, with support from the Jenkins family but it has recently moved to Coatsville.

Pentecostal Congregations

While the mainstream churches were curtailing their activities in the 1970s, there was a flourishing of Pentecostal congregations. The New Life Centre was probably the earliest. It began in a tent in 1964, then rented property in Northcote and finally built a church by the old Teachers' College building in Northcote.²³¹ The Auckland Christian Assembly (previously the Auckland Revival Centre) which had met in the city even before that time, moved later to a building beside the Albany Highway.²³² The most striking Pentecostal building is the Takapuna Assembly of God, which was erected on a site overlooking Shoal Bay and opened 24 March 1984 by a congregation which was already very well established by this time. The North Shore Christian Centre pastored by John Steele and John Kearney was also very early.²³³ In 1982 Peter and Bev Mortlock founded the Bays Christian Fellowship (then affiliated to the New Life Movement) in a community hall in Browns Bay. Subsequently they moved up the hill

to East Coast Road where it grew remarkably. In 2001 they changed their name to City Impact Church, reflecting its growth in size and broadening focus. These are only the earlier and most prominent congregations. Among the plethora of other congregations are an astonishing range, some belonging to larger movements, some individual ventures of faith and enterprise.

Since the 1970s there has also been a flourishing of conservative or fundamentalist churches, often affiliated to international bodies. The first of these was probably the Reformed Church, begun in 1978 by Dutch immigrants and others under the ministry of Richard Flinn.²³⁴ Several independent Baptist churches developed, including Shore Baptist Church founded in 1984 by Stephen Turner, and East Coast Bays Bible Baptist Church. Shore Community Church, founded in 1998 met in Kristin School until it and the school came to a sharp disagreement.²³⁵ It has since become a notable congregation with its own television programme. There was also a more conservative North Shore Church of Christ established by Americans in the 1980s.²³⁶ Crossroad Church in Birkdale was founded in 2000 by Kurt and Ingrid Boyle.²³⁷ The advent of widespread car ownership and the breakup of the Protestant consensus are reflected in the flourishing of these churches. Such congregations, attracting people from across the North Shore represented the complete opposite of the old community pattern of worship.

Asian Congregations

As early as the 1980s Northcote Baptist Church hoped to commence a ministry to Chinese, but the appointed Chinese pastor did not stay.²³⁸ Chinese and especially Korean new migrants began to attend many Methodist, Presbyterian and Catholic congregations in the 1990s, for example St George's Presbyterian Church in Takapuna.²³⁹ Another variant of this trend came when Forrest Hill Presbyterian Church agreed to share its building with a Korean congregation in 1997.²⁴⁰ A year earlier in 1996, the Kwanglim Methodist Church purchased Murrays Bay Baptist Church for \$1.1m when that congregation moved to the site of the former Windsor Park Tavern.²⁴¹ Since then as Koreans have established their presence especially in the north of the North Shore, and the North Shore probably has more Korean church buildings than anywhere else in New Zealand. These include buildings in Ellice Road, Glenfield, Lake Road, Anzac Road Browns Bay, along with the many congregations

which provide a second congregation for an existing building.²⁴² The first separate Chinese Church was opened in Glenfield in 1996, but migration patterns meant that Chinese Churches are found more commonly in some other parts of Auckland.²⁴³

Devonport, Belmont and Bayswater

Devonport lost much of its prominence after the opening of the Harbour Bridge. Before then, because of its ferry terminus, it remained the transport centre of the North Shore. In October 1906 the North Shore Methodist Circuit was divided. Devonport became the head of one circuit which comprised churches in Takapuna and Devonport, although Takapuna was separated off in 1920. In 1898 the Sunnyside mission hall was erected by Messrs Wilson, McDowell and P.H. Mason at Stanley Bay near Calliope Dock.²⁴⁴ Then on 26 September 1925 another small Methodist church was opened at 16 Old Lake Road, Vauxhall.²⁴⁵ By the 1950s the strategies of growth were stalling and in 1971 the Devonport Circuit closed all of its branches and consolidated at a new site on the corner of Lake and Owens Road. This decision finally ended a century of Methodist struggles with debt.²⁴⁶ The original St Francis de Sales mortuary chapel brought from the Symonds Street Cemetery was replaced with a fine new brick church on the same site in 1919. St Luke's in Belmont was opened in 1960.²⁴⁷ But there were closures as well, most notably St Paul's Presbyterian Church in Devonport in 2010, after a troubling dispute between the denomination and its last minister.²⁴⁸

The Anglican Church at O'Neill's Point became the church at Bayswater. Between the wars it was a separate parish, but it was later incorporated in the Takapuna Parish and has recently been closed, much to the discontent of its loyal members. A Presbyterian Sunday school was commenced in Stanley Bay (Belmont), and in 1910 a church was erected there.²⁴⁹ The Baptist Association sponsored a congregation at Belmont, and a fellowship was formed in 1946, which in 1947 established a Sunday school. Half an army hut was moved onto the site in July 1948 (the other half was used by Glendowie Baptist), and a church was formed in September 1949, with one third of its members transferring from Milford Baptist. The church was rebuilt in 1957 and again in 1969 and a youth hall added.²⁵⁰

Takapuna and Milford

In 1900 the Takapuna Anglican Church was incorporated into the North Shore Parish, presumably to remove it from the control of Sydney Hawthorne. The parochial district of Takapuna was created in 1911, with William Gawler Monckton as its first vicar. Monckton had served as curate in the parish since 1906 after a period as tutor at St John's College. He was born in Norwood, Surrey on 8 June 1866, educated in Bristol then at Trinity College Cambridge, and was a distant cousin to Viscount Galway. He had previously served as Headmaster of Napier Grammar School, but in 1904 made the decision to enter holy orders.²⁵¹ Monckton was a very popular preacher, celebrated in the newspapers for his oratorical powers, and he was distinctly low church; there was no cross on the communion table until the new vicar arrived in 1933.²⁵² The vicarage burned down in 1911, and little St Peter's church was dragged across Anzac Street in 1917 to the site of the Foresters Hall.²⁵³ Sir Henry Brett provided money for an organ and transepts which transformed the church, but it was still very small. There is a vivid account of Monckton standing on the chancel steps with his hands behind his back giving an informal sermon.²⁵⁴ He gave talks on the wharves during World War I, explaining military developments to the watersiders.²⁵⁵ Monckton was fascinated by politics, wrote newspaper editorials for the *New Zealand Graphic*, and supported the League of Nations Union. He retired in 1932 to Hauraki Road and died on 8 January 1935 at Devonport.²⁵⁶ The Bayswater Church became part of the parish in 1937 after a brief period as an independent parish. Takapuna became the prosperous retail, commercial and administrative heart of the North Shore after World War II. As a result of the Wells stewardship campaign in 1956, the large new St Peter's Anglican Church was built and dedicated on 31 March 1962.²⁵⁷

St George's Presbyterian Church in 1918 became a 'sanctioned charge', the third on the North Shore. It became one of the denomination's most respected congregations in the postwar years, and attracted notable ministers. A fine modern building with a square light-filled sanctuary was erected in February 1965 and the old church taken down in 1974.²⁵⁸ The church took responsibility for the Presbyterian congregations further north as far as Silverdale, previously in the control of the Northcote Parish.²⁵⁹ In 1920 the Takapuna Methodist Circuit was separated from the Devonport Circuit and a new church was built in 1923 on the corner of Tennyson Avenue and Lake Road. On 21 March 1959 a very fine new church was opened at the

cost of £25,000. In 1919 the old Devonport Catholic Church building was moved to Takapuna but it was replaced by the old orphanage church of St Joseph's in 1924. Then in 1966 a large A frame church was built on the old historic Catholic site in Takapuna. Monsignor Kelly was parish priest from 1935.²⁶⁰

As for Milford, an Anglican hall was opened on the corner of Kitchener and Muriwai Street in 1914 on a site given to the church. In 1931 another site was given in Otakau Road and a Sunday school was erected there. Both sites were sold in 1947 and a church hall was erected in 1954. The church was made a parochial district in 1971 with Noel Holmes the first vicar. Meanwhile the Sunday school building in Milford was moved in 1947 to Castor Bay, becoming the second church of the new district. A Catholic church, St Vincent's was erected in Milford in 1949.

Forrest Hill Presbyterian Church was created in 1962, and as we have seen, Milford was the location of the first Baptist church on the North Shore. In the post-war years this church benefitted from the influx of returned servicemen and immigrants from the United Kingdom who settled on the North Shore. The building, however, was no longer in a particularly strategic position, and a new church was built in 1971. The church developed an all age Sunday school, and became extensively involved in social work.²⁶¹

Birkenhead

A second Methodist circuit, created in 1906, focused was centred on Birkenhead, with regular weekly services there and at Northcote, while fortnightly services were held at Mayfield (later Glenfield), and from 1892, monthly services at Birkdale in the school, and at Albany. G.S. Cook, previously second minister in the North Shore Circuit was transferred to head it, succeeded by the Rev. T.G. Carr in 1909.

The Northcote Presbyterian church had members in the more populous Birkenhead and in February 1908 Birkenhead Presbyterians began to agitate for a church. In 1909 the church made a down payment on a site in Crescent Road (now Mariposa Crescent).²⁶² In 1911 a Sunday school was commenced in Birkenhead. Then in 1913 the Birkenhead congregation, which was holding fortnightly services in the Foresters' Hall, asked for services to be held every week. The Northcote congregation disagreed, and eventually Presbytery was forced to intervene, and decided in 1914 to create a separate home mission district in Birkenhead. A new church building was

opened in Crescent Road, and then in 1928, the church was moved to its present location in what is now Hinemoa Street.²⁶³ They sought to recruit new members through their Sunday school and its anniversary services.²⁶⁴ During the depression the Presbytery tried unsuccessfully to force them to re-amalgamate with Northcote. A fine new church was built in 1962.

Northcote

Because of its ferry terminus, Northcote in the nineteenth century had been the key access point to all parts of the North Shore other than Devonport. It gradually lost this status and Birkenhead became much more populous because of the Chelsea sugar workers. The Anglican parish was divided, beginning with the creation of the Birkenhead Parish in 1924. Significant expansion took place after the Second World War around the former Catholic land in Hillcrest in the north of the borough. There were branches of the church at Albany (dedicated in 1953), St Barnabas in Glenfield (dedicated in 1957), and St Jude's in Northcote (dedicated in 1963) at that time.²⁶⁵ These places had services on a fortnightly to monthly cycle. The parish came close to replacing the old church, but instead adapted and added to the old building in 1913, 1920 and 1976.

Northcote Presbyterian Church built a manse and became a 'sanctioned charge' or a parish in 1905. At that time it took responsibility for ministry across the rest of the North Shore, Greenhithe (twice a month), Long Bay (monthly), Birkdale, Birkenhead, Glenfield, Albany and further afield at the Wade, Wainui, Upper Waiwera and Dairy Flat, where there were preaching places.²⁶⁶ Gradually it lost these responsibilities, as new parishes were established. The Presbyterians who remained at Northcote pondered moving to Clarence Road, but Northcote had been parlously weakened and reverted to home mission status in 1917.²⁶⁷ A new brick church was built on the same site in Onewa Road in 1931-32 at a cost of £126. Some wondered about the wisdom of this, especially as the minister's pay was cut to help lessen expenses and some proposed that the Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian churches in the district should be amalgamated.²⁶⁸ The Northcote congregation moved in 1962 to a site close to the shopping centre, and it became an independent parish in 1970. As part of the Presbyterian New Life Movement, a hall was built in Tonar Street in the

new housing estate in central Northcote in 1959-60. Unfortunately the congregation did not grow as expected and this second centre was closed in 1970.²⁶⁹

The Catholic congregation in Northcote met in the Gladstone Hall and in 1916 they purchased it and dedicated it as St Leo's Church. Only in 1963 was this building replaced by a striking octagonal building.

In the meantime, the Northcote Point Methodist church, on the corner of Queen and Stafford Streets flourished, and in 1909 the little church was extended, forming a Sunday school which in 1912 had 144 members.²⁷⁰ They were so successful that they sought to ban casual attendees and those who turned up eating strawberries! Then they hired the Masonic Hall to provide extended space. The mission hall was remodelled in 1918 and a Sunday school hall rebuilt for £2031 in 1922 and again in 1928.²⁷¹ The church by this time had a larger attendance than Zion Hill. In 1954 the Methodist Church bought land in a new subdivision bounded by Raleigh, Lake and Ocean View Roads. Sunday school classes commenced in 1959 at the home of Margaret & Russell Coombridge and later transferred to Northcote Intermediate School hall where services were also held until a church hall was built and opened in 1963 on the Greenslade Crescent site. This multi-purpose building served church and community until 1987, when the adjoining St Luke's Methodist Church was opened opposite the Northcote shopping mall, the old Northcote Point Methodist building becoming a Tongan Methodist church.²⁷² The Northcote Methodist Parish was carved out of the Birkenhead circuit in 1970.

The population expansion of the North Shore after the Second World War led to a very rapid increase in the number of Baptist churches on the North Shore. The Auckland Baptist Association sponsored this growth. In Hillcrest the retired China Inland Mission missionaries, Joe and Sarah Thompson, started a Sunday school. Milford Baptist provided support for this development, and in 1958 a small hall was built in Hillcrest Avenue. The small fellowship attracted support from Brethren, Church of Christ and Salvation Army members as well. Another church was planted in Birkdale, and a joint church with two congregations was formed with the Rev. Peter Carter as its minister. In 1964 a separate Northcote Church was established with Doug Rushbrook as its pastor, and the hall was moved in 1965 to the corner of Eban Road and Sylvia Road. The Rev. Roland Hart, a very noted Baptist became their

minister, and in 1973 a fine new church was built.²⁷³ This is one of the best known congregations in the New Zealand Baptist world.

Beach Haven and Birkdale

From the late 1950s when group housing developments created less wealthy areas in Beach Haven and Birkdale, congregational life there was inhibited by the lack of financial resources. A Sunday afternoon service in Beach Haven was begun with Presbyterians and Methodists alternating until in 1960 the Methodists took over. As for nearby Birkdale, the Presbyterians from the Birkenhead parish held fortnightly services in St Peter's Anglican Church from 1904.²⁷⁴ By 1926 numbers attending were poor, and many of them were Anglicans and somewhat cautious about the Presbyterian form of service.²⁷⁵ Mr George Wood, a Presbyterian elder at Birkenhead (the great-grandfather of the former North Shore Mayor and present Auckland Councillor George Wood) persuaded the parish to make a down-payment on a section in Puriri Road in 1924, but it had to be sold in 1929 when there was no likelihood of erecting a building. Services continued to be held in Wood's house and then in the local hall.²⁷⁶

A Methodist church was erected in Birkdale in 1907, and by 1916 Birkdale services were held every Sunday evening. Methodist services commenced in Beach Haven in 1934 and in 1939 the church was quickly erected (services alternated with the Presbyterians until 1960) and in 1956 the Birkdale site was sold to the Presbyterian Church, while a hall was added in Beach Haven. A Presbyterian church hall was erected on this land in 1962. In 1973 the Methodists in Beach Haven merged with the Presbyterians at Birkdale in a union parish with Don Mence as the first minister.²⁷⁷

Glenfield

When Mayfield (Glenfield) School was built in 1891, its teacher, Mr C. Clarke, decided that a Sunday school and Sunday services were needed and that the school should host them. So he himself conducted a Sunday school and simply advised the denominations? that they were expected to provide a preacher on their designated Sunday in the month.²⁷⁸ Then in 1915 the Methodists took just one day on 4

September to build a solid wooden mission hall on the corner of Glenfield Road and Bentley Avenue, an event long remembered in the district, so the services moved there and a Thursday evening service was commenced.²⁷⁹ On two Sundays Anglicans and Presbyterians had services. Presbyterian attendance in the 1920s was ‘fairly steady’ but not large.²⁸⁰

An enormous growth of population took place in northern Northcote and in Glenfield after the opening of the harbour bridge. Here land was cheaper than elsewhere on the North Shore with more modest housing predominating, and so the area developed the familiar challenges of an under-resourced suburb. An Anglican parish was created here in 1966. The Presbyterian Church at Devonport and Forrest Hill sponsored the formation of a Presbyterian church in Chivalry Road and it was opened in 1963.²⁸¹ The old Glenfield mission hall near the Glenfield shopping centre became a community centre and part of a co-operative ecumenical experiment of Anglicans and Methodists from 1975 to 1996 which also included congregations in Greenhithe and Albany. Thereafter separate Anglican and Methodist parishes recommenced. Meanwhile the Salvation Army opened a congregation in Glenfield about 1960 and Baptists in 1963. However all these congregations were weak, and were the first to experience many of the issues associated with congregational retrenchment. Not so the Catholic Church of St Thomas More, which opened in 1974, and has continued to flourish.

East Coast Bays

As early as 1866, the newspapers were noting that ‘the inhabitants of Auckland now regard the North Shore as a sanitarium [sic]’.²⁸² Between East Coast Road and the beaches, the little bays became popular for picnics and summer holidays and weekend baches were built there. The actual residents were few. The farmers would head south to Takapuna or North to Silverdale for church. Each of the bays has its own story of how it was named and of its original and succeeding farmer residents, alongside the swelling crowds of summer.

Takapuna Anglican Parish was holding Anglican services on a monthly basis in nine different places including a number of the Bays by 1930. These churches were staffed by the Takapuna Parish, and from 1951 the Rev. Richard Talbot was placed in the Bays by Takapuna Parish to serve the various Anglican congregations. In 1953 the

four East Coast Bays congregations were formed into a parochial district including Murrays Bay where services had been held for some years in the Outram Hall. The first vicar was the Rev. Richard E. Talbot who had previously served as the Takapuna curate in the district, and then the Rev. C.W. Kent Johnston in 1958. There was thought of creating a central church in Sunrise Road, but this did not happen, and in 1973 the parish was split into the separate Campbells Bay and Torbay parishes.²⁸³

The Takapuna Methodist circuit created in 1920 stretched to Deep Creek including Castor Bay, Campbells Bay, Murrays Bay, and Browns Bay. That year saw the beginning of expansion as the Methodists purchased twelve sections in all, although only eight of them ever gained buildings. Services were also tried in Sunnynook (1974-76) and in Browns Bay but failed. Separate clergy were stationed at the two ends of the long Methodist parish and the East Coast Bays Parish was separated from Takapuna Parish in 1982. The three churches, All Hallows, Rothesay Bay and Waiake were reduced to two in 1994.

As for Presbyterians, building on pioneering work by the Rev. Morgan Richards, a parish was created in 1938 which stretched from Castor Bay to Silverdale and included Albany and Dairy Flat. Mairangi Bay became the centre of the parish in 1944.²⁸⁴ In 1959 Browns Bay-Torbay was separated from the parish.

Church union proposals profoundly reshaped the plans of the traditional denominations from the 1940s. The original discussion was between Methodists and Presbyterians in the 1940s, and the Presbyterian Church was supposed to build churches in Castor Bay, Campbells Bay and Torbay, and the Methodists in Mairangi Bay and Browns Bay. Then in the 1950s, the Methodists went to Campbells Bay, Rothesay Bay and Waiake on the basis that other churches were making plans for the more populous bays. The Rev. Selwyn Dawson, minister of Takapuna, thought that Methodists got a bad deal through this understanding.²⁸⁵

The northern Anglican parish had two churches, but pressures on the Browns Bay site which the Council wanted to acquire, led them to enter a joint-use agreement with the Presbyterian Church. They agreed to shared-use of St Mary's Torbay and the Presbyterians agreed to share St Cuthbert's Browns Bay. St Anne's was surrendered to the Council. The Anglican parish concentrated on St Mary's and the Presbyterians on Browns Bay.

The Catholic parish of East Coast Bays began with mass celebrated by Takapuna priests in 1930. The Church of St John the Baptist was opened in January 1938, and in 1949 a separate East Coast Bays Parish was created. In 1960 the Sisters of St Joseph of Nazareth (the 'Black Joes') founded a school in Mairangi Bay which also served as a second church in the parish. In 1977 the Catholic Church in Browns Bay suffered the same fate as the Anglican Church, acquisition by the Council, and St Francis de Sales Church was opened in Finchley Road in Torbay in 1977. The church in Mairangi Bay was rebuilt on a grand scale in 1994.²⁸⁶

The story of the growth of the church in the East Coast Bays can be told from North to South.

The Northern Bays

It seems that the first services were held at Torbay in the mid-1880s and land was given for a small church, St Mary's by the Sea, by A. Long, a relation of the Cholmondley Smith family. This was built in Deep Creek Road in 1885. Captain Cholmondley Smith served as lay reader for thirty-five years with a congregation of a dozen people.²⁸⁷ This little old church and its graveyard were absorbed as it grew. In 1978 the old Anglican Church at Torbay was moved aside and a new church erected and consecrated on 4 May 1980. (The old church (by then a heritage museum) burned down in 1988. The new church was a combined ecumenical church but it became wholly Anglican when Presbyterians moved to Browns Bay in 1992.

In Browns Bay there were only between twelve and twenty-five permanent residents in the 1930s. Mr Brown, after whom the bay was named, who ran Brown's Boarding House, died in 1924, and the house itself burned down in 1927. In Browns Bay services were held in the home of Mrs A.J. Thompson and then in the Progress Hall. A house on the Corner of Beach Road and Glencoe Road in Browns Bay was modified in 1943 and became St Anne's Church, which soon became the largest congregation. But there was no Anglican Sunday school until the 1950s.

Methodist services began at Browns Bay Public Hall in 1920 but only lasted for a while. Then in 1949 a Sunday school was opened in Rothesay Bay by some dedicated people, and it gradually built up until St Stephen's Church was opened in 1957.²⁸⁸ Methodist services began in Torbay in 1950 and in 1958 that congregation combined with the Browns Bay congregation in one hall at Waiake. In the more

southern bays there were also a series of Methodist ventures. Then Rothesay Bay was sold to finance a new church at 864 Beach Road, Waiake; Trinity Church, Waiake-Torbay opened in 1994. This church gained some notoriety for installing a cell tower with a cross on top and protests and placards were embarrassing to live down.²⁸⁹

The Salvation Army established a campsite in Browns Bay in the early 1920s, and a congregation was planted there in 1969 and in Glenfield in 1972.²⁹⁰ The Browns Bay corps moved to Rosedale Road, Albany about 2010. Meanwhile individual Auckland Brethren used to holiday in Browns Bay including the Thatchers and Stuart Scott. They held a Bible Class camp at Browns Bay at Christmas in 1929 using the Salvation Army property, whose caretaker, John Brunt, was also Brethren. When Mrs P.A. Everett moved from Takapuna to Browns Bay a Sunday school and a breaking of bread was begun in the Everett home in 1938. A Gospel hall was opened in 1942.²⁹¹ This congregation moved to a large building in Northcross about 1990. Meanwhile, as has already been mentioned, the huge Bays Christian Fellowship, later City Impact Church, became the largest congregation on the North Shore.

The Southern Bays

Anglican services were first held at the home of Mrs Matilda Cuttle, in Beach Road in Campbells Bay in 1930. Mrs Phoebe Lewin of View Road gave land in Beach Road for an Anglican church in Campbells Bay, and St John's was erected by parishioners in 1941 and dedicated in December 1942.²⁹² Methodists were slower to get established. In 1924 Joseph Murray donated a section in Mairangi Bay, but an attempt to raise money to build on it failed and the section was sold. Methodist services were begun at the health camp in Campbells Bay in 1937, and All Hallows Church was built at 218 Beach Road in 1951, with financial assistance from the Winstone family. George Winstone laid the foundation stone of the Campbells Bay church.²⁹³

As for Presbyterians, in 1930 the Rev. Morgan Richards retired to Castor Bay. He held a Sunday school in his garage and then held services in Campbells Bay School. Will Salmond, part of a prominent Presbyterian family, and a carpenter, felt that a church was needed. So a section was purchased in a new subdivision, in Muritai (now Katui) Street and a church was opened in December 1933. It attracted a congregation from various denominational backgrounds.²⁹⁴ There was a long tradition of community events in the building, and a joint Christmas Eve service brought the

Anglicans and Presbyterians together. Another church was opened at Mairangi Bay in 1942.

In 1978 the Anglican Church of All Hallows was moved onto the Castor Bay site, and it became a joint use site, with the old Presbyterian building serving as Sunday school.²⁹⁵ In 2012 this site was sold to the Buddhists and Christian worship came to an end in Castor Bay.²⁹⁶

The Murrays Bay Baptist Church was founded in 1953 and proved the most successful of all the Baptist congregations on the North Shore. In 1996 it purchased the old Windsor Park Tavern and within three years had erected a very large auditorium for its growing congregations.²⁹⁷ It is today one of the largest congregations on the North Shore.

Albany

Albany Presbyterian Church was finally built in 1903.²⁹⁸ The Birkenhead Presbyterian Church took responsibility for services at Albany when they separated from Northcote, and provided most of the services in this small settlement.²⁹⁹ Numbers however were very small and reduced when some locals became dairy farmers and were unable to attend the afternoon services because it was milking time.³⁰⁰ The Birkenhead Methodist circuit conducted services at Albany twice a month in the Presbyterian chapel, and others in the Greenhithe Public Hall.³⁰¹ The area was slowly overtaken by new housing, and from the 1990s the farms and orchards were replaced by houses, shops and motorway. In 1991 the old church was destroyed in a tornado but the denomination made it an independent parish and appointed a full time minister in 1995 and eventually a new church was built.³⁰² Four new churches, three of them Pentecostal, opened in one month in 1998.³⁰³ The Northcote and then the Glenfield Anglican parishes had maintained Anglican services in the district followed by the Anglican – Methodist Union Parish of Glenfield but in 1992 a separate parish was created. Holy Cross Church was erected in 1999-2000 before the money had been approved,³⁰⁴ while new denominations seized space available in halls and at Massey University. The area became popular with new migrants, both Korean and South African, and church life has reflected these flavours.

Whangaparaoa

St Stephen's Anglican Church was built at Whangaparaoa during World War I. Ronald Adney Macdonald, Vicar of Warkworth, 1911-20, encouraged this extension of his parish, but the first attempt to build the church struck a disaster when the framework blew down during its construction. The church was finally opened on 6 June 1917. In the 1930s the building was blown off its foundation and reoriented to line up with the winds. The Shakespear family, who lived further along the peninsula attended services at the church. These were conducted for many years by Mr William Shakespear if no clergy were available. The Orewa Parish began in 1952, but remained linked with East Coast Bays until 1956 as there was no church building at Orewa at that time. In 2006 Orewa and Whangaparaoa became separate parishes, and the tiny St Stephen's Church was finally replaced in 2011. Meanwhile the Silverdale Anglican Church remained when the other church or churches closed, and it has recently moved closer to the centre of population.

Very large new congregations and facilities have been established as the Whangaparaoa and Orewa districts have boomed in recent years. Presbyterians, Methodists and Baptists all have thriving congregations. The new denominations have also burgeoned in Whangaparaoa, and Kingsway School has gained a high reputation as an evangelical independent school.

CONCLUSION

The Place of Religion in New Zealand Communities

This exploration of the development of the Christian denominations on the North Shore has deliberately sought to present a broader picture of the development of religion than would be found in denominational accounts, and a greater depth than general histories can cover.

The North Shore churches are capital rich today, but congregations are relatively small, as European churchgoing has declined. The church has many clergy, and Anglicans are stronger here than in most other parts of New Zealand. According to census records in 1891 some 46.9 per cent of the population of the Waitemata County and its boroughs were Anglicans; by 1945 that figure had dropped a little to 43.2 per cent although the more populous parts of the county had by this stage become boroughs. Focusing on the northern parts of Auckland, in 1991 that figure had dropped to 19.7 per cent and in 2006 it was 13.3 per cent which was very close to the New Zealand average. Only one new Anglican church has opened in recent years, Holy Cross, Albany. In 2011 the closure of the church at Bayswater was announced despite local protests, and in 2013 the old combined Anglican Presbyterian congregation in Castor Bay closed its doors. Methodists have seen the same attrition with the closure of the Beach Haven Methodist Church in 2013 and the development of the site for social housing. Presbyterians are facing an urgent need to consolidate their congregations, with a number of parishes perilously small. In the meantime very large congregations have been established by Baptists and Pentecostals, and Windsor Park Baptist Church and City Impact Church are on a scale which far exceeds the total worshipping congregations of all Presbyterians and Anglicans. The Catholic Church has also greatly extended in recent years with very large congregations, particularly of migrants in all their churches on the North Shore, and they are urgently seeking additional church sites. Meanwhile several ethnic Buddhist groups have been established on different parts of the North Shore, beginning at Dairy Flat.

The place of religion in local communities has certainly changed and developed over recent years. It is striking how communities created places of worship ahead of the denominational provision. This is so common a pattern in rural areas that this represents another challenge to the arguments of Miles Fairburn. It is reasonable

to observe that these community churches were not necessarily the sign of a thriving religious community, however, for they struggled to maintain regular services. Religion was plainly linked to schooling in the formation of local communities and churches provided a venue for public meetings and festivities. Rural communities were somewhat different from the towns. The North Shore study is interesting because it represents a rural community which became urbanised and denominationalised. Because this happened later than in many other communities, the North Shore also illustrates the ways in which religion became a kind of 'extra', less vital to the community, and infinitely variegated, in the twentieth century.

The texture of these religious traditions is significant too. Local congregations increasingly became a blend of local community interests, and global religious trends. Religion had both the capacity to unite and to divide, to create a general community and to assert links with a wider international religious differentiation. It is a story which can easily be lost in the details, but it is in the end about the shaping of people and their lives.

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Endnotes

- ¹ This publication is based on addresses to the Anglican and Wesleyan Historical Societies in 2011.
- ² R. Arnold, *Settler Kaponga 1881-1914: a Frontier Fragment of the Western World* Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1997; David G. Pearson, *Johnsonville: Continuity and Change in a New Zealand Township*, Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1980; Erik Olssen, *Building the New World: Caversham 1880s-1920*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1995 – one of a number of publications from this large project.
- ³ David Verran, *The North Shore: an Illustrated History*, Auckland: Random House, 2010.
- ⁴ Miles Fairburn, *The Ideal Society and its Enemies: the Foundations of Modern New Zealand Society 1850-1900*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1989.
- ⁵ *New Zealand Herald* (NZH), 6 August 1864, p. 4.
- ⁶ M. Blain, 'Who Has the Power in the Church? Testing the Constitution', in Colin Brown, Marie Peters and Jane Teal, eds, *Shaping a Colonial Church: Bishop Harper and the Anglican Diocese of Christchurch 1856-1890*. s.v. Ashwell.
- ⁷ *Daily Southern Cross* (DSC), 25 April 1868, p. 3; *ibid*, 20 September 1872, p. 2; *Auckland Star* (AS), 17 September 1925, p. 16; C.O. Davis, *Life and Times of Patuone the Celebrated Maori Chief*, Christchurch: Capper Press, 1974, p. 65.
- ⁸ S. Musgrove, (ed.), *The Hundred of Devonport, a Centennial History*; P. Titchener, *Beginnings: a History of the North Shore of Auckland*, vol. 1, p. 26, citing *North Shore Times Advertiser*(NSTA), 18 February 1976.
- ⁹ DSC, 28 January 1863, p. 4. The Presbyterian Archives note that Shaw was licensed but not ordained as a minister and was brought in to conduct baptisms. Jane Bloore to Peter Lineham, 10/11/2011.
- ¹⁰ For his work in purchasing church sites in Lucas Creek and Northcote, see the report on Auckland Presbytery, AS, 2 February 1881, p. 2.
- ¹¹ DSC, 28 February 1863, p. 11.
- ¹² DSC, 6 February 1863, p. 3.
- ¹³ W. Morley, *History of Methodism in New Zealand*, p. 249.
- ¹⁴ Morley, pp. 204, 216; E.W. Hames, *100 Years at Pitt Street*, p. 17.
- ¹⁵ 'Land for sale adjacent to RC College of North Shore Parish of Takapuna', *New Zealander*, 16 May 1849. See DSC, 25 June 1867, letter, and DSC, 10 August 1867, p. 3. E.R. Simmons, *In Cruce Salus*, pp. 20, 34, 37.
- ¹⁶ NZH, 15 February 1867, p. 5.
- ¹⁷ AS, 4 May 1882, p. 3.
- ¹⁸ DSC, 9 January 1873, p. 3.
- ¹⁹ See in particular J. Litchfield (ed), *From the Wade to Silverdale*, pp. 20-22.

- ²⁰ Hames, *100 Years at Pitt Street*, p. 17.
- ²¹ Auckland Circuit Quarterly Book, September 1860 (Methodist Archives, Auckland). Morley, p. 263; The date mentioned in the *New Zealand Methodist Times* vol. 54 (1963) p. 263 is 8 April 1860. See Paul Titchener, 'The Mystery of the Wade Church', NSTA, 25 August 1981; p. 5 and Titchener, *Beginnings*, vol 7, p. 41.
- ²² DSC, 3 February 1866, p. 5.
- ²³ Morley, pp. 263, 265. Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church Preachers' Plan, Circuit of Auckland October-December 1866 (Methodist Archives, Auckland).
- ²⁴ D. Burt, 'Enigma of Auckland's first Wesleyan church', 2005; Litchfield, *From the Wade to Silverdale*, pp. 20-22.
- ²⁵ DSC, 4 October 1862, p. 3; *ibid*, 28 January 1863, p. 4; *ibid*, 4 November 1863, p. 4; *ibid*, 22 March 1864, p. 4.
- ²⁶ One particularly confusing report is 'Opening of the Wade Presbyterian Church', NZH, 25 January 1867, p. 5. The advance notice of the meeting in *Daily Southern Cross*, 19 January 1867, p. 5, and the details of the report make no mention of a new building.
- ²⁷ NZH, 14 April 1864, p. 3.
- ²⁸ DSC, 25 May 1860, p. 3.
- ²⁹ NZH, 21 January 1880, p. 4.
- ³⁰ Litchfield, *From the Wade to Silverdale*, p. 20, citing *Rodney Courier*, 14 July 1948.
- ³¹ *Holy Trinity Church, Silverdale Centenary, 1885-1985*, pp. 1-5. See also W.G. Cowie, *Our Last Year in New Zealand*. NZH, 4 October 1881, p. 6; *ibid*, 5 July 1884, p. 4. There is an extensive account in the *Anglican Church Gazette*, July 1885.
- ³² N. E. Holmes, *Saint Stephen's Whangaparaoa, The First Fort Five Years*, pp. 3-4. CHECK SPELLING
- ³³ Holmes, *Saint Stephen's Whangaparaoa*. p. 3. CHECK SPELLING
- ³⁴ J Dickson, *History of the New Zealand Presbyterian Church*, p. 397; *Mahurangi Presbyterian Church Centennial Souvenir 1856 - 1956*, p. 1.
- ³⁵ Auckland Circuit Book 1844- , Quarterly Accounts, December 1860 (Methodist Archives, Auckland).
- ³⁶ A. Harris & R. Stevenson, *Once there were Green Fields: the Story of Albany New Zealand*, pp. 25-26, 32-33, 43-44, 71; *The Station, a History of the Albany Basin*, p. x. J. Brown-Haysom, ed., *One Hundred Years of Christian Witness in Birkenhead: the History of Zion Hill Methodist Church 1880-1980* p. 18; North Shore City Cemetery Website: http://www.northshorecity.govt.nz/cemetery/cemetery_info/albany-village.htm. M. Johnston, *The Presbyterian Church in Birkenhead*, pp. 15, 18. See also NZH, 21 January 1880, p. 6; *ibid*, 29 December 1884, p. 6.
- ³⁷ DSC, 6 September 1865, p. 44; T. Walsh, *An Illustrated Story of Devonport and Old North Shore*, pp. 10-11, 38.
- ³⁸ Hames, *100 Years at Pitt Street*, p. 17.
- ³⁹ Morley, p. 216. No circuit plans have been found for the period from 1851 to 1866 so it is unclear if the North Shore did appear on plans in that period.
- ⁴⁰ NZH, 26 November 1864, p. 5; *ibid*, 13 December 1864, p. 4; *ibid*, 28 December 1864, p. 4; DSC, 28 December 1864, p. 4; *ibid*, 31 December 1864, p. 3. The account of the committee is in NZH, 4 September 1865, p. 4.
- ⁴¹ DSC, 7 January 1865; also W.J. Comrie, *The Presbytery of Auckland: Early Days and Progress*, p. 162.
- ⁴² DSC, 7 January 1865, p. 4.
- ⁴³ DSC, 31 January 1865, p. 3.
- ⁴⁴ NZH, 17 April 1865, p. 4.
- ⁴⁵ DSC, 6 June 1865, p.4.
- ⁴⁶ DSC, 14 August 1865, p. 4.
- ⁴⁷ Morley, p. 216. H.A. Cochrane, *Let us give thanks: Jubilee Celebrations in Devonport Methodism*, p. 2 wrongly dates this building as 1867.
- ⁴⁸ Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church Preachers' Plan, Circuit of Auckland October-December 1866 (Methodist Archives, Auckland); Auckland Circuit Book (1844-), Receipts March 1865, Receipts September 1865.
- ⁴⁹ Auckland Circuit Book (1844-) Receipts March 1866; June 1866.
- ⁵⁰ DSC, 6 September 1865.
- ⁵¹ NZH, 27 June 1866, p. 3.

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- ⁵² <http://creakings.net/jean/staugustine/staugwelcome.html>
- ⁵³ NZH, 17 March 1866, p. 4; DSC, 25 March 1867, p. 5; NZH, 25 March 1867, p. 3.
- ⁵⁴ *History of the Devonport Presbyterian Church: Jubilee Souvenir, 1866-1916*, p. 8.
- ⁵⁵ DSC, 7 October 1875, p. 1; J. Dickson, *History of the New Zealand Presbyterian Church*, p. 404.
- ⁵⁶ DSC, 28 December 1869, p.4.
- ⁵⁷ DSC, 2 April 1867, p.3.
- ⁵⁸ DSC, 28 December 1869, p. 4.
- ⁵⁹ Auckland Circuit Book 1844-, Receipts for 1866 and 1867. (Methodist Archives, Auckland).
- ⁶⁰ Auckland Circuit Book, Monday 21 December 1868; Receipts, 28 June 1869, 30 June 1870, September 1870.
- ⁶¹ Auckland Local Preachers Meeting of 24 March 1871; DSC, 16 August 1871, p. 1; AS, 24 August 1871, p. 2. Auckland Circuit Book, March 1871; The September 1871 Quarterly Meeting authorised the sale.
- ⁶² AS, 13 February 1873, p. 2.
- ⁶³ Cochrane, *Let us give thanks*, p. 3.
- ⁶⁴ C.R. Knight, *The Selwyn Churches of Auckland*, pp. 62-64.
- ⁶⁵ DSC, 5 July 1870.
- ⁶⁶ DSC, 6 June 1865. Also in See M. Cole, *The Anglican Church in Bayswater*. This information is somewhat inconsistent with the account in the Devonport history.
- ⁶⁷ DSC, 30 June 1865, p. 5.
- ⁶⁸ Y. Carter, *A history of the Parish of St John the Baptist, Northcote*.
- ⁶⁹ DSC, 22 June 1860, p. 1.
- ⁷⁰ Heywood-Carter notes, 1948, (Auckland Anglican Diocesan Archives, AADA).
- ⁷¹ AS, 4 December 1873, p. 3.
- ⁷² Knight *The Selwyn Churches*, pp. 62-64; *Jubilee Record 1895-1945: Northcote Methodist Church*, pp. 3-4. Note that Morley was here at 3 pm on the second Sunday in January 1881. AS, 7 January 1881, p. 2.
- ⁷³ See correspondent in *Auckland Star*, 19 November 1888, p. 2. David Bruce held an afternoon service there in 1879. See *ibid*, 21 June 1879, p. 2.
- ⁷⁴ *North Shore News*, 17 March 1938 calls him Thomas Sanson but this must be a mistake. Heywood in AADA mentions a later schoolmaster, Mr Mayhew was precentor as well as organist at a service attended by the bishop in 1878. Perhaps this means that he read the service. A new organ was installed in 1881.
- ⁷⁵ AS, 21 November 1881, p. 2; *ibid*, 22 April 1881, p. 2.
- ⁷⁶ DSC, 23 January 1868, p. 3.
- ⁷⁷ NZH, 25 May 1872, p. 3.
- ⁷⁸ DSC, 24 October 1871, p. 3.
- ⁷⁹ Colin Brown emails, 2010-2011, and D. Verran, 'Building Communities on the North Shore, Part One', *Auckland Waikato Historical Journal*; see also DSC, 3 February 1872, p. 3; *ibid*, 21 February 1872, p. 3.
- ⁸⁰ DSC, 3 February 1872, p. 3.
- ⁸¹ AS, 31 January 1880, p. 2; NZH, 21 January 1880, p. 6.
- ⁸² AS, 29 April 1880, p. 2.
- ⁸³ AS, 17 November 1880, p. 2.
- ⁸⁴ AS, 24 February 1881, p. 2.
- ⁸⁵ AS, 22 April 1881, p. 2.
- ⁸⁶ DSC, 4 April 1869. See D. Verran, *The North Shore: an Illustrated History*, p. 82. I can only date the church to 1866 but Verran uses 1861 taken from *Takapuna People and Places* p. 33. He now doubts it was both a school and Church from 1861. See also J. A. Mackay 'Old North Shore' (North Shore Historical Society), p. 24; DSC, 29 April 1962.
- ⁸⁷ DSC, 8 April 1868, p. 4; *ibid*, 30 March 1869, p. 3; *ibid*, 4 April 1869.
- ⁸⁸ Hames, *100 Years in Pitt Street*, p. 18; F. Sutherland, *75 Years 1883-1958: the Story of Takapuna Methodist Church during Three Quarters of a Century*, pp. 6-8.
- ⁸⁹ DSC, 8 April 1868, p. 4
- ⁹⁰ DSC, 30 March 1869, p. 3.
- ⁹¹ NZH, 26 May 1879, p. 6.
- ⁹² NZH, 7 June 1881, p. 3.

- ⁹³ See for example Roger Finke and Laurence R. Iannaccone, 'Supply-Side Explanations for Religious Change', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 527, no. 1, May 1993, pp. 27-39.
- ⁹⁴ From the Jack family History, Wainui Historical Society, reprinted in Litchfield, *From the Wade to Silverdale*, p. 209.
- ⁹⁵ NZH, 21 January 1880, p. 6; AS, 22 April 1881, p. 2.
- ⁹⁶ AS, 20 January 1883, p. 2.
- ⁹⁷ Musgrove, 1986; Titchener, vol 1, 1977, pp. 26-27.
- ⁹⁸ *Proceedings of the Third Session of the Third Synod of the Diocese of New Zealand*, 1864, pp. 8-10, 78. I am indebted to information received from Jean Day about Kerr, greatly augmenting the information in the Blain Index.
- ⁹⁹ Information from Jean Day from the Kerr/Palmer Diary; Blain Index.
- ¹⁰⁰ Jean Day, personal communication citing Kerr/Palmer diary.
- ¹⁰¹ Blain Index, Jean Day's information.
- ¹⁰² DSC, 19 September 1866; *ibid*, 23 December 1865, p. 4; *ibid*, 29 April 1872, p. 3.
- ¹⁰³ DSC, 20 May 1872, p.3.
- ¹⁰⁴ NZH, 25 May 1872, p. 3.
- ¹⁰⁵ NZH, 25 January 1878, p. 3.
- ¹⁰⁶ NZH, 21 January 1880, p. 6.
- ¹⁰⁷ NZH, 2 February 1880, p. 2.
- ¹⁰⁸ NZH, 21 January 1880, p. 6.
- ¹⁰⁹ NZH, 12 May 1884, p. 5.
- ¹¹⁰ NZH, 25 May 1872, p. 3.
- ¹¹¹ DSC, 4 February 1873 p. 2; *ibid*, 26 January 1876, p. 2; NZH, 21 January 1880, p. 6; *ibid*, 21 January 1880, p. 6; Heywood MS history.
- ¹¹² NZH, 2 September 1881, p. 5; *ibid*, 4 October 1881, p. 6.
- ¹¹³ AS, 23 May 1882, p. 3.
- ¹¹⁴ AS, 12 February 1883, p. 2.
- ¹¹⁵ NZH, 19 December 1881, p. 4; *ibid*, 28 April 1884, p. 3. AS, 11 May 1882, p. 2. The Blain Index indicates that he was licensed 19 December 1881 and served as locum at Devonport in 1884.
- ¹¹⁶ NZH, 12 May 1884, p. 5.
- ¹¹⁷ A.E.Wilson, *St. Paul's Presbyterian Church, Devonport*, p. 8.
- ¹¹⁸ NZH, 20 February 1869, p. 4.
- ¹¹⁹ NZH, 1 August 1872, p. 3. Presbyterian Register of Ministers.
- ¹²⁰ NZH, 16 October 1873, p. 1.
- ¹²¹ Dickson, p. 404. Comrie, pp. 197-199. Auckland Presbytery Report, DSC, 5 October 1871, p. 3; *History of the Devonport Presbyterian Church: Jubilee Souvenir, 1866-1916*, pp. 8, 10.
- ¹²² NZH, 14 August 1878, p. 2.
- ¹²³ NZH, 26 May 1879, p. 6.
- ¹²⁴ AS, 6 May 1890, p. 5.
- ¹²⁵ AS, 11 April 1882, p. 2; Presbyterian Register of Ministers.
- ¹²⁶ NZH, 21 July 1882; p. 6; AS, 6 March 1883, p. 2. Presbyterian Register of Ministers.
- ¹²⁷ AS, 6 June 1883, p. 2.
- ¹²⁸ NZH, 2 December 1880, p. 3. See Harris and Stevenson, p. 44.
- ¹²⁹ Wilson, pp. 11-12.
- ¹³⁰ AS, 19 January 1874, p. 2. Further evidence: no preacher was sent to the North Shore when the Wesleyan Conference was in Auckland in January 1875. *ibid*, 23 January 1875, p. 2.
- ¹³¹ Auckland Circuit Book, Quarterly Meeting, 30 June 1875; Quarterly Meeting 30 September 1875.
- ¹³² Local Preachers Meeting of 23 June 1875; .AS, 23 August 1875, p. 2; 30 October 1875, p. 3; *ibid*, 13 November 1875, p. 3; *ibid*, 27 November 1875, p. 3. I am not sure why the Local Preachers Meeting, 22 September 1875 approved the time of services to be 11 am and 6.30 pm, since this was already happening.
- ¹³³ Auckland Circuit Book, Receipts, 31 March 1876.
- ¹³⁴ Its first anniversary was held on 5 November 1876. DSC, 8 November 1876, p. 3.
- ¹³⁵ AS, 4 November 1876.
- ¹³⁶ DSC, 5 December 1876, p. 3.
- ¹³⁷ AS, 24 January 1877, p. 3.
- ¹³⁸ Auckland Circuit Book, Quarterly meeting, 28 June 1876 and 27 September 1876; AS, 1 November 1876, p. 2.

- ¹³⁹ AS, 26 November 1877, p. 2.
- ¹⁴⁰ AS, 27 December 1876, p. 2.
- ¹⁴¹ AS, 28 March 1877, p. 3.
- ¹⁴² AS, 14 December 1880, p. 2.
- ¹⁴³ AS, 23 February 1877, p. 2. St John's Methodist Church, Ponsonby, was opened on 11 February 1877. Morley, p.210.
- ¹⁴⁴ AS, 5 June 1877, 8 June 1877, *ibid*, 19 June 1877, p. 2, *ibid*, 4 July 1877, p 2; *ibid*, 31 July 1877, p. 2.
- ¹⁴⁵ AS, 10 December 1880, p. 3; *ibid*, 14 December 1880, p. 2.
- ¹⁴⁶ Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church Preachers Plan: Circuit of Auckland, New Zealand, 1879 (April-June). (Methodist Archives, Auckland).
- ¹⁴⁷ Cochrane, p. 3.
- ¹⁴⁸ Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church New Zealand Conference Auckland 1887, Preaching Plan for January 1887. (Methodist Archives, Auckland).
- ¹⁴⁹ Morley, p. 217. AS, 30 October 1884, p. 2.
- ¹⁵⁰ AS, 30 April 1884, p. 2 and *ibid*, 17 February 1885, p. 2; Cochrane, pp. 4-5.
- ¹⁵¹ AS, 16 September 1881, p. 2.
- ¹⁵² AS, 28 November 1881, p. 2; *ibid*, 30 January 1882, p. 2.
- ¹⁵³ NZH, 28 November 1881, p. 2; *ibid*, 29 November 1881, p. 6.
- ¹⁵⁴ AS, 7 October 1881, p. 2.
- ¹⁵⁵ Auckland Methodist Local Preachers Meeting of 27 March 1878; *ibid*, 22 December 1879.
- ¹⁵⁶ AS, 29 April 1880, p. 2.
- ¹⁵⁷ AS, 31 January 1880, p. 2; also *ibid*, 29 April 1880, p. 2.
- ¹⁵⁸ AS, 21 March 1881, p. 2.
- ¹⁵⁹ Auckland Methodist Local Preachers Meeting of 20 June 1881.
- ¹⁶⁰ AS, 11 June 1881, p. 2; *ibid*, 13 June 1881, p. 2. Morley, p. 217. On the other hand the district meeting in 1877 sanctioned the sale of a site in Stokes Point. AS, 25 November 1879, p. 3. For the price, see AS, 28 November 1881, p. 2.
- ¹⁶¹ AS, 16 June 1881, p. 2. J. Brown-Haysom, ed., *One Hundred Years of Christian Witness in Birkenhead*, pp. 9-12. M. McClure, *The Story of Birkenhead*; Birkenhead Museum website.
- ¹⁶² AS, 14 June 1882, p. 3.
- ¹⁶³ See also the description of the annual tea meeting, AS, 4 May 1882, p. 3.
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- ¹⁶⁵ AS, 21 March 1882, p. 2. The Salvation Army meetings at Lucas Creek might have been the cause, (Harris and Stevenson, p. 43) but probably that was later.
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- ¹⁸⁵ NZH, 28 July 1898, p. 5.
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