

THE EASTERN ORTHODOX CHURCH IN NEW ZEALAND

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>CHAPTER</u>		<u>Page</u>
	ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
	TABLE OF CONTENTS	iii
	ABSTRACT	v
	<u>INTRODUCTION</u>	1
1	<u>HISTORY</u>	5
	1. Foundation	5
	2. Schism	6
	3. Occupation: East/West Relations (1453-1800)	7
	4. 19th Century Nationalism	10
2	<u>THE JURISDICTIONS</u>	14
	1. Introduction	14
	2. The Ecumenical Patriarchate	16
	3. The Greek Orthodox Church	18
	4. The Romanian Orthodox Church	21
	5. The Serbian Orthodox Church	24
	6. The Russian Orthodox Church	25
	7. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church	27
	8. Conclusion	28
3	<u>IMMIGRANTS AND CHURCHES</u>	32
	1. Introduction	32
	2. The Host Society	33
	3. Statistics and Strategies	35
	4. Religion and Ethnicity	43
	5. The Ethnic Church Identified	44
	6. The Ethnic Church Observed	47
	6.1 Introduction	47
	6.2 Interview Schedule: Results	48
	6.3 Fieldwork Observations	55
	7. Ethnicity and Ecumenism: National Council of Churches - Orthodox Relations	60
	8. Conclusion	64

<u>CHAPTER</u>	<u>Page</u>
4	
<u>THE CONVERTS: REACTIONARY ALTERNATIVE OR ALTERNATIVE REACTION?</u>	69
1. Introduction	69
2. Theoretical Framework	70
3. Interview Schedule - Converts: Responses	72
4. The Antiochian Orthodox Church	82
5. Conclusion	86
<u>CONCLUSION</u>	92
<u>BIBLIOGRAPHY</u>	97
<u>APPENDICES</u>	103
Appendix 1 - Diagrammatic Representation of Christian Schism showing the Development of the Various Orthodox Churches	103
Appendix 2 - Interview Schedule - Ethnics	104
Appendix 3 - Interview Schedule - Converts	108
Appendix 4 - Letter of Introduction	111
Appendix 5 - Letter Requesting Permission to Distribute Interview Schedule - Ethnics	112
Appendix 6 - Reply from Archbishop Dionysios	113
Appendix 7 - "Thoughts of a Convert" John Coulson	114
Appendix 8 - Orthodox Reasons for Opposing the Ordination of Women	116
Appendix 9 - Orthodox and Anglicans - Prospects and Problems in Reunification	117

ABSTRACT

This thesis is a study of the Eastern Orthodox Church in New Zealand. It examines both the ethnic jurisdictions and the recent phenomenon of conversion to Eastern Orthodoxy.

The opening chapter provides a brief history of Eastern Orthodoxy by concentrating on a number of major events. The second chapter describes the ethnic jurisdictions found in New Zealand and examines local origins and subsequent development.

The first of two hypotheses tested in this thesis is discussed in Chapter 3. It is argued that Church affiliation inhibits immigrant assimilation into the wider society. Data obtained from an Interview Schedule and personal observations are deployed to test this hypothesis. Those Orthodox Churches which have a high ethnic membership are shown to display signs of ethnoreligion and ethnocentrism.

The second hypothesis, discussed in Chapter 4, suggests that converts are motivated to change denominational allegiance because of feelings of deficiency and the desire for an integrative force in modern society. Because of a lack of evidence the second claim of this hypothesis remains untested. The conclusion is reached that converts to Eastern Orthodoxy are influenced by two different motivations. It is argued that converts to the ethnic jurisdictions are, in general, motivated by a sense of personal searching. In contrast, most converts to the Antiochian Orthodox Church represent, in general, a change of denominational affiliation in reaction to what is perceived as unacceptable doctrinal change in the Anglican Church.

INTRODUCTION

It is difficult to find a satisfactory term to describe those Churches which this thesis refers to as Eastern Orthodox. The term "Eastern" is vague; it is used by both the non-Chalcedonian and Chalcedonian Churches and is often confused in the minds of Western readers with "Asian". The term preferred by the Vatican, "Oriental Churches", is misleading for much the same reasons. The term "Orthodox" is used by many Churches but most would be reluctant to use the term in reference to any Church but their own. The term "Greek Catholic" (once used by the New Zealand Statistics Department) also presents difficulties. The majority of non-Greek Orthodox would have their sense of nationalism offended and the majority of Eastern Orthodox would object to the title "Catholic" on the grounds that it could be confused with Roman Catholic. For the purposes of this thesis I have used the term Eastern Orthodox to describe those Churches which identify with the traditions and doctrinal formulations of the first seven ecumenical councils and who regard the Patriarch of Constantinople as holding a primacy of honour among those Churches which make up the Eastern Orthodox Church.

During the course of research undertaken while writing this thesis, one theme has recurred frequently. That theme is the confusion which most people seem to experience when one discusses Eastern Orthodoxy. Comments such as "Isn't that something to do with Islam?" and "That's Hinduism, isn't it?" recurred frequently from people from all walks of life and varying degrees of education. These misconceptions about the Eastern Orthodox Church are neither new, nor restricted to New Zealand. T.E. Little relates how:

An English acquaintance who attended vespers at a church in Cyprus commented on leaving that it was the first time he had witnessed a Moslem service and had found it engrossing. On learning he had been present at a Christian ceremony he became indignant because the whole thing had been so unlike the form of service in his parish church in England.¹

Slightly less offensive perhaps but certainly no better, is the observation by W.E. Wiest that:

All too many Protestants might well respond to a question about the Eastern Orthodox Church as John Lawrence recently suggested that the average Anglican might, by asking vaguely, 'Aren't they Roman Catholics?'²

Confusion surrounding the identity of Eastern Orthodox Christians occurs for several reasons. Western Christians are by and large blind to the extent of their own westernness. This is certainly true in New Zealand where the tendency is to view Christian differences in terms of Roman Catholic as opposed to Protestant, or more recently fundamentalist as opposed to 'main-line'. It would not be difficult to imagine the response of an Assembly of God adherent to being told he is, in the words of Alexis Komiakov, a "Crypto-Papist". Yet in the minds of most Eastern Orthodox "both alike share the same assumptions, for Protestantism was hatched from the egg which Rome had laid."³

For many westerners the Eastern Orthodox world is a shadowy, ill-defined one about which any precise knowledge is elusive. The correlation between a western view of the history of Christianity and western history itself is so marked that the consequences of this myopic outlook are remarkable.

Some Catholics of the Roman rite are even unaware of the uniate churches, and are not easily convinced that their rites are 'valid'. How much more difficult for them to appreciate that rites not in communion with Rome may be as ancient and venerable as their own. Protestants confronted with eastern rites often see them as unreformed and needlessly exotic, in short, as other forms of Roman Catholic worship.⁴

Even quite eminent scholars have been known to make some questionable remarks concerning the Eastern Orthodox. Dom Gregory Dix writes:

Into the closed world of Byzantium no really fresh impulse ever came after the sixth century...Sleep began...in the ninth century, perhaps even earlier, in the sixth.⁵

This is a surprising statement when one considers the Hesychast developments of St. Symeon the New Theologian (949-1022), St. Gregory Palamas (1296-1356), the Confession of Faith of Ecumenical Patriarch Gennodius II (1400-1468), the Confession of Faith in 1625 of the Patriarch of Alexandria, Metrophanes Kritopulos, the letters exchanged between Ecumenical Patriarch Jeremiah II and the theologians at Tübingen University (1573-1581), the Confessions of Faith of Peter Moghila (1597-1646), and Dositheus of Jerusalem (1641-1707).

The Eastern Orthodox Church has in fact never been in a state of total isolation from the West. Even in the darkest days of the Ottoman Empire there was regular contact with the West, from Protestant and Catholic missionaries, from diplomatic embassy staff in Constantinople and from trade missions. Contact with the East was not always harmonious, misunderstandings were frequent, and some forms of contact were resented, such as Roman Catholic and Protestant missionary activity, but it is quite false to represent the East and the Eastern Orthodox Church as a closed society.

One of the aims of this thesis is to present Eastern Orthodoxy as less exotic and less foreign than has been the case in the popular mind. If Eastern Orthodoxy can be seen to have some relevance and benefit for New Zealand's multi-cultural society, then not only will New Zealand gain from an exchange of insights, but Orthodox immigrants will gain some sense of importance and belonging.

Footnotes

1. Little, T.E. "Western Students and Eastern Orthodoxy ", The Downside Review, No. 336: pp.201-202. 1981.
2. Philippou, A.J. (Ed.). The Orthodox Ethos: Essays in Honour of the Centenary of the Greek Archdiocese of North and South America, p.3.
3. Ware, T. The Orthodox Church, p.10.
4. Little, T.E. Op.cit, p.191.
5. Dix, G. The Shape of the Liturgy, p.548. Quoted in Ware, T., The Orthodox Church, p.79.

CHAPTER 1

HISTORY

1. FOUNDATION

The Eastern Orthodox Church, in common with all Christian Churches, recognises its foundation in the "Christ-event" and subsequent missionary activity of the Apostles. It was, however, not until the conversion of Constantine (312AD) and the transformation of the "Church of the Catacombs" into the "Church of the Empire"¹ that a distinctively Eastern Church began to emerge.

The history of the post-Constantinian Church was dominated by what came to be known as the seven ecumenical councils. It was during this period, from 325AD to 787AD, "that the dogmatic and canonical norms of the Orthodox faith were laid down".² It was also during this period that the relationship between Church and State was formulated. Both tasks were frequently interrelated and a clear differentiation is difficult to observe.

The politico-religious unity of the Byzantine Empire was constantly threatened by both doctrinal and regional disputes. These disputes had to be settled quickly and decisively to ensure the continued unity of the Empire and the continued "symphonic" relationship between Church and State. Ecumenical councils were called both to formulate doctrine and to settle disputes. They were convoked by the Emperor and "their decisions were held to be laws of the Empire".³ The formation of Christian doctrine and the historical development of the various Patriarchates can be seen to have been so intermingled a process as to make a separation

of the political from the religious motives involved not only impossible but inappropriate.⁴

2. SCHISM

To understand the nature of the gradual separation of the Latin from the Byzantine Churches "we must avoid the romantic fallacy of thinking that there was ever an 'undivided Church' which lasted for some nine centuries".⁵ During the period between the first ecumenical council in 325 and the last council held in 787, Rome and Constantinople had been in intermittent schism for a total of two hundred and three years.⁶ It is also important to realise that the eventual schism between East and West was not the first major schism in the history of Christendom.⁷

In the past there has been a popular misconception that the schism between East and West was the result of a single decisive event. Argument has tended to revolve around defining what that event was; be it the crowning of Charlemagne in 800, or the list of anathemas served on Michael Cerularius by Cardinal Humbert in Saint Sophia in 1054, or the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453. More recent scholarly opinion holds the view that the schism should be seen as the result of a gradual deterioration of relations between East and West brought about by political, theological, and cultural divergences and any one event can only be seen as symptomatic of a more general malaise.

Undoubtedly individual historical events did have varying degrees of influence on the nature of the eventual schism. Events such as "the absence of the Roman bishop's name from the diptychs of the Eastern Churches,"⁸ the Filioque controversy and its connections with the rising influence of German theology at Rome, finally expressed by the inclusion of the Filioque in the Coronation Mass

of Emperor Henry II in Rome (1014), the language difficulty which was to lead to "deliberate and malicious mistranslation"⁹ of correspondence and theological exchanges between Eastern and Western scholars, the sack of Constantinople by the Latin fourth crusade in 1204, the failure of the Council of Florence (1438-39), and the eventual fall of Constantinople to the Muslims in 1453, were all contributing factors to the eventual schism.

Assigning a precise date to the schism is a task of dubious value. The position of some scholars who,

have come to think of the schism as "a gradual, fluctuating, disjointed process, perhaps not consummated until the end of the fifteenth century and perhaps only reaching its present form about 1650"¹⁰

would seem to provide the most helpful and accurate analysis to date.

3. OCCUPATION: EAST/WEST RELATIONS (1453-1800)

With the fall of Constantinople in 1453, four of the five ancient Patriarchates came under the control of Islam; only Rome and Moscow remained free from Muslim domination. There were exceptions however: Russia was to remain independent and Russian Orthodoxy came to identify Moscow as the third Rome. The Ionian Islands were to remain under Venetian control which was surprisingly benevolent.

The fall of Constantinople could, without exaggeration, be called the greatest disaster to befall Christendom up until that time, yet even this disaster was accepted by some Orthodox who saw the Turkish occupation more in terms of liberation from the Latins than subjection to Islam. Grand Duke Lucas Notaras publicly asserted that it was "Better to see the turban of the Turks reigning in our city than the Latin miter."¹¹ This preference for the Turk rather than Latin fellow-Christians was to increase. In Poland and

the Ukraine, forced conversions to Roman Catholicism were effected by the council of Brest-Litovsk in 1586. The tension between Roman Catholics and Orthodox increased to such an extent in Poland that Paul of Aleppo, nephew of the Patriarch of Antioch, wrote:

God perpetuate the Empire of the Turks!
 For they take their impost and enter into
 no account of religion, be their subjects
 Christians or Nazarenes, Jews or Samaritans;
 whereas these accursed Poles...subjected
 them [Orthodox] to the enemies of Christ,
 the Jews, who did not allow them to build
 churches or leave them any educated priests. 12

In 1620 Cyril Loukaris was invested by the Sultan as Patriarch of Constantinople. In his youth Cyril had travelled extensively and was present at the Council of Brest-Litovsk where he gained first-hand experience of how the Roman Catholics had disenfranchised the Polish Orthodox. As Patriarch, Cyril Loukaris was especially concerned at the extent of influence the Romans had among Greek students, both in Rome and at the Jesuit school in Constantinople, "which he himself described as having 'as undisputed success as foxes among poultry.'" ¹³ It is therefore not surprising that Loukaris sought contact with the Reformed Churches to gain an ally against Rome. He had regular discussions with Cornelius van Haga the Dutch Ambassador to Constantinople and obtained books from Holland on Reformed theology from him. Metrophanes Kritopoulos was sent to Balliol College, Oxford, for five years (1617-22) and travelled extensively throughout Reformation Europe. Cyril Loukaris also had regular contact with William Foord, the Chaplain to the English Embassy in Constantinople. In 1629 Loukaris published his Confession in Geneva. The Confession caused an uproar among the Patriarch's fellow Orthodox and by a successful intrigue the French Embassy had Loukaris "Strangled by Turkish janissaries" ¹⁴ and his body thrown into the Bosphorus.

In reaction to Loukaris' Confession two further Confessions were published, one by Peter Moghila, Metropolitan of Kiev, published in 1640, the other by Dositheus of Jerusalem, later ratified by the Council of Jerusalem in 1672. Cyril's Confession was to be condemned by six councils in succession between 1638 and 1691.

The Calvinism of Loukaris is firmly rejected in favour of the traditional sacramental realism of Orthodoxy, a doctrine of the priesthood and holy orders founded on the sacramental nature of the Church, and an Orthodox explanation of the veneration of the saints and holy image.¹⁵

In spite of the personal consequences of Loukaris' dialogues with the Protestant Reformers, contact with the Reformed tradition in the West was to continue. Around 1694 plans were made for the establishment of a Greek College at Oxford and about ten students were sent. The plan was to fail due to lack of funds and the inability of the Greeks to come to terms with both the English climate and diet. In 1677 a Greek Orthodox Church was opened in London but was closed by order of Bishop Compton, Anglican Bishop of London, in 1682. The English attitude was that it was:

illegal for any public Church in England to express Romish beliefs, and that it was just as bad to have them professed in Greek as in Latin.¹⁶

Between 1716 and 1725 there was a long correspondence between the Non-Jurors (Anglicans who refused to acknowledge William of Orange) and the four Eastern Patriarchates and the Orthodox Church in Russia, seeking recognition of Anglican Orders and inter-communion. This correspondence came to an end when the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Wake, informed the Patriarch of Constantinople that the Non-Jurors were not part of the body of the Anglican Church. In January 1792, Frederick North, Fifth Earl of Guilford was baptised into the Eastern Orthodox Church on Corfu.¹⁷ This was done secretly but it is an indication of the level of interest in, and degree of

intellectual interchange between the East and the West that such an event could take place.

Despite severe limitations and restrictions and despite ecclesiastical and political corruption the life of the Orthodox Church did not cease to be dynamic or open to outside influences after 1453. There was intense theological activity within Eastern Orthodoxy itself and a critical, if limited, exchange of ideas between East and West.

4. 19TH CENTURY NATIONALISM

The 19th century nationalistic struggles of Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia and Romania had their ideological origins in the hope that the French Revolution inspired.¹⁸ There were, however, other more immediate and practical spurs to inflame nationalist sentiment in the Balkans in the 19th century. Under the Ottoman system of government, the Eastern Orthodox Church adopted civil as well as religious functions. For over four hundred years the civil and religious authority for every Orthodox Christian in the Ottoman Empire rested in the person of the Ecumenical Patriarch. These two functions were to become so merged that it was virtually impossible for the Greeks to distinguish their Church from their nation. As a result of this merging of functions:

The Eastern episcopate now assumed powers and privileges of an extra-sacramental nature which gave it an official, semi-political status...the decentralized organization of the Eastern churches in the Byzantine period was centralized: the Patriarch of Constantinople was now regarded as the head of the local churches, in whose hands was concentrated all temporal and juridical power.¹⁹

In 1766 the Serbian Patriarchate of Pec was suppressed and in 1767 the Bulgarian Archbishopric of Ohrid was returned to the control of a Greek Metropolitan. The Ecumenical Patriarch, always a Greek, and strongly influenced by the Greek Phanarite party in Constantinople,

set about a deliberate policy of Hellenization. The use of the vernacular in the Liturgy was suppressed and Greek became the norm. Gradually Greek bishops took over the control, both civil and religious, of areas which had previously been the responsibility of indigenous clergy. The waning power of the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century encouraged independence movements in a number of Slavic Balkan countries, and these often contained a very strong anti-Greek sentiment. In Greece itself, the first Balkan country to gain independence in 1833, very strong anti-clerical feeling arose due to what was seen as the duplicity of the Orthodox Church in her relations with the Turks:

Anti-clericalism was a phenomenon deeply rooted in almost all strata of pre-independence Greek society and this fact must call into question the traditional view of the church as the nucleus around which the independence movement coalesced.²⁰

Independence movements in the Balkans were influenced by a variety of factors, to some extent they were genuine and indigenous but there were also many external forces at work. Significantly, the Greek Orthodox Church, as an organisation, did not play a major role in these independence struggles:

no provision was made in the various constitutions adopted by the Greeks during the course of the war of independence for any such role for the church in an independent Greece.²¹

The Ecumenical Patriarch can be seen to have had a vested interest in maintaining his influence over the Churches in the various other Balkan countries. The recognition of autonomous national Churches was frequently slow, often many years after political independence had been achieved. The Greek Orthodox Church was recognised by the Ecumenical Patriarch as independent in 1850; the Bulgarian Church, due to internal schisms was not recognised as independent until 1945, the five Churches of Serbia, (the Church of

Montenegro, the Patriarchate of Karlowitz, the Metropolitanate of Czernowitz, the Serbian Church of the Kingdom of Serbia and the Church of Bosnia-Herzegovina) were not united until 1920 and not recognised until 1922.²² The Church of Romania was granted independent status in 1885. A result of the very long and bitter struggles of the Slavic Balkan Churches to regain their independent status following the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire and corresponding decline in Greek influence has been the growth of a sense of intense nationalism. For many Slavic Orthodox, and paradoxically many Greek Orthodox, the Church has come to be identified as the guardian and preserver of national identity and cultural heritage.

In the 20th century diaspora situation the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarch is very restricted. By appealing to Canon 28 of Chalcedon (451AD) the Patriarch claims responsibility for all Orthodox in missionary and "barbarous" countries. Hence he nominally exercises authority over the Eastern Orthodox Churches in North and South America, Western Europe, Africa and Australasia. The exact nature of the Patriarch's authority is frequently a matter of dispute, and, as will be shown in the following chapter, several diaspora Churches look elsewhere for jurisdictional leadership.

Footnotes

1. Ware, T. The Orthodox Church, p.26.
2. Meyendorff, J. The Orthodox Church, p.32.
3. Ibid., p.29.
4. Greenslade, S.L. Schism in the Early Church. For a concise discussion of the political and theological considerations of the councils and how these were related to regional rivalry, especially between Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria and Rome, see pp.58-59.
5. Meyendorff, J. op.cit, p.39.
6. Piepkorn, A.C. Profiles in Belief Vol.1. Roman Catholic, Old Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, p.32.
7. See Appendix 1.
8. Runciman, S. The Eastern Schism. A Study of the Papacy and the Eastern Churches During the XIth and XIIth Centuries, p.159.
9. Ware, T. op.cit, p.56.
10. Piepkorn, A.C. op.cit, p.33.
11. Ducas. "Historia", 38 Bonn ed. p.264. Quoted in The Orthodox Church. John Meyendorff, p.86.
12. "The Travels of Macarius", ed by Lady Laura Ridding, p.15. Quoted in The Orthodox Church. Ware, T. pp.105-106.
13. Davey, C. "Anglicans and Eastern Christendom", Sobornost, vol.7. No.2. 1985, p.8.
14. Ware, T. op.cit, p.107.
15. Meyendorff, J. op.cit, p.96.
16. Ware, T. op.cit, p.180. The comment is attributed to Sir John Finch, English Ambassador to Constantinople.
17. Ware, K. "The Fifth Earl of Guilford (1766-1827) and his Secret Conversion to the Orthodox Church", in The Orthodox Churches and the West Derek Baker (Ed). pp.247-256.
18. Frazee, C. The Orthodox Church and Independent Greece, 1821-1852, pp.7-14.
19. Sherrard, P. The Greek East and the Latin West, p.101.
20. Clogg, R. "Anti-clericalism in pre-independence Greece. 1750-1821", in The Orthodox Churches and the West Derek Baker (Ed). p.275.
21. Ibid, p.275.

CHAPTER 2

THE JURISDICTIONS

1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter seeks to provide a familiarity with five of the six Eastern Orthodox jurisdictions found in New Zealand. The Antiochian jurisdiction has certain special characteristics which require separate consideration. Due to the nature of their settlement in New Zealand the five "ethnic" jurisdictions; the Russian, the Serbian, the Greek, the Romanian and the Ukrainian; all share several common features. An awareness of these commonly held characteristics is a prerequisite to understanding the intrinsic uniqueness of each of these jurisdictions.

All the jurisdictions in New Zealand, with the exception of the Antiochian, are, for either political or economic reasons, refugee churches. Unlike the predominant Anglican and Presbyterian Churches, the Eastern Orthodox did not settle here in any preconceived or planned manner. For the Russian, Serbian, Ukrainian and Romanian Orthodox, political factors predominantly determined their emigration. Many people I met who belonged to these jurisdictions spoke of post-World War II disruption and Soviet invasion as the primary cause of their emigration. In the case of the Greeks, it was economic factors which stimulated the desire to migrate. Many Greeks told me how New Zealand was a good place to make money and financially advance themselves beyond what they would have expected had they remained in Greece.

All the Eastern Orthodox Churches in New Zealand are minority Churches. Taken as a whole, they constitute only .13% of the total population.¹ There is an acute awareness among the various jurisdictions of their statistically insignificant status. This awareness manifests itself in two seemingly conflicting ways. On the one hand is the pressure to conform to the perceived majority standard, to appear "normal" and no different from any other New Zealander. The Hellenic Trumpet, the Greek community's monthly magazine, has its policy printed on the front page of every issue: "To promote friendly relations between the Greek and New Zealand people, to educate and instruct the Greeks in New Zealand sentiment, and develop a sense of good citizenship." The sentiments expressed in this magazine's policy are common to all the ethnic jurisdictions, but at the same time a significant number of Eastern Orthodox feel threatened and "swamped" by the prevailing New Zealand culture. The desire to retain one's ethnic authenticity and preserve the customs and culture of the land of origin is at least as strong as the desire to integrate. These two pressures can be seen to be operating not only in individuals, but also in the jurisdictional character and historical development of the various Churches in New Zealand. An example of how these tensions can affect the development of a jurisdiction was given to me by the President of the Greek Community in Wellington. I was aware of a small number of converts to the Greek Orthodox Church and asked him how significant he felt these people were. He assured me most strongly that there were no converts to the Greek Church and that such an occurrence would be highly undesirable. In his opinion "the Greek Orthodox Church is for Greeks, we speak Greek, we are born Greek, how can anyone convert to this?" This attitude of exclusion stems directly from the concern to maintain ethnic authenticity.

Keeping these characteristics in mind, we can now begin to examine the individual natures of the ethnic jurisdictions found in New Zealand.

2. THE ECUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE

While not a jurisdiction in existence in its own right in New Zealand, the representative of the Ecumenical Patriarch exerts possibly the greatest influence over the Eastern Orthodox Churches as a whole in New Zealand. Metropolitan (Archbishop) Dionysios Psiachas was appointed as the Greek Orthodox Metropolitan of New Zealand by the Patriarchal Synod of Constantinople on 8 January 1970.² He was enthroned as Metropolitan in both Wellington and Christchurch on March 8 of that year. The Metropolitan has responsibility as Exarch of India, Korea, Japan, Singapore, Indonesia, the Phillipines and Hong Kong. In New Zealand the Metropolitan regards himself as having responsibility for all resident Eastern Orthodox, regardless of jurisdiction. This responsibility is claimed as representative of the Ecumenical Patriarch and hence, under Canon 28 of Chalcedon (451AD) he claims responsibility for all the "faithful in barbarian lands."³

The Metropolitan's views concerning the extent of his responsibility and position of leadership within the various jurisdictions represented in New Zealand are not accepted uncritically by many in positions of leadership in these other jurisdictions. Having gained his permission to conduct the Interview Schedule, it was soon made clear to me by the clergy and some laity of all the jurisdictions, with the exception of the Greeks, that such permission was not necessary.⁴ There appeared to be an anxiety to assert their own autonomy and many, especially the clergy of the Romanian, Serbian and Antiochian Churches, made

it clear that their Patriarchal authority resided overseas and not in the person of the Metropolitan.

There are several factors which account for the difficult position the Metropolitan finds himself in. Part of the difficulty the Metropolitan has encountered in gaining the respect and recognition he seeks, is due to the absence of any episcopal presence in New Zealand prior to his appointment in 1970. A similar situation existed in North America where bitter battles over the control of Church property trusts were fought.⁵ In New Zealand all jurisdictions, especially the Greeks, have developed their parish resources and finances from their own initiative, often over a very long period of time. There is consequently a strong resistance to any change in trustee organisation which many feel would weaken the autonomy and self-determination of the laity in parish organisation.⁶

The Metropolitan's own strong identification with the Greek Orthodox Church also seems to cause friction. Despite being educated, ordained, and appointed to the position of Metropolitan by the Patriarchate of Constantinople the Metropolitan is, in manners and language, very much Greek. His appointment to New Zealand was as Metropolitan of the Greek Orthodox and his registration in the Department of Justice as a marriage celebrant lists him as Greek Orthodox. This has contributed to a reluctance on the part of other ethnically sensitive jurisdictions to recognise him in any role other than his function as a Greek Orthodox Archbishop. The heritage of resentment towards Greeks due to the favoured position they once occupied within the Ottoman Empire still exerts a strong influence among many non-Greek Eastern Orthodox. Paradoxically, nationalist sentiment and ethnic awareness among New Zealand's ethnic Orthodox

communities has been heightened rather than appeased by the Metropolitan's appointment.

3. THE GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCH

The Greek Orthodox Church is the largest of the Eastern Orthodox jurisdictions represented in New Zealand. There are approximately 5,000 - 6,000 Greeks resident in New Zealand and the majority of these are in Wellington.⁷

Greeks first arrived in New Zealand in small numbers in the 1880's and 1890's, mainly to work on the goldfields. Many of these were never properly registered as resident and many returned to Greece after a short stay. Burnley identifies four main phases of early chain migration prior to the post-World War II Displaced Persons Drafts.⁸ The first period, between 1870-1889, encompasses transient migrants and very minor settlement in Auckland and Wellington. The 1878 census recorded only 29 Greek Orthodox in New Zealand. The second phase of settlement, from 1890-1914, witnessed coastal settlement in such areas as Picton, Ellesmere, Lyall Bay, Seatoun and North Shore, with the settlers being predominantly male fishermen with over 48% from the Greek Islands. It is not until the third phase of chain migration that Burnley identifies the firm establishment of a recognisably Greek community in Wellington. The dates offered for this are 1918 to 1939. The final phase of chain migration is placed by Burnley as occurring between 1949 and 1966. This was predominantly economically motivated, reflecting poor conditions in post-war Greece and the attraction of the successful economic position of many older Greek settlers in New Zealand. By 1966 over 76% of Greek chain migration immigrants to New Zealand had settled in Wellington, thus consolidating Wellington as the population centre of Greek settlement in New Zealand.⁹

The development of the Greek Orthodox Church in New Zealand appears to have occurred at a slower pace than Greek migration. While Burnley identifies the period 1918-39 as being significant for the establishment of a Greek community in Wellington, the Rev. D.C. Bates, "Chaplain" to the Greek community, described a less organised situation with respect to the religious state of the community. In 1944 he wrote:

The Greeks are a divided and rather quarrelsome people but they cling together in adversity. I sincerely hope that the Archbishop will relieve me of my singular charge in which I can only do my best - that does not satisfy even me, to say nothing of these foreigners. That I have done something to save them for their church is a step in the right direction for though a rather moribund parish now it would have been dead in the next generation.¹⁰

Prior to the post-war Displaced Person Drafts the Greek Orthodox community appears to have been small and largely inactive. In 1946 the first Greek Orthodox priest to arrive in New Zealand, Archimandrite Boyazoglu, very quickly arranged membership in the National Council of Churches for his Church, and set about organising the Greek community into an active parish. Fr. Elias Economou succeeded Archimandrite Boyazoglu in 1949 and was to experience, in the next decade, the largest influx of Greeks into New Zealand under the Displaced Persons Draft scheme. This sudden influx of Eastern Orthodox refugees and Displaced Persons was to dramatically change the face and the future of Eastern Orthodoxy in New Zealand.

By the end of 1952 over 4,500 Displaced Persons had settled in New Zealand. The Greeks constituted the largest ethnic group, 22%, with over 1020 arriving as Displaced Persons in 1951.¹¹ Of these, over 50% were born outside of Greece proper, either in Turkey, Egypt, Romania or Bulgaria.¹² The largest ethnic group of these "outside" Greeks were the Romanians. The predominantly urban, educated and middle-class background of these Romanian Greeks was to distinguish

them from the majority of Greeks born in Greece proper who were predominantly peasants and ill-educated.¹³ This was to lead to internal tensions in the Greek community and ultimately to the foundation of alternate ethnic associations, and eventually a separate Romanian parish.

There are several features of Greek settlement in New Zealand worthy of comment. While retaining a strong sense of ethnic identity and loyalty to their ethnic community, the Greeks appear to have become more involved in commercial enterprise than other Orthodox immigrants. In Wellington one is struck by the proliferation of Greek restaurants, retail food outlets, dry-cleaners and other small businesses. Despite this high profile involvement in the economic sphere, the Greeks have maintained a strong allegiance to Greece. This is expressed in loyalty to the Church in terms which make it difficult to distinguish between nationalism and religious piety. It is also expressed by a seeming pre-occupation with Greek politics and a strong commitment to family still resident in Greece. The 1974 Reserve Bank figures identified the Greeks as the third largest ethnic group (behind Western Samoa and the Netherlands) in the amount of donations and personal funds sent to their homeland.¹⁴

For many Greeks the feeling in the past has been that New Zealand was a temporary place of residence and a return to Greece was always a part of future plans.¹⁵ Even today one has the feeling that many Greeks in New Zealand, even Greeks born here, look constantly over their shoulder back to Greece.

The sudden influx of Greeks into New Zealand under the Displaced Persons Drafter scheme resulted in a scaling up of the activity of the Greek Orthodox Church. In the 1960's Fr. Demetrios Peserides and Fr. Apostotellis consolidated and activated the Greek communities in Wellington.

In 1971 the Church of the Annunciation, built in Byzantine style, was consecrated in central Wellington. In 1971 the Church of the Assumption in St. Albans, in Christchurch, was also consecrated. The Greek Cathedral of St. Andrew in Mirimar became the seat of Archbishop Dionysios around the same time. Greek Orthodox Churches have since been opened in Petone, Palmerston North and Auckland. The number of clergy also increased during 1970 with the arrival of Fr. Kendridis and Fr. Polycarpos. According to the Justice Department Register of Licenced Marriage Celebrants there are currently four officiating Greek Orthodox priests in New Zealand: Archbishop Dionysios Psiachas, Fr. Neonakis Polycarpos, Fr. Michael Balafas and Fr. Nicholas Moraitis. The appointment of Greek Orthodox clergy to New Zealand is largely controlled by the Metropolitan and follows a set pattern. All clergy are born and trained in Greece, they come to New Zealand to perform the functions of a priest for the Greek residents here, but there is, on their part, no intention to settle permanently here. The Metropolitan and Fr. Polycarpos would be the longest serving Greek Orthodox clergy in New Zealand both being here about fifteen years. Despite this, Fr. Polycarpos refuses to speak English and still communicates through an interpreter.

4. THE ROMANIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH

The Romanian Orthodox community in New Zealand is centred on the parish church in Newtown, Wellington. There are about 150 parishoners of whom only about 15 are Romanians. The remainder are Greeks, either born in Romania or married to Romanians. Fr. George Speranta, the parish priest, is the only Romanian priest in New Zealand and comes under the authority of the Patriarch of Bucharest. Representatives of the Patriarch visit regularly, the most recent

being Archbishop Hetropoditace, Archbishop of Oltenia, who came to New Zealand in 1985.

Almost all Romanians and Greek Romanians residing in New Zealand arrived here as a result of the Communist take-over of Romania in 1947. The post-World War II rise of Slavic nationalism resulted in an ambiguous citizenship situation for Greeks in Romania. The Communist government's policy of nationalisation resulted in many Greek Romanians choosing to emigrate, first to Greece and then on to New Zealand.

Within the Romanian community there is still very strong feeling about this refugee experience and the relationship of these refugees to the present government in Romania. The Yalta Agreement is still a topic of discussion and there are calls for its repudiation. Perhaps most striking is the insistence of many Romanians in taking a non-political position. On several occasions I was warned not to write anything political about the Church in New Zealand with regard to its relationship with the Church in Romania.

On arrival in New Zealand many Romanian or 'outside' Greeks found it very hard to fit in with Greeks already settled here who had been born in Greece proper. Burnley observed that:

There was mutual antagonism between Macedonian, Bulgarian and Rumanian born Greeks and Greeks from Greece proper after the arrival of the Displaced Persons in 1949-51.¹⁷

A number of reasons can be advanced for the failure of Romanian Greeks to integrate into the existing Greek community. The Greeks of Romania, under the Ottoman system, provided the middle class which never developed naturally due to the feudal nature of Ottoman rule. After independence this state of affairs continued and many Romanian born Greeks received a high standard of education and attained a high standard of living. The pattern of settlement in

New Zealand among Greeks born in Greece proper was essentially that of a transplanted peasantry.¹⁸ The integration of these two disparate groups, albeit both Greek, was to prove impossible due to the gap in lifestyle and education. Other factors were also involved. Many Romanian Greeks felt that their attendance at Greek Orthodox Church services and at the Pan-Hellenic Club, a Greek social club, compromised their essential Romanian identity. The loss of Romanian as a liturgical language and subsequent erosion of national identity, was specifically mentioned, both in conversation and in the Interview Schedule. The feeling of many Romanians is that Greek is appropriate for the Greeks from Greece but for themselves their native tongue is Romanian and this should also be their liturgical tongue.

In an attempt to retain their Romanian identity the Apollon Greek Association was formed in the mid 1950's. In 1971 Fr. Theodore Kentridis, a Greek Orthodox priest born in Romania and fluent in Romanian, began negotiations with the Romanian Patriarchate for the institution of a separate Romanian parish. In 1974 Fr. George Speranta was sent to New Zealand by the Patriarch of Bucharest and an autonomous Romanian parish was organised. Russians and Serbians often attend services and the relationship between the Romanians and these jurisdictions appears to be very good.

The Romanian relationship with the Greek Orthodox Church, and in particular Metropolitan Dionysios is very strained. I approached Fr. Speranta regarding this matter during a social call and his response was: "The Archbishop rejected me. He thinks of me as only propaganda." Fr. Speranta went on to explain that his appointment was made direct from Bucharest and it is from the Church authorities there he receives guidance and advice regarding the running of the parish. He feels the Archbishop is either ignorant or obstinate if

he cannot see that his running of the parish is a purely Church-related matter and not connected with the government of Romania. The Archbishop intimated to me on one occasion that he felt suspicious of Fr. Speranta because "he takes his orders from a Communist government." Regardless of the "rights" and "wrongs" of the argument, it soon became clear to me that this quarrel is what prompted several lay persons to caution me to be "non-political" in what I wrote. The result of this quarrel is that both Fr. Speranta and Metropolitan Dionysios refuse to speak to each other and each carries on their respective ecclesiastical duties with no interaction.

5. THE SERBIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH

The Serbian Orthodox community in New Zealand has about 300 members with the parish Church of St. Savas, founded in 1966, in Island Bay Wellington. Ukrainians, Russians, Greeks and Poles attend services and the Serbian Orthodox Church makes much of its claim to be in communion with all other Orthodox jurisdictions. One convert gave this as his predominant reason for becoming Serbian as opposed to Russian Orthodox.

There are two Serbian priests in New Zealand, Fr. Nedelko Milonovich in Wellington, and Fr. Dushan Kuritza in Auckland. The Monastery of the Holy Dormition in Coromandel has one priestmonk, Fr. Ambrose Mooney, and one monk, Fr. Nicholi Morgan. Both monks, New Zealanders and converts from Roman Catholicism, have spent two years training in Australia and one year in Yugoslavia. The Serbian Orthodox Church in New Zealand comes under the authority of Bishop Vasilije in Australia.

The Serbian Orthodox arrived in New Zealand in two waves. The first wave arrived in New Zealand with the Yugoslav gumdiggers of the 1880's and 1890's. The majority of these Yugoslavs were

Croats and Roman Catholic but a small number of Orthodox Serbs also arrived. They were completely without any Church support and most became de-facto Roman Catholics. The second migration of Serbs to New Zealand occurred after the Second World War, many being motivated by a desire to escape Communism. It is this second wave of immigrants which make up the dominant Serb component of the Serbian Orthodox Church in New Zealand.

As an ethnic Orthodox Church the Serbian Church in New Zealand is distinctive. In many ways the character of the Serbian Church has been changed by the active role the Priestmonk Ambrose Mooney fulfils. In an attempt to regain and retain the New Zealand-born children of Serbian immigrants and to attract potential converts, he has adopted a progressive and pragmatic stance on the use of English as a liturgical language. This has been well received by both the younger and older generations. The comment by Mr. Svetolik Lazarevic, 'godfather' of St. Savas, accurately reflects the attitude of the Serbian community to the monks: "They are good and generous men. The future of the Serbian church in New Zealand lies with them."¹⁹ This acceptance of New Zealand-born convert clergy is unique to the Serbian Orthodox Church, and indicates a minimal concern to preserve ethnic integrity, reflecting a high degree of integration into the host society.

6. THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH

The Bolshevik revolution in 1917 resulted in the formation of four Russian Orthodox Churches and this situation is yet to be resolved. The largest of these is the Moscow Patriarchate which is responsible for the Orthodox Church inside the Soviet Union and a small number of parishes²⁰ outside of Russia. There is also the Russian Exarchate in Western Europe under the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarch and the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church

of America, which has existed as a properly constituted Russian diocese since before 1917 and has continued to do so since 1917 refusing to recognise the ecclesiastical administration under Bolshevik rule.

In New Zealand there is only one Russian Orthodox jurisdiction represented. This is known as the Synod of the Russian Church in Exile or the Russian Church Outside Russia. This came into existence as a result of the proceedings of the Synod of Karlovtzy which sought to provide some sort of Church organisation for Russians outside of Russia. In 1921 Patriarch Tikhon, then in Communist hands, issued a decree abolishing the proceedings of the Synod. The head of the Synod, Metropolitan Evlogy and other bishops met again at Karlovtzy to consider this decree but concluded that Tikon was probably acting under duress and refused to comply with the decree. The Russian Church outside of Russia has existed ever since.²¹

The Russian Orthodox Church is one of the smallest of the ethnic Orthodox Churches in New Zealand. It has two main centres, a house chapel on Mt. Victoria in Wellington, and a parish church in Christchurch. There are a small number of Russians around Auckland but they depend largely on the Serbian Orthodox Church for services.

There is only one Russian priest, Fr. Alexei Godyaew, who came to New Zealand in 1950. He is now in his seventies, becoming increasingly blind and unable to function as a priest. Priests occasionally fly from Australia to take services but this is infrequent. The Russian Church in New Zealand comes under the jurisdiction of Archbishop Paul of Australia.

While a small number of Russian Orthodox in New Zealand came to New Zealand from Europe the majority arrived from China. Mrs. Titov relates how:

We were Russians and Chinese wanted to be rid of us foreigners, especially before their Cultural Revolution. We come to New Zealand about 24 years ago. Russian Orthodox Church was in existence then for about 10 years. It had bigger congregation than that is now. Now we have about 55-60 members in Wellington, most of them in their late 60's. It is not many of us, and future is not very rosy.²²

It is extremely doubtful whether the Russian Church in New Zealand will be able to survive very much longer as a separate ethnic group. It is already extremely small with a very aged population and no effective clergy apart from Serbian priestmonk Ambrose.

7. THE UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH

The Ukrainian Orthodox Church in New Zealand is the smallest and least recognisably Eastern Orthodox of all the jurisdictions represented. Its canonical status is a matter of dispute and it is not recognised as "valid" by any other Eastern Orthodox jurisdiction.²³

In 1949, 74 Ukrainian²⁴ Displaced Persons arrived in New Zealand and were scattered widely over the country. Small second and third generation Ukrainian communities exist today in Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch and they function on a very informal basis, meeting largely for social events only.

The only Ukrainian Orthodox priest in New Zealand is Fr. George Semenczuk, who resides in Petone, Wellington. His status as a priest is not recognised by any other Orthodox clergy in New Zealand, but he continues to hold services using St. Augustine's Anglican Church in Petone.²⁵

Since the Council of Brest-Litovsk (1586), the Ukrainian Church has been split into Roman Catholic or Uniate, and Eastern Orthodox. In the Ukraine this difference in religious affiliation was a major factor in forming social relations. There was very little mixing between Uniates and Orthodox. In New Zealand the small size of the

Ukrainian community has led to a shedding of this traditional community division and the preservation of a Ukrainian identity has assumed an overriding importance. According to Fr. Sim, C.S.S.R., Chaplain to the Ukraine Uniates, Ukrainian congregations in New Zealand will often be a mixture of Uniate and Orthodox.

The occurrence of a specifically Ukrainian event, such as a liturgy, is enough of a special reason for the two groups to come together. This enables them to maintain an ethnic identity in a situation where, through lack of numbers, it could easily be lost. During a liturgy in Petone I asked one Ukrainian Orthodox woman how it was that she could attend the same service as a Uniate, especially since the two groups refuse to recognise each other's canonical validity. Her response was that "here it doesn't matter because there are so few of us." This drawing together of traditionally antagonistic groups has been carried over to the extent that many Ukrainians resident in New Zealand are willing to be friends with Russians and Poles (traditional enemies) on the basis of shared experiences as East Europeans. In a foreign cultural environment ethnic identity has won out over traditional religious and national organisation.

8. CONCLUSION

This chapter has briefly outlined some of the significant features concerning Eastern Orthodox settlement in New Zealand. A number of observations are worthy of further reflection. Firstly, the Eastern Orthodox community in New Zealand is, in terms of its arrival, a relatively recent one. Most Eastern Orthodox arrived during the 1950's and 1960's, a full one hundred years after British settlement was begun. Hence they arrived in a society whose cultural norms were already well consolidated. Secondly, the Eastern Orthodox are a

minority group in New Zealand. In fact they are a minority group to such an extent that most New Zealanders know nothing about them. This minority status has a flow-on effect in terms of attitudes and ethnic organisation as strategies to preserve ethnic identity in the face of such a culturally dominant society.

The Eastern Orthodox community is not a homogeneous grouping. The dominant group, Greek Orthodox, are, in terms of population distribution, grossly over-represented in Wellington. In many ways they culturally swamp the smaller jurisdictions. The main motivation for the foundation of the Romanian parish was the desire to escape from Greek influence and so preserve a distinctly Romanian identity. The Serbian Orthodox community, under the direction of two New Zealand born, non-Serbian convert monks, appears to have moved away from the concern to retain ethnic identity. While accepting the ethnic aspects of the jurisdiction as inevitable, they at the same time appear to be seeking to find new ways to integrate Orthodoxy, as opposed to "Serbianism", into mainstream New Zealand Christianity. The Russian and Ukranian communities, contracting in size due to old age, seem to have retreated into an ethnic ghetto. Without the population of the Greeks or the dynamism of active clergy, they appear destined to either gradually diminish to nothing or be absorbed by the larger and more active jurisdictions.

Footnotes

1. New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings: Religious Professions. Vol.3. 1981.
2. Metropolitan Dionysios was born in Chalcedon in 1916. He was educated at the Patriarchal College of Phanarion and entered the Theological College of Halki in 1934. From 1945 till 1947 he was a chaplain and lecturer at Halki. In 1947 he went to the Greek Orthodox parish of London and became a full-time student at Kings College specialising in New Testament exegesis. In London he also served for twelve years as Secretary of the Canonical Court of Justice and later as Chief Secretary of the Archbishop of Thyateira. In 1959 he was appointed assistant bishop of Australia. The Greek government has awarded him the Gold Cross of Phoenix and the Gold Cross of Mount Athos Millenary for his service to the Church and nation. This information was provided by the Royal Consulate General of Greece, Wellington.
3. The Metropolitan made a direct appeal to this Canon during an interview, pointing out Meyendorff's observation that "Some modern canonists tend to interpret this canon more liberally and would grant to the ecumenical patriarch jurisdiction over the entire Orthodox Diaspora..." Meyendorff, J. The Orthodox Church, p.147.
4. See Appendix 2, 4, 5, 6.
5. Saloutos, T. "The Greek Orthodox Church in the United States and Assimilation". International Migration Review, Vol.VII, No.4, p.398.
6. An incident which illustrates this point was drawn to my attention in 1986. The President of the Wellington Greek Community Centre was leasing the ground floor of the Centre to a cabaret-style strip show called Bawdy Bills. This guaranteed a regular and high income but was morally offensive to the Metropolitan due to the proximity of the Centre to the parish church. As the conflict developed it became clear to many people that the real issue was not morality or finance but the question of authority over parish and community affairs.
7. Accurate statistics are impossible to obtain. The New Zealand Statistics Department only keeps figures for Greeks born in Greece proper; no figures are available for New Zealand-born Greeks who ethnically identify themselves as Greek. An estimate, using average family size, would place this figure at 20,000-25,000.
8. Burnley, I.H. "The Greeks" in Immigrants in New Zealand, ed. K. Thomson and A. Trlin, pp.105-108.
9. Ibid., p.107.

10. Letter written 15 September 1944 to the Rev. H.W. Newell, Secretary of the National Council of Churches. Held by the National Council of Churches, Christchurch.
11. Burnley, I.H. The Greek, Italian and Polish Communities in New Zealand: A Geographical Contribution to the Study of Ethnic Migration, p.113.
12. Ibid., p.90.
13. Ibid., p.91.
14. Kidman, F. "The Quiet Chorus". Listener: Journal of the N.Z.B.C. Vol.77, No.1819, p.13.
15. Metropolitan Dionysios intimated to me that his appointment to New Zealand was a recognition that New Zealand was to be regarded as a place of permanent settlement. Prior to this (1970) he felt New Zealand was always regarded by Greeks as offering only financial opportunities and not seriously considered as a place to live permanently.
16. Question 13 on the Interview Schedule - Ethnics, was answered by many Romanians "To help new-comers be non-political." After attending a Romanian liturgy one woman approached me and cautioned me to be non-political in whatever I wrote concerning Romanian Orthodoxy. Her parting words were "You must take care what you write, you never know what may happen in the future."
17. Burnley, I.H. op.cit., p.212.
18. Ibid., p.203.
19. Evening Post, Jan.10, 1983.
20. Ware, T. The Orthodox Church, pp.181-185. Ware estimates about 70 parishes and 10 bishops.
21. Ibid., p.181. Ware estimates 22 bishops and 350 parishes.
22. Privately held letter.
23. During an interview Metropolitan Dionysios dismissed them as "non-canonical and out of communion with all other jurisdictions in New Zealand".
24. There were probably more. In post-World War II Europe many Soviet citizens falsified their citizenship to evade forced repatriation to the U.S.S.R.
25. The National Council of Churches holds a Letter of Introduction for Fr. Semenczuk from the Consistory of the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church in Australia and New Zealand authorising Fr. Semenezuk to make the necessary arrangements for the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in New Zealand to become a member of the National Council of Churches. This application was never completed but at least the Letter of Introduction gives Fr. Semenczuk some credibility. All attempts to contact Fr. Semenczuk proved fruitless.

CHAPTER 3

IMMIGRANTS AND CHURCHES

1. INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter described the various Eastern Orthodox jurisdictions or "Churches" found in New Zealand and gave a brief historical account of their settlement and development. This chapter continues and expands those themes with a greater emphasis on analysis as a means to disclose the attitudes and trends which exist within the Orthodox community in New Zealand.

The attitudes of New Zealand society towards East, Central and Southern European immigrants are revealed and drawing on statistical information, immigrants' responses to New Zealand society are examined. The function of religion and the specific role of the Eastern Orthodox Church in the integration and settlement of Eastern Orthodox immigrants to New Zealand are also examined. The final section of this chapter examines the relationship between the Eastern Orthodox Churches in New Zealand and the "mainline" Western denominations. Since most of the "mainline" Christian denominations found in New Zealand are members of the National Council of Churches (with the exception of the Roman Catholic), and this Council acts in a representative role, this examination is primarily concerned with the relationship between the National Council of Churches and the Eastern Orthodox jurisdictions which function here.

In many Western Church circles there is the general feeling that the Eastern Orthodox Churches found in New Zealand are reactionary

and conservative. While not seeking to apportion blame, this chapter attempts to provide some answers to the question "Why do the Eastern Orthodox in New Zealand seem so conservative and insular?" Before any meaningful ecumenical dialogue with the Eastern Orthodox can be undertaken, we need to understand their reasons for adopting the attitudes and organisation which they have developed.

2. THE HOST SOCIETY

Before we can understand Eastern Orthodox immigrant responses to New Zealand society, we need to be familiar with some of the attitudes towards immigrants harboured by that society. The prevailing attitude in pre- and post-World War II New Zealand society was aggressively pro-British. Attitudes towards East, Central and Southern European immigrants were best expressed by R.A. Lochore. His book From Europe to New Zealand was held in such esteem that it was published by the New Zealand Institute of International Affairs and given a glowing foreword by Mr. A. Harper, Secretary for Internal Affairs. Lochore's comments are representative of the attitudes of his day. His opinion of refugee immigrants was that:

They lack discretion and tact. They revel in displays of emotionalism and self-pity... they cannot take a hint...so many of them in a very literal sense do not know how to behave themselves.¹

Though Lochore's summation may appear harsh in retrospect, by the standards of the day, his comments occupied the middle ground. More extreme hostility to "unsuitable" immigrants can be found in the departmental memos of senior civil servants. On 23 December 1947 the Director of Employment, Mr. H. Bockett, wrote to the Labour Government Minister of Employment, The Hon. Angus McLagan, expressing his concern about "suitable types":

While racial discrimination is unlikely to be acceptable to the I.R.O. (International Refugee Organization) it is considered that the most suitable types are likely to be found amongst races other than Jews or Slavs.²

Similar attitudes were expressed by the 1924 Queensland Labour Government in Australia, a society very similar to New Zealand.

The Queensland Labour Government's view of Greeks was that:

Socially and economically this type of immigrant is a menace to the community in which he settles, and it would be for the benefit of the State if his entrance was altogether prohibited.³

Lochore's observation that "A Central European has much to learn...if he is to become one of us"⁴ indicates the goal of New Zealand's immigration policy and attitude to immigrants in the 1940s - 1950s. The expectation was that it was they who must change, conform, and assimilate. The strategy was to "make new Britishers: by procreation and by assimilation; by making suitable aliens into vectors of the British way of life."⁵

Apart from Lochore's views, the public mood also seems to have been hostile. This hostility was immediately obvious to many immigrants. While I was administering the Interview Schedule many people were hesitant and apologetic about their poor English. Several incidents were related to me which showed clearly the hostility of many New Zealanders to East, Central and Southern European immigrants. One woman related how she never speaks in her native tongue when on buses or when shopping because of the negative comments this tends to arouse. Research done by W.M.Gillis on the Polish community in Wellington is relevant here. The Polish community has many features in common with the Eastern Orthodox community. Although there are a small number of Polish Orthodox believers in New Zealand, these people are largely well integrated into the Roman Catholic Polish scene. Poles share with the Eastern

Orthodox the common experience of war-time displacement and the difficulties of settling in a new society where old behaviour patterns are unacceptable and misunderstood. Gillis relates the following comment by a Polish immigrant to New Zealand. The sentiment expressed was reiterated to me by many Orthodox I spoke to:

They [New Zealanders] think people other than British just not up to standard or something. British feel British best.⁶

The awareness among Eastern Orthodox immigrants that behaviour which was accepted as the norm in their country of origin is publicly unacceptable in New Zealand, contributes to the formulation of various strategies to retain their ethnic identity. Church festivals and national celebrations which would have been conducted publicly are now celebrated in private. Burnley describes how the desire to retain ethnic identity and to be able to socialise in a familiar ethnic atmosphere led to the formation of a considerable number of community associations, especially among the Greek community in Wellington.⁷ It is not surprising that many Orthodox groups, especially the numerically larger and financially more powerful ones, reacted against the hostility of the new society they found themselves in. In an attempt to retain their ethnic integrity and national identity, many turned towards the Church.

3. STATISTICS AND STRATEGIES

A statistical profile of Eastern Orthodox believers was obtained by manually compiling the statistics published from the 1981 Census return. Because of the nature of the Statistics Department's determination of denomination, it was necessary to include those listed as "Orthodox" with those listed as "Eastern Orthodox Catholic". Due to the Church of Estonia, the Polish

Orthodox Church, the Romanian Orthodox Church, the Syrian Orthodox Church, the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church being listed under the category "Other" and hopelessly mixed with other groups such as "Students of the Universe" and "Austrian Mosiash", the figures listed below can only be of value as indicators of general trends. Using average parish size and personal familiarity with the strengths of the various jurisdictions as a guide, I would estimate that 2000-2500 Eastern Orthodox are concealed by the category "Other". The two jurisdictions readily identifiable as being included in the category "Eastern Orthodox Catholic" are the Greek Orthodox and Russian Orthodox Churches. The category "Orthodox" indicates those who responded to the census question by writing "Orthodox".

Table 1 illustrates the strength of Eastern Orthodoxy in New Zealand compared alongside the major denominations. This table clearly shows the minority status of Eastern Orthodoxy in New Zealand.

Table 1 Percentage of Total Population by Denomination

Anglican	25.68
Presbyterian	16.58
Roman Catholic	14.41
Methodist	4.68
Orthodox	.13

Table 2 gives an indication of the age profile within each of the main denominations compared with the Orthodox. The Eastern Orthodox reveal an over 5% higher concentration in the age group 40-59. This probably reflects the impact of post-World War II immigration on the Orthodox population in New Zealand. In keeping with the major denominations the Orthodox have their heaviest

concentrations in the 0-19 age group reflecting a parental influence over religious affiliation.

Table 2 Religious Profession by Age Group for Anglican, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, Methodist and Orthodox

	0-19 %	20-39 %	40-59 %	60-79 %	80 & Over %	Total %
Anglican						
Male	16.25	12.25	10.86	7.13	.74	47.23
Female	16.13	14.40	11.47	9.05	1.71	52.78
Total	32.38	26.65	22.33	16.18	2.45	
Presbyterian						
Male	16.53	12.62	10.37	6.75	.73	46.99
Female	16.51	14.68	11.51	8.69	1.61	53.01
Total	33.04	27.30	21.88	15.44	2.34	
Roman Catholic						
Male	21.11	13.02	9.45	4.37	.37	48.30
Female	20.63	14.66	9.81	5.71	.88	51.70
Total	41.74	27.68	19.26	10.08	1.25	
Methodist						
Male	16.37	11.97	9.95	6.87	.75	45.90
Female	16.74	14.80	11.34	9.35	1.87	54.10
Total	33.11	26.77	21.29	16.22	2.62	
Orthodox						
Male	16.03	12.68	14.81	6.91	.71	51.14
Female	16.67	12.46	12.75	6.13	.85	48.86
Total	32.70	25.14	27.56	13.04	1.56	

Table 3 illustrates the employment status of the Orthodox compared with the other main denominations. While represented as marginally higher in the "full-time" category and marginally lower in the "part-time" category, there is no significant variation with regard to the main denominations. This table indicates that the Orthodox are not noticeably dissimilar in terms of employment status to the rest of the population as a whole.

Table 3 Religious Professions by Employment Status (aged over 15)

	Full-time in Labour force %	Part-time Workers %	Not Working %	Total %
Anglican				
Male	34.24	.81	11.08	46.14
Female	19.88	4.52	29.46	53.86
Total	54.12	5.33	40.54	
Presbyterian				
Male	34.38	.76	10.70	45.84
Female	19.86	4.72	29.58	54.16
Total	54.24	5.48	40.28	
Roman Catholic				
Male	36.58	.90	9.71	47.20
Female	21.51	4.38	26.91	52.80
Total	58.09	6.88	36.62	
Methodist				
Male	32.71	.82	10.99	44.52
Female	19.35	4.53	31.59	55.48
Total	52.06	5.35	42.58	
Orthodox				
Male	38.15	.96	12.62	51.72
Female	22.37	2.49	23.42	48.28
Total	60.52	3.45	36.04	

Table 4 further expands Table 3 by providing a breakdown of employment status into various employment status groups. This enables us to see which type of employment Orthodox are engaged in. Three figures in this table are of interest. Under the category "Self Employed-Had Employees" the Orthodox are over 4% higher than any major denomination. This supports my fieldwork observations that a disproportionately high number of Orthodox prefer to be in business for themselves rather than work for someone else. Further credibility is given to this observation when one considers the figures for the

Table 4 Selected Religious Profession by Employment Status Groups (aged 15 years and over)

	Self Employed Has Employees %	Self Employed No Employees %	Wage or Salary Earner %	Relative Assisting Unpaid %	Unemployed Seeking Work %	Not Specified (20 hours or more) %	Retired %	Full-time Student %	Household duties unpaid %	Other %	Total %
Anglican											
Male	3.02	3.08	27.12	.06	.92	.04	8.14	2.85	.13	.78	46.14
Female	.67	.79	17.31	.26	.83	.02	7.77	2.83	22.42	.96	53.86
Total	3.69	3.87	44.43	.32	1.75	.06	15.91	5.68	22.55	1.74	
Presbyterian											
Male	3.51	3.67	26.39	.08	.70	.03	7.71	2.89	.11	.75	45.84
Female	.75	.90	17.17	.29	.73	.02	7.31	3.01	23.09	.90	54.16
Total	4.26	4.57	43.56	.37	1.43	.05	15.02	5.90	23.20	1.65	
Roman Catholic											
Male	2.56	2.84	29.63	.06	1.40	.08	5.19	4.23	.15	1.04	47.20
Female	.63	.65	18.79	.19	1.17	.07	5.20	4.10	20.92	1.07	52.80
Total	3.19	3.49	48.42	.25	2.57	.15	10.39	8.33	21.07	2.11	
Methodist											
Male	2.29	2.98	26.25	.06	1.09	.05	8.17	2.65	.16	.84	44.53
Female	.62	.81	16.72	.21	.95	.03	8.20	2.77	24.18	.98	55.47
Total	2.91	3.79	42.97	.27	2.04	.08	16.37	5.42	24.34	1.82	
Orthodox											
Male	6.41	3.54	26.29	.10	1.63	.10	7.36	4.40	.10	1.72	51.63
Female	2.10	.96	18.26	.29	.86	-	6.69	3.63	14.63	.96	48.37
Total	8.51	4.50	44.55	.39	2.49	.10	14.05	8.03	14.73	2.68	

category "Self Employed-No Employees". While lower than the figure for Presbyterians, this is still well ahead of the other three main denominations. When I asked several Greek Orthodox businessmen why they thought so many Orthodox go into business for themselves, they gave two main responses. Firstly, they felt they did it for economic advancement and security. However, a second matter was often mentioned which seemed significant. The advantage of being in business for oneself was that you controlled the workplace and your time involved in it. Hence, if one was self-employed one could take time off as it suited to attend Church or to go to community activities.

The very low "Orthodox" figure for the category "Household duties unpaid" is also of interest. This may indicate that Orthodox women are more emancipated than their Western counterparts but the high figure in the category "Relative assisting unpaid" leads one to suspect that many women are employed in an unpaid position in their husband's business. Orthodox women also feature significantly in the category "Self employed-Has Employees". This figure indicates that many more Orthodox women compared to women in the main denominations are employers. Rather than indicating any increased emancipation, I feel this figure reflects the tendency for Eastern Orthodox immigrants to go into business rather than work for an employer.

Several figures in Table 5 give an interesting insight into the educational profile of the Eastern Orthodox in New Zealand. A very high percentage, nearly 10% higher than the next highest main denomination has no secondary education. This trend is carried through to 3rd, 4th and 5th Form education where the difference increases to over 16%. However, in the University and 7th Form categories the Orthodox are represented significantly higher than the main denominations. Based on the results of the Interview Schedule, where the

Table 5 Selected Religious Profession by Highest Educational Level

	Still Attending School	No Secondary Education	3rd,4th or 5th Form	6th Form	7th Form	University	Teachers Training College	Polytech Technical Institute Commerce College	University and Teachers College	University Polytech/ Tech. Commerce College	Not Specified	Other Tertiary	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Anglican													
Male	2.14	6.97	17.59	3.59	1.02	3.60	.30	7.47	.59	.56	.99	1.32	46.13
Female	2.16	8.71	22.38	4.70	.98	1.45	1.72	3.36	1.02	.19	1.41	5.79	53.87
Total	4.30	15.68	39.97	8.29	2.00	5.05	2.02	10.83	1.61	.75	2.40	7.11	
Presbyterian													
Male	2.20	7.55	18.70	3.24	.81	3.09	.27	6.94	.64	.46	.86	1.08	45.84
Female	2.34	9.27	23.59	4.28	.78	1.16	1.93	3.20	1.14	.16	1.15	5.15	54.16
Total	4.54	16.82	42.29	7.52	1.59	4.25	2.20	10.14	1.78	.62	2.01	6.23	
Roman Catholic													
Male	3.18	7.16	18.25	3.72	1.23	3.06	.28	6.84	.52	.50	1.21	1.24	47.20
Female	3.18	8.12	22.44	4.98	1.11	1.25	1.41	3.21	.85	.17	1.46	4.60	52.80
Total	6.36	15.28	40.69	8.70	2.34	4.32	1.69	10.05	1.37	.67	2.67	5.84	
Methodist													
Male	2.05	8.25	18.12	2.59	.69	2.26	.31	7.13	.57	.42	.93	1.19	44.52
Female	2.24	11.19	25.28	3.85	.64	.83	1.75	3.04	.85	.12	1.32	4.37	55.48
Total	4.29	19.44	43.40	6.44	1.33	3.09	2.06	10.17	1.42	.54	2.25	5.56	
Orthodox													
Male	2.39	13.77	11.95	3.54	3.15	4.78	.29	6.02	.38	.86	3.35	1.15	51.63
Female	2.58	15.20	11.66	3.82	2.77	2.77	.38	2.87	.57	.19	2.96	2.58	48.37
Total	4.97	28.97	23.61	7.36	5.92	7.55	.67	8.89	.95	1.05	6.31	3.73	

majority of respondents put "Primary School" as their highest educational qualification, and my own observations, I feel this profile accurately reflects the immigrant character of the Orthodox community in New Zealand. The largest group to emigrate to New Zealand was the Greek, and this group were predominantly peasants.⁸ Hence the majority of Orthodox in New Zealand tend to have a poor standard of formal education. However, the trend to 7th Form and University seems to indicate that the second and third generations of Orthodox immigrants are seeking advancement through academic achievement.

A comparatively high percentage (6.31%) of Orthodox failed to specify their educational level. Again this reflects the immigrant nature of the Orthodox community and perhaps also reflects negative experiences when explaining educational qualifications to New Zealanders. David McGill, a journalist with extensive personal contacts within the Orthodox community, relates that many highly qualified Eastern Orthodox immigrants were refused professional recognition, due largely to New Zealand parochialism. He cites the case of a Latvian philologist employed in New Zealand stapling paper, Sofia's former chief gynaecologist who drives taxis in Wellington and the chief psychiatrist from Lvov who is "exploited" as a laboratory assistant.⁹ Underemployment due to non-recognition of European qualifications was a complaint often confided to me by immigrant Orthodox.

This statistical examination not only provides an insight into the structure and composition of the Eastern Orthodox in New Zealand, it also indicates some of the strategies adopted by the Orthodox in coming to terms with being a minority religious group in a society frequently perceived as being hostile. Statistics reveal the Orthodox community to be independent, entrepreneurial and increasingly concerned

with educational advancement. These are only general trends and reactions to society; statistical analysis of this nature is limited in what can be inferred from it. The bare bones of statistics need to be fleshed out with an appreciation for the human reactions, responses, and personal experiences of Eastern Orthodox immigrants in New Zealand.

4. RELIGION AND ETHNICITY

It has been said that definitional problems surrounding the academic use of the terms "religion" and "ethnicity" remain unsolved.¹⁰ However, useful working definitions do exist and with judicious application can prove most helpful. Gordon's definition of ethnicity in terms of "peoplehood" is particularly applicable to the Greek Orthodox community in New Zealand. Gordon explains that:

Within the ethnic group there develops a network of organisations and informal social relationships which permits and encourages the members of the ethnic group to remain within the confines of the group for all their primary relationships and some of their secondary relationships throughout all the stages of the life cycle.¹¹

When this is considered alongside Stout's concept of religion as:

The commonly shared personal perception of reality and sense of ultimate allegiance that supplies coherence and community on a group level¹²

it becomes possible, by merging these two definitions, to formulate the concept of ethnoreligion.

Ethnoreligious faith exists where the Church becomes an institution conceived of as maintaining ultimate allegiance to one's ethnic group. The role of the Church as a symbol of ethnic identity becomes as important, if not more important, than its sacramental, preaching and pastoral functions. In an ethnoreligious situation the Church service becomes "a symbolic rite of affirmation to one's ethnic association and a vehicle for preserving the ethnic language".¹³

The Eastern Orthodox Church in New Zealand is a Church with a very strong immigrant component. The tendency for a Church such as this to develop an ethnoreligious response in reaction to a host society perceived of as hostile is very strong. In a number of Eastern Orthodox Churches in New Zealand the "traditionalization" of religion has gone on alongside the "nationalization" of religion and the subsequent "ethnization" of the congregation appears to have taken place.¹⁴ The following section of this chapter describes the criteria used to identify ethnoreligious behaviour in relation to the Eastern Orthodox Churches in New Zealand.

5. THE ETHNIC CHURCH IDENTIFIED

Identifying specific attributes which mark a Church as being ethnically preoccupied is a difficult exercise. The more subjective aspects of religiosity such as individual piety and personal commitment are even more difficult to measure. Fortunately several writers working in the field of ethnoreligion, immigrant adjustment, and ethnic churches, have identified a number of common traits and distinguishing features which identify a Church as being ethnically preoccupied. In this study I have applied the models proposed by Dr. J.J. Mol and Josephine Baddeley. Both models were devised from observations made in New Zealand and hence seem highly applicable to this study.

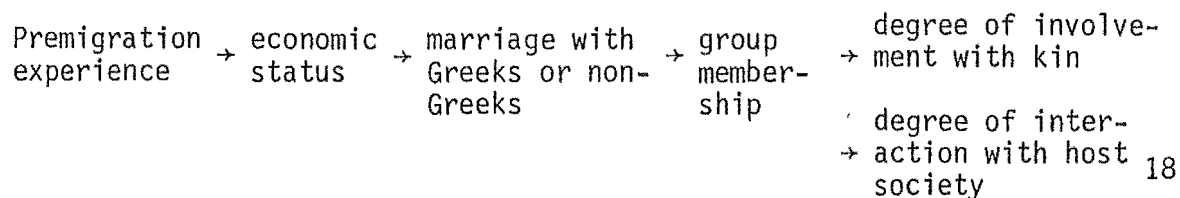
Mol proposes three distinguishing features which identify a foreign language or "transplanted" Church:

- (a) linguistic or, more broadly, social distance between the lands of departure and adoption;
- (b) patriotic emphasis of the Church in the old society; and
- (c) absence of similar religious patterns in the new society.¹⁵

Mol suggests that these three factors combine to slow down and inhibit the integration of the immigrant by making the Church a "'marginal'...institution which perpetuates, accentuates, and traditionalizes its 'foreignness'".¹⁶ In areas where the Church is the only, or main venue for the expression of ethnic identity, its function "ceases to be a purely religious one and acquires the features and culture traits of a patriotic society".¹⁷

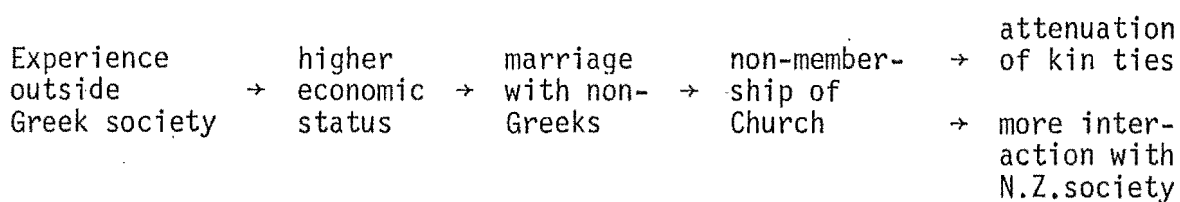
Mol's hypothesis concerns itself primarily with questions of Church organisation and structure and the effect these have on immigrant adjustment. Mol provides a number of useful points of comparison by constructing an "ideal type" model of an ethnoreligious Church, against which the various Eastern Orthodox Churches in New Zealand can be compared.

In contrast to Mol, who offers a macro-style analysis, Baddeley concentrates on intragroup variation, examining variations in premigration experience and the social and economic adaptation to New Zealand society of Greeks in Auckland. Baddeley's study of Greeks in Auckland identified three groups of Greeks, assimilated in varying degrees into New Zealand society. Firstly, one group who associated primarily with the Greek Orthodox Church, secondly a group who shunned the Church and depended on Greek-owned coffee houses for their social activity, and thirdly a small group of non-Church, non-coffeehouse Greeks, well-educated and highly assimilated into New Zealand society. Baddeley's research concentrated on the first two groups. Within these groups several consistent variables were observed and an ideal-typical diagrammatic representation of a migration sequence was constructed. This is illustrated on the following page.

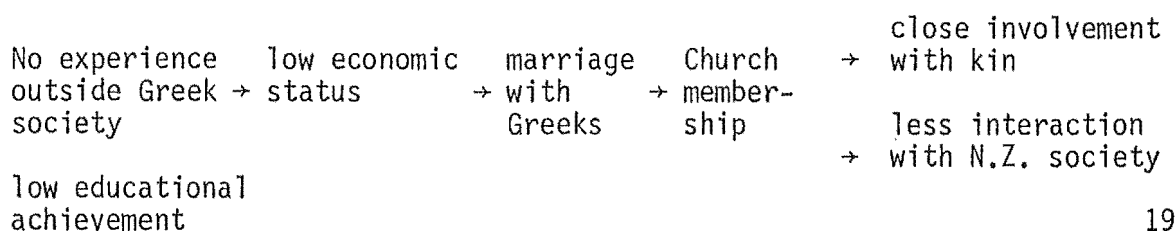


This model was then applied to both the Church and coffeehouse groups. The following diagrams were constructed illustrating the various factors which determine an immigrant's response to New Zealand society:

The Coffeehouse Group



The Church Group



My own observations support Baddeley's hypothesis that there is no strict causal relationship between each of the elements in the diagrams. Often a feedback effect will operate so that, for example, Church membership will affect marriage patterns, and economic status will affect education. What is of interest is how closely Baddeley's "Church Group" diagram accords with my own research. Of particular interest is the function Church membership plays; does it assist or, as Mol and Baddeley suggest, impede immigrant integration into New Zealand Society? Using Baddeley and Mol as reference points, it becomes possible to assess the validity of

the claim that the Eastern Orthodox Churches in New Zealand are ethnocentric and ethnoreligious.

6. THE ETHNIC CHURCH OBSERVED

6.1 Introduction

Much of the information contained in this section was obtained during eighteen months intensive involvement with the various jurisdictions represented in Wellington and Christchurch. The exchange of letters and occasional pastoral visits to Wellington and Christchurch by the Serbian monks, Fr. Ambrose and Fr. Nicholi, enabled me to attain a reasonable degree of familiarity with the Eastern Orthodox scene further north.

Two strategies were evolved to enable me to gather sufficient first-hand information to make this study possible. The first strategy relied on a formal approach to clergy, requesting permission to undertake the Interview Schedule. This presented me to the parishioners as an academic researcher and enabled me to approach them with the Interview Schedule. The real value of the Interview Schedule, apart from the gathering of some basic information, was its function as an "ice breaker". Once I had become known within the various parishes in Wellington and Christchurch, it became possible to function on an informal level with the various people I had got to know. These informal contacts were to form the basis of the second research strategy. By building up a network of informal social contacts, and by making it known I wanted to find out as much as possible about the Orthodox Church in New Zealand, I was able to gather a large volume of oral information. This informal approach was to prove the most fruitful in terms of gathering first-hand opinions and feelings about the Orthodox Church and New Zealand society from the perspective of ordinary Eastern Orthodox parishioners.

This approach also gave me access to a wide variety of opinions, not always the "official" ones. People were invariably reluctant to fill out the Interview Schedule. This was due either to discomfort with written English or a general suspicion of form-filling. Despite this reluctance to fill out the Interview Schedule people were always willing to talk, and a greater volume of information was gathered orally rather than in written form. Fr. Ambrose suggested that this aversion to supplying written responses was indicative of the character of Orthodoxy:

The non-reply from Fr. X is a fine example of the Orthodox ethos!! Any Orthodox would give you hours of his time in a face to face conversation, but it is hard to extract written replies. It's true they are tedious, but it may also have something to do with Orthodoxy's emphasis on oral tradition, and the transmission of a living truth via personal contact - and not through the study of a book, even such a venerable book as the Scriptures. The subject could make a small thesis in itself.²⁰

6.2 Interview Schedule: Results

A total of fifty Interview Schedules were constructed for distribution. Of this total, twenty were given to the President of the Wellington Greek Community to be distributed among a representative sample of the Greek Orthodox population in Wellington. The return rate for these Schedules was nil. Various attempts were made to recover these twenty Schedules but despite numerous assurances, none were returned. The remaining thirty Schedules were personally distributed by myself, the majority being answered in parish halls after the Sunday liturgy. The majority of this group, twenty-two, were completed by members of the Romanian Orthodox Church in Wellington. The high degree of co-operation from this group may have been a purposeful reaction to the poor response from the Greeks. The remaining eight Schedules were completed by members of the Serbian and Russian Orthodox Churches.

Question

1. Age: The majority of respondents fell into the age range 51-60 with only two respondents aged 31-40. No one under 31 completed a Schedule.
2. Sex: Only eight male respondents completed the Schedule. A visual estimation of Sunday congregations indicated that about sixty per cent were women. Men appeared less eager to fill out the Schedule but were often happy to talk face to face.
3. Marital Status: Respondents were either married or widowed. Surprisingly there were no single, separated or divorced respondents. During the entire period of the research I never met any Orthodox who were divorced, despite its ecclesiastical legality.
4. Country of Birth: The majority of respondents, twenty-two, were born in Romania, although many of these were careful to write "Greek Romanian". One respondent was born in Turkey, one in Estonia, one in China, two in Yugoslavia, one in Russia, one in Greece proper, and one was born in New Zealand but identified himself with his parents' Serbian background.
5. Years Residence in New Zealand: All respondents had lived in New Zealand for over at least twenty-four years.
6. What were your reasons for emigrating? Responses to this question fell into two categories. Fourteen responded with either "Starting a new life" or "To join my children" which indicated a positive motive for emigrating to New Zealand.

Fifteen responded with negative reasons for emigrating, the impetus being to escape from an undesirable situation. The following responses are representative of this category. "Husband of foreign parentage forced by Romanian Government to leave country", "Political", "We were Russians, and Chinese wanted to be rid of us foreigners, especially before their Cultural Revolution". "1. From Estonia: to escape from Soviet Russian invasion. 2. From Switzerland: status as refugees was demoralising. High cost of living, lack of jobs available in the village we lived in."

7. What is your highest educational qualification? One respondent had attained a Bachelor of Arts degree, one had University Entrance, one was a registered nurse, and the remainder had either primary school or interrupted (by World War II) secondary education.
8. What is your occupation? The majority of respondents were retired, reflecting the age profile of the sample. Of the remainder one was a "manufacturer", one was a "bank clerk", one a "self-employed wholesaler" and one a "quality controller".
9. How many of your friends would be (a) Fellow Immigrants, (b) Non-Orthodox New Zealanders? All respondents answered that the majority of their friends were "Fellow Immigrants".
10. What clubs or associations do you belong to? Three respondents replied that they belonged to a variety of non-church clubs. One person belonged to over five, "the N.Z.-Indonesian Assn., Amnesty International, Campaign Against Psychiatric Abuse,

Automobile Association, U.N.I.C.E.F." The remainder of the respondents wrote either "Serbian Orthodox Church" "Romanian Parish", "Romanian Association", "Apollon Association".

All these had some obvious ethnic component.

11. What language do you speak most of the time: (a) at work, (b) at home, (c) socially? Two respondents replied that they spoke English all the time for a, b, and c. All the respondents who were employed spoke English at work but all respondents, other than the two above, spoke their native language at home and socially. This indicates that social interaction is predominantly ethnically-centred.

12. Do your children speak your native language? Only two respondents' children spoke no ethnic language. Of the remainder eight had no children and nineteen replied "yes". One respondent replied "yes, not 100% but their grandmothers do understand them".

13. What do you think should be the main function of your Church? Responses to this question fell into two categories. Nine respondents' answers identified a strictly religious function. Answers such as "maintaining the Orthodox faith", "to propagate the teaching of God" and "to give spiritual teaching to its members" were typical of this first category. In the second category twenty respondents replied with answers which indicated that they regarded the function of their Church as primarily to fulfil the ethnic needs of its members. Responses such as: "social", "identity and religious", and: "I am a New Zealander with Serbian background and this is my one solid link with it" were typical. One person responded:

"Sadly, many priests don't seem to have a good foundation themselves, nor do they seem to care enough about the spiritual growth of their established flock or new converts."

14. What is your main reason for going to Church? This question was included, as was question 20, as a control to measure the consistency of answers to a similar question. Given that twenty respondents to Question 13 had given social and ethnic activities as what they thought should be the main function of their Church, it was surprising that eighteen gave religious motives as their main reason for going to Church. Statements such as "I believe in God", "to pray", and "prayer, faith and furtherance of it" were typical of this block of responses. The remaining twelve respondents' replies indicated that their main reason for going to Church was social. Answers such as "Identity", "Social", "Contact with other similar people", were typical.
15. How often would you attend Church? Only seven respondents replied that they attended Church on a weekly basis. The remainder of the sample attended on a monthly basis except for three respondents who attended once a fortnight.
16. What do you think New Zealanders think about Orthodox? Sixteen respondents failed to answer this question. The remaining fourteen replies indicated that they felt New Zealanders knew either very little or nothing about Orthodoxy. The following answers are representative of the responses. "Unknown, because they have their own faith, believe that they respect the faith", "Know very little, about as much as they would know about any

other religion", "I never discuss my religion with New Zealanders", "Some can't understand the underlying mysticism and otherworldliness. Others are equally drawn and fascinated by these elements and consider them to be "rich" and "dramatic". Orthodox mainly keep very much to themselves, not such a good thing."

17. Have New Zealanders attended any of your: (a) Church services, (b) National festivals? All respondents replied "yes" to this question and none felt any need to comment further.
18. Have you ever been to a Western Church service? Again all respondents replied "yes" to this question. One respondent endorsed her answer with the comment "Yes, once or twice, and I was very disappointed with them".
19. Do you have any contact with other Orthodox jurisdictions? One respondent replied "No" to this question but the remainder replied "Yes". One Serbian respondent wrote "Would like to have contact with the Uniates if possible", another, a Romanian, wrote: "For several years (33 months) we shared services with the Serbian Orthodox Community".
20. What do you see as the place or function of the Orthodox Church in New Zealand? The majority of answers for this question were more complex than for either Question 13 or Question 14. One respondent failed to answer. One respondent answered simply "Spiritual" while four respondents answered "same as any other Church". The remaining twenty-four respondents gave answers which mixed both religious and ethnic functions. Often the

religious component was mentioned briefly, such as, "To provide the facilities for the faith in which we were raised". The ethnic functions of the Church were discussed at greater length. "It also provides a focus for national and cultural affairs concerned with our Romanian heritage, and thus ensures a contribution of some value to New Zealand society and culture", "Community centre, allowing similar people with similar backgrounds to be together on several occasions each year", "A connection with one's ethnic background, decreasing the chance of feelings of alienation". One respondent gave an analytical and critical answer to this question. It encapsulates many of the concerns expressed verbally to me and for this reason deserves to be included intact:

At present it caters mainly for ethnics in their own languages. I would like to see it make more of an effort to make English speakers feel welcome; this is indeed the case in the Romanian Church in Wellington where Fr. George is most approachable and helpful. But in some others there seems to be a reticence on the part of clergy and congregation to include non-ethnics. It's a bit like "us" versus "all the others". In New Zealand the Orthodox are at a disadvantage because of the relatively small congregations, and the fact that we are geographically so isolated from main-stream Orthodoxy. I would like to see more English brought into the Liturgy so that converts and visitors could actually understand the prayers etc.

The general trends suggested by the responses to the Interview Schedule support the Church Group analysis devised by Baddeley. Responses from the Eastern Orthodox who answered the Interview Schedule indicate a community of settled immigrants with few associational ties beyond the emigrant group. Many respondents identified the Church in terms of a club or association and the variation in response to Questions 13, 14 and 20 indicates that for many the Church fulfils the functions of an ethnic association to

at least the same extent as it provides for specifically religious desires.

Language facility is often cited as an indication of assimilation. All respondents spoke English only at work reverting to their native tongue at home and on social occasions. The children of the respondents all had a competent language ability in their mother tongue. When this is considered with the lack of non-ethnic associational ties and the relative absence of non-Orthodox friends, the ethnic Orthodox community appears to be very insular with little interest in being involved with anything outside their own group.

6.3 Fieldwork Observations

The following observations and impressions are the result of eighteen months' involvement during 1985 and 1986 with the various Orthodox Churches in Wellington and Christchurch. As previously stated, the Orthodox Church has a great emphasis on oral tradition; consequently there is much information gathered here that would be unattainable by even the most professionally administered questionnaire. While some element of subjective analysis is inevitable I have endeavoured to interpret my observations in as objective a manner as possible.

The central event in any Orthodox parish is the Sunday Liturgy. For many Orthodox this is the only time they meet as a group and the occasion consequently often has the atmosphere of a social gathering. There is nothing unusual in this, many Western Church parishes have much the same feeling. However, there are several features I observed in a number of Eastern Orthodox parishes which indicated an element of ethnic awareness at work. Baddeley's description of an Orthodox service is typical of many I attended:

Although the Church ritual is extremely elaborate, one has the impression that the congregation's attention is equally divided between gossiping and the ceremony itself. At various stages during the service one half of the people will be attending to the priest, and the rest will have withdrawn to chat in the back of the Church, crossing themselves from time to time at appropriate intervals in the service. Much importance is accorded to one's self-presentation and the women make special efforts to dress in the latest fashion and attire, their children similarly.²¹

At one Greek service I attended the conversation at the back of the Church involved nearly seventy-five per cent of the congregation and was of such a volume that the Archbishop turned from the altar and frowned very deeply till relative silence was restored. This apparently casual attitude is not unusual to the Eastern Orthodox. The nature of the Liturgy, with the priest behind a screen (the iconostasis) and the people's responses chanted by a cantor, the veneration of the icons which involves lighting candles and blessing oneself, (for the pious this is done three times) all contribute to an atmosphere of informal reverence not usually found in most Western Churches. However, a self-conscious ethnic awareness seems to exist in some New Zealand Churches and this asserts itself in a number of subtle ways.

In the Greek, Russian, Romanian and Serbian Orthodox Churches the liturgical language used is respectively, Liturgical Greek, Church Slavonic, Old Romanian, and again, Church Slavonic. None of these languages are vernacular. In the Greek Orthodox Church in New Zealand the Archbishop strongly opposes the use of English in the Liturgy while both Fr. Ambrose and Fr. Speranta use English freely. The insistence on the use of Greek in the Liturgy is peculiar. It is easily understandable by Modern Greek speakers, so while not a vernacular it certainly fulfils the criteria of an ethnic language. From talking to the Archbishop and from comments made by several Greek lay persons, my feeling is that the function of the use of

Greek is to highlight Greek Orthodoxy's difference from any other Church group in New Zealand. A statement is being made and that statement is "We are Greek". The use of Greek on all Church notices is indicative of this ethnic insistence. In a Church where ninety per cent of the congregation speak and read English, the use of Greek on Church notices serves only to highlight the difference between Greek Orthodox believers and the rest of New Zealand society. This practice effectively discourages participation in parish activities by non-Greek readers. This example of the creation of an ethnic atmosphere was drawn to my attention by a convert to Greek Orthodoxy who related how he felt he was effectively barred from some parish events simply because he could not read Greek.

Other incidents revealed the ethnic nature of the Greek Orthodox Church. At several Greek services I noticed that seating was frequently reserved at the front of the Church. I asked about this and was told that the seating was for the staff of the Greek Consulate. The impression I gained from talking to people at the back of the Church, and the fact that the reserved seats were highly visible, was that the attendance of the Consulate staff was seen by many parishioners as a mutual affirmation of loyalty and support of the Greek nation for the Greek Orthodox Church and vice-versa. The character of two other services I attended at Greek Orthodox Churches in Wellington supports this observation. On March 25, Greek Independence Day is celebrated and on October 28 No Day is celebrated. No Day celebrates Greece's "No" to the Italian ultimatum on October 28, 1940, and the subsequent repulse and pursuit of the Italian invaders into Albania. This day marks Greece's entry into World War II on the Allied side and in many ways is regarded by Greeks as more important than Independence Day. Church services were held to commemorate both these national holidays.

The atmosphere at these services was intensely nationalistic with Greek flags and pennants hung outside the Churches. The Archbishop's sermon was translated in part for me by one of the parishoners and was intensely nationalistic in tone. Both services were followed by an informal and impressive lunch which continued till late in the afternoon. The lunch after the October 28 service was held behind the Greek Orthodox Cathedral in a hall hung with pictures of Greek heroes of Independence and Greek flags. A large sign with the words "Remember Greece" hung above the door. The food at both these occasions was all of a Greek ethnic nature and as the afternoon progressed groups of men sat drinking ouzo (the national drink) and talking of Greek politics. This close identification between the Greek Church and the Greek Nation seemed intense and significant. Both events were important not for their religious elements but as opportunities to consolidate Greek identity. On both occasions the Church played a crucial role, both as a matrix and an activator, in confirming and maintaining the ethnic awareness of its members. In the words of J.J. Mol, the Church had ceased to be purely religious and had acquired, "the features and culture traits of a patriotic society".²³

While this manifestation of ethnoreligion is displayed in its clearest form by the Greek Orthodox Church, it also exists, albeit in lesser degrees, in many of the smaller jurisdictions. People in all the jurisdictions told me that they attended their Church for the social and ethnic interaction as much as for the religious aspect. The Church provided a venue which would otherwise not have been available. The majority of Eastern Orthodox I spoke to felt that their Church should function as, or at least provide the facilities of, an ethnic association or club. In the case of the Greek Orthodox Church, population and financial resources have made this a reality.

It is possible to walk out of a Greek Orthodox Church having been surrounded by vivid icons of the saints and walk into the Greek Community Centre next door and be surrounded by "icons" of heroes of Greek Independence. In all Greek Community Centres pictures of Greek national heroes line the walls. These are, in artistic style and presentation, so like the icons in the Church one cannot help but feel that the similarity is intentional. When I asked the President of the Christchurch Greek Community if these pictures were "icons" he quickly assured me they were not but added, "As Greeks they are of great importance to us".

Within the Eastern Orthodox Church in New Zealand there is an awareness of the problem of ethnicity. Clergy are quick to point out ethnocentric behaviour in other jurisdictions. While discussing the Serbian Orthodox Church with a priest in Wellington, the suggestion that ethnic obstinacy prohibited pews in Serbian Churches was made:

It's a bit ridiculous to insist on no seats in the Church just because that's what they did in Yugoslavia. They probably did that in Yugoslavia because they couldn't afford seats.²⁴

Many converts I spoke to in the Greek, Russian, Serbian and Romanian Churches specifically mentioned the "ethnic atmosphere" and an "ethnic preoccupation" as the most inhibiting factor to their conversion. During 1985 there was a series of letters in Orthodox Australia, a monthly Orthodox newspaper which incorporates Orthodox New Zealand and has a wide readership in New Zealand and Australia, which dealt with the problem of ethnicity, especially with regard to converts. The following comment by one correspondent accurately sums up the experiences of many New Zealand converts to the ethnically based Orthodox Churches:

The main obstacle against me finally taking steps was the "ethnic" barrier. Both the Churches I had attended had services in the "native" language - Greek or Slavonic! Even outside of the services

the people would speak in their own language, which made me feel a complete "outsider".²⁵

The ethnicity and ethnoreligious nature of the ethnically-based Orthodox Churches is very real and palpable. For most East European immigrants the Church is the only remaining link with a lost way of life and a continuing sense of identity. For them an ethnically-based Church seems the most appropriate strategy to cope with life in a foreign culture and environment. The Church, acting in its role as a patriotic society and satisfying the nationalistic sentiment of Orthodox immigrants, may well act as an inhibiting factor on the full absorption and assimilation of its members into New Zealand society, but at the same time it fulfils their emotional and ethnic needs in a society frequently perceived as being indifferent.

7. ETHNICITY AND ECUMENISM: NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES/
ORTHODOX RELATIONS

On July 23 1941, at a meeting in Christchurch chaired by Archbishop West-Watson, the National Council of Churches in New Zealand came into existence.²⁶ Ecumenism and Christian unity were two of the major concerns which motivated the formation of the Council. Examples of ecumenical co-operation prior to the formation of the Council are scarce. However, one of the most interesting and to date unresearched examples of rare interdenominational co-operation, that of the Rev. Daniel Crosse Bates, is directly relevant to the subject of this thesis.

Prior to the arrival of Archimandrite Boyazoglu, the first permanent priest to the Greek Orthodox community in New Zealand, the Rev. D.C. Bates, an Anglican clergyman, appears to have had sole responsibility for the pastoral, and possibly the sacramental, well-being of the Greek community in Wellington.²⁷ The Rev. D.C. Bates arrived in New Zealand in 1898. His service as a chaplain in the

Boer War left him in poor health and unable to undertake full-time parish responsibilities. In 1910 he became the New Zealand Government Meteorologist, a position he held till his retirement in 1927. In 1938 he was awarded a pectoral cross by the Greek Orthodox Metropolitan of Australasia in recognition of his services to the Greek Orthodox Church.²⁸ Determining the nature and dates of these "services" has proved most difficult. No official terms of reference concerning the exact nature of the Rev. D.C. Bates' involvement with the Greek Orthodox Church appear to be available.²⁹

Copies of correspondence between the Rev. D.C. Bates and the Rev. H.W. Newell, General Secretary of the National Council of Churches from 1944 to 1947, state that the Rev. D.C. Bates was "entrusted with the care of the Greek people in Wellington".³⁰ The Rev. D.C. Bates seems to have been instrumental in organising the visit to New Zealand in 1944 of Archbishop Timotheas, Metropolitan of Australasia. The Rev. D.C. Bates also seems to have acted as an intermediary organising a meeting between Archbishop Timotheas and the National Council of Churches. The Rev. L.G. Shotlander, who as a boy acted for the Rev. D.C. Bates as an altar server, states that "I knew he took Greek Services but I cannot say if he celebrated the Sacrament".³¹ Bishop Alan Pyatt who as the vicar of the parish of Brooklyn in Wellington, was a close neighbour of the Rev. D.C. Bates relates that:

I'm pretty sure (and this is the only Greek connection I can remember) that she [Bates' wife] got mad with him one day and put his Greek vestments on the fire.

This may or may not indicate that he must have had some liturgical as well as pastoral responsibility.³²

The award of a pectoral cross in 1938, the obituary in the 1955 Wellington Diocese Synod Proceedings, a small number of letters held by the National Council of Churches, and a few tentative recollections from people who knew him are the only evidence to date of

the Rev. D.C. Bates' involvement with the Greek Orthodox Church. Despite the sketchy nature of this evidence, it is clear that the Rev. D.C. Bates was deeply involved in the affairs of the Greek community in Wellington, and, possibly, his ministry is an example of interdenominational co-operation involving the Greek Orthodox Church to a degree not since achieved.

The Greek Orthodox Church was voted into the membership of the National Council of Churches in 1947. However, since becoming a member of the Council, it has had only a nominal involvement. Its first contribution to general funds was not paid until 1973.³³ The nominal character of Greek Orthodox participation in the Council has been a matter of concern to the National Council of Churches since it was voted into membership. In 1949 the General Secretary of the Council, the Rev. Alan Brash, wrote to the newly appointed Fr. Economou, explaining to him his voting rights at General Meetings of the Council. In 1961 Fr. Demetrius was also advised of his voting rights. In a letter dated 28 September 1961 the Rev. Alan Brash wrote:

There is one important matter, however, that I want to take up with you and that is the membership of the Greek Orthodox Church in New Zealand in this Council....unfortunately it has been a participation of the most nominal kind....This is so much the case that I am taking up with you the question as to whether or not your Church wishes to be retained as a member of the Council....

Over the last ten years we have never succeeded in persuading a representative of your Church to attend an Annual Meeting of this Council nor have we received any apologies for absence....

In fact, my only correspondence with him [Fr. Economou] was over the considerable number of travel loan arrangements he wished to make...³⁴

In March 1963 the Rev. David Taylor, General Secretary of the Council, wrote in an article published in the Hellenic Trumpet, "Unfortunately it has never seemed possible, so far, for any representative of your Church to attend our regular meetings".³⁵ In 1972 the Council

again attempted to encourage a more active membership by the Greek Orthodox. A set of chalice were gifted by the National Council of Churches to the newly consecrated parish church of the Annunciation of Mary. This gift was gratefully received but failed to stimulate any active participation in the Council. When Archbishop Dionysios was enthroned as Metropolitan of New Zealand the service was attended by Bishop Pyatt, Anglican Bishop of Christchurch, Bishop Ashby, Roman Catholic Bishop of Christchurch, the Rev. David Taylor, General Secretary of the Council and the Rev. R. O'Grady, Assistant General Secretary of the Council. The cordial and enthusiastic welcome of Archbishop Dionysios seems to have marginally improved Greek Orthodox participation in the Council. Greek Orthodox representatives irregularly attend National Council of Churches Executive meetings and National Council of Churches Women's Committee meetings. Active involvement in the Council is still nominal.

Reasons for the non-participation of the Greek Orthodox Church in the Council are largely speculative. I approached the Rev. Angus MacLeod, recently retired General Secretary, and asked for his opinion concerning this matter. His comment was that "The N.C.C. could have done more but I would have to say there could have been a better response at times from the Orthodox side".³⁶ The Rev. Alan Brash, General Secretary from 1947-1952, and 1956-1964, replied to the same inquiry in characteristically stronger terms:

The comments of Orthodox laity which you mentioned could easily have been made by Protestant laity also - as they reflect the failure of the N.C.C. to persuade their member Churches to educate their laity on matters ecumenical - in fact the member Churches frequently get rid of uncomfortable issues by passing them to the N.C.C. - then criticising the position taken by the N.C.C.³⁷

I also approached Archbishop Dionysios and asked him to explain his Church's nominal involvement with the Council. His answer, brief and

very much to the point was that "The N.C.C. represents Churches and issues that are of no concern to the Greek Orthodox Church".³⁸ It is an arguable point that the Archbishop's comment may be simply another example of ethnic insistency. Despite the poor history of Greek Orthodox involvement in the National Council of Churches, it is perhaps a heartening sign that Professor Barbu Nicholescu was recently elected to the three person praesidium of the proposed Conference of Churches of Aotearoa-New Zealand and is the Greek and Romanian Orthodox representative to the Conference.³⁹ His appointment hopefully reveals a renewed commitment to ecumenism by the Eastern Orthodox Churches in New Zealand.

8. CONCLUSION

This chapter has examined in some detail the role the Orthodox Church plays in the assimilation of ethnic Orthodox immigrants in New Zealand society. Demographic and economic considerations have obviously affected the responses of the various ethnic jurisdictions in New Zealand. New Zealand society has been seen to be perceived of as hostile by many Orthodox immigrants. Various strategies were developed to come to terms with this perceived hostility. Economic independence and educational advancement are two such strategies.

The function of the ethnic Church has also been examined. Fieldwork investigation has shown a strong link between ethnic identity and Church affiliation. This link has often been sufficiently strong to produce what has been identified as an ethnoreligious response. The Greek Orthodox Church is a prominent example of this type of ethnoreligious response. The religious role of the Church has been taken over to a large extent by its role as a patriotic society. For many ethnic Orthodox the Sunday liturgy has become less of religious rite and more "a symbolic rite of affirmation to one's ethnic association".⁴⁰

Finally, Orthodox relations with the National Council of Churches were examined. From 1947 to 1982, when the Antiochian Orthodox Church was voted into membership, the Greek Orthodox Church was the sole representative of all the Orthodox Churches found in New Zealand. Despite this position, its membership of the Council has been, for the greater part of that time, nominal. There are various reasons for this nominalism. Divergent interests, a lack of common ground, and ethnic preoccupations are a few such reasons. It has been admitted that faults lay on both sides, but perhaps the main reason for the poor history of Orthodox/N.C.C. relations is the failure of both parties to understand and appreciate the difficulties faced by each other in coming to terms with modern secular New Zealand society.

Footnotes

1. Lochore, R.A. From Europe to New Zealand, p.87.
2. L.22/1/27 Part 1. Refugee: International Organisation. Labour Department Files kept at National Archives, Wellington.
3. Tsounis, M. "Greek Communities in Australia" in Greeks in Australia, Price, C. (Ed), p.34.
4. Lochore, R.A. op.cit.
5. Ibid., p.89.
6. Gillis, W.M. Wellington Polish Community: A Phenomenological Approach to a Study of Culture Contact, p.177.
7. Burnley, I.H. The Greek Italian and Polish Communities in New Zealand; A Geographical Contribution to the Study of Ethnic Migration, pp.211-218.
8. Burnley, I.H. "The Greeks" in Immigrants in New Zealand. Thompson K. and Trlin, A. (Eds.), pp.100-101.
9. McGill, D. The Other New Zealanders, p.63.
10. Coward, H. and Kawamura, L. (Eds.). Workshop on Religion and Ethnicity, p.181.
11. Gordon, M. "Assimilation in America: Theory and Reality". Daedalus. 90, p.280.
12. Stout, H. "Ethnicity The Vital Centre of Religion in America". Ethnicity. Vol.2, p.206.
13. Ibid., p.207.
14. This correlation between the traditionalization and nationalization of religion is noted by J.J. Mol in Churches and Immigrants: A Sociological Study of the Mutual Effect of Religion and Immigrant Adjustment, p.15.
15. Ibid., p.29.
16. Ibid., p.30.
17. Ibid.
18. Baddeley, J. "The Church and the Coffeehouse: Alternative Strategies of Urban Adaptation Among Greek Migrants to Auckland". Urban Anthropology. Vol.6. No.3, p.233.
19. Ibid.
20. Taken from a private letter dated 5 October 1985. Quoted with the writer's consent.
21. Baddeley, J. op.cit., p.223.
22. Stout, H. op.cit., p.207.

23. Mol, J.J. op.cit., p.30.
24. This comment was made in a joking fashion yet the intention to portray the Serbs as ethnically preoccupied while representing himself and this parish as well-adjusted was clear.
25. Orthodox Australia. Vol.III. No.5. June-July 1985, p.20.
26. Brown, C. "The Ecumenical Contribution" in Religion in New Zealand. Colless, B. and Donovan, P. (Eds.), pp.81-97. For a more complete history of the National Council of Churches see Brown, C. Forty Years On: A History of the National Council of Churches in New Zealand 1941-1981.
27. I am deeply indebted to the National Council of Churches in Christchurch for allowing me access to their archives. Much of the information in this section would have been unobtainable without this co-operation.
28. 1955 Wellington Diocesan Synod Proceedings, pp.45-46.
29. Files kept by the National Council of Churches contain letters written by the Rev. D.C. Bates which indicate that he had some sacramental duties. Records of Wellington Diocesan Synod Proceedings give no specific details concerning his involvement with the Greek community. National Archives and the Victoria University of Wellington Library have none of the Bates' papers or any record of his activities. The Library of the College of Saint John the Evangelist has none of the Bates' papers or any record, apart from Wellington Diocesan Synod Proceedings, 1955, and the Clerical Directory, of the exact nature of his activities. Archbishop Dionysios informed me that the Rev. D.C.Bates "blessed" some weddings but hastened to assure me that all such weddings were repeated by visiting Greek clergy. The Greek Archbishop of Australia failed to answer any correspondence concerning the Rev. D.C. Bates.
30. Held by National Council of Churches Archives, Christchurch.
31. Privately held correspondence dated 23 December 1985.
32. Privately held correspondence dated 6 February 1986.
33. Brown, C. Forty Years On: A History of the National Council of Churches in New Zealand 1941-1981, p.194.
34. National Council of Churches Archives, Christchurch. The travel loans referred to were administered by the N.C.C. on behalf of the W.C.C. for the purpose of financially assisting potential Greek migrants.
35. Taken from a draft copy, National Council of Churches Archives, Christchurch.
36. Privately held correspondence dated 24 March 1987.
37. Privately held correspondence dated 25 March 1987.
38. Taken from notes made during a private interview, May 1986 in Wellington.

39. Reported in the New Zealand Tablet Vol.114, No.48, p.7.
40. Stout, H. op.cit., p.206.

CHAPTER 4

THE CONVERTS: REACTIONARY ALTERNATIVE

OR ALTERNATIVE REACTION?

1. INTRODUCTION

The two previous chapters examined in some detail the history, development, and denominational character of the ethnic jurisdictions found in New Zealand. The effect of Church affiliation on immigrant assimilation was discussed and the strategies which immigrants developed to come to terms with a society often perceived as hostile and dominantly pro-British, were examined. This chapter concentrates on the relatively recent phenomenon of conversion to Eastern Orthodoxy in New Zealand.

The use of the term "conversion" to describe what appears to be a change in denominational affiliation requires an explanation. While all the converts I spoke with had changed their denominational affiliation to Eastern Orthodoxy from within the religion of Christianity, sufficient reasons exist to use the term "conversion" based on Heirick's definition of conversion as "the process of changing a sense of root reality" and "a conscious shift in one's sense of grounding".¹ All the converts I spoke with clearly regarded themselves as converts and described their change of affiliation in terms of conversion as opposed to merely denominational switching. This self-perception is confirmed by the opinions and attitudes of many ethnic Orthodox who clearly regard them as converts as opposed to fellow-Christians transferring denominational allegiance. All the ethnic Orthodox Churches in New Zealand require converts to

undergo a long catechumenate (up to three years) and, with the exception of Roman Catholics, all converts from other Christian denominations are required to undergo re-baptism. Both these requirements contribute to a convert's changing "sense of reality" and "grounding" and confirm in his own mind his identity as a convert.

There are two separate and distinct expressions of conversion to Eastern Orthodoxy in New Zealand. The first of these is conversion to the ethnic jurisdictions. While conversion to the ethnic jurisdictions occurs on a very small scale, attempts are being made by some jurisdictions to attract converts in larger numbers. The Serbian Orthodox Church, under the direction of Fr. Ambrose, is especially prominent in this respect. Other ethnic jurisdictions, especially the Greek, seem to regard the Orthodox faith as something only a Greek can "own". The sense in which many Greeks "own" their Orthodoxy bears a strong resemblance to the Judaic concept of peoplehood, and potential converts are frequently discouraged. The second and much larger expression of conversion to Orthodoxy is found in the Antiochian Orthodox Church. The Antiochian Orthodox Church in New Zealand could rightly be called a convert Church. Part of this chapter examines the historical and doctrinal issues which have contributed to the unique position this Church holds within the family of Eastern Orthodox Churches in New Zealand.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter seeks to examine motives for conversion to Eastern Orthodoxy. Most of the major works on conversion are either psychological or theological in content and of limited application to this study.² The findings of two leading researchers in the field of denominational switching in the United States are also of

little value to this study. Stark and Glock show that "Protestant switchers tend to move from conservative to theologically more liberal denominations".³ This is not the case with either the Antiochian Orthodox Church or converts to any of the ethnic jurisdictions in New Zealand. The denominational character of the Orthodox Churches in New Zealand is profoundly conservative. Conversion to Eastern Orthodoxy from the "main-line" Western Churches runs counter to Stark and Glock's findings.

The methods used to gather data concerning the Antiochian Orthodox Church and converts in general, were similar to those applied to the ethnic jurisdictions. This research was often conducted simultaneously. An Interview Schedule was designed to test the hypothesis that converts to Eastern Orthodoxy changed denominational affiliation not as a result of an emotive "Damascus road" style conversion, but out of a sense of deficiency or dissatisfaction with their own denomination.⁴ The correlation between change of affiliation and a sense of deficiency has been explored by Ruth Wallace, who states:

It would seem that change of religious affiliation can be viewed as a filling of deficiency for the individual who is seeking an integrative force in industrial society.⁵

As with the Interview Schedule - Ethnics the survey of converts has no statistical significance, its value lies in exposing the attitudes and concerns of converts and then applying the above hypothesis to the data. Fifty Interview Schedules were randomly distributed in Christchurch, Wellington and Auckland. Forty completed forms were returned, many accompanied by private letters offering more information. In contrast to the ethnic Orthodox, nearly all converts were eager to fill out the Schedule and offer as much information as they could. During the eighteen months taken to research this study,

opportunities arose to privately interview a number of converts. These interviews provided more in-depth material and the opportunity to examine the personal attitudes and motives of converts.

3. INTERVIEW SCHEDULE - CONVERTS: Responses.

Question:

1. Age: Respondents covered a wide age range. One respondent left this question unanswered, of the remainder six were aged 21-30, eight were aged 31-40, twelve were aged 41-50, four were aged 51-60, and nine were aged 61-70. There were no respondents under twenty or over seventy.
2. Sex: Twenty-six respondents were male, fourteen were female.
3. Marital status: Twenty-one respondents were "married", ten were "divorced", one was "separated", one was "widowed", and seven were "never married".
4. Education: Six respondents had no educational qualifications whatever, four had School Certificate or equivalent, four had University Entrance or equivalent; the remainder, twenty-six, had some form of tertiary diploma or degree and of this twenty-six, eight had two or more tertiary qualifications.
5. Occupation: Eighteen respondents had high status employment, e.g. company director, priest, lecturer, teacher, pharmacist. Six respondents were housewives, one was unemployed, one was retired, and the remaining twenty-six were employed in non-professional occupations, e.g. office assistant, credit manager, public servant and teachers' assistant.

6. Citizenship: Nine respondents were not born New Zealanders. Their countries of origin were England, United States of America, Australia and South Africa.
7. Length of Conversion: Four respondents were still catechumens, seven had been Orthodox for less than four years, fourteen had been Orthodox for less than eight years and the remaining fifteen had been Orthodox for between twelve and fifteen years.
8. Previous affiliations: The majority of respondents, thirty-six, had been Anglican, two had been Roman Catholic, one had been Presbyterian and one had been, at various times, Old Catholic, Roman Catholic, Anglo-Catholic and Liberal Catholic.
9. Feelings about previous affiliations: Responses to this question fell into two broad groups. Nineteen respondents expressed feelings of hostility and negativity, while twenty-one revealed feelings of indifference, or the attitude that the previous denomination was a stepping-stone or a grounding from which their Orthodox affiliation could develop. Some examples of both these groups are reproduced below.

Regret that the Anglican Church as I knew it is now dead.

Originally - that the Anglican Church was the one which represented the expression of Catholicism without the Pope. However - following a number of experiences, the utter disillusionment and realisation that (a) the Reformation had wrought a Protestantisation (to use an awful word) of the Church, (b) that one could believe and practise heretical beliefs and be uncensured - Bishops in fact believing in such heretical things themselves!

I can see that from my point of view it (the Anglican Church) does not have the fulness of the Holy Spirit.

Sorrow at many aspects of present trends.

I believe that Anglicans have become seriously disorientated spiritually and appear to have become spiritually, intellectually, culturally and politically glib. I am particularly unimpressed by Archbishop Sir Paul Reeves' attempts to perceive the Church in terms of taha Maori.

They (Anglicans) appear to be so busy trying to accommodate themselves with the other protestant churches (uniting parishes etc.) and practising a social "good works" gospel at the expense of personal spiritual development.

They (Anglicans) are now in a state of Apostasy.

I would say none, as other churches are no concern of mine. I fully accept the Orthodox faith and there is no compromise.

Anglican - now coming to see that Anglicanism is better suited to New Zealand. Orthodoxy is attractive for those with eyes for "grass on the other side".

Positive: C.of E. - inherited excellent tradition but losing it because not comprehended nor lived by enough of its members - dispersed not integrated, easily made trivial-social.

The Anglican Catholic tradition provided a good basis for understanding Orthodoxy over some 20 years of study before deciding finally to become Orthodox.

It (Anglicanism) is what I was raised with and it provided a background from which to proceed towards the totality of Orthodoxy.

They were necessary steps. Foundations. Without them it would have been harder to perceive the truth of Orthodoxy.

10. Continuing contact with the Western Church: Twenty respondents replied that they had no contact at all with Western Churches. Four respondents said they only had contact for family occasions such as weddings and baptisms. The remaining sixteen respondents replied yes, with varying degrees of enthusiasm. The following replies are fairly representative.

The term is not precise. If the heterodox are meant, I have occasion several times a year to be present at Roman Catholic, Anglican or Protestant services.

11. Composition of friends: Twelve respondents replied that most of their friends were either "Orthodox converts" or "Born Orthodox". Sixteen replied that their friends were an even mix of each category while eight respondents replied that most of their friends were either "Western Church" or "No. religion". One respondent claimed that the majority of his friends were "Western Church". Three respondents failed to answer this question.

12. Contact with other jurisdictions: All respondents replied "yes" to this question and seemed enthusiastic about the other ethnic jurisdictions. One respondent however stated:

In Auckland the Russians and Serbs are, for all practical purposes, one jurisdiction. The Greeks are very nationalistic and unwelcoming of non-Greeks whether Orthodox or not.

This was the only negative reply received; the following comments are typical of many replies and give an insight into interjurisdictional relations with converts.

Yes, I look upon all jurisdictions of the Orthodox Church as being one - even though I find the language sometimes difficult.

Russians and Serbs have combined services in Auckland. We visit the Serbian monastery and have quite a lot of contact with the monks.

Yes, in past 2½ years I have met Russians, Rumanians, Serbs and Greeks as well as Western Converts and felt happy to be part of "one Church" with them all.

As our Church has not a priest at present I have received Communion at the Greek and Russian Church (Serbian priest serving).

Yes. We are Antiochian, know Greeks, Russians, Serbs (Yugoslavs) Roumanians etc. Write and receive letters, books etc., from the Russian Church outside Russia, a Greek (Ecumenical Patriarchate) Monastery in the United Kingdom, a Coptic Church in Melbourne and many others.

13. Difficulties becoming Orthodox: Sixteen respondents replied that they had no difficulties whatsoever in becoming Orthodox. Three converts replied "no" but then went on to outline some minor difficulties such as:

No. When a duck first "takes to water" it will certainly feel a strangeness, unfamiliarity, but it knows it is "at home" there.

Nineteen respondents claimed that they had experienced either language or liturgical problems in becoming Orthodox. The following replies are representative of those converts who experienced some difficulty in coming to terms with Eastern Orthodoxy.

Ignorant clergy and ignorant laity.

Establishing what was "Orthodox" and so "de fide", and what not, and how it was established.

Initially we attended English language services and became familiar with the services. We now go to the Russian Orthodox Church where the Liturgy has some parts in English but other services almost nil. But we can follow most of the services (say 70%) from our English language books.

Yes. I was inhibited at first about praying in front of the icons, lighting candles, kissing the cross, and I found the liturgy required an effort from me.

Finding a good parish! This is a great problem to any prospective convert and I think he/she will miss the sense of community which prevails in most Roman Catholic or Protestant parishes.

Learning the liturgy was a bit difficult since there is no break between Matins and the liturgy so for a long time we weren't sure where exactly the liturgy began. Language problems occur more before and after services when people want to talk. It confuses people that we can follow the services but not talk to them.

Had difficulty in Greek Church, because of language but no trouble with English service.

Not with the language or liturgy but with the reluctance of the body I first approached (Greek) to receive me, either on its own behalf

or that of the Antiochian which accepted me by letter from Sydney. I waited 6 months (or more) to be received and a whole year to be ordained.

14. Reaction of non-Orthodox friends to conversion: Twenty-two respondents replied that their conversion to Orthodoxy was well received by their friends. Some of the comments on this question are:

They quite expected the change. In fact an Anglican bishop observed sometime previously "He is more Orthodox than Anglican".

Intelligent, sensitive and often well informed genuine interest. One tends to speak of it only if the subject naturally arises.

Mostly they were very interested. Some have come to services.

They took me seriously because it is so "unconventional" within a very conventional genre, i.e. becoming a Christ-follower. Far more modish to become a Buddhist or Vedantist among persons of my age and type.

Mostly supportive - some thought Orthodoxy was Roman Catholicism.

Some applauded our move but did not feel such a jump was for them.

Polite interest - some thought I was a member of the Jewish faith when I said I was Orthodox.

They too were dissatisfied with the theological horse-trading that accompanied the Plan for Union and were proposing to set up a "continuing Anglican Church". When the Plan for Union was defeated my friends' opposition vanished. Subsequently the ordination of women disunited them totally.

Anglo-Catholics congratulated me and understood. Roman Catholics were interested and sympathetic.

Fourteen respondents to this question replied that news of their conversion was poorly received by their friends. The following comments are representative of this group.

In the main it caused a wall to go up. It was hard for outsiders to understand the need for my change of faith.

Misunderstanding and/or confusion.

My Catholic mother refused to communicate with me for two years.

Our Catholic friends were horrified. We had several friends who were Catholic priests, plus a Catholic Archbishop. They were visibly disturbed and could not understand - still can't. My husband played the organ at a Catholic Cathedral and continued after we had become Orthodox because we have 6 children and needed the money. One week a group of Catholic seminarians visited our Orthodox Church. I guided them through the liturgy. One recognised me and asked if my husband was in fact organist at the Cathedral. I replied that he was. The next week my husband was fired.

Four respondents failed to answer this question.

15. Main reason for becoming Orthodox: Responses to this question fell into two groups. In one group the major factor for becoming Orthodox was a desire to seek the "truth". Comments in this group tended to emphasise intellectualism and the process of discovering "truth". Fourteen respondents answered in this manner. The second group consisted of sixteen respondents for whom the main motivating factor for becoming Orthodox was dissatisfaction with their previous denomination. Responses from the remaining ten converts encompassed a variety of reasons ranging from marriage to an ethnic Orthodox to "Romantic attraction, personal upsets" and "To develop and maintain my relationship with God". The following comments are representative of the two dominant groups of responses.

I came to the Orthodox Church through my interest in Russian history and the history of the Romanians, but as I became more immersed in things I realised it is possible to have a relationship with God.

The discovery of the truth.

It enshrines the fullness of truth given by God to us in the person of His Son Jesus Christ.

To fulfil the path I am on and to answer a call to become Orthodox.

In my experience over many years after carefully reading the theology and practising the devotion, Orthodoxy represents what it claims to represent: true worship or right worship and right believing despite the ethnic hang-ups that many people see.

Disgust with the spiritual deterioration of the Anglican Church coupled with its pre-occupation with politics. This, combined with an inner compulsion to become Orthodox.

I was very much against the Anglican Church "watering down" its theology and practice for the Plan for Union. The Orthodox Church is not subject to these changes.

1. I no longer believed the Anglican Church was what I had believed it was, i.e. the Catholic Church of England.
 2. I no longer believed comprehensiveness was desirable or necessary.
 3. In my case I was followed in the parish of X by a vicar who did not believe in the Virgin Birth, the Resurrection etc. etc. and told my parishioners so.
 4. I was put off by the rise of the Charismatic Movement which some Anglican priests introduced, not because they believed in it, but because it appeared to work. I objected to the crude application of marketing principles to religion.
- The Orthodox Church seemed free from these faults.

The Anglo-Catholic theology became quite untenable (instead of difficult to hold) because of changes in the Anglican doctrinal position.

The Catholic liturgy became corrupt.

To seek the truth and to get away from apostasy with the advent of Priestesses in the Western Church.

Vatican II showed conclusively that the Catholic Church could not be the true Church. The true Church could not change inside and out to the point of becoming unrecognisable within 20 years.

16. Place or function of the Orthodox Church in New Zealand:

Twenty-eight respondents replied to this question by recommending specifically religious functions such as, preaching the Gospel, providing services, and meeting the pastoral needs of the Churches' members.

The following are representative of many answers to this question.

To provide an integrated vehicle whereby people may grow in Christian faith fully in warmth and creativity in the totality of their Beings.

To serve those New Zealanders who subscribe to the true and original Christian faith.

As being the Church in the world. Proclaiming the Gospel of Christ - and living the life of the redeemed and redeeming society.

The same function as anywhere - to provide for the salvation of all.

To care for Orthodox Christians pastorally and to remedy the abysmal ignorance in all quarters concerning historic Christianity.

To proclaim the Gospel message to all people in our part of the world.

Eleven respondents gave answers which did not relate to the question but dealt with what they saw as problems facing the Orthodox Church in New Zealand. The following comments are representative of the concerns voiced:

Hard to say. Their jurisdictional divisions make them hardly worthy of consideration. Their "phyletism" (incidentally a heresy) serves to perpetuate ethnic divisions and makes their adherents even more difficult to assimilate into the population.

A central place for ethnics. A haven for upset immature Anglicans and pseudo-theosophists.

The ethnic Russians, Greeks, etc. seem unwilling to have Orthodox converts join them, except perhaps in small numbers. They have a fear of being "swamped". Until the younger generations of ethnic Orthodox make a demand for more English language use, the converts are in for a difficult time.

At the present time three kiwis have been ordained Orthodox priests:
Fr. X was a total disaster and brought great scandal to Orthodoxy.
Fr. X is regarded by Orthodox as not really Orthodox but still really an Anglican in attitudes and habits.
Fr. X is the only really successful one. But he is not a parish priest and his monastery has yet to grow beyond the two founders.

The attitude of ALL Orthodox bishops is that Kiwis are a bad risk and difficult to understand. Until this stand-off between converts and the bishops is somehow bridged, I do not see much of a future for Orthodoxy in New Zealand.

One respondent failed to answer this question.

A general denominational profile can be constructed from the Interview Schedule. This profile reveals Orthodox converts to be of a wide age range, a tendency to be male, very well-educated and consequently employed in high status occupations, predominantly Anglican in previous denominational affiliation and to have been converts for about five to seven years. While the majority of converts had no particularly strong feelings about their previous denominational affiliation, they were motivated towards Orthodoxy out of a sense of personal searching and saw the future of the Orthodox Church in New Zealand in terms which are similar to most Western and "main-line" Churches. A sizeable minority did not share these attitudes. This group expressed hostile feelings towards any previous denominational affiliation, often experienced some difficulty in becoming Orthodox, described their main reason for conversion to Orthodoxy in terms of a sense of dissatisfaction, deficiency, or frustration with their original denomination, and saw the future of the Orthodox Church in New Zealand in terms of conflict with the established ethnic jurisdictions. This group appears to be motivated primarily by feelings of deficiency. These feelings of deficiency are centred around the previous denominational affiliation and what many converts perceived to be a doctrinal failing or "sell-out". Conversion to Orthodoxy would seem to have been motivated primarily to overcome feelings of doctrinal deficiency. Thus the first claim of Wallace's hypothesis is supported by the findings of this study.

4. THE ANTIOCHIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH

The Antiochian Orthodox Church holds a unique place among the Orthodox Churches in New Zealand. Its membership is almost entirely convert and ex-Anglican yet it comes under the authority of Archbishop Gibran, head of the Antiochian Archdiocese of Australasia, a dominantly ethnic jurisdiction. In New Zealand the Antiochian Church has only one priest, Fr. Jack Witbrock, himself a convert and ex-Anglican priest. The Antiochian Church was the first Orthodox Church to form a parish in New Zealand. In 1911 a visiting Russian priest set up the parish of St. Michael's in Dunedin, serving the Syrian (now called Lebanese) people. After some months this priest moved on and the parish was served by visiting Orthodox clergy until the 1940's when an informal arrangement was made with a series of Anglican clergy.⁶ This situation continued until 1972 when Fr. Witbrock was installed as an Antiochian priest. In 1978 Fr. John Brodeur was ordained to serve a congregation in Auckland. This parish is predominantly made up of New Zealanders who were Anglican. Fr. Brodeur has since left the Church and this parish is without a priest. During the early 1980's plans were made for the formation of an Orthodox community. While this has not eventuated a third parish church has been set up in Ashley, North Canterbury. Fr. Witbrock serves this parish and St. Michael's in Dunedin.

This is the "bare bones" history of the Antiochian Church in New Zealand. To appreciate why this Church, ostensibly an Orthodox Church, is predominantly made up of ex-Anglican converts, it is necessary to be aware of what many Anglicans regard as major doctrinal shifts in the Anglican Church in New Zealand during the late 1960s and throughout the 1970's. In September 1969 a "Plan for Union" was published by the "Joint Commission" on Church Union.

This Commission was made up of the Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational Churches, the Anglican Church and the Associated Churches of Christ. The 1969 Plan was widely discussed and an amended Plan for Union published in 1971. Various drafts of the Plan for Union were presented at Anglican General Synods from 1971 onwards but the opposition of Nelson and Dunedin dioceses was to prevent it ever being effected. However, considerable debate was generated by the proposed Plan. An Anglican group called the "Selwyn Society" was formed to oppose the Plan and by 1976 "opponents of the Plan had long threatened to create a 'continuing' Anglican Church in the event of the Plan being carried".⁷ The proposal to allow the ordination of women to the Anglican priesthood, a proposal which was eventually put into practice was the second major issue to ultimately alienate significant numbers of Anglican laity and clergy.

In July 1972 Mr. Alistair Price, M.A., L.Th., Dip.Tchg, Lay Theologian of the Antiochian Orthodox Church and Director of St. Peters Orthodox Truth Service, wrote to the General Secretary of the National Council of Churches, the Rev. David Taylor, to inform him that:

The Vicar of a large Auckland city parish and I are planning to set up "The Orthodox Mission Church of New Zealand" and plans for this Church will be made public next February in a booklet written by me and containing a specially written statement on Orthodox Doctrine written in terms familiar to Anglicans and being published under the authority of Bp. Dimitri Royster of the Orthodox Church in America.

When this booklet is published there will obviously be trouble within the Anglican Church in New Zealand as the booklet not only presents Anglicans with an alternative to either joining the United Church or the Continuing Anglican Church, but also argues that the O.M.C.N.Z. is the best alternative. Consequently some controversy is inevitable. We hope that it will leave as little lingering bitterness as possible.⁸

This letter was written in response to a letter Mr. Price had received from Fr. Militades of the Greek Orthodox parish of St. George in Sydney. According to Fr. Militades "Bishop Gibran had some difficulties with Anglicans in the A.C.C. for receiving the Rev. J. Witbrock into his Church".⁹ There appears to have been a close relationship between the proposed Orthodox Missionary Church of New Zealand and the Antiochian Orthodox Church.

I approached Fr. Witbrock and questioned him about the exact nature of the relationship. It seems that Fr. Witbrock, a long-standing opponent of the Plan for Union and the ordination of women, saw the need for any proposed Orthodox Mission Church to have legitimate canonical status. He approached Archbishop Dionysius concerning this matter and was flatly refused any consideration. At that point he approached Bishop Gibran in Australia and by securing Holy Orders for himself invested canonical legitimacy upon the St. Peter's Orthodox Truth Service by his association with the Antiochian Orthodox Church.

In August 1982 the Antiochian Orthodox Church was accepted into the National Council of Churches. This was the result of over two years' negotiations. In the January 1981 "Report on Application for Membership in the N.C.C. of the Antiochian Orthodox Church in N.Z." the following figures concerning the size of the Antiochian Orthodox Church are given.

Otago/Southland	60	communicants
Canterbury	55	"
Wellington	5	"
Auckland (estimate)	<u>130</u>	"
Total	<u>250</u>	

The small size of the Antiochian Church was to be a cause of much agonising by the N.C.C. According to the N.C.C. Constitution every

member Church no matter how small is entitled to three representatives. In an undated internal N.C.C. report concerning the Antiochian application for membership concern was expressed that:

As every member church, no matter how small, is entitled to 3 representatives on the Council, the situation could rapidly develop where a number of small churches could outvote and out-number the major churches.¹⁰

The problem of representation was finally solved by restricting the Antiochian entitlement to one representative. In accordance with standard procedure, member Churches were approached and asked if they had any objection to the Antiochian application for membership. Perhaps significantly, the only objection received came from the Anglican Church Office in Auckland.¹¹ The National Council of Churches then approached Bishop Edward Buckle, Bishop in the Northern Region, Diocese of Auckland, and asked how much weight should be given to this objection.¹² In his reply Bishop Buckle stated:

For the present, however, our Diocese objecting to the Antiochian Church on grounds other than doctrinal cannot be allowed to hamper the normal process of endorsement given by all the other members of the Council.¹³

The Antiochian Orthodox Church was voted a member Church of the National Council of Churches with eligibility for one representative in August 1982. The only other Orthodox Church to be a member of the National Council of Churches is the Greek Orthodox, a member since 1947, and entitled to three representatives.

The Antiochian Orthodox Church has thus successfully secured canonical legitimacy and National Council of Churches membership. I approached several clergy from the ethnic jurisdictions and asked them what their relationship with the Antiochian Church was. The following comments from Fr. Ambrose of the Serbian Orthodox Church reflect the attitudes expressed by all the ethnic clergy I spoke to:

I would like to repeat that the regrettable eccentricities observed in the South are NOT AT ALL characteristic of our holy faith. The Greek Archbishop of Wellington, Dionysius, is aware of what is happening and he is much concerned. He is presently in Sydney... and intends to consult the Antiochian Bishop about correcting the situation in the South.

Orthodoxy in New Zealand certainly has her trials with converts, and I feel sorry that your practical introduction to our faith here was via false and insincere people.¹⁴

In a later letter Fr. Ambrose wrote:

I hope that your labours on your thesis are going well. Quite a lot of people are looking forward to reading it, especially since it must be the only document dealing with our history in New Zealand. My only regret is that you have not concentrated on a more "orthodox" jurisdiction such as the large Wellington Greek community, but I guess that the Antiochians are on your home territory and easier to research. Just please do not accept the confused image they project for genuine Orthodoxy!¹⁵

Despite the Antiochian Orthodox Churches canonical legitimacy, its members are generally not accepted by the ethnic jurisdictions as true Eastern Orthodox. A number of ethnic clergy and laity, including some converts, confided that they felt the Antiochians were simply "High Church" Anglicans who had expropriated a failing jurisdiction in an attempt to legitimize their position as genuine Orthodox.

5. CONCLUSION

Two easily discernible groups of converts to Eastern Orthodoxy exist in New Zealand. A small but growing group of converts are attracted to the ethnically dominated jurisdictions. As with all converts to Orthodoxy in New Zealand, this group is dominantly ex-Anglican in composition, yet unlike most converts to the Antiochian Orthodox Church, converts in this group have tended to change denominational affiliation on an individual basis. Fourteen respondents to question 15 of the Interview Schedule gave answers

indicating personal searching and intellectual questioning as the dominant motive for conversion. Of this group twelve were converts to one or other of the ethnic jurisdictions. However, of the sixteen respondents who gave dissatisfaction with their previous denomination as the main reason for becoming Orthodox, fifteen were Antiochian Orthodox. When this is considered with the attitudes and opinions expressed to me by many Antiochian Orthodox, one is tempted to speculate that the Antiochian Orthodox Church has been "illegitimately" expropriated by a small group of disaffected Anglicans. This suggestion becomes even more plausible when one considers the proposed establishment of the Orthodox Mission Church of New Zealand in 1972. Several Anglican clergy who were prominent in organising this proposal have subsequently become either Antiochian clergy or laity. The response of one Antiochian convert to question 13 illustrates something of the nature of many Anglican conversions to Antiochian Orthodoxy in the early 1970's:

No not at first as we were all converts (ex-Anglicans) and speaking English - all of one culture. It was later when I had to come to terms with and adjust and accept this faith which was totally different. This taking about a year. I would not say that it is an "instant religion".

It appears that many Anglican converts to Antiochian Orthodoxy converted without any real sense of what it was they were converting to. The majority seem to have converted in response to proposed changes within the Anglican Church. The two proposals which disturbed these Anglicans most were the Plan for Union and the ordination of women.¹⁶ The following comment taken from an Antiochian pamphlet titled Orthodox and Anglicans - Prospects and Problems in Reunification reveals the dissatisfaction and concerns of many ex-Anglican Antiochian Orthodox:

...the fact that Anglicans disagree amongst themselves about what is God's Truth proves that Anglicans are not one Church theologically. The action of some Episcopalian parishes in U.S.A. is interesting. When they saw the theological horse-trading their church's leaders were prepared to go in for in Church union negotiations with Protestants, these parishes suddenly realised that as Christians they had a lot more in common theologically with the Orthodox than with their fellow Episcopalians. The result was that they have been received - parishioners, priests, and plant - into the Orthodox Church.¹⁷

The author of this pamphlet, Alistair Price, seems to have had hopes that a similar "solution" would occur in New Zealand. When the above pamphlet is compared with a pamphlet written by John Coulson, an ex-Anglican priest who converted to the Serbian Orthodox Church in 1983, the differences in concern and attitude between converts to the Antiochian Orthodox Church and the ethnic jurisdictions becomes apparent. Coulson writes:

Without the intrinsic element for search within the human mind, civilisation would not have evolved. Art in its many forms, philosophy and the sciences, political idealism and all our greatest discoveries come from our desire to search and to find.¹⁸

New Zealand has been described as "a monochrome society where conformity to accepted social norms and the pursuit of an easy and comfortable life are ideals pursued by all".¹⁹ For many Churches in New Zealand this is no longer the case. Declining religious practice, talk of secularisation, increasing irreligion and indifference to Christianity have all contributed to a crisis of purpose and identity for clergy and laity alike. The Anglican Church has declined from a proportional strength of 43% of the total population in 1861 to 25% in 1981.²⁰ Nominalism would reduce this still further. In an attempt to address the issues mentioned above; secularisation, irreligion and nominalism, many Churches in New Zealand have been re-examining their relationship with the modern world.

In the Anglican Church the Plan for Union, the ordination of women, and more recently, the suggestion for lay Presidency of the Eucharist, have been seen by many as attempts to come to terms with the reality of declining membership. Some Anglicans have found themselves unable to accept these proposed changes. In the seventies many of these Anglicans found comfort in the "Selwyn Society", a conservative grouping of Anglicans opposed initially to the revision of the Prayerbook. In the eighties the Eastern Orthodox Church looks like becoming a viable option for many disoriented and disgruntled Anglicans, seeking an unchanging and uncompromising One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church.

The New Zealand religious landscape is far from monochrome. Changing secular values have urged changes in the Churches traditional presentation of Christian doctrine. In many instances both clergy and laity, unable to accept such change, have rejected "accepted social norms and the pursuit of an easy and comfortable life" and have adopted positions which demand personal sacrifice. Many converts to the Eastern Orthodox Church have found themselves in this situation.

Footnotes

1. Heirick, M. "Changes of Heart: A test of some widely held theories about religious conversion", American Sociological Review 83: 653-680, cited by Loftland, J. and Skonovd, N. in "Conversion Motifs", Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion. Vol.20, No.4, p.375.
2. I am referring here to, e.g. Clark, E. The Psychology of Religious Awakening, James W. The Varieties of Religious Experience, Thouless, R. An Introduction to the Psychology of Religion, Gillespie, V. Religious Conversion and Personal Identity, Krailsheimer, A. Conversion, and Conn, W. (ed) Conversion Perspectives on Personal and Social Transformation.
3. Roof, W. and Hadaway, E. "Denominational Switching in the Seventies: Going Beyond Stark and Glock". Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion. Vol.18. No.4, p.363.
4. See Appendix 3.
5. Wallace, R.A. "A Model of Change of Religious Affiliation" Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion. Vol.14. No.4, p.346.
6. This arrangement must have been very informal. There is no record held of any arrangement by the Anglican Church in either Christchurch or Dunedin. Fr. Witbrock was only able to add that he inherited the arrangement and was not familiar with the history of it.
7. Brown, C.G. "The Ecumenical Contribution. Ecumenism in New Zealand: Success or Failure". Colless, B. and Donovan, P. (Eds). Religion In New Zealand Society, p.87.
8. National Council of Churches Archives, Christchurch.
9. Quoted by A. Price. Ibid.
10. National Council of Churches Archives, Christchurch.
11. Dated 18 December 1981 and not received by the N.C.C. Office till 22 December 1981. The 31st December 1981 was the deadline for objections. The N.C.C. letter asking for objections was posted on August 7 1981, Fr. Witbrock related this incident as a typical example of what he called "Anglican obstruction".
12. From Rev. Angus MacLeod, General Secretary, dated December 22, 1981.
13. National Council of Churches Archives, Christchurch.
14. Quoted from private correspondence dated 6 February 1985 with the author's permission.

15. Quoted from private correspondence dated 5 October 1985 with the author's permission.
16. For an Antiochian refutation of both these proposals see Appendices 8 and 9.
17. See Appendix 9.
18. See Appendix 7.
19. Veitch, J. "Heresy and Freedom" Religion in New Zealand, Nichol, C. and Veitch, J. (Eds), p.138.
20. New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings: Religious Professions, Vol.3, 1981.

CONCLUSION

At the beginning of the study a number of popularly held misconceptions concerning the Eastern Orthodox Church were exposed. One of the stated aims of this study was "to present Eastern Orthodoxy as less exotic and less foreign than has been the case in the popular mind". Chapter 1 began this task with a brief historical description of the development of Eastern Orthodoxy from its foundation in the "Christ event" through to the twentieth century diaspora. Chapter 2 continued this task with a description of the various ethnic jurisdictions found in New Zealand. The history of their settlement and differing aspects of their jurisdictional character were examined. The economic strength and numerical dominance of the Greek Orthodox Church was discussed and contrasted with the smaller and less prominent Serbian, Romanian and Russian jurisdictions.

The role of the Eastern Orthodox Church in the assimilation of ethnic immigrants into New Zealand society was examined in Chapter 3. The various strategies developed by many Eastern Orthodox immigrants to adapt to what was commonly perceived as a hostile society were also examined. Economic independence in the form of self-employment and educational advancement were two easily identifiable strategies. Analysis of the Eastern Orthodox Church's role in immigrant adjustment was more difficult. Fieldwork observations and Interview Schedule results were applied to a model of an ideal-type "transplanted" foreign language church and a model of intragroup variation. Despite jurisdictional variations the Eastern Orthodox Church as a whole was seen to encourage both ethnoreligious and ethnocentric behaviour.

The close identification between the Churches and the various ethnic associations, the function of the Church as the main venue for speaking the native language, the celebration of national holidays and the commemoration of political events within the Church setting, the reluctance of some clergy to learn to speak English, all these factors contribute towards the ethnization of the Orthodox Church as a whole. The nominal nature of the Greek Orthodox Church's membership in the National Council of Churches is partly explained by the ethnocentric and ethnoreligious pre-occupation of this Church.

The final chapter of this study examined the recent phenomenon of conversion to Eastern Orthodoxy. Interview Schedule results were analysed and applied to the hypothesis that change of religious affiliation indicates a sense of deficiency and the seeking of an integrative force in modern society. While the Interview Schedule results showed that a significant minority of converts were motivated by feelings of frustration and a sense of doctrinal deficiency within their previous affiliation, sufficient evidence did not exist to support the claim that converts also sought an integrative force in modern industrial society. This aspect of the hypothesis requires further investigation.

Within the terms of reference of this study there are some general observations which need expansion. The title "Eastern Orthodox Church" is, in many ways, a misnomer. There is very little consensus among the various jurisdictions and only token co-operation. While engaged upon the fieldwork aspect of this study I was frequently advised by the clergy of one jurisdiction to take no notice of the clergy of another. When the clergy of the other jurisdictions were approached I was informed that I should disregard whatever the other clergy had said. Much of this interjurisdictional bickering seemed to represent the continuation of traditional

grievances imported from Europe. In many ways it was symptomatic of the ethnic preoccupation so frequently encountered in the ethnic jurisdictions. Language, dress, food and other aspects of ethnic identity are so frequently confused with traditional religious practice that it has become almost impossible to distinguish the one from the other. In many of the ethnic jurisdictions the Church reflects all the aspects and traits of a patriotic society. In an attempt to be seen as "good" converts, many converts to the ethnic jurisdictions, especially the Greek, adopt all the aspects of ethnic identity which the ethnic Orthodox exhibit. It is unsettling, but not unusual, to meet a convert who speaks Greek, eats only Greek food, celebrates Greek national holidays, is obsessed with Greek politics, and is unrecognisable as a New Zealander. Whether this occurs because, as one convert suggested, New Zealand culture is so bland and mediocre, or this occurs because of the convert's desire to be as Orthodox as possible, disregarding the ethnic overlay, is difficult to say. Regardless of the factors involved, it all contributes to the ethnoreligious identity of the ethnically based jurisdictions.

The relationship between the ethnic jurisdictions and the Antiochian Orthodox Church is also worthy of comment. The Antiochian Orthodox Church is essentially a convert Church. Most of its converts do not display the signs of ethnic preoccupation described above. The overriding impression gained by attending a service at the parish of St. Ignatius in Auckland was the very "Englishness" of the atmosphere. Apart from the form of service itself, the atmosphere was thoroughly Anglican; but does that make this jurisdiction less authentic? Many ethnic Orthodox would reply "yes". Interview Schedule results and the personal comments of a number of converts indicate a jurisdictional rift between the ethnic jurisdictions and the predominantly convert-based Antiochian

Orthodox Church. There are undoubtedly unresolved difficulties surrounding the Antiochian Orthodox Church.

Finally, the problem of episcopal authority deserves comment. Of the six jurisdictions found in New Zealand, only one has a resident Bishop. Of the other jurisdictions, the Russian, Serbian and Antiochian look to Australia for episcopal authority. The Romanian Orthodox look to Romania. Apart from the problem of phyletism¹ this situation can be seen to be the basis of many problems facing the various independent jurisdictions. The lack of central organisation presents to the non-Orthodox Churches a picture of division which is unfortunately quite accurate.

There are many aspects of the Eastern Orthodox Church in New Zealand which this study fails to fully address. The plurality of jurisdictions, the role of the clergy, the role of women, youth and education and the problem of language are only a few such issues. They are perhaps issues which need to be addressed by the Churches themselves.

Footnotes

1. Phyletism (nationalism) was defined by the Council of Constantinople in 1872 as the parallel existence of more than one ethnic church in one territory. The Council condemned this (phylestism) as a heresy. This unfortunately fails to take account of the historical factors involved in the Orthodox diaspora.

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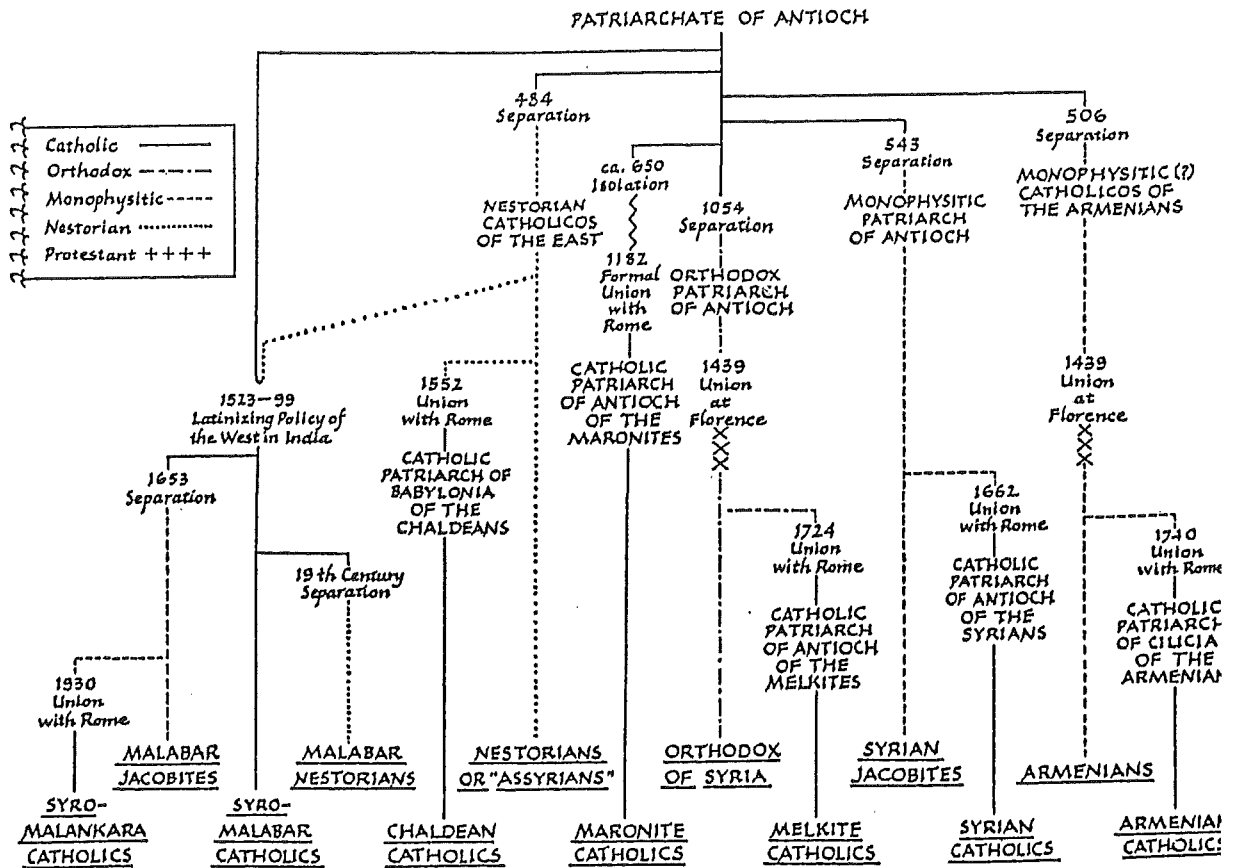
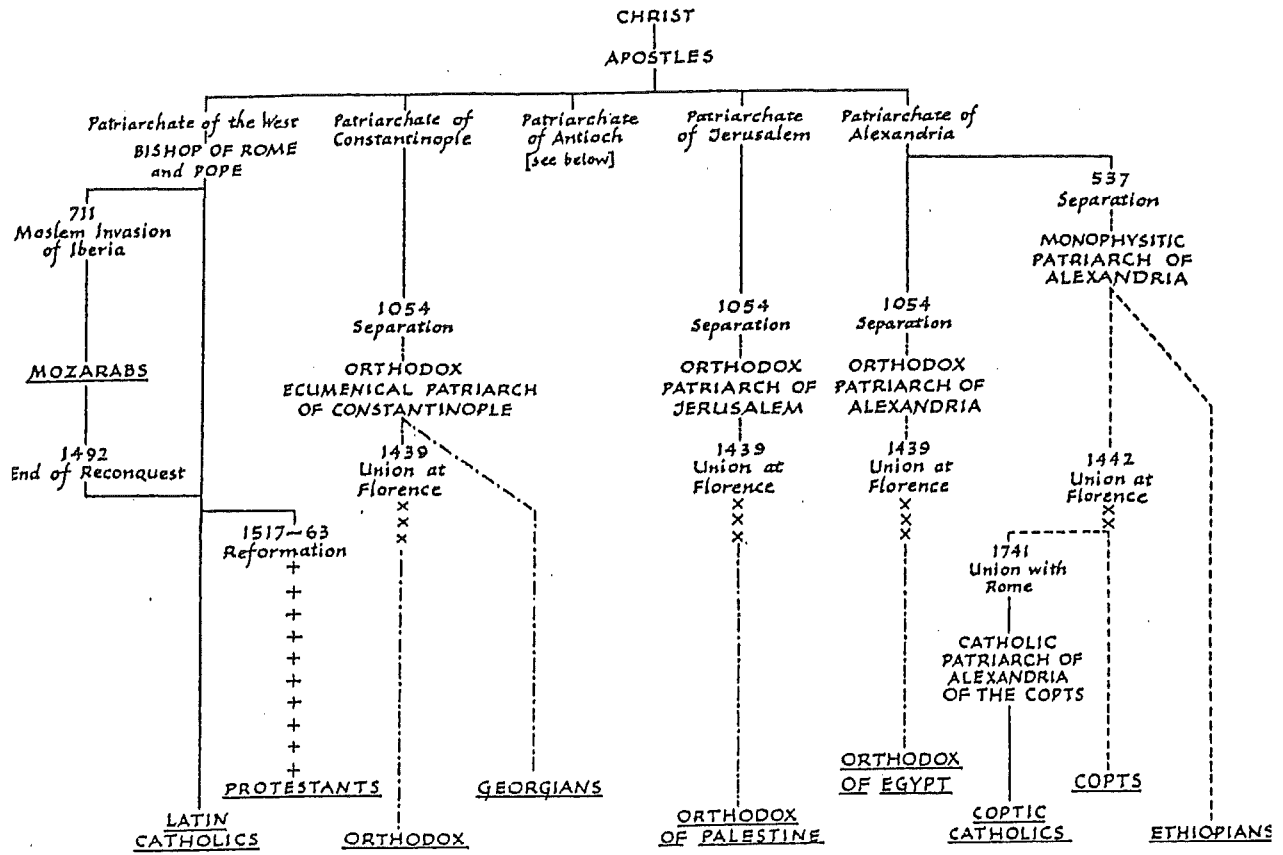
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APPENDIX 2INTERVIEW SCHEDULE - ETHNICS

1. Age: 15-20
21-30
31-40
41-50
51-60
61-70
over 70
2. Sex: M / F
3. Marital Status: (a) Married (d) Separated
(b) Never Married (e) Divorced
(c) Widowed
4. Country of birth:
5. Years residence in New Zealand:
6. What were your reasons for emigrating?
7. What is your highest educational qualification?

8. What is your occupation?

How many of your friends would be

- (a) Fellow Immigrants
- (b) Non-Orthodox New Zealanders

9. What clubs or associations do you belong to?

What language do you speak most of the time:

- (a) At work
- (b) At home
- (c) Socially

Do your children speak your native language?

What do you think should be the main function of your Church?

14. What is your main reason for going to Church?
15. How often would you attend Church?
16. What do you think New Zealanders think about Orthodox?
17. Have New Zealanders attended any of your:
 - (a) Church services
 - (b) National festivals
18. Have you ever been to a Western Church service?
19. Do you have any contact with other Orthodox jurisdictions?

20. What do you see as the place or function of the Orthodox Church in New Zealand?

APPENDIX 3INTERVIEW SCHEDULE - CONVERTS

1. Age: 15-20
21-30
31-40
41-50
51-60
61-70
over 70

2. Sex: M / F

3. Marital Status: (a) Married (d) Separated
(b) Never Married (e) Divorced
(c) Widowed

4. What is your highest educational qualification?

5. What is your occupation?

6. Were you born in N.Z.? Y / N
If not, where?

7. How long have you been Orthodox?

8. Did you have any previous religious affiliation(s)? Y / N
Specify if Y.

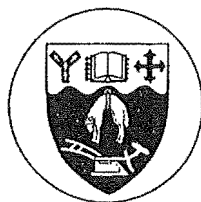
9. What are your feelings about your previous affiliation(s)?
10. Do you have any continuing contact with the Western Church?
11. How many of your friends would be:
- (a) Orthodox Converts
 - (b) Born Orthodox
 - (c) Western Church
 - (d) No religion
12. Do you have any contact with other Orthodox jurisdictions?
13. Did you encounter any difficulty becoming Orthodox?
e.g. language problems, liturgical familiarity, etc.

14. What was the reaction of your non-Orthodox friends to your becoming Orthodox?

15. What would you say was your main reason for becoming Orthodox?

16. What do you see as the place or function of the Orthodox Church in New Zealand?

LETTER OF INTRODUCTION



University of Canterbury Christchurch 1 New Zealand

Department of Philosophy & Religious Studies

8 November 1984

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This is to certify that Mr. Steven Threadgill is currently enrolled for an M.A. degree in Religious Studies at this University. He has already completed his course-work and is engaged on research for his thesis. This topic involves a study of the Orthodox Church and its members in New Zealand. Any assistance which you may be able to give him would be appreciated.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "C.G. Brown".

C.G. Brown
Senior Lecturer in Religious
Studies

APPENDIX 5LETTER REQUESTING PERMISSION TO DISTRIBUTE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE - ETHNICS

Steven Threadgill
47a Norway Street
Kelburn
Wellington
21 August 1985

Metropolitan Dionysios
Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of New Zealand
365 Broadway
Mirimar
Wellington

Dear Archbishop Dionysios,


Since we last spoke together in June Dr. Goodrich of the Sociology Department at Canterbury University and I have drawn up the enclosed questionnaire.

I would like your permission to conduct this questionnaire within the Greek Orthodox community of Wellington and possibly Christchurch. I would hope to interview about forty persons.

The purpose of this questionnaire is to provide the empirical data upon which the hypothesis of my thesis may be tested. As well as writing a brief history of the Greek Orthodox in New Zealand I wish to examine the relationships between Greek immigrants, their Church, and wider aspects of New Zealand society.

I have enclosed a copy of the questionnaire for you to examine.

Yours sincerely,



Steven Threadgill

REPLY FROM ARCHBISHOP DIONYSIOS

ECUMENICAL



PATRIARCHATE

ΙΕΡΑ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ ΟΡΘΟΔΟΞΟΣ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ ΝΕΑΣ ΖΗΛΑΝΔΙΑΣ
 'Εξαρχία 'Ινδιών, Κορέας, 'Ιαπωνίας, Σιγκαπούρης, 'Ινδουσίας, Φιλιππίναι & Χόνγκ-Κόνγκ

greek orthodox archdiocese of new zealand

EXARCHATE OF INDIA, KOREA, JAPAN, SINGAPORE, INDONESIA, PHILIPPINES & HONG KONG

OFFICE - ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH

365, BROADWAY, MIRAMAR, WELLINGTON. PHONE 881-194.

P.O. BOX 9361, COURTENAY PLACE WELLINGTON.

TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESS I
 ARCHGREEK WELLINGTON

13 Noevember 1985 .

Mr. STEVEN TREADGILL ,
 47a , Norway Street ,
Kelburn. WELLINGTON.

Dear Mr. S. Threadgill ,

I thank you for your letter 21st August 1985 ,
 and I am very sorry for not being able to answer to you be-
 forehand , owing to my absence overseas till the middle
 of October .

I do hope that this delay of mine did not dis-
 turbed your thesis.

I thank you very much for ^{the} very wise "questionnaire" .

I agree with you completely and I give my blessing
 to interview as many Greek Orthodox persons as you want .

Wishing you success ,

I remain ,

Prayerfully yours ,

THE METROPOLITAN

Dionysios of New Zealand
 * Dionysios of New Zealand .



APPENDIX 7"THOUGHTS OF A CONVERT" John Coulson

Without the intrinsic element for search within the human mind, civilisation would not have evolved. Art in its many forms, philosophy and the sciences, political idealism and all our greatest discoveries come from our desire to search and to find.

Within the developmental framework of the Christian Religion however, we see a duality of searching. Within the pages of the Old Testament are recorded man's primitive yet growing search for God and the need for Him in the worshipping creature man knows himself to be. Essentially however, in the New Testament we find God Himself becoming the 'searcher.' Through the operation of His Holy Spirit He searches out a pure and obedient maiden and through the indwelling of His Spirit within her womb comes into time and history to search out the souls of His Divine Creation in order to redeem them: to restore them to their original glory. He searches us out in order that we may experience the Fatherhood of God, the compassion and warmth of His Blessed Mother, and the power and enlightenment and peace which His Holy Spirit can sustain. His search is that of the Divine Creator, for the created image.

Having, through the working of His Holy and Life-giving Spirit, established His Body the Church to continue His search for souls, we have the privilege of choice. To allow ourselves to be found, or to hide within the camouflage of false philosophies, sectarian religion, the worship of Man, or pagan idols.

One thing is certain. If we allow ourselves to be discovered, our own search is over. We know for sure, for certain, when we encounter the mystical reality of our Creator. How we act and react towards our Discoverer is of vital concern and ultimate and eternal significance. For me, it involved an acceptance of the revealed Truth of Christ as Head of His Body, the Holy, Catholic, Apostolic and Orthodox Church. It involved Chrismation into that Church.

Being Orthodox for me at least, involves an endeavour, through the sustaining power of the Holy Spirit, to follow Christ's teaching, example, and the teaching and example of His Holy Church.

It involves accepting the warm embrace of the Mother of God, and the awareness of her constant care and concern, and a knowledge that she intercedes for me.

It means an awareness of the Saints and their examples of Christian charity and obedience; their willingness to suffer, and their preparedness to pray for us.

It means an awareness of our own imperfection and the wonder of Christ's forgiveness through the Mystery of Penance.

It means the friendship, care and warmth, understanding and knowledge, which comes through sharing the Orthodox Faith with millions of believers worldwide.

It means participation in worship of God through a living Tradition stretching back through time to Christ and His Apostles...an unbroken historicity.

It means an involvement with and commitment to the Apostolic Teaching and Tradition handed down through the inspiration and the indwelling of the Holy Spirit of Christ to His Apostles and the Fathers of the Church.

It means a participation in the life of the Risen, Living, and Glorified Christ through His Body and Blood which we truly and indeed receive at the Divine Liturgy.

It brings to the mind and the soul a certainty; a certainty of being part of the Body. Christ's Body cannot be fragmented. But throughout history man has sought to break it through heresy and schism. Thus it is that when one comes to Orthodoxy after years of denominational religion, the certainty of the undivided living Christ is of overwhelming magnitude.

It brings about an awareness of the place of the soul and its growth; assuring us that we may share in the glorified nature in the life to come.

Orthodoxy constantly reminds us of the place and importance of prayer. Through the Faith we can be lifted from our earthbound materialism to the heights and experience the vast expanses of spiritual freedom. Through our Faith and our Worship we may have a foretaste of the Glory which is to come, and that peace which passes all understanding, in order that we may live amidst the humdrum world filled with the love of God and confident of what awaits those who follow His Way.

JOHN COULSON, Author of this article, was received into the Serbian Orthodox Church on St. Nicholas Day 1983.

Holy Dormition
Orthodox Monastery,
Kiwitea - Feilding
New Zealand.

APPENDIX 8

ORTHODOX REASONS FOR OPPOSING THE ORDINATION OF WOMEN

1. There is no pressure in any part of the Orthodox Church to ordain women. This is therefore comment on other churches' problems from the Orthodox point of view.
2. The argument used by advocates of women's ordination seems to be:
 - (a) The ordained ministry is the highest status a Christian can achieve.
 - (b) Men should not be able to achieve a higher status than women merely because they are men.
3. Orthodox deny that ordination confers any sort of status on the man ordained. If it did, we would have clericalism which is the confusing of the ministry as a career with the ministry as a sharing in the unique ministry of Christ. St. Herman, the Orthodox Apostle of America, is not regarded any less highly because he was not ordained.
4. The only Christian who has any status is a saint - and this class of person is open to both women and men. Orthodox believe that the greatest of the saints the Blessed Virgin Mary the Theotokos is "more honourable than the Cherubim and more glorious beyond compare than the Seraphim." That is status! (Perhaps if some churches had been less apathetic about the status of the Theotokos they would be less worried about the status of their women members.)
5. The status of a priest as a person depends on his sanctity or lack of it. His status as a priest derives from the status of Christ. The two statuses are described by the priest thus:

"Look down upon me, a sinner, and thine unprofitable servant, and cleanse my soul and my heart from an evil conscience. By the power of thy Holy Spirit enable me, who am endued with the grace of the priesthood, to stand before this thy Holy Table, and perform the sacred Mystery of thy holy and immaculate Body and precious Blood. For I draw neigh unto thee, and bowing my neck I pray thee: turn not thy face from me, neither cast me out from among thy children; but vouchsafe that these gifts may be offered unto thee by me, thy sinful and unworthy servant. For thou thyself are he that offers and is offered, that accepts and is distributed, O Christ our God."

- part of the priest's Prayer of the Cherubimic Hymn
Liturgy of St John Chrysostom.
6. Since the priest is a priest only because he shares in the unique priesthood of Christ, and since Christ was a man, only men can share in his unique priesthood. Orthodox Holy Tradition states that there is an essential connection between the fact that Christ was God and was a man. Christ's maleness was not a sop to Jewish cultural conditioning. Nor was it a coincidence.
7. Orthodox take this whole thing so seriously that they could never consider union with any church which had ordained women priests.

for a deeper look at this question see; Schmemmann, Fr. Alexander: Concerning women's ordination - a letter to an Episcopalian friend, pp 239ff St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly 3/1973.

APPENDIX 9ORTHODOX AND ANGLICANS - PROSPECTS AND PROBLEMS IN REUNIFICATION

ANGLICAN: When they think of reunion, what do Orthodox think of the Anglican Church?

ORTHODOX: Orthodox find it very hard to think of the Anglican Church as one church theologically. We cannot see, for instance, how a parish where the priest teaches and the people believe that Holy Communion is no more than a memorial, can be in the same church theologically as a parish where the priest teaches and the people believe that Christ is truly and objectively present in the Eucharist and the communicants receive literally the Body and Blood of Christ.

A: But, surely, the Anglican Church's comprehensiveness is one of its strongest points?

O: If things are merely a matter of opinion then Christians should agree to differ in charity. And this happens in every church. But Christians are not free to differ about the truth of what God has revealed. We believe that anyone who does not rightly divide the word of God's truth should not be permitted to officiate in the Church of God which is the pillar and the ground of the truth.

A: Well, even if some Anglicans do believe what is wrong, this doesn't matter so far as the unity of the Anglican Church is concerned. Because every Anglican priest or bishop, irrespective of his opinions, is in the same ministry. And in 1922 Orthodox declared Anglican orders to be valid and in the Apostolic Succession.

O: Are you saying that a united, authentic ministry guarantees a united, authentic church?

A: Yes.

O: Well we would say you've got it back to front. If a church is canonical its ministry is canonical. If a church is not canonical, it doesn't matter whether its ministry is valid or not

A: Well what did the Orthodox Church think it was doing in 1922 when it declared Anglican orders to be valid.

O: Let's get the facts straight. The Orthodox Church never has made a statement about Anglican orders, nor is it likely to do so. Orthodox simply do not consider it is any of their business to pass judgements on any other church's sacraments. What a cheek it would be to do so! But in 1922 the Patriarchate of Constantinople gave its opinion that in the event of the Anglican Church and the Orthodox Church uniting, it would not in that case be necessary to reordain the Anglican clergy. So you can see that they were talking about a purely hypothetical future possibility. They were not saying anything about the situation here and now. And, incidentally, the Russian Orthodox disagreed about this with Constantinople.

- A: Well, if you cannot define the unity of the Church in terms of the ministry, how do you define it?
- O: "The blessed company of all faithful people." Only Orthodox would be much more specific than Anglicans are about what the faithful people are being faithful to.
- A: So are both our churches branches of the "One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church" or not?
- O: The branches of a tree must have a visible unity with each other. The notion that various churches which are not in communion with each other can still be branches of the ONE Church, we find absurd. We reject the Branch Theory in the form that many Anglicans hold it.
- A: Anglicans are quite prepared to grant Orthodox intercommunion here and now. Why can't you Orthodox reciprocate?
- O: I can best answer that by quoting the then Archbishop of Canterbury who in 1956 said:
 "The Orthodox said in effect: '...The Tradition is a concrete fact. Here it is in its totality. Do you Anglicans accept it or reject it?' The Tradition is for the Orthodox one indivisible whole: the entire life of the church in its fulness of belief and custom down the ages, including Maoriology and the veneration of icons. Faced with this challenge, the typical Anglican reply is: 'We would not regard Maoriology and the veneration of icons as inadmissible, provided that in determining what is necessary to salvation we confine ourselves to Holy Scripture.' But this reply only throws into relief the contrast between the Anglican appeal to what is deemed necessary to salvation and the Orthodox appeal to the one indivisible organism of Tradition, to tamper with any part of which is to spoil the whole, in the sort of way that a single splodge on a picture can mar its beauty."
- A: So if Anglicans are not prepared to buy the whole package, there can be no hope for union between our two churches?
- O: I object to Holy Tradition being referred to as a "package". Holy Tradition is the Truth of God. We are not asking Anglicans to become Greek or Russian or anything but English (or N.Z.) Orthodox. We do not expect you to accept the traditions of a church with a different cultural background to your own. We do ask you to accept in its entirety God's revealed truth i.e. Holy Tradition.
- A: But I see no practical possibility of all, or even most, Anglicans agreeing that what Orthodox claim is God's Truth is so in fact. So where does that land us?
- O: More or less where we started - that the fact that Anglicans disagree amongst themselves about what is God's Truth proves that Anglicans are not one church theologically. The action of some Episcopalian parishes in U.S.A. is interesting. When they saw the theological horse-trading their church's leaders were prepared to go in for in church union negotiations with Protestants, these parishes suddenly realised that as Christians they had a lot more in common theologically with the Orthodox

than with their fellow Episcopalians. The result was that they have been received - parishioners, priests, and plant - into the Orthodox Church.

- A: What changes did they have to make when they changed?
- O: Firstly there were some things they had to take really seriously, such as confession, fasting and abstinence, and monasticism. Take confession for example. The Anglican rule is: 'All may, none must, some should' - and a cynic might add 'most don't'. The Orthodox rule is simply: 'All must'.
- A: What about service changes?
- O: The Eucharistic Rite is an English translation of that used in Rome in the centuries immediately prior to the Great Schism. It is something like the English Missal used in some N.Z. Anglican parishes in the 1930s. Communion is given to all baptized and chrismated members. And that includes babies and little children. Incidentally, incense is used at all Liturgies. It is scriptural (Psalm 141:2; Rev.8:3-5). Orthodox have 12 little bells (1 for each Apostle) on the chains of the censer, so incense is heard as well as seen and smelt. The weekend pattern of services would be: Sat. evening Vespers or Compline followed by Confessions and the start of the Eucharistic fast. Sun. morning the Liturgy with morning tea all together afterwards.
- A: Is Chrismation the same as Anglican Confirmation?
- O: Chrismation is the Sealing of the Holy Spirit (see 2 Cor.1:21-22). I do not know what Anglicans believe is the inward grace of Confirmation.
- A: In these U.S. parishes, were the priests reordained?
- O: All except one were. There were 3 good reasons. 1) As I said, not all Orthodox agreed with the 1922 Constantinople opinion about Anglican orders. Reordination puts the priests' status beyond all doubt for all Orthodox. 2) Roman Catholics regard Orthodox priests as true priests, and permit their people to receive communion at Orthodox Liturgies. They take a different attitude to Anglicans. There is an obvious advantage in not confusing this situation unnecessarily. 3) Anglicans sometimes seem very confused about the priest's wife; reordaining her husband may clarify her status. Before a man can be ordained he must decide to marry or stay single for the rest of his life. If he is married, the Bishop must get the wife's approval in writing before he can ordain her husband. She is then given a title, e.g. 'Presvytera' in Greek, 'Khouria' in Arabic. Her primary duty is to her husband. She is expected to care for her husband as a man, so that he can care better for his people as a priest. In the parish she is honoured, not for what she does in the parish, but for the personal sacrifice she made in permitting her husband to become a priest.
- A: And what about the Bishop's wife?
- O: Only celibate or widower priests become bishops. Often priest-monks.

- A: So an Anglican bishop who was married could not become Orthodox?
- O: In that very special case an exception might be made, but I don't know. The case would have to be considered by the Patriarchial Synod.
- A: So what is the Orthodox contribution to the Ecumenical situation?
- O: Probably to ask questions such as:
- How many churches are there which are The One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church?
 - What is the basis of unity within the Church: the ministry, the Pope, the Bible, Holy Tradition (= God's revealed Truth)?
 - Is it possible to be sure of the Truth of God here and now? If so, where is it to be found?

This was written by Alastair Price for
St. Peter's Orthodox Truth Service.