

Frank Thomas Moore: The Messiah of Johnsonville¹

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Abstract

Most, probably all, Christian countries produce one or more messiahs. Some of these messiahs immigrated to settler colonies to escape religious persecution, others emerged from the indigenous people who had been introduced to Christianity, and yet others were the descendants of settlers.² Many attracted followers and some of these established intentional communities where their teachings could be put into practice, and some of this activity resulted in new religions, few of which lasted beyond the death of the messiah.³ Most preached that a better world would result from the adoption of their teachings.

A few, although concerned to spread their message, never tried to develop a personal following. One such messiah was a Canadian, Henry Wentworth Monk (1827-96), who was a friend of and, at times, supported by John Ruskin.⁴ Another, once known by repute to most New Zealanders, was Francis (but always known as Frank) Thomas Moore (1867-1940). During his lifetime, because he generally insisted on the divine origin of his ideas, he was only rarely taken seriously and is now completely forgotten. He was, though, for all his oddities, a serious thinker whose life and ideas deserve attention.

In Johnsonville, a suburb of Wellington, there is a road called Frankmoore Avenue. It intersects Moorefield Road. These roads are a tribute to the Moore family that dominated Johnsonville's social and political life in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁵ But it has generally been forgotten that the Frank Moore of the Frankmoore Avenue, in addition to being a successful entrepreneur and local and regional politician, believed that when he was thirty-three, God or Christ spoke to him, telling him how New Zealand needed to be reformed so that it could lead the world to the millennium. At one point he was so well-known in Wellington that *The New Zealand Free Lance* published a caricature of him simply labelled "Frank".⁶

From 1900 until his death in 1940, Moore self-published a number of books and pamphlets and wrote regularly to the newspapers presenting the ideas that he believed God or Christ had given him. As he put it in his second book, *The New Palestine and the New Idealist* (1900), "In all meekness and humility, I but wrote [in his first book *God's Suggestions* (1900)] the inspirations as God inspired them. I am but a puny being selected to do the work by God. I have not appointed myself for this stupendous task, the very greatest task that could be imposed upon a man."⁷ And he continued to refer to his inspiration and the pleasure speaking with God or Christ gave him until his last published pamphlets.

He was well aware that presenting himself in this way would lead to his being doubted, and as early as 1901, in presenting a "scheme for improving the prices of New Zealand farm products," he wrote that it "must be judged apart from the literary idiosyncrasies, extravagancies or eccentricities of the writer's mind that presents itself, which are but superficial aspects."⁸ And, as will be seen, at one point, saying that he was misled regarding spiritualism, he renounced his first two books, while later regularly reiterating his belief in spiritualism and that he was the second messiah.⁹ He stated this most forcefully in 1913, by "declaring solemnly before all men that I am the chosen of God, to be His Second Messiah – the man who has to take up the work that Christ the First Messiah began on earth."¹⁰ As noted

above, messiahs are common among the colonised in settler colonies, and there were a long line of Māori prophets some of whom called themselves messiahs, with Rua Kenana the most prominent in Moore's day.¹¹ It is difficult to imagine that Moore was unaware of Rua, and impossible to believe that he did not know of the Ratana Movement, but neither of them or any other Māori prophet is mentioned in any of his publications. Other individuals from Moore's time have been called messiahs, but there is little or no evidence to support the labels.¹²

Life

Moore was born in Tawa Flat on 19 May 1867, the first of the eleven children, three of whom died in infancy, of James Moore¹³ and his wife Mary Jane, daughter of a Captain Halliday of Blenheim by his Maori wife, Rea Terangihoroa, of the Wairau branch of the Rangitane iwi.¹⁴ Thus, Moore was part Māori, which made certain business deals possible that would not have been otherwise. For example, Moore's position as a director of the Pungapunga Timber Company, which was established in 1903 by the founding director Ngati Tuwharetoa chief, Tureiti Te Heuheu Tukino, was made possible by cousins who introduced him to the chief.¹⁵ It is clear, though, that Moore does not identify as Māori, and in a letter to the Prime Minister in June 1913, regarding the milling rights he and his brothers held, the language he used clearly distances himself from the "native owners of the Puketapu block."¹⁶

He was registered at the Tawa Flat School at six or seven and completed his formal education at 13 as dux of the Wellington Provincial Schools and the winner of the Julius Vogel Prize, which was awarded to the top pupil. He then lived for three years with the family of a Colonel Rutherford at Porirua, whom Moore identifies as English, to further his education. He married Theresa, eldest daughter of George Beech of Ohariu Valley, and they had five children.¹⁷

He started work at the Wellington Meat Works sometime between the ages of thirteen and sixteen, beginning as a labourer but advancing rapidly, becoming inspector of meat for export in 1884 (he would have been seventeen), only two years after the first ship load of frozen meat left New Zealand. He became manager of the Ngauranga works in 1892, and in 1900 he was rewarded for his work with a free trip to Paris, but instead of going to Paris, he resigned.¹⁸

Around 1900 Moore began attending a spiritualist circle in Johnsonville and became convinced of the truth of spiritualism, which was near its worldwide peak at the time, and there appear to have been more than one spiritualist circle in Johnsonville at the time. Moore also became convinced that he could direct spiritual energies to heal people of mental and physical illness and set himself up as The Ideal Physician with offices in Willis Street in Wellington. He wrote that he cured "Pulmory [*sic*], Mental and Nervous complaints,"¹⁹ but *The Free Lance* reported that his successes, which were few, were mostly with "ladies of a neurotic turn."²⁰ From September through November 1900, Moore regularly advertised his services at the School of Fine Forces in Willis Street in the *Evening Post*, *The Free Lance*, and the *New Zealand Times* saying that he was available from 10:00 to 12:00 and 2:00 to 4:00 daily and that outside these hours he could be consulted at his home, 21A Wellington Terrace. Some of the advertisements said that his first two books were available for sale and that "addresses on idealism" were regularly given at the School of Fine Forces Sundays at 3:00 and 7:00 and Wednesday at 8:00. Failing to make a living as the Ideal Physician, he appears to have simply abandoned the practice after three months. And in his trial for threatening to kill the Acting-Premier, he is reported to have told one of the doctors that he lost 1000 pounds.²¹

The precise order of events is not clear, but at about this time he gave what was reported in the *New Zealand Mail* as an hour long “rambling address of a mystic character” in the Opera House.²² The same issue reports the publication of his first book, the full title of which is *God’s Suggestions. God’s Appeal to Humanity. God’s Appeal to Theologians. God’s Word Suggestion. God Authorises the Millennium*. This book was to have been called *The Ideal Physician*, and since it is rambling, vague, and about spiritualism, one can guess the content of the talk.

Moore reported that he was depressed at how little he had accomplished in his 33 years. Since his standard of comparison was Christ, it is hardly surprising that this brought on a crisis in his life. The evidence for some sort of mental breakdown is clear near the end of *God’s Suggestions*, where the vague and rambling writing becomes incoherent. Moore reports that this is when God began to speak to him.

In *The New Palestine*, Moore wrote that he tried to assess his situation calmly, saying,

For some months I have not engaged my mind with any thoughts upon my great ‘Mission’ that I might become calm and passive so that I could deeply question myself in every way, in every way that hostile as well as friendly critics suggested, and the result is that I find myself more convinced, more self-satisfied than ever, more certain that I am to take up the portentous work that Christ began, to herald to the world ‘The Millennium,’ and go down to posterity bracketed with the greatest man that ever lived.²³

Periodically for the rest of his life he reported hearing voices and having visions, and in a poignant note in 1933 he wrote about what a pleasure it has been to hear Christ speak to him over the years and mentioning “The clearness and direction of His plain **English Language**.”²⁴ And he also wrote that he had spent “33 years of service rewarded solely by the physically invisible spiritual pleasure of mental association with His Divine Mind.”²⁵

Unable to make a sufficient living as a faith healer to support his family, he returned to working for the meat company as their agent in Pahiatua. Although he must have been good at his job to be hired back, this did not last long because he again resigned. He was a stock dealer and timber merchant and ran the first coach in Johnsonville. He was very successful in that his property holdings placed him among the fifteen wealthiest people in Johnsonville. There is a picture of him driving his Benz touring car, and the Moore family built houses in Johnsonville in a pattern that allowed them to have tennis courts and other amenities in the common area they created. The houses were described as luxurious and at least some of the Moores had maids. One report has him building Moore Hall in 1918 and donating it to the town, although it was probably built and donated by the Moore family rather than individually. It served as a hospital during the 1918 flu outbreak, then became the social centre of Johnsonville, which later became the Empress Theatre and is still standing, although as shops.²⁶ He was involved in various clubs and societies in Johnsonville, and is reported to have been a good cricketer, taking eighty wickets in 1891-92 for a 2.81 average. Later he was Captain of the team, then treasurer, and finally President of the local club.

Moore saw World War I as a Holy War, but his youngest son returned with shellshock, from which he never recovered, and his oldest returned with TB. In 1918 Moore published a forty-seven-page pamphlet describing the activities of what was probably his youngest son at Gallipoli, where he was wounded, and in Egypt, where he was rewarded with a commission in

the British Army.²⁷ His youngest daughter died during the flu epidemic of 1918, and his wife died in 1926.²⁸

Moore published erratically during the period of his greatest economic success with, in addition to three works published at the beginning of his writing career, works in 1910, 1913, and 1918. The pamphlets then stopped for twelve years, but when he was not producing pamphlets, he was an assiduous writer of letters to the editor and wrote a few invited articles, mostly in labour papers.

In 1929 he lived at 182 Molesworth Street in Wellington; his first Auckland pamphlet was published in 1930, and in 1933 he lived in Devonport. After that he moved to Auckland and lived at 7 Vincent Street. In addition to the pamphlets in 1930 and 1933, he published three in about 1940 and one that appears to be from later (and so may be posthumous), with all the publication dates from the Auckland period approximations based on internal evidence. The period around 1900 was the most difficult for Moore, until perhaps his last years, where it is possible to detect a note of panic, sometimes accompanied by resignation, in his writing.

Moore then disappears at about age 73. I searched the Registry of Births, Deaths, and Marriages between 1935 and 1965, and found one with his name, but the record had significant differences from what we know of Moore's parentage. His granddaughter added another anomaly, saying that his estate never came to probate,²⁹ although since in 1933 Moore wrote that he had completely exhausted his "material resources," there may have been nothing left.³⁰ Rowan Gibbs, bothered by the lack of information on his death, repeated my search, found the same record, but then followed up by exploring the differences from what we knew, concluded that the record was in error, and then found the record of his burial in 1940.³¹

The Moore family fortunes seem to have collapsed at some point, most likely during the Depression. An old man in Johnsonville in the '70s reported that he paid for the funeral in Auckland of "the last Moore."³² Family tradition has it that a dispute over property divided the family,³³ but it is also the case that Frank Moore was a socialist and his brother Alex was a stalwart of the National Party, so there were other issues that divided the family.

Religious Beliefs

Religion, often with an element of spiritualism, was a constant part of Moore's life. He reported reading spiritualist books and newspapers from Australia and the United States, and the people Moore cited were prominent faith healers at the time. And in 1918, along with many others, he said that those killed in the war are all around us, and we can communicate with them.³⁴ According to the only systematic study of spiritualism in New Zealand during Moore's life, "spiritualism helped sustain and promote the notion that New Zealand was an embryonic utopia where experimental social reform would triumph and pave the way for an advanced New World civilisation," and Moore would have agreed.³⁵ Otherwise, the sole and, for him, overwhelming experience that connects him, somewhat loosely, with spiritualism is his belief that he regularly spoke with God or Christ from 1900 to his death. But this is much more part of his identification as a messiah than part of spiritualism, although they appear to have originally been connected.

Moore was raised in the Roman Catholic Church, which, in New Zealand, was mostly Irish, and he reported that his father intended him for the Church, a common practice in Irish families at the time.³⁶ Moore claims that at age 20, he argued with his father over the issue of religion saying that until he could reconcile religion and science, he could not dedicate himself to the

Church.³⁷ His attitude may have been influenced by his education in Wellington, which was noted for its “militant secularism,” and where “no religious instruction was to be given, and all ministers of religion were to be excluded from entry to the schools.”³⁸ A resident of Johnsonville said that the Frank Moore family became Presbyterian as they became wealthy, and there was an F. Moore as a leader of the Johnsonville Church of England early in the century.³⁹ But although his relationship with the Roman Catholic Church was ambivalent, he was interred in the Catholic section of the cemetery where he is buried.

He initially called for the Catholic Church to take the lead in social reform, but he often blasts it for what he sees as its distortion of the Christian message and its cosy relations with power. In *The Millennium* (1933), he wrote that one of his purposes is to lead the Catholic Church “to base all her doctrines and teachings upon scientifically demonstrable facts, in conformity with the Idealism of Jesus Christ, and then change her name to the Church of Great Britain that she may become the bride of the greatest and mightiest Empire in the world.”⁴⁰ His mission intended to bring “all the people in the world, into the folds of one great Church in fulfilment of the Plan of the Ages.”⁴¹

Moore insisted that Christ was militant and does not want to be worshipped. According to him, “Christ was a politician – a noble, fearless politician.”⁴² He believed that churches should become political centres,⁴³ and he said that “the establishment of Heaven upon earth is a political task which clergymen should undertake at once.”⁴⁴ He also pleads with clergy to do what is their duty and support the poor by opposing both capitalism and the politicians that support the system that brought about the Depression.⁴⁵ In one of his last publications, he suggested the formation of a New Zealand Christian Association to ensure the election of the right people.⁴⁶ At about the same time, he appealed to all Christians to take up the cause, saying, “a Christian political organisation pledged to the enactment of legislation for complete State Control of Trade, Commerce and Finance – to provide everybody with all of the needs of life mentioned in the Sermon on the Mount, free of cost, should have no difficulty in obtaining a mandate from the electors of any Christian nation.”⁴⁷

Geoffrey Troughton does not mention Moore or messiahs in his *New Zealand Jesus*, but the chapter on Jesus as the Anti-Church Prophet includes characterizations of Jesus that fit Moore’s thinking.⁴⁸ And in his chapter on Jesus as a Social Campaigner, Troughton says: “Applied socially, Christ’s teaching provided a means to more fully Christianise communities and realise the Kingdom of God. All of this was thought achievable in the immediate future. Christ was an optimist and the Church’s history of social endeavour inspired confidence about its prospects.”⁴⁹ Moore would have agreed with this way of understanding Jesus, except for the last clause. He was adamant that the Church had utterly failed in its social mission, and regularly appealed to the Church to correct this failure. And throughout Moore’s life his approach to religion was political, and informed his actions as a politician, in appointed and elective office, and in his campaigns for office.

Political Activity

As appropriate for an office-holding local politician, Moore seemed to focus on local matters, but he appears to have done so to the exclusion of important national events, such as the 1913 strike or failed revolution, as some think of it.⁵⁰ The strike is not mentioned in any of his publications, and in November and December, the months of greatest conflict, he served on the Wellington Hospital Board and was chair of the Johnsonville Town Council and a member of the Makara County Council. At the two council meetings he talked about issues important to

his constituents such as the urgent need for road repairs.⁵¹ His most frequent interventions at the councils and the Hospital Board were about saving money, and in June 1913 he proposed that the local body delegates ask the government to amend the Hospital and Charitable Act to require that, among other things, “All hospital institutions shall henceforth be run upon strictly business lines, by adopting a scale of charges adequate to meet the cost of the treatment received by each patient.”⁵²

His first clear entry into politics occurred when he “helped form the first Meat Trade Employee’s Union in 1887 and became secretary of the Meat Trade Worker’s Federation.”⁵³ In 1901 he became the secretary of the Producers’ Union, which he tried to develop into a union in competition with the Farmers’ Union with the goal of obtaining “better prices for produce” through “State control of exports, their distribution and sale.”⁵⁴ He arranged a meeting of twenty-two country members of the House of Representatives, which he addressed, and the meeting passed a resolution proposing that the Producers’ Union amalgamate with the Farmers’ Union. The Farmers’ Union, which had been founded in 1899 and was tied to the opposition to Prime Minister Richard Seddon (1845-1906) announced that it would no longer support only one political party, and the two unions amalgamated under the name of the Farmers’ Union. Moore wrote welcoming the amalgamation but said that he and others would keep an eye on the activities of the new organization, and if it became tied to one party, the Producers’ Union would be resurrected.⁵⁵

Frozen Meat Report

Seddon hired Moore to write a report on the frozen meat industry. His report appears never to have been published, but the New Zealand National Archives holds a slim folder of material from the Frozen Meat Committee, which includes parts of Moore’s report and an exercise book containing letters he wrote to the committee. In its report, the committee generally ignored Moore’s report, which was an odd combination of detailed information and political proposals that were probably beyond his remit such as suggesting that farmers buy the freezing works and conduct the business. If they couldn’t raise the money, “the State should be asked to either guarantee or advance the remainder of the capital required.”⁵⁶

Threat to Kill Joseph Ward

The report led to Moore’s threat to kill Acting Prime Minister Joseph Ward who Moore thought was keeping his report from Parliament (Seddon was in London attending the Coronation of Edward VII). He wrote to Ward on 13 August 1902: “I really believe that if I carry out my threat of yesterday and remove you from the head of the State as [William] McKinley [(1843-1901) assassinated US President] was removed, I shall be rendering a service to New Zealand. You are the head and front of monopolies that I am fighting, and you stop my progress.”⁵⁷ He pleaded guilty and was committed to the Supreme Court for sentencing, where the judge asked that he be examined by two doctors and a probation officer.⁵⁸ The two doctors reported that Moore was highly intelligent and was certainly sane at the time he wrote the letters, but they also noted his eccentricities and suggested various reasons for his writing the letters.⁵⁹

Moore was sentenced to three years imprisonment and jailed.⁶⁰ A petition asking that the sentence be remitted and he be allowed to travel to South Africa was placed before Parliament by Thomas Mason Wilford, the MP for Hutt.⁶¹ Apparently, “his friends signed a bond and entered into sureties for his good behaviour for a period of three years.”⁶² His sentence was not merely remitted; Ward granted him free pardon, and he was released. Ward also provided him with a letter that Moore read at “an impromptu smoke concert at the Post Office Hotel.”⁶³

Your father and brothers have asked me to oblige them by giving you a note, in case it may be necessary for you to have my opinion when in South Africa. I can only say I believe you to be an able and capable man, and I have no doubt in my opinion that the sending of your letter to me, which has occasioned to you some trouble, was done impulsively, and without any evil intent. I shall be pleased to hear of your success in South Africa.⁶⁴

Moore is reported to have said that since he had received a free pardon, he was not obliged to leave New Zealand but would do so from choice. He travelled to Sydney where he reported that God told him to return to New Zealand and that when God tells him to do something, he must do it even if he has given assurances to do something else.⁶⁵ And in the same letter he reiterated he was “a specially inspired agent of God upon earth, whose mission it is to inform mankind concerning the institution of reforms in commerce, finance, politics, society and religion, in order to pave the way for the millennium.”⁶⁶

Running for Office

None of this seemed to have any impact on his popularity. From Sydney he declared that he would run for the Hutt County Council. He returned, ran, and was elected to one of the seats, receiving the highest number of votes cast.⁶⁷ He was also elected to the Johnsonville Town Board and served as its Chair. With his father, Frank, and his brother Alex there was a Moore on the Town Board, often as Chair, for part of the nineteenth century and much of the first half of the twentieth century.

He ran for Parliament in 1908, as an independent socialist, and he gave a two-hour campaign speech in Johnsonville to about fifty people. He said that he believes “the time has arrived when practical business men should administer the country,” describes his experience in the important meat industry, and refers to his experience in local government. He also laid out an extensive platform which he divided into “destructive” planks concerned with the need for reform and “constructive” planks describing what needs to be done. He emphasized the “destructive” planks, which involved government corruption, incompetence, and wastefulness, “greedy land owners and land speculators,” overpriced merchandise and adulterated food, and, more generally, capitalists “enriching themselves at the expense of the workers.” He opposed gambling and the licensing of bookmakers and supported “free, secular, and compulsory education,” temperance, electing real democrats to Parliament, a state currency, and “the State to purchase the primary means of production in order to secure the benefits derivable from the sources of wealth in the interests of the people of New Zealand collectively.”⁶⁸ He received 644 votes and did not qualify for the second ballot.

In 1911 and 1914 he ran as the representative of the New Zealand Labour Party. In the 1911 election he received 1273 votes, which put him on the second ballot.⁶⁹ On the second ballot, he received 2661 votes to the Reform Party candidate’s 3060.⁷⁰ In this election, he was widely criticised for inconsistency.⁷¹ In 1914, he received 2256 votes to the Reform Party candidate’s 3258.⁷² In this election, a letter to the editor in the *New Zealand Times* pointed out that Moore had lost the election to a seat on the Makara County Council where he had previously served and argued that much of the opposition to him was a result of what the author called his “messiah” letters of October 1913.⁷³ After the victory of the Reform Party, Moore called for Liberals, Labourites, and Social Democrats to come together into one party under a name like the Progressive New Zealand Party or the Progressive Reform Party.⁷⁴

Wellington Hospital Board

Moore was elected the Makara County and Johnsonville representative on the Wellington Hospital Board from at least 1906 to 1921. He served on various Hospital Board committees, including the Hospital Committee, the Public Health Committee, and the Charitable Aid Committee. He missed few Board meetings and, while not a major player, was a second level player.

Shortly after joining the Board, he raised questions about the cleanliness of abattoirs. On its front page, *The Free Lance* reported “a good deal is being said to discredit the allegations made on the score that the man who is making them has done ‘queer’ things before. Yet, it is remarkable that nobody has so far refuted his charges about the degrading practices that pervade the private slaughter-houses.”⁷⁵

In the same year, he argued that Wellington should establish municipal markets, saying:

I hope that the committee will recommend the Corporation to decide upon the immediate erection of markets worthy of the city of Wellington. The argument I am submitting applies equally to other necessary food-stuffs, such as fish, fruit, butter, vegetables, etc., therefore action should be taken without further delay. It matters not whether the amount of business transacted at first is large or small, the effect in either case will restrict traders, who nowadays combine, from charging too excessively, and also restrict greedy landlords from continuing to demand the extreme rentals asked for business premises.⁷⁶

He was frequently concerned with the cleanliness and quality of food in Wellington and at the hospital, but he was almost always defeated in the motions he proposed on these issues. For example, in July 1915, he proposed that the Hospital Board hire a veterinarian to report monthly on the sanitary conditions on the farms where it got its milk, which he withdrew after discussion. At the same meeting, he proposed that all milk be tested for butterfat and water content; this motion was defeated on the casting vote of the Chair. In September of the same year, his proposal to hire a chemist to test the quality of all food and drugs bought by the hospital was adopted.⁷⁷ In 1916 he was involved in a dispute over what to do about the empty children’s hospital, and he was described as “speaking under visible excitement.”⁷⁸

In addition, he was the first person to urge the hospital to make a study of venereal disease in the Wellington area, a proposal that was adopted unanimously and acted upon quickly. He also proposed that nurses applying for positions who were willing to contract not to marry for ten years be given hiring preference. This died for the lack of a second, although at the time nurses had to leave if they chose to marry. One motion that was adopted was a July 1918 proposal to provide more accommodation for poor, bed-ridden patients.⁷⁹

The New Zealand Economy

Concerns about the New Zealand economy were a constant in Moore’s thought, and he repeatedly criticised capitalism.⁸⁰ In 1909 he wrote: “While capitalism holds sway, the worker can never realise the full fruits of his labour, because the toll of the Capitalist is a first charge upon all work, a mortgage that makes the labourer a bonded slave, compelling him to pay tribute to a master for the privilege of employment.”⁸¹ And near the end of his life, he makes much the same point: “Capitalism must be abolished because it arrogantly demands mastery of land and labour – usurps the right of ownership of the earth and the fruits thereof, which usurpation is a social injustice.”⁸²

Moore was influenced by U.S. writers such as Edward Bellamy, to whom he refers, and he is explicitly a Christian Socialist, which was probably more of a worldwide movement at the beginning of the twentieth century than at any other time.⁸³ Moore consistently distanced himself from those he calls “radical socialists,” and he believed in social evolution, not revolution, although in one letter he says that if the greedy, corrupt capitalists don’t see the light, force will be necessary.⁸⁴ From Moore’s perspective, Christ was a radical, and not just in religion, and Christ told him specifically what changes needed to be introduced to prepare for the millennium.⁸⁵ And New Zealand had been chosen as the New Palestine.

Religion pervades his approach to the economy. For example, in 1933 he wrote,

Christ teaches that all men are brothers, all common sons of Almighty God, and, being brothers, should jointly and severally labour in one common effort to better the individual lot of each other – which can be done by co-operatively producing and distributing the good things of this world for the common good of everybody.⁸⁶

Later he wrote, “Christ laboured on earth solely for the purpose of saving and redeeming mankind from the clutches of the monopolists of the wealth of this world. He was solely concerned with man’s social, political and economic welfare in this world.”⁸⁷ And he consistently stressed human equality, usually based on Christianity, as where he writes that “the new Religion that we offer mankind is based upon the fact that all men and women are Divine sons and daughters of Almighty God, and not fallen sons and daughters of Adam, as falsely taught in the Book of Genesis.”⁸⁸

In 1910, inspired by a meeting in Wellington of employers, he wrote a long letter to *The Weekly Herald* in support of the platform of the Labour Party. He says that improved education means that labourers now “realise that they have as good brains as their employers and that they can manage and supervise the working of every industry equally as well as their self-appointed profit seeking masters.” And he goes on to argue for “common or public ownership” of both industries and land as well as the establishment of a State Bank of Issue.⁸⁹

In 1911, he again wrote a long letter to *The Weekly Herald*, this time arguing for an “Industrial Co-operative Commonwealth” through what he calls a Co-operative Commonwealth Association that will acquire “ownership of the whole of the useful sources of wealth in New Zealand.” To achieve this rather than just continue to talk about it, voters must elect more Labour members to Parliament: “When the workers own their own jobs and industries the problem of Capital and Labour will be solved, and strikes and lock-outs for ever ended.” At the end of the letter, somewhat unusually for him at this time, he concludes: “let me add that the adoption of this proposition means the Millennium.”⁹⁰

Moore develops this argument in two letters published in March 1912 that have the overall title of “Middlemen’s Profits”. In the first letter, he says that the state must purchase privately-held primary industries, explicitly rejecting confiscation on the grounds that whatever is done in the future, the mistakes of the past must be accepted.⁹¹ In the second, he extends the argument to land: “Land is the common property of all the people. The right to use and work land is all that any man possesses, whether his title is freehold or leasehold. The State has the right to so tax land that the whole of the socially created value attaching to land shall be taken by the State.”⁹²

In May and July 1929, four letters from Moore were published in *The New Zealand Worker* that were about the high price of land leading to the failure of farms and the existence of what he says are “thousands of deserted farms going to ruin in this Dominion.”⁹³ He proposed that a government Land, Finance and Produce Marketing Board take possession of these farms, re-establish them, and “develop other idle lands at the lowest possible cost for sale to approved purchasers on a profit-sharing basis.”⁹⁴ He also included his constantly repeated suggestion that the government, through this Board, issue “legal tender credit notes” to finance its purchases. He repeats this in the second letter arguing that this would make it possible to speedily settle “thousands of men now idle on the lands of this Dominion.”⁹⁵ And in July, he wrote that Parliament must take possession of lands that the wealthy have been buying up at low prices and the land owned by absentee landlords.⁹⁶ Finally, the following week he repeated the arguments made in the previous articles and noted that “a newly-formed Farmers’ Land and Finance Association ... is making a list of appropriate lands in the Wellington region.”⁹⁷

According to Moore, God gave the earth and its riches to all its inhabitants equally. It is the responsibility of the state to ensure that all its citizens can share in the earth’s bounty. And New Zealand is ahead of all the rest of the world in doing this, although at times he seems to have despaired of New Zealand and refers to Great Britain as the country to lead the world. For example, in what must have been one of his last publications, he wrote, “Great Britain should lead the world out of the hell of capitalism into the **Heaven of Costless Credit**.”⁹⁸

Advocacy for a State Bank

He managed to connect the desirability of a State Bank of Issue with most of the other points he made. In one of his publications, he refers to himself as the President of the New Zealand Currency Association, whose Patron A[lexander W[ilson] Hogg (1841-1920) resigned from Cabinet after his advocacy of a state note issue.⁹⁹ Whether or not New Zealand should issue its own notes was a hot topic, and Moore, who cites, generally inaccurately, a number of New Zealand writers on the currency question, and others like him argued that a state bank should be established with the power to issue paper notes.¹⁰⁰ In the so-called “Fighting Platform” of 1905 of the Independent Political Labour League, a forerunner of the Labour Party, the very first point is “Establishment of a State Bank with sole right of note issue, which shall be legal tender.”¹⁰¹ With varying wording and placement, this plank was kept in subsequent platforms of other forerunners of the Labour Party. This wording could have come directly from one of Moore’s pamphlets.

He said, “Money can be made by proclamation,”¹⁰² but the details of Moore’s scheme vary from publication to publication, generally becoming more radical as he gets older. He consistently argued that such a bank, properly run, would significantly improve the wealth of all New Zealanders, and spread the wealth more evenly. In 1910, what he called the “Platform of the New Zealand State Currency Association,” has it that:

The advantages New Zealand will derive from a State Bank of Issue are:—

- (1) Immediate release from the necessity of borrowing further moneys at Home, and enabling the creation of a sinking fund for the early repayment of the national debt.
- (2) A full supply of money would at all times be available for advances to settlers and workers, and for granting loans on easy terms to local bodies.
- (3) The Public Works Department could be supplied with all the money required for works authorised by Parliament.
- (4) Educational and benevolent State departments could be entirely supported from the profits earned by a State Bank.
- (5) The State Bank could be empowered to purchase and mint all gold produced in New Zealand.
- (6)

Pastoralists and agriculturalists – the producers of our national wealth – would never be hampered for the credit they require in order to increase the yields of our greatest assets. (7) The development of industries, manufactures, and mineral fields could be undertaken which are now economically impossible owing to the high rates of interest ruling for money. (8) The profitable occupation of all waste lands in the Dominion would rapidly develop with the aid of cheap money. (9) The surplus value, realisable in gold on the sale of exports, after payment of the cost of imports, would yearly increase in such ratio that a large reserve of gold would speedily accumulate in New Zealand.”¹⁰³

These “advantages” are fundamental to Moore’s vision of New Zealand as a potential new paradise or, more prosaically, a truly good society.

Moore’s Vision of/for a Better New Zealand

Throughout his life, Moore said that New Zealand is the New Palestine. In *The New Palestine and the New Idealist*, published in the year he declared himself the messiah, he wrote, conveniently forgetting the Māori and his own ancestry, that “the new Palestine, unlike the old, has no past, no old traditions that must be outgrown; it is a new land situated at the opposite side of the globe to the old, a land that is isolated alone in the serene, yet mighty Pacific Ocean, the most salubrious, fertile and luxuriant of all lands.”¹⁰⁴ He went on to say “the soul that ponders in these beautiful and wonderful Ideal Isles cannot fail to see and realise that here are all the beauties, wonders, splendours the glorious magnificence of a Garden of Eden of Paradise. Its atmosphere is the purest and sweetest that a longing soul can love to breathe.”¹⁰⁵ He also, as had others at the time, extolled New Zealand’s progressive policies, saying that “it is the most progressive country in the world.”¹⁰⁶ He pointed out that “Education is within the reach of the whole community, and the franchise is in the hands of every adult person, and these two privileges form the solid base upon which an entirely new social-political structure is being raised, and which structure will not be complete until every source of wealth is owned and worked by the people for the good of the people through the medium of the State.”¹⁰⁷ Thirty-three years later, he wrote, “New Zealand is God’s Own Country and destined by Him to be the first nation in this world to translate Christ’s principles of Government into legislative enactments for the economic weal of the people of this world.”¹⁰⁸ Such generalizations about New Zealand as already a utopia or at least a utopia in the making were quite common, with the earliest being Henry Jacobs’s “The Avon” (1854) and John Barr’s “There’s Nae Place Like Otago Yet” (1861), with the most famous Tom Bracken’s “God’s Own Country” (1890), the origin of the word Godzone to describe New Zealand.¹⁰⁹

While these references to New Zealand as the location of the new dispensation contain little detail, there are suggestions of a more comprehensive vision, one in which the state will eventually own all the land and its products. The general picture is one of a democratically controlled socialism administered by boards that are either appointed by Parliament or directly elected. For example, he said that the citizenry should directly elect the directors of the State Bank.¹¹⁰

In 1901, he proposed “a great State Trust controlling and regulating the commerce of this colony for defence purposes, defending the interests of each and every member of the community, each and every class.”¹¹¹ In *The Second Messiah’s Plans and Schemes for the Millennium* (1913), he wrote “it is the duty of the State to hold the whole of the property within its domain as a ‘trust’ to be worked by all the people in the interests of the whole

community.”¹¹² In 1918, he said that the state should ensure that everyone has a job and is paid a living wage.¹¹³ And he proclaimed that

It is Christ’s intention to use the whole of the wealth surrendered into the hands of the Ruling National Authorities for – Firstly the provision of abundant means of living for every man, woman and child living in every nation. Secondly, in the demolition of every old and decayed habitation and obsolete structures of all kinds, which disfigure the face of God’s earth, and which will be replaced with new structures designed and constructed on a scale of imperishable magnificence.¹¹⁴

Later, in *Jesus Christ’s Scheme of Finance*, he wrote, “the free distribution of the things of this earth is the end for which Christ laboured and His will and way must be observed by all men.”¹¹⁵ And in *State Banking and State Distribution of God’s Gifts to Mankind* (1940) he wrote, “the feeding, clothing, housing, etc. of everybody, free of cost, is Jesus Christ’s divine policy ... which only men pledged to introduce His Divine Regime can be trusted to inaugurate.”¹¹⁶

In his 1908 speech when running for Parliament (discussed above) his proposals – with no mention of God or Moore’s role as the messiah – are simply those of many reformers of the time and, in part, of any socialist of the period. In 1924, he reflected on what was needed to bring about the changes he was convinced were essential to create the world he envisioned:

How to bring this healthy condition of life on earth to pass current in all nations is the problem that has to be solved. Can it be done by bloodless parliamentary procedure, or must there be bloody revolutions? All classes of people must realise that a change from the existing state of things in our economic life is inevitable. Those who strive to prevent mankind from rising in social equality to the highest possible social standard of living are tyrants who must be overborne, must be stripped of the powers of oppression they exercise, either by moral or physical force.¹¹⁷

Conclusion

Moore’s understanding of himself as the new messiah is what makes him stand out from other reformers of the time, but Moore is a messiah with a difference. He does not ever appear to have tried to get a personal following as the new messiah as opposed to trying to get people to adopt his economic and political ideas. He was a successful, and, for a time, wealthy entrepreneur, and like other messiahs before and since, he could probably have used his talent as an entrepreneur to enrich himself as the new messiah. There is no evidence that anyone actually believed him, and while he remained close to his immediate family, one has to wonder what his wife and children made of his claim. He does not appear to have ever tried to benefit personally from his belief; in fact, it cost him financially and in reputation, although not apparently in his local electorate. Beyond that electorate, his belief in himself as the new messiah undoubtedly cost him support politically. He sincerely believed he regularly spoke with Christ or God. Although at the peak of his political activity, he seemed to be able to temporarily set aside his perception of himself as a/the messiah and present himself as a normal businessman and politician.

As early as 1908, *The Free Lance* characterised Moore as “a curious mix of practical common-sense and emotionalism, business acumen and eccentricity,” and that description seems apt.¹¹⁸ He appears to have been an intelligent, well-read, honest man who heard voices and had visions that led him to believe that all was not right with the world and that it was possible to make the

world a much better place if only political and religious leaders cared about the people rather than themselves. And New Zealand political and religious leaders could inaugurate the better world if they only had the will to do so.

¹ I was a Fellow at the Stout Research Centre for New Zealand Studies when I undertook the research for this article. I want to thank the Stout faculty, particularly its then Director, Lydia Wevers, Richard Hill, the staff, and other members for their assistance and response to an earlier version. The research could not have been possible without the resources and staff of the Alexander Turnbull Library, where I gave an early version of the essay and a follow-up in response to questions and suggestions, and the Beaglehole Room at the Victoria University of Wellington Library, where I gave a presentation on the one item by Moore that is held there and no place else. In addition, the Johnsonville Historical Society gave me access to the Moore files held there, and David Pearson gave me access to his notes on Johnsonville. Finally, I want to thank the two anonymous reviewers who asked excellent questions and provided detailed suggestions that helped me answer them.

² Judith Binney notes that “Visionary and millenarian leaders have emerged in almost all non-Christian societies turned upside-down by European colonization and, indeed, in European societies undergoing crisis.” Judith Binney, Gillian Chaplin, and Craig Wallace, *Mihaia: The Prophet Rua Kenana and His Community at Maungapohatu* (Auckland: Auckland University Press with Bridget Williams Books, 1987), 9.

³ On such intentional communities, see Tom Robbins and Susan J. Palmer, eds., *Millennialism, Messiahs, and Mayhem* (New York: Routledge, 1997). On such new religions, see *The Oxford Handbook of New Religious Movements*, ed. James R. Lewis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). On what happens when a prophet dies, see *When Prophets Die: The Postcharismatic Fate of New Religious Movements*, ed. Timothy Miller (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991).

⁴ Richard S. Lambert, *For the Time is at Hand: An Account of the Prophecies of Henry Wentworth Monk of Ottawa, Friend of the Jews, and Pioneer of World Peace* (London: Andrew Melrose, [1947]).

⁵ On Johnsonville, see David Pearson, *Johnsonville: Continuity and Change in a New Zealand Township* (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin Australia, 1980).

⁶ *The New Zealand Free Lance*, 16 June 1906, 4.

⁷ Moore, *The New Palestine and the New Idealist*. “Idealism,” *God’s Ideal Church founded by His Ideal Son 1900 Years Ago*. By The Ideal Physician [pseud.] (Pahiatua: Alex Baillie & Co., 1900), i.

⁸ Moore, *The Way to Wealth or Products Realisation Scheme. Supplement to The New Zealand Times, Tuesday June 18th, 1901; Essays on Burning Political Questions. State Banking and Paper Money. By the President of the New Zealand State Currency Association* (Wellington: Printed by the New Zealand Times, Co., 1910), 1.

⁹ In January 1895 W. T. Stead began publishing “Letters from Julia” in *Borderland*, a journal he edited. The letters purported to be from his friend Julia Ames, who had died in 1891. In 1898, they were published as a book that was widely advertised in New Zealand but did not get much attention until, at the direction of Julia, in 1909 Stead established the private Julia’s Bureau that offered sittings with mediums for people who were grieving a death. This caught the attention of the *Auckland Star*, which published a fairly balanced article “The Other Side,” *Auckland Star*, 2 November 1909, 4. It caught Moore’s attention, and he wrote to the *New Zealand Times* supporting the *Star*’s advice to keep an open mind. Moore, “Mr. Stead’s Revelations,” *New Zealand Times*, 9 November 1909, 6.

¹⁰ Moore, *The Second Messiah’s Plans and Schemes for the Millennium* (Johnsonville: Ptd. by the N.Z. Times, [1913]), 2.

¹¹ See Bronwyn Elsmore, *Mana from Heaven: A Century of Maori Prophets in New Zealand* (Tauranga: Moana Press, 1989) and Karen Sinclair, *Prophetic Histories: The People of the Maramatanga* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2002), who emphasizes the differences among Māori. Just what constitutes being a messiah is open to debate. Most of the Māori who have been called messiahs are more accurately called prophets, such as Te Kooti and Tahupotiki Wiremu Ratana. On Te Kooti, see Judith Binney, *Redemption Songs: A Life of the Nineteenth-century Maori Leader Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1997); on Tahupotiki

Wiremu Ratana, see Keith Newman, *Ratana: The Prophet* (North Shore City: Raupo, 2009); Newman, *Ratana Revisited: An Unfinished Legacy* (Auckland: Reed, 2006) and J. McLeod Henderson, *Ratana: The Man, the Church, the Political Movement* 2nd ed. (Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed in association with the Polynesian Society, 1972, Volume 36 of Polynesian Society *Memoirs*). Rua Kenana is a clear exception in that he “called himself *Te Mihaia Hou*, the New Messiah.” Binney, Chapin, and Wallace, *Mihaia*, 9; see also Peter Webster, *Rua and the Maori Millennium* (Wellington: Price Milburn for Victoria University Press, 1979).

¹² The title of Laurie Guy’s article on A. H. Dallimore seems to suggest that he was a possible Messiah. See Laurie Guy, “Miracles, Messiahs and the Media: The Ministry of A. H. Dallimore in Auckland in the 1930s,” in *Signs, Wonders, Miracles: Representations of Divine Power in the Life of the Church. Papers Read at the 2003 Summer Meeting and the 2004 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory (Woodbridge, Eng/Rochester, NY: Published for the Ecclesiastical History Society by Boydell Press, 2005), 453-463. The article does not say that, and no such claim appears in any of the extensive coverage of Dallimore in New Zealand newspapers. Dallimore’s own position appears to have been that of British or Anglo Israelism that stipulates that the coming Messiah will be a British monarch. On 31 March 1898, Seth Rimmer, who was a member of the Anglo-Israel Society, appears to have prophesied the end of the world, and he and a few followers are said to have spent the night on Mount Eden waiting for it. He denied this, and whether true or not, he was clearly neither a messiah nor a prophet. See “An Unfulfilled Prophecy,” *Observer*, 2 April 1898, 2. He was something of a gadfly who caused a riot by posting anti-Catholic messages in the window of his very successful tea and coffee shop in Auckland, where he also posted messages about temperance and other subjects, and he was a popular, albeit divisive, lecturer on religious subjects, including prophecy, and temperance.

¹³ James Moore was born in County Dublin, Ireland in 1841 and came to New Zealand with his mother at age 16, arriving on 15 May 1857. He was the road overseer for the Provincial Government.

¹⁴ Her grandson, Tuiti Makitanara (1874-1932), also known as Sweet Macdonald, was MP for Southern Maori from 1928 to 1932.

¹⁵ Cathy Marr, Robin Hodge, and Ben White, *Crown Laws, Policies, and Practices in Relation to Flora and Fauna, 1840-1912* (Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal Publication, 2001), 314-315.

¹⁶ Qtd. in “The Timber Supply. Unique Offer.” *Dominion*, 7 June 1913, 6; and “Vanishing Forests. Sawmillers’ Scheme for Reafforestation.” *Marlborough Express*, 14 June 1913, 5

¹⁷ A 1911 article regarding an automobile accident mentions his two daughters. One was then a nurse at the Wellington hospital and the other was a teacher at the Wellington terrace school. “Mr. F. T. Moore. Motor Car Accident.” *New Zealand Times*, 11 December 1911, 4.

¹⁸ *The Free Lance*, 28 June 1902, 4: cols. 1-2.

¹⁹ Moore, *God’s Suggestions. God’s Appeal to Humanity. God’s Appeal to Theologians. God’s Word Suggestion. God Authorises the Millennium*. By The Ideal Physician [pseud.] (Wellington: Ptd. by the New Zealand Times, 1900), iv.

²⁰ *The Free Lance*, 28 June 1902, 4.

²¹ “Threatening the Acting-Premier.” *Evening Post*, 29 August 1902, 5.

²² *New Zealand Mail*, 20 September 1900, 23b.

²³ Moore, *The New Palestine and the New Idealist*, i. In his 1902 trial for threatening to kill Acting Premier Joseph Ward, he disavowed *God’s Suggestions* and *The New Palestine*, saying that he had been deceived in his Spiritualistic beliefs and was ashamed of writing them (“Threatening the Acting-Premier.” *Evening Post*, 29 August 1902, 5).

²⁴ Moore, *The Millennium: Christ’s Way of Salvation for All Races of Mankind* (Auckland: Printed by the Queen City Press, [1933]), [10]. Original emphasis.

²⁵ Moore, *The Millennium: Christ’s Way of Salvation*, [12].

²⁶ R. J. Meyer assisted by G. Halliday, *Up in the Hills: A History of Johnsonville* (Johnsonville: Northern Suburbs Newspaper Trust, 1990) refers to the Moore Brothers Hall.

²⁷ There is a published picture of him in uniform labeled Captain F.T. Moore in *The Free Lance*, 17 October 1908, 4, and in the pamphlet about his son he identifies himself as a former military officer. He had no military career; he was an Acting Captain in the Johnsonville Volunteer Rifles.

²⁸ “In two months, New Zealand lost about half as many people to influenza as it had in the whole of the First World War. No other event has killed so many New Zealanders in such a short time.” <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/culture/influenza-pandemic-1918>. For a detailed analysis of the epidemic, see Geoffrey Rice with assistance from Linda Bryder, *Black November: The 1918 Influenza Epidemic in New Zealand* (Wellington: Allen & Unwin New Zealand and the Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, 1988). Moore did not publish any comments on the epidemic.

²⁹ Personal communication 14 May 2005.

³⁰ Moore, *The Millennium: Christ's Way of Salvation*, 12.

³¹ Personal communication from Rowan Gibbs, n.d.

³² Papers of David Pearson.

³³ Personal communication 14 May 2005.

³⁴ Moore, *Armageddon and A Soldier in Khaki*. By The Captain of the Day [pseud.] (Wellington: Ptd. By the New Zealand Times Co., 1918), 24-25.

³⁵ See Shaun D. Broadley, “Spirited Visions: A Study of Spiritualism in New Zealand Settler Society, 1870-90” (PhD diss. University of Otago, 2000), 202. Broadley notes on pages 81 and 117 that the Catholic Church explicitly rejected spiritualism. Moore is not mentioned and there is only limited discussion of the Wellington area, and it focuses on two individuals, William McLean and Robert Stout.

³⁶ On the New Zealand Catholic Church, see Geoffrey Troughton, *New Zealand Jesus: Social and Religious Transformations of an Image, 1890-1940* (Bern, Switzerland: Peter Lang, 2011), 30-34.

³⁷ [Moore], *The Millennium. The Christian World's long looked for Grand Culmination of Theologic, Philosophic, Social, Political, and Economic Knowledge transcending the ignorance of and superstition of the past. By The Inspired Author of the Following Books, Pamphlets, Essays, Etc., Etc.* [pseud.]. *The Millennium, The Key to the Millennium, God's Suggestions, The New Palestine, The New Idealist, Idealism, The Church of Rome, The British Empire, The Philosopher's Stone, The Way to Wealth, The Ideal State, Ideal Government. Ideal Economy, The Medium of Exchange, State Banking and Paper Money, Trade and Commerce, The Money Market, The Wool Industry, The Meat Industry, Etc., Etc., Etc. Concise reprints of most of the above works are reproduced in this, the 20th volume the author has published. The Passing from the Second to the Third Dispensation in the Plan of the Ages. The Church of Rome. The Coming Church of Great Britain and the Second Messiah* (Johnsonville: Ptd. by the N.Z. Times, [1913]), 5.

³⁸ John Mackey, *The Making of a State Education System: The Passing of the New Zealand Education Act, 1877* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1967), 99. Wellington also “refused to accept or to make grants for denominational schools” *Compulsory Education in New Zealand: A study initiated by the National Commission for UNESCO* (Paris: UNESCO, 1952), 16).

³⁹ David Pearson papers.

⁴⁰ [Moore], *The Millennium. The Christian World's long looked for Grand Culmination*, 1.

⁴¹ [Moore], *The Millennium, The Christian World's long looked for Grand Culmination*, 4.

⁴² Moore, *New Zealand's Centennial Wonder Book. God's Own System of Credit, Currency and Banking. The Free Distribution of the World's Wealth for the World's People* (Auckland: Printed by Wright & Jaques, [1940]), 15.

⁴³ Moore, *Jesus Christ's Scheme of Finance* (Auckland: Printed by Wright and Jaques, [1930]), 4.

⁴⁴ Moore, *New Zealand's Centennial Wonder Book*, 16.

⁴⁵ Moore, “Duty of Clergy ‘To Succour the Weak’.” *The New Zealand Worker*, 12 April 1933, 2.

⁴⁶ Moore, *New Zealand's Centennial Wonder Book*, 6.

⁴⁷ Moore, *State Banking and State Distribution of God's Gifts to Mankind* (Auckland: Printed by Wright & Jaques, [1940]), 1.

⁴⁸ Troughton, *New Zealand Jesus*, 65-104, particularly his discussion of “The Confrontational Christ” (73-75) and “Socialism and the labour movement” (75-83).

⁴⁹ Troughton, *New Zealand Jesus*, 106.

⁵⁰ For a variety of perspectives, see Melanie Nolan, ed., *Revolution: the 1913 Great Strike in New Zealand* (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press in association with the Trade Union History Project, 2005).

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- ⁵¹ Speaking at the Counties Conference that year, Moore proposed a “heavy tax on motor-cars” with the money to be used to improve the maintenance of the main roads. “News of the Day.” *Evening Post*, 20 August 1913, 6.
- ⁵² “Hospital Levies.” *Dominion*, 4 June 1913, 2.
- ⁵³ Barry Gustafson, *Labour’s Path to Political Independence: The Origin and Establishment of the New Zealand Labour Party, 1900-1919* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1980), 518.
- ⁵⁴ *New Zealand Times*, 6 July 1901, 5
- ⁵⁵ *New Zealand Times*, 23 July 1901, 7.
- ⁵⁶ “Report on the Frozen Meat Industry for the Colony of New Zealand” [10th July 1902], 4. Frozen Meat Committee. Archives LE1 1903/3.
- ⁵⁷ Qtd. in the *Manawatu Herald*, 16 August 1902, 2.
- ⁵⁸ “Threatening the Acting-Premier.” *Auckland Star*, 19 August 1902, 3.
- ⁵⁹ For a detailed report on the hearing that includes the reports by the two doctors, Moore’s testimony, and the judge’s comments on imposing sentence, see “Threatening the Acting-Premier.” *Evening Post*, 29 August 1902, 5.
- ⁶⁰ The *New Zealand Times*, which reported on the case regularly in September and October 1902.
- ⁶¹ *New Zealand Mail*, 3 September 1902, 45c. In 1907 *The Free Lance*, 12 January 1907, 3, refers to Guam rather than South Africa, which is clearly wrong.
- ⁶² “Release of F. T. Moore: Departure for South Africa.” *Wanganui Herald*, 9 September 1902, 2.
- ⁶³ “Release of F. T. Moore,” 2.
- ⁶⁴ “Release of F. T. Moore,” 2.
- ⁶⁵ *New Zealand Mail*, 15 October 1902, 18c.
- ⁶⁶ *New Zealand Mail*, 15 October 1902, 18c. He also wrote an open letter to Morgan Stanislaus Grace, a well-known Wellington doctor and a Member of the Legislative Council, asking to consult with him regarding his visions that was published with the other letter. *New Zealand Mail*, 15 October 1902, 18d.
- ⁶⁷ “Hutt County Council Result of the Election.” *New Zealand Times*, 9 November 1905, 5.
- ⁶⁸ “The Suburbs Seat. Mr Moore’s Candidature. Address to Johnsonville Electors.” *Evening Post*, 17 June 1908, 3d.
- ⁶⁹ Gustafson, *Labour’s Path to Political Independence: The Origin and Establishment of the New Zealand Labour Party*, 58-59 on 1908, 86, 96-97, 101 on 1911, and 228 on 1914. Gustafson includes a brief biography of Moore on 518-519 and a picture of him on 520. For more on these elections, although without any mention of Moore, see Peter Franks and Jim McAloon, *The New Zealand Labour Party, 1916-2016* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2016), 55-60 on 1908 and 1911 and 67-68 on 1914.
- ⁷⁰ “Latest Figures.” *Evening Post*, 19 December 1911, 7.
- ⁷¹ “Notes of the Day.” *Dominion*, 9 December 1911, 4; and “A Right About Face. Strange Behaviour of a Candidate. Where Does Mr. Moore Stand?” *Dominion*, 9 December 1911, 5. Moore’s response can be found in “Labour’s Claims. Meeting in Post Office Square. Vigorous Speeches.” *Evening Post*, 11 December 1911, 8.
- ⁷² “Election Notices.” *Dominion*, 14 December 1914, 8. In Johnsonville, the polling place was Moore Brothers Hall.
- ⁷³ “Makara County & Wellington Suburbs Elections.” *New Zealand Times*, 19 November 1914, 7. Moore responded that he lost due to ten Tories who had three votes each combining against. “Makara Country and Suburbs Seat.” *New Zealand Times*, 20 November 1914, 9. On 9 and 23 September 1913, Moore wrote to Sir Oliver Lodge in Birmingham, who was both a well-established scientist and a spiritualist, sending him five of his books and asking Lodge to judge his claim to be the second messiah. The letters were published as “Science and Religion” in the *Dominion*, 22 September 1913, 5; and as “Extraordinary Letters” in the *New Zealand Times*, 7 October 1913, 2. The *Dominion* published several letters criticizing Moore, and he responded in both the *Dominion* and in a general letter about the correspondence in “The Messiah Claimant.” *New Zealand Times*, 21 October 1913, 10.
- ⁷⁴ “The Reform Victory.” *Evening Post*, 16 December 1914, 3.

⁷⁵ *The Free Lance*, 16 June 1906, 1. In 1912 he testified to a committee of the House of Representatives on the meat trade (*Appendices of the Journal of the House of Representatives* H-18 [1912], 433-34). And as late as 1940, he railed against impure food as well as air pollution (Moore, *New Zealand's Centennial Wonder Book*, 21-22).

⁷⁶ "Municipal Markets." *New Zealand Mail*, 29 August 1906, 66.

⁷⁷ Moore later gave a religious basis for his concern with the food and pollution, writing that "Man is a materialised soul of God, and the foods man eats, the liquids he drinks, clothes he wears, buildings that shelter him, and all other beautiful things of this earth, are materialised replicas, materialised images of all the spiritual things that abound in God's ethereal spirit realms. All forms of matter are materialised ethereal things; therefore everything that we see in this world is a spiritual being solidified into physical matter" (*New Zealand's Centennial Wonder Book*, 1940), 27.

⁷⁸ "Troubled Waters." *Evening Post*, 22 April 1916, 9.

⁷⁹ L. H. Barber and R. J. Towers, *Wellington Hospital 1847-1976* (Wellington: Wellington Hospital Board, 1976).

⁸⁰ Because he blamed the Jews for capitalism, there is a sporadic anti-Semitism in his writings. See, for example, *Jesus Christ's Scheme of Finance*, [3], and *New Zealand's Centennial Wonder Book*, 9-12.

⁸¹ Moore, "The Coming Conflict," *The Commonweal [Organ of the New Zealand Socialist Party]*, May 1909, 7.

⁸² Moore, *The World's Money Fakers* (Auckland: Wright & Jaques, [1940]), [3].

⁸³ On Christian socialism, see John C. Cort, *Christian Socialism: An Informal History* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1988); Edward R. Norman, *The Victorian Christian Socialists* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1987); and James Dombrowski, *The Early Days of Christian Socialism in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936).

⁸⁴ Moore, "Social Tyrants." *The New Zealand Worker*, 19 November 1924, 5.

⁸⁵ Troughton, *New Zealand Jesus*, 122, notes that "By 1900, the idea that socialism was the practical expression of Christianity had become a virtual cliché. Invariably, such assertions emphasised Jesus' life and teaching, and ideals of brotherhood and cooperation."

⁸⁶ Moore, *The Millennium: Christ's Way of Salvation*, [4].

⁸⁷ Moore, *New Zealand's Centennial Wonder Book*, 15.

⁸⁸ Moore, *New Zealand's Centennial Wonder Book*, 4.

⁸⁹ Moore, "Employers of Labour and the N.Z. Labour Platform." *The Weekly Herald*, 5 November 1910, 6.

⁹⁰ Moore, "The Industrial Millennium. Co-operative Labour Commonwealth." *The Weekly Herald*, 6 August 1911, 4.

⁹¹ Moore, "Middlemen's Profits." *The Weekly Herald*, 20 March 1912, 1.

⁹² Moore, "Middlemen's Profits." *The Weekly Herald*, 27 March 1912, 1.

⁹³ Moore, "Land Settlement Schemes." *The New Zealand Worker*, 22 May 1929, 5.

⁹⁴ Moore, "Land Settlement Schemes." *The New Zealand Worker*, 22 May 1929, 5

⁹⁵ Moore, "Land Settlement Schemes." *The New Zealand Worker*, 29 May 1929, 8.

⁹⁶ Moore, "Land Aggregation." *The New Zealand Worker*, 3 July 1929, 8.

⁹⁷ Moore, "Land and Labour." *The New Zealand Worker*, 7 July 1929, 10.

⁹⁸ Moore, *The Divine Goodness of Almighty God and the Satanic Consequences of Human Greed* (Auckland: Wright & Jaques, [c1942]), [3]. Original emphasis.

⁹⁹ George Fowlds (1860-1934), also in Cabinet, noted in a letter of 2 September 1909 on paper currency that Hogg does not really understand the issue (University of Auckland, Fowlds Papers Correspondence 1/44). Fowlds does not mention Moore, and neither, in his papers, does Hogg (Alexander Turnbull Library, Hogg, A. W. Papers. MS Papers 1618).

¹⁰⁰ For the history of currency use in New Zealand and the period between 1847 and 1856 when there was a state bank of issue, see R[aymond] P[hilip] Hargreaves, *From Beads to Banknotes* (Dunedin: John McIndoe, 1972). For the history of the Reserve Bank and a comparison with a state bank, see G[ary] R. Hawke, *Between Governments and Banks: A History of the Reserve Bank of New Zealand*⁸⁸ (Wellington, New Zealand: A. R. Shearer, Government Printer, 1973), 13-15. For the controversy, see *Journal of New Zealand Studies* NS36 (2023), 72-89 <https://doi.org/10.26686/jnzs.iNS36.8328>

[Henry Charles Young], *A National Currency or State Bank of Issue*. By Nomos [pseud] (Wellington: Bock & Co., Printers, [1893]); and *A Symposium on Money* (1901). *A Symposium on Money. Being Four Articles contributed to The New Zealand Illustrated Magazine for August and September, 1901*.

I. "What is Money: and for what purposes is it needed?" By Judge [H.F.] Edgar. II. "A Perfect Money: and its effects." By Michael Flürscheim. III. "A State Bank for New Zealand." By William Sievwright. IV. "Foreign Loans: and the Financing of Public Works." By William Rout. Reprinted from the *N.Z. Illustrated Magazine* (Auckland: Arthur Cleave and Co., Printers, 1901).

¹⁰¹ On the Independent Political Labour League, see Gustafson, *Labour's Path to Political Independence*, 32-33. See also Franks and McAloon, *The New Zealand Labour Party*, 52-62.

¹⁰² Moore, *Essays on Burning Political Questions*, 13.

¹⁰³ Moore, *Essays on Burning Political Questions*, 4. See also his *Jesus Christ's Scheme of Finance* ([c. 1930]), 1-2; *State Banking and State Distribution of God's Gifts to Mankind* ([1940]), 4; and *The World's Money Fakers* ([1940]), 1-3.

¹⁰⁴ Moore, *The New Palestine and the New Idealist*, 4.

¹⁰⁵ Moore, *The New Palestine and the New Idealist*, 12.

¹⁰⁶ Moore, *The Christian World's long looked for Grand Culmination*, 54. For others describing New Zealand in similar terms, see Sir Robert Stout, K.C.M.G. "State Experiments in New Zealand." *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 55, no. 3 (September 1892): 388-414; Florence Finch Kelly, "A New Civilization—What New Zealand Has Accomplished in Social and Economic Legislation." *The Craftsman* 10, nos. 5-6 (August-September 1906): 551-66; 714-729; and Hugh H. Lusk, *Social Welfare in New Zealand. The Result of Twenty Years of Progressive Social Legislation and Its Significance for the United States and Other Countries* (London: William Heinemann, 1913).

¹⁰⁷ Moore, *The Christian World's long looked for Grand Culmination*, 53-54.

¹⁰⁸ Moore, *The Millennium: Christ's Way of Salvation for All Races of Mankind*, [3].

¹⁰⁹ Henry Jacobs, "The Avon". *The Lyttelton Times*, 14 January 1854, 10. Rpt. in *An Anthology of New Zealand Verse*, ed. Robert Chapman and Jonathan Bennett (London: Oxford University Press, 1956), 1; John Barr of Craigielee, "There's Nae Place Like Otago Yet" in his *Poems and Songs* (Edinburgh: W.P. Nimmo, 1861), 62. Rpt. in *An Anthology of New Zealand Verse*, 1-2; Thomas Bracken, "God's Own Country" in his *Lays and Lyrics. God's Own Country and Other Poems* (Wellington: Brown, Thomson & Co., 1893), 5-9. For other descriptions of New Zealand as a eutopia, see Kenneth Melvin, *New Zealand: "The Small Utopia"* (Auckland: Collins., 1962); Seymour Kopf, *All the Curious Traveler Would Want to Know About the Only Remaining Utopia for the Average Man--New Zealand* [Hong Kong: Printed by South China Morning Post], 1975; and Carl Hoffmann, *2037 NZ: One Hell of a Paradise* (Ponsonby, Auckland: R S V P Publishing, 2000). For discussions of utopianism in New Zealand, see Lucy Sargent and Lyman Tower Sargent, *Living in Utopia: Intentional Communities in New Zealand* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2004); Sargent, "Utopianism and the Creation of New Zealand National Identity," *Utopian Studies* 12, no. 1 (2001): 1-18; and Sargent, "Utopian Literature in New Zealand: A Short History," *On the Left: Essays on Socialism in New Zealand*, ed. Pat Moloney and Kerry Taylor (Dunedin, New Zealand: University of Otago Press, 2002), 169-78.

¹¹⁰ Moore, *The World's Money Fakers*, 1

¹¹¹ Moore, *The Way to Wealth*, 3 col. 2.

¹¹² Moore, *The Second Messiah's Plans and Schemes for the Millennium*, 54.

¹¹³ [Moore], *Armageddon and A Soldier in Khaki*, 41.

¹¹⁴ Moore, *The Millennium: Christ's Way of Salvation*, 7.

¹¹⁵ Moore, *Jesus Christ's Scheme of Finance*, [3].

¹¹⁶ Moore, *State Banking and State Distribution of God's Gifts to Mankind*, 1. In the same year, he wrote that "When Christ said feed, clothe and house everybody, He was issuing a general order to all nations to make the feeding, housing and clothing of everybody a national duty." *New Zealand's Centennial Wonder Book*, 20.

¹¹⁷ Moore, "Social Tyrants," 5.

¹¹⁸ *The Free Lance*, 17 October 1908, 4.