

Calendars, Cemeteries and the Evolution of Colonial Culture

ALISON CLARKE

In 1873 Andrew Stobo, Presbyterian minister at Invercargill, introduced a matter which had been concerning him for some time at the meeting of the synod, the ruling body of the Presbyterian Church of Otago and Southland. It was not usual, Stobo commented, 'to have religious services at graves among Presbyterians in the mother country', by which he meant Scotland. In New Zealand, though, 'the practice of using such prayers is becoming common', he stated.¹ This was, he pointed out, contrary to one of the key documents of the Presbyterian church, the 1645 *Westminster Directory for Public Worship*, which stated that the dead should 'be decently attended from the house to the place appointed for publick burial, and there immediately interred, without any ceremony'.²

To understand this incident, we need to look back at the early modern period and the concerns of religious reformers about certain features of the medieval Catholic church. Among the practices that attracted their attention were the sale of indulgences and the saying of masses that would speed the passage of a dead loved one through purgatory towards heaven. According to the theology of the new Protestant movement, at death a person was either saved or not saved according to faith and the grace of God and no actions of the living could affect the fate of the dead.³ The early Presbyterians went further than most Protestants in their reform of the old Catholic traditions. They rejected prayers or other religious ceremonies at funerals for fear that they might appear to be carrying out the 'Papist' or 'superstitious' practice of praying for the dead. As the *Directory for Public Worship* explained:

And because the custom of kneeling down, and praying by or towards the dead corpse, and other such usages, in the place where it lies before it be carried to burial, are superstitious; and for that praying, reading, and singing, both in going to and at the grave, have been grossly abused, are no way beneficial to the dead, and have proved many ways hurtful to the living; therefore let all such things be laid aside.⁴

Ironically, the elimination of religion from Presbyterian burials allowed popular folk beliefs to flourish; people felt a deep-seated need for ritual at this critical life event. But gradually, funerals in Presbyterian Scotland evolved from the purely secular ritual envisaged by some of the early church

leaders into a more openly religious ceremony. Ministers started offering prayers at the 'kisting' ceremony, where the body was placed in the coffin, and this developed into a short religious service at the home, which had become standard Scottish Presbyterian funeral practice by the nineteenth century. Family and friends gathered at the home, where the body had remained or been taken to since the death. The minister offered a prayer and sometimes a bible reading – explicitly selected for the comfort and edification of the living, rather than for the dead – before the coffin was carried to the cemetery, accompanied by a procession of mourners, and placed in the grave.⁵

Many Presbyterian funerals in early colonial New Zealand must have followed this Scottish pattern. In 1863 Richard Taylor, Anglican missionary at Whanganui, attended the funeral of nine-year-old Barbara Macgregor in the rural district of Matarawa Valley. He found a large gathering of the community at her parents' home, drinking spirits, as was good Scottish funeral custom. The Presbyterian minister, David Hogg, prayed, after which he informed Taylor that 'it was their custom to give a prayer before the corpse was taken away'. Taylor agreed to lead this final prayer. The coffin was then taken by spring cart to a field, where the missionary was astonished to witness it 'simply let down into the grave and the earth thrown in without any further ceremony'. Alex Macgregor, the young girl's father, explained to Taylor that 'he hated all popish ceremonies!'⁶

The reactions of witnesses like Taylor to traditional Presbyterian funerals, along with Presbyterian exposure to the different funeral practices of other denominations, undoubtedly influenced the development of the Presbyterian funeral in New Zealand. In the colonial setting, few migrants existed in ethnic or religious isolation: most lived in communities more culturally diverse than those of their homelands. Presbyterian funerals did have some things in common with those of other denominations. The main feature of all nineteenth-century Pākehā funerals was the procession from the home of the deceased to the graveyard. Sometimes – by no means always – Catholic, Anglican and Methodist funerals stopped at a church where a burial service was held, but the religious ceremony was completed at the grave, and was often held there in its entirety.

Many Scottish migrants heard the Anglican burial service read for the first time aboard ship during their voyage to the colonies, and later, perhaps, at the grave of a neighbour or some prominent local identity. This service, much of which consisted of readings directly from the bible, was regularly described in newspaper reports as 'impressive' or 'beautiful'; a report of Johnny Jones's funeral at Dunedin in 1869 referred to the 'solemn and touching burial service of the Church of England'.⁷ Some colonial Presbyterians exposed to this service clearly found it a more satisfactory

conclusion to the burial ritual than their own traditional practice, and they began requesting their ministers to provide prayers and bible readings at the graveside.

In 1860, when Captain William Cargill, founder of the Otago colony, died, one Dunedin paper praised his funeral's move away from Scottish tradition. Cargill was a staunch Presbyterian and his funeral was conducted by Donald McNaughton Stuart, the minister of Knox Church. As the *Otago Colonist* explained,

the Rev Mr Stewart [sic] officiated, and judiciously broke through the custom of burying the dead in total silence by offering a short prayer before the procession left the door, and again at the grave. The service would possibly have been extended but for the state of the weather, and we trust will be so in future on similar solemn occasions.⁸

Stuart had been less than two years in Otago when he conducted Cargill's funeral; though a proud Scottish Highlander he had spent the previous ten years as a Presbyterian minister in the north of England. This experience, along with the mixed background of his Knox congregation, many of whom had come from other denominations, must have contributed to his willingness to conduct graveside religious ceremonies.⁹

Thomas Burns, Presbyterian minister and religious leader of the Otago colony, was less broad-minded than Stuart. By the 1870s it was so commonplace for Presbyterian funerals in New Zealand to include both a short religious ceremony at the home and another at the graveside that when Burns himself died in 1871 the *Otago Daily Times* needed to explain why there was no religious service at his grave: 'this course was adopted out of respect to the views and practice of the deceased, which was also the practice of the old Scottish Church'.¹⁰

The article on Cargill's funeral noted that a funeral was a time 'well fitted to arouse solemn reflections in the minds of the living', and this coincided with the beliefs of the more liberal Presbyterian ministers of the day. When Stobo asked the Otago and Southland synod in 1873 to declare which funeral practice the church should adopt, several of the ministers who took part in the resulting debate clearly saw funerals as an evangelistic opportunity. William Johnstone of Port Chalmers thought that to hold services at both house and grave for people 'who did not often attend Church' was an opportunity 'which should not be allowed to slip'. Only one minister present – the theologically conservative James Copland of North Dunedin – spoke out against the changing practice: 'There was a feeling of superstition connected with these services at the grave', he stated. Others begged to differ: 'There was, on the whole, no danger of going back to superstitious practices', argued Oamaru minister Alexander Todd. By a

large majority, the synod decided not to adopt Stobo's suggestion and make a ruling on the form which funerals should take, instead 'leaving it to every minister to act according to his own judgment'.¹¹

Later that year the matter of Presbyterian funeral services came up at the other end of the country, when the general assembly of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand – the ruling body of all churches north of the Waitaki River – met in Auckland. David Bruce, a pioneer Presbyterian minister in Auckland, suggested that 'the order of conducting the Marriage and Burial Service should, as far as possible, be uniform throughout the Church, and that the Assembly should give instructions for the preparing of a marriage and burial service'. Like his colleagues in the south, he noted that practice in the colony was different from that of Scotland. 'In New Zealand the service was read at the grave instead of in the house, and there was consequently some difficulty on the part of young clergymen in deciding as to the mode of conducting it.' Some of Bruce's colleagues agreed that uniformity of practice was desirable, but others objected strongly to the suggestion of a set form or service.

The opposition of the more conservative clergy had to do less with any concerns about the holding of services at the grave than with their deep concern about the possible introduction of a set liturgy. John Ross of Turakina 'was afraid that these proposals might seem as if they were drifting into Episcopacy', while Robert McKinney of Mahurangi commented that when he first read the suggestion for order of services 'he thought he must be reading *Punch*'. By a margin of just one the assembly decided to put aside Bruce's suggestion.¹²

It is clear that conservatives had mixed feelings about funeral services. John Waters, minister of Warepa in South Otago, in 1869 had to defend himself against inaccurate reporting in the local newspaper over his attitude to funerals, but his defence confirmed that he was wary of such services. It was difficult, he wrote, to prevent funeral services 'from being regarded as something for the dead, and not for the living, which great abuse was seen in the Popish Church in their service for the dead'. Despite such reservations, Waters 'made it my duty to be present at every funeral connected with my charge, and always performed religious services, which consisted of reading a suitable passage of the scriptures, and of prayer'.¹³

Waters did not make it clear whether he conducted services at the grave or only at the house, but when his own wife died four years later, no less than five of Waters' colleagues participated in services at both home and grave, as well as in the church. Annie Waters' sudden death at the age of 31, leaving behind a young family, deeply upset the community, with whom she was a great favourite.¹⁴ It was very unusual for a Presbyterian funeral to include a service in the church during this period, and it probably resulted

from her special position as minister's wife. Later in the century it became quite common for the funerals of ministers to take place partly in the church, which was perhaps seen in some sense as their home.¹⁵ That John Waters, who revealed just four years earlier his misgivings about funerals, allowed, and perhaps himself arranged, a complex religious service in three locations for his own wife reveals how quickly Presbyterian practice was changing in New Zealand. It also shows how the emotional and spiritual needs of an individual family or community could overcome an adherence to traditional practices, especially in a society like New Zealand, where neighbours from a variety of backgrounds demonstrated alternative ways of doing things.

With no directive against the holding of graveside services, Presbyterian ministers in both north and south had freedom to act as they wished and even the most conservative responded to the demand of many of their parishioners for some sort of religious ceremony at the grave. In 1883, just ten years after the debates in synod and assembly, the *Southland Times*, while campaigning for a shelter at Invercargill's East Road Cemetery, noted that 'whereas once, in the case of Presbyterians, the body was consigned to the tomb without any word said at the spot by a clergyman, now the practice is universal to go through a simple ritual of reading, prayer and praise'.¹⁶

Meanwhile, in Scotland, Presbyterian practice was changing at a much slower rate. The most radical worship reformers there – the Church Service Society – in their 1867 book of prayers noted 'two peculiarities in the usage of Scottish Presbyterians' when it came to burial: first, that 'in many, if not most, parts of the country, the religious observance at present consists of prayer alone', and second, that the 'religious Service at funerals in Scotland is, as a general rule, confined to the house of mourning'.¹⁷ Services at the grave remained rare through the 1870s, though they were beginning to be held more often in the 1880s. Like other reforms in Scottish Presbyterian worship, such changes were slow and not without controversy, though in 1893 the Church of Scotland, the most theologically liberal branch of the Presbyterian church in that country, officially authorized religious services at the grave.¹⁸

One of the Church Service Society's arguments for change in funeral services was that such change was already happening beyond Scotland: 'In some parts of the world a Service at the place of interment already is, and has long been, held by the ministers of the Church of Scotland, in conformity with the feelings and usage of other Evangelical denominations'. A 'provincial singularity of usage' might cause little harm within Scotland, but could 'greatly impede' the church's usefulness elsewhere: in some districts parishioners might come originally from other denominations, and be 'repelled from permanent and full connection with [the Presbyterian church],

by peculiarities repugnant to their feelings and habits'.¹⁹ Presbyterians in New Zealand, the other colonies, and England, were, through close contact with people of different backgrounds, prompted to interrogate their own traditions. In some instances, as with graveside religious services, the majority found it difficult to justify their old prejudices, and change happened remarkably quickly, within a generation or two of the first major wave of migration.

This is a nice example of cultural change moving from the colonies back to the metropolis, against the dominant flow of cultural capital in the colonial period. In recent times historians of Britain have given increasing recognition to the British empire's influence on metropolitan culture, while Tony Ballantyne has alerted us to the 'webs of empire', with exchanges between colonies in addition to those to and from the metropolis.²⁰ Scholars of empire and religion generally focus, unsurprisingly, on missions; perhaps we should also look more closely for any influence of the settler colonial churches on those in Britain and Ireland. Today's Anglicans at 'home' in England are regularly reminded of the views of conservative Anglicans in Africa and liberal Episcopalians in North America in their debates on homosexuality and female bishops; it would be interesting to know more about such exposure to colonial ideas and practices in the nineteenth century.²¹

Of course, the colonists were not always innovative and could cling tightly to their traditions. Some religious and cultural differences within the Pākehā community persisted for much longer than did the traditional Presbyterian funeral. An interesting example of that, which had a persistent effect into modern times, is the celebration of Easter.²² Although some twenty-first-century New Zealanders mourn the supposed secularization of religious festivals – best seen in the debates over legalization of trading on Good Friday and Easter Sunday – the reality is that Easter has never been simply a religious holiday in this country, and it has always been contested. About 20% of nineteenth-century migrants to New Zealand came from Scotland, where Good Friday was a regular working day.²³ The differences between Scotland and England, where Good Friday was a common law holiday, resulted from the different state religions and, like the differences in funeral practices, the origins of these different holiday practices went back to the Reformation.²⁴

The medieval Catholic church's calendar burgeoned with feasts and fasts and saints' days. Protestant reformers pruned many of these holidays from the church calendar. Most of the new religious denominations, including Lutherans and Anglicans, retained the major festivals connected with the life of Jesus, notably Christmas and Easter. But some of the later Protestant churches, including Presbyterians, English Puritans, Congregationalists and Baptists, abandoned all religious holidays, other than the Sabbath. Their

religious calendar centred on the week, in which Sundays were enormously important, while for Catholics, Anglicans and some others the annual calendar of religious feasts and fasts remained highly significant.

What did this all mean for colonial New Zealand? Just over half the Pākehā population, and a significant proportion of Māori, were affiliated to the Anglican and Catholic churches, for which Easter was the highlight of the Christian year. Many Māori, and about one in ten Pākehā, had Methodist connections. The Methodist churches valued Easter but were less passionate about its holidays than Catholics and Anglicans: as the *New Zealand Wesleyan* commented in 1874, 'Methodists do not object to the religious observance of Good Friday; but they condemn not their fellow-Christians who choose to make it a season of recreation.'²⁵ Prominent among those 'fellow-Christians' were Presbyterians, Congregationalists and Baptists, who together accounted for around a quarter of the Pākehā population.

Thanks to the importation of English common law, Good Friday was an official holiday in nineteenth-century New Zealand, and government offices, banks, factories and many businesses closed for the day. In rural districts the holiday was not so diligently kept. The self-employed, notably farmers, could pick and choose their own holidays, and most of those who had migrated from communities which did not recognize Easter did not keep it as a holiday in this country either. People who valued Easter could be startled at the discovery that their neighbours, or worse, their employers, did not keep the festival. English migrant George Sumpter, a devout Anglican living in North Otago, would have liked to attend church with his wife on Good Friday 1862: instead he spent the day digging potatoes for his employer.²⁶

In the south, where Scots held greatest sway, the failure to recognize Easter extended to urban areas, especially in the early colonial period. In 1850 John and Charlotte Godley of the Canterbury Association stopped off at Dunedin on their way to settle further north. Charlotte, an upper-class Anglican, was shocked to discover that even one of Otago's leading families, the Cargills, who were devoutly Christian, did not recognize Easter. 'I should think them a very nice family, but it seems strange to be with people who do not even know when Easter Sunday is', she wrote.²⁷

Treating Good Friday – for many the most solemn fast day of the year – as a regular working day was one thing, but to spend it as a day of recreation was quite another. This was, however, the inevitable result as public holidays became more widespread and standardized over the nineteenth century. If people were required to take a holiday on Good Friday, but their cultural background or religious scruples meant they did not view it as a day for religious observance, they of course seized a rare opportunity for a little light-hearted recreation. With around a quarter of the Pākehā population fitting this category, they had a significant impact and could influence the

behaviour of less devout or less committed Anglicans and Catholics. Anglican and Catholic clergy bewailed the desecration of their sacred holiday, and also the temptations placed before their congregations during Lent. In 1882 Anglican Bishop Nevill complained publicly about a Good Friday concert to be held by the Invercargill band, and five years later the Catholic newspaper raged against a Good Friday 'entertainment' to be held by a Southland school.²⁸

This was, to some extent, a cultural war. It is unlikely that most of the people enjoying concerts and picnics on Good Friday were deliberately desecrating a holy day, but they were, at the very least, displaying a lack of sensitivity to the beliefs of their fellow colonists. Similar tensions arose in the late nineteenth century over work and recreation on the day on which evangelical Protestants, particularly the very ones who had no time for Easter, placed so much stress: Sunday. While Presbyterians campaigned vigorously to keep the Sabbath sacred, many liberal Anglicans were keen to see Sunday afternoons made freer for healthy recreation. The tensions between the two groups were exemplified in heated debates involving clergy of various denominations over the opening hours of the Canterbury Museum. In 1874, controversially, the museum began to open on Sundays, while the board resisted attempts to have it opened on Good Friday and Christmas Day. 'It seems a curious inversion of religious sentiment which holds Good Friday in greater sanctity than Sunday', commented the *New Zealand Wesleyan*.²⁹

Recognition of the annual ceremonies of the Christian year, including Easter, was, like graveside funeral services, one of the innovations sought by worship reformers in Presbyterian Scotland. A few more radical ministers in Scotland began introducing special Easter week services in the late 1870s and 1880s, though these remained highly controversial, and it was not a foregone conclusion that Presbyterians would adopt the custom more widely.³⁰ I have found no evidence of Presbyterian Good Friday services in nineteenth-century New Zealand. In 1899 New Zealand's national Presbyterian newspaper, the *Outlook*, declared, 'We do not observe Good Friday as a holy day. We go on the footing that it is exceedingly dangerous to invent religious rites or observe holy days other than those which the divine word has prescribed.'³¹ In this instance, the colonies were not ahead of the motherland, but gradually the firm opposition to religious recognition of Easter fell away, except among the most conservative. In 1931 the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand officially approved the observance of Good Friday 'as commemorative of the Divine Sacrifice', several years after the Church of Scotland had done likewise.³² In the twenty-first century, most Christian churches in New Zealand celebrate the major festivals of the Christian year. Although these remain important religious occasions for

many New Zealanders, for others they are simply a holiday. It seems ironic that it was some of their more devout forebears who pioneered the secular enjoyment of religious holidays in this land.

What can these two examples – graveside services and Good Friday – teach us about Pākehā culture in the colonial period? First, and perhaps most importantly, just two examples reveal how very complex and unpredictable the evolution of colonial culture was: every cultural practice has its own history. Presbyterian migrants witnessed the different funeral practices of their fellow colonists and many found these appealing; they quickly evolved their own funerals until they bore a closer resemblance to those of other Protestants. By contrast, when Presbyterians, Baptists and Congregationalists witnessed those same fellow colonists keeping Good Friday as a special religious commemoration, they stuck with their own traditions for several more generations, disturbed that others could treat an annual festival as more sacred than the Sabbath. When given a day off, they seized the opportunity to participate in the most popular forms of recreation: excursions, picnics, sports, concerts and dances. Exposure to different traditions could, it seems, result in a variety of reactions, including adaptation or the vigorous defence of the familiar.

Another lesson we might take from these examples is that religion and popular culture interacted in complex ways. Religion had an important place in the identity of individuals, families and communities. In a new colony, religious identities, beliefs and practices provided a sense of ‘home’, but relocating also required negotiation with people of different backgrounds. Negotiating such differences was critical in the evolution of colonial culture. The supposed secularization of holidays in New Zealand resulted as much from the early pattern set by sectarianism as it did from the decline of religion. These negotiations also had ramifications beyond any explicitly ‘religious’ realm. In their recent study of social mobility in southern Dunedin, Erik Olssen and Clyde Griffen noted that ‘Britain’s four main religious traditions enjoyed roughly comparable strength’ in the study area. Anglicans, Catholics, Presbyterians, and those labelled ‘Nonconformists’ in Britain were all significant, yet no one group dominated in this ‘accidental utopia’. This environment of religious diversity helped create an unusually open and egalitarian society: the ‘rough parity’ of the main religious traditions ‘provided a coping stone for the creation of novel social structures’.³³

The particular ethnic and religious mix of people who colonized this land had a persistent influence on our culture, as did other features particular to this place, notably the interaction between colonists and tangata whenua. Another important influence not discussed in this essay was the local physical environment, seen, for example, in the reversal of seasons from the Northern Hemisphere: this was to play its part in the evolution of the old

familiar seasonal festivals. But in addition to these major local influences, our cultural traditions were shaped to a significant extent by international forces, as remains the case today. New waves of migrants, new religious and community leaders, new books, periodicals and ideas were continually arriving. Sometimes New Zealanders adopted new ideas and practices with alacrity, sometimes not at all. And sometimes, as with Presbyterian funeral practices, the new ideas and practices travelled in the opposite direction; the relationship between 'home' and colony was complex and dynamic. Last, but not least, we can see that traditions are not fixed, but continually evolving. The history of our cultural traditions can be surprising. Some elements, such as the early Presbyterian resistance to religious ceremony at funerals, and to celebrating Christmas and Easter, have been largely forgotten. Studying such traditions rewards us with new insights into the forces which have brought us where we are today.

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- 1 *Otago Daily Times* (ODT), 18 January 1873, p.5. Stobo was introducing an overture on behalf of the Presbytery of Southland. He had first given notice of his concerns to the Presbytery of Southland some months earlier: Presbytery of Southland minute book, 26 June 1872, P/22, Presbyterian Church Archives and Research Centre, Dunedin.
 - 2 *Directory for the Publick Worship of God*, <http://www.covenanter.org/Westminster/directoryforpublicworship.htm>, accessed 18 October 2010.
 - 3 Owen Chadwick, *The Reformation*, London, 1972, pp.40-3; Alice K. Turner, *The History of Hell*, London, 1996, pp.158-61.
 - 4 *Directory for the Publick Worship of God*. See also Elaine McFarland, 'Researching Death, Mourning and Commemoration in Modern Scotland', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 24, 1 (2004), p.25.
 - 5 McFarland, pp.25-8; Anne Gordon, 'Death and Associated Customs', in John Beech, Owen Hand, Mark A. Mulhern and Jeremy Weston, eds, *Scottish Life and Society: The Individual and Community Life*, Edinburgh, 2005, p.111; Douglas Murray, 'Disruption to Union', in Duncan Forrester and Douglas Murray, eds, *Studies in the History of Worship in Scotland*, 2nd edn, Edinburgh, 1996, pp.100-1.
 - 6 Richard Taylor diary, 6 June 1863, quoted in Philip William Cleaver, 'Dealing with Death: The Pakeha Treatment of Death 1850-1910', MA thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1996, p.63. Though Cleaver distinguishes between Protestant and Catholic funerals in this thesis, he makes no comment on the differences between the various Protestant denominations. He cites this funeral as evidence that the funerals of children could be significant public events.
 - 7 'Funeral of the late Mr John Jones', ODT, 22 March 1869, p.3. For examples of 'beautiful' and 'impressive', see *Evening Post*, 14 July 1866, p.2 and 26 September 1866, p.2; *Manawatu Herald*, 20 November 1897, p.2. The *Feilding Star* carried many reports of funerals and often used these descriptions: for example, see 4 September 1886, p.3, 30 September 1890, p.2, 23 April 1892, p.2, 26 January 1893, p.2 and 12 February 1894, p.2. Some of the more radical Presbyterian worship reformers in Scotland during this period commented that, although it contained some blemishes, the 'excellence' of

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- the Anglican burial service was 'universally admitted'. See *Euchologion: or Book of Prayers; Being Forms of Worship issued by The Church Service Society*, Edinburgh, 1867, p.84.
- 8 'Funeral of Captain Cargill', *Otago Colonist*, 17 August 1860, p.5.
 - 9 Margaret Morgan, 'Stuart, Donald McNaughton', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, updated 1-Sep-2010, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/2s50/1>. Knox Church had its beginnings in the merger of Presbyterians with a combined congregation of Congregationalists and Methodists: see Angus Ross, *They Built in Faith*, Dunedin, 1976, p.2.
 - 10 'The Late Rev. Dr Burns', ODT, 27 January 1871, p.2.
 - 11 ODT, 18 January 1873, p.5.
 - 12 *Daily Southern Cross*, 10 December 1873, p.3.
 - 13 John Waters, letter to the editor, *Bruce Herald* (BH), 1 September 1869, p.5. The item to which he objected appeared in BH, 25 August 1869, p.5.
 - 14 'The Death of Mrs Waters', BH, 22 August 1873, p.5.
 - 15 For examples see the reports of the funerals of Alexander Todd (*Otago Witness*, 18 February 1887, p.9), D.M. Stuart (ODT, 17 May 1894, p.2) and Alexander Carrick (*Christian Outlook*, 6 July 1895, p.272).
 - 16 *Southland Times*, 21 June 1883, p.2.
 - 17 *Euchologion*, p.81.
 - 18 Andrew L. Drummond and James Bulloch, *The Church in Victorian Scotland 1843-1874*, Edinburgh, 1975, p.195; Michael Smith, 'The Church of Scotland and the Funeral Industry in Nineteenth-century Edinburgh', *Scottish Historical Review*, 88, 1 (2009), p.133.
 - 19 *Euchologion*, pp.82-3.
 - 20 For example, see Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose, eds, *At Home With the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World*, Cambridge, 2006; Tony Ballantyne, *Orientalism and Race: Aryanism in the British Empire*, London, 2001.
 - 21 These debates have been widely reported in the media: for instance, see Riazat Butt, 'African clergy reject "fatally flawed" effort to unify Anglicans', *Guardian*, 24 November 2010.
 - 22 For more detailed discussion of Easter and other holidays in New Zealand see Alison Clarke, *Holiday Seasons: Christmas, New Year and Easter in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand*, Auckland, 2007.
 - 23 Statistics on country of birth and non-Māori religious affiliation in this essay are calculated from the New Zealand census tables, 1858-1901. On Māori religious affiliation see Allan Davidson, *Christianity in Aotearoa*, 3rd edn, Wellington, 2004, pp.8-18, 43-8, 130-4.
 - 24 On the history of Easter and other holidays in Britain see Ronald Hutton, *The Stations of the Sun: A History of the Ritual Year in Britain*, Oxford, 1996.
 - 25 *New Zealand Wesleyan* (NZW), 1 August 1874, p.134.
 - 26 George Sumpter diary, 18 April 1862, C106, Otago Settlers Museum (Dunedin).
 - 27 Charlotte Godley to Sara Griffith Wynne, March 1850, in John R. Godley, ed., *Letters from Early New Zealand by Charlotte Godley 1850-1853*, Christchurch, 1951, pp.18-19.

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- 28 Samuel Nevill, letter to the editor, ODT, 6 April 1882, p.3; *New Zealand Tablet*, 8 April 1887, p.16.
- 29 *Star* (Christchurch), 13 June 1874, p.2, 10 July 1874, p.2; NZW, 1 August 1874, p.133. On debates over Sunday activities see also Alison Clarke, 'A Godly Rhythm: Keeping the Sabbath in Otago, 1870-1890', in John Stenhouse and Jane Thomson, eds, *Building God's Own Country: Historical Essays on Religions in New Zealand*, Dunedin, 2004, pp.46-59.
- 30 Murray, p.100; A.C. Cheyne, *The Transforming of the Kirk: Victorian Scotland's Religious Revolution*, Edinburgh, 1983, pp.98-100.
- 31 *Outlook*, 8 April 1899, p.3.
- 32 *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand*, 1931, pp.25, 207; Murray, p.100.
- 33 Erik Olssen, Clyde Griffen and Frank Jones, *An Accidental Utopia? Social Mobility and the Foundations of an Egalitarian Society, 1880-1940*, Dunedin, 2011. Quotes are from p.222.