SIR JOHN HALL:

PIONEER, PASTORALIST AND POLITICIAN

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Jean Garner

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a biography of Sir John Hall, a prominent New Zealand pioneer, pastoralist and politician. The study of his life provides insight into the colony's wider history but there is a significant personal dimension to this biography. It begins with an examination of Hall's childhood and early career in Britain and Europe, showing how his family and social context moulded his character and established habits and attitudes which remained with him for the rest of his life. Later chapters reveal how he made his fortune and explore his relationship with his wife and children, his response to family tragedy and the way in which he faced old age and mortality.

By putting Hall in his context, we can learn much about the nature of the society in which he lived. The thesis explores his social role as a great pastoralist in the Hororata district, calling into question Stevan Eldred-Grigg's suggestion that there was a New Zealand 'gentry'. It examines the lives of his employees and the structure of his local community in the light of Miles Fairburn's theses about transience and 'chaos' on the colonial frontier. And, since Hall returned to Britain and Europe for lengthy periods, it makes suggestions about the status of colonials in English society and about Hall's emerging sense of New Zealand identity.

Hall's prominence in public life rested on his career in politics which spanned forty years. He made a weighty contribution both in Canterbury's Provincial Council and in the General Assembly. The thesis focuses on Hall's place in the early faction system, his changing attitudes to the roles of the provinces and the central government, his contribution to the Stafford ministry of 1866-1869, his role as premier from 1879 to 1882, his handling of the Parihaka incident, the emergence of party politics and his part in the struggle which won the parliamentary suffrage for women. Hall was the author of significant administrative reforms and numerous measures promoting the colony's development. More surprisingly, perhaps, he was clearly the most significant democratic reformer in New Zealand's history. The paradoxical connection between his reforming role and his conservative political principles is thoroughly explored.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Writing a doctoral thesis is an educational journey into unexplored territory. My discoveries have been enriched by input and interest from a number of people in various capacities. I have valued my contact with them and their contribution to charting John Hall's life and times. To all I give my thanks.

I am grateful for the academic training and discipline supplied by the history department of Canterbury University. Both lecturing and secretarial staff have given ongoing support. The proposal to write Hall's biography came from Graeme Dunstall who continued to ask pertinent questions throughout the project. Len Richardson generously stepped in for a period to be my acting supervisor. Philippa Mein Smith commented on the draft of the chapter on women's suffrage. My especial thanks go to Chris Connolly for his encouragement, enduring patience and skilful teaching. His sharing of his own scholarly insights has also had a direct bearing on the arguments relating to Parihaka and women's suffrage. I appreciate this generosity and the time he has spent training me as a historian.

I have been particularly privileged to have had the unstinting and open-handed assistance and encouragement from Sir John and Lady Hall's descendants without which important aspects of this biography would be stunted. In family members today, I have enjoyed seeing resemblances in looks, habits and interests which have helped to bring their ancestors to life for me. Sir John would be thrilled to know how much valuable archival material his descendants have preserved. Tony Gray, Jeremy Hall, John Hall and Michael Hall have all shared papers and family oral history with me. Godfrey and Peggy Hall have been liberal in their hospitality and have talked with me for hours as the historical jigsaw has taken shape. Godfrey's enthusiasm has been most infectious and heartening.

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## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abstract</th>
<th>ii</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgements</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contents</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Tables</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Abbreviations</td>
<td>viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 1 Voices</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 2 Struggling to Succeed</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 3 Pioneering Prosperity</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 4 Fortune and Family</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 5 Farm and Community</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 6 Public Life in Early Canterbury</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 7 General Assembly 1856-73</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 8 Premiership</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 9 Colonials at Home and Abroad</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 10 The Passing of the Old Order</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 11 The Ladies’ Apostle</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 12 Final Years</td>
<td>265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>Length of service for domestic servants, 1891-1907</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>Attendance at cabinet meetings during the Hall ministry</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGC</td>
<td>Antony Gray Collection.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AJHR</td>
<td>Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CM</td>
<td>Canterbury Museum.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CU</td>
<td>University of Canterbury.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dryden</td>
<td>J. Dryden Hall (son).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fol.</td>
<td>Folder.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GH</td>
<td>George Hall (father).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GHHC</td>
<td>Godfrey H. Hall Collection.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Godfrey</td>
<td>Godfrey Hall (son).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grace</td>
<td>Grace Neall, née Hall (sister).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GWH</td>
<td>George Williamson Hall (brother).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HC</td>
<td>Hororata Collection.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HoR</td>
<td>House of Representatives.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JEF</td>
<td>John Fountaine (manager).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JH</td>
<td>John Hall.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KWS</td>
<td>Kate Sheppard.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LT</td>
<td>The Lyttelton Times.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mildred</td>
<td>Mildred Hall (daughter).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NACHO</td>
<td>National Archives Christchurch Office.</td>
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<td>NAHO</td>
<td>National Archives Head Office.</td>
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<td>NZG</td>
<td>New Zealand Gazette.</td>
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<tr>
<td>NZH</td>
<td>New Zealand Herald.</td>
<td></td>
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<td>NZJH</td>
<td>New Zealand Journal of History.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NZPD</td>
<td>New Zealand Parliamentary Debates.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NZT</td>
<td>New Zealand Times.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ODT</td>
<td>Otago Daily Times.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>Provincial Council.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rose</td>
<td>Rose Hall (wife).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SJ</td>
<td>Station Journal.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>s.l.</td>
<td>sine loco.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s.n.</td>
<td>sine nomine.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SJHP</td>
<td>Sir John Hall Papers.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TWH</td>
<td>Thomas Williamson Hall (brother).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilfred</td>
<td>Wilfred Hall (son).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WTU</td>
<td>Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
To Cathryn R. Lancaster, Timothy J. Lancaster and Sara E. Lee
INTRODUCTION

Democracies are said to have short memories for great services rendered to them.¹

Most residents of Christchurch would be hard pressed to direct a traveller to Halls Place in Addington. It is a small cul-de-sac completely overshadowed by the motorway behind it and the industrial enterprises on the adjacent main road. In many ways this typifies the general population’s awareness of Sir John Hall’s position in New Zealand history. Other figures dominate the annals of the past. In Christchurch James FitzGerald, William Moorhouse and William Rolleston are kept in the public eye because their statues are positioned close to the recreational areas of the Botanical Gardens and the Canterbury Museum. Nationally the more flamboyant personalities of Sir George Grey, Sir Julius Vogel and Richard John Seddon take centre stage.

Except for those with special reason to know of him, few outside academia have heard of Hall. Yet, for those who are alert to his name, his presence appears all-pervasive. He features off centre in many of the history books on nineteenth century New Zealand and his photograph is among those which line the corridors of Parliament Building in Wellington. He is recorded as a founder member of the Christchurch Club and on the board room walls of the Canterbury Agriculture and Pastoral Association his name is engraved as chairman. In the Christchurch City Council offices his picture hangs on the wall along with those of other former mayors. The youths in Canterbury secondary schools still compete for the Sir John Hall shield in life saving and his generosity to the Anglican church is recorded on a plaque in the crypt of the city’s cathedral. Visitors to the Canterbury Perspective Exhibition at the Robert McDougall Art Gallery in 1990 would largely have been unaware that he had donated two of the paintings on display to the Canterbury Society of Arts and they could easily have walked by his bust as yet another sculpture despite its central position.

Until a few years ago, I would have been equally unenlightened. Hesitant identification of Hall’s role and identity marked my own response when the project of writing his biography was first mooted. Since then I have become adept in social situations at rescuing those whose eyes betray momentarily a flash of ignorance when they enquire how I spend my day.

The reasons Hall’s name is largely forgotten are straightforward. While he enjoyed recognition for his achievements in his lifetime, he did not court publicity. Unlike Grey and Seddon, he abhorred the notion of stumping the country for votes. Although he was a competent speaker, he did not have Sir George Grey’s gift of honeyed words and he lacked the sort of charismatic character which could attract public attention. Rather his success was founded on "a combination of useful qualities". His great talent was in administration and one contemporary depicted him colourfully when he wrote:

Correspondence on public service, files of former papers, memoranda, returns, despatch-boxes, and pigeon-holes were to him what a gymnasium is to an athlete, and unascended Alps are to a member of the Alpine Club.

His habits of methodical organization were advantageous to him politically. He was noted for his mastery of detail which in part stemmed from intelligence and an excellent memory but also from the systematic filing of his correspondence and papers. He valued order and efficiency and set about establishing them both at Rakaia Terrace Station and in the postal and telegraph departments with which he was closely identified. He was quick to perceive similar competence in others and delegated authority to those who would ensure the structures he had set up would operate successfully.

Another major explanation of Hall’s decline in popular consciousness is that historians have focused on the role of other people in the famous events in which he had a central part. The first such event occurred in 1881 when he was premier of the government which sent troops to Parihaka and arrested the Maori leaders Te Whiti and Tohu. But the member of the government most mentioned in accounts of this incident is John Bryce, who had far less influence than Hall, but cut a bellicose and swaggering figure which has attracted attention because he is so easy to ridicule.

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2 W. Gisborne, New Zealand Rulers and Statesmen, from 1840 to 1897, London, Sampson Low, Marston & Company, 1897, p. 121.
3 Ibid., p. 122.
The second notable event was the enfranchisement of women in 1893. This brought Hall international fame in his lifetime, for he led the parliamentary struggle through which New Zealand became the first place in the world which became an independent country where women won the parliamentary vote on equal terms with men. Since only men could have a seat in the General Assembly, of necessity laws enfranchising women could only be enacted by men but Hall's role has subsequently been superseded by the desire to recognize women's active participation in history. From this latter perspective, Kate Sheppard and the Women's Christian Temperance Union are the dominant figures. They established the organization which in three consecutive years gathered increasingly large numbers of signatories for the petitions designed to show the strength of the women's demand for the vote. This is what the women did for themselves and in this interpretation Hall is relegated to being the member of the House of Representatives who placed these petitions before parliament and was the suffragists' leading spokesman in the Assembly.

Such an eclipse in public remembrance obscures the very real contribution which Hall made in a political career which spanned forty years. From 1853 when he was elected to the first Canterbury Provincial Council until his retirement from the House of Representatives at the age of seventy, he was rarely far from a position of influence. Yet only in the years 1879-1882 when he was premier did he step into the limelight. For the rest he headed the provincial executive, held cabinet office and was a valued colleague who was frequently consulted for his opinion.

As an early settler who lived long, Hall experienced much that was significant in New Zealand life in the latter half of the nineteenth century. His life provides some insight into the trials and benefits of emigration as well as casting light on one pattern of colonial hierarchy. Because he was a man of wide interests who belonged to numerous organizations, his activities give a glimpse into the social life of the colony. This is especially true in religious matters. He was a member of the Anglican church and served as vestryman and layreader at the local level as well as representing Canterbury periodically at general synod. As a prominent runholder, he was involved in the establishment of pastoralism in Canterbury and was to the fore in adopting many of the innovations which changing circumstances encouraged. Through him we can learn about life and social structure in a rural community. Because Hall travelled extensively and made several visits to Britain, the colonial perspective of his commentary highlights the growing sense of a New Zealand identity.
Hall was extremely conscious that he had lived through an important phase of New Zealand's development and lamented that "the best of the old New Zealanders" had failed to leave "any materials for history." He realized that his papers were a valuable resource for future generations and took great care that they should be deposited where they would be cared for. He even left funds so that copies of his diaries could be completed and bound. In fact, he admitted:

I have probably carried to excess the preservation of letters to myself, copies of my own letters, and of old paid accounts.

Consequently, the primary sources for writing a biography of Hall are particularly plentiful. In the Alexander Turnbull Library alone there are 351 substantial folders and bound volumes of items which contain papers, diaries and inward and outward correspondence. Ministerial papers and newspaper clippings on a wide range of topics make up the 99 volumes held by Canterbury University. At Terrace Station, Mrs Kate Foster has an archive room for papers and the bulky station ledgers and journals. Mr Godfrey Hall has inherited the diaries and other books and Mr Tony Gray sundry notebooks and a small collection of letters by Lady Hall. New papers are still coming to light. Recently Mr Jeremy Hall discovered a tin trunk full of primary material.

In Hall's lifetime, these records were "arranged after a fashion" and subsequently his executors and professional archivists have filed them more systematically. It is indicative of his orderly mind that on nearly every item of inward correspondence he inscribed the name of the sender and the date the letter was written. Frequently he noted when he answered and occasionally he added a summary of his reply. To this information his secretary later listed the subjects covered in each letter.

Despite the variety and volume of material, there are curious gaps in the content. The most striking of these is that Hall is largely silent about his private life. This absence highlights the philosophy of 'separate spheres' which guided Victorian attitudes to gender. In their correspondence to family and friends, Lady Hall wrote to the women and Hall wrote

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4 JH to W. Rolleston, 3 September 1898, MS x 922, p. 123, SJHP.
5 JH, 'Memorandum referred to in my will as to the disposal of my books printed papers newspaper extracts letters and accounts', HC.
6 Ibid.
7 Ibid.
to the men. Repeatedly, Hall refers to the fact that because Lady Hall was writing of family and household matters he would restrict himself to the discussion of the public world. Only after her death did he write of ordinary, domestic concerns.

The scarcity of items of personal interest emphasizes the change in what is perceived to be of historical value. As far as is known, hardly any letters from Hall to his wife remain and relatively few letters from Lady Hall survive although she was an untiring correspondent. Neither he nor his wife would have accorded any universal importance to their domestic world or to feminine interests and pursuits. Despite frequent reference to the women's exchanging letters, none of the correspondence between them appears to have survived. Only very recently has the significance of the private domain been recognized as worthy of study in its own right.

Another deficiency is the absence of a commentary on an inner life. Here the shortage illustrates Hall's character. He did not indulge in soul searching. He was a man of action and today would probably be regarded as a workaholic. His diaries deal with his doings and encounters and he rarely registers his personal response. Nor did he express his feelings to others, even to his wife. For her this blind spot was a source of friction between them. Yet Hall was not devoid of sensitivity. The death of his daughter, Mary, and later that of his wife affected him deeply. Because these instances of open emotion are comparatively rare, they are the more poignant and at these times I was particularly conscious of the charge that the biographer indulges in "prying" and "peeping".

My study of John Hall examines his life in the context of his times. For this reason I believe myself warranted in describing the contents as historical biography. It has been part of the discipline of writing to keep both aspects in combination. To neglect Hall was no longer to write biography; to omit the world in which he moved was to digress into storytelling.

Within this context, part of my justification for writing about him is orthodox and traditional because I have measured his 'worthiness' in terms of his status. This is still a

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8 Rose to JH, 18 March 1894, Fol. 203, SJHP.
valid criterion but it is no longer overriding. As far as possible I have incorporated the newer dimensions that recent discourse has brought to the surface. Where possible, I have given greater prominence to the domestic sphere of family relationships. Those who contributed to Hall’s well-being through their labour on his estate have been brought into sharper focus than would have hitherto been usual. While ostensibly dealing with the years 1824–1907, this biography has also become a subtle commentary on the values of the late twentieth century.
CHAPTER 1

VOICES

You will as I told you long since not stand in the medium station of life. but [be] either a man or a mouse as the expression goes.¹

These were the alternatives which George Hall saw facing his third son, John, who was about to celebrate his eighteenth birthday. John had a choice: he could take destiny by the hand and imprint his name on the world; or he could let life’s prospects pass him by.

George’s ambition for his son sprang directly from his family background and his own experience of life. The Halls were a respectable, seafaring, shipowning, Yorkshire family. They had long established themselves among the leaders in Hull’s marine enterprises. They had been master mariners in the merchant service and had also taken a role in the administration of Trinity House. This institution was created during the reign of Edward III. It existed to look after all the lighthouses in Great Britain and to chart the coast and navigable waterways. Trinity House also ran charitable bodies under royal charter. In order to qualify even for the order of Younger Brother in the organization, as George Hall’s father had done, it was necessary to be a master and a pilot.²

George Hall had been born on 4 January 1782, the eleventh child of John and Eleanor Hall. In 1795, at the age of thirteen, he went to sea as a cabin boy and on more than one occasion he came perilously close to being shipwrecked.³ He had received some education but not a great deal. This he remedied by using his leisure time profitably for study.⁴ His early career coincided with the Napoleonic Wars, during which he was captured by the French in 1805. He was a prisoner of war for six years. In March 1810, he attempted to escape but was recaptured at Strasbourg. Undaunted, he made a second bid for freedom in

¹ GH to JH, 2 December 1842, Fol. 4, SJHP.
² LT, 26 June 1907; Greenwood’s Picture of Hull, Hull, J. Greenwood; London, Simpkin and Marshall, 1835, p. 93.
³ He recorded his early adventures in G. Hall, Autobiography of a Little Sailor Boy, Christchurch, Christchurch Press Company Limited, 1907 [1862]. GH to JH, 10 December 1859, Fol. 22, SJHP.
⁴ GH to JH, [-] February 1839, Fol. 1, SJHP.
November of the same year. He undertook a long and arduous journey on foot across France and was ferried over the Channel by smugglers. He was landed on the English coast at Dungeness near Rye on New Year’s Day 1811.  

Through sheer determination George Hall rose to the rank of captain in the merchant service and was promoted to be one of the twelve Elder Brothers of Trinity House. Such was his energy that he further outstripped his own father’s achievement by becoming one of the two heads of that organization when in September 1841 he was elected warden and had the satisfaction of reaching the top of his profession.  

George’s career was well established when he married Grace Williamson on 21 October 1817. The Williamsons were a prosperous mercantile family in Hull. Grace enjoyed a higher social status and appears to have been financially better off than her husband. John, the fourth child, was born on 18 December 1824. He had two elder brothers, George and Thomas, who were born in 1818 and 1819 respectively. Thomas’ twin, Ann, died in 1826. That year, too, a younger sister, Grace, was born. John had no personal memory of his mother as she died in 1827.  

John was baptised at Sculcoates in Hull on 31 January 1825 and was named after his paternal grandfather. As a young boy, he was conscious that he alone of the children did not have Williamson as a middle name. For a time he remedied this by using it on his letters and in his schoolbooks.  

Despite differences in temperament, family bonds were strong and John’s brothers and sister surrounded him with affection. Although George and Tom were separated from their younger brother by age and later by distance, they took a supportive interest in him. Above all in his early years, it was with Grace, who was nearest to him in age, that John had the closest relationship. They corresponded frequently and at length. These ties gave John a secure place in the family, contributing to his self-assurance in maturity.

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5 G. Hall, Journal of Two Escapes from French Prisons during the War with Napoleon, London, Truslove and Hanson Ltd, n.d., [1860]; GH to JH, 9 June 1848, Fol. 8, SJHP.
6 GH to JH, 2 September 1841, Fol. 3, SJHP.
George Hall's experience shaped his attitude to the rearing of his children. He was determined that the education which he had gained by hard labour in his youth would be taught to his offspring in their childhood. For John this meant that in 1830 he was sent to a small local school for boys and girls. He did not always take his studies seriously and in later years recalled how once he had been kept in on his birthday for "upsetting a whole form of girls".7

While George wanted John to acquire knowledge, he was also anxious to build up his son's sense of independence. For the next stage of his education, John was one of twelve at a boys' boarding school in North Ferriby near Hull run by Dissenters. Although the pupils were well cared for, discipline was strict and on one occasion John was left to anticipate "a pretty severe caning" overnight. This he considered the worst part of the punishment and he "did not transgress again."8

John's English education ended when he was ten because his father was resolved that the family should learn foreign languages, a practice which was becoming more common. For George Hall, this particular determination derived from his adventures in France. For it was his patient acquisition of colloquial French which had been decisive in enabling him to pass as a Frenchman and gain the freedom which spared him a further five years incarceration.9 And, as he had learned the language and its attendant culture by living within it, he believed this to be the best method of instruction. That meant that John would have to continue his education in France. Moreover, since George had decided that John would also learn German, it meant that John would have to live for some time among German speakers as well.

George saw the proficiency in modern languages as a specialized stepping stone that would not only secure a valued position but would also mark John out as one not destined for routine occupation.10 Since English education still emphasized the study of Latin and Greek, George considered that, by gaining fluency in French and German, John would have a distinct advantage over his contemporaries especially as major British trading enterprises were not restricted to the United Kingdom but dealt with Europe as well.

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7 Diary 1830-51: Some recollections of my early School days, GHHC.
8 Ibid.
10 GH to JH, 23 October 1843, Fol. 5, SJHP.
John began his study of foreign languages in the same way as his father. In 1835, when John was ten years old, his father took him to Herr Tobler's school at St Gall in Switzerland. Immersed in a German-speaking environment, John rapidly learned the rudiments of the language and at the end of his life recounted:

I was the only English boy in the school. Except one master who knew a few words of English, nobody else could speak it. The consequence was, in a fortnight I could speak German pretty well.\(^\text{11}\)

Life at Herr Tobler's was rigorous. All through the year, the boys washed outside at a large fountain in the courtyard. Even though this school closed, he stayed another year at St Gall boarding with the Huber family. With them he made frequent visits to the theatre and excursions into the countryside.\(^\text{12}\) George was pleased with the progress his son had made in Switzerland and repeated to him one teacher's report that John spoke German "very well" and was considered among those "who pay every attention to the improvement of [their] education".\(^\text{13}\)

While at St Gall, John began French lessons but he gained fluency in that language, too, by living with French speakers. In 1837 he moved to a school in the Quartier Latin in Paris. Here he was in a less protective environment. The school had a larger number of pupils and being in an important capital city, John was conscious of the political world. He recognized prominent people in the street and once saw the cavalry subduing "an attempted revolution". On his days away from the school, he met people of some importance among whom were the governor of the Bank of France and a colonel who had retreated from Moscow with Napoleon's army. From Paris it was easier for John to return to Hull for a holiday but the experience of being teased for wearing his French school uniform highlighted his awareness of being different from his English contemporaries.\(^\text{14}\)

During John's time in Paris, George pointed out practical realities. His means were limited so that he wanted his son to be thrifty and he advised John "to study to be careful" with expenditure. He also encouraged him to develop those traits necessary for advancement in the world. He never left John in any doubt that all his "future prospects in life" would rest largely on his own merits. Since first impressions were important in professional contacts

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\(^\text{11}\) Diary 1830-51: School days, GHHC.
\(^\text{12}\) Ibid.
\(^\text{13}\) GH to JH, 13 May 1837, Fol. 1, SJHP.
\(^\text{14}\) Diary 1830-51: School days, GHHC.
and especially so in the world of business and officialdom, George stressed that legibility was essential and exhorted his son: "take more pains in your writing [for] it is not what it ought to be at your age." George emphasized, too, that "to attain wisdom much application is necessary". John replied reassuring his father that "I do my best to get on with my learning, and I trust my efforts will not be in vain".

After John had spent two years in Paris, George directed his son's education more towards commerce. It is not clear when the decision was made that John should pursue a business career but there are indications that early on George Hall recognized aptitudes in John which set him apart from his brothers, for he received an education different from theirs. They received their first lessons from their father, whereas John went to school. John undertook three periods of instruction in Europe, while his brothers had only two. In addition, while they studied German and French solely at the seaport cities of Hamburg and Bordeaux, John was initially sent inland to St Gall and Paris which implies that even by the time he was ten it had been decided that, unlike his father and brothers, he would not go to sea.

John moved on to Hamburg in 1839. Not only did he polish up his German but he followed the local custom by which all young men were taught a handicraft. Later he reported that he became "pretty efficient" at making cardboard boxes. As Herr de Dobbeler, the father of the family with whom he boarded, was the manager of an insurance company, this was another informal bridge to the world of business. Once again, George emphasized the habits essential for John's future well-being: diligence, financial economy and obedience to those in authority. At the end of two more years when John was completing his continental education, his sister also came to Hamburg to finish her schooling and she commented to their father on her brother's kindness.

While John did not dispute his father's decision to emphasize learning modern languages, in maturer years he regretted that his foreign education had not included some instruction in sport. He considered that this had deprived him of "innocent recreation" and had been a "drawback" in his dealings with other people. He also concluded that

15 GH to JH, [-] February 1839, Fol. 1, SJHP.
16 JH to GH, 26 February 1839, Fol. 1, SJHP.
17 Diary 1830-51: School days, GHHC.
18 GH to JH, 8 September 1840, Fol. 2, SJHP.
participation in sport would have made him a "more useful man". He saw sport, in moderation, as character building, believing that the qualities developed on the playing field had "made enterprising explorers[,] plucky soldiers & sailors, & hardy and successful colonists." In making these connections, he was following the nationalist thinking of his age which equated the sporting prowess engendered by the English public schools with imperial supremacy. Nevertheless, as much as he rued the "neglect" of "athletic sports" on the Continent, he also rejected extreme British enthusiasm for games as "absurd".

In the process of giving John an education, George sought to provide him with a wider view of the world free from parochialism and sectarianism. The Halls were members of the Church of England but John had attended a boarding school run by Dissenters and noted how they had accommodated religious differences "by taking the boys to the Parish Church in the morning and to a Dissenting Meeting House...in the afternoon." The division between Protestant and Roman Catholic was especially bitter so that John's subsequent experience in Switzerland was quite unorthodox. He spent one year boarding with a family where the father was the conductor of the music in a Roman Catholic cathedral. Only in Paris, where there was an English church service at the British embassy chapel did John's European education allow him to worship in the Anglican tradition. For this purpose, George sent John a prayer book in which he expressed the hope that "by your frequent study of its blessed contents. it will lead you to that Path of Life, in which true happiness alone is to be found". While John remained a member of the Church of England, throughout his life he also adhered to ecumenical principles and in this he stood apart from most of his contemporaries.

19. 'Athletic Sports', in 'Miscellaneous', p. 168, HC.
21 'Athletic Sports', in 'Miscellaneous', p. 168, HC.
22 12 May 1888, Diary 1888, GHHC.
23 GH to JH, 20 August 1844, Fol. 7, SJHP; GH to JH, 13 May 1837, Fol. 1, SJHP.
24 Diary 1830-51: School days, GHHC.
25 GH to JH, 14 November 1837, Fol. 1, SJHP.
While his father's voice was a very powerful influence, it was not the only one which helped to form John's character. At the end of 1826, John's maternal aunt, Mildred Williamson, started to help in looking after the children. After the death of Mrs Hall, she continued to assist in raising the family as George remained at sea until 1835. Nor did her duties cease on her marriage to William Fowler. As they had no children of their own, both she and her husband became devoted to the young Halls. Writing to John, Grace later recorded how their uncle "always took an especial interest in you from the days when you used to go down to the pier with a fishing rod." 

Although Mildred commended John for his progress in his school work, she took a greater interest in his health. She sympathized with him when he was ill and advised him to take "great care" and especially to "guard against cold." While her emphasis on John's looking after himself properly was evidence of her affection for him, her concern also betrayed the uncertainty of life in an age when medical knowledge was little better than folklore. Untimely death was commonplace: John's mother and elder sister had already died. His thinking was moulded by this outlook and all his life he was anxious about his physical well-being.

The Christian faith was important to Mildred and she shared her religious beliefs with her nephew. She repeatedly reminded him: "never neglect to read your Bible, and say your prayers night and morning." Where his father had abhorred sectarian narrowness, she constantly expressed her fundamentalist faith which she earnestly wished John to adopt. She sought to direct John into the paths of righteousness by exploiting fear of religious retribution. Typically, she told him that he should

resist every bad example. [R]emember God sees everything you do, and hears all you say, and at the last day, we must all give an account of our deeds, done in this life.

26 Grace to JH, 8 October 1859, Fol. 22, SJHP.
27 M. Fowler to JH, 15 April 1836, Fol. 1, SJHP.
28 M. Fowler to JH, 9 May 1837; M. Fowler to JH, 3 December 1839, (Fol. 1, SJHP).
29 M. Fowler to JH, 15 April 1836, Fol. 1, SJHP.
30 M. Fowler to JH, 29 April 1839, Fol. 1, SJHP.
As if this were not enough, she said that she required from him no more than his mother would have done, a claim whose power lay in the fact that John was in no position to contradict it.31

This pressure diminished after John’s seventeenth birthday, when she enclosed with her letter a piece in her own handwriting entitled From a Father to his Child on his Birthday. This note spoke clearly about the basis of a religious decision and asked John to make a commitment.32 How John replied is not known but he remained a devout Christian for the rest of his days.

Although Mildred and George both wanted the best for John, a rift developed between them when they competed for the affection of the children. This "unpleasantness" was very important because it distorted George’s interpretation of his children’s conduct. He considered any divergence of opinion to be the result of Mildred’s attempt to wreak havoc in the family by casting aspersions on his competence as a good father.33 Despite the tension, John retained strong ties of love with both his aunt and his father. Neither Mildred nor her husband was deterred by George’s treatment of them. Over many years William used his contacts and expertise to assist John’s career and despite several strokes, Mildred corresponded faithfully with John until her death in 1861. That John was grateful to his aunt was evident when he named his elder daughter after her. At the same time, in spite of George’s frequent doubts, John revered his father and embraced most of his precepts. Towards the end of his own life, John republished George’s account of his adventures as a cabin boy and the journal of his exploits in France. John appreciated, too, the effort involved in his father’s achievements. That father and son possessed many qualities in common also helped to build mutual respect and affection. Both responded to life with energy and optimism and had little time for those who wasted life’s opportunities.

Consciously and unconsciously, John had imbibed directives from his family and education which shaped his life and henceforward would temper his judgement. He had experienced much affection and this brought him a general self-assurance but, influenced by his aunt’s concern about his health, he continued to worry about his physical well-being. His

31 M. Fowler to JH, 3 December 1839, Fol. 1, SJHP.
32 M. Fowler to JH, 16 December 1841, Fol. 3, SJHP.
33 GH to JH, [-] February 1839, Fol. 1, SJHP.
spiritual education had been unusual and he was to be uncommonly tolerant about religious differences. With regard to the practical world, he was already aware of the importance of living within his means. He had made a fine start in obtaining the mastery of knowledge and the proper habits of work and presentation which would be essential ingredients for success in any endeavour. George Hall provided a model of what could be achieved with energy and effort. He believed that John would do well and hoped to see him in a satisfactory job so that "all I have done for you, will be repaid". John took his father's ambition to heart and set out to make the words come true.

34 GH to JH, 11 September 1843, Fol. 5, SJHP.
CHAPTER 2
STRUGGLING TO SUCCEED

England was a country full of young men whose prospects seemed dim.¹

It was with the voices of his father and his aunt ringing in his ears that John returned to England in the latter quarter of 1840. Having reached the pinnacle of success in Trinity House, George recognized that given another occupation John had "much higher to rise in life".² Although George had had limited contact with business, he knew that it offered much greater scope than maritime service for a person of talent. Hence, John was to break new ground and work in London. As the capital and the heart of the mercantile world, the city offered him the greatest prospects for advancement. For the next decade, he matched his father's aspirations and his own ambitions against the realities of London business and political life.

Exposure to the power of patronage was a shock. The harsh reality was that a sponsor often counted for more than ability when it came to obtaining a worthwhile position with future prospects. Patronage permeated Victorian society but was especially relevant to the aspirations of the middle classes.³ Important public appointments were in the hands of the few but large numbers of the population were also engaged in negotiating an intricate network of influence in order to make "strategic contact with other people".⁴ Acquaintance and recommendation gave access to introductions and consideration for employment. Because it dominated recruitment, patronage was particularly critical for those starting a career.⁵ Once a man was established, seniority and talent played an increasingly important part in winning advancement. The 1840s began a time of transition in the system and eventually fewer and fewer promotions were open to a sponsor's influence.⁶

² GH to JH, 23 October 1843, Fol. 5, SJHP.
⁴ Bourne, p. 56.
⁵ Ibid., pp. 166-9.
⁶ Ibid., pp. 23 and 40.
Nor was patronage the only barrier to establishing a career. The years 1840 to 1850 were lean ones for a large section of the English population and the situation worsened as time passed. It was a decade in which the distribution of the new riches of the Industrial Revolution remained markedly uneven. While there were fortunes to be made, unemployment was high as machines replaced human muscle, and the profits of more efficient production had as yet done little to alleviate the poverty of the masses. In an age when financial hardship was considered to be a symptom of moral weakness and the draconian severity of the New Poor Law of 1834 removed even the limited relief afforded by the parish workhouse, to be without an income was tantamount to starvation. As a consequence, there was intense competition for any vacancy and in the desperate scramble to find work any position was usually preferable to none.  

In the face of these two hurdles, George Hall availed himself of every contact and stratagem he possessed to secure John's first position. He himself went to London with his son to guide him and to assist his cause with his presence. Because George lacked commercial contacts, he was compelled to advocate the adoption of a programme to foster connections. It was not that John's skills lacked value or that personal presentation had become less important. Indeed, they were vital but they were not enough.

The family was the first link in the chain of patronage. George consulted William Fowler and advised John to write and persuade his uncle to use his "great interest" in the search for suitable work. Despite the ties of affection, such assistance was not automatic as William Fowler's relatives had the first claim on his influence.

Friends, acquaintances and continual self-advertisement formed the next line of attack. One contact, Mr Holmes, recommended that John provide samples of his language skills for prospective employers and "be on the spot" in London to make the most of any

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8 GH to JH, 8 September 1840, Fol. 2, SJHP.
9 GH to JH, 4 April 1842, Fol. 4, SJHP.
opportunity. Others gave father and son introductions to merchants, one of whom merely dismissed them with the words: "There are more cats than mice about."  

Eventually, through the auspices of Richard Gibbs, John went to work in London for Mr N.E. Bieber, a German merchant. He got the job because of his proficiency in languages but the requirements were mundane, largely consisting of office duties and the copying of documents. As a result, he became increasingly bored as his talents were underemployed.  

Once John had begun work, the next step was to obtain advancement. Because John wished to obtain a new position at the end of a year's service, George instructed him to observe all the necessary but unctuous rituals which helped to smooth the path to promotion. In particular, he was to be "obliging" to his employer because he might need "a good word" from him. George even went so far as proposing to visit John in mid-December 1841 specifically to check "if you have gained the esteem of your employer so as to get a better situation". 

In order to procure a situation elsewhere, it was essential that John demonstrate that his competence was above that required by a routine drudge. For this reason, George had to emphasize the marketability of the assets John did possess and impress upon his son that he could not afford to relax in his efforts for one moment. Observances which might be considered trivial were important for paving the way to success. George pointed out that even the addressing of an envelope required "particular" care as this was "the first thing that strikes the receiver." Repeatedly, George stressed the advice he had always given: "continue to improve and all will go well with you." As encouragement he held up Mr Gibbs and Mr Neall as examples of men who had risen "by their own merit" from whom John could

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10 S. Holmes to GH, 20 October 1840, Fol. 2, SJHP.  
11 Diary 1830-51: Some recollections of my early School days, GHHC.  
12 JH to [?], 14 October 1841, Fol. 3, SJHP.  
13 JH to [?], 8 November 1842, Fol. 4, SJHP.  
14 GH to JH, 2 September 1841, Fol. 3, SJHP.  
15 GH to JH, 28 September 1841, Fol. 3, SJHP.  
16 GH to JH, 16 November 1841, Fol. 3, SJHP.  
17 Ibid.
"take a lesson". Above all, John had to ingratiate himself once more with his patron. George made sure John understood what this involved:

...be sure that you keep up your acquaintance with him, always showing him every possible mark of respect, as he may still be of great value to you.19

George himself flattered and fawned to promote John's interest. In April 1842, as a token of respect and gratitude for services rendered and in the expectation of further favours he sent Richard Gibbs "a real Yorkshire ham" weighing 25½ lb.20 Even such gifts were given in a hierarchy. The Rutherfords, with whom John boarded, only received a 21 lb ham.21

Meanwhile, John was expected to be vigilant on his own account. He was to be alert to new opportunities and continuously endeavour to make contacts of his own. In a letter to a prospective employer dated 14 October 1841, John showed that he had learnt these lessons well. He paid proper respect to his patron and the opportunities, albeit "limited", which he had received at Mr Bieber's. Although he had had an "interview," he followed it through with a letter which recorded his training and skills. At the same time, he indicated that he was a man who was keen to move ahead in the world.22

John made no headway in gaining advancement. By this stage, his poor financial position was adding urgency to the pressure he was already feeling. As was the custom of the day, the cost of his training was offset by his receiving no salary - an unskilled labourer was better off than he. He knew, however, that his prospects were ultimately brighter for he could expect a better position in time. Meanwhile, although he had probably started work at the end of 1840, John received no remuneration prior to 1 January 1842. He was, however, able to report aggrievedly to his father that from that date he would receive "six shillings a week & not seven as I think you understood Mr Bieber."23 This pittance did not even cover his accommodation which from March 1842 was seventeen shillings a week -

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18 GH to JH, 28 September 1841, Fol. 3, SJHP.
19 GH to JH, 4 April 1842, Fol. 4, SJHP.
20 Ibid.
21 GH to JH, 11 December 1843, Fol. 5, SJHP.
22 JH to [J], 14 October 1841, Fol. 3, SJHP.
23 JH to J. Newbury, 21 October 1842; JH to GH, 10 January 1842, (Fol. 4, SJHP).
dinner was extra. This meant that he was still dependent on his father's allowance of £6 a month. His total income was £87 12s a year which was hardly adequate for someone trying to maintain a respectable appearance. The novelist, Anthony Trollope, marvelled in his autobiography that those of his friends who were well qualified to judge should have considered £90 a year adequate to enable a nineteen year old "to live in London, keep up my character as a gentleman, and be happy." That was in 1834 and Trollope was accustomed to frugality.

Despite a continued lack of success to improve his situation, John did not give up. In April 1842, he sought his uncle's help once more. Fully aware of the fact that the worsening economic climate added complications to an already competitive field, the Fowlers continued to spare no effort on John's behalf. It was his uncle who recruited to his cause an influential sponsor: Sir Frederick Trench, member of parliament for Scarborough. The aim was to secure John the position of clerk in the ordnance department. This would be a post to be proud of because it was a government position which offered security of tenure with the possibility of higher promotion. Unfortunately for John, the claims of the families of officers who had distinguished themselves or who had been killed in action already blocked the obligations of patronage so that Aunt Mildred considered his chances "remote" and held out no false hope:

You have no idea of the immense number of Applications with which the Master of the Ordnance is overwhelmed from the Officers of long distinguished services.

The prolonged lack of promotion severely tested John's resilience and faith in himself. A system which rewarded connections rather than effort and excellence made him frustrated and reckless. In June 1842, he wrote to his brother, George:

I am just where I was six months ago, sadly in want of a situation & disliking London as much as anybody can possibly do. Do you think that any sort of

24 GH to JH, 26 March 1842, Fol. 4, SJHP.
25 GH to JH, 23 November 1842, Fol. 4, SJHP.
27 M. Fowler to JH, 27 April 1842, Fol. 4, SJHP.
28 Bourne, p.80; M. Fowler to JH, 27 April 1842, Fol. 4, SJHP.
29 Ibid.
situation would be procurable in the East Indies? at home I am sure nothing can be done.30

By the end of the year he was feeling desperate but he was not idle in chasing what openings there were. Driven by his sense of being a financial burden to his father, on 21 October he asked Mr James Newbury to sponsor his interest among acquaintances, supplying copies of text in German and French as proof of his expertise.31 Having had a conversation with Messrs I. and R. McCracken, he wrote to them on 22 October offering his services as a junior clerk.32 Time after time, he applied for clerk's positions.33 All these efforts were to no avail and he was stating the truth when he wrote to Grace in January 1843: "As to getting a situation I have done all I can, but I really see as little prospect now as ever."34

As his eighteenth birthday approached, John's affairs reached a crisis. Disinclined "to persevere" in the career in which George had "placed him", in November 1842, he applied to his father for permission to join the ordained ministry of the Church of England.35 It is to George's credit that he took this "startling" request seriously enough to consult his legal adviser.36 This gentleman rejected the proposal as impractical. The length and expense of the training would stretch George's resources but the crucial deterrent was again lack of patronage:

Has he or have you any powerful friends who can advance him in the church? - if not where are those friends to come from? - and if not found, what are his chances of success - Look around at...the thousands of men, who with the education and the feelings of Gentlemen have acquired their ultimatum in the sacred profession - the office of a curate - with an annual stipend in few cases (comparatively speaking) of more than one hundred a year.37

John would be merely joining the ranks of those clergy who endured poverty with no prospect of change, while harbouring the aspirations of gentlefolk. Ordination, therefore, was not

30 JH to GH, 30 June 1842, Fol. 4, SJHP.
31 JH to J. Newbury, sent 21 October 1842, Fol. 4, SJHP.
32 JH to I. & R. McCracken, 22 October 1842, Fol. 4, SJHP.
33 JH to [?], n.d.; JH to W.J. Thompson & Sons, [-] October 1842; JH to [?], 8 November 1842, (Fol. 4, SJHP).
34 JH to Grace, 25 January 1843, Fol. 5, SJHP.
35 [W. Bunney?] to GH, 26 November 1842, Fol. 4, SJHP.
36 GH to JH, 2 December 1842, Fol. 4, SJHP.
37 [W. Bunney?] to GH, 26 November 1842, Fol. 4, SJHP.
recommended. John was strongly advised to be pragmatic and pursue his current career, using the openings offered by the commercial world as an outlet for his philanthropy.38

In his own letter accompanying this counsel, George expressed dissatisfaction with John’s restlessness and lack of advancement:

...you are old enough to gain your own bread by an honest application of the talents to be derived by the education I have given you...It is my duty to tell you I shall not allow you to become much longer chargeable to me.39

This ultimatum was intended to ensure that John did not relax in his quest for financial autonomy. By threatening to reduce John’s allowance the following year and eventually to cut it off altogether, George was trying to make certain that his son availed himself of every opportunity to ask for an increase in salary and to put his name forward for advancement.

To motivate his son further, George also reminded him of the disproportionate support which he had already received. John’s brothers had become economically independent once they had gone to sea but John’s training for a higher calling meant that he required parental support over a longer period. George wanted to be seen to treat all his children fairly. Consequently, he informed John that he had received £299 more than George, £297 more than Tom and £173 more than Grace.40 But although his father repeatedly made references to the additional expense, he did not withdraw John’s allowance.

In George’s view, his investment in the quality of John’s education should by now have started to pay dividends and have overcome the lack of connections. Because the standard in most English schools was "abysmally low",41 George drew the conclusion that the fault lay in John’s attitude. He rebuked his son for wasting "valuable time" and commanded him to "alter your demeanour: altogether...you must awake yourself as from a dream."42 Yet John’s problem was not day-dreaming but the brute realities of a system which rewarded connections over scholastic attainments and effort. Trollope once again provides an illuminating comparison. He claimed that after twelve years education in England which included several years at Harrow

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38 Ibid.
39 GH to JH, 2 December 1842, Fol. 4, SJHP.
40 Ibid.
41 Bourne, p. 102.
42 GH to JH, 3 January 1843, Fol. 5, SJHP.
I could read neither French, Latin, nor Greek. I could speak no foreign language... Of the merest rudiments of the sciences I was completely ignorant. My handwriting was in truth wretched. My spelling was imperfect.43

In nearly every respect John outclassed him yet, when Trollope applied for a position of clerk in the general post office in 1834, he was appointed even though he blatantly failed to demonstrate any competence when interviewed.44 The significant difference between the two young men was that Trollope had influential connections. His mother, a popular writer, had among her "dearest friends" the daughter-in-law to the secretary of the post office. Trollope's genteel poverty enabled this lady to plead the priority of his case successfully because this mixture of circumstances constituted an "irresistible" claim for patronage.45

In February 1843, John returned to importuning Mr Gibbs but there was still no news of any suitable vacancy - only the promise of further enquiry.46 But Gibbs's efforts earned him another 25½ lb ham47 when, in March, John was appointed as a visiting salesman for the importing firm headed by Mr Treibmann.48 For the first six months at least John's spirits revived but once again the crushing monotony of routine became oppressive and Mr Treibmann's temper was an additional trial. For this a salary of £30 per annum was poor compensation.49 Nevertheless, since debt could ultimately bring imprisonment, respectability meant living within his means and, as a constant check on his financial affairs, his father insisted that he keep formal bookkeeping records.50 George left John in no doubt that a person who became "a slave to his Creditor" was to be held in contempt.51

Recognizing John's disappointment and need for encouragement, George was more gentle in his attitude in 1844. He stressed his faith in John's future, confident that his superior education would bring ultimate success. In the meantime, John would find it politic to be humble and courteous, learn what he could and ask Mr Treibmann for an increase in salary.52 While George continued to urge John to maintain his contacts, his own efforts to

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43 Trollope, p. 52.
44 Ibid, pp. 48-49.
46 JH to GH, 2 February 1843, Fol. 5, SJHP.
47 GH to JH, 7 April 1843, Fol. 5, SJHP.
48 Diary 1830-51: School days, GHHC.
49 JH to GH, 6 March 1843, Fol. 5, SJHP.
50 GH to JH, 16 November 1841, Fol. 3, SJHP.
51 GH to JH, 15 December 1844, Fol. 7, SJHP.
52 GH to JH, 12 February 1844, Fol. 7, SJHP.
cultivate Mr Blundell from October 1843 to May 1844 testified to how fickle such worthies could be. George complained that Blundell "was a man too much taken up with his own business to look much after that of others." For want of any alternative, George was forced to re-emphasize that John’s merit would be his "truest friend" and would bring him his reward.

It was not until May 1844 that John began to make headway, and then only because connections began to work in his favour. Through his uncle’s influence, Sir Frederick Trench was induced to approach Lord Lonsdale, the postmaster general, soliciting John’s appointment in the general post office. By August 1844 John had been made an extra clerk in the secretary’s department on a salary of £78 per annum. George rejoiced that John had made a significant stride towards "independence" and acknowledged that only "those of great trust" gained entry to the sanctum of the post office.

John’s letters from his family at this date reveal much of the power and size of the adversary he had been combatting. They place in clear relief the overt hypocrisy and manipulation demanded by the patronage system. Because John won his place in the face of intense competition, his brother George advised him to give priority to his visit to Mr Laurence, the assistant secretary, in order to secure his position. If Mr Treibmann would not allow him to leave without serving his month’s notice, John was "not to feel guilty" and leave anyway. John could now afford to offend the employer to whom, of necessity, he had been so respectful.

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53 GH to JH, 13 February 1844, Fol. 7, SJHP.
54 GH to JH, 10 May 1844, Fol. 7, SJHP.
55 GH to JH, 15 May 1844, Fol. 7, SJHP.
57 GH to JH, 15 May 1844, Fol. 7, SJHP.
58 GH to JH, 6 August 1844, Fol. 7, SJHP.
59 GWH to JH, 5 August 1844, Fol. 7, SJHP.
Even more significantly, his uncle laid out precisely the elaborate formalities to be observed to repay John's obligations and the requisite steps for embarking on a new career:

I have just seen Mr. Donner who seems wishful for you to call on Sir Fred'k Trench & thank him as soon as possible... I have wrote Sir Fred'k by this post to thank him myself for his kindness... you can tear this half sheet off & take the other with his Lordship's letter - when you present yourself to Mr. Laurence.\(^{60}\)

John's pursuit of patronage did not end there. His situation was not a permanent one, and as such gave him neither security nor holidays. More to the point, his prospects of advancement without a permanent position were very limited. When two other extra clerks were promoted to the regular staff, he was quick to notice the secret of their success. Within a month of his appointment, he had written to his uncle beseeching him to petition Sir Frederick again as four more permanent positions were to become available and such a windfall might "not occur again for years".\(^{61}\) John had no illusions about how they were to be distributed:

The appointments from among the extra clerks of the Secretary's Office to the fixed establishment do not, as is usually the case, go by routine - but are perfectly arbitrary, & quite a matter of favor and are made according as the clerk's interest is pushed with Lord Lonsdale... in fact, length of service as an extra gives no title whatever to promotion, & it is not more difficult to get put on the establishment at once, than after a number of years service... now is the time to push the matter; for, if ever there is a chance of success it is now, on this very favorable occasion.\(^{62}\)

Such an immediate reapplication was a delicate operation. There was a risk of creating offence by seeming presumptuous and this could do serious harm to his prospects. The family questioned John's judgment, while being willing to abide by his decision.\(^{63}\) His brother George promptly transmitted William Fowler's directions on how to create maximum impact:

...write as near as can be a fac simile of your letter which I return enclosed... uncle will enclose yours in a letter of his own to Sir F - ... Write it neat, but in an offhand way, as tho' not intended for him to see... In case you resolve on the experiment, we think in order to make the chance greater,

\(^{60}\) W.B. Fowler to JH, [?] August 1844, Fol. 7, SJHP.

\(^{61}\) JH to W.B. Fowler, 9 September 1844, Fol. 7, SJHP.

\(^{62}\) Ibid.

\(^{63}\) GWH to JH, 12 September 1844, Fol. 7, SJHP.
that Father should apply thro' Sir W James, send him a similar statement...keep all to yourself.64

The approach to Sir Walter James, member of parliament for Hull, highlights the political dimension of patronage. Because there was mutual benefit in the system, representatives usually took seriously their obligations to use their influence to assist constituents and loyal supporters.65 John's father qualified on both counts and relished this rare opportunity to exploit his connections. Nevertheless, to strengthen his claim, George also approached the Hull banker, Mr Pease, "the principal Correspondent of the Tory Committee." George was "personally well known" to Pease, who was also a friend of Sir Walter's. To exploit this contact with Pease to the full, George stressed Sir Frederick Trench's association with John's case.66

In the event, John learned that he was unsuccessful67 but the enterprise was not without its reward. It gave George great pleasure to learn that Sir Frederick Trench had said of his son that "he bears the highest possible character for intelligence & good conduct".68 These qualities were exactly those George had nurtured over the years and they were extremely important. Once John could become established, they would be essential to launch him into the higher echelons.

In April 1845, hearing of the imminent retirement of one of the senior clerks, John applied for the position in order to attain the permanency which was so crucial.69 Urgency spurred him on. The postmaster general was about to retire and this was potentially disastrous.70 Not only would a new incumbent be ignorant of John Hall but he would already have patronage obligations of his own.71

64 Ibid.
65 Bourne, pp. 69 and 78.
66 GH to JH, 29 November 1844, Fol. 7, SJHP.
67 GH to JH, 15 December 1844, Fol. 7, SJHP.
68 F.W. Trench to W.B. Fowler, n.d., Fol. 7, SJHP.
69 Unsigned and unaddressed draft, April 1845, Fol. 7, SJHP.
70 Correspondence rel. to appns for P.O. situation, April 1845, Fol. 7, SJHP.
This time John's merits were recognized and he became private secretary to the
permanent head of department, Lt Col William Maberly. This was a major step forward.
John gained all the advantages he had sought and he was now in the front line for key jobs
with attractive salaries.

John was soon chosen to perform responsible and increasingly challenging duties.
In May and June of 1846, he was sent to Gloucestershire as assistant to the post office
surveyor.\textsuperscript{72} This was the recognized path to becoming a surveyor oneself and as such
marked John out as an up and coming young man. His commission provided practical, first-hand
experience in the running of all aspects of the post office in the area and necessitated
a great deal of travel as he assessed mail routes.\textsuperscript{73} The substantial out of town allowances
added to the work's attractions.\textsuperscript{74} There is a hint that John, as a member of head office, was
treated as a person with the power of recommendation when the postmasters at Kidderminster
and Worcester arranged conducted tours of local industry for him.\textsuperscript{75}

Another real indication of progress came in 1848.\textsuperscript{76} John's knowledge of European
languages proved its worth when he was selected to report on a proposed change of route for
the overland mail from India. He was to assess whether going through Trieste and Germany
was more practicable than the original route via Marseilles and across France. He was
disappointed when the venture did not take place. Treasury abandoned the investigation
probably, he noted cynically, "at the instance of the P. & O. Company."\textsuperscript{77}

\begin{footnotes}
\item Journals in Gloucestershire &c 1846, Fol. 300, SJHP gives the year as 1846 but the
copy gives the date as 1851 see Diary 1830-51: Travels while engaged as Assistant
to Mr Rideout, Post Office Surveyor, GHHC.
\item R.H. Super, Trollope in the Post Office, U.S.A., Ann Arbor: University of Michigan
\item A. Trollope, The Letters of Anthony Trollope, ed. N.J. Hall, with the assistance of
\item 15-16 June 1846, Gloucestershire 1846, Fol. 300, SJHP.
\item JH to [?] Cornwall, 18 December 1849, HC gives early 1848 as the date of the
assignment when Hall would have been twenty-three. The following references
calculate Hall's age incorrectly. Hall himself was mistaken when he later wrote that
he was twenty-four: 'Proposal to send India Overland Mail, via Trieste instead of
Marseilles', HC. \textit{Press}, 26 June 1907 claimed that Hall was twenty-one and
McLintock, p. 899 gives the year 1845 when Hall was twenty.
\item 'Proposal to send India Overland Mail, \textit{via Trieste} instead of Marseilles', HC.
McLintock, p. 899 is wrong in claiming that Hall's adverse report led to the scheme's
being dropped.
\end{footnotes}
John's class position and aspirations moulded his values. During the chartist disturbances in the summer of 1848, he sided with the establishment. The chartists sought to improve the lot of manual workers. The movement was dominated by labourers who had no hope of promotion and self-employed artisans who had nothing to gain from patronage and who resented those who had access to it. John, by contrast, was dependent on the favour of those in authority for advancement so he ensured that his actions promoted his interests. He was appointed a "special constable for the province of Canterbury" at the police court in Clerkenwell. Armed with a truncheon and a copy of the Riot Act, he undertook to assist the police force in keeping the peace. In later life, he was proud of his enrolment and kept his baton hanging in his vestibule.

Despite his efforts to impress, John remained intensely dissatisfied with his life in the civil service. Stressing that he had "always had a strong aversion" to life in an office, in November 1848 he approached his father once more about entering the ministry. In spite of the earlier advice, he pleaded that he felt his prospects were much better in the church. We do not know what arguments George used to scotch the request this time but John remained working for the post office.

Eight years of straightened circumstances contributed to John's desire to change his vocation. He had difficulty of making ends meet. George had spoken of withdrawing his subsidy to John in October 1844 after having spent "seven hundred & fifty six pounds 10/6" on raising his son but whatever the amount was in 1848 John felt that his allowance was "only just sufficient by the exercise of the most rigid economy to keep myself respectable in the situation you have placed me". Having decided to remain with the post office, he could best improve his financial position through promotion. Consequently, he was disappointed when he was passed over for the situation of postmaster at Newcastle-on-Tyne at the beginning of 1850.

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79 Riot Act, 10 June 1848, Fol. 8, SJHP.
80 JH to GH, 24 November 1848, Fol. 8, SJHP.
81 Ibid.
82 GH to JH, 22 October 1844, Fol. 7, SJHP.
83 JH to GH, 24 November 1848, Fol. 8, SJHP.
Despite John's achievements, there were still some positions in the post office which went by patronage. The "shameful" injustice of preferment where "some 16th cousin of Lord Grey's" would receive priority rankled deeply. No matter how steadfastly John worked within the system to effect a change in his prospects, when it came to patronage he could not compete. This was made abundantly clear in mid-1850 when his appointment as chief postmaster at Brighton at £600 per annum was overridden by the direct intervention of Queen Victoria who wanted the post for one of her protégés. To be cheated of this prize confronted John with the reality of staying in England and contributed greatly to his disenchantment with English society.

John's frustration may have affected his health. No specific symptoms were mentioned but he consulted his own doctor in June 1849 and sought information on homeopathy in September 1850. In the meantime he wrote to his friend, Frederick Neall, describing the "the morbidness" which afflicted him. Neall noted John's "sedentary occupation" and his tendency to worry unnecessarily about his health. Significantly, he also diagnosed that "yours is a disease more of the mind than body and change is the remedy."

All of these negative experiences caused John to look seriously for greener pastures in which to employ his talents. The lure of adventure was strong. His brothers had sailed as far afield as the Baltic, Odessa, Calcutta and Mauritius. If he were to move, he was at an optimum age to do so profitably.

The decision to leave was difficult because his prospects appeared better than most. There was a chance he might excel. It was this possibility which was tantalizing. Although he might go far in the post office, he was sufficiently intelligent and ambitious to perceive that patronage would block his highest aspirations.

At the same time, he was honest enough with himself to admit that his occupation was not entirely congenial. He was deeply discontented with the impediments to his career and

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84 F. Neall to JH, 16 June 1849, Fol. 9, SJHP; W.L. Bell to JH, 12 February 1855, Fol. 16, SJHP.
85 Scholefield, p. 343.
86 S. Rutherford to JH, 23 June 1849, Fol. 9, SJHP; H. Reynolds to JH, 18 September 1850, Fol. 10, SJHP.
87 F. Neall to JH, 1 November 1850, Fol. 10, SJHP.
he worried that these frustrations were damaging his health. He came to see that the scope to act out his destiny was the medication which he sought. He knew that in the hierarchical networks of English society he was unable to show his true worth. The simple answer was to go elsewhere. At heart, he believed in his father’s creed of excellence and shared his confidence that he could excel. He was spirited and young enough not to relinquish those convictions without a fight.
CHAPTER 3
PIONEERING PROSPERITY

...prosperity...is indeed the due of all who relinquish their position in the society of the Old World.¹

By the end of the 1840s John Hall was faced with a choice: he could stay in England and accept the confinements of a system where the options were limited, or he could take a risk and go elsewhere. Convinced that he could give scope to his own ambition in a more open society and fulfil his father's faith in his abilities, he chose the latter. Categorizing the pilgrims to Canterbury in 1852, he was largely describing himself when he wrote:

Lastly we come to the gentleman whose capital has hitherto sufficed to bring up a family in a manner befitting his station, but who can see no prospect of being able to settle his children on the same footing; and to the younger son of such a family who prefers rural pursuits to the drudgery of an office, or honest exertion in a community where labour is no disgrace, to the really degrading situation of a dependent or hanger on upon friends and relatives at home. Individuals of this class, not driven from home by the pressure of adverse circumstances, may reasonably look forward to occupying a prominent position in their adopted country; and to become, in the course of time, the founders of colonial families of importance.²

The manner in which he carried out his decision to emigrate reflected his own character. His every step was based on shrewd and informed judgment. This was grounded in diligent research and it set John apart from the majority of his contemporaries - even his own brothers. Faced with frustration in the British Isles, many young men set off to the goldfields of California in 1849 with nothing to lose and the hope of the world to gain. Some of these miners began to move on to Australia two years later when gold rushes started in Victoria. As the Victorian rushes reached their height in 1852, dreams of speedy riches attracted other young men to migrate there directly from the United Kingdom. While such a gamble could pay off, the results were too uncertain for John. There were limits to the risks which he was prepared to take. Brought up to value thrift, he was not willing to squander those assets of expertise and capital which he did possess but rather set about exploiting them to his own

¹ W.L. Bell to JH, 3 September 1853, Fol. 14, SJHP.
² Soottee Sammee, Vol. 7, 1852, HC.
advantage. Comparing himself with a youth whose family was considering sending him to the Port Phillip diggings, John wrote:

People without capital will probably do better there, but I still think that capital invested in sheep will pay best in the long way.3

When his mother's estate was finally settled in April 1848 after much family bitterness and a threat to send the case to chancery,4 John appears to have come into some money which gave him a measure of choice about his future. While further wealth was both a major goal and necessary to bring about the realization of his other dreams, in itself it was not enough. Money was powerful but it could not buy the whole prize. John had been buffeted long enough by the winds of patronage. He wanted to make his fortune in such a way that it would not only ensure his independence but also confer respect.

Consequently, the judicious selection of a destination was vital. By at least April 1850, John had decided on an agricultural career and had seriously considered moving to Argentina where there were fortunes to be made farming its vast pampas.5 Argentina had many of the ingredients that he wanted. With the help of his brothers' contacts in Buenos Aires, he could have gained experience of cattle farming at an estancia.6 Unfortunately, the political situation was unstable, and this threatened the loss of any investment.7

John was also well-informed about Australia. From December 1848 to November 1849, he provided information to assist Miss Elizabeth Humfries in her efforts to enable the destitute artisan, Charles Gladwin, his wife and children to emigrate to Port Adelaide.8 In April 1851, John's brother, George, mentioned a preference for farming "sheep & cattle" and named Australia as a prime site. He also promised to supply the titles of books for John to read.9 George shared in John's plans because he, too, wished to emigrate. He had abandoned his life at sea after his marriage and was now experiencing difficulties in his business. When John was setting off on a holiday in October 1851, he had a conversation

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3 23 August 1852, Diary: Arrival in New Zealand Tours in North & South Islands 1852, GHHC.
4 GH to JH, 27 April 1848, Fol. 8, SJHP.
5 GWH to JH, 4 April 1850, Fol. 10, SJHP.
6 GWH to JH, 16 April 1851, Fol. 11, SJHP.
7 TWH to JH, 25 July 1851; TWH to JH, 6 December 1851, (Fol. 11, SJHP).
8 E. Humfries to JH, 29 December 1848 to 5 November 1849, Fols 8-10, SJHP.
9 GWH to JH, 16 April 1851, Fol. 11, SJHP.
with a Highlander who was escaping the clearances by going to join his brother in Australia. John was certainly made aware that that country offered startling prospects:

...[the Highlander's] brother who had been there 14 years, had become possessed of 12,000 sheep, 500 head of cattle, besides horses. What a difference in their lot, what a lesson it reads!10

In return, he gave the Scot the copy of The Australian and New Zealand Gazette he had with him.

Yet John did not blindly follow the crowds who were leaving the United Kingdom for Australia. There the rapid influx of diggers and other immigrants meant that heavy demand for limited supplies pushed prices up and made it expensive to settle. The effectiveness of John's financial resources would have been considerably reduced by the fact he would have been forced to buy in at the top of the market. Australia had another drawback: its longer history of colonization meant that much prime land was already in the hands of settlers.

John's eventual choice of New Zealand showed uncommon insight. The rush to Australia had put the infant colony in the shadow so that few recognized the true value of New Zealand's prospects. By going to New Zealand when there was a general exodus to the goldfields of Australia, John gained an advantage because he could buy in at the bottom of the market. By going contrary to the trend, he enhanced his opportunities as the lack of intense competition gave his capital more purchasing power.

John's shrewd assessment of carefully accumulated information marked him out as a leader. While his brother George had mooted the idea of going to a British colony in April 1851, he had dismissed New Zealand because he preferred "Stock farming" and believed that New Zealand was more suited to small-scale "agricultural farming". He specifically rejected Canterbury because he had not seen beyond the immediate information that at £3 per acre the land was comparatively expensive to purchase.11 A few months later, however, John read a pamphlet by Frederick Weld on which he wrote: "This...more than anything else induced me to emigrate to New Zealand."12 Weld's Hints to Intending Sheep-Farmers in New Zealand, England, Trelawney Saunders, 1851, HC.

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10 20 October 1851, Diary 1830-51: Tour in Cornwall, Channel Islands and France, Fol. 300, SJHP.
11 GWH to JH, 16 April 1851, Fol. 11, SJHP.
12 Hall's note on his copy of F.A. Weld, Hints to Intending Sheep-Farmers in New Zealand, England, Trelawney Saunders, 1851, HC.
Zealand outlined clearly "the advantages New Zealand holds out to the pastoralist" and promised "a competent and self-earned independence." Weld estimated that with between £1,000 and £1,500 in capital, "a good beginning" could be made in sheep-farming, a sum well within the £2,202 Hall eventually brought with him to New Zealand. More important, the pamphlet alerted John to two critical ideas: land could be leased and the government appeared to have land available in the South Island without the political complications of Maori ownership. In order to take advantage of this information, John needed to act quickly before others awoke to their opportunity.

John consulted the highest authority, the colonial land and emigration office, about the two points raised by Weld. In November 1851, he sought precise information on the South Island, mainly to clarify the government's position concerning Maori land. He also wanted to know specific "localities" where the government issued pasturage licences. On neither point did he receive a satisfactory reply so he persisted with his enquiries only to be wrongly informed that pasturage licences were limited "exclusively" to the north of New Zealand.

This misinformation had little impact because before he had even received a reply from the colonial land and emigration office, John had written to the Canterbury Association. The Association cordially invited him to come for a personal interview in order to receive "the fullest information". In addition, he obtained a copy of Canterbury Papers which the Association had published and which included the pamphlet, Brief Information about the Canterbury Settlement. This leaflet made note of the two and a half million acres available and extolled the virtues of the land and climate:

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13 Weld, pp. 12 and 11.
14 Ibid., p. 5.
15 Outfit Accounts 1852, HC. It is possible that the money from his mother was supplemented by a loan from the Williamson family. Mr Godfrey Hall told me that the family had been puzzled as to the source of the Hall brothers' capital. He reported a meeting in 1965 which he had with Miss Honoria Dryden, a relative of Lady Hall's, who recounted as fact that the Williamson family had given them a loan.
16 Weld, p. 12.
17 JH to Colonial Land and Emigration Office, 28 November 1851, Fol. 10, SJHP. Colonial Land and Emigration Office to JH, 8 December 1851; JH to Colonial Land and Emigration Office, 9 December 1851; Colonial Land and Emigration Office to JH, 16 December 1851, (Fol. 11, SJHP).
18 Canterbury Association to JH, 5 Dec 1851, Fol. 11, SJHP.
19 Canterbury Association to JH, 5 Dec 1851, Fol. 11, SJHP.
The fertility of the soil has been abundantly proved by the experience of successful squatters. The prairie character of the main part of the territory, together with the dryness of the atmosphere and the mildness of the winter, indicates that the most suitable occupation for capitalists will be pastoral husbandry - the breeding of cattle, horses and sheep...natural richness which produces grass in abundance without man's labour, explain[s] why the arable lands of the squatters have yielded high returns.

This confirmed that Canterbury was ideal for pastoralism and that the high price of land was no impediment as land did not have to be purchased. Already squatters were leasing it. The eleven other papers covered a variety of topics and among them were the words of John Robert Godley, the Association's resident agent. His first-hand account of conditions underlined Canterbury's suitability for pastoralism:

The grass on the plain is intermixed with fern and flax. To an eye unaccustomed to new countries it does not appear luxurious; but I am informed, on the most undoubted authority, that the district in question is equal, if not superior, in this respect to any part of New Zealand...the land in the Canterbury plains being of fully average quality, capable of fattening sheep and cattle, as well as giving good crops of all kinds.

John was by now convinced that the Canterbury Association settlement offered the best prospects. It was new and relatively unknown in England. There had been no time for a hierarchy to become entrenched and opportunities were still wide open. And, it could support pastoral farming. There was an element of risk in helping to found the industry but if it followed the Australian precedent and flourished, it would virtually guarantee riches and a leading place in society for the men of capital who established it. Furthermore, the colony's reputed Englishness implied the benefits of home without the limitations of tradition and privilege.

Once John resolved to emigrate to Canterbury, he methodically and expeditiously conducted further investigations. He made a point of asking specific and searching questions and, over a period of time, built up a compendium of knowledge that was as balanced and as exhaustive as possible. As part of his research, he corresponded with Weld and obtained a copy of his Journal between Nelson and Canterbury written in January 1851. He

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22 TWH to JH, 12 December 1852, Fol. 13, SJHP; Journal between Nelson and Canterbury, Fol. 300, SJHP.
continued to read what books, newspapers and journals were available on New Zealand and corresponded with Rev. C.W. Saxton who had been to New Zealand and had attempted to derive an income from 1,280 acres in Nelson.23 Despite his predilection for Canterbury, John checked another option. Early in 1852, he requested information about Otago from John McGlashan, organizer of the Otago Association in Edinburgh.24 By examining the colony from many different angles, John knew as well as anybody who had not actually visited New Zealand what it was like, what opportunities it offered and what hazards a new settler might encounter.

John proposed to become a pastoralist when he arrived in Canterbury. In opting for sheep farming, he was making a complete break with family tradition. He had had no contact with animal husbandry but Weld’s writing convinced him that inexperience was no great handicap.25 There was none of the specialized knowledge and consistent involvement which other forms of farming demanded. Moreover, rearing sheep had the decided advantage that it returned a profit almost immediately. With capital, hard work and the will to prosper, a young man could make a handsome profit as Weld himself had done.26

Eager to make the most of his opportunities, John took every precaution to make sure he was a winner. He had already been given a letter of introduction to a member of the Canterbury Association’s management committee, Thomas Somers Cocks, brother-in-law to Godley’s wife, Charlotte.27 Despite his frustrating experience of patronage, John was, as always, anxious to use it on his own behalf and went armed with letters of introduction to colonial notables: Charles Clifford, Rev. Henry Jacobs, Godley and Bishop Selwyn.28 With less competition than in Britain, he expected the results to be abundantly favourable. With uncanny prescience one of his post office colleagues jokingly wrote: “I doubt not you will some day be a leading man in New Zealand, probably P.M.G. [Post Master General].”29

23 C.W. Saxton to JH, 14 January 1852, Fol. 12, SJHP.
24 J. McGlashan to JH, 7 January to 13 February 1852, Fol. 12, SJHP.
25 Weld, p. 11.
26 Ibid, pp. 5, 11 and 2.
27 G.C. Cornwall to JH, 20 February 1852, Fol. 12, SJHP.
28 T. Purdon to JH, 20 March 1852; C.J. Black to JH, 20 March 1852; H. Robbins to JH, 25 March 1852, (Fol. 12, SJHP).
29 G.C. Cornwall to JH, 19 March 1852, Fol. 12, SJHP.
In spite of his optimism and practical preparations, John was not immune to the traumas of emigration. His determination was severely tested in parting from friends, family and native land. His Aunt Mildred pleaded with him to reconsider: "Oh my dear John, do not go even yet, your Uncle justly remarks that you will ever repent it." It was difficult to withstand the doubts, questions and discouragement raised by those who were left behind.

He was particularly sensitive to the way in which distance would transform family relationships. The wrench was not merely saying farewell. Twelve thousand miles of ocean would reduce the affectionate support he had enjoyed all his life and distance would insulate him in a world which those left behind could not share. His life would be remote from them and, since for him England would remain largely as he remembered it, many changes in their lives would pass him by. His father, his aunt and uncle were old, and it was by no means certain that he would see them again.

There was some comfort in the fact that John was not going to be the only member of his family in New Zealand. Both of his brothers were planning to follow him. George, Agnes and their family were to leave England when they had salvaged what they could of their business as grain merchants. Tom was a merchant captain and needed to sell his brig before he could set sail with Sarah and their three children in the Mohammed Shah. Their experience was to exemplify how dangerous the voyage could be. When their ship caught fire six hundred miles south of Cape Leeuwin in Western Australia, it was three days before they were fortunate enough to be rescued. All aboard escaped and landed at Hobart with their lives but nothing else. Tom emerged as a hero from the incident. He volunteered to remove the contents of the powder magazine which was close to the seat of the fire.

This was all in the future when, on Friday 26 March 1852, at the age of twenty-seven John Hall set sail for Lyttelton on board the Samarang, one of the last vessels chartered by the Canterbury Association. He had purchased a ticket for £55 which gave him a cabin

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30 M. Fowler to JH, 13 Feb 1852, Fol. 12, SJHP.
31 W.L. Bell to JH, 2 January 1852, Fol. 12, SJHP.
32 GWH to JH, 29 April 1852, Fol. 12, SJHP.
33 TWH to JH, 29 October 1852, Fol. 13, SJHP.
34 LT, 2 and 30 July 1853.
36 26 March 1852, Diary: Samarang, GHHC.
37 Outfit Accounts 1852, HC.
by himself measuring nine feet by five and a half feet, and he employed two fellow passengers, Charles Wright and his wife, to act as servants. He seems also to have taken a coop of chickens to supplement his diet, as well as two dogs, Emperor and Countess.  

As the Samarang pulled away from the wharf in London, he confronted the cost which emigration exacted. He was "knocked up" as he saw George, two close friends and an acquaintance who had come to see him off recede into the distance. The next day he was still feeling "dull and required some enlivening" and rejected an opportunity to go ashore at Deal as parting twice from English soil evoked too much emotion. He spent Sunday reflecting on memories and watching the coastline. As Beachy Head, the last landmark, disappeared over the horizon he was overcome by the knowledge that he would not see England again for some time. On significant occasions throughout the voyage homesickness assailed him.

Once out into the Atlantic, John was distracted by adjusting to the rigours of shipboard life. At first he "suffered severely from sea sickness". In addition, the incessant creaking of the timbers brought terrors of its own since it sounded "as if the vessel were breaking up". Because of its high superstructure the Samarang also rolled a great deal and once he noted that he had "squatted on the deck all day" because the ship had heeled over too much for him to walk about." But the greatest problem was boredom. Except for a shooting expedition and a two mile row to visit the brig, Helen, there were few physical outlets for his energy.

While there were many discomforts, the voyage had its compensations. The fish, the birds and the sunsets excited his interest. More important, his status as a gentleman was affirmed. He disapproved of the injudicious and inconsistent leadership of Captain Escott but was pleased that the captain adopted his suggestion on how to deal with the drunken behaviour among crew members. John recommended that Escott "should require their word of honor to keep the peace for the future" before enforcing the more "stringent measure" of confining "the brawlers to their cabins" which Escott favoured. John was elected to edit

38 Diary: Samarang, GHHC.  
39 26 March 1852, Diary: Samarang, GHHC; J.S. Neall to JH, 7 May 1852, Fol. 13, SIJP.  
40 Diary: Samarang, GHHC.  
41 Ibid.  
42 Ibid.
the ship’s newspaper, *The Soottee Sammee*, which ran to eleven numbers. In his articles he covered a wide range of topics including an editorial on the government of New Zealand.\(^{43}\) His writing showed him to be well informed and his comments were useful to the other passengers. The response to his articles amazed him, for it revealed how ignorant his fellow travellers were about their destination. The position of editor also carried some influence and required discretion. One passenger wanted to use the paper to intervene in a dispute between the captain and the crew but John "refused...very properly". He also took a lead in the singing for church services, organized a committee which put on theatricals and took part himself in the production of the *Irish Attorney* but had the misfortune to forget his lines. More generally, his knowledge and unostentatious manner earned him respect. This was most clearly demonstrated when, as they approached land, Captain Escott consulted him about the exact whereabouts of Lyttelton Harbour.\(^{44}\) John enjoyed the first-hand encounter with the running of a ship and he relished his social prominence. Freed from the constraints of England’s social hierarchy he had become, quite suddenly, a leader.

Socially John’s landing at Lyttelton on 31 July was propitious. By chance, that very day he met the chief agent of the Canterbury Association in the settlement, John Robert Godley, and Godley’s eventual successor, the surveyor, Captain Charles Simeon. John promptly presented his introductions.\(^{45}\) His acceptability was assured when on 10 August he dined with the Godleys, and on 1 September he had dinner with Simeon.\(^{46}\) This was great progress. In a small community where everything was noticed, and which, in the words of a modern historian, was "the most consciously class-biased community in the colony", the recognition accorded to him would not go unremarked.\(^{47}\)

The first rank in Christchurch society rested with those who had status in the United Kingdom. Godley was the eldest son of a wealthy Irish landowner and Simeon was an army officer. The letters which John had brought with him placed him in a niche according to his old world connections. When Henry Sewell, deputy chairman of the Canterbury Association,

\(^{43}\) *The Soottee Sammee*, HC.

\(^{44}\) *Diary: Samarang*, GHHC.

\(^{45}\) 31 July 1852, MS x 2663, SJHP.

\(^{46}\) 10 August and 1 September 1852, *Diary: Arrival*, GHHC.

wrote in his diary over a year later he twice described John as the "cidevant [sic] private secretary to Colonel Maberly." John was acceptable because he was a "Stockowner", because he spoke sensibly and like a gentleman" and because he was perceived as "a practical man for the management of public business." Capital and conformity to respectable middle class codes of behaviour had put him close to the top of Canterbury society.

Within a few days of his arrival, John met another influential figure, James Edward FitzGerald, owner of The Lyttelton Times. The next edition of the paper published John's unsigned report of two and a half columns about the voyage of the Samarang. He was pleased by the number of people he saw purchasing a copy. Eventually the same article was circulated in Hull and brought him a measure of belated fame there.

John set about making his fortune practically and methodically. His aim was to ensure future prosperity by exploiting his advantage of arriving with capital. He was conscious of the failure of many of the young men who had come to the settlement. Few had met with good fortune and he noted that "Of the lot who came out last year in the Travancore with our Doctor, all but two have turned out bad & gone to the diggings." John was determined to be among the successful minority.

Since so much depended on the judicious selection of land, John made serious preparations to assess the countryside for himself. From one brief encounter with Godley and FitzGerald, he "made out that the only available sheep runs in New Zealand were south of the Rakaia." John acted on the assumption that this was true. On 12 August he set out in company with the Knight brothers and a Maori guide to ascertain what the prospects were. Their route took them to the Deans' cattle station at Homebush, across the Rakaia River, through its Gorge then up Pudding Hill. John was pleased to discover that the region of

49 3 August 1852, MS x 2663, SJHP.
50 LT, 7 August 1852.
51 7 August 1852, MS x 2663, SJHP.
52 GH to JH, 27 January 1853, Fol. 14, SJHP.
53 3 August 1852, MS x 2663, SJHP.
54 Ibid., 3 August 1852.
55 12-17 August 1852, Diary Arrival, GHHC.
the "trans-Rakaia wilderness" was "good" and "appeared to be stony in only one or two places."\textsuperscript{56}

Before reaching a definite decision, John investigated two alternative sites. In this he was partly motivated by his own circumspection and partly by his keen sense of responsibility to his brother George who had asked him to undertake selection of a property on his behalf.\textsuperscript{57} John was not prepared to commit George to the South Island without examining the North. As a result, he continued with his original scheme to travel to Wellington in order to visit Wanganui and Hawke's Bay.

For a fortnight in September, John made an adventurous return journey across almost unmarked country to see an English friend, Henry Field, who with his wife and their children lived at Waitotara near Wanganui. As in the south, he continually assessed the areas through which he travelled. By 19 September he had concluded that the west coast did not meet his requirements and on a personal level he had found the fleas intolerable.\textsuperscript{58}

John’s next goal was to explore the hinterland of Hawke’s Bay called Ahuriri, near what is known today as Napier. Even as he made his plans, he worried about rumours from Melbourne that sheepowners would soon sweep across the Tasman to Canterbury. He feared that in his absence he might miss out on a good run in the south. So he instructed Richard Harman, his land agent, to apply for leases but to go ahead only if the "specified run...is likely to be snapped up before my return."\textsuperscript{59}

Having acquired some peace of mind, John sailed north. He reached Hawke’s Bay in mid-October and set off to explore.\textsuperscript{60} He baulked at the leisurely approach of his Maori guides. Their continual halts to talk of land and forefathers and their request "to stop for dinner" at 9.30 a.m. exasperated him to the extent that he took over the direction of the party himself. The prospects in the district were disappointing. While the hills were good for

\textsuperscript{56} J. Hall, 'Sheep-Driving in the Early Days', in Canterbury Old and New 1850-1900: a souvenir of the jubilee, Christchurch, Whitcombe and Tombs Ltd, [1900], p.121; 16 August 1852, Diary: Arrival, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{57} 25 August 1852, Diary: Arrival, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{58} 13 to 19 September 1852, MS x 2664, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{59} JH to R.J.S. Harman, 30 September 1852, Fol. 13, SJHP; 2 October 1852, MS x 2664, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{60} 11-16 October 1852, Diary: Arrival, GHHC.
sheep, the gullies were precipitous and perilous for stock. As he travelled overland back
to Wellington, he saw some attractive sites but he was now convinced that his future lay in
the South Island. He sailed for Lyttelton and recorded on his arrival on 14 November that
the run was "secured" and Pearson was "vexed." Harman had acted on John's instruction
because Joseph Pearson, the manager for two important sheep owners from Australia, Joseph
Hawdon and John Aitken, had taken up two 5,000 acre runs south of the Rakaia and Harman
feared he would apply for more.

Having chosen his land, John's next priority was to comply with the regulations by
stocking it. Failure to do so would result in the forfeiture of his run. In November he set
about trying to acquire between one and two thousand maiden ewes locally and was willing
to pay cash. While he had been quoted 7s 6d a head for ewes in Sydney, he considered it
more convenient and less risky to buy ones newly landed at Lyttelton. For these he paid 24s
a head.

John now confronted the last hurdle to the foundation of his economic fortune: the Rakaia
River. Although the river was "a formidable obstacle", he was confident that a ferry would
be easily installed. He eventually procured Canterbury Association funds from Godley to
purchase a large canoe. Although Harman was a civil engineer, John and the other friends
who were helping to establish the crossing were unskilled. Because the party was unfamiliar
with Canterbury rivers, the attempt miscarried and John abandoned his plans for the ferry.
With the river proving a more formidable barrier than expected, the attractions of land south
of the Rakaia palled. The river had not been the only hazard. On one occasion John had lit
a fire in the trans-Rakaia to clear the tall grass. The blaze had got out of control and nearly
killed him.

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61 Ibid., 20 and 23 October 1852.
62 Ibid., 14 November 1852.
63 R.J.S. Harman to JH, 16 October 1852, Fol. 13, SJHP.
64 Australian Agricultural Company to JH, 30 August 1852, Fol. 13, SJHP; W. Bowler to JH, 15 January 1853, Fol. 14, SJHP.
65 Hall, pp. 121-2. John was wrong to claim that it was winter. He held the
licence from October 1852 to May 1853. The date and his northern hemisphere
thinking have misled him.
66 JH to [?] Dunnage, 7 July 1906, MS x 930, pp. 180-1, SJHP.
Fortunately, another more attractive property was available: Run 20, Rakaia Terrace Station. This was Mark Stoddart’s run at Windwhistle where John had stayed in August. Then he had been impressed by the run’s setting amidst “beautiful grass country”. By February Stoddart was ready to transfer his pasturage licence and sell his flock. John accepted this proposal, sold his own sheep and paid Stoddart £2,750 - £500 of which he made on deferred payment. The licence transfer was completed on 25 May 1853. At the same time, he cancelled the licence he had taken out for himself south of the Rakaia. The acquisition of Rakaia Terrace Station was the first step in building up the property John was to farm for the rest of his life.

67 14 August 1852, Diary: Arrival, GHHC.
68 M.P. Stoddart to JH, 28 February 1853, Fol. 14, SJHP.
69 JH to M.P. Stoddart, 11 March 1853, Fol. 14, SJHP; M.P. Stoddart, 14 April 1853, HC.
70 Canterbury Association Land Office to JH, 25 May 1853, Fol. 14, SJHP.
71 Pastoral licences alphabetical index - 1851-53, CH 290, 28/4, p. 115, NACHO.
CHAPTER 4

FORTUNE AND FAMILY

Emigrants...equipped with good sense, stability of character & anything like sufficiency of means cannot fail to do well. The profits of sheep farming after the first two years are exceedingly large.¹

Pastoralism was the mainstay of the Canterbury economy. Hall was a pioneer in the sheepfarming industry and his decisions concerning the running and development of his property show how a fortune could be made and maintained. In his fifty-four years at Rakaia Terrace Station, he experienced serious fluctuations in the New Zealand economy and many changes in agricultural practice. The homestead at Hororata was also a haven of family life.

Initially Hall’s energies were absorbed in making the 20,000 acres of Rakaia Terrace Station profitable. Once George and Tom arrived, the three brothers operated the station as a partnership. Even so, in John’s opinion there were many hurdles:

The difficulties attending sheepfarming in this Province would, under the most favourable circumstances, be greater than the uninitiated had any idea of; the high rents, more than double those paid in neighbouring colonies, the scarcity of stock, the high price of labour, the greatly enhanced cost of every material which entered into the formation or maintenance of a station.²

With the immediate advent of lambing there was plenty to do. It was mid-winter and many of the lambs died from the cold. Although several men were employed to help build accommodation for the family, construct sheep pens and assist with the stock, Hall was kept busy too. This was evident in the first entry in the station journal on 30 June 1853:

Weather thick & hazy with showers f[r]o[m S.W. 7 lambs dropped in the night, of wh[ich] 1 dead. 4 in the day. Carpenter at work on house when fair setting saws & indoor jobs during showers. Sidebottom & Dick at work on wall & post & rail fence. John cutting firewood, putting in window frames. Mr Boys putting up house for Emperor & driving home ewes. Self superintending the above, assisting Carpenter, planting kowai [sic] & distributing grass seeds, shifting hurdles of lambing mob. &c.³

¹ JH to J.S. Neall, 12 December 1852, HC.
² LT, 15 October 1853, PC 7 October 1853.
³ 30 June 1853, Rakaia Terrace Station Journal, CM.
Hall heeded Weld's advice about working hard himself on the land. He turned his hand to a variety of tasks, though not with equal success, and took charge in his brothers' absence:

Self engaged in above [drafting from ewe stock, separating rams, milking ewes, &c.] in gardening, and going to meet Wright who arrived from town with his wife...Attempted a count of wether flock, but they rushed so much that it was good for nothing.⁴

The Halls had many adjustments to make to the New Zealand setting. Not only did they have to cope with living at Windwhistle, "one of the windiest spots in Canterbury";⁵ but they had to adapt to an unfamiliar landscape and engage in work for which they had no training. Those who had encountered pastoralism in Australia adapted more readily to New Zealand conditions. All the settlers who came directly from Great Britain, even those who had worked with sheep, found the scale of the properties and the size of the flocks beyond their experience.⁶

Although the population on the plains was sparse, even at this stage settlers were creating the first bonds of community. In this neighbourhood, the evidence, even at this early date, supports Rollo Arnold's case for 'farmer reciprocity'.⁷ When the people on the next property ran out of flour, a man came to the Halls' to borrow some. The station journal records that the messenger stayed overnight because it was "too late to return. Gave him 40lbs Flour & 4lbs Sugar."⁸ The flour was returned just over a week later.⁹ Assistance was neighbourly but scabby sheep were not. John and George Hall joined with two other runholders to send the neighbour who had borrowed the flour letters "protesting against his crossing our runs or bringing scabby sheep into the vicinity."¹⁰ Runholders visited each other and the Halls took what opportunities they could to break down their isolation and "Stopped Brayshaw & Studholme on their way home from Watts & made them stay for dinner."¹¹

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⁴ Ibid., 29 July 1853.
⁶ J.W.D. Hall, "The Station Log", HC.
⁸ 26 July 1853, Rakaia Terrace Station Journal, CM.
⁹ Ibid., 7 August 1853.
¹⁰ Ibid., 25 September 1853.
¹¹ Ibid., 22 January 1854.
Hall acquired a practical knowledge of farming but by the end of July 1853, the brothers had decided to divide their labour. George and Tom were to work the land; John was to order the accounts and make the business decisions. This arrangement enabled him to live mostly in Christchurch, although he continued to spend periods of time working on the station.\(^{12}\) The partnership expired in May 1854\(^ {13} \) and George and Tom moved to properties of their own. They later extended their interests to the McKenzie Country. Their father readily acknowledged the brothers' different "habits of life" and was not surprised that they went their separate ways.\(^ {14} \) He sent each of them £200\(^ {15} \) and continued to write hopefully of his vision that the three brothers would stand high among the founders of New Zealand.\(^ {16} \) He was particularly pleased that family names were continued from one generation to another.\(^ {17} \) To give all this a tangible form, he was especially desirous that Elloughton, the name of the country village where he bought a cottage in 1844, should be perpetuated in the colonies. The earnestness of his wish is evident when he urged John to use his influence to ask Tom to adopt it for his unnamed property.\(^ {18} \) Tom complied by calling his house on the northern edge of Timaru Elloughton.

John continued to prosper. The methods he used to increase his flock and capital illustrate one route to fortune. As early as 1854 he wanted to let the property and from January 1855 he sub-let Rakaia Terrace Station for seven years to Henry Phillips of Rockwood and Thomas Potts for rent but without the sheep.\(^ {19} \) This solution overcame many difficulties and gave Hall some freedom of choice. Lacking the experience to run the property himself, he could now continue in public life and take time to find a capable manager whom he could trust. After separating from his brothers, he had insufficient sheep to stock the property and was unwilling to buy more at the prevailing high prices. His sheep he put out "on thirds" with Thomas Sanderson and George Brayshaw in September 1854.\(^ {20} \)

\(^{12}\) Grace to JH, 30 November 1853, Fol. 14, SJHP; Rakaia Terrace Station Journal, CM.

\(^{13}\) JH to J.S. Neall, 30 January 1854, HC.

\(^{14}\) GH to JH, 1 March 1855, Fol. 16, SJHP.

\(^{15}\) GH to JH, 23 August 1855, Fol. 16, SJHP.

\(^{16}\) GH to JH, 2 February 1857, Fol. 18, SJHP.

\(^{17}\) GH to JH, 30 June 1853, Fol. 14, SJHP.

\(^{18}\) GH to JH, 2 February 1857, Fol. 18, SJHP.

\(^{19}\) Grace to JH, 13 September/23 November 1854, Fol. 15, SJHP; Agreement with Phillips and Potts for lease of Rakaia Terrace, HC.

\(^{20}\) JH to T. Holland, 21 July 1855, summary of reply on T. Holland to JH, 4 April 1855, Fol. 16, SJHP; Agreement with Sanderson and Brayshaw, 1 September 1854, HC.
This practice was usually adopted by men who had sheep but no land and who consequently arranged for their stock to graze on stations where numbers were short. The usual contract in such cases was that those who ran the sheep would take between 40% and 50% of the lambs and the owner would receive 2s 6d a head for the wool. When such an arrangement lasted for several years subsequent breeding quickly increased the size of the flock. The terms of Hall's initial agreement were favourable. He was to receive two-thirds of both wool and lambs. His sheep were later transferred to Thomas White of Oxford on different terms. Hall took charge of his sheep again in 1863.

As in the decision to come to New Zealand, what set Hall apart from his brothers and many other settlers was that he had the business sense and the entrepreneurial skills to make the most of his assets. He did not overextend himself financially nor did he risk forfeiture of his property by being understocked. His wise investment of capital had already given him the advantage of having Rakaia Terrace Station as a financial anchor but he did not concentrate on freeholding his run in the country because he grasped very quickly that town land would appreciate in value more rapidly than rural land. While the colony was small and struggling and while prices were still low, he used the profits from pastoralism to secure property in Christchurch. His offer for the fifty acres of section 72 belonging to George Paulson illustrates how he used his capital to acquire urban land:

The arrangement I should prefer would be a lease for fourteen years - with a purchasing clause. Under this arrangement I would go as far as £10 an acre. The rent not to exceed 5/- an acre for the first seven years, & 10/- an acre for the last 7. - If Mr Paulson will sell the land only I would purchase it, & go as far as £6 per acre, provided he will allow me to pay the Purchase Money by Instalments, extending over a period of at least three years. On these terms I would pay a fair interest, say 5%, on the money left over to the 2d & 3d year.
- Finally, I would lease the land for 21 years, at a rent not exceeding 5/- an acre for the first 10 years, & 10/- an acre for the succeeding 11 on condition that the buildings I might erect should be paid for at a valuation on the expiration of the lease.

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21 Acland, p. 30.
22 Agreement with Sanderson and Brayshaw, 1 September 1854, HC.
23 Heads of Agreement with Thos W. White, 18 February 1858, HC.
24 Addendum, 8 March 1862, to Agreement with T.W. White for keeping wethers, 18 February 1860, HC.
25 JH to G.W. Caulfield, 11 September 1854, Fol. 15, SJHP.
According to Hall the value of this land in 1854 was £300 to £350. His notes indicate the rate at which he expected the land to appreciate:

Under the purchasing clause I could of course propose higher terms - say £450 if purchased within the first 5 years, £550 during the succeeding, & £700 during the remaining four.

There is no record to say whether Hall clinched the deal but the profitability of such ventures is shown in Paulson's letter written about another fifty acre section some four years later: "I am told Mr Hall who occupies had provisionally sold off less than half the section at more than the cost of the whole."

By 1857 Hall had acquired an assortment of property which included some portions which were potentially valuable because of their strategic location beside the major arterial routes: Sumner Road, Ferry Road and Lincoln Road. The same year George Lee accepted his offer for Riseholme's paddock in Riccarton and this seventy acre property he ran as a farm. He also had ten acres of land fronting on Hagley Park which was "worth fully £50 an acre" even before he began to improve it. Such was Hall's expertise in land transactions that he was given the power of attorney for the estate of his former fellow passenger on the Samarang, G.W Caulfield. In 1862 he also became a trustee for the Trust and Agency Company of Australasia Limited which specialized in managing land in the colonies for owners in Great Britain.

Like many large landowners, Hall engaged in urban business ventures. His standing and entrepreneurial expertise made him a useful member of commercial committees such as the Fidelity Guarantee Association. He chaired the meeting which founded the Christchurch Gas Coal and Coke Company whose aim was "to light the city" as many
accidents and drownings occurred when people lost their way in the darkness.34 He became a trustee of the company and was still attending meetings in 1876.35

While Hall prospered, he also had temporary set-backs. He had to battle the Provincial Council for more than three years over his claim for compensation for damage done to his Ferry Road section when a drain was installed.36 Nor was he immune from the legal battles which flourished between stock owners. Between 1855 and 1861 he was involved in a legal wrangle with the McLean brothers over boundaries and stock levels on Run 15 N.Z.R.37 The case had brief but volatile exposure in the press and eventually Hall won.38

Wealth and position, however, did not bring contentment. Despite Hall’s active life and the volume of his work, isolated comments betrayed an inner loneliness. His proposal to Louisa Norrie had been politely declined in 1847.39 Once in New Zealand, he was doubly handicapped in his opportunities to meet a prospective bride. First, in mid-nineteenth century New Zealand men greatly outnumbered women. The 1854 census for Canterbury recorded 2,196 males and 1,699 females.40 In 1858, the first year for which more detailed statistics are available, women accounted for only 36% of the population aged 21 years and over.41 Second, there were very few unmarried women whom Hall would have considered socially acceptable as a partner. In 1855 a report had been circulated that he was engaged. The name of the lady mentioned in the report remains unknown as part of the letter has been removed but Emily Jacobs, the wife of the headmaster of Christ’s College, considered her unsuitable and wrote: "I hope better things of you."42 Her fears were groundless, for Hall remained unmarried.

34 LT, 19 November 1862.
35 LT, 22 November 1862; Diary 1876, GHHC.
36 J. Ollivier to JH, 13 September 1858, Fol. 20, SJHP; Correspondence in Fol. 282, SJHP.
37 Acland, p. 139; GWH to JH, 17 June 1856, Fol. 17, SJHP.
38 LT, 12 May 1855, Letter to the Editor.
39 L. Norrie to JH, 4 March 1847, Fol. 8, SJHP.
40 New Zealand Statistics 1853-1858, 1853-6, No. 1. Females accounted for 43.5% of the Canterbury population.
41 New Zealand Statistics 1853-1858, 1858, No. 1.
42 E. Jacobs to JH, 16 June 1855, Fol. 16, SJHP.
The birthday ball at Government House in Auckland in 1858 underlined his problem: "although there appeared to be upwards of 100 females present, the proportion of ladies seemed small."

On his return journey to Canterbury he encountered a Miss Wilson whom he thought "a pretty addition to the passengers". He recorded that he had "not for some time met with any one who so comes up to my idea of a charmante petite." She highlighted for him yet another obstacle for an eligible young man: among the few suitable women there was an even smaller number to whom he was physically attracted. In 1859 a rumour reached England that he was to wed one of Bishop Harper's six daughters but this is the only reference to it. For many men of his social standing, the best marriage prospects were with women in Britain. Accordingly, he returned to England.

The trip came at a critical time in New Zealand's history and Hall's experiences touch on important occasions. His leave-taking in Christchurch on 10 March 1860 provides a glimpse of Anglo-Maori relations in the South Island on the eve of the New Zealand Wars. About sixty Maori from Kaiapoi, Rapaki and Port Levy were present. Besides speaking of Hall's "kindness to the Maori people", they asked him to tell the British government "that the European and the Maori races are living together in peace and the bonds of friendship, like elder and younger brothers". In reply Hall exhorted them to remain loyal to Queen Victoria and to disregard the messenger from Potatau, the Maori King in the North Island:

If there is one master in a house all is peace; if there are two masters all is confusion. The same with the land of New Zealand. The land is not big enough for two Kings.

Hall advised the Maori against becoming embroiled in North Island disputes and exhorted them:

When you have planted all you want for yourself, you should go on improving your land, and growing more crops which you can sell to the Pakehas. There is another thing you should do, that is, to educate your children in all the learning of the Pakeha.

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43 27 May 1858, Diary 1858-60, SJHP.
44 Ibid., 26 August 1858.
45 Grace to JH, 8 October 1859, Fol. 22, SJHP. My thanks to Dr Colin Brown for providing details about the Harper family.
46 LT, 14 March 1860.
47 Ibid.
48 Ibid.
Among the settlers, the notion was popular and well-established that all things indigenous would die out, and with this in mind Hall reinforced his words with a portrait of the alternatives which faced the Maori:

If you act like the Pakehas, you will become strong like them, and your children will live in the land with the Pakehas as one people. But if you do not you will continue weak, and will vanish from the face of the earth. The graves only of the Maori people will be left to speak of them in the land which once belonged to their fathers.

Putting ashore at New Plymouth on the 17th March, Hall was present on the very day when the first shots of the New Zealand Wars were fired. He stayed in Taranaki for seven days and the details of his adventures reveal the disarray in the conduct of military enterprise. Hall advised the governor, Sir Thomas Gore Browne, who was resident in New Plymouth, that he was "happy to serve" and observed that the district was well "suited for Maori warfare with its hide & seek tactics". He set off for Waitara with "a party" which remained undeterred by a report of firing at Bell Block House and ignored a "signal" to move back. A captain reached them and gave them the pleasing intelligence that we were cut off from the town by a body of 250 to 300 natives who had risen to the news of the actual commencement of hostilities. A Council of war was of course held but the intelligence was decided to be too improbable & unauthenticated to stop our progress. Accordingly on we went, regardless of all precautions.

Hall returned safely to New Plymouth which he described as "melancholy" and "deserted." He continued to undertake military duties, but the effectiveness of European defences was questionable. He related how

Just before taking up my watch, I found to my intense mortification that my revolver would not act the lock being out of order. Sat up from 12 - 3 &

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50 LT, 14 March 1860.
52 17 March 1860, Diary 1858-60, MS x 2665, SJHP.
53 Ibid.
then called McLean, but finding he was not likely to keep a good watch,
I kept on till 5.\textsuperscript{55}

The next day he added: "Laid in a supply of tomahawks as the only procurable weapons."\textsuperscript{56}
At the end of his stay, Hall concluded that "Whatever beats the Maories, it will not be good
officer ing." This opinion derived from his own experience and a meeting with the man in
command of the 65th Regiment, Colonel Charles Gold, and two other officers, whom he
summed up as possessing "[b]arely brains for one among three."\textsuperscript{57} He continued to be
sceptical about the claims the European military leaders made for themselves and thirty years
later commented that "if the real story...were told by other than the principal actors, [it]
might not be very creditable to the British name. The squandering & blundering by the
Imperial officers in the New Zealand war were almost incredible."\textsuperscript{58}

As he continued his travels, Hall was alerted to the degree to which the colony's
communications lagged behind those elsewhere. Within New Zealand news was limited to
the speed of man, horse and vessel. He himself carried the governor's despatches containing
requests for reinforcements to Sir William Denison, governor of New South Wales, and Sir
Henry Barkly, governor of Victoria.\textsuperscript{59} It took Hall thirteen days to reach Sydney and speak
with Denison, who telegraphed Melbourne immediately, then told him that he thought that
the two Australian colonies would be able to send a total of five hundred troops.\textsuperscript{60}

Both Sydney and Melbourne afforded a contrast with the pioneer New Zealand to
which Hall had become accustomed. Of Sydney he wrote: "I was not prepared for such
handsome buildings...for such busy streets. These things carried [me] back to scenes [to]

\textsuperscript{54} Donald McLean, then native secretary. For JH's comments on McLean's role in the
events leading to the outbreak of the war see JH to A. Saunders, 2 September 1898,
MS x 922, p. 128, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{55} 17 March 1860, Diary 1858-60, MS x 2665, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{56} Ibid., 18 March 1860.
\textsuperscript{57} Ibid., 22 March 1860. For endorsement of Hall's opinion see M.P.K. Sorrenson,
'Maori and Pakeha', in W.H. Oliver, ed., with B.R. Williams, The Oxford History
of New Zealand, Oxford, Clarendon Press; Auckland, Oxford University Press,
1981, p. 181. James Belich states Gold was "unsuccessful" at this stage in the
campaign but later names him a "scapegoat" for British failure to defeat the Maori.
J. Belich, The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict,
\textsuperscript{58} JH to M. Burwood, 14 December 1890, MS x 914, p. 226, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{59} 23 March 1860, Diary 1858-60, MS x 2665, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{60} Ibid., 5 April 1860.
which for 8 years I have been a stranger."  

Melbourne he thought had "a more commercial, yankeeish, or Liverpoolish look than Sydney." Yet these cities which made such an impression upon him were as nothing to the Britain to which he returned. The United Kingdom had become more stable and prosperous. There were also many women of his class in need of a husband.

Hall secured his immediate domestic happiness with his marriage to Rose Anne Dryden on 3 April 1861 at Holy Trinity Church, Hull. John was 36, Rose was 32. Rose was the youngest of the eight children of William and Jane Dryden of whom two sons and three daughters survived into adulthood. The family was related to the poet, John Dryden, and had settled in Hull in 1745 after fleeing Scotland and the Jacobite rebellion. Rose's father was a solicitor and the head of an old and prominent legal firm in Hull. He acquired local fame as the last man in Hull to wear "a swallow-tail coat and knee breeches as his regular attire." William Dryden was similar in temperament to his daughter. He was a loving and perceptive father and for Rose his constant expression of affection and approval early in her life remained a prime source of well-being in later years. This was especially important to her as her mother had died when Rose was ten years old.

Rose had been born on 22 December 1828 at Park Cottage, Cottingham. She and John had been acquainted since childhood and were already related by marriage: John's brother, George, had married Rose's sister, Agnes. The families had known each other long before, and John's sister, Grace, was well acquainted with the Dryden sisters. We do not know the details of the courtship nor when John decided to marry Rose but in 1850 when he was living in London and Rose was staying in the city she invited him to an informal musical evening at the house where she was staying:

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61 Ibid., 5 to 14 April 1860.
62 Ibid., 25 April 1860.
63 Dryden family Bible, HC.
65 Unsourced and undated clipping in MS y 1103, p. 126, SJHP.
66 Rose to JH, 25 September 1884, Fol. 114, SJHP.
67 Rose to JH, 18 March 1894, Fol. 203, SJHP.
68 JH to R. Stout, 23 May 1900, MS x 923, p. 471, SJHP.
Mrs Browne being very busy this morning has deputed me to write to you to spend Thursday evening here quite in a friendly way one or two musical people are coming in.69

In return John took her out to St Andrews which Agnes informed him had given Rose "great pleasure".70

When John came to Canterbury he and Rose do not appear to have corresponded directly except for the one occasion when Rose wrote about a family matter. On this occasion Rose congratulated John on his "popularity and general success" of which she had learned from the letters and newspapers which Agnes had sent from New Zealand. She also asked, "Shall we ever see you in England again?"71 Other peoples' letters to John sometimes gave news about Rose. Rose stayed "for a short time" with John's father and sister in 1853 and John knew that Rose sent the local newspaper, The Hull Packet, regularly to Agnes.72 On at least two occasions Rose invited Grace to enclose letters or a parcel in the box she was sending to New Zealand.73

The newly married couple sailed for Auckland in June 1861 on the Royal Stuart and reached Lyttelton in September. Their first child, Godfrey Dryden, was born on 17 January 1862 but died twelve days later.74 John's friends in England, William Bell and John Neall were commissioned to procure a tomb which was duly transported to New Zealand in 1863.75 Eventually the Halls had five other children: Mildred (1863), Wilfred (1864), John Dryden (1865) who was always called Dryden, Mary (1867) and Godfrey (1868). Rose provides the only comment about Hall and his children when the latter were very young. It is a passing sketch of her husband playing with baby Godfrey by calling him "tallow face, sallow face, goggle eyes &c."76
In his diaries Hall made occasional comments about his children as they were growing up. These glimpses of family life touch mainly on the times spent at Hororata, because in Christchurch the children were away at school. Mildred went to a school in the suburb of Opawa and Wilfred and Dryden were pupils at Christ’s College. Because of his poor health, Godfrey was educated at Baker’s school, French Farm. Hall took at least two of his sons with him to the station on four of his trips in 1876 when the youngsters spent some of their time riding ponies. The following year he shared one adventure with his two youngest children: "Up at 4.45 a.m. to go to town by first train. Mary and Goff [Godfrey] at their own wish up with me, & went to Railway. Enjoyed it greatly." Sometimes his children met him at the railway station when he returned from Christchurch. He himself taught Godfrey how to play backgammon, he "[r]ead to [the] little ones" and "rode out with Mildred." One ritual Hall undertook at Rakaia Terrace Station was to measure the children’s heights on one of the doors. Gradually the children were given responsibilities. "Dryden went to Coalgate for letters" and Godfrey helped with the shearing at Rakaia Terrace Station and earned 15s a week in 1886 as a wool stower, netting £3 7s 6d for four and a half weeks work.

While sons gained insight into the operation of the property, daughters carried out household tasks. Rose described Mary as conscientious in her appointed duties: trimming the 7 lamps every day, feeding the animals taking her share in kitchen work & especially watering the garden...every night to say nothing of her labours at dress making & her endeavours also to keep up her music.

Mildred, too, was a competent needlewoman and made her own dresses.

As his new family was maturing, Hall’s older English relatives were dying. Only a few weeks after his departure from England in 1861, his aunt, Mildred Fowler, who had suffered a series of strokes, died on 26 July. John organized the family’s presentation of a memorial window to her in St Mary’s church at Scarborough. Mrs Hall, his stepmother, died suddenly on 15 February 1865 and John was warned his father was failing. After years

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77 1 February 1877, Diary 1877-78-83, GHHC.
78 For Hall’s comments about his children see ibid., 2 January - 16 May 1877.
79 Ledger 1886, p. 119, HC.
80 Rose to JH, 8 September 1887, Rose to JH, HC.
81 Ibid., Rose to JH, 3 September 1887.
82 TWH to JH, 17 December 1861, Fol. 24, SJHP.
83 J.S. Neall to JH, 25 February 1865, Fol. 32, SJHP.
of suffering from rheumatism, his father died at Elloughton on 29 August 1865 at the grand age of 83. William Fowler, the last survivor, was also 83 when he died on 21 October 1868.

Although he was the youngest brother, John came increasingly to be the mainstay of the family within New Zealand. Of the three he adapted best to "colonial life".84 Both of his brothers met with misfortune in 1862. Tom met with serious financial reversals, while George became seriously ill and John had to oversee the management of his run.85 John continued to assist George and in 1876 "went through" his will and checked his accounts.86

In 1862 Hall extended Rakaia Terrace Station. He acquired the adjoining 10,000 acres of Run 17 from his neighbours, the Studholme brothers, and moved into the homestead on this property. The whole run now totalled 30,000 acres. Initially, Hall had insufficient sheep for his acreage and several sheep owners grazed their flocks on his land.87 He had started in 1853 with 1,800 sheep but over the years his flocks increased to the stage where 20,068 sheep were shorn at Rakaia Terrace Station in the 1869-70 season and 29,500 in the peak season of 1894-5.88 The numbers then fell back a little to 24,062 in 1906-7, the summer preceding Hall's death.89

Hall was proud of his stud flock which was largely derived from merinos imported from James Gibson of Belle Vue, Tasmania.90 As others had done, his manager had experimented by cross-breeding the merino with English breeds: Lincoln, Shropshire Down and English Leicester, the latter eventually being preferred.91 Landowners were keen to demonstrate the quality of their animals by entering them in agricultural society competitions and Hall was no exception. In 1870 one of his hogget rams won the championship as "the best New Zealand bred ram".92 Wishing to do even better, he sent a catalogue to his manager with the instruction:

84 W.L. Bell to JH, 2 October 1855, Fol. 16, SJHP.
85 W.H. to JH, 30 April 1862; JH to W. King, 12 July 1862, (Fol. 25, SJHP).
86 28 April 1876, Diary 1876, GHHC.
87 SJ 1863-5, 9-10 December 1863, HC.
88 JH to J.S. Neall, 14 September 1853, HC; SJ 1867-70, 25 January 1870, HC; Field use and shearing book, HC.
89 Ibid.
90 Clearing Sale, 21 February 1907, HC.
91 JH to JEF, 9 July 1874, HC; JH to S.W. Squier, 20 April 1892, MS x 916, p. 104, SJHP; Agricultural statistics, 26 April 1902, HC.
92 R. Campbell to JH, 27 October 1870, Fol. 57, SJHP.
Will you look through the Classes of Merino Sheep and see if there are not some in which we could show some of our own breeding with a fair chance of success. I should like to get the Cup & the only way of doing so is to have a good many exhibits.

He took pride in showing his wool in New Zealand and overseas. When his exhibit at the Philadelphia international exhibition of 1876 won an award "[f]or merino fleece wool of superior quality and growth", it was not only personally gratifying but advertised New Zealand's produce to other markets. Already this concern for excellence had brought economic rewards. Hall could boast locally that "In Canterbury I dont [sic] see where I could get better sheep than my own; my wool already fetches a better price than Moores [sic]."

He was also delighted to describe results at the London wool sales: "The brokers were very pleased with it, saying it was the best N. Zealand wool they had had this season...it fetched by far the highest price of the day". High standards were the goal at Rakaia Terrace Station and the station journal proudly recorded that a Tamworth sow was the "[l]argest pig ever sold at Addington".

When Hall began to run his own sheep on his own property, he also started to tame the wilderness. On a 30,000 acre run, putting up fences was a major enterprise. Not only was it expensive but the land had to be surveyed and the fencing materials had to be imported. The decision to make the fences with wire and wooden posts marked an adaptation to the colonial environment. In Britain hedges and stone walls divided small fields but neither of these was appropriate to the large scale of New Zealand pastoralism and the need for immediate results.

Fencing improved stock management and this brought Hall several benefits. Previously, temporary enclosures had often proved inadequate and animals had strayed, especially in strong winds. Much time had been spent in searching for them and some had never been

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93 JH to JEF, 21 August 1876, HC.
94 Award from International Exhibition Philadelphia, 1876, Fol. 84, SJHP; JH to JEF, 20 September 1876, HC.
95 JH to JEF, 4 August 1875, HC.
96 JH to JEF, 11 June 1874, HC.
97 SJ 1897-9, 11 January 1899, HC.
98 14 August 1863 - 24 June 1865, Diary 1863-67, GHHC.
99 For one boundary fence the two contractors were paid £13 10s a mile and 10s a week for food. 20 January 1864, Diary 1863-67, GHHC.
found. With fencing, moreover, Hall could separate his sheep more effectively from the flocks of neighbouring runholders and thereby minimize the risk of their catching scab, a highly infectious sheep disease. Finally, fencing enabled him to segregate his breeding stock from other sheep and thereby improve the quality of his animals.

To give further protection to his sheep and crops, Hall continued to modify the landscape. His aim was to reduce the adverse effects of the "frequent and violent" winds to which Rakaia Terrace Station was vulnerable: the cold, wet South Westerly and the hot, dry Nor'Wester. These gales were strong enough to blow stockyards away and there was a story that when the winds blew "acclimatized sheep...had acquired the habit of holding onto tussocks by their teeth". As late as 1882, a north westerly wind caused £300 worth of damage to Hall's crops and nearly a thousand sheep died in a cold sou'wester. When Hall moved to Hororata there was nothing to provide protection except for "a few miserable Cabbage trees" so he began to plant trees to form L-shaped shelter belts. It took time and "many mistakes" to discover that Pinus Insignis was the most suitable species for the area. Once the trees grew to twenty feet, Hall reported that "both crops and grass are twice as good for 20 chains from the belts, as they are beyond their shelter." On his station he developed a plantation which was the first stand of trees on the plains. The associated nursery enabled him to propagate his own plants and this proved cheaper and more successful than employing a contractor. By the end of the century Hall was planting thousands of trees on his property a source of timber for the Selwyn County Council.

In the mid-1860s Hall was reaping the benefits of his earlier investments and was able to use them to gain an interest in two High Country runs. By 1863 he could borrow £5,000 for three years on the following security:

100 Rakaia Terrace Station Journal, CM.
102 SJ 1863-5, 6 May 1864, HC.
103 Hall, 'Shelter', p. 455
104 JEF to JH, 31 January 1882, HC.; SJ 1881-3, 29 December 1882, HC.
105 Hall, 'Shelter', pp. 455-60.
107 Hall, 'Shelter', p. 459.
108 SJ 1896-7, 3-20 August 1897.
Rakaia Terrace Run & Improvements including Preemptive rights also 4000 Breeding Ewes (none broken mouthed) - and their female increase - And a pledge that you will not mortgage freehold on the said run to others than this Company.\footnote{109}

In March 1866 Joseph Beswick, who had grazed his sheep with the Halls in 1854, asked Hall to buy half of his Glenmore run. Beswick lacked the capital to stock it sufficiently and had been struggling financially for years. His affairs worsened so that on 24 December he consented to sell the run and 4,000 sheep to Hall for £5,100.\footnote{110} Because the health of his brother George had broken down, by June 1867 Hall had also taken over his Balmoral station. Thereafter he operated these two adjoining properties as a unit.\footnote{111}

Yet the 1860s were years of constraint for New Zealand pastoralism. There was an economic recession brought about by financial uncertainty in Britain and the steady fall in the price of wool throughout the decade. In 1862 and 1867 there were severe snow storms in which much stock perished and scab continued to affect flocks. Hall was extremely critical of his Mackenzie Country manager and dismissed him in 1868. Such was the downturn in pastoral fortunes that this may explain why in April 1869 he sold both High Country runs and 20,000 sheep to Alfred Cox for £13,500.\footnote{112}

From 1863 Hall began freeholding Rakaia Terrace Station. His goal was to purchase the whole property but buying the strategic points first was crucial in his case because the greater part of the property was dry and stony. By 1871 he had secure the homestead area and those places which were "well-watered, fertile and sunny". From 1872 to 1876 he purchased over 4,000 acres in blocks up to about 250 acres in size. Land speculation reached a peak in the province in 1877 and in that year he bought another 14,000 acres.\footnote{113} Because legislation passed in 1878 meant that all rights of pre-emption ceased on 1 May 1880, Hall had purchased nearly all the run by the end of 1878. Despite the expense, he rejoiced that he had made himself secure against further reform in leasehold arrangements:

\footnote{109} C.R. Blakiston to JH, 28 September 1863, Fol. 27, SJHP.
\footnote{111} Ibid., p. 44.
\footnote{112} Ibid., pp. 89 and 44.
This weather, & the fall in wool, & the necessity for buying up PreEmptive Rights will make the year a bad one. All the P[re-emptive] R[ight]s are now bought, so that the Land Regulations will not affect me much in future.\(^{114}\)

Hall had made a sound investment and in January 1879 the valuation on the 27,000 acres of freehold land including buildings and plant was £125,498.\(^{115}\)

The methods used by large landowners to acquire their runs were a sensitive political issue. In 1898 John McKenzie, the minister of lands, singled Hall out for comment in the House of Representatives. Hall had retired from the Assembly but he had been McKenzie's political opponent. By then land reform had become an important plank in the policy of the Liberal government which had taken office in 1891. McKenzie was eager to place more settlers on rural smallholdings and the big estates which tied up large acreages were anathema to him. During the debate on the financial statement a member of the opposition challenged McKenzie by quoting figures to demonstrate that the Ballance-Seddon ministry to which McKenzie belonged had "put fewer people on the land than any of its predecessors, immediate or remote."\(^{116}\) The minister defended himself by explaining that the statistics were an aberration caused by "the gridironing that went on."\(^{117}\) ‘Gridironing’ was the name given to the pattern of purchasing land in alternate sections which gave a landowner control of selections which he had not bought. McKenzie himself explained how ‘close gridironing’ worked:

Twenty acres were taken up by a man in one place, leaving nineteen acres, then another twenty acres, and then another nineteen acres, and so on; but the laws of the country would not allow less than twenty acres to be selected, and by this process large areas were acquired by the use of it without paying for that land, until it suited them to purchase.\(^{118}\)

McKenzie reinforced his point by producing a map of Hall’s Hororata estate which he had included in Hansard.\(^{119}\) He argued that ‘close gridironing’ had supposedly been stopped by the Land Act of 1873 and article 112 of the Land Act of 1877 yet between 1873 and 1877 Hall had purchased 136 sections of 20 acres. McKenzie claimed that the high figures for land settlement in the 1870s created a false impression because they resulted from pastoralists like

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\(^{114}\) JH to JEF, 11 October 1878, HC.

\(^{115}\) J.T. Ford to JH, 26 January 1879, Farm Buildings, HC.

\(^{116}\) NZPD, Vol. 102, p. 664.

\(^{117}\) Ibid., p. 663.

\(^{118}\) NZPD, Vol. 103, p. 123.

\(^{119}\) Ibid., map The Hororata Estate As Acquired From The Crown, The map is not included in every copy of NZPD.
Hall consolidating their control of the land through gridironing.\textsuperscript{120} He interpreted this as being quite different from the policy of the Ballance-Seddon government which was to establish greater numbers of small farmers on their own property.

McKenzie's attempt to label Hall 'the knight of the gridiron' was misplaced.\textsuperscript{121} In arguing that 'close gridironing' gave Hall the use of considerable tracts of land without paying for them, McKenzie misrepresented the situation. Hall had freeholded all 30,000 acres and mostly within a short space of time, namely 1877-8. Because Hall had bought all the land, there was no gridironing because gridironing depended on sections remaining unpurchased. Moreover, that Hall was recorded as purchasing twenty acre sections came about simply because the land had been surveyed in twenty acre sections. He, in fact, usually bought the land in lots of several hundred acres comprising a large number of adjacent sections.

In order to freehold his property, Hall took out a mortgage at 7\%\textsuperscript{122} By 1884, the value was £20,000 over three years and he transferred this to Frere, Forster and Frere of London at the reduced rate of 5½\%.\textsuperscript{123} At this time Hall assured W.S. Forster that "The Profits of my Station for the last 3 years have averaged over £6,000 a year. This is from the whole Estate, but there is no debt upon it except the £20,000."\textsuperscript{124} Like many of his landowning contemporaries Hall used his Hororata property as security for a mortgage during the 1880s and the loan was extended. Hall became dissatisfied with the rate of interest and from 1 January 1896 transferred his mortgage to the Australian Mutual Provident Society at 5\% with a provision that he should reduce the principal by £2,500 \textit{per annum}.\textsuperscript{125} The obligation was completed in December 1902.\textsuperscript{126} By then, he had assets worth a quarter of a million pounds, but he was still influenced by his father's training and early economies. He continuously researched interest rates and was not above reminding his bank manager who was arranging the draft to the A.M.P. that

\textsuperscript{120} Ibid., pp. 122-3.
\textsuperscript{121} Richard Seddon had used the phrase to describe Hall. \textit{LT}, 5 August 1890.
\textsuperscript{122} JH to JEF, 18 April 1884, HC.
\textsuperscript{123} JH notes, Mortgage, HC.
\textsuperscript{124} JH to W.S. Forster, 25 January 1884, Mortgage, HC.
\textsuperscript{125} 30 October 1895, Memo of Loan, Mortgage, HC.
\textsuperscript{126} JH notes, Mortgage, HC.
Looking to the length of time during which I have been a client of the Bank of New South Wales, I should expect these terms to be as favorable as it is possible for you to make them.127

Hall's fortunes, and New Zealand's, were closely linked with Britain's. The United Kingdom suffered a bad depression in the 1880s and this had repercussions for New Zealand. Hall informed his manager how this affected him personally:

I enclose a list of the prices the wool sold at, which are quite 10 to 15 per cent less than last year, in spite of its excellent condition. This shows how depressed the market is.128

Hall was fortunate in that "the increased weight" of his clip compensated for the fall in prices.129 The situation worsened in 1885 and Hall advised his manager: "I shall be well satisfied if the whole clip brings within £1000 of what it did last year."130

When the weight of the depression began to be felt, Hall's reaction was to try to sell the property even though "There are not many stations of the same size which can show a better result, or are better prepared for the bad times we have before us."131 He gave the auctioneer, John Ford, authority to sell for £105,000 in March 1881.132 There were two serious potential purchasers but one was in poor health and the other feared heavy taxation on large landed estates so neither made an offer.133 Prior to his departure for Argentina in 1885, he instructed Ford, and the land agents, Harman and Stevens, to put the station on the market134 but once again nothing eventuated. His travels in 1885-6 through Argentina, Britain and Europe provided favourable comparisons with New Zealand and he returned to the colony in a more settled frame of mind.

Hall's wealth cushioned him from personal distress during the prolonged depression from the late 1870s to the mid-1890s. He had never been profligate in his expenditure and his reaction in these years was to be cautious in his spending habits. Lady Hall's anxiety about

127 JH to W.S. Robinson, 15 October 1895, Mortgage, HC.
128 JH to JEF, 15 June 1884, HC.
129 JH to JEF, 15 July 1884, HC.
130 JH to JEF, 24 September 1885, HC.
131 JH to JEF, 15 July 1885, HC.
132 J.T. Ford to E.C.J. Stevens, 1 December 1883, Proposed Sale 1882, HC.
133 J.T. Ford to JH, 12 August 1882, Proposed Sale 1882, HC.
134 8 and 17 January 1885, Diary 1885, GHHC.
incurred extra postage for overweight letters and his own concern at having his income from his wool clip reduced by more than £2,500 were far removed from the impact of destitution on one Hororata family. Mrs John Manson hanged herself when her husband’s crops failed. She had been ill and depressed and he was unable to work and there was no money to pay the several bills. Six months later the husband himself died. The two elder daughters were expected to begin to earn their own living and the younger children were to be placed in an orphanage.

By the mid 1880s Hall had established sharecroppers on his land. This was an arrangement which was intended to benefit both his profits and the small farmer's income. The land on the more distant portions of the estate was ploughed by the sharecroppers to an agreed depth and brought into crop production. A monetary rent was paid and depending on the size of the crop, Hall also received a proportion of the grain. Between 1883 and 1901 there were 67 agreements with croppers made on an annual basis. In fourteen instances the lessee held two plots in one year and nearly all 24 lessees were from Hororata and neighbouring districts.

Despite the pre-established contracts, Hall altered the conditions when wet weather led to poor harvests. He wrote from Britain about the sharecroppers:

...their lot does seem a very unfortunate one of late, & I see by the Papers that the Gov[emnent] have chosen this time of all others to raise the Grain freights. It is a very unreasonable proceeding. If you think that the croppers require some allowance to make ends meet, you can make it. I d'ont[sic] like to see men work the year for nothing, unless indeed the losses are owing to their own carelessness or mismanagement.

The manager duly gave discounts on the rents. Conditions did not improve the following year and again Hall instructed his manager to "deal liberally" with the farmers. Hall fully understood when three of the croppers decided not to continue.

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135 Rose to Wilfred, [1890?], AGC; JH to GWH, 2 March 1892, MS x 915, p. 472, SJHP.
136 JEF to JH, 27 April 1880, HC.
137 JEF to JH, 27 October 1880, HC.
138 Sharecroppers’ agreements, HC.
139 JH to JEF, 17 May 1884, HC.
140 Ledger 1884, pp. 76-82, HC.
141 JH to JEF, 23 April 1885, HC.
142 JH to JEF, 12 August 1885, HC.
Refrigeration was one of the most important innovations backed financially by New Zealand pastoralists. Its advent in the 1880s altered the balance of primary production in New Zealand for it made it possible to export meat and dairy products as well as wool. Hall was directly involved with these developments both as premier and as a private citizen. His ministry promoted refrigeration by offering bonuses for the first successful export of cheese, butter and frozen meat. And in August 1882 he was welcomed as a shareholder in the refrigeration company. Returns were expected to be 7% and Hall was asked to use his influence to "induce" William Rolleston, the former superintendent of Canterbury, to take a similar number of shares "on public grounds." Their commitment and standing, it was hoped, would encourage others to invest in it.

As a sheep farmer, Hall was particularly interested in the expansion of the frozen meat trade. His first exports went by the Doric and British Queen and grossed £226 11s. He escorted one shipment to London and was able to report:

The frozen meat by the "Lady Jocelyn" was excellent all the way home. I have never had such tender meat in my life. The salesmen here can find no fault whatever with its condition. That by the "British King", on the other hand, has been carelessly butchered & a great deal of it turns out in bad condition.

While he was in London Hall himself promoted frozen meat but was also aware of the public reaction to merino mutton: "Everybody who tastes it, admits its excellence, but it does not look well when frozen." Later he was able to report that mutton was "working its way into public favour" but "the servants turn up their noses at it." He was cheered by reports in the English papers that meat prices in New Zealand had risen 25% because of the advent of refrigeration. His enthusiasm diminished a year later when he reported to his manager:

Increasing importations from the River Plate bring down the market price by over supplying it, and also by the inferior quality of the mutton, which damages all frozen meat. Plate mutton is generally sold as N. Zealand produce.

143 4 April 1881, PM 4/1, p. 201, NAHO.
144 J.T. Ford to JH, 12 August 1882, Proposed Sale 1882, HC.
145 Ledger 1883, pp. 100 and 135, HC.
146 JH to JEF, 9 July 1883, HC.
147 JH to JEF, 24 February 1884, HC.
148 JH to JEF, 15 July 1884, HC.
149 JH to JEF, [-] January 1884, HC.
150 JH to JEF, 24 September 1885, HC.
Within the decade, however, frozen lamb had come to hold an increasingly significant place among New Zealand's exports.

While Hall himself stood to benefit from an expanding market for frozen meat, he recognized the benefits of refrigeration for the New Zealand dairy industry. He believed that in the long term New Zealand and its farmers would do better to export "first class" butter and cheese, because the colony would not be open to competition from Australia and the Americas. He admitted, however, that Hororata was unlikely to benefit as "the milk suppliers [were] too few & too scattered."152

Other developments brought change in agricultural practice and Hall was often willing to try out new ideas. Following a recommendation in 1887 from George Stead, a grain and export merchant who stated that by using superphosphate he had doubled his crop, Hall's manager also started to use chemicals to improve production.153 Nine years later, £90 18s 10d was spent on nineteen tons of various fertilizers.154 The quality of some of these mixtures was questionable but they could be tested at Lincoln College which had opened in 1880.155 Hall had been a leader in establishing this school of agriculture, the first of its kind in the southern hemisphere, and, even though research was a low priority there, when his manager wanted scientific information he drew on the expertise of William Ivey, the director.156

Rakaia Terrace Station was an anchor for Hall's family life. He himself admitted that "the making of it & its improvements has been a long life's work, & the children, whose home it was, are much attached to it, so I suppose I shall hang on to the end."157 These emotional ties to the homestead, which he recognized, are still important to his descendants.

The property was also the cornerstone of Hall's wealth. It provided him with sufficient income to make him economically independent. This was the financial pre-requisite for a

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151 JH to JEF, 25 March 1884, HC.
152 JH to JEF, 14 January 1886, HC.
153 JEF to JH, 2 November 1887, HC.
154 Ledger 1896, pp. 95-6.
155 JEF to JH, 2 August 1890, HC.
156 JEF to JH, 17 July 1888, HC.
157 JH to W.L. Bell, 10 October 1904, MS x 928, p. 26, SJHP.
political career because many public offices were unpaid. For forty years his growing fortune enabled him to participate at various times in local, provincial and colonial government.

Being a wealthy stationowner in a province whose major industry was pastoralism gave Hall a prominent place in Canterbury society. He was an influential figure in Christchurch as well as in country districts. His position in the Hororata community, however, was special because here he combined the dual roles of employer and local leader.
CHAPTER 5
FARM AND COMMUNITY

Fountaine remained on [the] wharf seeing us off. How invaluable he is to me. Never man had a better servant & friend, & I think I have been a good master.¹

While Rakaia Terrace Station was at the heart of Hall's prosperity and happiness, its successful operation was an important part of the local economy and the establishment of a small, rural community. The station records and correspondence reveal much about how Hall ran his property, the social relationships of the Hororata community and the role of Hall and his family within it.

Hall was among those landowners who retained a keen business interest in his property and was still doing the accounts himself in February 1864.² From the ledgers and the journals it is clear that he continued to watch the figures and check what was happening. As late as 1889 he oversaw activities and added to the journal during his manager's three-week absence.³ Even when he was working in Wellington or travelling overseas he received summarized journal entries and regular letters from his manager and replied in detail to them.

Hall made eighteen visits to Rakaia Terrace Station in 1876⁴ and his diary entries for that year and the following one show the type of interest which he took in the station. Part of each trip in 1876 was spent inspecting the property. As he toured the paddocks, he consulted his manager and head shepherd about which land to purchase next. Since his income depended on the quality of the wool clip, the state of his flock was an important matter and he was present for the mustering, the drafting and the shearing. He was particularly interested in his plantations and went there for walks and to shoot rabbits.⁵ Some time was devoted to checking the books and "settling various matters" with his

¹ 14 June 1887, Diary 1887, GHHC.
² 20 February 1864, Diary 1863-7, GHHC.
³ SJ 1888-9, 25 May - 14 June 1889, HC.
⁴ SJ 1875-7, HC; Diary 1876, GHHC.
⁵ Ibid.
The pattern did not change significantly the following year when Hall lived at Hororata and travelled to Christchurch. He was concerned with his crops and his sheep and he frequently inspected his run in order to select the land he wished to purchase. For Hall the installation of a trustworthy manager was crucial. It allowed him to continue in public life and take his sheep off thirds and run them on his own property. Delegation was common among large landholders as it had long been on the great estates in Britain. For Hall the installation of a trustworthy manager was crucial. It allowed him to continue in public life and take his sheep off thirds and run them on his own property. It is not clear when Hall entrusted the day-to-day running of his station to a manager, but a man named W. Hudson was appointed. He handed in his notice in January 1863 and was replaced by John Buller who arrived at Rakaia Terrace Station in May and within a week had taken over from Hudson. Buller was the son of the Wesleyan missionary, James Buller, and brother of the ornithologist, Sir Walter Buller. As part of his duties Buller kept the accounts and allocated tasks to the men. From 1 December 1863, he kept the station journals, making daily entries according to Hall’s instructions about the weather, callers, work done and significant events.

A major ingredient in Hall’s partnership with his manager was mutual respect. Hall reserved the right to take an active part in decisions and expected to be consulted about taking on staff or extraordinary expenditure. In return, Buller’s comments make it clear that he was expected to exercise his judgment and that he accepted his accountability:

I must again repeat what I told you some months ago, that I am of opinion that this run is stretched far beyond its carrying capabilities...I feel that I am making these remarks at the risk of annoying you; but I also feel that it is my duty and privilege to express an opinion on a subject which is likely to affect myself, as you would properly look to me for an explanation if the losses of winter were more than ordinary. He reported events fully and not only communicated the facts but was also capable of giving an evocative description. While he understood Hall’s desire to know the “exact” number of

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9 Ibid., 17 February 1876.
7 1877, Diary 1877, 1878 and 1883, GHHC.
9 17 January and 16 May 1863, Diary 1863-7, GHHC.
10 Walter Buller translated at the Maori farewell to Hall at Christchurch in 1860. LT, 14 March 1860.
11 SJ 1863-5, HC.
12 JH to J.W. Buller, 30 April 1868, MS y 1093, p. 49, SJHP.
13 J.W. Buller to JH, 4 June 1868, Fol. 50, SJHP.
sheep and which flocks were affected by the 1867 snowstorm, he was not above taking ten pages to portray the "stifling smoke & scorching fire" which nearly engulfed the run on 30 August 1869. In response to misfortune, Hall made his philosophy quite plain:

I feel more annoyed at 10 shillings lost thro' want of care or exertion than at the loss of 50 sheep which could not be averted.

Buller left for Wanganui in December 1869. He continued to correspond with Hall. Buller was stout and noted for falling asleep on horseback. He was killed in 1886 when he fell off his horse and broke his neck.

Buller’s successor at Rakaia Terrace Station was John Fountaine. He had his own smallholding at nearby Glenroy but the life of a smallholder could be difficult as Hall pointed out to a prospective immigrant:

I told the lad plainly how roughly our small farmers lived compared with what they do in England & that altho’ he w[oul]d get plenty to eat & drink, the style of board and lodging would be very different to any thing he had seen at home.

Fountaine sold his land because it was more advantageous for him to work for Hall.

Hall was a shrewd judge of Fountaine’s potential. Fountaine was working at Rakaia Terrace Station in 1863 and the journal reveals that, besides being skilled with animals, he could turn his hand at different times to being cook, butcher, builder and chimney sweep. It is likely that in 1866, when Buller was absent for three weeks in the North Island, Fountaine took-over his duties. A year later Hall wrote of the worth of the twenty-six year old, now station storeman, when he approved a pay increase. The following year Buller encouraged Fountaine to write to Hall in Wellington and give his own account of what was
happening. Briefly in 1870 after Buller's departure, Hall kept the books but Fountaine soon took them over and filled the post of manager. In September 1875 Hall expressed his approval of Fountaine from London:

I must say, that so far as I can judge from here, you have managed for me very well indeed during my absence, & have entirely justified the confidence which induced me to leave you in so responsible a position.

Such was Fountaine's ability that in later years he was invited to make a report on the running of another station which was in difficulties.

Much credit for harmonious relationships with the long-term staff at Hororata must go to Fountaine. His contribution to the success of Rakaia Terrace Station was noted by one auctioneer when he was writing about one potential buyer of the station: "Like yourself he is considering Fountaine as part of or at any rate a valuable adjunct to the property." Fountaine had a wide variety of practical expertise and knew how to do all the tasks he delegated. The most significant of his skills was his ability to deal with large numbers of men. His 'round work' kept him in continual contact with them as well as keeping him informed about the jobs in hand and those requiring to be done. Fountaine was firm but compassionate. He did not dismiss men out of hand. One married shepherd was ill for ten weeks but Fountaine sought Hall's advice before terminating his employment. His reputation for being a "considerate" boss also rested on decisions such as "allowing the men to work in the sheds on wet days" and was appreciated enough to be commented upon in a local history. In fact the hands may sometimes have had time off in bad weather as three entries in the 1874 journal read: "wet all day no inside work."

There were times, however, when Fountaine took a firm stand. Despite cooks being "virtually impossible to find and retain", he dismissed one who had given relatively long

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22 JEF, to JH, 12 August 1868, Fol. 46, SJHP.
23 JH to JEF, 30 September 1875, HC.
24 JEF to JH, 15 August 1892, HC.
25 J.T. Ford to JH, 12 August 1882, Proposed sale, HC.
26 JEF to JH, 3 August 1889; JEF to JH, 19 August 1889, (HC).
27 M.D.S. Cocks, ed., 'Hororata Through Church Eyes', Hororata, St John's Church, 1985, p. 22.
28 SJ 1873-5, 29 September, 16 and 17 December 1874, HC.
Once more the man had been drunk, a common occurrence among cooks. Fountaine reported to Hall: "Meara got drinking again during shearing so I got rid of him as soon as it was over." Fountaine was not always successful and was quite put out on one occasion by a woman. He had made arrangements about a minor matter with Harris who had been a shepherd on the property for twelve years. Fountaine reported that later Mrs Harris had come up and given him "a good talking to". He wrote at length to Hall about how she had regaled him with four grievances reaching back at least five years and had "wound up" by giving a month's notice. Fountaine concluded that "from the way Mrs Harris talked one would think she was a bit off her head". Nevertheless, he discouraged Harris from leaving until the family had a home to go to and checked back through the accounts but could find no substance in the woman's complaints.

Fountaine's value to Hall was reflected in the conditions of his employment. Initially he lived in a wood and cob cottage but this was transformed by alterations and additions into an impressive house with verandah, six rooms and an office. As a storeman he had earned £80 per annum but within a few years he was receiving £250 as his salary and he augmented this with a 2½% commission on stock sales which in 1876 was worth £27 0s 9d. From 1883 and for the rest of his working life his salary was £300 per annum with commission. At Mount Peel, a much larger property, the manager was earning only £250 in 1906. Fountaine remained as manager on the property until his retirement in May 1899.

Hall's relationship with his manager was a mixture of intimacy and propriety as was common on other stations. Before he left for Britain in 1885 Hall noted in his diary that he

30 JEF to JH, 1 March 1884, HC.
31 JEF to JH, 24 May 1888, HC. Harris bought a 45 acre farm in the district to which the family moved on 16 June. JEF to JH, 19 June 1888, HC.
32 C. Broadbent, 'The Rakaia Terrace Station, Hororata, Canterbury', Historic Places Trust, Wellington, 1977, p. 18; Particulars of Rakaia Terrace Station, 1 March 1882, Proposed Sale 1882, HC.
33 Ledger 1867-73, p. 90; Ledger 1873-5, p. 418, (HC). Fountaine was paid for selling sheep belonging to local farmers. One break-down is given on a loose piece of paper enclosed in the ledger for 1897.
34 Ledger 1883, p. 20.
35 Acland Papers, F3, v, p.1, CU. I do not know how his qualifications and experience compare with Fountaine's.
had invited both Fountaine and his wife, Lucy, to join him in the drawing room for the evening. In their correspondence the two men exchanged family news and political opinions as well as covering the details of run management. The tone was formal but the topics ranged beyond the bonds of work. The calibre of this relationship and the lifelong threads of respect and friendship are revealed in Hall’s letter to William Rolleston which was written after Fountaine’s retirement and five months before his death. Hall told Rolleston that although he would like to get away from Rakaia Terrace Station, he was reluctant to leave his old manager when he was ill.

Fountaine was one of eight employees who could be described as faithful retainers. Their skills were complementary so that each had a special niche in the station’s workforce. Their length of tenure created bonds which overcame the diversity of their backgrounds yet their loyalty did not detract from their independence. Three were already employed by 1867. Fountaine came from England and had worked for Hall for at least thirty-six years when ill-health ended his career in 1899. Joseph Lorette was Spanish and had been a whaler. He had previously worked for the Halls in the Mackenzie Country during the 1850s but is first mentioned in the Rakaia Terrace Station journals in 1864 as a bullock driver. He specialized in contract ploughing but also pursued an irregular career as a general hand when he spliced windlass rope and repaired slings and horse covers. In 1897 Hall paid tribute to him when he wrote that Lorette was "one of the most honest men I have met with in the course of a long life." Ewen McIntosh was a Scot who arrived at the station with his wife in March 1865 and was still working as head shepherd when he retired aged 65 in 1903. Subsequently, he ran sheep on the farm he bought nearby at Glenroy.

John Bryan was an Irishman and is first mentioned working at another run in the station journal of 1853. He and his wife ran the accommodation house at Rakaia Gorge

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36 11 January 1885, Diary 1885, GHHC.
37 JH to W. Rolleston, 1 August 1900, MS 446:37, Rolleston Papers.
38 Acland, p. 97; SJ 1863-5, 13 May 1864, HC. In the majority of the station records the surname is spelt Lorette but that inscribed on his tombstone is the one adopted here.
39 JH to JEF, 4 August 1897, MS x 921, p. 282, SJHP.
40 Montgomery and Oakley, p. 19. They are incorrect in giving Macintosh’s age as 62 when he died; he was 72.
41 7 August 1853, Rakaia Terrace Station Journal, CM.
which they had occupied since 1851.\textsuperscript{42} He also operated the ferry across the river, for which he is commemorated locally.\textsuperscript{43} Because of excessive drinking at his hotel, he was refused a renewal of his licence.\textsuperscript{44} The source does not state whether the excessive drinking was Bryan’s or his customers’. He sold his business, his 1,200 acre sheep station and 20 acres of freehold\textsuperscript{45} and began working at Rakaia Terrace Station in 1869 when his wife was very ill and he was already 61 years old. There is a story that he was employed because he saved Hall from drowning in the Rakaia River. If there is any basis to it, it may explain why Hall employed him at such an advanced age and why he is buried in the Hall family plot in the Hororata cemetery.\textsuperscript{46} He was engaged in tasks as diverse as collecting eggs and being the coachman. By 1892 he was doing odd jobs and Hall was paying him a pension.

William McSweeney came from County Cork in Ireland and followed his two brothers to Canterbury.\textsuperscript{47} He began work in 1875 as a general hand but later specialized as the blacksmith. His particular combination of skills made him hard to replace.\textsuperscript{48} He left Rakaia Terrace Station in 1901 aged 51 with a personal letter of thanks from Hall and a specially inscribed gold watch.\textsuperscript{49} With the £1,000 he had saved, McSweeney bought his own 300 acre farm near Kirwee.\textsuperscript{50}

William Powell and Thomas Barson arrived to do the fencing in September 1875 and were both still employed after Hall’s death in 1907. Barson was from Oxfordshire and is reputed to have worked at Kew Gardens. He did general tasks and gardening but was particularly notable as a shearer, a job at which he worked from 1876 until after the 1905-6 season. Another man with a record for long service was William Tizzard who started at Rakaia Terrace Station in November 1880 and worked as a general hand. He was still

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\textsuperscript{42} Background on this part of Bryan’s life and the bravery of his wife is recorded in an unsourced and undated cutting on the wall of Christine’s Private Museum, Mt Hutt.
\textsuperscript{43} Plaque on north bank of Rakai'a River by the Gorge bridge.
\textsuperscript{44} Cocks, pp. 74-75.
\textsuperscript{45} J.T, 20 May 1869.
\textsuperscript{46} Support for this story is also suggested by Hall’s promotion of the teaching of swimming and his donation of a shield for life saving.
\textsuperscript{47} D.B. McSweeney, ‘Your Pioneer Story 1850-1961’, n.p., n.d., pp. 1 and 5. McSweeney is the correct surname but in most of the station records the form of Sweeney was used.
\textsuperscript{48} Godfrey to Hall, 9 April 1901, Fol. 243, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{49} JH to W. Sweeney, 14 August 1901, MS x 935, SJHP; McSweeney, p. 9.
\textsuperscript{50} Ibid., pp. 12 and 17.
employed when Hall died. All eight of these men were married and seven had children, some of whom also worked at Rakaia Terrace Station.

A good deal of Hall's success rested on the interest he took in his employees and the way he treated them. Hall wrote to Fountaine from London that both he and his wife were "very sorry" at the news about John Bryan and he urged his manager to "do what you can to make him comfortable." He also knew his employees well enough to send "kind remembrances to...McIntosh, Joe [Loret]t, Bryan & all our own people." Like other landowners, Hall paid pensions to some of those who had given long service. Fountaine's full salary continued to be paid for over a year after he finished work, then he was paid a pension until he died six months later. The value of the pension was £200 per annum or two thirds of his salary. During his retirement, Fountaine lived at Hall's home in Christchurch. Bryan retired on an annual pension of £26 - just over half of his former yearly wage.

Hall's contact with his staff was not restricted to long-term employees. The entries in the ledger over Christmas 1869 reveal the breadth of attention Hall gave even to temporary staff. He made notes on nineteen of the twenty shearsers. Typical of his comments were:

Fastest shearer in shed. Civil and quiet.

and

German. Careful shearer not fast. Particularly quiet & respectable.

These remarks show that as an employer he valued attitude as well as skill. It is clear that those who failed to measure up were dismissed: "Bad shearer & insolent, discharged after 3 days shearing." The ledger does not reveal what he did about another shearer who was described as "Excellent shearer, but will not bear being spoken to very insolent to Mr Ford."

51 JH to JEF, [end of June 1875], HC.
52 JH to JEF, 30 September 1875, HC.
53 Ledger 1900, p. 24, HC.
54 Ledger 1892, p. 81, HC.
55 Ledger 1867-73, pp. 104 and 116, HC.
56 Ibid, p. 112.
57 Ibid. p. 118.
Hall was insistent that all who had links with Rakaia Terrace Station should be looked after. Not only did he alter arrangements to accommodate the difficulties experienced by the sharecroppers but he was concerned for their physical well-being too. Working alone could be perilous and Fountaine informed Hall of one sharecropper’s bad accident:

...by some means or other in turning round, at the corner the plough capsized and broke his leg clean breaking both bones, he crawled up and loosed the horses and laid there over three hours cooing [sic] before Crump heard him.\(^{58}\)

Hall’s response to this news was immediate. He instructed Fountaine: “I should wish you to do everything for him in the way of help that can be done. I want these people to feel I take a real interest in them.”\(^{59}\) Writing in retrospect in 1900, Hall showed that despite their roughness, he appreciated the strengths of his employees:

Sheep driving in those days...was apt to make strange bed-fellows; some of the best helpers to be obtained were the rough characters who, as whalers or runaway sailors, had been long in New Zealand. They were not choice in their language, but they had great local knowledge, took hardships without grumbling, and were honest workers if grog was not too handy. They did not generally go by the names given them at their baptism, but by others more appropriate and descriptive. Among my early friends were "Long Tom Coffin," "Yankee Sam," and others, especially "Billy the Bull;" he was a genial, honest, hard working little fellow when sober, but very apt under the influence of liquor to "get into trouble."\(^{60}\)

Lucy Fountaine was the one woman who spent the equivalent of her working life at Rakaia Terrace Station. She was the mainstay of the household but, as the manager’s wife, she was never a paid employee. She was from Cornwall and had come to New Zealand in 1859 with her family when she was eleven years old.\(^{61}\) She started her life at Rakaia Terrace Station when she married John Fountaine in 1873. As their husbands did, she and Rose Hall worked closely together and exchanged letters.\(^{62}\) Having no children of her own, Lucy took an affectionate interest in the young Halls. She even took it upon herself to place

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\(^{58}\) JEF to JH, 2 August 1890, HC.

\(^{59}\) JH to JEF, 4 August 1890, MS x 914, p. 9, SJHP.

\(^{60}\) J. Hall, ‘Sheep-driving in the early days’, Canterbury Old and New 1850-1900: a souvenir of the jubilee, Christchurch, Whitcombe & Tombs Ltd, [1900], p. 126.

\(^{61}\) ‘List of Cornish Immigrants 1859-84’, List extracted from passenger lists created by the Immigration Office Christchurch. Archives Series used: IM-CH 4/1-188, NACHO.

\(^{62}\) These letters would appear not to have survived but they are referred to in the men’s correspondence.
flowers each Saturday on baby Godfrey Hall’s grave.63 After her husband’s death, she continued to reside at Hall’s Christchurch home where she received a weekly hamper from the station and an annuity of £50 a year.64 This changed in 1907 when Hall died and left her the substantial sum of £1,500 in his will.

Although Fountaine kept Hall informed of the well-being of some of the servants, responsibility for the running of the household rested with the women. Because the servants’ duties fell within the female preserve of the domestic sphere, Rose was directly involved in caring for the female staff and Lucy helped her.65 The sixty-three year old Rose nursed one servant while doctors puzzled over the nature of her illness. The seriousness of the ailment, the effect on Rose’s health and the expense involved in obtaining the servant’s recovery were significant enough for Hall to comment on the situation to his brother:

For a month R[ose] nursed the girl night & day, until she was done up, & had to go to Ch[rist]ch[urch] herself. At last the Doctor said the only thing was too send the poor girl to the Hospital. By means of a special Railway Carriage...she was got safely down...As our Doctor charges £2. 2/- a visit, there will be a pretty Bill for me to pay.66

From Rakaia Terrace Station, Hall helped to create some stability at Hororata but Miles Fairburn’s claim that prior to 1880 settler society was highly mobile67 is supported by the brief length of service of most of Hall’s employees. A large majority of the workers were seasonal or casual, spending only a few months at Rakaia Terrace Station. Even if they returned for two or three years, their total period of service was usually less than a year. Indeed, an analysis of the total time which the 210 general hands68 worked at the station between September 1867 and December 1887 reveals that 154 (73 per cent) worked for

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63 10 January 1885, Diary 1885, GHHC.
64 H. Overton to JH, 1 March 1903, Fol. 256, SJHP; 18 January 1901, Diary 1901, GHHC.
65 JH to J. Kerr, 1 May 1892, MS x 916, p. 121, SJHP.
66 JH to GWH, 15 May 1892, MS x 916, p. 160, SJHP.
68 The Victorian preference for using surnames and spelling anomalies means that absolute accuracy is impossible in all cases.
periods totalling less than a year and that only 21 (10 per cent) worked for a total of three or more years.\(^69\)

The mobility of workers is also revealed by another statistic. The figure was obtained by taking the 23 'non-permanent' general hands who worked at Rakaia Terrace Station in 1873 and 1874 and calculating, not their total period of service, but the number of times they returned between those years and 1887. Sixteen did not return at all, three returned only once and three returned twice. One man returned four times, and he was the closest which the station had to a regular seasonal employee.\(^70\) Impermanence was the rule.

Most of the hands were not resident in the area. Of the 210 men who worked at the station between 1867 and 1887, 167 were not on the electoral roll for Coleridge, the area in which Hororata was situated.\(^71\) These figures clearly support Fairburn's claims about settler transience although they are not, perhaps, decisive. It remains possible theoretically that many of these workers imported from outside the district were long-term residents of relatively stable communities elsewhere to which they returned when their work for Hall was done. Evidence in Fairburn's book about mobility in other districts, however, indicates that this was unlikely.\(^72\) The transience at Hororata was typical of rural New Zealand.

Another measure of the high mobility in the Hororata community is indicated by the composition of the shearing gangs. As listed in the ledger books from January 1868 to January 1898, 378 people participated in the shearing. This involved 26 people on average each year, of whom twenty were shearers. The others did assorted tasks from fleece picking to wool classing. The nature of the work encouraged transience. Once again the figures bear out Fairburn's thesis that settler society was highly mobile. Overall 261 (69 per cent) of the men worked for one season only, 72 (19 per cent) for two or three seasons and 45 (12 per cent) for four seasons or more.\(^73\)

\(^69\) SJ September 1867-December 1887, HC. The station journal 11 June 1870 to 8 December 1873 is missing so that the figures are incomplete. The figures omit 44 shearers who did general work briefly before shearing commenced.

\(^70\) SJ 1873-1887.

\(^71\) SJ September 1867-December 1887, HC; New Zealand Electoral Rolls, (Coleridge) 1865-87.

\(^72\) Fairburn, especially pp. 127-41.

\(^73\) Ledgers, January 1868 - January 1898, HC. There are no records for the 1869-70 and 1888-9 seasons so the figures are incomplete.
Most shearers came from outside the district and were not on the parliamentary electoral roll for Coleridge or later for Selwyn. Of the 124 who were on the roll for Coleridge and Selwyn between 1865 and 1896 only 36 lived in the immediate environs of Hororata, Coalgate and Glenroy, although 15 others were most likely to have been younger relatives of those on the roll.\footnote{New Zealand Electoral Rolls, (Coleridge and Selwyn) 1865-96.}

Like the majority of the men, most of the women worked at Rakaia Terrace Station for only a short time, which is again consistent with Fairburn's claims.\footnote{Fairburn, p. 104.} For women, as for men, the high turnover arose largely because the labour requirements at Rakaia Terrace Station were variable. Most of the servants' positions at Hororata were occasional rather than permanent because the Hall family was not continuously in residence. Until 1885 only two women had worked for two years or more but seven others had received wages for casual employment.\footnote{Ledgers 1867-1885. After 1885 the ledger books do not name the servant so there is a possibility that one of the women may have spent more time in the Hall’s service.} Typical of these was Minnie Thwaites, the daughter of a neighbour. She was engaged as an "extra servant" and helped out on special occasions such as the school treats.\footnote{Ledger 1884, p. 64; Ledger 1883, p. 127, (HC).} For the period 1891 to 1907, the only servants' wages book allows us to give a more detailed analysis. As Table 4.1 shows, 21 of the 30 women listed stayed for less than a year.
TABLE 4.1

Length of service for domestic servants 1891-1907

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Duration of service</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-6 months</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-12 months</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-2 years</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-4 years</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-5 years</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 years</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The wages book reveals, too, that in these years the Halls employed one cook and one or two housemaids. As in the earlier period, extra staff were engaged for specific reasons: four servants and one companion were employed during Lady Hall's last illness.

The high turnover of female domestic staff also occurred because women generally spent only a brief period in paid employment. Since there was a much greater number of men in the population, virtually all women married and few worked outside the home after marriage. As a result, there were not enough women to fill the positions available. In common with other employers of household help in the colony, Rose had difficulty in obtaining and keeping staff and she complained to her sister-in-law in England:

I am sorry to say I have to look for another nurse. I had engaged a new one just before we went to the station a most excellent & desirable one whom I really hoped I had every prospect of keeping, but her health (never very strong) is now so much impaired she feels she cannot stay. I do envy you with y[ou]r one nurse all these years, these constant changes are so injurious to the children.

The shortage of servants meant, too, that colonial employers, like the Halls, were frequently dissatisfied with their domestic staff. Godfrey Hall voiced two common complaints about

78 Servants' wages, HC.
79 For a comparison with other large landowners, see T.G. Burnard, 'A Colonial Elite: Owners of Large Freehold Estates in Waitaki County 1870-1890,' B.A.(Hons), University of Otago, 1982, pp. 68-69.
80 Servants' Wages, HC.
81 Rose to Grace, 10 May 1869, HC.
servants when he wrote about one housemaid that "she is very inexperienced & I am afraid you will find her manners rather free." 82

The female employees at Rakaia Terrace Station were more likely than the men to have been hired locally. While an overwhelming number of men (80 per cent) were not resident in the Hororata area just over half the women (57 per cent) listed in the servants' wages book appear to have had connections with the district. This, however, did not eliminate the urge to move on. 83 Because its rural situation made it more isolated, Rakaia Terrace Station was less attractive to employees than a position in town. Lizzie Prestidge, who lived in Hororata, grew "restless" and handed in her notice although she subsequently changed her mind. 84 More common among Hororata residents, 85 though, was a recurring pattern whereby several women from a family worked in the household at different times. The women of the Hororata district formed a pool of labour which could be called upon when needed. Family ties reduced the mobility of local women.

The Rakaia Terrace Station journals provide further information about mobility in Hall's community. One group which was truly outside the community consisted of the callers: travellers, swaggers, hawkers and those on farm business. There were usually one or two travellers a day, and they stayed in the whare in return for doing casual tasks. The regularity of these callers before 1865 arose because the station was on the way to Browning's Pass which was the favoured route through the Southern Alps before the road was put through Arthur's Pass. The crossing over the Rakaia River was also close by. From 1879 when the effects of the depression began to be felt, the numbers of men seeking work rose and occasionally the callers reached twelve a day. Itinerants were tolerated but their efforts at improving their lot through complaints were not. In 1889 an outraged Fountaine wrote to Hall: "I consider your letter from the swaggers gross cheek. I told them, they had the same bread we had...the baking was heavy but not sour." 86

82 Godfrey to JH, 4 February 1902, Letterbook, GHHC.
83 Fairburn, p. 135.
84 16-18 September 1905, Diary 1905, GHHC.
85 I have included as resident two women with the surname Brown as this name was common in the district.
86 JEF to JH, 2 September 1889, HC.
Except for those whose work entailed travel, while hands were employed they moved little beyond the local district in the early years. Fountaine alone went to town with any frequency. His trips were on farm business to buy rams, see the horse show or take delivery of wheat. From the early 1880s after the coming of the railway some of those who worked at Rakaia Terrace Station travelled to town and stayed there for several days although whether they went for business or pleasure is not recorded.

Hall seems to have paid wages which were sometimes lower but at times higher than those cited by Stevan Eldred-Grigg as average wages for employees on the estates of lowland Ashburton for 1892. On average, they were probably about the same. Depending on experience, ploughmen at Rakaia Terrace station earned between £43 and £60 in 1892\(^7\) where Eldred-Grigg quotes the rate for Ashburton County as ranging from £52 to £65.\(^8\) The same year the general hands at Hororata earned an average of £92 12s\(^8\) compared with £52 to £65 which Eldred-Grigg quotes as the wage rate for station hands in Ashburton.\(^9\) In the period from 1891 to 1907, the servants’ wages book shows that at Hororata the women, too, were paid for skill and experience. The highest wage went to the cook, the key figure in the household. In 1891 the cook for the family was paid £40 per annum and this rate continued until 1902.\(^9\) This falls within the range of £31 to £78 for a household cook for the Ashburton area.\(^2\) Most women employed at Rakaia Terrace Station worked as housemaids. There is no job description for the two women who worked as servants in 1892 but the wage of one started at £24 and rose to £27 and the wage of the other began at £22 and increased to £25.\(^3\) Eldred-Grigg quotes wages from £26 to £31 for a general house servant and £21 to £27 for a housemaid.\(^4\)

Hall’s decisions concerning wage rates for shearers were governed by the supply of labour and the amount other runholders were paying. Shearers in the 1850s and early 1860s

\(^7\) Ledger 1892, HC.  
\(^9\) Ledger 1892, HC. This average covers day and contract labour for the five men listed as general hands. All of them were experienced and had worked for some time at Rakaia Terrace Station. Among them were Barson, Powell and Tizzard.  
\(^1\) Eldred-Grigg, p. 174.  
\(^1\) Servants’ Wages, HC.  
\(^2\) Eldred-Grigg, p. 174.  
\(^3\) Servants’ Wages, HC.  
\(^4\) Eldred-Grigg, p. 174.
could earn between £1 and £2 per 100 sheep.95 When the numbers of shearers more closely
matched the demand, pay rates became contentious and in 1864 all the shearers at Rakaia
Terrace Station struck for 25s per hundred sheep. Because some replacements were available,
the manager could bundle eight men out of the shed and set the remainder to work on his own
terms.96 The shearers were still discontented and on Christmas Day they threatened to strike
again.97 By the end of the decade, shearers were even more plentiful and their wages had
fallen further. In 1868 Hall paid his shearers 15s per 100 sheep.98 Prior to the shearing
season of 1873-4, however, the shearers in North Otago banded together and undertook strike
action to support their claim for £1 per 100 sheep. Elsewhere other shearers followed their
example and the first shearers' trade union was formed in September 1874.99 Hall opposed
the union’s demands and he also recognized that he was bound by runholder solidarity:

The price still paid for shearing is really too high. I never grudge men good
wages but 20/- per 100 is out of proportion to the value of the work & the
price of other labour: of course you c[ould] not do differently to y[ou]r
neighbours.100

Whereas some stations in 1875 and 1876 ensured their shearing began on time by advertising
improved rates of pay,101 Rakaia Terrace Station merely announced the date that the
shearing would commence.102 But Hall was not able to hold out against the trend and in
the 1875-6 season ended up paying £1 per hundred sheep.103

Hall was involved in the continuing struggle between shearers and employers. The
system of individual sheepowners setting out their own terms of employment was eventually
replaced by arbitration. Anticipating shearer solidarity in 1876, Hall made his position clear.
Before shearing commenced, he instructed Fountaine: "The rules ought to be copied out fair,

95 J.E. Martin, Tatau Tatau - One Big Union Altogether: the shearers and the early
years of the New Zealand Workers' Union', Wellington, New Zealand Workers' 
96 SJ 1863-5, 6-7 December 1864, HC.
97 Ibid., 25 December 1864, HC.
98 Ledger 1867-73, pp. 100-6, HC.
99 Martin, Union, p. 2.
100 JH to JEF, 18 February 1875, HC.
101 Press, 24 November 1875, Anama Station offered 22s per 100 sheep. John Grigg of
Longbeach offered 20s per 100 in Press, 24 November 1876 but Mt Thomas Station
advertised it was paying 16s 8d per 100 in Press, 27 November 1876.
102 Press, 6 December 1875 and 30 November 1876.
103 Ledger 1876, HC.
as we must this year get the men distinctly to agree to them." 104 When confrontation with the shearsers flared up again at the end of the 1880s, their employers reacted by forming their own organizations to protect their group interest. Hall joined the Woolgrowers' Association and the Canterbury Employers' Association. 105 Henceforward, both shearers and woolgrowers stood by their associations. This came to mean that while Hall's shed was run under union rules, he, in turn, could notify other pastoralists through the Sheepowners' Union of "undesirable" workers. 106

Although the conflict between shearers and pastoralists did not involve the rioting and imprisonment that developed in Australia, trans-Tasman trade union contacts affected Hall and other sheepowners. 107 In 1890, the wool classer, who had worked at Rakaia Terrace Station for three years, informed Fountaine that he was unavailable because he had taken a gang of New Zealand shearers to Australia and they were to work with union shearers. 108 The Maritime Strike of that year affected the station too. Fountaine anticipated trouble and sent most of the sheep to the freezing works before they closed. 109

As was usual on pastoral runs, Hall provided shelter for his workers. Accommodation on the estate was kept in good repair and reflected the hierarchy. The most commodious house went to the manager. Next in rank was Barson's accommodation, the four room lodge, by the main entrance gate to the station. The head shepherd's cottage on the Downs Run had three rooms and a stable. The cook's house also had three rooms. Nearer the homestead there were quarters for the single men, a one roomed house for a shepherd and a whare for travellers. 110 On the more distant parts of the run there were "small huts or camps used by contract ploughmen while working the estate". 111 Such huts were portable and intended for temporary use only.

104 JH to JEF, 14 November 1876, HC.
105 Ledger 1886, p. 27; Ledger 1890, p. 26, (HC). He discontinued his subscription to the Woolgrowers' Association in 1902 when the troubles were over. Ledger 1901-3, p. 57, HC.
106 JH to F.H. Lobett, 17 November 1904, MS x 928, p. 54, SJHP.
108 A.I. Chapman to [JEF], 4 August 1890 enclosed in JEF to JH, 23 August 1890, HC.
109 JEF to JH, 5-8 September 1890, HC.
110 Particulars of Rakaia Terrace Station, 1 March 1882, Proposed Sale 1882, HC.
111 Valuation report, 28 September 1888, Mortgage, HC.
Although some of the women who worked as servants already lived on or near Rakaia Terrace Station, there was room for those who had long-term employment to live in the homestead. They were accommodated in two small bedrooms in the attic.

With Hall’s assistance seven "cottage homes" were established in the district for some of his hands and other residents. He sub-divided seventy acres and provided loans for the purchase of the ten acre blocks and the building of a house. While Hall sold the land to the people at the same price which he had originally paid for it, its quality seems to have been poor as these sections earned the nickname of Strugglers’ Flat.

Fire was a major hazard and the means of dealing with it rudimentary. Fountaine, therefore, was anxious that Hall insist that his employees were covered by insurance and reported on those who had already done so. Fountaine’s case was reinforced a few weeks later when it cost £12 to rebuild McSweeney’s house on Rakaia Terrace Station after it nearly burned down. Without insurance, such an expense would be a serious blow to a labouring family.

Life insurance, too, was important and its introduction had a significant impact on the financial security of people in the community. When William Lee was drowned in the Wilberforce River, his child and sick wife were left entirely destitute. The people of the district responded to the situation by raising a subscription to which Fountaine donated £2 on Hall’s behalf. The death of another local man provided a dramatic contrast. His life was insured for £200 which together with his property provided his widow with £500.

At Rakaia Terrace Station no work was done on Sundays unless it was unavoidable and then extra pay was given. Christmas Day, New Year’s Day and Good Friday were almost always holidays. Boxing Day joined the list in 1889 for general hands and in December 1894 the shearers were organized enough to petition Hall to have Boxing Day off so that the married men could spend time with their families. Hall acceded and no
shearing was done. The races at Hororata became an annual event from 1883 and everybody had the day off to attend. Occasional holidays were granted for special events such as Queen Victoria’s golden jubilee celebrated on 22 June 1887. In general, employees seemed to have had holidays of one week per year. This compares favourably with the "one or two days holiday a year" cited by Burnard for North Otago.\(^{118}\) In the 1880s the men are also frequently mentioned as "at home" as distinct from taking a holiday. What holidays were given to the manager is unknown but Hall was pleased that Fountaine and his wife, Lucy, had taken the opportunity to travel round the North Island for three weeks in 1885 because their holiday was long overdue.\(^{119}\)

Leisure time for employees was brief but the major community activities, in which the Halls also participated, brought people together and helped to civilize the rough society. These undertakings were important because the inhabitants of the area were scattered. The 1881 census records 231 people living in the Hororata district: 134 males and 97 females.\(^ {120}\) In 1891, the first year for which figures are available, there were only 17 residents in the township of Hororata itself.\(^ {121}\)

Fairburn failed to find evidence of employers giving time off to their workers for business and leisure\(^ {122}\) but the Rakaia Terrace Station records show that the hands had some leeway. There was a local cricket club and there were occasions when the men had time off for cricket. In 1880, the station journal records that no work was done one Saturday because of a cricket match.\(^ {123}\) Fountaine went to several matches during working hours and in 1881, while he was in Christchurch on business, he went to watch the Australian cricketers.\(^ {124}\) He also organized sports’ days whose activities included men’s sports, hack races and a ball in the evening.\(^ {125}\) In 1885, he gave "all hands" a day’s "holiday" to go coursing, as hunting hares with greyhounds helped to eliminate a pest.\(^ {126}\) The one time the Christchurch Hunt Club visited Rakaia Terrace Station the hands also had a day off.\(^ {127}\) One

\(^{118}\) Burnard, p. 65.

\(^{119}\) JEF to JH, 22 May 1885; JH to JEF, 14 July 1885, (HC).

\(^{120}\) New Zealand Census 1881, p. 45.

\(^{121}\) New Zealand Census 1891, p. 61.

\(^{122}\) Fairburn, p. 187.

\(^{123}\) SJ 1877-81, 17 April 1880, HC.

\(^{124}\) JEF to JH, 8 February 1881, HC.

\(^{125}\) JEF to JH, 19 April 1883, HC.

\(^{126}\) SJ 1885-1887, 14 August 1885, HC.

\(^{127}\) SJ 1896-7, 15 May 1897, HC.
employee was badly hurt when the horse he was riding failed to jump a wire fence which was not as visible during hunting as the hedges of Britain.\(^{128}\)

Pastoralism provided opportunities for informal assembly. In an agricultural community, the seasons were important and each year a mid-winter ball was held.\(^{129}\) Farming activities also provided a focus for social events. The end of harvesting was a time for celebration and in 1880 Fountaine described the occasion for Hall:

I made a tent with the tarpaulins in the stud ram paddock, and had the dinner out there. I got a very good piece of ground there for playing on, we sat 42 down to dinner they all seemed to enjoy the days [sic] outing and the station managed to give the club a good beating at the cricket.\(^{130}\)

There were sufficient people in the district for committees to plan social functions as part of a conscious effort among the inhabitants to overcome the obstacles of distance and isolation.\(^{131}\) Fountaine was a leader and he frequently helped to arrange entertainments in which Hall was happy for his daughters, Mildred and Mary, to join.\(^{132}\) Some of these occasions were for fundraising and in 1882 as many as 150 people attended one concert.\(^{133}\) This was not an unusual turnout. When one Vicar left Hororata, there was a social evening and a dance; 140 people attended the function and 170 went to his last service at the church.\(^{134}\) The number of inhabitants in the district had grown to the extent that organizations were formed. By 1890 Hororata had its own Dramatic Society.\(^{135}\) The following year, over seventy people attended the dancing class which ended its year’s activities with a fancy dress ball.\(^{136}\)

There was enough cohesion for the community to devise its own formal occasions. The welcome accorded to Hall on his return from Britain in 1884 demonstrates the

\(^{128}\) JEF to JH, 8 June 1897, HC.
\(^{129}\) JEF to JH, 14 July 1880, HC.
\(^{130}\) JEF to JH, 22 April 1880, HC.
\(^{131}\) The settlers’ determination to overcome the effects of isolation in New Zealand and other colonies has been stressed by J.B. Hirst, 'Australia, Argentina and Atomization', NZJH, Vol. 25, No. 2, October 1991, pp. 92-93.
\(^{132}\) JH to JEF, 29 October 1883, HC.
\(^{133}\) JEF to JH, 12 July 1882, HC.
\(^{134}\) JEF to JH, 25 July 1888; JEF to JH, 4 August 1888, (HC).
\(^{135}\) JEF to JH, 18 July 1890, HC.
\(^{136}\) JEF to JH, 2 September 1891, HC.
importance of Rakaia Terrace Station to the stability of the district. Hall was greeted at the railway station by the band playing *See the Conquering Hero Comes* and by about one hundred farmers with their wives and families. He was given a copy of the address framed in native timber and he made a speech in reply. This was not all. In the township itself, a triumphal arch bearing the words "Welcome Home" had been constructed with evergreens and the schoolchildren sang the National Anthem. Only then could Hall proceed to his property.\textsuperscript{137}

Formal institutions, too, had a place in this rural society. The Hall family went to church regularly. Some hands also attended worship on Sundays and contributed towards the vicar's stipend which Fountaine collected. For those who were not Anglican or Presbyterian, religious observance could be a long day's outing in its own right and once again this testifies to colonial resolve to maintain community ties. The McSweeneys were Roman Catholics and once a month members of the family travelled fifteen miles to Darfield by horse and gig to attend Mass. They took a picnic lunch and used the opportunity to visit friends.\textsuperscript{138}

Hall and the community worked together to consolidate social ties by providing a public hall to accommodate performances and social gatherings. In 1889 he donated one acre of land for the site, and Fountaine canvassed the area for subscriptions to cover building costs.\textsuperscript{139} Two years later, Hall proposed giving an additional ten acres and £10 to start the fund for extensions and he handed over the land as an endowment to the trustees in 1894.\textsuperscript{140} Henceforward a committee of local men supervised the running of the building.

There is, then, a body of evidence which shows that people were busily engaged in manufacturing the bonds of society. In this way, they were attempting to deal with some elements of the 'chaos' which Fairburn stresses was a feature of settler society: they were 'creating community' to combat loneliness and providing healthy activity as an alternative to drunkenness. To a certain extent, these strategies proved effective. This is consistent with Fairburn's claim that by the end of the nineteenth century there was less anti-social behaviour.

\textsuperscript{137} Unsourced and undated newspaper clipping, pasted in entry for 28 November 1884, Diary 1884, GHHC.
\textsuperscript{138} McSweeney, p. 12.
\textsuperscript{139} JEF to JH, 2 July 1889; JEF to JH, 19 July 1889, (HC).
\textsuperscript{140} JH to JEF, 22 August 1891, MS x 915, p. 215, SJHP; JH to Trustees of Hororata Public Hall, 19 February 1894, MS x 919, pp. 28-29, SJHP.
in the colony. Unruly conduct, however, remained a concern amongst respectable people like Hall where were anchored to family and property. They feared the disorderly behaviour of itinerant men with no dependents. Holiday gatherings could highlight this tension in settler society. Fountaine expected disruption from males on a spree at the Hororata races and his fears were realized. He explained to Hall:

...no police attended - and the rowdy element caused some trouble towards the end - we have made a complaint to the Minister of Justice we asked for the attendance of two policemen.\textsuperscript{141}

Despite the most earnest effort, Hall’s plans to provide recreational activity for the young men failed. His first attempt in Hororata at setting up a Mechanics’ Institute for reading books, papers and magazines was unsuccessful because of the difficulties of the rural setting. The group started well but membership dwindled when the onset of cold winter nights discouraged those who had a distance to travel.\textsuperscript{142} Undeterred, Hall tried again. In the 1890s, he desired to link his gift of land for the public hall with the establishment of a club like the Mechanics’ Institute.\textsuperscript{143} The young men, however, were not sufficiently interested and the public meeting called to inaugurate the institute was so poorly attended that there were too few people for a committee to conduct a membership drive.\textsuperscript{144}

Others beside Hall were keen to provide occupation for the young men and Hall supported these efforts too. On making one donation he commented:

Thorne came in evening & obtained £3/3/- from me for Hororata Brass Band.
I gave it very willingly. The Band is a good institution for occupying the youngsters’ spare time.\textsuperscript{145}

Despite these efforts drunkenness and rowdyism persisted and in 1905 Hall complained that the conduct of the young men at the local hotel was "as bad as ever."\textsuperscript{146}

This account of the settlement of Hororata provides much support for Fairburn’s arguments: there was much transience, as well as drunkenness and a problem with young

\textsuperscript{141} JEF to JH, 12 December 1888, HC.
\textsuperscript{142} JEF to JH, 14 May 1894, p. 168, HC.
\textsuperscript{143} JH to JEF, 22 August 1891, MS x 915, p. 215, SJHP; JH to Trustees of Hororata Public Hall, 19 February 1894, MS x 919, pp. 28-29, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{144} JEF to JH, 12 June 1894, p. 172, HC.
\textsuperscript{145} 9 January 1885, Diary 1885, GHHC.
\textsuperscript{146} 4-19 December 1905, Diary 1905, GHHC.
single males. Consequently, there was a degree of ‘chaos’ in Fairburn’s sense. Furthermore, the sparse population meant that there was a lack of ‘critical mass’\textsuperscript{147} so that some attempts at social organization failed. Yet the community ‘worked’ and as time went on it worked more smoothly which is consistent with Fairburn’s comments about New Zealand in general. The transience of labour may have created social problems but economically it was a necessity in a rural society whose labour requirements were seasonal and variable. The efficiency with which this flexible labour force supplied the needs of great pastoralists like Hall gave them a competitive edge in world markets and contributed to the development of a prosperous community which could meet the very considerable costs of creating British institutions and sustaining British culture on the colonial frontier. The growth of the pastoral industry financed agencies of development such as the Road Board and the Domain Board. More generally, it underpinned the development of a small but growing group of ‘persisters’ who settled long-term in the Hororata district. These people were determined to overcome the physical barriers to community ties. They devised their own local celebrations and established social activities which brought people together. The construction of permanent buildings such as the church and the public hall paid for by public subscription denoted their lasting commitment to the area. Descendants of some of these settlers are there to this day.

Because Rakaia Terrace Station was such a large concern, it was important to people in the district. As a market for surplus produce, it had economic links with local farmers and provided periodic employment for members of their families. It gave work to artisans who serviced Hall’s estate from year to year. George Griffiths, the bricklayer built many of the chimneys and Walter Prestidge, the carpenter was assisted at various times by his seven sons to fulfil his contracts.

Some women gained an income from Rakaia Terrace Station by supplying goods. The wife of a former employee received payment for pigs and the wife of one of the local blacksmiths was given money for turkeys and horseshoes.\textsuperscript{148} A third woman, whose husband had probably been a shearer at the station, was the storekeeper in Hororata and she had dealings with the station.\textsuperscript{149}

\textsuperscript{147} Fairburn, pp. 183-4.
\textsuperscript{148} Ledger 1876, p. 60; Ledger 1892, p. 108; Ledger 1882, p. 52, (HC).
\textsuperscript{149} Ledger 1889, p. 120, HC.
During the thirty years before his death Hall became even more financially involved with his contractors, the farmers and businesses in the district. He acted as a moneylender for a number of local people. The hotel keeper at Hororata borrowed £5,000 at 6%. One resident borrowed money for his shop and fittings and two others took out a loan for a piano. There were eleven people listed as owing Hall money in the ledger for 1901-3. This was not unusual as it had long been accepted practice in Britain for prosperous tenant farmers and traders to extend credit. Unlike some of them, Hall charged the going rate of interest, neither more nor less, and was fair and scrupulous. In 1883, for example, he asked Fountaine to

Remember me kindly to MacIntosh and say I should be a very shabby man to charge him any interest on his overdraft; he has frequently had wages to a considerable amount lying to his credit with me.

There were times when Hall used Rakaia Terrace Station's resources to protect his assets and benefit the neighbourhood. It was advantageous to him that all flocks in the area be dipped for lice at the same time to prevent any infected sheep on neighbouring properties from renewing the infestation. It was cheaper for the small farmers to use Hall's dip rather than provide their own. Consequently, the dip was made available to them for a fee.

The homestead, however, was not in itself a focus for community life. It was never a grand affair and was not designed for lavish entertaining and was added to as family needs required. Visitors appear to have been frequent, as Hall noted twice in his diary of 1877 that "Nobody called." This statement did not refer to the swaggers who were dealt with by Fountaine. In 1877 Hall and his wife either separately or together spent nine days returning calls. Besides his brother, Tom, and a niece and her family, Rolleston and two others were the only people to stay overnight in the house during 1877 and these guests stayed no longer than five days. When Sir John and Lady Hall wished to host a formal dance on
25 January 1893 to celebrate the wedding of their daughter, Mildred, they did not hold it at their home but used the village hall.\textsuperscript{158} The only socializing which took place regularly in the grounds was the school treat and if wet weather came the party was held in the woolshed. For Hall the station was a haven from the bustle of political life. On the two occasions when he exhausted himself it was where he went to recuperate before travelling to England.

Hall's leadership in rural society extended beyond Hororata to the whole province. Because primary industry was important to the New Zealand economy, many pastoralists were keen to raise their profits, improve the breeding of their animals and keep abreast of new ideas. To this end they set up and belonged to groups which focused on agriculture and fostered excellence. The Canterbury Agricultural and Pastoral Association was founded in 1863. Hall was president in 1876 and became a life member in 1887. He served on the committee for twenty-one years and was patron for seventeen years.\textsuperscript{159} Hall created similar ties with the local community. In 1879 he donated the excess from his parliamentary honorarium to farming institutions in the area.\textsuperscript{160} At various times he paid subscriptions to the Courtenay Agricultural Society, Courtenay Farmers' Club and the Courtenay Show. He also subscribed to competitions, such as ploughing matches, because they promoted high standards among the workers.\textsuperscript{161} The invitation to be president of the Kowai Pass Race Club was a measure of his standing in the area.\textsuperscript{162} The following year when Hall was premier, he accepted the more prestigious but less onerous position of patron.\textsuperscript{163} So attractive was having the patronage of the premier, that Rolleston, himself a cabinet minister, withdrew as the patron of the Ellesmere Agricultural and Pastoral Association in favour of Hall.\textsuperscript{164}

Hall provides one example of how the settlers worked out their English social concepts in their new life. Along with merchants and leading professionals, he and his fellow station owners were among those at the head of colonial society. Eldred-Grigg adopts the

\textsuperscript{158} SJ 1892-4, 23-26 January 1893, HC.
\textsuperscript{159} Canterbury Agricultural and Pastoral Association Show Catalogues.
\textsuperscript{160} JH to Courtenay Agricultural and Horticultural Association, 14 September 1879, p. 3; JH to Ellesmere Agricultural and Pastoral Association, p. 4, (MS x 908, SJHP).
\textsuperscript{161} Ledger 1867-73, p. 20, HC.
\textsuperscript{162} R.J. Shanks to JH, 10 March 1879, Fol. 91, SJHP. Kowai Pass is now known as Springfield.
\textsuperscript{163} R.J. Shanks to JH, 26 February 1880, Fol. 94, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{164} Ellesmere A. and P. Association to JH, 2 June 1880, Fol. 95, SJHP.
term "gentry" to describe them. While he acknowledges the term to be inexact, he also considers that the " ethic" of the runholders was "comparable with" that of "the typical English squire" and that contemporary and later usage of the word justifies his choice.\textsuperscript{165} There was indeed some comparability. In England the gentry were "the untitled aristocracy" with a "landed estate".\textsuperscript{166} In New Zealand, too, being the owner of an extensive property conferred status. In both places, landed wealth permitted privileged indulgence, although in Hall’s case his leisure pursuits were generally of a serious nature. British and colonial landowners who behaved as gentlemen and were regarded with respect were appointed to the magisterial bench.\textsuperscript{167} As an esteemed member of the community, Hall was a Justice of the Peace and sat in court at Malvern.\textsuperscript{168} On his brief trips to Rakaia Terrace Station in 1876, he engaged in several activities which were among the traditional occupations of landowners in Britain. Besides attending to the station’s affairs, he called on various farm workers and visited the neighbouring run called Hororata Station. He went regularly to church and attended to church responsibilities.\textsuperscript{169}

While some similarities to old world roles existed, to apply the term "gentry" to Hall is misleading because there were significant differences. Unlike the landowners of Britain who derived a significant portion of their income from the rents of long-term tenants, Hall derived his principal income directly from employing his own labour. Although he did have sharecroppers on his property, who can perhaps be regarded as tenants, the differences in the length and nature of his arrangements with them undermine the analogy with tenants in Britain. Whereas tenants in the United Kingdom were committed to their land by the payment of rent for long leases which could last a lifetime and were sometimes handed down from generation to generation, the sharecroppers' ties with Hall were tenuous because their contracts were negotiated on an annual basis.

An exact replication of British society was unlikely to emerge in New Zealand. Hardly any colonists were drawn from the English aristocracy and gentry. This meant that within New Zealand there was no group which commanded respect sanctioned by centuries

\textsuperscript{165} Eldred-Grigg, \textit{Southern Gentry}, p. x; Eldred-Grigg, ‘Ashburton’, p. ii. To avoid the features inappropriate to the New Zealand setting, Burnard employs the terms "estateowner" and "large landowner". Burnard, p. 11.

\textsuperscript{166} Thompson, p. 109.

\textsuperscript{167} Ibid., p. 111.

\textsuperscript{168} 9 April and 26 June 1877, Diary 1877, 1878 and 1883, GHHC.

\textsuperscript{169} Diary 1876, GHHC.
of tradition. To a large extent, social hierarchy would have to be created anew within the colony. This was unlikely because the different needs of New Zealand's rural economy had important social repercussions. Runholders, like Hall, relied on casual, seasonal labour. Of necessity, this meant that most employees were transient and did not develop social bonds of loyalty and deference to their employers.

Like the landowners of Britain, Hall was interested in the village school. He was the chairman of the Hororata School Committee and had been instrumental in getting the school founded in 1870. He had accepted the tenders for construction and had been responsible for the advertisement for a teacher at £100 per annum, with a house and 25 acres. Hall retained a decisive say in how the school was conducted and wrote from England in 1876:

I think there would be no harm in allowing a dancing class for children to be held in the School Room, on condition it is properly cleaned & put to rights each time. It would be well however if Mr Baker, or some elderly person were present, to keep order.

In 1877 he attended the school committee election and conferred several times with the schoolmaster about the school examination and other business. He spent the whole day at the school on 25 June and concluded that the examination "went off well, though Mr. Kestell [was] rather hurried." The Education Act of 1877 increased the state's control but Hall maintained his ties with the school.

As the school's chief benefactor, Hall came as close as he ever did to the model of the English squire. He had subscribed £3 towards the schoolchildren's annual treat in the early 1870s but from 1876 it was held in the grounds of Rakaia Terrace Station itself. Hall himself described the proceedings of 1877:

Children began to arrive at 1.30, & Committees soon after. Had games on hill, tea in plantation, our own tea in garden, & distribution of prizes soon

170 Thompson, p. 133.
171 LT, 4 June and 11 December 1869. Hall's involvement with the local school contrasts with Eldred-Grigg's findings in Ashburton County where "the gentry were active patrons of education at a higher level [but] they had little interest in local schools." Eldred-Grigg, 'Ashburton', p. 228.
172 JH to JEF, 20 September 1876, HC.
173 25 June 1877, Diary 1877, 1878 and 1883, GHHC.
afterwards. About 85 children & 35 adults present. Everything went off remarkably well, & children seemed well pleased.\footnote{174}{Ibid., 10 March 1877, GHHC.}

In later years the treat was supervised by Fountaine but continued to involve some of the workers in preparation and administration. The celebration became increasingly elaborate. The figures in the ledger for 1884 reveal that the treat cost the substantial sum of £42 15s 6d. This covered toys, lemonade, cake, buns, beef, drink and other items.\footnote{175}{Ledger 1884, p. 116, HC.} By 1885, when 256 people attended, Fountaine was concerned at the expense and wrote to Hall in England:

I think you should look into the cost - it is a thing that is constantly growing. I have enclosed copy of the cost last year all the committee were men with large families the band increased it by fifteen and letting the men all go into the tea made it another ten...there are 96 children on the school books and all the extra children of the committee Harris Barson McIntosh Joe etc swell up to a goodly number, outside of people usually asked when you were here. I think there were only Dan Orsbourne & W. Prestidge & families and Sunday school teachers we do not mind the trouble if you do not think the expense too much, but I thought that before you decide about it, you should know exactly how the matter stands.\footnote{176}{IEF to IH, 24 September 1885, HC.}

Hall endorsed Fountaine's opinion and replied:

A deduction of £1000 from wool money, besides stoppage of corn rents makes a vast difference in one's accounts. It may be as well to let my friends know that it is on this account that I drop the usual treat for this year. But...you can, instead of the treat, give the children some books or other presents. Barson's, Harris and Mac's children should also get something.\footnote{177}{JH to IEF, 16 November 1885, HC.}

He resorted to giving £5 to the school instead and in 1891 he presented prizes at the nearby school at Glenroy.\footnote{178}{Ledger 1885, p. 27, HC; Montgomery and Oakley, p. 34.}

Hall wanted the children to learn to swim and in this he was ahead of his times. In 1899 the Hororata school committee rejected his offer to provide swimming baths because "the Parents do not take any interest in such a necessity".\footnote{179}{J. Thorne to JH, 3 February 1899, Fol. 232, SJHP.} This position remained unchanged even though Hall willed funds for the construction of a swimming pool at Hororata school. The pool was not built for twenty years after Hall’s death but Hororata was among the first rural schools to have one. His proposal for a life saving trophy met with more
success and the Sir John Hall shield is still competed for by the boys of Canterbury secondary schools.

Strong support for the Church of England was a characteristic of both the British gentry and Canterbury pastoralists. In both cases, church attendance was an outward sign of respectability and patronage of religious institutions affirmed social status. Men with estates in both communities viewed the church as a bulwark of social order. Thus, in going to church regularly, giving money towards church buildings and supporting religious instruction for the young, Hall followed the accepted role for landed property owners.

In important respects, however, Hall’s faith diverged from that of other landowners. He was unusual in that his father’s encouragement of religious tolerance and his own personal conviction gave him an ecumenical vision uncommon in his day. He had been reared an Anglican but had lived in Dissenting and Roman Catholic communities. When the first St John’s church was opened at Hororata in 1875

A letter was read to the meeting from Mr. John Hall, who is in Europe for his health, in which he expressed his regret that the building of the church was not left for another year, so that a larger and more substantial one might have been erected. But the greatest part of the letter was taken up in expressing his regret that the church was not to be used by other denominations to hold service in, when not required by the Church of England. "The Church of England," he said, "was the only Protestant body which was so exclusive. He expected the time would soon arrive when men would laugh at such notions having ever been held. If the church was to be exclusively for Church services he would give £10 10s, but if it could be used by other denominations he would give £100." The meeting, after some discussion, agreed to accept Mr. Hall’s £10 10s, the views enunciated in his letter not being by any means shared by members of the Church in this district.180

Hall had hoped that the pioneering practice of denominations’ sharing community facilities would prevail over entrenched religious divisions181 but he continued to be disappointed. In 1904 he wrote of his regret that the construction of an Anglican church at Glentunnel would “prevent several denominations worshipping in [the] same building as they have hitherto done.”182

180 The New Zealand Church News, September 1875, p. 127; the letter cited is JH to JEF, 9 June 1875, HC.
181 Cocks, p. 10.
182 16 May 1904, Diary 1904, GHHC.
Hall did not deviate from his non-sectarian position. In 1876 he was adamant in his refusal to attend the consecration of the cemetery at Hororata if people were to be buried in plots divided according to their religious affiliations and wrote: "I should feel that I was taking part in a Ceremony which shuts the Cemetery against half the people in the District."\(^{183}\) His protest made, he continued to provide men and equipment to prepare the ground, plant trees and maintain the cemetery in good order. Consistent with his beliefs, he subscribed £1 to an organ for the Presbyterian church and with his wife and daughters presented an alms dish, two vases and a bookstand all of brass to the Roman Catholic church at Darfield.\(^ {184}\) 

Hall was most unlike his fellow pastoralists in that his church patronage went beyond attendance and contributions to bricks and mortar.\(^ {185}\) His commitment was evident before he left England. He had read theological books, had taken part in ecclesiastical debate and had twice asked permission to train for the ministry. So strong was this determination that he had seriously considered taking ten years to gain a Bachelor of Divinity degree extramurally.\(^ {186}\) As a young man in London, he was commended as "a good & true son of the Holy Church"\(^ {187}\) but he had not hesitated to voice his preferences even to the extent of withdrawing his subscription to the choir because he disapproved of the style of its contribution to worship:

...they persist in choosing long, fluid, scientific compositions, which are unappreciable by & unintelligible & distasteful to 9/10ths of the congregation; musical displays that can promote neither the glory of God, nor the edification of man, altho' they may gratify the professional vanity of the choristers.\(^ {188}\)

Within a year of his arrival in New Zealand Hall had requested books of sermons from England both for his own household and reading to "an unlettered flock of shepherds."\(^ {189}\) He built up a large collection of theological works and made comments in the margin of many of them. He was licensed as a layreader at Hororata in January 1877.

\(^{183}\) JH to JEF, 30 May 1876, HC.
\(^{184}\) Ledger 1883, p. 25, HC; Cocks, p. 23.
\(^{185}\) Eldred-Grigg, Southern Gentry, pp. 80-82; Burnard, p. 89.
\(^{186}\) W.L. Bell to JH, 11 November 1851, Fol. 11, SJHP.
\(^{187}\) C.J. Black to JH, 20 March 1852, Fol. 12, SJHP.
\(^{188}\) JH to the Rector, 12 September 1848, Fol. 8, SJHP.
\(^{189}\) B. King to JH, 15 August 1853, Fol. 14, SJHP.
In the absence of a vicar that year he led 25 out of the 41 services. For at least ten years he served as the bishop’s church warden at Hororata.  

While both the British gentry and colonial stationowners were members of hierarchical societies, associations between different strata in their respective communities were not the same. What reveals the difference between them is the relative standing of Hall and Fountaine. In England there was a clear difference of status between the gentry and their managers whereas in New Zealand this was blurred. In 1879, when Hall purchased 2,398 acres of rural land, Fountaine was accorded equal status in the investment with Hall, Hall’s brother, George, and two others. Although Hall was a wealthy man, when he visited Rakaia Terrace Station on his own he ate with the Fountaines at their cottage. Even for the longer stay which he made on a return trip from England in 1884, the "domestic arrangements" he made with Fountaine were undemanding:

...you had probably better get extra assistance in the Servant line. My meals I will get with you if you have no objection. I should like to have our old Bedroom, & I can sit in the study, which I understand is now your Office, when I want to do reading or writing.

To accord runholders like Hall the status of gentry is strained and superficial because it introduces a false division into Canterbury society. During renovations to the homestead in 1890, Hall showed how unimportant maintaining a distinction of rank was. In a manner inconceivable in Britain, he told Fountaine that he was to purchase wallpaper similar to that used in Fountaine’s own house if Hall had no rolls of his own. Nor was it considered inappropriate on another occasion that after nearly four years’ absence the family used the Fountaines’ linen and domestic utensils. That there was no social barrier between Hall and Fountaine is clear from the minutes of the Hororata Domain Board of which both men were members. For twenty-one years Fountaine was chairman and on eight occasions Hall nominated him to that position. For thirteen years Hall was content to work under

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190 Cocks, pp. 12, 25 and 28.
191 Memo of agreement, 26 February 1879, Farm Buildings, HC.
192 11 December 1876, Diary 1876, GHHC.
193 JH to JEF, 17 May 1884, HC.
194 JH to JEF, 1 September 1890, MS x 914, p. 52, SJHP.
195 JEF to JH, 2 October 1886, HC.
Fountaine's leadership. Similarly when Hall was absent much of the actual participation in local public affairs was delegated to Fountaine. Fountaine's contribution was a copy of Hall's. Fountaine had no children of his own but was given time to serve on the school committee and was eventually elected chairman. He did the school's accounts and took them to Dunsandel to be audited. In some years he also presented the prizes. He was appointed to the first church vestry by Bishop Harper in 1876 and was still a member in 1890. It was an unenviable part of his duties to collect the subscriptions for the vicar's stipend. In 1874 Fountaine spent at least two days on road board elections, four and a half days at meetings and nearly twelve days on road board work. He was still engaged in the latter in 1898. How closely Fountaine was Hall's substitute is shown in the 1897 Road Board election when Fountaine stood as a candidate until Hall had returned to New Zealand and could fill the post himself. Fountaine represented Rakaia Terrace Station at funerals and at important occasions such as the opening of the Whitecliffs railway. In this way he became a highly valued member of the community in his own right. He was buried at Linwood but a memorial tablet from "friends at Hororata and surrounding districts" was placed in the Hororata churchyard.

Like Hall and Fountaine other men took advantage of the opportunities for advancement and less rigidly defined social relationships which New Zealand offered. Some of the men who worked for Hall or who had businesses or smaller properties in the district contributed to the provision and maintenance of community facilities. Ewen McIntosh, Hall's head shepherd, was a member of the committee which founded Glenroy school. William McSweeney collected subscriptions for the Darfield Roman Catholic church. John Thorne, the village blacksmith, was on the parish vestry, organized the brass band and eventually chaired the Hororata school committee. In varying degrees, Hall supported all of these groups. In Britain it was unusual for men of different social standing to act together.

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196 Hororata Domain Board minutes 1877-1899. I am grateful to Mr Derrick Rooney for making these available to me.
197 JEF to JH, 27 January 1880, HC
198 SJ 1873-5, 5 October 1874, HC.
199 Ibid., 2 July 1874 and 2 July 1875, HC.
200 Cocks, pp. 22 and 25.
201 SJ 1873-5, HC.
202 JEF to JH, 11 May 1897, HC.
203 Cocks; Domain Board Minutes; JEF to JH, 27 January 1880, HC.
204 Montgomery and Oakley, p. 19.
205 JEF to JH, 19 October 1880, HC.
in this way would have been unusual as there was a hierarchical involvement with local
government based on property. While some yeomen, tenant farmers and artisans held office
at the parish level, their contribution was separate from that of the large landowner.206

Lady Hall’s activities are shadows in the records but her interests show that she
conformed in many ways to the pattern of the Victorian gentry wife.207 Her primary
concern was ordering domestic arrangements. At the station she dealt with household staff
and administration although much of the basic organization was done by Lucy Fountaine.
Lady Hall helped staff to fit into the community. For example, she made provision for the
cook, a Roman Catholic, to attend Mass at Darfield.208 The essentially domestic range of
her pursuits suited her retiring nature. She preferred to remain at Hororata during carnival
week.209 With its horse racing and agricultural show this was an important social occasion
for the province. Her husband accepted that she did not share his enthusiasm for the animals
nor "care much" to be involved with his patronage of the Agricultural and Pastoral
Association.210

Like many rural British gentlewomen, Lady Hall engaged in charitable work as a
form of Christian service. As they did, she concentrated her efforts on the local schools and
the church.211 In 1891 she was invited to judge the sewing at Glenroy school and at other
times went there to accompany Mr Sloan’s choir on the harmonium.212 While she does not
appear to have been present for the schoolchildren’s visits to Rakaia Terrace Station, she did
put on modest treats there for the Sunday school.213 Her interest in the Sunday School was
commented on twice in her husband’s diary of 1877214 but her abiding commitment to such
religious instruction is apparent in the statement by the Vicar of Sydenham who wrote on her
death that "she had...the Christian education of children much at heart" and proposed that her

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208 Rose to W. Hall, 30 November 1890, AGC.
209 This is now called show week.
210 JH to M. Burwood, 6 November 1894, MS x 919, p. 241, SJHP.
211 M.J. Peterson, Family, Love, and Work in the Lives of Victorian Gentlewomen,
213 SJ 1881-3, 23 January 1882, HC.
214 7 January and 18 March 1877, Diary 1877, 1878 and 1883, GHHC.
name be commemorated in his parish's new Sunday School building. Lady Hall followed British example also in her enthusiasm for the Mothers' Union, an organization launched in 1885 which aimed to improve "the national character" by emphasizing the "moral and religious tone in family life." Late in 1895 she founded the Mothers' Union at Hororata and served as its president. "At first she took everything, she provided the afternoon tea, and took two maids out of the kitchen to serve it." She was considered formal and rather awe-inspiring, whereas the local children warmed to Sir John. Nevertheless, she had a reputation for kindness and when she died Judge Gresson wrote of her:

I feel that many in the humble walks of life, in the neighbourhood of Hororata, are mourning the loss of a faithful and reliable friend.

Despite the parallels with women of like standing in Britain, colonial women adapted their lifestyle to their new situation. This is evident in the relationship between Lady Hall and Lucy Fountaine. As with their menfolk, the distinction was one of scale not social class. They shared the nursing of one servant and over many years the two women corresponded frequently. The affinity between the Halls and the Fountaines is indicated by the exchange of family greetings at the end of the men's letters which is expressed in terms of mutual warmth. The presentation of a tea service to a departing vicar's wife also points to some equivalence between the families. On this occasion, Lady Hall was assisted by both her own sister, Agnes, and Lucy Fountaine. There was no indication that Agnes and Lucy differed in rank.

This farewell also demonstrates Lady Hall's ambivalent attitude to being a leader in her own right. On these occasions she modelled herself closely on her husband and in this instance she recorded:

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215 E.A. Scott to JH, 20 May 1900, Obituary Letters, HC.
216 Quoted in Peterson, p. 149.
217 Cocks, p. 27.
218 Oral account from Mrs Bunton, née Tizzard. The memorial window to Sir John in St John's church, Hororata is a depiction of the text: "Suffer little children to come unto me and forbid them not."
219 Obituary Letters, HC.
220 H.B. Gresson to JH, 18 May 1900, Obituary Letters, HC.
221 This correspondence appears not to have survived. It is referred to frequently in the men's letters.
I ordered the service to be brought in. It was placed before me in front of the fire place. I stood where you did when you presented Charlotte with the watch.

I then made a little address as well as I could, telling the people generally & Mrs Hodgson in particular, how sorry you & I both were that you could not make the presentation instead of me.222

There was an economic distinction between Sir John's world and his wife's. Where he was the income earner who answered many requests for financial support from institutions and private individuals by sending a cheque, she was required to ask her husband for money and she admitted that "I never get a farthing I do not ask for".223 The precise financial arrangements between the Halls are not clear. The money which Rose requested, she felt some freedom in using and she apparently received sufficient to write that it was from her "own purse" that she supported the "little charities" in which she had an interest.224 For Hall and his wife, this situation took on an additional complexity at Hororata where Fountaine made donations on the Halls' behalf. Yet Fountaine revealed how much the gender distinction regarding expenditure pervaded society when he informed Hall that on one fundraising evening he had contributed 11s from Lady Hall towards the refreshment fund, the women's domain, and two guineas from Sir John towards the purse of £25, the male preserve.225

Despite his infrequent presence, Hall was a central figure in the Hororata area because he made significant contributions to its political, social and religious life and because Rakaia Terrace Station was important as a source of work and income. Hall had become a New Zealand capitalist farmer with extensive property and considerable wealth. Yet he had few long-term bonds with most of his work force and was without significant relationships of dependency with his employees, his sharecroppers or the wider community. This meant that his role was not that of a transplanted member of the English gentry but was a colonial creation. It was as a wealthy, prestigious and energetic New Zealand farmer, not as a country squire, that Hall worked with other 'persisters' in the Hororata community in the fight against the problems of distance, isolation and transience. The community which they

222 Rose to JH, Easter Day 1894, Fol. 203, SJHP.
223 Rose to Wilfred, 30 July 1890, AGC.
224 Rose to JH, 15 July 1894, Fol. 207, SJHP.
225 JEF to JH, 4 August 1888, HC.
created was stable, respectable and identifiably British. But it was a community of New Zealand Britons who had little desire to re-create the more rigid social distinctions of rural England.
Our hopes were high; we believed we were planting what must be a great settlement and were laying up for ourselves competency and comfort in the years to come. For some of us these hopes have been realised...to few of these pioneers only has it been given to enjoy a substantial share of the prosperity which they worked for and looked forward to.¹

Hall was prominent not only in Hororata but in all of Canterbury. Because he was one of the early 'pilgrims', he had the opportunity to take a leading role in shaping the new settlement. Residing in Christchurch, the provincial capital, he had the additional advantage of being at the heart of social and political affairs. In the crucial early years he was involved in making decisions which determined the development of the whole region. At the same time he helped transform Christchurch from a handful of scattered houses near a swamp to a town with the beginnings of a social and cultural identity.

Hall's willingness to fulfil civic responsibilities was a social statement. It announced his economic independence. Since many public offices were unpaid, only men with some wealth could afford to participate. Because he had a livelihood which did not depend on his continuous presence, Hall had the time to take up public commitments. In doing so he was aligning himself with the English ideal whereby the leisured and educated undertook political life as a duty.² Men of substance were seen as having a responsibility to order their community, and in shouldering this responsibility they underlined their economic status and social qualifications. They also, very often, fulfilled their ambitions.

From the outset Canterbury society was stratified. Hall was among those of the first rank and he often acted as a steward or committee member for the public celebrations which played an important role in bringing the notables of the small and scattered community together. One of the earliest of these functions was a public breakfast in 1854 given to mark

¹ J. Hall, 'Sheepdriving in the early days', Canterbury Old and New 1850-1900: a souvenir of the jubilee, Christchurch, Whitcombe & Tombs Ltd, [1900], p. 126.
² D.G. Herron, "The Structure and Course of New Zealand Politics 1853-1858", Ph. D., University of Otago, 1959, pp. 58 and 175.
the return of the two Canterbury members from the first session of the first New Zealand parliament. Hall assisted also with the public ball given to mark Governor Browne’s first visit to Christchurch in 1856. Most of the population was excluded from these gatherings because the price of a ticket to the breakfast was 10s 6d and it cost £1 for a man and 10s for a woman to attend the ball.

Sporting activities could also indicate wealth and status. Although Hall was not a race horse owner himself, he suggested that a jockey club be established in the city. Some other pastoralists were enthusiasts for the turf and maintained extensive stables. For working men, race day was a holiday and an opportunity to gamble. Fifty years later, Hall’s role in the formation of the club was remembered and he was called upon to present a cup to one of the winning owners on the last day of the carnival week meeting in 1904.

There was a lack of social amenities in the 1850s and the order in which they were provided was another indicator of the character of the colony. Hall was among those who gave priority to providing a fitting venue for formal gatherings such as the breakfast and the ball. He was involved in plans to build the first town hall which was ready for use by the end of 1854 and for over a decade he attended shareholders’ meetings.

The newness of the settlement gave men like Hall the freedom to overcome the barriers which restricted their advancement in England. There was some replication of British institutions and the aim was to create a respectable society on the English model. In 1856 the Christchurch Club was constituted and was the first gentlemen’s club in New Zealand. Hall was a foundation member along with eleven other runholders. Within a year the numbers had doubled but size was not a priority. As George Ross informed his English relatives: "our object is to keep up a high standard and let in only personal friends

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3 LT, 7 October 1854.
4 LT, 10 November 1855.
5 LT, 7 October 1854.
6 LT, 8 November 1854.
7 LT, 10 November 1855.
9 12 November 1904, Diary 1904, GHHC.
10 LT, 29 October 1853 and 14 January 1863.
of our own set." Accordingly the initial entrance fee was raised from £5 to £20 within three years. Hall served on the committee intermittently until 1879 and when he was present he was usually chosen as chairman. Members of the club were not exclusively station owners but their influence was strong enough to spur men from the professions to found the Canterbury Club in 1872. As a townsman and a pastoralist, Hall straddled both worlds and became a founding director of the 'new' club while remaining prominent in the 'old'.

Leaders of the Anglican church were conscious that they were making a fresh start in New Zealand. This was particularly so in Canterbury which was founded specifically as a Church of England settlement. Both tractarians and evangelicals had been influential in the Canterbury Association and they envisaged that the new province would have a vigorous and reformed church. The Lyttelton Times recognized this mood of spiritual independence when it proclaimed:

...it is our conviction that religious freedom is a necessary complement to the emancipation of civil government from the thraldom of the Colonial Office.

Under the leadership of Bishop Selwyn, the sole bishop, the colonial church became more democratic than the church in England. Selwyn's aim was to formulate a church constitution suited "to our circumstances and wants." To achieve this he invited discussion from the laity. Hall's religious faith was important to him and he was involved in this "consultative method" at both the local and the national level. As a lay delegate at the 1859 and 1865 general synods he debated and helped to ratify Selwyn’s reforms. Where the church in England had autocratic rule by bishops, the New Zealand church required a measure to be passed by all three houses of bishops, clergy and laity at both general and

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12 Ibid., pp. 7 and 22.
13 Committee Minutes, Christchurch Club, 1858-1896, CM.
16 LT, 11 February 1854.
17 For a discussion whether this was entirely at Selwyn’s initiative see Limbrick, p. 43.
18 LT, 4 February 1854.
19 LT, 19 September 1855.
diocesan synods. This meant that in New Zealand motions at synods could be introduced by any house and that the other houses could negate the proposal of the house of bishops.

Egalitarian ideas pervaded individual congregations. When Hall became vicar's warden at Lyttelton in 1857, one of his first tasks was to offer an invitation for pew reservations. The English custom whereby seats were allocated according to rank was abandoned. At Lyttelton priority was given to the deaf and physically disabled, then the other seats were distributed by ballot. Furthermore, there was no fee.20

Other practices were also more democratic than in England. Hall was prominent because he was warden but the decisions concerning the rebuilding of the Lyttelton church were not made solely by vicar and vestry. Public meetings were held at which male communicants could speak and their votes carried equal weight.21 In addition, because the settlement was new, the church escaped the English situation where local, landed notables had a tradition of influence in parish affairs. In Canterbury Hall and the other runholders lacked the long-standing connections with the land and the people to fill this role. Instead Hall was one member of a committee whose purpose was to collect subscriptions for the new church.22

Hall played a small role in making these changes known. After the first general synod he addressed his fellow parishioners at Lyttelton and informed them about the proceedings. He had his speech published23 and his account was also printed in the Hull newspapers where it evoked an envious response at the amount of independence from "antique absurdity."24

While the church shed some of its social shackles, law enforcement in the province was monopolized by Canterbury Association leaders. As resident magistrate, Godley dispensed justice and was the head of the police in Canterbury. To acknowledge the importance of this second function, Simeon, his successor, was given the additional title of...
commissioner of police. When Simeon returned to England, Henry Tancred took over both roles. Hall belonged to this select group and was made a justice of the peace in 1854. The preference for men of suitable status also stands out clearly in the other major police appointment. FitzGerald had been sub-inspector of police under Godley, but when FitzGerald resigned to become superintendent, the post went to the well-connected but inexperienced Charles Christopher Bowen not the more humble Edward Seager who had already proven his ability in police work. Seager was eventually appointed sub-inspector in 1858 but only after Hall’s recommendation to give him the more lowly title of sergeant major had been overruled.

The travelling involved in being a justice of the peace could be physically demanding. Hall’s duties took him to Christchurch, Lyttelton and Kaiapoi. The journey to and from Lyttelton was especially arduous. Until 1856 when the Bridle Path was upgraded, a horseman required “some habit and nerve to keep the saddle” and the summit often required a rider to get off his horse and scramble up the last few feet. Hall was a good horseman; even with an “indifferent” steed he did not have to dismount.

Hall was offered the post of resident magistrate for Lyttelton at a salary of £300 per annum together with “the office of commissioner of police and sheriff” in October 1856. This would make him the senior magistrate in Canterbury. Despite his years as a justice of the peace, Hall was extremely hesitant to accept. He doubted his competence, although it was usual to have had no legal training. On being advised that his fears were

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25 NZG, 28 April 1854, p. 42.
28 5 August 1852, MS x 2663, SJHP.
29 J.E. FitzGerald to JH, 28 October 1856, Fol. 17, SJHP.
31 JH to J.E. FitzGerald, 29 October 1856, Fol. 17, SJHP.
groundless, Hall accepted the post.\textsuperscript{33} Still he was not entirely satisfied. He wrote to Christopher Richmond, the colonial treasurer, who was also a lawyer, asking him for a copy of the supreme court rules. Richmond replied: "I should say the fewer Rules the better. They seem to get on at Auckland very well without Rules!" He did reassure Hall that court procedures were to be republished in the \textit{Gazette}.\textsuperscript{34}

The duties of a resident magistrate differed only in degree from those of justices of the peace. Whereas two justices were required to conduct affairs, a resident magistrate could act alone.\textsuperscript{35} At least half of the work was administrative which admirably suited Hall's gifts. This part of his commission included the maintenance of accurate electoral rolls and jury lists and the issuing of licences for such places as slaughter-houses and licensed premises. As a magistrate, Hall was also responsible for the care of the mentally ill who were originally housed in the prison at Lyttelton. He worked towards separate accommodation for them in an asylum\textsuperscript{36} but until one was built, he requested that the superintendent of Wellington house them in the asylum there because it was "cruel" to put them in dark cells and mix them with criminals.\textsuperscript{37}

The magistracy also involved sitting on the bench to enforce a wide range of laws. Most cases were straightforward and unspectacular. They concerned assault and drunkenness, the collection of small debts\textsuperscript{38} and complaints about scabby sheep. Some cases involved the enforcement of the Masters and Servants Act under which employees sued for non-payment of wages and employers could enforce the terms of employment contracts. Hall remained a resident magistrate until July 1863.

Hall's status in Christchurch society reached a new peak following the Christchurch municipal elections of 1862. He chaired the meeting called to elect nine councillors. Twenty-two men were willing to stand for office and Hall headed the voting returns with a

\textsuperscript{33} J. Brittan to JH, 30 October 1856; JH to J.E. FitzGerald, 30 October 1856, (Fol. 17, SJHP).
\textsuperscript{34} C.W. Richmond to JH, 14 January 1857, Fol. 18, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{35} Johnston, pp. 270-1, *857.
\textsuperscript{36} LT, 22 October 1856, PC 17 October 1856.
\textsuperscript{37} JH to I. Featherston, 13 April 1857, Fol. 18, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{38} Under the Extension of Jurisdiction Act 1856, the resident magistrate on his own could determine cases up to the value of £20 but in conjunction with a jury of four the limit was raised to £100. Wood, pp. 312 and 316.
poll of 154 votes, the next nearest contender having 133. Four days later he was "unanimously elected chairman." This made him in effect the first mayor of Christchurch although that title was not adopted till later. He resigned after a little over a year because he wanted to have more time for his other public commitments. Forty three years later when Christchurch was hosting an international exhibition, he was invited to become mayor to recall his earlier tenure of office and as a mark of recognition of the work he had done for the city. He accepted but by then he was old and frail and was unable to carry out all the duties.

Besides establishing himself at the top of the social hierarchy, Hall pursued a distinguished career in provincial politics. His arrangements about the management of his property meant that from July 1853 he had the freedom to engage in local government. Earlier, he had derided colonial politicians for seeing themselves as "at least on a par with Pitt." He had also written that "private interest is at the bottom of almost all colonial politics" and "that the field is not a very attractive one for an honest man." He now retreated from this view and resolved to enter provincial politics.

In politics Hall was reckoned a Canterbury Association man. He was in tune with the values held dear by Godley, Wakefield and FitzGerald who had been keen advocates of self-government before the colony had been founded. Once Godley arrived in New Zealand, he was outspoken in his demands for responsible government. He thought it ridiculous that New Zealand should be ruled by people in the United Kingdom who had no knowledge of local conditions, especially as the distance between London and Lyttelton made communication difficult. Godley returned to the United Kingdom in December 1852. By then Whitehall had granted New Zealand constitutional government.

Constitutional government was conducted on two administrative levels. Matters affecting the whole colony were controlled by the General Assembly. Those of local interest were run by six Provincial Councils. Although these bodies could make decisions, the

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39 LT, 1 March 1862.
40 LT, 5 March 1862.
41 LT, 20 June 1863.
42 26 September 1852, MS x 2664, SJHP.
governor had the power to veto provincial ordinances, and the imperial government could refuse its assent to acts of parliament. Two areas were outside settler control: the governor determined policy relating to Maori and the British government acted for New Zealand in foreign policy.

1853 was the first time elections were held for the Provincial Council, which in Canterbury had twelve members. In deciding to stand Hall had certain advantages which greatly enhanced his chances of election. The number of respectable opponents was still small and none of them had established political reputations. He did not have to defeat a sitting member nor combat settled political alliances. If he were successful, he would be one of the colony's political founders and play a formative role in laws directing its future.

John Hall, "stockowner" and "householder" of Tuam St, announced his candidacy to the electors of Christchurch in The Lyttelton Times of 23 July 1853. Three days later, having assessed the strength of the opposition, he withdrew from the town electorate because other gentlemen have come forward who appear to me to have stronger claims on your support than it is in my power to urge. At the same time he offered himself to electors of the less keenly contested Country District. He had seven rivals for the four seats in the electorate.

Hall's campaign progressed smoothly. Henry Sewell, deputy chairman of the Canterbury Association's management committee, noted in his diary that at a political meeting on 16 August Hall spoke "very well." Sewell was also correct in his belief that Hall and the other Association "friends" would be "elected without difficulty." Hall was elected on 10 September but bad weather put "an effectual damper on any large amount of enthusiasm."

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44 LT, 23 July 1853.
45 LT, 30 July 1852.
46 Ibid.
47 LT, 20 August 1853. One candidate, William Bray, withdrew.
48 Sewell, p. 366.
49 Ibid, p. 371. The "friends" were Simeon, Henry Tancred and Charles Bowen.
50 LT, 17 September 1853.
Hall's success was not surprising. He had talent, character and was aligned with Canterbury Association leaders. He had the financial wherewithal to undertake political duties. He was also well organized, energetic and informed. Those who knew him expected that he would make an impact in the Council. One friend wrote to him that his diligence and knowledge would put him "in the foremost rank".51

The structure of Canterbury provincial government was quickly established. At its head was the superintendent. He was elected directly by men over the age of 21, who met the property qualifications for the franchise.52 He communicated with the Council through messages. Assisting him with the administration and mediating with the Provincial Council was the executive council. This usually consisted of three or four members including a president and a provincial secretary. The superintendent appointed the president who then invited the others to join him. Only the president had to belong to the Provincial Council, which could express its disapproval of the executive by a vote of no confidence.

Hall relished the political challenge of establishing self government unhampered by precedent and unnecessary tradition. He was determined that the Provincial Council should be effective and efficient. At the beginning of the second meeting, Hall rebuked his fellow members for their lack of punctuality. Only he and one other had arrived at 11 a.m. and it took another thirty minutes before business began.53

Hall's professionalism and gifts as an administrator, the very characteristics which had met with frustration in England, stood out right from the start and were able to flower in Canterbury. He had a passion for proper procedures. It was he who suggested that the Council adopt the simple form of recording minutes used in the House of Commons.54 He served on the committee for standing rules and orders and frequently objected on points of order when less fastidious members disregarded due form.55

51 J.S. Neall to JH, 4 March 1854, Fol. 15, SJHP.
53 LT, 8 October 1853, PC 28 September 1853.
54 LT, 8 October 1853, PC 29 September 1853.
55 LT, 8 October 1853, PC 30 September 1853; LT, 15 October 1853, PC 7 October 1853.
Because he was not distracted by earning a living, Hall could devote himself wholeheartedly to his duties. Unlike some of his colleagues, he rarely missed a debate. His regular attendance, careful preparation and frequent speeches brought him rapid recognition. The Council acknowledged his enthusiasm and talent by asking him to serve on nearly every select committee in its early years.\(^56\)

From the beginning it was obvious that the site of the Council Chambers in the former newspaper offices on the corner of Park Terrace and Chester Street was unsatisfactory. Not only was the building in the middle of a patch of potatoes "a quarter of a mile at least from the inhabited part of the town" but access was difficult. Sewell described the approach as "an open trackless common covered with fern and tussock grass, barely passable in dry weather, and miserable in wet." This deterred public attendance and Sewell considered this absence "an incalculable evil." The "iron hardness" of the seats in the "miserable detached dreary building" added to the discomforts.\(^57\) In 1854, Hall took steps to ensure that the Council should be accommodated in premises befitting its importance and pressed for the construction of a replacement. Even as he made the proposal, he had the specifications to hand:

...the cost should not exceed £2,000...it...should be erected by contract...and...the contract as well as the design should be submitted to public competition.\(^58\)

When asked where the money was to come from, Hall answered immediately that "there was at present a surplus in the Provincial Chest of £15,000."\(^59\) A few days later he nominated a site.\(^60\)

Despite the original building’s limitations, Hall was determined to maintain the dignity of the Provincial Council. He objected to its chambers doubling up "for other meetings, and perhaps for balls". On this matter he stood by his belief that the Council should be guided by higher motives than granting a request because it was "a gracious and popular

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\(^{56}\) PPC, Sessions I-IX, p. xix.

\(^{57}\) Sewell, pp. 462 and 374.

\(^{58}\) LT, 8 November 1854, PC 3 November 1854.

\(^{59}\) Ibid.

\(^{60}\) LT, 15 November 1854, PC 8 November 1854.
measure." In a close division the Council agreed that using the Council chamber for other activities "would be a bad precedent."

Hall became the president of the executive in October 1854 when Henry Tancred and his executive resigned over what they took to be an implicit vote of censure. Hall's time as president was brief. By May 1855 he, too, was in difficulties. Two bills had been rejected and the debate on a third provoked a quarrel between Hall and Sewell. Hall threatened to resign and, influenced by their political differences, Sewell now thought him a mere Office clerk, utterly deficient in tact, knowledge of affairs, or any remarkable ability. He is industrious, tolerably ready in debate, honest, and altogether passable as a third rate man, but nothing better.

On 5 May, Hall complied with the superintendent's request for the executive's resignation. He remained a member of the Council until he left for Britain early in 1860.

Hall returned to New Zealand in 1861 and two years later, as an experienced politician, he was unchallenged when he sought re-election to the Council as the member for Mount Cook. In March 1864, he resumed executive office. The previous government had resigned following disputes concerning the management of public works, controversy over finance and far-reaching criticism which culminated in a power struggle between the executive and the superintendent. The administration to which Hall belonged remained in office until 1866 and earned the description of being "one of the best executives in the provincial history of Canterbury". Hall was singled out by The Lyttelton Times as a capable leader right from the start:

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61 LT, 15 October 1853, PC 6 October 1853.
62 JPPC, Session I, 6 October 1853, p. 19.
63 LT, 14 October 1854, PC 12 October 1854; LT, 18 October 1854, PC 17 October 1854.
64 LT, 2 May 1855, PC 26 April 1855.
66 LT, 12 May 1855, PC 8 May 1855.
67 C. Newton to S. Bealey, 10 July 1863, PC papers, CP 612a, No. 7, CM; F.W. Teschemaker to C.R. Blakiston, 18 December 1863, PC papers, CP 612, No. 7, CM.
Mr. John Hall must be confessed by his colleagues to be a long way their foremost man. He is...a capital executive officer, and a keen debater too...The experience of ten or eleven years of legislative work in the colony, improving his natural powers, gives him a strength...There is about him a suspicion of machinery: you want work done, and it is done.\textsuperscript{69}

Some of this proficiency is portrayed in the description of Hall later in the same report. It captures both the energy in his mannerisms and the assurance that public service had given him:

But in the eleven years of Mr. Hall's experience he has dropped some of his asperities. On Tuesday night there was a genial light in his eye, and a repose in his attitude when off duty which was once not to be seen. On his legs he is the old John Hall...rising with a perky action on his toe-tips, and sucking in inspiration for each sentence with a noisy relish, as another man would suck in an oyster.\textsuperscript{70}

Within the executive, Hall was the first person to hold the newly created position of secretary for public works. The office proved to be a key one. Throwing aside his more characteristic financial caution, he encouraged the Council to embark on major projects which would open up the province. His decisions were sometimes controversial but his strength in the Council was such that he had enough support to carry them through. 1864 began as a year of confidence and relative prosperity but later in the year the sale of government debentures fell behind expectations and some plans were curtailed. In the end the Great Southern Railway was started, the West Coast Road and the railway between Christchurch and Ferrymead were opened and harbour works to improve the efficiency of the port were begun at Lyttelton.

Hall resigned from the executive in March 1866. In the provincial council elections later that year, he changed to the Rakaia electorate. He retained his seat there in 1870 and a few months afterwards, he rejoined the executive. It took two invitations before he accepted and even then he was reluctant stressing "the considerable inconvenience to himself".\textsuperscript{71} For the next ten months he was the president of the executive but his relationships with the superintendent were troubled. The Council was engaged in a power struggle with the superintendent, William Rolleston, and Hall sided with the Council. As a

\textsuperscript{69} LT, 21 April 1864.
\textsuperscript{70} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{71} The Canterbury Times, 29 October 1870, PC 26 October 1870.
result, he suffered what he called "libellous insinuations and the grossest possible abuse."\textsuperscript{72} He soon became weary of provincial politics and when thwarted by the Council on a minor issue he resigned from the executive.\textsuperscript{73} By now, his heart was set on expanding his role in national politics, although he remained a member of the Provincial Council until he left for England in 1873.

Throughout his long career of nearly fifteen years in provincial politics Hall was associated with several important debates and measures. One of the earliest was the relationship between church and state. The importance of religion in the Canterbury Association's original vision for the colony is demonstrated by the fact that over one third of the Association's founders in Britain were clergy, including two archbishops and seven bishops. Since the province was to be a Church of England settlement, the intention was that a complete diocesan structure from bishop to parish priest should exist from the start. In this way, the church would have the leadership to provide the religious and educational teaching which the founders considered essential to a well-ordered society. To this end, Canterbury alone of all the settlements in New Zealand set aside one third of the proceeds of the sale of land for religious and educational endowments.

There was mixed success in transplanting the goal of Church of England dominance to Canterbury. The religious basis of the settlement is evident in the fact that the majority of the settlers were Anglican\textsuperscript{74} and that all twelve of the original members of the Provincial Council were communicants of the Church of England.\textsuperscript{75} Serious financial difficulties, however, meant that the Association was forced to wind up its affairs and jettison its plans for Anglican hegemony. Moreover, the provincial councillors, Anglicans though they were, did not fully endorse the Association's religious ideals. In England there had been many abuses visible in the Church of England largely because it was the established church, and the Provincial Council was wary of transferring the evils of such a partnership between church and state to Canterbury. Hall endorsed this opinion when he stated that his preference was that the church in New Zealand should remain a private institution, "free from State

\textsuperscript{72} The Canterbury Times, 5 August 1871.
\textsuperscript{73} The Canterbury Times 12 August 1871, PC 4 August 1871.
\textsuperscript{74} New Zealand Statistics 1858, No. 5. Anglicans constituted 72.8 per cent of the settler population.
\textsuperscript{75} W.P. Morrell, The Anglican Church in New Zealand, Dunedin, Anglican Church of the Province of New Zealand, 1973, p. 56.
patronage" and "independent of State control". His position was no surprise as he had never been a sectarian Anglican. FitzGerald, however, had been a member of the Association in England so that it was extremely significant when he declared "that the State should stand in an attitude of absolute indifference to all religious communities." No members of the council dissented from this view.

The relationship of church and state was raised in a practical form when Hall was a member of a committee of the Council which recommended the appointment of a chaplain. Because such an appointment might be interpreted as the first step in creating an established church, adoption of the proposal was not automatic. It was only after "ample discussion" that "the desirability of appointing a chaplain to the council...was...admitted". The post was given to Reverend Octavius Mathias, Bishop Selwyn's commissary in Canterbury. The appointment of an Anglican simply reflected the Council's wish to serve the needs of its current members, not any desire to entrench the position of the Church of England. Supporters of Mathias's appointment acknowledged that if in the future the majority of the Council's members belonged to another denomination then a clergyman from that persuasion could be appointed. Similarly, when an Anglican form of prayer was chosen to begin meetings of the Council, it was made clear that another prayer could be adopted if the denominational composition of the Council changed.

Hall played a prominent role in the passage of measures affecting the stockowning interest. As a runholder himself, he had a practical interest in legislation dealing with the land and pastoralism. In its first session the Council addressed the very important issue of scab. Scab was a highly contagious disease which afflicted sheep and rendered them vulnerable to other conditions which could prove fatal. It also led to the loss of wool from sheep which survived. Canterbury was dependent on the production of wool as its main export so that stockholders like Hall were justifiably alarmed that the disease was nearly out

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76 LT, 25 February 1854, PC 17 February 1854.
77 IPPC, Session I, 27 September 1853, p. 11.
78 LT, 8 October 1853, PC 28 September 1853.
79 IPPC, Session IV, 14 June 1855, p. 134.
80 LT, 8 October 1853, PC 28 September 1853.
of control in part of the neighbouring province of Nelson. Robert Heaton Rhodes, councillor and runholder, highlighted the problems of containing the menace:

In a country like this, where there are but few natural boundaries, sheep-farmers should be compelled to keep diseased sheep enclosed at night, and herded by day: for otherwise a flock of 500 sheep could easily stray, and infect the flocks over the whole country in one night.

Hall was principally responsible for introducing a bill to control the spread of scab. Because the ordinance needed legal enforcement to be effective, the provincial government also appointed a scab inspector.

The scab menace remained a constant threat because loopholes were forever appearing as new circumstances arose. In successive sessions Hall kept a watchful eye on the scab legislation. It took many years before Canterbury was relatively free of the disease. As late as August 1875 Hall's anxiety about the outbreak of scab was such that he telegraphed to Christchurch from London for reassurance "that the danger had passed away." On his return he found himself helping to draft yet another scab bill in order to eliminate the menace. In the meantime he had the names of all those who took sheep across his own property recorded in the station journals. He also grew his own tobacco as the major ingredient for the dip which was the only known preventative.

After he was deposed as head of the executive in May 1855, Hall became the acknowledged leader of the stockowning interest. With the elections of March 1855 the Provincial Council had doubled in size, and the runholder presence had increased from a third to a half. By the end of May that year, pasturage rents and pre-emptive rights were at the centre of vigorous debate. The eventual outcome illustrates the degree to which this group

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82 LT, 15 October 1853, PC 7 October 1853.
83 LT, 8 October 1853.
84 Ibid.
85 LT, 25 March 1854, PC 22 March 1854.
86 LT, 15 November 1854, PC 10 November 1854.
87 Scotter, p. 200.
88 JH to JEF, 4 August 1875, HC.
89 26 July 1876, Diary 1876, GHHC.
91 G.C. Hensley, 'Canterbury, 1853-7: The Superintendency of J.E. FitzGerald', in Gardner, Canterbury, p. 44.
could protect its interests while having power to exclude consideration of other points of view almost completely.

In a province where the most viable industry was a pastoralism which required vast amounts of land per farmer if it were to succeed as an export earner, the price of pasturage licences was an important issue. The subject was a contentious one within Canterbury politics because the province was divided into two separate administrative areas for land price and leaseholder regulations. The smaller one of about one million acres comprising Christchurch’s immediate hinterland was known as the Canterbury Block. Here the Canterbury Association and legislation enacted by the imperial parliament held sway. The Canterbury Association had set high pasturage rents within its Block in an attempt to prevent a squatter stranglehold on land usage. Beyond the Block and stretching to the provincial boundaries was another area of more than double the size which had not begun to be occupied until 1853. In force here were Governor Grey’s "most mischievous" regulations of March 1853\(^{92}\) which undermined the high prices within the Canterbury Block. This disparity had fostered runholder grievances and encouraged controversy and legal wranglings. Tancred, who was a runholder, declared:

> There was no reason why they [stockowners] should pay five times as much within the block under Mr. Godley’s regulations, as the stockowners outside the block paid under Sir George Grey’s regulations.\(^{93}\)

Hall and other runholders sought to bring uniformity to the rents by lowering those in the Canterbury Block. Godley himself had undertaken to reduce them and the runholders pointed out that the reduced rents which they favoured were in line with those in many other places. They lamented that high rents were a handicap to development. Their complaints cut little ice with representatives from urban constituencies who denied that the high rents made runholding unprofitable. As Councillor William Hamilton stated: "One fact was notorious, that runs are now being sold at a profit."\(^{94}\) In the end, the stockowners were forced to give way a little but got much of what they wanted. Through Hall’s efforts in the Provincial Council in 1855, licence fees were reduced by a half but were still "slightly higher than elsewhere."\(^{95}\)

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93 LT, 23 May 1855, PC 18 May 1855.
94 Ibid.
95 Hensley, p. 49.
Another important campaign waged by Hall and other large landholders was intended to secure pre-emptive rights giving leaseholders the first option to buy. Godley's regulations of February 1852 delineated three classes of pasturage licence but only the first, restricted to those among the first body of settlers who purchased land, carried the pre-emptive right. Those with quantities of land between 5,000 and 20,000 acres belonged to class III. This meant that large runholders were excluded from the pre-emptive right, receiving no protection against being bought out without warning and no compensation for improvements which they had made to the property. Pastoralists argued that because pre-emptive rights provided some security of tenure, they gave an incentive to leaseholders to improve their property. This made for better conditions for the sheep which in turn increased the quality of their wool and ultimately benefited the whole community. Not everyone agreed with this point of view. Those who were not pastoralists resented runholders and their privileges. The settlers feared that such rights could be used to lock up leaseholds in the hands of those who had been lucky enough to get to Canterbury first. Pastoralists, however, were in a majority in the Provincial Council and in 1855 Hall secured a pre-emptive right of 250 acres around runholders' homesteads and 50 acres for every significant improvement.

In 1858 the squatters' ability to protect themselves was evident when the pre-emptive right came under attack. Through a loophole in the legislation, the holders of pre-emptive rights had been able to obstruct applications to purchase land. As long as they bought a portion of it themselves, the law prevented other applicants from buying the remainder. Hall admitted that "this required alteration", but "to extinguish the pre-emptive right over the whole block...was too great a hardship." He also argued that if the regulations were changed so that all pre-emptive right holders had to purchase all the land they applied for "at once" or forfeit the pre-emptive right, then runholders would be at a disadvantage because "very often it would not be possible to put down £500 at a short notice." Runholder solidarity was such that on the basis of this argument the Council agreed to exempt class III runs, the large properties which most tied up the land, from the new provisions.

For his part in safeguarding runholder interests, Hall was satirized in Crosbie Ward's *Song of the Squatters* as "shrewd and subtle Jonnioltok" who said

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96 LT, 13 February 1858, PC 9 February 1858; LT, 30 January 1858, PC 26 January 1858.
97 LT, 13 February 1858, PC 9 February 1858.
98 The Waste Lands Regulations Amendment Ordinance, 1858.
"I assent to these proposals
With a trifling reservation.
Ye will sweep away conditions,
Justly sweep away restrictions,
Which will tie up land so closely;
Only ye'll except the squatter,
Will not touch the rights of squatters,
Of the shepherds and the stockmen;
Ye shall take the rights of farmers,
Of the millers, bakers, butchers
Tailors, drapers, clothiers, hatters,
Soldiers, doctors, undertakers,
Of storekeepers and bootmakers,
Of all trades and occupations,
Of all persons in the province,
But the shepherds, the runholders;
Them ye shall not touch nor injure."99

Hall was to the fore in other projects which fostered the development of the whole province. From 1856 he was insistent that settlers be encouraged to grow trees.100 When the Europeans first arrived in Canterbury, the plains were covered with tussock and dotted with cabbage trees. These afforded no protection from the strong winds to which the region was prone. A secondary benefit of tree planting as far as Hall was concerned was producing timber.101 The only wood available was grown on Banks Peninsula or imported from the North Island. Yet timber was important for fences and buildings. Both the original homestead at Rakaia Terrace Station and Hall’s house in Latimer Square in Christchurch were built of imported wood.102 Hall proposed an ordinance which would encourage the growing of trees by leaseholders, who were the majority of occupants on the plains. The legislation also provided for the payment to leaseholders for trees planted when their terms expired.103 Hall promoted his scheme by reporting that "experiments" had demonstrated that trees flourished in Canterbury at a rate which "astonished our European notions of quick

99 LT, 20 February 1858.
100 LT, 1 March 1856, PC 28 February 1856.
102 Miles Lewis of the Architecture Department at Melbourne University has recently conducted tests on the wood used at Rakaia Terrace Station which show the timber to be Australian. M. Lewis to K. Foster, 15 July 1990, HC; The Christchurch Star, 15 September 1929.
103 LT, 12 March 1856, PC 7 March 1856; JPPC, Session VI, 7 and 11 March 1856, p. 164.
growth." A major hurdle was that seeds had to be imported. He himself had difficulty getting acorns from England but he did manage to plant "over 670 strong trees" in 1856. His resolutions concerning tree planting were eventually accepted. He practised what he advocated and by 1888 timber from his Riseholme property was coming into production. Hall was ahead of his time. It was 1871 before the colonial parliament passed legislation which stimulated the growing of trees by granting two acres of crown land for every acre planted to stated criteria.

Another of Hall's particular interests was communication, so vital for trade, social ties and development. Sewell's description of Canterbury as "a prison" reveals how keenly he felt the province's isolation. Three and a half years after the settlement's founding, he still wrote of the arrival of a steamer into Lyttelton Harbour, the province's most important link with the rest of New Zealand and the outside world, as "A great event." Accordingly, significant improvements in shipping services were cause for general "excitement."

Christchurch, initially the second town in the province, was even more cut off from the outside world than the port. One symptom of this remoteness was that post office supervision of inward mail stopped at Lyttelton. The two communities were separated by the Port Hills whose height and gradient made contact between them difficult. For seven years the only land route between Christchurch and Lyttelton was the Bridle Path but its steep gradient made it unsuitable for the large-scale carriage of freight.

Using the sea to avoid the Port Hills altogether, the settlers encountered another obstacle. Most cargo was taken by schooner to Ferrymead and thence by river to Christchurch. This trip could be slow, it was not safe and the cartage was expensive.

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104 LT, 26 April 1856.
105 J.S. Neall to JH, 19 February 1856 and enclosure; W. Wilson to JH, 17 June 1856, (Fol. 17, SJHP).
106 LT, 27 February 1858, PC 23 February 1858.
107 JEF to JH, 25 November 1888, HC.
108 Hall, 'Shelter', p. 461.
110 Ibid., p. 488.
111 LT, 19 November 1853, PC 10 November 1853.
The problem lay with the Sumner Bar at the mouth of the Estuary. It often proved a disastrous barrier to shipping.\textsuperscript{113} Many settlers having safely transported their worldly goods half way round the world lost them at the last hurdle.

One of the earliest schemes to provide "a regular, frequent, economical communication" between Lyttelton, Christchurch, Kaiapoi and the coast was steam navigation.\textsuperscript{114} Coal-powered steamers had a better chance of negotiating the Bar and the bends of the rivers safely and speedily. By November 1854 the Council agreed to support Hall's proposal that £1,000 be granted towards the use of steam navigation.\textsuperscript{115} Although the first steamer, Alma, struck the Bar and sank, the Canterbury Steam Navigation Company continued to provide a useful and regular service. Hall encouraged further expenditure on the development of steam navigation\textsuperscript{116} and as other firms and other vessels competed for business the rates became cheaper. This increase in the number of boats meant that produce was now able to be transported rapidly to Lyttelton for export to Australia and elsewhere in New Zealand.\textsuperscript{117}

Meanwhile there was urgent debate on how the colony was going to overcome the barrier of the Port Hills. On 23 November 1853 Hall moved that a commission including at least one civil engineer should investigate the alternatives. His aim was to prepare plans so that when finance was at hand construction could proceed immediately.\textsuperscript{118} When the commission reported in April 1854, it favoured a road following Evans Pass from Lyttelton to Sumner but with a three quarter mile tunnel going through the hill.\textsuperscript{119} The tunnel proposal was soon discarded as "too expensive and dangerous for ordinary traffic".\textsuperscript{120} The alternative of a railway was then seriously considered. Hall was torn in two directions. He

\textsuperscript{114} LT, 11 April 1855.
\textsuperscript{115} LT, 15 November 1854, PC 10 November 1854.
\textsuperscript{116} LT, 8 November 1856, PC 6 November 1856; JPPC, Session VII, 6 November 1856, p. 188.
\textsuperscript{117} LT, 20 October 1855, PC 16 October 1855.
\textsuperscript{118} LT, 3 December 1853, PC 23 November 1853.
\textsuperscript{119} LT, 22 April 1854.
\textsuperscript{120} C.C. Bowen, "The Sumner Road", \textit{Canterbury Old and New 1850-1900: a souvenir of the jubilee}, Christchurch, Whitcombe & Tombs Ltd, [1900], p. 60.
had the vision to see the significance and advantages the railway offered but his sense of accountability made him cautious. The outlay of £15,000 in interest payments alone and the severe labour shortage led him to conclude that "a railroad was a luxury beyond their hopes." In the meantime he lent his support to the more realizable scheme of constructing "an open road over the hills". This road, now known as Evans Pass, was opened by Fitzgerald in flamboyant and hazardous style in a dogcart on 24 August 1857. Although it gave better access between port and hinterland, it was still not entirely safe for heavy traffic.

In order to remedy this deficiency, William Sefton Moorhouse, the second superintendent, proposed to construct a tunnel through the hills and link Christchurch and Lyttelton by rail. Hall was among the minority of councillors who opposed the project. While he acknowledged that the railway would "be a great convenience both to Lyttelton and Christchurch", he concluded that "if it were intended to stop road-making the railway would do more harm than good." He gave a higher priority to developing communications with outlying areas like Akaroa and Timaru. He warned that such districts might break away from Canterbury as Hawke's Bay and Marlborough had done from Wellington and Nelson. He lost his amendment to drop the bill and eventually the line was opened to passenger traffic on 9 December 1867 with the journey through the tunnel taking precisely "6 minutes 27½ seconds".

The last physical barrier to communication within the province that had to be overcome was the Southern Alps. This was accomplished by the construction of a road between East and West Canterbury. Since the climate was harsh, the terrain high and rugged and the mountains uncharted, this was a major engineering enterprise and the conditions under which it was completed still command respect. Hall was involved with the project from the start. He supported the proposal when the Council first decided to seek

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121 LT, 15 November 1854, PC 10 November 1854.
122 LT, 22 April 1854.
123 Bowen, pp. 60-61.
124 JPPC, Session X, 1 October 1858, pp. 283-4.
125 LT, 17 December 1859, PC 15 December 1859.
126 LT, 10 December 1867.
127 West Canterbury became Westland in 1868.
a route through the mountains in 1855. Ten years later the discovery of gold at Hokitika gave added urgency to the project for the merchants and citizens of Christchurch who wanted to share in the profits. The Provincial Council went ahead with the road even though the West Coasters were extremely antagonistic to its construction.

By this stage Hall was the secretary for public works and completing the construction was made difficult by controversy over the route and continuous obstruction by political opponents. These problems were exacerbated by adverse weather and a "precarious" labour supply. The presence of the goldfield and its hope of riches made workmen, especially good ones, hard to come by and even harder to retain. Hall persisted in his efforts to have a "safe and easy" route built as quickly as possible. He tackled the project with his usual energy and thoroughness. In the winter of 1865 he traversed the proposed route himself. The road opened in March 1866, and, as Highway 73, it is still a major South Island thoroughfare.

At various times throughout the provincial period, Hall held all bar one of the key social and political positions that Canterbury could offer. He turned down the chance to stand for the superintendency in 1866 but the invitation itself and his invariable electoral success are an acknowledgement of his stature among his contemporaries. While he protected the runholders' interests, he also advanced projects which were of long-term benefit to everyone. His length of service was unrivalled and his role in the executive enabled him to employ his gifts as an administrator to great effect. The qualities and expertise which made him a valuable member of the provincial community were also an asset in the larger arena of colonial politics.

129 LT, 4 July 1855, PC 28 June 1855; JPPC, Session IV, 5 July 1855, p. 143.
130 'Christchurch Impressions of Westland', unsourced and undated clipping in Canterbury Meetings and Speeches 1866-68, Canterbury Subjects 1866-1869, Miscellaneous Extracts 1867 etc., SJHP [CU].
131 LT, 16 August 1865.
132 JH to W. Rolleston, 29 March 1865, Acc. 77-248, Box 1, Rolleston Papers.
CHAPTER 7
GENERAL ASSEMBLY 1856-1873

I love the old country & the old folks at home & always shall but the political connection [with the imperial authorities] I seem to care less & less about every day.¹

Hall’s prominence on the Provincial Council was matched by his contribution to both houses of the colonial parliament in an era of increasing independence from Britain. His career illuminates the relationship between the provincial and colonial governments and between the House of Representatives and the Legislative Council. It also enables us to explore the nature of nineteenth century faction politics, the fluctuations in New Zealand’s economic fortunes and the role of improved communications in eliminating the adverse effects of distance and isolation. As a politician, Hall contributed to the evolution of a society which was British but also distinct from its European parent and the Australian colonies.

Hall’s entry into New Zealand’s second parliament in 1856 coincided with the birth of responsible government. The executive now consisted of ministers drawn from parliament and collectively responsible for their actions to the lower house. While the imperial authorities still determined international relations, the colonial parliament and executive could formulate most of their own internal policy. Although Maori affairs remained under the governor’s control and London still retained the right to veto any measure, the change to responsible government was a crucial transition in the colony’s political history.

Hall’s election to the House of Representatives was straightforward. Henry Sewell supported his candidacy for Christchurch Country District and, amidst unprecedented "bustle and noise", Hall topped the poll by a healthy margin.²

Hall was able to make his mark on colonial politics because he had an assured source of income from a run which did not require his continuous presence. Parliament met in Auckland and the prolonged absences from home necessitated economic independence. As

¹ JH to J.C. Richmond, 9 March 1869, MS y 1093, p. 244, SJHP.
² LT, 31 October and 22 December 1855.
William Fox put it: "official life for any one who has investments which require personal attention is absolute ruin".  

Along with other southern members, Hall endured several inconveniences. In these early years when there were few ships, communications were tardy and erratic and as late as 1862 Hall was arguing that an answer could seldom be obtained from the Government to any communication from the South in less than six weeks, and that two-thirds of the colony were in closer communication with Sydney and Melbourne than with Auckland.  

The handicap of distance was compounded by isolation from family and business interests. On one occasion when political inactivity left Hall unoccupied, he complained:  

...the life one leads now is wearisome indeed; from Thursday last to next Tuesday nothing to do but return calls. No private business to look after, no horses to use, no old chums to pass one's time with, & suffering all the time great inconvenience from absence from home.  

Further disincentives were the rigours of sea travel to Auckland and the unsatisfactory accommodation there. While it was "cheap & sociable" in 1858 for Hall and two other Canterbury members to take rooms in a hotel and have the use of a sitting room at the Auckland club, Hall regretted that there was "little convenience for reading & writing." As monetary compensation for this discomfort, out of town members were awarded an honorarium of £1 per day but even so Hall commented that "one[']s money runs away awfully". Such were these physical and financial demands that 36 percent of the representatives resigned during the life of the parliament.  

There was great uncertainty about what would happen when parliament opened in April 1856. At this time there was no party structure with an established political agenda,  

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3 W. Fox to JH, 25 November 1857, Fol 18, SJHP.  
4 NZPD 1861-3, p. 722.  
5 17 April 1858, MS x 2665, SJHP.  
7 7 April 1858, MS x 2665, SJHP.  
8 A.W. Shrimpton and A.E. Mulgan, A History of New Zealand, Auckland, Whitcombe & Tombs, [1921], p. 197; 19 August 1858, MS x 2665, SJHP.  
only individuals who joined together around a leader. Such factions had no fixed allegiance with the result that patterns of support were constantly changing. Sewell was a natural focus for an alliance because in the period before responsible government he was the only member with ministerial experience. Yet Sewell could only make tentative arrangements. The voyage to Auckland afforded an opportunity for preliminary manoeuvres. Hall left Lyttelton with Sewell on 1 April. Their route took them to Wellington, Nelson and New Plymouth where members came on board. Subsequently, political discussions were initiated and Sewell recorded:

All the way up...I sounded people as to what they were going to do; and what was best to be done. There was no definite plan, except the Wellington one.10

When the voyage ended on 13 April it was clear that the Wellington members led by ‘the three Fs’ - William Fox, Isaac Featherston and William Fitzherbert - were a distinct group because of their ultra-provincialist ideas.

No person arrived in Auckland with the certain expectation of becoming premier nor was it clear which faction would be invited to form a ministry. In the event, on 14 April Governor Browne invited Sewell to form a government. Initially Sewell declined but later accepted noting that

There was not in fact any one else. Fox would have been ready, but that would have involved a Wellington Ultra Provincialist Policy which I disapprove of. Besides Fox is so unpopular in Auckland, that he could not have carried on the Government.11

Hall did not support Sewell and some believed that his attitude stemmed from their conflict in 1855 which was partly responsible for Hall’s resignation from the presidency of the provincial executive.12 But what kept them apart politically was their different views on the relative weight to be apportioned to colonial and local government. Sewell favoured the

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general government whereas Hall wanted to ensure that the Provincial Councils dealt with issues of regional interest such as the squatters' pre-emptive rights. Hall knew that although he and other squatters could dominate Canterbury, they did not have the ascendancy in the whole country.

With opposition from 'the Auckland 8' and from Fox's supporters who included Hall, Sewell's position was precarious. Continuous lobbying generated instability and in this situation, Hall played a vital role in winning over from the Sewell camp John Cuff, the member for Akaroa District. Prior to the crucial vote on Fox's financial resolutions, Hall spoke with Cuff and gave him a copy of them to read at home. As a result, Cuff changed sides and by doing so gave Fox the majority he needed to bring down Sewell's ministry and become prime minister.

Under Fox, Hall became a member of the executive council and accepted the post of colonial secretary, a portfolio usually held by the premier. Five weeks into his very first session he had risen to be one of the top five men in the country. Hall's father wrote that he was "proud" of his son's achievement, seeing the fulfilment of his dream that the Hall brothers would be "pioneers of the age to come". Political pioneering was hardly glamorous. The office accommodation was "wretched", a description endorsed by Sewell who added that the places were "little better than wooden booths." Hall worked around sixteen hours a day and concluded that the "Colonial Secretaryship...is no joke". He also connected the long hours of the political day with a deterioration in his health - a complaint which was to become a recurring theme in his career. He wrote that on future occasions "I shall be compelled to shirk hard work. Two or three days of it, completely knocks me up."
What the transfer of power highlighted was Fox's skill as a political tactician and Hall's interpretation of what was best for Canterbury. Fox rewarded Hall by giving Canterbury special treatment whereby it would retain a larger proportion of its land fund. Where other provinces were to keep three quarters of their land revenue, Canterbury would secure fifteen sixteenths. Hall and Fox justified this on the grounds that Canterbury with its higher land price was contributing disproportionately to the colonial revenue. The arrangement undoubtedly benefited Canterbury but this did not stop Sewell, who identified the province's cause with his own tenure of office, from saying that Hall had "betrayed" his province.19

Hall's decision to side with Fox of Wellington rather than Sewell of Canterbury also offended many in his parochially minded electorate. One correspondent informed him:

I sympathize with the disappointment felt by every member of your Committee and by nearly all your supporters who had fondly hoped that the Canterbury Members to a man would have been united especially on every political subject affecting southern interests.20

This writer represented Fox as "the vilifier of Canterbury" and another attacked Hall for aligning himself with "the selfish & narrow-minded politics of the Wellington Yankees."21

Such were the uncertainties of politics that after three weeks the Fox ministry was toppled when the Zingari brought two Nelson members to Auckland and they returned a majority of one to the opposition. On 29 May Fox resigned and Edward Stafford was invited to form a new cabinet. He invited both Sewell and Hall to join his government even though they had recently been in opposition to each other. Sewell accepted but Hall ultimately refused. Despite Hall's prediction that the new coalition would be short-lived, Stafford stabilized the factions and retained office until July 1861.22

In the parliament of 1858, the Wellingtonians were absent so the opposition was weak. Hall, as a prominent spokesman for the opposition, wrote despairingly that "Anything like serious opposition seems utterly out of the question".23 Stafford entertained Hall

19 H. Sewell to W.J.W. Hamilton, 26 May 1856, Fol. 414, LIXB, Sewell letters, CM.
20 W. Wilson to JH, 17 June 1856, Fol. 17, SJHP.
21 Ibid.; C.C. Bowen to JH, 22 June 1856, Fol. 17, SJHP.
22 JH to W.J.W. Hamilton, 30 May 1856, Box 3, Fol. 11, Item 58, Hamilton Papers, CM.
23 10 April 1858, MS x 2665, SJHP.
socially but reduced him to a marginal role in parliament. Five days into the session Hall concluded:

I have positively no public business to do; if I had known affairs would be thus managed, I never would have come. From the Committee on the Electoral Bills, on which my experience in these matters would have made me useful, my name has been omitted: this evidently for the purpose of escaping any opposition I might offer in Committee, & placing me at a disadvantage when the debate comes on.24

While Hall frequently lamented the futility of an opposition that lacked organization, he did not attempt to form a faction around himself. There is no indication that he wanted to lead nor that he inspired factional loyalty. This put him at a disadvantage as Stafford won critical votes by manipulating personal interests, provincial rivalries and inter-island jealousies.25 He made little attempt at winning Hall’s allegiance but directed his efforts at the waverers. To assure the passage of the Apportionment of Representation Bill, for example, he broke the solidarity of the South Islanders by using his influence over Charles Taylor from Otago who was staying with him, then he bought off the Taranaki members by promising a crucial amendment.26 Hall, outmanoeuvred, could only rue the fact that

Brown & East from Taranaki, who had been talking against the Bill, voted for it, avowedly in consequence of a promise from Stafford that he would introduce a clause providing specially for the case of New Plymouth.27 Similarly, Hall noted that during the debate on the Boundaries of Provinces Bill, crucial allies defected and that "some of the noisy talkers in opposition to the Gov[ernmen]t, did not dare to vote against" it.28

Faced with a ministry in the ascendant, Hall could do no more than seek to make the government accountable and agitated with limited success for the release of material to allow informed debate. Stafford acknowledged the persistence of Hall’s efforts when he singled

24 Ibid., 15 April 1858.
26 15 July 1858, MS x 2665, SJHP.
27 Ibid.
28 Ibid., 26 May 1858.
him out for comment as the honourable member "whose insatiable thirst for information would neither allow a Government to be idle, nor the House to be uninstructed."  

In the absence of the Wellington members, Hall was powerless to do much more than protest when the ministry set about consolidating the position of the central government at the expense of the Provincial Councils. This became apparent when the government introduced the Waste Lands Bill which took authority over waste lands away from the provincial superintendents and gave it to the governor who was to act on the advice of the colonial ministry. Henceforth the superintendents would have only those powers over the waste lands which the governor delegated to them. Hall, believing that the pre-emptive rights of Canterbury pastoralists were targeted for "absolute confiscation", opposed the Bill vehemently but to no avail. The government skilfully engineered a majority and Hall was left lamenting that

Opponents of the Bill had been talked over, & got over by promised concessions...Moorhouse, who at first was open-mouthed against the transfer of the administration now accepts it. Packer alone stood by me in thorough opposition to the Bill.

Hall was equally ineffectual in his attempts to prevent the passing of the New Provinces Bill which gave to the central government power to create new provinces where a sizeable proportion of the population petitioned for separation. The bill’s success dealt "the first severe blow" to the provincial system and established the supremacy of the General Assembly.

Hall sought to offset the boredom and frustration of opposition by taking advantage of what respectable entertainment Auckland had to offer. As the capital city, Auckland was the principal home of the vice-regal family and this gave some events a status and distinction rarely available in the other provinces. Harriet Browne, the governor’s wife, made Government House a major venue for social events by taking responsibility for organizing a variety of functions. Hall attended eight of them and wrote after one: "Mrs Brown[e]

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29 NZPD 1858-60, p. 47.
30 Ibid., pp. 48-9.
31 23 July 1858, MS x 2665, SJHP.
deserves infinite credit for the pains she seems to have taken to bring together, & utilise, the musical talent of Auckland."\(^{34}\) Hall also took advantage of visits to the capital by leaders from abroad. Dining at Stafford's, he had the opportunity to listen to Robert Torrens, recently the premier of South Australia, who had been the leading instigator of a bill which simplified the conveyancing of freehold property.\(^{35}\) Torrens' ideas were later incorporated into New Zealand legislation.

The capital was striving to overcome the roughness of its pioneer origins but Hall did not like the manners exhibited by some prominent Aucklanders.\(^{36}\) In his diary he disparaged Thomas Forsaith, a draper and the member for the City of Auckland who had been at the head of a ministry for three days in 1854:

He seems to be well off, & his table was expensively laid out, but no amount of money could make either him or his family appear gentlemanlike. Money is valuable, but the longer I live the more I am satisfied to value far more education, fine feeling, gentlemanlike breeding.\(^ {37}\)

Hall resigned his seat in 1860 to return to England and did not stand for re-election in 1861. During his first term in parliament, he had succeeded in establishing himself as a capable politician. In a House of young men, the "boyish" looking Hall\(^ {38}\) had demonstrated some of the features which were to become characteristics of his parliamentary work. One commentator had noted that

He is a very neat and earnest speaker, not pretending to eloquence...He exhibited a very considerable knowledge of business, and no member in the house came better prepared as to facts.\(^ {39}\)

Particularly noticeable had been his "awkward trick of rising on his toes when speaking, with a sort of jerk, as if he were pulling up his words with a string." Since other Canterbury

\(^{34}\) 19 April 1858, MS x 2665, SJHP.
\(^{36}\) 27 May 1858, MS x 2665, SJHP; see R.C.J. Stone, Makers of Fortune: a colonial business community and its fall, [Auckland], Auckland University Press, 1973, p. 6.
\(^{37}\) 15 June 1858, MS x 2665, SJHP.
\(^{38}\) L.C. Webb, Government in New Zealand, Wellington, Department of Internal Affairs, p. 41. In 1856 the average age of members of parliament was 39.2 years; LT, 10 September 1856. Hall remedied the "defect" of youth in 1859 by "the assiduous cultivation of his whiskers." The Otago Colonist, 8 April 1859.
\(^{39}\) LT, 10 September 1856.
members had exhibited the same mannerism, the writer had concluded that "It is probably a habit acquired by straining on tiptoe to spy out their sheep on the vast level plain they inhabit."  

By the time he departed New Zealand's shores in March 1860, Hall had proven to himself that he was right to have emigrated and that his confidence in his powers was justified. He had left Britain a competent but frustrated civil servant and returned the possessor of extensive property and a politician who had risen to the rank of minister of the Crown. New Zealand was a less sophisticated and significant arena than England but he had attained wealth and status which he could only have dreamt of had he remained in his native land. His success contrasted starkly with the fate of one of his post office colleagues who had remained behind and lamented that "a man just subsists & nothing more." His friend's income had actually been reduced which made it all the more difficult to support a wife and three children.

For Hall, as we saw in chapter 4, the most decisive event of his year in England was his marriage to Rose Dryden. Henceforward, her companionship and support brought him personal happiness and her ability as a hostess contributed to the success of his political career. They returned to New Zealand together in September 1861 but Hall took no active part in public life until 1862. By then, the Stafford ministry had fallen and Fox was premier. Fox, however, was having difficulties and Crosbie Ward, postmaster general and secretary for crown lands, approached Hall about becoming a member of the Legislative Council. The ministry was concerned at its lack of support in the council, a nominated 'house of review' with the power to reject legislation and to amend all bills except for money bills. Its members enjoyed considerable prestige. Most councillors were large landholders and an increasing proportion consisted of former members of the House of Representatives. Hall was appointed to the council just before the fall of the Fox ministry.

The upper house was on the periphery of power and this is evident in the attitudes of councillors. Hall seldom attended and in this he was typical. He was absent altogether.

40 Ibid.
41 M.R. Eyre to JH, 8 November 1858, Fol. 20, SJHP.
42 M.R. Eyre to JH, 7 September; M.R. Eyre to JH, 8 October 1858, (Fol. 20, SJHP).
43 C.D.R. Ward to JH, 7 June 1862, Fol. 25, SJHP.
in 1863 and his diary shows him busily engaged in the fencing of Rakaia Terrace Station.\footnote{1863, Diary 1863-7, GHHC.} In the brief session of 1864, he joined briefly in the discussion on the defence of the colony, the issue which had the greatest impact on government expenditure, but his major contribution was to introduce the Canterbury Waste Lands Bill which set the rents for pastoral leases until 1 May 1880. In the pastoralist dominated Council, this bill passed through all three readings in a single day and secured two major benefits for big runholders: a ten year extension to the leases and an inversely graduated land tax which put the heavier rates on those who rented less than one thousand acres and favoured those who leased more than five thousand acres.\footnote{NZPD 1864-6, p. 173.}

By the end of 1865, Hall decided to return to the House of Representatives. The colony was around one and a half million pounds in debt\footnote{J. Graham, Frederick Weld, Auckland, Auckland University Press/ Oxford University Press, 1983, p. 84.} and he wrote: "I have never entertained such gloomy thoughts of the prospects of New Zealand as haunt me now."\footnote{JH to [W. Martin?], 1 November 1865, Fol. 31, SJHP.} He considered that in view of the colony's dire financial problems, "a really strong and stable Government" was essential.\footnote{Press, 29 October 1866.} Stafford, Hall's old adversary, was prime minister. His ministry was so weak that for a time he had to take charge of three of the most important portfolios himself.\footnote{Colonial secretary, colonial treasurer and postmaster general.} In Hall's opinion the ministers "were just about as fit to direct political affairs as any three respectable old ladies taken at random from a quiet country village would be to manage a busy railway station." Consequently, in his election campaign, Hall stressed that the "One thing he should endeavour to do with all his heart and soul...would be to oust Stafford and Co."\footnote{LT, 14 November 1865.} The colony had also suffered five years of civil war during which the continuing presence of British troops had meant a measure of imperial interference in Maori affairs which undermined the principle of responsible government. Because the former premier, Frederick Weld, had pursued in 1864 a policy of self-reliance which aimed to phase out imperial troops and substitute colonial ones paid for by the colony, Hall supported his campaign wholeheartedly. Hall thought that it was imperative to get rid of the imperial troops because of "their expense and unfitness for New Zealand warfare" and he believed that

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the colony should "manage its own affairs in its own way". He thought that Weld was most likely to be returned to office and that he himself would then become a member of a government of which he approved.

Hall chose to stand for the constituency of Heathcote because he had represented the district in the Provincial Council and because George Buckley, who had been nominated for the seat, was a separationist. Because it promised to reduce the South Island's financial liability for the North Island's war, separation was popular in some circles in Canterbury. Hall believed separation to be "an evil" and argued that since the debts had already been incurred, separation would not relieve Canterbury of its obligations. He also believed that separation was "unnecessary" because "The Maoris are fast diminishing in numbers, and in three or four years at most, he was convinced that the native troubles would be terminated.

For Hall the first step was to win the Heathcote seat. He held only the occasional meeting, relying instead on his status and established reputation. He also, of course, observed the custom of providing refreshment at the hustings and outlayed £161 8s 4d on liquor for the purpose. The first test was at the nomination in February, where after speeches by nominators and candidates a vote of hands was taken and he beat Buckley by five votes. As was customary, the loser called for a second, more formal decision, and this was conducted by a poll. On this occasion, Hall's success was more decisive as he gained 368 votes to Buckley's 239.

By the time Hall reached Wellington, the political situation had changed. At the end of January 1866, Weld's ill-health had compelled him to retire from politics completely.

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52 LT, 25 and 21 November 1865.
53 H. Russell to JH, 21 January 1866, Fol. 33, SJHP.
54 LT, 15 November 1865. For Hall's markings on Buckley's campaign advertisement, see LT, 9 November 1865, Fol. 283, SJHP.
56 LT, 14 November 1865; Press, 1 March 1866.
57 LT, 14 November 1865.
58 C.W. Bishop to JH, 9 June 1866, Fol. 33, SJHP. I am indebted to Mr Humphrey Meyers for identifying this as a liquor account.
59 Press, 1 March 1866.
60 LT, 2 March, 1866.
Since Weld had no obvious successor, Stafford was now even more firmly in control but he needed to rid himself of his ineffective colleagues. Five months after the election, William Moorhouse, the member for Akaroa, conferred with Stafford and Frederick Whitaker, a Legislative Councillor, and together they concocted "a plot". In the House, Moorhouse moved a vote of no confidence and Stafford's ministry was toppled by a vote of 47 to 14. Following established procedure, Moorhouse as the proposer of the motion was invited to form a ministry himself. He "took time...to allow of political excitement cooling down" before taking the unorthodox step of advising the governor to send for Stafford, the premier who had been so convincingly censured in the House a few days before. Moorhouse put pressure on Hall, who with three of Weld's former colleagues, entered Stafford's new administration. Hall said that "when he was told he was an indispensable link in this Government, he did not feel justified in refusing to join it."

Hall's change of allegiance astounded nearly all his contemporaries. He had gone to Wellington intent on removing Stafford and his ministry but returned to Canterbury as no less a personage than Stafford's postmaster general. He was now a follower of a man whom he had recently "strongly condemned". There were sound reasons for his volte-face. There had been four ministries in four years and, in the absence of Weld, Stafford was the only leader who could muster substantial support. Indeed, with five consecutive years as premier to his name, Stafford was the only man who had proven he could hold an administration together for longer than a year. Hall was a great believer in strong government and he saw that a reconstructed Stafford ministry incorporating the most able members of the opposition offered the best chance of stability. He himself was anxious to join such an administration, for he was a man of action who had little taste for the idleness and frustrations of opposition.

Some of Hall's constituents questioned his changed allegiance. The Lyttelton Times, which was antagonistic to him, listed his promises and the statements he had made about Stafford with the aim of pointing out how far his actions had diverged from his intentions. The letters to the editor ranged from those which denounced him as a "ratter", to those which

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61 Press, 21 August 1866.
62 NZPD 1864-6, p. 890.
63 Press, 14 November 1866; William Fitzherbert, James Richmond and John Richardson.
64 Press, 29 October 1866.
65 Ibid.
66 LT, 30 October 1866.
implied that, like Judas, Hall should hang himself. Hall had also antagonized some people by supporting a stamp duty and The Lyttelton Times claimed that "We are confident that were Mr Hall now to stand for the district he represents, his defeat would be an assured and a signal one." Other members of the electorate felt differently. When Hall addressed a public meeting in Christchurch, a vote of confidence in him was passed by a large majority.

Despite the criticism, both major Canterbury newspapers recognized that, as postmaster general, Hall was a particularly apt choice. One commented that he was "the man of all others to reduce the whole to order and method" and the other stressed "his restless activity, his love of work, and power of mastering details". These qualities were valued because after four years of government instability, not to mention the "calm neglect" of Hall's predecessor, some aspects of departmental procedures and management were in need of review. At the same time, these were years of innovation and expansion and, because Hall had worked in the general post office in Britain when new ideas were being introduced, he himself was well aware that his practical experience there also made him an eminently suitable candidate.

The role of postmaster general was an unusual one. On the surface, it appeared to have only a remote connection with politics, yet to a scattered population far from its native land the postal service was crucial for communication within New Zealand and for maintaining links with family and friends overseas. At the local level, "precedence" for mail deliveries was a source of keen rivalry between neighbouring rural villages on the continually changing frontiers of settlement. One of Hall's ministerial colleagues informed him:

Your department comes more conspicuously into contact with the whole people than any other and the Postmaster General has more power of securing affections or hatred than any Minister.

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67 LT, 27 and 28 September 1866.
68 LT, 22 September 1866.
69 Press, 14 November 1866.
70 LT, 20 August 1866; Press, 29 August 1866.
71 Ibid.
72 JH to A. Barr, 22 May 1867, MS x 907, p. 26, SJHP.
73 Press, 29 August 1866.
74 J.C. Richmond to JH, 13 June 1867, Fol. 37, SJHP.
How sensitive an issue postal communications were became apparent when Hall sought to impose postal charges on newspapers, which had hitherto mostly been conveyed at no cost to the sender both within New Zealand and to addresses overseas. With the increase of the population, the volume of mail had also expanded and rising costs associated with changing circumstances now made this service too expensive to subsidize. The matter came to a head with the introduction of a charge of 11d a pound on both letters and newspapers across the Panamanian isthmus, the new route to Britain. As a member of the opposition, Hall had moved earlier in the session that charges for newspapers be imposed and as postmaster general, he now recommended a levy at the rate of 1d for transit within New Zealand and 3d for delivery overseas. Although Hall reasoned that additional postage would only balance costs, the move was unpopular and only passed into law by a majority of one.

The diverse arguments against this decision reveal the significance of the newspaper in a settler society. The newspaper was seen as a means of uniting a scattered community; it was a major source of information and ideas in a society where "free Government" was held to rest on the availability of "ample information"; and newspapers sent overseas informed the colonists' relatives and friends about New Zealand and promoted further immigration. Hall appreciated these points but he believed that the government could no longer bear the burden of free postage and he did not see how the new charge would seriously undermine the benefits of a thriving colonial press.

Besides balancing the books, Hall was determined to promote the development of a recent innovation which would have a revolutionary impact on distance: the telegraph. He admitted that of the several different departments that came under his jurisdiction as postmaster general, the telegraph department interested him the most. The telegraph had been introduced into New Zealand in 1862 for private and military use and by 1867 757 miles of line had been constructed including the recently finished submarine cable under Cook Strait. Part of the telegraph's value for a sea-bound colony so utterly dependent on ships.

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75 NZPD 1864-6, p. 864.
76 Ibid., Press, 27 September 1866.
77 NZPD 1864-6, p. 1005.
78 Press, 28 September 1866.
79 JH to W.J. Page, 30 May 1868, MS y 1093, p. 79, SJHP.
lay in its speedy provision of more reliable information on shipping. One of Hall’s first directions was that the departure time of all subsidized steamers should be telegraphed between the ports and publicly posted. 81 This made their time of arrival easier to predict and helped to provide a more dependable postal service.

To be really effective, the extension of the telegraph service throughout the country was necessary and Hall gave priority to this project. 82 So far telegraph stations had been established only in the South Island 83 but now that the New Zealand wars seemed to be over one of Hall’s first objectives was to build lines through the North Island. Because of the recent fighting in some areas and the subsequent large-scale land confiscations, European intrusion into Maori territory was an extremely sensitive issue. 84 Hall was well aware of the need for diplomacy and in selecting a route tribal considerations were taken into account and contracts were made with Maori chiefs for poles and labour. 85 In one instance, Te Whiti, one of the leaders at Parihaka, objected to telegraph poles and not until 1876 was the 31 mile gap in the line across his land closed. 86

As a minister, Hall was a distributor of patronage who received many letters asking for work. Some applicants exerted whatever pressure they could. One stated bluntly that "One good turn deserves another" and another relied on the camaraderie of "the old Pilgrim days". 87 While he replied to all letters and recommended some petitioners for vacancies, these were for routine positions. He did not use patronage to make his highest appointments.

Hall’s experience of the frustrations of patronage in Britain encouraged his commitment to promotion by merit. His account of how he appointed the 33 year old Charles Lemon from Oamaru to the newly created position of general manager of telegraphs exemplifies his approach:

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81 LT, 20 August 1866.
82 JH to W.J. Page, 30 May 1868, MS y 1093, p. 79, SJHP.
83 AJHR 1866, D-7A, p. 35.
84 JH to C. Lemon, 8 December 1868, MS y 1907, p. 49, SJHP.
85 C. Lemon to JH, 6 December 1868, p. 46; C. Lemon to JH, 2 November 1868, p. 12, (MS y 1097, SJHP).
87 H.G. Gouland to JH, 23 May 1867, Fol. 37, SJHP; JH to C.R. Blakiston, 17 May 1868, MS y 1093, p. 56, SJHP.
The Department was in a miserable state of disorganization two years ago...In the course of my wanderings I met with a Postmaster in a small Country Town, whose intelligence and activity I was so much struck with, that I brought him up to Wellington and put him at the head of the Department.  

Hall’s decision to promote Lemon was vindicated. Not only did Lemon make the telegraph service "the best managed Department in the Colony" but his research was of such calibre that it won scientific acclaim.  

In filling senior posts, Hall waived the claims of seniority which were recommended as an important consideration in promotion by the 1866 royal commission on the New Zealand civil service. He explained that his priority was "efficiency" and his "rule" for achieving it was that "when offices fall vacant, to fill them with the best men I can find wherever they may come from, and irrespective of seniority." He attached such importance to the choice of personnel that he advised Lemon on what to look for in cadets and recommended that in selecting his most immediate subordinate he should choose "some intelligent zealous officer."  

Hall had to cope with more than the selection and deployment of staff. As the economic crisis of the latter 1860s worsened, he informed a former colleague that he felt "uneasy" with the "retrenchment frenzy". He was relatively fortunate in that in his departments there was no overall decrease in the number of employees. Although some positions were terminated, new types of service opened up as the post office savings bank started to operate in 1867 and the telegraph service expanded. But this did not protect him from a growing stream of increasingly urgent letters asking for employment. Even for less popular jobs there were long waiting lists and he wrote of 93 candidates for the post of lighthouse keeper. So bleak were the prospects that he recommended one man to take up a career in banking as the civil service had become "a peculiarly discouraging  

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88 JH to W.J. Page, 30 May 1868, MS y 1093, p. 79, SJHP.  
91 JH to A. Barr, 22 May 1867, MS x 907, p. 26, SJHP.  
92 JH to C. Lemon, 9 February 1869, p. 236; JH to C. Lemon, 9 October 1868, p. 192, (MS y 1093, SJHP).  
93 JH to W.J.W. Hamilton, 25 June 1868, MS y 1093, p. 110, SJHP.  
94 Carter, p. 93.  
95 JH to C.R. Blakiston, 17 May 1868, MS y 1093, p. 56, SJHP.
employment.96 Often he just had to state frankly "the improbability" of a job's becoming available.97

As postmaster general, Hall was New Zealand's senior delegate at the trans-Tasman postal conference held at Melbourne in March 1867. Population growth and the continual extension of settlement in Australasia had nurtured persistent demands that Britain recognize changing colonial needs. The imperial government, however, made it clear that it would remain the final decision maker since it subsidized the service which carried overseas mails.98 Nevertheless, each colony wrangled to obtain the steamer service which would best satisfy its interest. Hall and his fellow delegate, Crosbie Ward, had no hesitation in consistently making the promotion of the Panama route their priority because it was the most advantageous for New Zealand.99 In the end, the British government refused to alter existing arrangements but the conference was an important milestone. It marked the first time the Australasian colonies deliberated together100 and revealed an awareness of regional interests distinct from imperial ones.

While Hall as postmaster general was fighting to reduce New Zealand's isolation, the spread of settlement and better communications changed the relationship between Provincial Councils and the central government. Where Hall had once staunchly defended the provinces, by 1867 he had lost faith in the provincial system and admitted that

I have worked for [the provinces] in this House in days gone by, and in my own Province I have not spared myself, and still continue to feel a deep interest in them...but I have, day after day, and year after year, felt more strongly, that unless some alteration is made in the position of provincial authorities in this House, the Government of the Colony will become more expensive, more inefficient and more difficult.101

In an effort to stimulate their economies, some provinces had incurred large debts. Consequently, Hall desired to remove some powers from the provincial government, especially the right to borrow money overseas. Another difficulty was that widespread discontent had been created when outlying areas received no direct benefit from revenues

96 JH to [?] Brassey, 30 December 1867, MS x 907, p. 128, SJHP.
97 JH to I.F. Ballard, 18 August 1867, MS x 907, p. 48, SJHP.
98 AJHR 1867, E-2, p. 5.
99 AJHR 1867, E-2; Melbourne Postal Conference 1867, Diary 1863-67, GHHC.
100 Western Australia alone was not represented.
raised in their region by the Provincial Councils. Hall argued that with the growth of rural townships a more appropriate system of local government was needed. He observed that

the Colony itself has outgrown those original institutions for local self-government with which we started, and new centres of population have grown up, some of which have now populations as large as were contained in the original Provinces.

His solution was to strengthen local, as distinct from regional, government and he was instrumental in drawing up the local government bills which the ministry introduced in 1867. Provincialism was still strong enough to defeat the government's most radical proposal, the Local Government Bill. The government succeeded, however, in setting up a local board for Timaru and Gladstone. The measure owed much to Hall, who felt that the Canterbury Provincial Council was unable to administer Timaru adequately from Christchurch.

Hall was no less resolute in his belief that the West Coast was patently not an integral part of the province of Canterbury to which it formally belonged. How arbitrary the union was he emphasized when he declared: "God made [Westland] part of New Zealand, but man made it a part of Canterbury." There were fundamental differences between the two regions. The Southern Alps physically divided them so that the West Coast looked to Australia not Canterbury. East of the mountains pastoralism was the mainstay and the people were predominantly English and Anglican with stone buildings demonstrating commitment to permanent settlement. European habitation in the west had vaulted into existence as recently as 1865 with the discovery of gold. Here diversity in race and religion prevailed, and many diggers had already experienced gold fever in California, Victoria or Otago. Transience was significant in settler society but in mining districts it was even more noticeable as news of supposedly better fields enticed diggers to fresh sites.

103 Ibid., p. 328.
105 Press, 5 January 1866, PC 3 January 1866; Press, 31 December 1866, PC 28 December 1866.
The people of West Canterbury had several grounds for desiring separation from the rest of the province. Their priorities and perspectives differed from those of the councillors in the east but their representatives were too few to be effective in the Provincial Council. Consequently, West Coasters wanted their own administration which was accountable to the local population. Hall alone of the East Coast members of the Provincial Council supported them in their campaign.

It was all very well for Hall to declare that "Westland must have a separate Government"\(^{107}\) but the critical question was what type of administration was most appropriate. Even though West Canterbury had a stronger case for becoming a separate province than Hawke’s Bay and Southland had had in 1858, the mismanagement of Southland had been so disastrous that the ministry would not countenance complete independence.\(^{108}\) Hall personally disapproved of the option of a separate provincial council as "unnecessary, expensive and cumbersome".\(^{109}\) West Coasters could not agree amongst themselves about what type of government they wanted. In Hokitika alone there were three well-defined standpoints.\(^{110}\)

Hall was a leading advocate of the County of Westland Bill both in the region and in the House. A measure of political autonomy was granted but the county structure was an experiment which allowed for central government supervision. Hall and the new system of local government were both put to the test when he became Westland County Council’s first chairman and presided over its first session for seven weeks early in 1868. Bernard Conradson considers that Hall gave the county system a promising start.\(^{111}\) Hall was hopeful success would continue\(^{112}\) but the system had shortcomings and ultimately Westland achieved full provincial status in 1873.

Hall had largely abandoned his provincial perspective but he was well aware that for others it was a potent unifying cause. No man was more capable of arousing passions on the issue than Fox, the former leader of the ultra-provincialist faction. Fox had been absent

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\(^{107}\) *Press*, 31 December 1866, PC 28 December 1866.
\(^{108}\) *Morrell*, pp. 164-6.
\(^{109}\) JH to C. Hoos, 2 September 1867, MS x 907, p. 59, SJHP.
\(^{111}\) Ibid., p. 275.
\(^{112}\) *AJHR* 1868, A-1, p. 61.
overseas for three years and on his return at the end of 1867, Hall attempted to win him into the ministry’s camp because he appreciated that to gain the support of such an influential figure would undercut opposition. In his letter to Fox, he revealed how much he himself had altered his position. He stressed that "the principle of local Government...is no longer represented in New Zealand by Provincial Institutions." He indicated how completely power had shifted when he wrote "If the present Govern[men]t had really been anxious to pull down Provincial Institutions it would have been easy to do it towards the end of last session. But we had no wish of the kind". Fox did not succumb to this approach and in the next session took up his role in the opposition with renewed vigour.

Hall himself was becoming disillusioned with Stafford’s leadership and aired two grievances early in 1868. First, Stafford had overridden Hall’s choice of candidate for a postal position, intruding on Hall’s portfolio as postmaster general. Second, when Hall was chairman of the Westland County Council, he resented the fact that Stafford did not consult him about the appointment of commissioners of the peace for the area and Hall believed this behaviour undermined his authority. Stafford parried both complaints but Hall was not satisfied and in March he asked to resign from cabinet. He told Stafford directly that "we do not get on well together" and that for some time his own health had been deteriorating. Hall was persuaded, however, to remain in office for another year and even undertook extra responsibility.

As a senior member of the Stafford ministry, Hall acted for a short time as colonial treasurer during Fitzherbert’s absence in Britain. The assignment proved a difficult one. He worked within the constraints of Fitzherbert’s guidelines but the ministry was losing ground and he was pitted against increasingly strong attacks from the opposition. Hall thought it unlikely that the ministry would remain in office for long because "[a] strong feeling of personal dislike to Stafford is at the bottom of a good deal of the opposition, especially on the part of Bell, who has been...as busy and unpleasant as a wasp."
As the assaults on the government intensified, Hall attempted to deal with some of the major questions which confronted the nineteenth century New Zealand exchequer. When he took office the most critical of these was handling the colony’s "enormous indebtedness" in a time of serious recession.\textsuperscript{118} From childhood he had been taught bookkeeping and trained to live within his means so he had a particular horror of insolvency. Like many of his contemporaries he believed that the nation’s books should balance. While he regretted the human consequences, he pruned expenditure because he accepted that according to the orthodox fiscal procedure of his day retrenchment was necessary in stringent times. Initially, when he was "fishing for a Budget," he believed the colony’s shortfall was £100,000 and his goal was to reduce expenditure as much as he could.\textsuperscript{119} The alternative of stimulating the economy by further borrowing was not acceptable because this strategy, as practised by some of the provinces, had created the debt. The ministry had already assumed responsibility for the loans which the provinces had incurred and this had required a seven million pound loan\textsuperscript{120} and legislation so that henceforward only the central government would be authorized to raise money overseas.

Hall considered making ends meet by introducing an income tax.\textsuperscript{121} He knew, however, that in the face of demands to lower taxation the move would have been unpopular and he felt "fairly frightened" when he read how the system operated in Britain.\textsuperscript{122} Instead, he was reduced to hoping that the discovery of gold at Thames south of Auckland would improve the colony’s finances.\textsuperscript{123}

One way in which Hall proposed to curtail some of the government’s expenditure was to cut down on defence spending, where he anticipated he would make a £152,149 saving on the previous year’s outlay.\textsuperscript{124} Even as he chiselled the last £50,000 off the estimates, however, the government was confronted with a new and expensive outbreak of war when in June 1868 Titokowaru reacted to the "creeping confiscation" of Maori land by renewing hostilities in Taranaki.\textsuperscript{125} Hall subscribed to the colonists’ belief in European supremacy

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\item \textsuperscript{118} JH to J.L.C. Richardson, 24 February 1868, MS y 1093, p. 23, SJHP.
\item \textsuperscript{119} JH to W.J. Page, 30 May 1868, MS y 1093, p. 78, SJHP.
\item \textsuperscript{120} JH to J.R. McCulloch, 10 October 1867, MS x 907, p. 77, SJHP.
\item \textsuperscript{121} JH to Stafford, 14 January 1868, MS x 907, p. 134, SJHP.
\item \textsuperscript{122} JH to W.J. Page, 30 May 1868, MS y 1093, p. 78, SJHP.
\item \textsuperscript{123} JH to W. Fitzherbert, 7 July 1868, MS y 1093, p. 124, SJHP.
\item \textsuperscript{124} NZPD 1868, Vol. III, pp. 85-86.
\item \textsuperscript{125} JH to W. Fitzherbert, 7 July 1868, MS y 1093, p. 124, SJHP; J. Belich, \textit{I Shall Not}
and his expectation was that hostilities would be short-lived. He was forced to revise his opinion when Titokowaru remained undefeated. There were five campaigns lasting until November 1869 but the government only regained control because Titokowaru's support evaporated. The escalating amounts of money spent on these campaigns wrecked Hall's budget and the situation was exacerbated further with a second front opening in November 1868 when Te Kooti escaped from imprisonment on the Chatham Islands and massacred 29 people in Poverty Bay. Within a week Hall was forced to advise cabinet that the coffers were rapidly becoming depleted.

Maori insurgence revived settler nightmares of atrocities and public hysteria made it difficult for the government to dispense with the remaining imperial regiment. This dependence on non-colonial troops was anathema to Hall. He was a staunch advocate of self-reliance, considering the use of British soldiers to be "vicious and demoralizing." He, more than anyone else in cabinet, believed that calling upon imperial troops to engage in the fighting would be a retrogressive step and enable Whitehall once more to take over control of Maori matters in the colony. Even he conceded, though, that politically this was not the most opportune time for the 18th regiment to leave the colony.

By the end of 1868, Hall was extremely unwell and anxious to be relieved of all responsibility. Concern with his health was one of his preoccupations. It had contributed to his decision to leave Britain in 1852 and ten years later his physician felt impelled to advise him:

Your ailment is not one belonging to any special function but one of general weakness...You have a great amount of head work to go through...Such work to many men does not prove trying to the constitution, but you do your work so earnestly...Give up night work & hard reading...If you cannot diminish the quantity of your work, you ought not to deem it your bounden duty to throw your whole soul into whatever you have to perform. Believe me...
earnest work of the mind is more trying to the physical form than hedging or ditching.  

Hall’s temperament and dutiful habits made it difficult for him to heed such warnings and one of his colleagues jested that Hall

is a fellow who gets up before he goes to bed, and never shuts his eyes unless he has floored three lawyers, and passed six bills of 400 clauses through the House.

These exertions took their toll but such were the different expectations of a politician in the nineteenth century that Hall could admit to possible "break down" and contemplate a lengthy absence from the House without its in any way having any adverse effect on his subsequent career. He believed that the only way he could ensure "a thorough rest" was to undertake the common remedy of "a trip" to England. By the end of 1868 he was so exhausted that he was glad when the end of the session brought his "release" and he could retire with his family to Rakaia Terrace Station. He officially resigned from cabinet in February 1869 but he retained his seat in the House. He was still not robust and his wife acted as his secretary.

Despite his poor health, Hall was still considered a potential asset on the ministerial bench. He had been a member of Stafford’s ministry but this did not prevent Fox, who had ousted Stafford in June 1869, from inviting him to join his cabinet early in 1870. Hall refused. Fox, assisted by Francis Dillon Bell, one of his ministers, persisted in his attempts to win Hall’s support.

Fox and Bell put pressure on Hall to accept the prestigious position of minister of public works in the middle of 1871. This newly created portfolio was at the heart of the government’s new financial policy. Although, Fox was nominally the premier, the dominant figure in his administration was Julius Vogel, the colonial treasurer. In his financial statement to the House in June 1870, Vogel had announced the government’s plan to break New

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130 J.S. Turnbull to JH, [-] November 1862, Fol. 25, SJHP.
131 J.L.C. Richardson to JH, 14 October 1867, Fol. 40, SJHP.
132 JH to W.J. Page, 8 January 1868, MS x 907, p. 131, SJHP.
133 JH to W.J. Page, 5 October 1868, MS y 1093, p.159, SJHP.
134 J. Studholme to JH, 20 March 1870, Fol. 56, SJHP.
135 W. Fox to JH, 30 June 1871, Fol. 61, SJHP; F.D. Bell to JH, 7 August 1871, Fol. 62, SJHP.
Zealand's economic stagnation by borrowing £10 million from overseas to fund a public works and immigration scheme which would develop the colony.136

Hall had doubts about Vogelism. He was reluctant to oppose Vogel's extremely popular proposals outright but sought to limit the expenditure which they involved.137 He joked grimly in a letter to Rolleston that the Moon would be the next place to be voted funding for a railway, adding that he "disapproved" of much that the government had done.138 He declined the government's invitation to head the public works department, saying he did not wish to be politically inconsistent or be seen as an office seeker.139

Fox continued to urge Hall to join the ministry.140 By November 1871, Hall was willing to join a coalition ministry but was not prepared to do so unless Stafford accompanied him.141 Stafford refused and Hall declined Fox's offer on the grounds of ill health.142

Fox tried a new tactic in July 1872. He invited Hall to lead the government in the Legislative Council. Here the hours would be more congenial and others could assist Hall in his duties.143 Fox also offered to remove policy proposals which Hall could not support.144 This time Hall acceded to Fox's request and on 19 July resigned from the House and took up his seat in the Council. A few weeks later the Fox ministry lost office and Stafford temporarily returned to the premiership but in October the Vogel faction was reinstated with George Waterhouse as nominal leader instead of Fox. Hall was made colonial secretary and resumed his representation of the government in the Council. He remained anxious about his health and in March the following year he resigned to take a trip overseas.

This decision sparked off a political crisis as Waterhouse followed Hall by resigning from the ministry. Hall was aware that Waterhouse had considered such a resignation but

138 JH to W. Rolleston, 26 August 1871, MS 446, 37, Rolleston Papers.
139 JH to W. Fox, 6 [July] 1871, MS y 1093, SJHP.
140 JH to W. Rolleston, 22 August 1871; JH to W. Rolleston, 26 August 1871, (MS 446, 37, Rolleston Papers).
141 JH to W. Rolleston, 10 November 1871, MS 446, 37, Rolleston Papers.
142 JH to W. Fox, 18 November 1871, Fol. 62, SJHP.
143 W. Fox to JH, 5 July 1872, Fol. 66, SJHP.
144 W. Fox to JH, 8 July 1872, Fol. 66, SJHP.
believed he had prevailed upon the premier to change his mind. Waterhouse claimed that he had remained silent to prevent Hall staying on in office to the detriment of his health. The governor was "simply furious" and, at his request, Hall did what he could to change Waterhouse's mind but to no avail.

Hall's talents as a politician stand out in this earlier period of his career. No matter who was in power, invitations were issued to him to join the ministry. He was not himself a faction leader, nor was he a core member of any faction, but his administrative competence, his mastery of information relating to the business of government and the strength which this mastery gave him made him an asset to any government. Consequently, all sought to strengthen themselves by recruiting him. Hence he returned to Britain in 1873 well-established in his career as a colonial politician. He was conversant with the strategies of faction politics and had been responsible for a variety of ministerial portfolios. He was familiar with the procedures of both Houses and had represented New Zealand overseas. All of this was valuable experience which stood him in good stead when he returned to the House at the end of the decade and became premier.

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145 JH to [?], n.d., Fol. 70, SJHP.
146 G.M. Waterhouse to JH, 17 February 1873, Fol. 70, SJHP.
147 Ibid.
148 G.F. Bowen to JH, 17 February 1873, Fol. 70, SJHP; JH to G.M. Waterhouse, n.d., Fol. 70, SJHP.
CHAPTER 8
PREMIERSHIP 1879 - 1882

...as a rule with Cabinets all the members must in many respects forego their own opinions in deference to those of the majority. In fact the whole government is carried on by compromises & cannot be otherwise.¹

Political aspirations were far from Hall’s mind as he sailed to England with his wife and family early in 1873. He at first kept no diary, so we know very little about the first eighteen months of his time away from New Zealand. Only in 1875 does his diary tell us how he occupied his time overseas. He spent time with his children, especially his sons, taking them to such attractions as the pantomime, Kensington Gardens and the Tower of London. He travelled with his wife for a month on the Continent, principally in Germany and Switzerland where he delighted in revisiting St Gall where he had gone to school. London offered a greater range of goods than was available in New Zealand so he was busy purchasing items like saddles, stable fittings and tree seeds which would benefit Rakaia Terrace Station, together with carpets, hearth tiles and a dinner service which would add to the comfort and attractiveness of life at the homestead. He went occasionally to the theatre and the opera. He renewed contact with his wider family, the friends of his youth and the Leathersellers Guild to which he had belonged prior to his emigration. For the rest, his activities were influenced by his expatriate status. He attended meetings of the Colonial Institute and socialized with other notable people who had experienced life in New Zealand. For eight months in 1875, he met frequently with Julius Vogel when the latter came to London to raise another loan, and perhaps acted as an intermediary between him and the agent general, Isaac Featherston, with whom Vogel had a poor relationship. He was active as a member of the board of the New Zealand Shipping Company which was engaged in carrying immigrants.² He retained strong links with New Zealand and made no attempt to put down new roots in the old country. He was an Englishman, but very much a colonial one.

¹ F. Whitaker to JH, 30 September 1880, MS y 1102, p. 167, SJHP. I have corrected the punctuation.
By the time Hall returned to New Zealand in January 1876, he had lost his seat in the Legislative Council because the governor had neglected to inform the speaker that Hall had been granted leave of absence. But he was in no hurry to resume political life and he politely declined Vogel’s offer of a place in the government. Vogel persisted and Hall travelled to Wellington to discuss the matter. He admitted that he did not entirely agree with Vogel’s policies and refused to join the ministry. He was, however, reappointed to the upper house.

Although nominal leadership had changed as Vogel’s travels to Britain had necessitated others taking over as premier, he had effectively been at the head of the ministry since 1870. There had been little change in the executive and the phrase ‘Continuous Ministry’, used to describe the government, already had unfavourable connotations. By 1876 Vogel’s policies were foundering. Large scale immigration had inflated land prices so that the recent arrivals, the majority of whom lacked capital, were unable to invest in farming. As a result, the expected rise in the country’s productivity which was needed to pay back the loans had failed to materialize. Hall summed up the ministry’s declining fortunes when he wrote that the main reason the government remained in office was the "want of any other possible Ministry."

The opportunity for new leadership, a reconstructed ministry and a more moderate policy came in June 1876 when Featherston died unexpectedly in London. Vogel was keen to return to Britain and take up the position of agent general and there was a measure of relief at his departure. Although rumours abounded as to who would succeed Vogel as premier, Hall remained aloof from the discussion. John Ormond, Edward Stafford and William Fitzherbert were all seriously considered but Hall made no effort to form a faction even though his name was also mooted for the premiership. Nor did he seek out ministerial office. He noted in his diary:

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4 J. Vogel to JH, 16 February 1876 and JH to J. Vogel, 19 February 1876, Fol. 79, SJHP.
5 J. Vogel to JH, 24 February 1876, Fol. 79, SJHP; 31 March and 1 April 1876, Diary 1875-1876, GHHC.
6 JH to J. Vogel, 1 April 1876, Fol. 79, SJHP.
7 14 August 1876, Diary 1875-1876, GHHC.
8 Ibid., 23 August 1876.
9 Ibid., 28 August 1876.
Cabinet making going on all day. Atkinson asked me; [I] said [I would] only join if he could not possibly do without me...Dined at Bellamy's & went to Theatre. After that heard that Whitaker and Ormond had agreed to join, & they had put me down for the Colonial Secretaryship.10

In the end, Atkinson made Hall a minister without portfolio.

By giving Hall a position on the executive council, Atkinson unwittingly created a constitutional crisis. The size of cabinet had been limited by act of parliament in 1873 to seven paid ministers and Atkinson believed that because Hall as minister without portfolio received no salary, he could be included in the cabinet. It was pointed out in the Council, however, that all cabinet members received a travel allowance, and that Hall was, therefore, technically in receipt of payment from the Crown. When select committees from both houses reported that the law had been broken, the whole cabinet resigned.11 Hall was omitted when it was reconstituted. To prevent further embarrassment, Hall also retired from the council but was immediately reappointed.12 He continued to support Atkinson and when illness prevented Daniel Pollen from representing the government in the upper house, Hall's offer to take over was accepted.13

As premier, Atkinson was more concerned with his duties as colonial treasurer than with engaging in the manoeuvres of faction politics and in October 1877 the head of the opposition, Sir George Grey, the former governor, replaced him as prime minister. So great was the dissatisfaction over what Sir Francis Dillon Bell called Atkinson's "wretched generalship" that by 1878 his former followers were seeking a new leader of the opposition.14 Various members of the faction lobbied the most likely candidates among whom Hall was becoming a prime target.15 As early as February 1878, Edward Stevens, the member for Christchurch city, had entreated Hall to become leader of the opposition but Hall declined.16 After trying twice more,17 the disappointed Stevens concluded:

10 Ibid., 30 August 1876.
12 13 September 1876, Diary 1875-1876, GHHC.
13 Ibid., 27 September 1876.
14 F.D. Bell to JH, 21 December 1877, Fol. 85, SJHP.
16 28 February 1878, Diary 1877-78-83, GHHC.
17 Bohan, pp. 18-19.
We hoped something could be done with Hall but he is timid and won't move before a general election even if he does then. He thinks "more rope" is the thing for Grey and I think he dreads the task before any new administration.\textsuperscript{18}

Less reluctant to lead the assault on Grey was William Fox. He had already been premier four times and was an even more talented leader of the opposition. Grey was vulnerable to attack. Some of his policies had hardened opposition to him, his autocratic leadership had recently contributed to the resignation of two of his ministers and the advent of serious recession had undermined the government's pursuit of Vogelism. Fox's no confidence motion passed by fourteen votes and brought about the dissolution of parliament in July 1879.\textsuperscript{19}

Grey exploited the election to the full. He boosted his popular standing by undertaking a stumping tour throughout the colony, an innovation which had proved successful the year before. His aim was to disguise his own shortcomings as a leader and the failure of his faction to enact legislation. He deliberately adopted the label 'liberal' for himself and his policies in order to exploit the positive moral connotations that the word enjoyed in Australasia. He claimed to be engaged "in the struggle for the general freedom of the mass of mankind" and promised to widen the franchise by enacting manhood suffrage and to introduce tax and land reform. Against this, he portrayed the large landowners as jealously guarding power and privilege and in Christchurch specifically mentioned Hall among this elite.\textsuperscript{20}

By making out that there were important party differences, Grey hoped to gain two advantages. First, he stigmatized his opponents as 'conservatives', a damning description in the colonial context. Second, since 'liberal' signified progress and development, Grey also implied that those who did not follow him were antagonistic to the reforms he advocated. Grey was correct in alleging that his opponents were not as democratic as he was but his assertion that 'the Liberal party' alone would legislate for change was false. Most parliamentarians acknowledged the need for reform. Hall, for instance, agreed that all men who were resident in the colony should have the vote but, unlike Grey, he also wished to

\textsuperscript{18} E.C.J. Stevens to E. Stafford, 9 January 1879, quoted in Bohan, p. 19.
\textsuperscript{19} \textit{NZPD} 1879, Vol. XXXI, pp. 76, 303-4. The vote was 47:33.
\textsuperscript{20} \textit{Press}, 25 August 1879.
shore up the rights of property. Grey's insistence on party division, therefore, was exaggerated. Personality and provincial interest cut across factional lines and his claims for the existence of party discipline and organization was premature. These evolved only after the Liberals gained office in 1891.21

Meanwhile, prompted by Waterhouse and Dillon Bell, Hall had resigned from the Council22 and had set about finding a suitable electorate for the House of Representatives. He had received a tentative invitation to be a candidate in his old electorate of Heathcote23 but success there was doubtful as the incumbent was a cabinet minister and well supported.24 Much more attractive was the prospect of the uncontested seat of Selwyn. Here the sitting member wished to resign and earlier in the year he had offered Hall the seat.25 On 14 August Hall announced his candidacy for the Selwyn district where he was elected unopposed.26

It was as well for the opposition that Hall had been elected, for Grey's tactics and his skill as an orator won him popular support and he made great gains in the election. A large number of his opponents, including Fox, were defeated. Hall was now prepared to lead the opposition and Fox himself endorsed his claims to be his successor.27

The result of the election as it affected the relative status of the factions was not clear immediately. There were 34 new members whose allegiance was untested28 and both sides were soliciting their support. Grey was cunning and not to be underrated. He had long ago won a reputation for not speaking the truth.29 For the opposition, Waterhouse, in particular,

22 G.M. Waterhouse to JH, 23 April 1879, p. 3h; F.D. Bell to JH, 16 August 1879, p. 44, (MS y 1098, SJHP).
23 A.P. O'Callaghan to JH, 4 August 1879, MS y 1098, p. 43, SJHP.
24 Bohan, p. 87.
25 C.A. Fitzroy to JH, 14 May 1879, MS y 1098, p. 20, SJHP.
26 Press, 14 August 1879.
27 W. Fox to JH, 6 September 1879, MS y 1098, p. 54, SJHP.
relayed to Hall information and advice from the capital and exhorted him to come to Wellington "to watch and counteract [Grey's] movements" because he "will leave no stone unturned to detach some of your expected votes."30 The position was constantly changing so that on 12 September Waterhouse wrote that those who opposed Grey had "a clear but small majority" but three days later reckoned "a tie" was more likely.31 In addition, newspapers provided their own assessments and one accorded the anti-Greyites 43 seats, the Greyites 39 seats with 6 seats remaining doubtful.32 Circumspection was necessary in interpreting such reports. The Lyttelton Times, which supported Grey, announced as its election result: Grey 45 seats, the opposition 40 seats and 2 undecided.33

Hall was called on to employ a variety of lobbying manoeuvres. Among the newly elected members who were thought to be undecided were Edward Masters, Patrick McCaughan and Frederick Whitaker, son of the former premier. Waterhouse advised Hall to write to them and gain their support, adding that "Grey knows the value of a little personal attention and is sure not to leave its effects untried."34 All three ended up voting with Hall after the opposition caucus unanimously made him its leader on 25 September.35 Waterhouse also recommended that in his post-election address to his constituency Hall stress electoral reform. Not only would this appeal to the influential William Levin but "The effect upon the public mind [w]ould not fail to be good & it would give your party a rallying cry of which they stand in need."36

Hall and the opposition were optimistic but Grey was still the premier. The House which had been strongly against him ultimately proved to be evenly poised. His ministers believed that if they could survive the first week of the session, they would retain office.37 Consequently, Grey immediately pressed for the House to adjourn whereas Hall at his first opportunity gave notice that he would move a vote of no confidence.38 Loyalities were to be put to the test on Hall's amendment to the address in reply that

30 G.M. Waterhouse to JH, 14 September 1879, MS y 1098, p. 58, SJHP.
31 G.M. Waterhouse to JH, 12 and 15 September 1879, MS y 1098, p. 56-57, SJHP.
33 LT, 17 September 1879.
34 G.M. Waterhouse to JH, 12 September 1879, MS y 1098, p. 56, SJHP.
35 Press, 26 September 1879.
36 G.M. Waterhouse to JH, 12 September 1879, MS y 1098, p. 56, SJHP.
37 G.M. Waterhouse to JH, 19 September 1879, MS y 1098, p. 64, SJHP.
Whilst...we are prepared to give effect to the liberal measures desired by the country, we feel bound to submit to your Excellency that your Excellency's Government, as at present constituted, does not possess the confidence of this House.  

Hall's text was shrewd. In announcing his own 'liberal' intentions, he distanced his faction from the odium attached to the 'conservatism' which Grey attributed to it. He called his supporters "the independent Liberal party" and labelled his opponents "Greyites" and "'dependent' Liberals". And he contradicted Grey's claims that his 'party' alone would bring in electoral reform.

Hall's spoke to his motion of no confidence on 30 September 1879. He had few figures to draw on because for fifteen months Grey's administration had issued no financial statement. He could point, however, to "extravagance" by citing "the unreasonable use of the Government steamers" and illustrate the ministry's failure to economize by referring to civil service expenditure. Grey had promised to cut costs in this area by £100,000 but instead had increased spending by £8,000 one year and £7,000 the next. What appalled Hall most, though, was that, at five millions pounds, the amount of the loan currently being negotiated in London was unprecedented. The division was taken on 3 October. Hall won by a majority of two and on 6 October the governor, Sir Hercules Robinson, invited him to form a government. Two days later Hall announced his cabinet. He had misgivings about the task ahead of him and informed one acquaintance:

I have gone into harness again very much against my own inclination, but the times & the occasion were such that no man had a right to hold back if he could do any good. I look back with a sigh to the good old days when the Colony lived within its income, & the bulk of its Representatives were honorable patriotic men. Now we are in troublesome times, & it will be all the best pilots can do to keep the ship off the rocks.

Ibid., p. 32.
Ibid., p. 392.
Ibid., pp. 32 and 34.
Ibid., p. 162. The vote was 43:41.
Grey did not resign immediately and Thompson suggests that Grey hoped to win back the support of an unnamed member who had voted against him and then have another division. Thompson, p. 51.
JH to [?] Elliott, 25 December 1879, MS x 908, p. 64, SJHP.
Hall was also aware that the upheaval involved in his becoming premier would have an impact on his family and he wrote of his wife a few months later: "She has not yet become reconciled to the bustle of her present life, and pines for the quiet life of the old sheep station." Nonetheless, Rose fulfilled her duties as hostess with "tact and discretion" and at her death it was said that

Her quiet but ready hospitality to men of all sides in politics will still be remembered. She did a great deal to maintain the friendly feeling which existed in private life between members of the different parties of the day.

With both parents resident in Wellington for most of Hall's time in office, their three sons were separated from the rest of the family. The youngest attended a school at French Farm on Banks Peninsula where it was hoped that the emphasis on physical fitness would improve his health. In the tradition of the English public school, the older two boarded at Christ's College in Christchurch. For their holidays they divided their time between Rakaia Terrace Station and the capital. The Halls' daughters went to Wellington with their parents. For his part, John Fountaine added to the family provisions through the regular despatch of a hamper containing such home comforts as wine, eggs, honey and poultry.

Grey did not accept defeat gracefully. He had already stated that Hall's transfer from the upper to the lower house was "an unconstitutional interference". He argued that since appointment to the Legislative Council was "binding on the Crown for life, the obligation implied mutuality" and that on these grounds "he had not advised" the governor to accept Hall's resignation especially as Hall had once before resigned from the Council to take a seat in the House. Robinson, however, supported Hall by sending him a memorandum to read to the House which stated that Hall had done nothing either "improper" or unusual. The governor also said that he declined "to lend himself to any device for placing one of the Premier's political opponents under a disability not imposed by law." He accused Grey of speaking "only half the truth" and said that by not requesting the governor's permission to reveal to the Assembly what they had discussed, Grey himself had acted unconstitutionally.

47 JH to H. Carleton, 24 February 1880, MS x 932, p. 37, SJHP.
48 Press, 14 May 1900.
49 JEF to JH, 8 May 1880, HC.
50 NZPD 1879, Vol. XXXII, p. 41.
51 Ibid., 21 October 1879, pp. 397-9. Original of memorandum, MS y 1102, SJHP.
Grey resigned as head of the opposition immediately and was replaced by James Macandrew from Port Chalmers. Such was the strength of provincial ties that two Otago members now switched their allegiance from Hall to Macandrew. Theoretically, this now gave the opposition a majority of two and Macandrew advised the House of his intention to bring in a vote of no confidence. Hall, however, managed to postpone the vote because the ministry had not yet presented its policy.

Hall had a strategy for securing his position. By making the Triennial Parliaments Bill the first piece of legislation to be brought before the House, he directly assaulted the opposition's 'liberal' platform and challenged opponents' scepticism about his commitment to electoral reform. Despite the promises Grey had made in 1877, under his ministry the bill had only proceeded to its first reading. On 10 October, two days after announcing his cabinet, Hall moved that the bill have its second reading and surpassed "the liberality of the late Government" by amending the bill so that it would come into force immediately. Grey had intended it to come into effect only after the present House had served its five year term. This meant that to defeat the 'conservative' government the 'liberal' opposition had to argue against an even more liberal version of its own measure. The commitment to electoral reform won over to Hall the independent support of two Canterbury members who had previously voted as independents with the opposition.

Hall was fighting for survival and his next step was audacious and unprecedented. On 23 October he obtained a written commitment from four Auckland members that they would change allegiance and support him in any want of confidence measure. Subsequently known as 'the Auckland rats', William Colbeck, William Hurst, William Swanson and Reader Wood stipulated eleven conditions for their defection, three promoting electoral reform and

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54 JH to J. Macandrew, 13 October 1879, MS y 1098, p. 96, SJHP. Grey had used the same tactic in October 1878.
55 Thompson, p. 46.
57 Ibid., p. 181.
58 They were Harry Allwright and Samuel Andrews.
six favouring their province. Among its provisions, the compact guaranteed to redistribute
the parliamentary seats but not to decrease Auckland's allocation of members, to put
Auckland's school buildings and playgrounds on a par with those elsewhere and to ensure a
"fair share" of loans for public works. 59 Specific details were not written down but there
was speculation in the House that Auckland was to receive £500,000. 60 The deal with the
Aucklanders was first debated in parliament on 24 October but Hall successfully resisted
pressure to publicize its contents. 61 He now had a decisive majority and, outmanoeuvred,
Macandrew withdrew his motion of no confidence. 62

For the rest of his term in office, Hall's majority remained secure. Having ousted
Grey and lost the four Aucklanders, the opposition failed to develop any cohesion. Regional
rivalry prohibited an alliance between the Auckland and Otago members who were its core
so that while Grey and Macandrew, 63 the respective provincial leaders, had a following,
neither was strong enough to be the one effective head. Consequently, despite the mounting
criticism of the ministry's policies only one supporter moved to open opposition, although
several men shifted their support and voted as independents. 64

Subsequent electoral legislation enacted by the Hall ministry was intended to counter
Grey's claim to exclusive interest in reform. Hall's commitment, however, was merely
tactical. He recognized that change was inevitable and, fearing the consequences of male
democracy, he wanted to introduce it himself in order to protect the position of the
pastoralists, the traditional ruling group. In the 1879 session eight electoral bills were
introduced and three, including the Triennial Parliaments Bill, became law. By the time the
parliamentary term ended in 1881, another four had been passed. 65 The most significant
reform was universal manhood suffrage subject only to a residence test of six months
residence in the electorate and one year in the colony. This was an important democratic
advance and was backed up by other changes which had important egalitarian implications.

59 23 October 1879, Fol. 41, MS Papers 1619, Seddon Family, WTU.
60 NZPD 1879, Vol. XXXII, pp. 530 and 534.
61 Ibid., pp. 528-56 and 564-77.
62 Ibid., p. 578.
63 Later replaced by William Montgomery of Canterbury.
64 Fletcher, pp. 106-18. The one who crossed the floor was Andrews.
65 The acts passed by the Hall ministry were: The Qualification of Electors Act; The
Registration of Electors Act; The Triennial Parliaments Act; The Election Petitions
Act; The Regulation of Elections Act; The Corrupt Practices Prevention Act; and The
Representation Act.
One alteration increased the likelihood of working men’s voting by extending polling hours and another created smaller electorates which would reduce the cost of campaigning and thereby enable those with more modest means to stand as candidates. As a large landowner, however, Hall feared that the votes of propertyless workers would predominate and he made sure that the legislation contained other clauses which blunted the democratic impulse. One clause perpetuated plural voting, which allowed men to vote in every electorate in which they held property. The effect of this clause was restricted by the Regulation of Elections Act which specified that each election should be held on the same day throughout the colony, instead of over several days as had been customary. A far more significant restriction on democracy was the introduction of the ‘country quota’ in 1881. Hall himself introduced the measure, which secured an advantage for inhabitants of rural areas because all country electorates required one third fewer residents than urban ones. This distorted the representation of sectional interests because eminent men of property like himself dominated the country seats whereas "popular" members and those with little wealth and status had better chances in city electorates. So the Hall ministry’s introduction of manhood suffrage was severely qualified.

As Hall’s worries about factional support declined, those connected with his executive were beginning. Forming a ministry had not been easy and John Bryce, who was reluctant to join, later recounted how Hall

must have seen in my face how it was with me, but the politician within him came forth and he put the question before me in such a way that I had no choice in the matter, or so it seemed to me.67

In order to have the freedom to secure allegiances, Hall deliberately started short-handed68 and this meant that he and his ministers had to carry a greater amount of executive responsibility than was desirable. Hall himself wrote that while "a Premier ought to have little or no departmental work", he had "been almost smothered" by being colonial secretary, defence minister and postmaster general.69 This revived his anxiety about his own health

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66 The ratio changed in 1887 and 1889 but the country quota remained in force until 1945.
67 Press, 1 July 1907.
68 The limit was seven Europeans and two Maori. McLintock and Wood, p. 158.
69 JH to J. Vogel, 1 January 1880, MS x 908, p. 82, SJHP.
and three months after taking office he informed one of his ministers: "Myself overdone with office work and feel as if I might knock up any day."

Eight men were associated with Hall's cabinet at various times. Initially, it comprised Frederick Whitaker, attorney general, who also represented the ministry in the Legislative Council; Harry Atkinson, colonial treasurer and commissioner of customs; Richard Oliver, public works; William Rolleston, lands and immigration; John Bryce, native affairs; and Henare Tomoana, appointed as minister without portfolio to represent Maori interests. Thomas Dick joined in March 1880 relieving Hall of the colonial secretaryship and a year later the last member was added when Walter Johnston became postmaster general. No one sectional group dominated cabinet. Tomoana was a Maori chief; Dick was an auctioneer; Johnston and Oliver were businessmen and Whitaker was a lawyer; Bryce and Atkinson were bush pioneers, Rolleston was a small farmer and Hall was a pastoralist.

Provincial origin was more important than ability in the selection of ministers and Hall was extremely conscious that his original cabinet contained two Canterbury members and only one each from Auckland, Taranaki, Wellington and Otago. Subsequently, even though Canterbury could furnish several talented candidates, Hall appointed Johnston ahead of them because Johnston came from the Manawatu, a region which was not represented in the executive. Johnston was Hall's third choice for the vacancy and one contemporary wrote:

I do not think a worse appointment could have been made. It adds neither industry nor administrative experience to the Cabinet. It lends Embarrassment to ministers' position on the Education question. It disarms no opposition...& it leaves the Arabs - two at least of whom are able & dangerous free to form combinations.

Hall had difficulties in maintaining his ministry. Resignation from the House had been commonplace and some of this impermanence extended to cabinet members. All, bar

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70 Decoded version of JH to F. Whitaker, [- January] 1880, MS x 908, pp. 231-5, SJHP.
71 Thompson, p. 158; JH to F. Whitaker, 6 February 1881, MS x 933, pp. 40-41, SJHP
72 Fletcher, p. 114.
73 E.C.J. Stevens to H. Atkinson, 11 March 1881, Fol. 13A, MS 91, Atkinson Papers, WTU.
74 For a discussion of resignation 1869-1890 see R. Dalziel, 'The 'Continuous Ministry' Revisited', NZIH, Vol. 21, No. 1, April 1987, pp. 46-61.
two of his cabinet, tendered their resignations at least once. The first upset concerned Tomoana and came a little over a fortnight after Hall took office. Prior to announcing his executive, Hall had held two meetings with Tomoana to discuss the role of the minister without portfolio in native affairs. The use of a translator in these negotiations bred misunderstanding and some embarrassment. In his speech of resignation to the House, Tomoana stated that he disagreed with the government’s Maori policy. None of the other Maori members replaced him.

The second major ministerial crisis concerned Bryce and the administration of the west coast of the North Island where Maori and settlers confronted each other over the issue of sovereignty. In 1878, Hiroki, a murderer, had been offered sanctuary in the village of Parihaka where the Maori prophets, Te Whiti and Tohu, taught their followers to reject British institutions including the colonial legal system. Bryce wished to assert the government’s supremacy by arresting Hiroki, Te Whiti and Tohu, expecting that Maori opposition would crumble. The ministry refused to accept Bryce’s proposal and in January 1881 he resigned. The best Hall could do was to reduce the impact of the resignation. Bryce later recalled that

Hall asked me to come to the Opera House with him that evening, I explained that I really had no ear for the high-class music then being administered. "Never mind" he said, "sit beside me for half an hour, that is all I ask; it will show people we have parted good friends."

Rolleston became the minister of native affairs and in other matters Bryce remained loyal to the government. When attitudes to the situation in Taranaki changed, he returned to the executive and resumed control of his former department.

Not until October 1881 did Hall gain his full complement of ministers. The recession and retrenchment in public works spending had reduced the government’s popularity so that suitable men were less willing to accept office. Consequently, Hall was anxious to retain

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75 J.D. Ormond, Report, 6 October 1879, MS y 1098, pp. 143a-d, SJHP; NZPD 1879, Vol. XXXII, pp. 147 and 157. For a discussion of this incident, see Thompson pp. 46-48.
77 JH to R. Oliver, 8 January 1881, MS x 910, p. 385, SJHP; J. Bryce to JH, 22 September 1880, MS y 1102, pp. 97-99, SJHP.
78 Press, 1 July 1907.
79 JH to F.D. Bell, 18 April 1881, MS x 911, p. 290, SJHP.
cabinet members and employed various methods in dealing with ministers who wished to leave office. Dick was dissuaded from resigning seven months after his appointment when Hall transferred him from the colonial secretaryship to the post of minister of education. Oliver received much criticism for his handling of the public works department and saw himself as a weak link in the government. With him, Hall's tactic was to deflate this argument by stating: "I would never sacrifice a colleague to unpopularity resulting from a policy for which the government are responsible." Two months later, Oliver retired on family and commercial grounds for which Hall had no immediate answer. After a break of four months, Oliver accepted elevation to the Council and the post of minister without portfolio.

Hall believed in cabinet consultation. In the 927 days of the Hall Ministry there were 184 cabinet meetings, 85 while parliament was in session and 99 during the recess. These figures are exceptional because in the nineteenth century it was customary for ministers to disperse throughout the colony during the recess which was the greater part of the year. Furthermore, Table 7.1 shows that attendance at meetings was high even in the recess.

TABLE 7.1

Attendance at Cabinet meetings during the Hall Ministry

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>% attended during Session</th>
<th>% attended during Recess</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hall</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atkinson</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bryce</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dick</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johnston</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>8986</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oliver</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rolleston</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whitaker</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

80 T. Dick to JH, 4 December 1880, MS y 1102, p. 72, SJHP.
81 JH to H. Atkinson, 11 February 1881, Telegram Book 296, p. 95, SJHP.
82 JH to Whitaker, 13 March 1881, Telegram Book 296, p. 168a, SJHP; Thompson, p. 175.
83 Cabinet Minute Book, PM 4/1, NAHO.
85 These figures exclude the six meetings when those present were not listed in the minutes.
86 There is a possibility that Johnston may have attended one more meeting during the recess of 1882.
Hall favoured leadership by consensus and he usually managed to achieve this. The cabinet minutes record only 17 occasions when matters were put to a vote. Even then Hall’s opinion did not necessarily prevail as in six instances he was of the minority opinion. Controversial issues were debated fully. Unanimity among members of cabinet was important because discontent could breed division in the faction and once a decision was announced individuals could not express their personal opinion.

Within cabinet there was a hierarchy. Hall, Whitaker and Atkinson were the central figures and ranked in that order. They held the key offices and were the chief policy makers. Consultation between them was extensive. Rolleston was not included in these inner counsels and was in a class of his own. His importance rested on the fact that he carried a large number of portfolios. The other four cabinet ministers were less prominent.

Six days after taking office, Atkinson was able to inform not only Hall but the whole colony of New Zealand’s financial plight. In an interim report Atkinson estimated that the government had inherited a deficit of £663,858 with the prospect of a £911,958 shortfall in the coming year. To make matters worse Grey had already used up the maximum of £400,000 in deficiency bills for the year and nearly one half of the new loan was already committed. The seriousness of the situation was emphasized when Atkinson himself asked immediately for £200,000 to carry on the public service and to pay local body subsidies.

Drastic action was necessary to avert economic disaster as the contract for the new loan specified that the colony would be ineligible for further credit in London for three years. When Atkinson revised his figures, his predictions were gloomier still and Hall expressed his alarm at a deficit of £951,002 in a letter to Vogel:

If [New Zealand’s] finances had remained for another 6 months under their old management, I do not believe that all our & your exertions would have

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87 Cabinet Minute Book, PM 4/1, NAHO.
88 See Thompson, p. 163.
89 Whenever Hall was absent from cabinet and Whitaker was present, Whitaker chaired the meeting. Only when Hall and Whitaker were not there did Atkinson take charge.
91 JH to W. Fox, 15 April 1882, MS x 913, p. 117, SJHP. The "pledge" would expire at the end of 1882.
averted a smash. Macandrew still refuses to believe in the liabilities we found.93

In their modus operandi Grey and Hall were diametrically opposed and Hall later wrote of Grey: "The man is an absolute baby when he comes to finance, or in fact to any matter of detail."94

Nor did Macandrew's replacement of Grey as head of the opposition inspire Hall with confidence. Macandrew had been Grey's minister of public works and hence the chief practitioner of the borrow and spend philosophy. In fact, one historian has concluded that Macandrew "did more than any other man to bring about the rejection of Vogelite policies and to create a climate for retrenchment."95 There were several men who could become a core for the reinstitution of large scale spending on public works and, besides Macandrew, Hall named Vogel, William Larnach, Henry Driver and Grey.96 Because Hall saw New Zealand as "a land blessed above most others" in its natural advantages, he grieved to see it being weighed down injudiciously with an enormous balance of payments deficit. He believed in "steady, energetic and prudent progress"97 and declared that he would "die on the floor of the House" rather than resort to "dosing the Colony with another lot of stimulants".98

For this reason, Grey remained for Hall a very present bogey. Hall both envied and deeply distrusted Grey's rhetoric and referred to him as "that mad & yet clever demagogue".99 When Grey stumped the country and wooed the electors with honeyed words, Hall trembled.100 Hall admitted that "as a Platform Orator he beats anybody I ever heard".101 Grey was to be feared because he was

93 JH to J. Vogel, 1 January 1880, MS x 908, p. 82, SJHP.
94 JH to A. Domett, 28 December 1879, MS x 932, p. 11, SJHP.
96 JH to F.D. Bell, 18 April 1881, MS x 911, p. 287, SJHP.
97 The Globe, 21 November 1881.
98 JH to F.D. Bell, 18 April 1881, MS x 911, p. 287, SJHP.
99 JH to W. Page, 16 January 1881, MS x 933, p. 27, SJHP. For discussion of the connotations of demagogue, see Thompson, p. 207.
100 JH to F.D. Bell, 18 April 1881, MS x 911, p. 291, SJHP.
101 JH to A. Domett, 28 December 1879, MS x 932, p. 12, SJHP.
Powerless for good, but still very powerful for evil - Every thinking man, with any stake in the Country is sick of him - but the unthinking mob - the majority, still believe his plausible lies.\textsuperscript{102}

To return the colony's internal budget to the black, Hall and his ministers adopted a two-fold approach which placed economy above popularity. The first strategy was to increase the revenue by raising customs duties and introducing a property tax of one penny in the pound.\textsuperscript{103} This latter move was not unexpected as before he became premier, Hall had spoken of "an adjustment" to taxation.\textsuperscript{104} Personally he preferred an income tax because it was fairer but he put his own views aside because "the practical difficulties in the way of levying it in a new Country are enormous."\textsuperscript{105} The property tax, on the other hand, was simple to administer and could be instituted immediately which meant that it met the foremost prerequisite of filling the colony's coffers at once. Amongst Hall's supporters, Ormond, as a large landholder, was outspoken in his criticism of the tax.\textsuperscript{106} Some of the disaffection was removed when the financial position improved. Prior to the general election in 1881, Atkinson announced that the tax would be halved and, at the same time, he eliminated another grievance by extending the tax to overseas investments in New Zealand which had formerly been exempt.\textsuperscript{107}

The second method of attacking the deficit was to reduce government expenditure through "energetic retrenchment".\textsuperscript{108} Hall lamented that the colony's "enormous expenditure on public works" had not only saddled it with an "almost crushing" debt but had created "a morbid craving for still further loan expenditure in almost every part of the Colony."\textsuperscript{109} Hall believed that reliance on government funding for opening up the country had sapped the pioneering energy of the colony. He suggested to colonists who complained that a road had not been built that they use some of their spare time to work on it themselves. The people were incredulous especially when Hall backed up the statement by citing how he

\textsuperscript{102} JH to H. Carleton, 24 February 1880, MS x 932, p. 36, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{103} Debts were deducted from the assessment and there was an exemption of £300.
\textsuperscript{104} NZPD 1879, Vol. XXXII, p. 40.
\textsuperscript{105} JH to A. Pitt, 29 December 1879, MS x 932, p. 13, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{106} JH to [?] Studholme, 6 May 1881, MS x 911, p. 337, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{107} AJHR 1881, B.2, p. XI.
\textsuperscript{108} JH to W. Fox, 15 April 1882, MS x 913, p. 115, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{109} JH to [C.] Clifford, 18 December 1880, MS x 910, pp. 358-9, SJHP.
himself had helped to construct the streets of Christchurch when there had been no money to spare.\textsuperscript{110} To go against such a tide, however, was no easy matter.

Immigration was the first plank of Vogel’s scheme to be curtailed and, as agent general in London, Vogel himself was instructed to "discourage labourers without capital."\textsuperscript{111} Once those passengers who were already accepted had set sail, only relatives nominated by people in the colony were eligible for assisted passages.\textsuperscript{112} Of these, eventually only single women were accepted.\textsuperscript{113} They were allowed to immigrate because they helped redress the gender imbalance.

Public works was the aspect of Vogelism which had most conspicuously run the colony into debt and that department was pinpointed immediately for spending cuts. By insisting that the public works department keep within its means, Hall achieved his short-term goal of diminishing costs. Hall summarized how this was managed when he wrote: "we have so husbanded the Public Works Fund, that without creating serious dissatisfaction we have now enough of the Loan left to last".\textsuperscript{114} The ministry achieved this by spending its sparse funds on small projects throughout the provinces rather than on a few major endeavours. In this way the government attempted to accommodate the log rolling which had always characterized the relationship between the provinces and the General Assembly. It undertook some projects to reward its supporters and was prepared to brave the localized discontent in areas which missed out.

While the reduction of public works expenditure was accepted, when Hall wrote that there was no "serious dissatisfaction" he was minimizing the distress that the policy caused. Labourers who relied on construction work were deprived of an income. For the married men who were destitute there was some relief work at the rate of between 2s 6d and four shillings a day.\textsuperscript{115} While Hall saw the necessity for such provision, he wanted people to use what little power they had to help themselves and he regretted that relief work

\textsuperscript{110} JH to W. Fox, 6 March 1882, MS x 912, pp. 439-40, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{111} JH to G. McLean, 17 May 1880, MS x 909, p. 296, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{112} JH to [L.?] Darton, 15 March 1880, MS x 909, p. 63, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{113} JH to G. McLean, 17 May 1880, MS x 909, p. 296, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{114} JH to W. Fox, 15 April 1882, MS x 913, p. 117, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{115} Cabinet Minute Book, PM 4/1, 2 December 1880 and 31 May 1881, pp. 166 and 219, NAHO.
"encouraged the less enterprising men to stay in the region of the public works instead of going out into the country".\textsuperscript{116}

Unemployment had adverse effects on family life. Some families were split up when, for a limited number of married men, as an alternative to relief work the government provided free transport to other centres where there were better prospects of finding employment.\textsuperscript{117} More common and of greater social concern was the fact that hardship drove some men to abscond across the Tasman, deserting their wives and children. Since these women were usually left without any means of economic support the community had to provide for them through charitable aid. The problem had reached such proportions that cabinet asked each of the Australian colonies to legislate for the deportation of the men and sent a draft bill over for the purpose.\textsuperscript{118} In case such legislation turned out to be \textit{ultra vires}, cabinet also requested the imperial parliament to include provision for the return of husbands in the Foreign Offenders' Apprehension Act.\textsuperscript{119}

Hall was not blind to the impact of the public works policy. Oliver, the minister who implemented most of it, had to bear the brunt of the criticism and resigned. Consequently, for some months in 1881 Hall himself was the acting minister of public works. In this capacity, he reported that to make an annual saving totalling £21,664, 95 officers in the department had been dismissed in the previous fifteen months and the threat of further reductions hung over those who remained.\textsuperscript{120} Because of the recession, it was unlikely that those who were made redundant would find new positions and Hall had recognized this when he stated: "I never was so sick in my life as I am of being compelled to be the medium of inflicting much hardship and suffering."\textsuperscript{121}

More so than the roads, the railways were particularly associated with opening up the countryside and the priority given to their construction had long been a very sensitive political issue. Hall believed that much railway expenditure was wasted and much money could be saved. He had to decide how far to proceed with the new lines that a large number of

\begin{footnotes}
\item[116] JH to W. Fox, 3 March 1880, MS x 909, SJHP, quoted in Thompson, p. 125.
\item[117] Cabinet Minute Book, PM 4/1, 16 and 18 June 1881, pp. 225-6, NAHO.
\item[118] Ibid., 8 May and 9 September 1880, pp. 60 and 135.
\item[119] Ibid., 4 December 1880, p. 172.
\item[120] AJHR, 1881, D.1, p. x.
\item[121] JH to L. Walker, 17 July 1880, quoted in Thompson, p. 104.
\end{footnotes}
districts demanded given that those lines which had already been built were bringing in poor returns. \(^\text{122}\) To resolve this, Hall appointed a royal commission even though the expense was criticized. When its findings were presented, the commission proposed eliminating the wasteful effects of appeasing electoral demands for railways by removing ministerial control and creating an independent board of management which would make the railways "free from political influence". The commission also recommended that 29 of the 85 proposed extensions be abandoned and that the construction of another 28 be postponed. \(^\text{123}\)

Hall also set up a royal commission into the civil service. Its report confirmed that the railways department was the one "in which the greatest amount of useless expenditure existed" but it recommended other reforms as well. \(^\text{124}\) The most important reflected the fact that technology's conquest of distance made it possible to achieve efficiencies with a more centralized administration. Henceforward, head offices were located in Wellington since a separate administration for each department was no longer necessary in both islands. Further streamlining took place when areas of related interest such as the post and telegraph departments were combined. Although this restructuring eradicated much unnecessary duplication, those made redundant swelled the ranks of the unemployed. Those who kept their positions were considered fortunate but their tenure was insecure and they faced few opportunities for promotion and a 10 per cent decrease in salary.

After only two years, Hall achieved his goal of balancing New Zealand's books. By the time he left office in April 1882, he could rejoice that he had left "an annual surplus of income over expenditure of £140,000 per annum." \(^\text{125}\) Depression, however, continued to haunt the colony until 1896 and even Hall came to doubt that prosperity would return.

What threatened to wreck all this financial husbandry was the increasing disaffection among Maori at Parihaka in Taranaki. The situation had its origins in the New Zealand Wars and the confiscation of over one million acres of Maori land in the region as punishment for rebellion. By not participating in Titokowaru's campaign of 1868, the Maori at Parihaka led by Te Whiti and Tohu had demonstrated to the government's satisfaction that they were no longer hostile and were entitled to reserves of land. In fact, as has often been pointed out,

\(^\text{122}\) \textit{AJHR}, 1880, E.3, p. iv, 8.
\(^\text{123}\) Ibid., pp. vi, 24 and xvi-xvii.
\(^\text{124}\) \textit{AJHR}, 1880, H.2, p. 3.
\(^\text{125}\) JH to W. Fox, 15 April 1882, MS x 913, p. 115, SJHP.
for a long time no reserves were granted. Alan Ward has shown that the main reason this did not occur was because the native affairs department understood that Te Whiti would not accept them. Donald McLean, minister of native affairs from 1869 to 1876, left Te Whiti alone in full possession of his lands and was ready to wait a long time before making a settlement with him. In the meantime, McLean endeavoured to isolate Te Whiti by dealing with the more amenable Maori in adjacent areas.126

Serious confrontation with the government did not occur until 1878 when Grey sent in surveyors as a precursor to selling off some of the land traditionally owned by Titokowaru's people on the Waimate Plains south of Parihaka. The survey of Titokowaru's land was not an infringement of Te Whiti's and Tohu's rights but they assumed that their land was next in line. In this, however, they were probably mistaken. As Dr Chris Connolly has shown in an unpublished paper, the Grey government seems to have intended to allow them to retain all their land at Parihaka "conditional on good behaviour".127 But the decision had not been formally ratified by cabinet when the surveyors began to carve up Titokowaru's land without delineating the reserves which he had been promised. As a result, Te Whiti, Tohu and their followers saw the surveyors' actions as a direct threat to their own lands and helped Titokowaru in his struggle. Their followers uprooted survey pegs, evicted the surveyors and, in the traditional Maori way, demonstrated their claim to the land by ploughing up ground throughout the province. Tension mounted because the ploughmen targeted the fields of settler farmers. To deal with this, the government imprisoned some of the protesters. There was now no question of allowing Te Whiti and his people to keep all their land for they had not demonstrated the required "good behaviour" and any largesse on the part of the government would be construed as weakness in the face of pressure. This was how matters stood when Hall became premier.

One of Hall's first acts on taking office was to appoint a royal commission headed by Sir William Fox to examine Maori land grievances in Taranaki.128 The West Coast

128 The West Coast Commission. Alone in cabinet, Hall was keen for one of the commissioners to be a Maori. JH to W. Fox, 3 March 1880, MS x 909, p. 49, SJHP.
commissioners admitted the faults of previous governments and allocated 25,000 acres to the
people of Parihaka together with a further 714 acres of cultivations, fishing spots and burial
grounds. The government accepted the commission’s recommendations and it sent
Robert Parris, the civil commissioner, to Parihaka to explain its decision and point out the
reserves. Te Whiti, however, refused to listen.

If the conventional interpretation of the cause of the confrontation between the
government and the Maori at Parihaka is to be believed, then the government’s
acceptance of the recommendations of the West Coast Commission should have gone a long
way towards ending the conflict. For that interpretation is based around the contention that
the cause of Te Whiti’s protest was the government’s failure to grant reserves. The fact that
Te Whiti refused to accept the reserves and continued his protest puts this interpretation in
jeopardy. Dr Chris Connolly, however, has put forward an alternative explanation of Te
Whiti’s position which enables us to understand why the government’s acceptance of Fox’s
recommendations in no way lessened the tension.

Connolly’s argument is that Te Whiti did not want the government to create reserves,
as these would mean the division of his patrimony. He asserts that the prophet’s attitude to
reserves had its origin in his religious outlook. Te Whiti believed that the Maori were a lost
tribe of Israel, that they were God’s chosen people and that New Zealand was their
Promised Land. Because the Maori held the land directly from God, it was God’s to dispose
of, not theirs. What He had given they could neither divide nor negotiate away. This
is the meaning behind his action when he took up the hat of Rolleston, the minister of native

130 Variants of the conventional interpretation are given by G. W. Rusden, History of
New Zealand, Vol. III, Melbourne, Melville, Mullen & Slade, 1895; R.G. Scott, Ask
That Mountain: the story of Parihaka, Auckland, Heinemann/ Southern Cross, 1975;
H. Riseborough, Days of Darkness: Taranaki 1878-1884, Wellington, Allen &
Unwin/ Historical Branch, 1989.
131 Connolly; see also C.N. Connolly, ‘War, Protest and Prophets in Colonial New
132 Connolly, ‘Te Whiti’, p. 4. The belief that they were a lost tribe of Israel was
widely held among Maori. See D.P. Lyons, ‘An Analysis of three Maori Prophet
Movements’, in I.H. Kawharu, ed., Conflict and Compromise: essays on the Maori
affairs, and said: "What is the good of your hat if it is cut in two?" Had the Maori accepted reserves they would have acquiesced in the land's division and disobeyed God's commands.

In Connolly's account, Te Whiti's religious beliefs have important political ramifications which clarify further why the acceptance of reserves was anathema to him. The prophet's faith embraced a vision of New Zealand sovereignty which meant that he could not accept the government's right to create reserves. As far as the Europeans were concerned, sovereignty had been ceded forty years before with the Treaty of Waitangi but Te Whiti would not accept the Treaty. He was a nationalist and steadfastly refused to acknowledge the settler government or its authority on any issue. His aim was to reinstate the Maori dominance which had characterized the New Zealand of his youth. His stand, therefore, was based on a denial of the government's right to create reserves in the first place and upon a consistent refusal ever to accept them. So when the Hall government set up the West Coast Commission to investigate Maori grievances, Te Whiti refused to co-operate. In his view, the commission had no authority. Similarly, Te Whiti forbade his followers to ask for reserves or in any way to help in their creation. The Maori at Parihaka had no dealings with the commission. For fear that his people might want the reserves, the prophet also prohibited them from reading the commission's report. That is why he refused to allow Parris to distribute copies of the report or to explain its contents.

The government, by contrast, was most anxious that Te Whiti and his people accept the reserves as this would establish its authority to divide the land. Te Whiti for that reason refused to accept them. Both sides stood opposed as equally implacable antagonists. Hall grumbled that "If the Archangel Gabriel went on his knees to Te Whiti, he would get nothing out of him", without seeing that from Te Whiti's point of view the government was equally

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134 Ibid., p. 15.
135 Ibid., pp. 4 and 15.
136 Ibid., p. 4.
137 Ibid., pp. 3-4.
138 Ibid., p. 15.
139 Ibid., p. 16.
140 Ibid.
unbending.141 There was no hope of agreement between two sides which were totally committed to irreconcilable views on who should rule New Zealand.

Faced with this impasse, Hall and his government decided to enforce confiscation and create the reserves anyway. Te Whiti’s lands were surveyed, reserves were marked off and construction of the main trunk road moved into his territory. Further confrontation arose in May 1880 when, to put the road through, its builders started to knock down the fences surrounding cultivations near Parihaka. In an effort to make the road builders more careful, Maori dug up the road and rebuilt the fences. This protest continued for six months. It ended when the government agreed to put up slip rails where the road went through fences but by then more than two hundred fencers had been imprisoned. This crisis exposed the division within the cabinet over how the whole situation at Parihaka might best be settled. Bryce, the native minister, wanted to march on the settlement with the armed constabulary and arrest Hiroki and the prophets but his cabinet colleagues would not accept the proposal. Bryce eventually resigned and was replaced by the pro-Maori, Rolleston. At his direction, all the prisoners had been released by the end of June 1881. That same month, however, the first land was sold at Parihaka and in July Maori started fencing and sowing land which the government had allocated to settlers. From September the protest took a different and more serious turn. Tension was mounting between Te Whiti’s followers and the armed constabulary who had been assigned to protect the road builders. Although the Maori carried no guns, their very presence in overwhelming numbers made the situation dangerous.142 The government believed that there was a "considerable risk" of the constabulary’s "being overpowered by numbers" and that, in the constabulary’s desire to win in such a confrontation, "some accident which might lead to bloodshed" might occur.143 To overcome the problem it agreed on 1 September 1881 to increase the numbers of armed constabulary in the district in order to ensure that the government had the edge in numbers and that no incident got out of hand. That month a case of intimidation and an incident where between thirty and fifty Maori all armed with taiaha confronted Colonel Roberts and his orderlies led the government to believe that the situation had become explosive.144

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141 JH to F.D. Bell, 28 January 1881, MS x 911, p. 40, SJHP.
143 AJHR, 1883, A-4, p. 4.
144 Ibid., pp. 4-5.
In this context the government was alarmed at a report of a speech by Te Whiti on 17 September which made it appear that the prophet had been converted to violence. Hall underlined his copy of the united press association account which quoted Te Whiti as saying that

All our talk to-day is of fighting, and nothing is now left but to fight. The peace that existed has passed away; there is no peace now...there is nothing to stop at but to fight...Go, go all of you,...take your arms. 145

This particular rendition seemed to be quite explicit that the prophet was now promoting armed resistance:

If when the pakehas go on to the land they strike you with a stone, strike them with a stone likewise; if they hit you with their hands, strike you them yourselves; if they bring guns, take your guns likewise; if the pakehas come and say it is the Governor's land, and lift hands to defend it, strike them down. These are my words the Atua puts into my mouth. 146

The report, however, was followed by a statement that Te Whiti was speaking metaphorically and the prophet himself confirmed this. 147 The ministers accepted this qualification148 but were worried by several reports "that Te Whiti’s influence over his followers [was] on the wane". 149 On 28 September Hall expressed his reservations when he wrote: "No doubt Te Whiti wishes to avoid hostilities, but I much doubt whether he will be able to restrain his young men." 150

The government decided to issue a proclamation to Te Whiti giving him a fortnight to accept the terms offered by the West Coast commission with regard to reserves. If the terms were rejected, the government proposed to send in armed men to arrest the prophets. Several considerations led the government to adopt this radical solution. Besides the risk of physical violence, another reason for taking drastic action was finance. As early as October 1880 Hall had written that "The expense of keeping up our present force is ruinous."

145 'The Native Crisis', unidentified and undated clipping in 'Parihaka 1880-1882', p. 61, SJHP, CU.
146 Ibid.
147 Ibid., p. 62.
148 NZH, 18 October 1881.
149 'The Native Crisis', unidentified and undated clipping in 'Parihaka 1880-1882', p. 71, SJHP, CU. See also ibid., C. Hursthouse to W. Rolleston, 17 September 1881, p. 65.
151 JH to W. Fox, 16 October 1880, MS x 910, p. 85, SJHP.
The government was spending £600 a day to maintain the armed constabulary in Taranaki. This amounted to over £200,000 annually and Hall was pragmatist enough to realize that "Parliament will not stand another 12 months of this standing army; and in fact where is the money to come from?"\footnote{152}

A further motive for issuing the proclamation had its source in settler anxiety at a rumour that Titokowaru was again on the warpath.\footnote{153} The spectacle of the government vainly spending a large amount of public money to assert itself over ever more radical Maori resistance led public opinion to harden in favour of an ultimatum backed, if necessary, by invasion and the arrest of Hiroki and the prophets. This was a crucial turnaround. In January 1881, the press had supported the ministry when it rejected Bryce's proposal to make these arrests. But by early October opinion had changed and The New Zealand Herald, which had earlier counselled caution, announced that

We live over a volcano, with no prospect of its becoming extinct, but the chance that at any time there may be an eruption...We have a right to have an end of it after showing a long forbearance worse than barren of any satisfactory result...we do say that energetic steps should be taken promptly to suppress the long-standing nuisance of Te Whiti and Parihaka.\footnote{154}

The hardening of public opinion meant that Hall who was to face an election in early December could not afford politically to let the crisis continue unchecked.

Hall wanted to avoid a confrontation with the governor who was known as a champion of the rights of indigenous peoples. Hall exploited the fact that Gordon was absent in Fiji carrying out his duties as high commissioner of the Pacific. By the time the governor returned suddenly on the evening of 19 October, he was too late to prevent the chief justice, who in the governor's absence was acting as the administrator, from signing the proclamation and from swearing in the bellicose John Bryce as minister of native affairs. The ultimatum was now official. Because he was "bitterly hostile" to the ministry's methods,\footnote{155} Gordon attempted to thwart its plans by contesting the government's right to issue the proclamation. He appealed to London to have the document invalidated on a technicality. The colonial office refused to interfere.

\footnote{152}{JH to F.D. Bell, 2 November 1880, MS x 910, p. 149, SJHP.}
\footnote{153}{W. Rolleston to JH, 2 October 1881, 'Parihaka 1880-1882', p. 111, SJHP, CU.}
\footnote{154}{NZH, 1 October 1881.}
\footnote{155}{JH to F.D. Bell, 1 December 1881, MS x 912, p. 291, SJHP.}
Te Whiti rejected the ultimatum and on 5 November 1881 the government took the second step of sending 1,589 armed men led by Bryce to invade the village and arrest the prophets.\textsuperscript{156} Hall explained the ministry's stance when he wrote:

You may say why have so many men to cope with 800 fighting Maoris? Answer, for humanity's sake. We are anxious to make such a display of force as will convince these poor infatuated people of the utter hopelessness of resistance and so avert a collision.\textsuperscript{157}

Hall's anxiety about resistance was not mere paranoia.\textsuperscript{158} His fears were justified and in this respect, too, Connolly revises the traditional view. There was a war party at Parihaka of "between three and four hundred armed men" who were "all bushfighters, and skilled in ambuscades." There was also "a large number of guns."\textsuperscript{159} At this stage, these men were prepared to fight if the government attempted to enforce its authority. The spokesman for this group was Te Whiti's co-prophet, Tohu.\textsuperscript{160} Like Te Whiti he had made martial-sounding speeches, but unlike him he had meant his words to be taken literally. When he said "All I have got to say is fight and kill; don't save anyone; destroy all before you" he meant it.\textsuperscript{161} Te Whiti was able to make Tohu recant but only after a "furious" argument.\textsuperscript{162}

Te Whiti's victory over Tohu and the war party was made much easier by the fact that the government took the reports of possible resistance seriously. That the government's policy of massive deterrence helped Te Whiti to prevail is revealed in a newspaper report of 5 November in which one Maori, "who had recently been at Parihaka", was asked whether Maori would fight. He shook his head and replied, "No, too many soldiers now."\textsuperscript{163} The invasion and the arrest of the prophets were achieved without bloodshed. Te Whiti and Tohu were detained without trial until 1883.

\textsuperscript{156} Riseborough, p. 165.
\textsuperscript{157} JH to F.D. Bell, 3 November 1881, MS x 912, p. 240, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{158} Contrast Riseborough, pp. 163-6; Scott, pp. 113-4.
\textsuperscript{159} J. Cowan, The Maoris of New Zealand, Christchurch, Whitcombe & Tombs Ltd, 1910, pp. 335-6; see also Connolly, 'Te Whiti', p. 19.
\textsuperscript{160} Ibid., p. 20.
\textsuperscript{161} 'The Native Crisis', unidentified and undated clipping in 'Parihaka 1880-1882', p. 61, SJHP, CU.
\textsuperscript{162} Connolly, 'Te Whiti', p. 20; Cowan, p. 335.
\textsuperscript{163} NZH, 5 November 1881, quoted in Connolly, 'Te Whiti', footnote 70.
Restoring the government's authority in Taranaki generally assured backing for Hall's faction in the electoral contest. This was fortunate as at the beginning of the campaign, Hall and his ministers were "nailed" to Wellington overseeing events at Parihaka and could devote little time or energy to the election.\textsuperscript{164} In Hall's own case, prior to the occupation of Parihaka, rumours reached him that his political opponents were exploiting his absence by proposing to nominate Grey for Selwyn, Hall's own electorate.\textsuperscript{165} After the occupation, Hall wrote that his seat was "quite safe."\textsuperscript{166}

The government's intervention at Parihaka was vindicated by the electors who returned the Hall ministry to office. Its victory would have been even greater with better organization. As faction leader Hall remonstrated in vain when some electorates were lost because no suitable candidate was forthcoming yet in several other electorates his supporters stood against each other, splitting the pro-government vote and thereby enabled an opposition member to win the seat.\textsuperscript{167}

After the election, Hall made no changes to his cabinet but the hard work involved in heading the government was taking its toll on his strength. Throughout his premiership, he had survived on five hours sleep a night.\textsuperscript{168} By early 1882, his health had deteriorated badly and he complained that "My memory fails me terribly, and I have had several attacks of weakness and dizziness."\textsuperscript{169} He notified his colleagues of his wish to resign and after several postponements agreed to remain in office only until the start of the 1882 session. These arrangements were discarded when Bryce threatened to resign because by accident he had read a telegram from Hall to Whitaker which censured Bryce's failure to consult his colleagues on important decisions.\textsuperscript{170} Conducting negotiations to find a replacement was more than the ailing Hall could face and on doctor's orders, he resigned.\textsuperscript{171}

Hall's resignation precipitated further conflict with the governor. Customarily, the outgoing incumbent recommended his successor, a man from his own faction. In this

\textsuperscript{164} JH to F.D. Bell, 1 December 1881, MS x 912, p. 291, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{165} JH to H.J. Hall, 1 November 1881, MS x 912, pp. 208-9, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{166} JH to H.J. Hall, 18 November 1881, MS x 912, p. 282, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{167} JH to F.D. Bell, 1 December 1881, MS x 912, p. 290, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{168} Press, 1 July 1907.
\textsuperscript{169} JH to W. Fox, 15 April 1882, MS x 913, p. 108, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{170} Ibid., pp. 108-9, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{171} JH to F.D. Bell, 19 April 1882, MS x 913, p. 127, SJHP.
instance, Hall recommended that Gordon send for Whitaker. Gordon disregarded tradition and on his own initiative sent for Grey who set about forming a ministry, came to Wellington and "had a very long interview with the Governor".\textsuperscript{172} Not only was Grey the man whose policies Hall abhorred, he was one of the leaders of the opposition factions. Hall was incensed.\textsuperscript{173} His faction was still in office, it retained a majority in the House and most of the ministers were willing to continue. Hall interpreted Gordon's action as an "attempt to transfer political power from one party to the other without the expressed will of Parliament".\textsuperscript{174} Hall wrote to the agent general in utter exasperation:

> How any man with a perfectly smooth and constitutional course open to him, could go out of his way to court difficulties and create uproar, I am at a loss to conceive.\textsuperscript{175}

A few days later, Gordon backed down, accepted Hall's advice and appointed Whitaker.

Hall's anger at Gordon's conduct was fuelled partly by suspicion. Grey and Gordon were friends and one newspaper had informed its readers that Gordon, who was twenty years younger than Grey, had "been in the habit of consulting [Grey] and looking up to him as an oracle."\textsuperscript{176} Hall was suspicious of Grey's ability to influence Gordon from the start. He had objected to a proposal that Gordon reside in Auckland because to do so would have placed the governor in close proximity to Kawau Island in the Hauraki Gulf where Grey lived.\textsuperscript{177} The distrust remained and when Gordon stayed with Grey on Kawau Island in January 1881 Hall suspected that they were plotting against him and enquired what they had talked about. Gordon replied:

> ...though Sir George and I had much discussion as to the politics of Assyria in the time of Sennacherib, and those of France under Louis XIII, we had none whatever as to the politics of New Zealand in the reign of Queen Victoria. The only exception to this was a slight reference by Sir George to Mr Bryce's resignation...This was suggested by the arrival of the newspaper and with this exception our talk was wholly of old friends, old recollections, books and archeology [sic].\textsuperscript{178}

\textsuperscript{172} Press, 18 April 1882.
\textsuperscript{173} JH to F.D. Bell, 19 April 1882, MS x 913, p. 126, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{174} JH to W. Fox, 15 April 1882, MS X 913, p. 112, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{175} JH to F.D. Bell, 19 April 1882, MS x 913, p. 131, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{176} The Timaru Herald, 23 November 1880.
\textsuperscript{177} JH to W. Fox, 16 October 1880, MS x 910, p. 87, SJHP.
The conflict between Hall and Gordon was symptomatic of their different conceptions of the powers of the governor in a colony which had responsible government. Under this system, it was the duty of the governor, whatever his personal reservations, to abide by ministerial policy except on a narrow range of issues which he was obliged to refer to the colonial office. When this was observed, Hall experienced no difficulty in being the intermediary between the executive and the imperial representative. He praised Sir Hercules Robinson, the governor with whom he first had to deal, for his "geniality". Hall's opinion rested on Robinson's readiness to comply with cabinet's wishes and his recognition that his gubernatorial duty was more that of figurehead than ruler.

A nominal role, however, did not suit Sir Arthur Gordon. Gordon was by temperament autocratic and was rumoured to have been reluctant to serve in New Zealand. Gordon had had fifteen years as a governor of crown colonies and came to New Zealand from Fiji where he had acted as "a benevolent despot." He resented the enforced idleness which was the governor's lot in New Zealand and had a low opinion of his three predecessors, who found the life congenial:

Sir Hercules Robinson devoted himself entirely to racing, which gave him ample employment. Lord Normanby shot a great deal, and played cards at the club every afternoon, when he did not shoot. Sir James Ferguson [sic] (who was unable to endure it much more than a year) had a yacht, in which he spent most of his time. I do not yacht, or play cards, or shoot, or race; so I have none of their resources.

He wrote elsewhere of his "shame and reluctance" at receiving a handsome salary when he believed that he had not earned it. Likening himself to a prisoner in the Tower of London, Gordon chafed within his circumscribed role as governor in a colony with responsible government and his account of his duties reveals that Hall clearly had no intention of allowing him to overstep these limits:

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179 JH to F.D. Bell, 12 December 1880, MS x 910, p. 314, SJHP.
180 JH to J.E. FitzGerald, 14 October 1880, MS x 910, p. 75, SJHP.
183 A.H. Gordon to W.E. Gladstone, quoted in Knaplund, p. 162.
Once a week - on Tuesdays, - there is what is called an Executive Council; - that is to say, the Premier, and one other member of the Cabinet, (two are required for a quorum), meet me in the Council Room. The Clerk gabbles over the Caption of a lot of papers. The Premier says "I advise Your Excellency to approve these recommendations", and hands me a pen. The Clerk puts the schedule before me, and I write on it "appd. A.H.G.". The whole of the proceedings do not occupy more than ten minutes or a quarter of an hour...During the whole five months [the Premier] has never once spoken to me on public affairs, and any attempt on my part to speak to him would be, at once, peremptorily checked. The other ministers I never see, (except at a dinner), and have no communication with them except through the Premier.184

When Gordon admitted to Hall that he found his office "intolerable", the premier countered his complaints by pointing out the "very useful functions" and "the latent powers of great importance" that the position entailed. Gordon could not accept this argument and Hall summed him up by stating that "To obey ministers instead of command them is a thing he cannot stand".185

Dealing with the governor was one of the burdens of office Hall relinquished when he resigned on 21 April 1882. He expressed his relief in a letter to the agent general: "I have done my best to keep Sir Arthur Gordon out of rows, and to get him out of them, but now I have done with him." Henceforward, Hall avoided Gordon and he wrote: "If ever in this world's history there was a square man in a round hole, it is our present Governor and the sooner he is out of it the better."186

Gordon, however, had not quite finished with Hall. After his resignation, Hall received a letter from the governor in which Gordon announced that he had earlier recommended Hall be awarded a knighthood. While Hall replied that he would "value the distinction", he was concerned that, in his opinion, there were better grounds for granting the honour first to Whitaker. Hall was assured that his own knighthood would have no bearing on Whitaker's case187 and indeed the new premier was knighted in 1884. Meanwhile, on the Queen's birthday, Hall joined the growing number of colonial dignitaries entitled to add

184 A.H. Gordon to Lord Selborne, 23 April 1881, quoted in Fieldhouse, p. 90.
185 JH to F.D. Bell, 15 July 1882, MS x 913, pp. 198-9, SJHP.
186 JH to F.D. Bell, 19 April 1882, MS x 913, pp. 135 and 137, SJHP.
187 JH to F.D. Bell, 18 May 1882, MS x 913, pp. 163-4, SJHP.
K.C.M.G. after their names. His wife was pleased with the recognition and Hall wrote that "Her Ladyship is considerably taller than Mrs John Hall was." 188

Reviewing his time as premier, Hall regretted that some measures had not been enacted. In particular, he cited legislation concerning entail, hospitals, charitable aid and the Legislative Council. 189 He contended that excessive stonewalling had so delayed proceedings in the House that the introduction of these bills had to be postponed. On the whole, though, Hall was gratified with what his ministry had achieved. The electoral reforms of which Grey had often spoken, he had effected. His government had introduced universal manhood suffrage and had passed the Triennial Parliaments Act which gave electorates greater influence with their representatives. Because Hall's conservative ministry had enacted these two 'democratic' measures, it had killed Grey's attempt to arouse popular sentiment against the propertied classes. It had consolidated its support by suppressing the agitation at Parihaka which Grey's government had provoked. It had increased the efficiency of government departments by streamlining their organization and centralizing them in Wellington. It had pruned expenditure on public works and had put the railways under an independent board of management which eliminated the practice of building lines to curry political favour and serve personal interests. And it had boosted government income by the introduction of a property tax. By the time of his resignation, Hall was able to rejoice that the financial crisis which he had inherited from Vogel and Grey had been overcome and that the colony's budget was in the black. The borrow and spend policies of the 1870s were over and the colony had been set on a more prudent path.

188 JH to TWH, 1 June 1882, Fol. 104, SJHP.
189 JH to W. Fox, 15 April 1882, MS x 913, p. 118, SJHP.
CHAPTER 9

COLONIALS AT HOME AND ABROAD

Even with regard to general N.Z. news I find every item to be welcome. 30 years life there gives one an interest for N.Z. which I cannot feel for any other place.¹

After his term as premier, Hall found it difficult to accept the powerlessness of being a backbencher. No longer could he exert his influence over the colonial treasurer and shape economic directives. He disapproved of the relaxation of financial stringency which Atkinson proposed during the 1882 session.² Hall grumbled that he found it "very hard work to hold [his] tongue."³ He could not denounce the policy because to do so would involve reference to secret, official information and he also believed that criticism of his colleagues would be disloyal. His hope that the opposition would curtail expenditure by attacking the government estimates was also frustrated because none of its members was competent enough to speak out.⁴

Hall's contribution to the session was also limited by his poor health. While a strict routine of regular times for eating, recreation and rest at Hororata had restored him a little, he admitted that his attendance at the session had been "a mistake".⁵ The late hours the Assembly worked were not conducive to his recovery. He was unable to do his own paperwork and, as she had done before when he was exhausted, his wife acted as amanuensis and secretary.⁶ When the session was over, the return to the rest and regular regime of rural life was insufficient to complete a cure and his medical advisers insisted that he leave New Zealand in order to remove himself from the pressure of business and calls to political duty.⁷

¹ JH to GWH, 14 November 1883, Private Letter Book 14 October 1883 - 1 June 1886, p. 31, HC.
² JH to F.D. Bell, 10 September 1882, MS x 913, p. 217, SJHP.
³ JH to W. Gisborne, 10 August 1882, MS x 932, p. 174, SJHP.
⁴ JH to F.D. Bell, 10 September 1882, MS x 913, pp. 218 and 217, SJHP.
⁵ JH to F.D. Bell, 18 May 1882, MS x 913, p. 156, SJHP; JH to J.C. Firth, 17 October 1882, MS x 932, p. 229, SJHP.
⁶ Rose to J.G. Ruddenklau, 8 December 1882, MS x 932, p. 238, SJHP.
⁷ JH to [?] Le Champion, 5 January 1884, Private Letter Book 1 January 1883 - 4 May 1884, p. 76, HC.
In February 1883, the whole family set sail for England in the Lady Jocelyn, one of the first vessels which carried frozen meat to the British market.

A voyage half way round the world remained a rigorous enterprise. The route round Cape Horn with no port of call took three and a half months even though the vessel was powered by sail and steam. Because there were 100 tons of machinery on its upper deck, the ship rolled a great deal in bad weather. As a result, Hall was forced to abandon his swing bed because he was pitched to the ceiling and on several occasions a good night's sleep was impossible. The provision of sufficient fresh water was also a problem. There was much complaint when washing water was reduced from three to two pints a day. Keeping food fit to eat was also difficult. Vegetables were stored between the decks and when these went rotten even first class passengers like the Halls could not escape the stench which permeated the vessel. The only remedy was to throw the rotten onions and potatoes overboard. By these standards, the rat in Lady Hall's cabin was a trivial concern but she was greatly relieved when her husband and sons killed it.8

Life aboard ship also had very real perils. The wind and the roughness of the seas off Cape Horn were exceptional and even the captain feared for the ship's safety. Worse still, at the height of the gale, there was a fire in the engineer's cabin. While the flames were quickly extinguished, the hazard was potentially very serious. Another danger was the dense fog in the English Channel. In the complete absence of visual contact, the Lady Jocelyn was nearly rammed by a steamer and only the use of whistle and foghorn prevented disaster. These poor conditions persisted and three days later the Lady Jocelyn almost ran down a schooner. A full realization of the risks they had run came to Hall a week later when two New Zealand ships did collide in the Channel and many lives were lost.9 As a result of his experiences, Hall resolved henceforth to travel by steamer.

Hall's activities in London were more circumscribed than they had been ten years before. While he followed a similar pattern of interests by visiting the shops, making excursions with his family and attending to his business affairs, he was disinclined to engage

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8 For details of the voyage see 24 February - 13 June 1883, Diary 1877-78-83, GHHC and JH to GWH, 10 July 1883, Private Letters 1 January 1883 - 14 October 1883, p. 152, HC.
9 Ibid.
in social activity more than necessary. Another symptom of his more jaundiced condition was that he grumbled about the Leathersellers' Guild dinners which he now found a "horrid waste of time & money." The most significant change he noted in London itself was the "amazing" increase in "well appointed carriages" indicative of the enormous fortunes being made, all of which left him speculating about the "accompanying poverty".

Hall's principal preoccupation was to attend the House of Commons and his visits were frequent enough to be commented on in the press. He was anxious to discern the reaction of the British government to the politics of the Pacific. On the one hand, the Australasian colonies had imperial ambitions of their own in the region as Queensland's attempt to annex New Guinea in April 1883 had demonstrated; and on the other, the colonies were increasingly alarmed at the growing interest and activity of other European powers in what they regarded as a British sphere of influence. Hall was dismayed to discover that while some politicians were sympathetic to the colonial perspective, Lord Derby, the colonial secretary, the man whose opinion most counted, "considers Colonies a bore, & the less we have of them the better." As a formality, Derby invited Hall to call upon him but their different priorities made the interview an awkward one. Hall described Lord Derby as "a miserable, timid, selfish unsympathising creature." Derby, by contrast, thought Hall "acute and gentlemanlike" and was interested that Hall repudiated the belief that Maori were dying out. He recorded that Hall had defended "the large outlay and heavy debt" which New Zealand had incurred in the Vogel era, saying that it was "necessary to the opening up of the

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10 1883, Diary 1877-78-83, GHHC.
11 Ibid., 11 July 1883.
12 Ibid., 3 July 1883.
13 'Society', undated clipping in M.I. Burwood to JH, 10 July 1883, Fol. 107, SJHP.
16 2 July 1883, Diary 1877-78-83, GHHC.
17 JH to GWH, 9 August 1883, Private Letters 1 January 1883 - 14 October 1883, p. 73, HC.
18 JH to W. Rolleston, 24 March 1884, Private Letters 1 January 1883 - 4 May 1884, p. 85, HC.
country." In this situation, Hall was first and foremost a patriotic colonial ready to defend the colony's record. He was a critic of Vogelism only second.

Responsibility for his wider family engaged Hall's attention. He examined the financial papers of his in-laws, the Stacpoole's, and attempted to reassure his wife's sister, Julia Stacpoole, that when her invalid husband resigned his living as a clergyman, they would still be able to manage. Julia had an investment in her own name in New Zealand property worth £3,796. Of much greater concern was Hall's sister, Grace Neall, who was a widow. Hall checked her financial affairs and took the initiative in calling together the other executors of John Neall's will. Grace was not consulted when these four men put her estate in order. Hall also took it upon himself to advise her on how to bring up her children, whom he considered undisciplined. Her control over her family did not improve, however, and Hall continued to record his displeasure: "Much distressed at unruly conduct of children...Afraid it is Grace's fault, who seems unable to be firm & decided with them." Nor was Hall able to use his connections to secure her son, George, a position with the Bank of New Zealand in London. The role of patronage was declining and George failed the examination which appointees were required to sit.

Two months after the family's arrival in England, Hall's health was still cause for anxiety. He continued to be troubled with headaches and dizziness and was fearful that he was stricken with brain disease. He sought specialist opinion and was told that he had overstrained his nervous system for which prolonged rest was prescribed. Hall's own physician, Dr Gerald Harper, son of Bishop Harper of Christchurch, explained:

Too much work tends to lessen the vigour of an organ such as the brain in particular, so that it cannot obtain for a time it's [sic] proper amount of

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19 Diary, 17 July 1883, Lord Derby, Colonial Secretary. Papers of Lord Derby, Liverpool Public Library Australian Joint Copying Project microfilm M 1972. My thanks to Dr Luke Trainor for giving me the reference.
20 5 August 1883, Diary 1877-78-83, GHHC.
21 Memoranda for Messrs Harman & Stevens respecting Sir John Hall's Property, [February 1883], Private Letters 1 January 1883 - 14 October 1883, p. 93, HC.
22 25 August 1883, Diary 1877-78-83, GHHC.
23 Ibid. 27 August 1883; JH to GWH, 10 July 1883, Private Letters 1 January 1883 - 14 October 1883, p. 155, HC.
24 7 December 1883, Diary 1877-78-83, GHHC.
25 JH to GWH, 9 August 1883, Private Letters 1 January 1883 - 14 October 1883, p. 173, HC.
26 31 August and 3 September 1883, Diary 1877-78-83, GHHC.
nourishment. You must be content to let it lie fallow for several months to come.27

Hall and Rose discussed where in England their sons would continue their education. Both were guided by curriculum, environment and the counsel of family and acquaintances. Competition for academic places was keen and not all institutions were considered suitable. Douglas Stacpoole, who had approached the warden of Keble College, Oxford, on Hall's behalf, "rejoiced" that both Wilfred and Dryden were accepted there because Keble was one of the few colleges not "tainted" by the new German biblical scholarship. He also advised Hall that "besides good & car[e]ful religious training there is great heed to economy & simple habits of life."28 Like his father, Hall repudiated the value of a classical education29 but he was forced to compromise and wrote of Wilfred that

His time is more given to Greek & Latin than I could wish, but the domestic regime at Keble is such a vast improvement on the older Colleges, that I have swallowed the Classics.30

After he completed his degree, Wilfred realized his father's wish by spending time on the Continent learning French and German. Careful consideration was given to finding a school where Dryden could be tutored in preparation for his entry to Keble. Hall was alarmed that one school's provision of cricket and football might be so attractive to the sport-loving Dryden that it would retard his scholastic success.31 Rose placed great emphasis on a healthy site, domestic well-being and the maturity of the master's wife and stated her preference for Shennington Rectory, the school which was eventually chosen.32 On the recommendation of a Christchurch connection, Godfrey attended Radley College, a new public school, which had been founded by the brother of Henry Sewell, one of Hall's Canterbury Association colleagues.33 Although Hall described it as "an expensive High

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27 G. Harper to JH, 7 September 1883, Fol. 108, SJHP.
28 A.D. Stacpoole to JH, 23 December 1882, Letters re choice of school 1882/3, HC.
29 At the Leathersellers Guild he was among the minority which supported anti-classical training. 6 January 1886, Diary 1886, GHHC.
30 JH to W. Rolleston, 24 March 1884, Private Letters 1 January 1883 - 4 May 1884, p. 83, HC.
31 JH to A.D. Stacpoole, 21 February 1883, Private Letters 1 January 1883 - 4 May 1884, p. 30, SJHP.
32 Rose to JH, 9 August 1883, Letters re choice of school 1882/3, HC.
33 Canon Stanford advised on the school and A. Maude, brother of T.W. Maude and formerly a master at Radley, recommended Godfrey's tutor.
Church place," he was primarily concerned that it had "a very good name for care & supervision of the boys" because Godfrey had delicate health. 34

Doubts existed about whether the New Zealand-born measured up to their British contemporaries. As first-generation colonials, both Wilfred and Dryden were test cases. Wilfred's success in the entrance examination to Oxford university and his invitation to take an honours degree removed the anxiety about the relative academic standards of New Zealand and British schools. Wilfred was one of the first New Zealand scholars to undertake a degree in Britain and Hall made it clear to him that he carried a responsibility for establishing a creditable record. 35 The comparison also had a physical dimension. A relieved Hall wrote to a friend that by gaining a place in the Oxford university rugby team, Dryden had shown that New Zealanders were "not a degenerate race." 36 Similarly, he was able to inform his brother that Dryden was, he thought, "the first Colonial youth" to have played for Oxford and he rejoiced "that my boy should be upholding the character of Colonists for strength & manliness." 37

Hall's daughters were treated differently from their brothers. For women of their rank emphasis was placed on the acquisition of accomplishments. Mildred had already 'come out' in New Zealand. Mary had attended Oldenburg House in Christchurch run by Johanne Lohse, a writer on women's education. 38 Given the option, Mary had not studied Latin but had spent four hours a week on drawing. 39 Furtherance of academic pursuits was discounted and the girls accompanied their parents to Dresden which was a popular place for English and American girls who were not of the "fashionable, extravagant set" to finish their education. 40 Hall later wrote of his daughters that

34 JH to GWH, 5 September 1883, Private Letters 1 January 1883 - 14 October 1883, p. 214, HC.
35 Ibid., JH to Wilfred, 9 October 1883, p. 247.
36 JH to R.J.S. Harman, 17 December 1885, Private Letter Book 14 October 1883 - 1 June 1886, p. 312, HC.
37 Ibid., JH to GWH, 17 December 1885, p. 304.
39 J. Lohse to JH, 9 December 1882, Fol. 105, SJHP.
40 JH to GWH, 30 October 1883, Private Letter Book 14 October 1883 - 1 June 1886, p. 19, HC.
The girls are working very well, both of them at German, Mildred at singing & painting & Mary at the Piano on which she practises 3 hours a day & is beginning to play very nicely.41

While the doctors had prescribed a leisurely life, Hall was bored by life in Dresden. The Anglo-American community, in whose social activities the Halls participated, was predominantly female and Hall missed masculine pursuits and companionship.42 Although he could call on his wife and elder daughter to write his New Zealand letters, his headaches and medical advice obliged him to limit his reading.43 This meant that his chief source of information about New Zealand was The Lyttelton Times' summary which George sent him. That Hall still held fast to his disparaging estimate of that newspaper he revealed when he announced to his brother: "I am proof against its political poison & will take care that nobody else imbibles it."44 When his health improved at the beginning of 1884, Hall made regular visits to the gentlemen's club in Dresden where he resumed his reading of newspapers and parliamentary debates.

Exploring Dresden and its environs did provide a different outlet for Hall's restless energy and he admitted that these excursions benefited his health. He took particular interest in museums and art galleries and made appointments to see the breeders of stud sheep. As he did at home, he attended church regularly and once again he showed himself to be free of sectarian bias. While he worshipped principally at the English church, he also went to Lutheran, Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox services. He visited other cities, notably Leipzig and Berlin, and went as far afield as Prague and Vienna. In Vienna he particularly enjoyed an evening spent discussing archaeological excavations and the ascent of the Hochstetter Dome in the Southern Alps with Ferdinand Hochstetter, the German geologist who had made mineralogical surveys in New Zealand in 1859.45 As he travelled, Hall enjoyed conversing with other people especially when he could discuss politics.46

41 Ibid., JH to GWH, 1 January [1884], p. 62.
42 Ibid., JH to GWH, 30 October 1883, p. 19.
43 JH to F. Whitaker, 30 September 1883, Private Letters 1 January 1883 - 4 May 1884, p. 63, HC.
44 JH to GWH, 14 November 1883, Private Letter Book 14 October 1883 - 1 June 1886, p. 31, HC.
45 1 November 1883, Diary 1877-78-83, GHHC.
46 For details of Hall's activities see 19 September 1883 - 23 April 1884, Diary 1877-78-83 and Diary 1884, GHHC.
Hall could not relinquish his business affairs altogether. He made three visits to England from Dresden. The two day journey could be arduous and on the first occasion he took the opportunity to visit old haunts. In Hamburg, he renewed his acquaintance with Edmund Kern, an old schoolfriend. For twenty years Kern had been "a very successful Brazilian merchant" and their discussion may have rekindled Hall's earlier interest in South America.\(^4^7\) Where Hall had been struck by the visible signs of great wealth in London, when he landed at Hull, he found it "very dirty, smoky & busy." Besides visiting friends and relatives there, he went to the church in which he was married and his father's grave at Elloughton. On the way south, he was able to check on the well-being of his sons. Hall's travels, however, were chiefly motivated by his financial interests. His major concern was to finalize his mortgage on Rakaia Terrace Station but on this and subsequent trips he also made frequent visits to the agent general's office.\(^4^8\) Here he could gather up to date information on New Zealand and on one occasion his financial expertise saved the colony £40,000.\(^4^9\) There was some discussion at this time of Hall's becoming the next agent general but he favoured Dillon Bell's continuing in office.\(^5^0\)

By the end of March 1884, Hall had decided to make a return visit to New Zealand while his wife chose to remain in England to be close to the family.\(^5^1\) The separation was stressful for both of them. He had two return bouts of headaches and tried to avoid thinking of his departure.\(^5^2\) That Hall found the absence from Rose hard to bear is indicated by the fact that this was one of the few times that he kept her letters. Rose lamented that she must experience the "dreadful ordeal" of their being apart for at least six months, not knowing how he fared except for the monthly letters.\(^5^3\) She found the interval between mail deliveries intolerable and informed her husband: "I am wearying for the sight of your handwriting again."\(^5^4\) Distance and danger combined to give both of them a sense of dread which was worsened by the death of friends and contemporaries. A month after Hall left, Rose confessed that

\(^4^7\) 21 November 1883, Diary 1877-78-83, GHHC.
\(^4^8\) For details of Hall's trip to Britain see ibid., 20 November to 13 December 1883.
\(^4^9\) 26 March 1884, Diary 1884, GHHC.
\(^5^0\) Ibid., 4 April 1884.
\(^5^1\) JH to JEF, 30 January 1884, Private Letter Book 14 October 1883 - 1 June 1886, 75a, p. 2, HC.
\(^5^2\) 15 and 16 June, 15-21 July and 20 August 1884, Diary 1884, GHHC.
\(^5^3\) Rose to JH, 20 September 1884, Fol. 114, SJHP.
\(^5^4\) Rose to JH, 29 October 1884, Fol. 114, SJHP.
For weeks before you went away I had been haunted by a foreboding that after this parting we should not meet again in this world & when I read of your words alluding to the same dreadful [sic] thoughts...it seemed like a voice from the other side of the world confirming all my own fears...You do not know how I even shrank from asking you the questions about your will for it seemed like recognizing a probability which I dreaded to contemplate.55

Rose's letters from this period reveal her total involvement with her husband. She unquestioningly accepted his headship of the family. If he were to die, his opinions would be binding: "your wishes would ever be laws to me in death as they have been in your life."56 Her writing gave her a chance to express her grief at his absence and three days after he had left she explained how "Every action of my daily life seems more or less connected with thoughts of you". When she was overwhelmed with sadness her religious faith gave her comfort.57 As time wore on the practical decisions that she was called on to make were guided by her understanding of what her husband would have wanted. She was reluctant to accept a wedding invitation but went to the ceremony because she believed that he would have wished it. Acceptance gave her the opportunity to buy a new dress but she justified her purchase by adding:

I have chosen for the dress a dark blue which will be useful & which you will like & as I must have had [sic] new dresses of a handsome description before returning to New Zealand it is only anticipating a necessary outlay.58

Despite her seriousness, Rose could also tease her husband about his beliefs. When Hall wrote that his encounter with American women had given him a greater appreciation of English women, she replied that this was "of course a great matter of congratulations!!!! I always felt that you had a low estimate of the "weaker sex.""59 Acknowledgement of the paternal hierarchy was inculcated into the family. This was confirmed by her action when she received Hall's first letter: "I gathered the family around me & read aloud to them the tidings of the absent head."60 Both she and the young people aimed "to do as we think the dear Father would like."61

55 Rose to JH, 20 September 1884, Fol. 114, SJHP.
56 Ibid.
57 Rose to JH, 24 August 1884, Fol. 113, SJHP.
58 Rose to JH, 10 September 1884, Fol. 114, SJHP.
59 Rose to JH, 28 November 1884, Fol. 115, SJHP.
60 Rose to JH, 24 August 1884, Fol. 113, SJHP.
61 Rose to JH, 5 September 1884, Fol. 114, SJHP.
Her descriptions of the family provide a glimpse of their characters. She was saddened that Wilfred had not made any friends at university. She perceived that he had inherited her father's and her own "unsociable nature" although she noted that her husband's brother, George, also had a "preference for a quiet retired life". Her affinity with "dear steady old Wilfred" made her protective and defensive of him. Wilfred, meanwhile, was busily engaged knitting "a pair of long stockings." In contrast, Dryden had a more "genial" and "sociable" temperament and she hoped that when the brothers shared rooms at Oxford, Dryden's sunnier personality would relieve Wilfred's isolation. Godfrey, whom Rose described as "such a dear bright cunning little fellow", was withdrawn at school but broke out at home. Because their brothers were away, Mildred and Mary had more to do with their mother. She found their presence "a great comfort." Mildred had similar interests and helped Rose to decorate the church for harvest festival. Mary, however, was ill and Rose became increasingly anxious as no medical prescription had yet done Mary any good and she found it "very sad to see a young thing suffer so much pain & look so ill." Several months elapsed before Mary's health improved and this delay made Rose even more eager for her husband's speedy return.

While Rose was pre-occupied with domestic concerns, Hall was a tourist busily exploring the trans-American route to New Zealand. There was much that was novel to engage his attention in the landscape and social practice. From his landfall at Quebec, he travelled south to New York where he was impressed with the city's size but appalled at the prevailing dirt and squalor. At the Niagara Falls his thoughts and emotions were carried away by the grandeur of the scene but he was quickly returned to reality "by the extortion of the residents." The rail journey to San Francisco went via Salt Lake City which afforded him the opportunity to observe quite a different type of religious community. He wrote that it "Sounded odd to hear [a] Mormon speaking of himself & his brethren as the only authorised Ministers of God." He watched delegates to a Mormon conference driving home with their wives, who "varied in number up to five." He thought that the women were even more "subdued" and "depressed" than the men but when he realized that the groups of women in front of the shop windows were discussing the hats on display he concluded: "Woman['s]
nature is [the] same in Salt Lake as in Regent Street." In "Garish & Babylonish" San Francisco he was even more sceptical when he encountered the popular pseudo-science of phrenology which attempted to define character from the shape of the skull. He dismissed it as "claptrap & rubbish." 66

The experience of having lived in New Zealand set Hall and his fellow expatriates apart. There was something distinctive about them which meant that they could identify others who had resided in the colony. Thus, in the early days of the voyage from California to Auckland, Hall noted that an old man from Wellington "had fixed on me as a Colonial, but not recognised me." 67

Hall missed his family when he was by himself and shipboard life provided no outlet for his energy. Only on the voyage to Auckland does his diary briefly approach the introspection which was a feature of his wife's correspondence:

I feel rather lonely, especially of an evening, when the lamps are too poor to enable me to read, & the few English people who are pleasant companions are occupied. 68

Hall arrived back in New Zealand in mid-November. He made the most of his travels from Auckland to Christchurch to gather informed political comment. Factional alliances had altered dramatically so that Hall's former colleagues had been ousted from office. Robert Stout was now the nominal premier with Vogel as colonial treasurer but effective head of the ministry. After discussion with Whitaker at Auckland, Hall could only lament that

Extravagance & jobbing are again rampant. Vogel is largely increasing our debt, & Stout is no check. We agreed that while we should speak to Vogel if we met him, we would not call upon him. 69

In New Plymouth, Atkinson told a similar story. 70

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66 For Hall's travels in North America see 31 August to 25 October 1884, Diary 1884, GHHC.
67 Ibid., 27 October 1884.
68 Ibid., 29 October 1884.
69 Ibid., 15 November 1884.
70 Ibid., 17 November 1884.
Travelling overland from Taranaki to Wellington, Hall could see the improvements made in the two and a half years since he had last visited the area. He considered that the continued presence of the constabulary was still a necessity and did not visit Te Whiti at Parihaka although his travelling companions George Fenwick, managing director of The Otago Daily Times, and Robert Parris, Fox’s assistant on the West Coast commission, did so. More significantly, while in Taranaki, he “preached” to press and farmers alike of the importance of taking advantage of refrigerated shipping to send cheese and butter to the United Kingdom.

Once in the capital, Hall was able to assess other changes which had occurred in his absence and at the same time renew his acquaintance with Charles Lemon, the director of telegraphs. Hall saw for himself the results of government spending. He disapproved of "the sumptuous scale" of the new post and telegraph offices and considered the furnishing of some rooms "unnecessarily extravagant". Lemon’s position and his initiative, however, had ensured that the colony had been quick to utilize the existing telegraph pole network for installing the recently invented telephone. Lemon was also alert to the potential of electricity and, four years before the first public supply, he was able to show Hall how his personal generator provided lighting for his own home.

Hall reached Canterbury at the end of November and engaged in several matters of private business. He checked expensive improvements at Rakaia Terrace Station and investigated the viability of building an artesian well. He took steps to build a house in Riccarton on his land called Riseholme, but delayed the project when he discovered that

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71 Ibid., 19 November 1884.
72 Ibid., 17 and 20 November 1884.
73 Ibid., 23 November 1884.
74 B. Fraser, ed., The New Zealand Book of Events, Auckland, Reed Methuen, 1986, p. 129.
75 23 November 1884, Diary 1884, GHHC. Hall was aware of Lemon’s interest and when visiting the electrical exhibition in Vienna, he had made notes to send to him. 31 October 1883, Diary 1877-78-83, GHHC. See also JH to C. Lemon, 27 December 1883, Private Letter Book 14 October 1883 - 1 June 1886, pp. 51-52, HC.
76 JH to W. Rolleston, 24 March 1884, Private Letters 1 January 1883 - 4 May 1884, p. 83, HC; 2 January 1885, Diary 1885, GHHC.
77 Hall wrote of having plans prepared for Riseholme in 1884 see JH to GWH, 17 July 1884, Private Letter Book 14 October 1883 - 1 June 1886, p. 217, HC. Details about the building of Riseholme were obscure. Hall’s great-grandson, John Hall, located the site and discovered photographs of the house held by G. Kelly of
it would cost nearly twice as much as he expected. Even more of a worry was that William Morland, the man who farmed the property, was an alcoholic. Morland had taken the pledge but this had failed to be effective. Hall was reluctant to evict him especially as Morland had a wife and eight children. Hall acknowledged the responsibility Sarah Morland had already displayed and the partnership role women played on colonial smallholdings by providing that, if her husband lapsed again, she would run Riseholme with her brother-in-law's guidance. The arrangement was apparently successful as the Morlands were still resident at Riseholme when Hall returned there in 1887.

Hall was pleased to be reunited with his brothers in Canterbury but meeting up again with fellow 'pilgrims' pressed home the passage of time and his own mortality. Hall was aware that the pioneers had experienced an important phase of the colony's history and that their first-hand account of events was irreplaceable. In the North Island he had lamented that Robert Parris could not be persuaded "to commit his recollections to writing." Hall enjoyed talking of old times and when Edward Seager came to Hororata the two men spent several hours reminiscing about the days when both had been involved with police work in Lyttelton. He also spent an evening with John Buller, his early manager at Rakaia Terrace Station, who was in Christchurch for his father's funeral. Hall's own contemporaries were dying. He attended the funeral of Thomas Duncan, former provincial councillor and crown prosecutor of the supreme court. Hall commented on two fellow mourners. He recorded that Mark Stoddart, the original owner of much of Hall's run, now "looked very shrunken" and that Judge Gresson, a colleague from Hall's time on the bench, was noticeable for his "very white hair."


78 23 December 1884, Diary 1884, GHHC. Carpenters' wages were over twice those charged in England and Frederick Strouts, the Christchurch architect, pointed out that for this reason brick would cost only 15% more than wood. Ibid., 12 December 1884.

79 Ibid., 27 November 1884; JH to E.C.J. Stevens, 10 March 1886, Private Letter Book 14 October 1883 - 1 June 1886, HC.

80 26 December 1884, Diary 1884, GHHC.

81 13 January 1887, Diary 1887, GHHC.

82 19 November 1884, Diary 1884, GHHC.

83 Ibid., 5 December 1884.

84 Ibid., 26 November 1884.

85 LT, 23 December 1884.

86 24 December 1884, Diary 1884, GHHC.
In January 1885, after a two month stay in New Zealand, Hall sailed for Britain. On his way back, he spent two months in South America. He made direct comparisons with New Zealand and in doing so confirmed the opinions he had formed three decades earlier. Greatly alarmed as he was with the current policies of the New Zealand government,\(^{87}\) he was even more horrified at the financial instability and commercial confusion which dogged Brazil, Uruguay and Argentina. Political life was more placid in New Zealand and although high spirits were a feature of the colonial election hustings, a change of government would not elicit, as it did in Rio de Janeiro, "Apprehensions of broken windows, & of canaille using opportunity for plunder." There it was "not unusual" for troops to be called out to control such disturbances.\(^{88}\)

Hall's travels in South America focused on sheep farming. The River Plate region was proving a major competitor for New Zealand in the British wool and frozen meat market and Hall scrutinized practices and conditions closely. He visited several large properties and was appalled at the waste, general "slovenliness" and "chronic" mismanagement. He concluded that the major drawbacks there were the "large number of hands, scab, burr, dust [and] foot rot." He was pleased to find that the condition of the sheep and the quality of the wool were inferior to those of his own flocks.\(^{89}\)

Hall recognized that, despite all their difficulties, these countries had the advantages of cheap labour and a high carrying capacity and would continue to undercut colonial prices.\(^{90}\) For these reasons Hall believed that South America was an attractive prospect for those starting out in life who were willing to seize their opportunities.\(^{91}\) Portuguese, Italians, the Basques and the Irish had all prospered and young colonials like Stafford's sons were among those working on the estates which Hall visited.\(^{92}\) He conceded that for such young men the Plate district was a better investment than New Zealand but as he had done in 1851, he considered that there were fewer complications in an English colony. He also noted that those who settled in Argentina were absorbed into the dominant Spanish culture.\(^{93}\)

\(^{87}\) JH to J.D. Ormond, 18 January 1887, Manuscript Letter Book, HC.
\(^{88}\) 11 February 1885, Diary 1885, GHHC.
\(^{89}\) For details of Hall's travels in South America see ibid., 7 February to 31 March 1885.
\(^{90}\) Ibid., 23 February and 15 July 1885.
\(^{91}\) Ibid., 12 July 1885.
\(^{92}\) Ibid., 12 to 26 February 1885.
\(^{93}\) Ibid., 29 September, 20 March and 19 February 1885.
Meanwhile, he himself was torn. On the one hand, he wanted to sell Rakaia Terrace Station and complained that

the future outlook for N.Z. was deplorable, at least for property owners. Wool falling, falling, falling. Taxation rising, rising, rising. 94

On the other hand, he had no doubt that he would continue to live in New Zealand and was envious of other colonists returning there.

When Hall arrived in Britain at the end of April 1885, meeting old friends and revisiting old haunts led him to assess the wisdom of the choices he had made earlier in his life. The advice that the Church of England would afford little advancement was well borne out by the fate of William Bell who was still a curate after 24 years. 95 Furthermore, Bell had little prospect of promotion because the "Bishop has little patronage, & for important positions young men are preferred." 96 He made a visit with Dryden, Mildred and Mary to the general post office and of his old room he wrote:

It is almost unaltered. 33 years have passed over my head since I last saw its interior - the best part of my life. Would it have been better for me to remain there? I think not. I have made many mistakes, but this was hardly one. 97

These reminders of the dilemmas of his own youth shaped Hall's aspirations for his sons. Wilfred had seriously considered but rejected taking holy orders and Hall believed this decision to be the right one. When Wilfred might have been having second thoughts, Hall wrote to him at Oxford: "This career should never be entered for its worldly prospects, but for its opportunities of doing good to others." 98 Hall informed Wilfred that if he were to proceed

I would not say no. But you should not do so without the fullest heart searching, & also I think consultation with such friends as Mr Bell...His battle of life has been & is a hard one, & he can tell you of difficulties which you will meet with & how they may be overcome. 99

94 Ibid., 9 July 1885.
95 22 July 1883, Diary 1877-78-83, GHHC.
96 25 May 1885, Diary 1885, GHHC.
97 Ibid., 8 June 1885.
98 JH to Wilfred, [2 November 1886], Fol. 131, SJHP.
99 Ibid.
In the same letter, Hall echoed the tones of his own father when he encouraged Wilfred not to be disheartened by the setback he had met with in regard to a tutorship:

While I would never recommend you to be importunate, be sure that those who are easily put off, will be put off. Brace yourself up for another call, or whatever may be necessary, to keep yourself in remembrance. I know it is unpleasant. I hate it myself, but it has got to be done if we do not want to see other, cheekier men pass us by. 100

Part of his goal in writing the letter was to encourage the reticent Wilfred to communicate his real wishes. He explained:

Indecision & want of steadfastness of purpose is very dangerous & therefore change should not be lightly thought of but if you think you see clearly that another career would be better for you I shall be ready to go into the matter with you & consider it...I am only anxious to meet an unwillingness you might possibly have to tell me of any change in your views under the impression that it is too late. 101

He also expressed the wish that "Perhaps it would be better for both if there were more interchange of thought in future...than there has been in the past." 102 Hall did not perceive that his own achievements, his strong ideas and the fact that he was used to influencing others severely inhibited his son's response.

Hall's wealth placed his sons in a social set which gave them a different perspective from their father's, yet he expected them not only to exhibit the qualities which he believed had contributed to his own eventual success but also abide to by the code of conduct which he had been compelled to observe. Consequently, he was both depressed and perplexed by Wilfred's personality which was so opposite to his own. 103 He conceded that Wilfred was "conscientious" but regretted that he had "no industry or geniality." 104 He was clearly disappointed when Wilfred failed to gain honours in any paper and put the result down to "his natural indolence." 105 While Hall had greater hopes of Dryden and found his nature more congenial than Wilfred's, he judged Dryden "too self asserting, rough in his manners, fond of amusement, & apt to take his tone from his surroundings." 106 The thrift which had

100 Ibid.
101 Ibid.
102 Ibid.
103 2 August 1885, Diary 1885, GHHC.
104 Ibid., 17 October 1885.
105 Ibid., 17 July 1885.
106 Ibid., 16 October 1885.
governed Hall’s own upbringing was not a priority for Dryden and his peers but Hall insisted that Dryden live within his means.  

When Dryden admitted debts worth £150, Hall made it quite clear that "altho' I forgive & help you in this session I will not do so a second time."  

With Godfrey he echoed his own father’s insistence on the importance of presentation. In 1885, Hall considered Godfrey’s handwriting unsatisfactory and five years later when he was 22 years old Godfrey was still aware of his father’s displeasure with his penmanship.  

By this stage Hall not only advocated writing lessons but recommended that Godfrey

keep on practising for an hour every day...Put a date on each day’s work, & keep it for me to look at when I get to Christchurch.

In the meantime, Hall was pleased that even though Godfrey, his favourite son, had not repeated his success of 1883 when he had won two prizes, he had applied himself to his studies.

Above everything else, Hall was driven by his anxiety to do the best for his family. He was sincere when he wrote to Wilfred: "Nothing is nearer to my heart nor more constantly in my thoughts than my childrens [sic] prospects in life."  

Unlike his own father, he had the means to provide them with a university education and the professional careers considered were appropriate to their status. Wilfred elected to become a teacher and Dryden a lawyer. These choices did not necessarily suit them and Wilfred later reminded his father:

I think I told you once that I decided to take up teaching not because I was particularly attracted to it so much as because I could not think of any other profession for which I was fitted.

Hall himself wondered whether Dryden may not have been better to have chosen an "outdoor occupation" rather than the law.

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107 Ibid., 14 September 1885.
108 Dryden to JH, 5 April 1888, and enclosure JH to Dryden, 19 May 1888, Fol. 144, SJHP.
109 1 May 1885, Diary 1885, GHHC; Godfrey to JH, 19 August 1890, Fol. 167, SJHP.
110 JH to Godfrey, 28 August 1890, Manuscript Letter Book, HC.
111 JH to GWH, 1 January [1884], Private Letter Book 14 October 1883 - 1 June 1886, p. 66, HC; 22 December 1885, Diary 1885, GHHC.
112 JH to Wilfred, [2 November 1886], Fol. 131, SJHP.
113 Wilfred to JH, 7 March 1891, Fol. 175, SJHP.
114 16 October 1885, Diary 1885, GHHC.
Hall did not inflict the same degree of pressure on his daughters. They appear to have accepted their more circumscribed roles. In temperament and talents Mildred was closest to her father of all the children. During his absence, she had kept the accounts and the two went through them together. She was a practical person and within the domestic sphere she took on responsibilities such as checking the inventory of a house which the Halls rented. Mary was artistic and she helped Hall arrange the German photographs. For both daughters social activities were given a high priority and England afforded them the opportunity to meet a larger number of social equals among their contemporaries than they could ever expect in New Zealand. Mary "enjoyed herself very much" at her first ball, where about five hundred people were present.

The contrast between the modest means of Hall's past and his present wealth created some tension in his feelings towards other people. He was unable to shrug off the penny pinching habits of his youth. He could neither indulge in luxury himself nor relax readily with those who were at ease with their affluence. His preference was for simple and unostentatious living. He spent a weekend in Sussex at the home of Donald Larnach, the London manager of the Bank of New South Wales who was also uncle of the New Zealand politician, William Larnach. Describing the Larnach estate, Hall commented: "All this seems on a lavish scale even for a millionaire." After the visit he wrote:

Am very glad to have seen a swell country residence, & Larnachs were most kind. But this kind of living would be oppressive to me, & two or three lower steps would be much more enjoyable.

Even when the host and hostess were less extravagant, Hall still felt uncomfortable and complained of "Too little repose & ease." He thought getting dressed for dinner and having a butler to handle clothes superfluous. His reaction differed from that of those

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115 Ibid., 23 May 1885.
116 Ibid., 20 August 1885.
117 Ibid., 4 June 1885.
118 Ibid., 16 June 1885.
119 JH to [F.D.] Bell, 17 July 1883, Private Letters 1 January 1883 - 4 May 1884, p. 50, SJHP.
120 16 August 1885, Diary 1885, GHHC.
121 Ibid., 17 August 1885.
122 Ibid., 2 November 1885.
123 20 December 1888, Diary 1888, GHHC.
colonials who were eager to be accepted in British society and spent lavishly to achieve that goal.\textsuperscript{124}

With his health restored, Hall was far more sociable than he had been in 1883. He enjoyed meeting the rich and famous. As renter warden of the Leathersellers' Guild he attended a banquet at the Mansion House given by the lord mayor of London in 1886 and recounted:

\begin{quote}
R[ose] & self at High Table nearly opposite [the] Lord Mayor. Most noteworthy figure Lady Burdett Coutts - looking old & thinnish, but good & kind. Splendid tiara of diamonds. Opposite us Lord & Lady Derramore: more diamonds.\textsuperscript{125}
\end{quote}

Hall revealed that essentially he was an onlooker when he summed up the evening with the comment: "Altogether sight well worth seeing."\textsuperscript{126} He and Rose were present when Queen Victoria opened the colonial exhibition. Even though it was a colonial occasion, Hall recorded the real distance which separated him from the hierarchy of Empire when he wrote: "We could not see [the] Queen well, until she came past us in going out." Hall was struck by the Queen's "very red" face and her extreme shortness of stature but on reaching home he summarized his feelings in the words "tired & pleased."\textsuperscript{127}

As an ex-colonial premier, Hall had an ambiguous role in British society. On official occasions he could be a representative for New Zealand but because colonial affairs were essentially peripheral to the mainstream of English life, he was largely unknown and without connections. At Lord Derby's dinner in celebration of Queen Victoria's birthday, Hall was seated between a colonial office official and the governor of St Vincent and only shook hands with his host as he arrived and when he left.\textsuperscript{128} Colonial prestige, therefore, brought invitations but did not entirely leapfrog the social barriers which had frustrated Hall in his youth. He complained that he felt like "a fish out of water".\textsuperscript{129} At informal functions he was sometimes uncomfortable because he did not have the social contacts. At best this meant

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{124} JH to E.C.J. Stevens, 9 August 1883, Private Letters 1 January 1883 - 14 October 1883, p. 170, HC.
  \item \textsuperscript{125} 17 February 1886, Diary 1886, GHHC.
  \item \textsuperscript{126} Ibid.
  \item \textsuperscript{127} Ibid., 4 May 1886.
  \item \textsuperscript{128} 6 June 1885, Diary 1885, GHHC.
  \item \textsuperscript{129} JH to [?] Wynn-Williams, 12 August 1885, Private Letter Book 14 October 1883 - 1 June 1886, p. 244, HC.
\end{itemize}
that colonials talked among themselves as they did at Lady Clifford's where Hall recorded that "we knew nobody except the Staffords & Cliffords... Very glad to have Staffords to talk to, or it would have been very slow for us."\textsuperscript{130} Convention prohibited conversation without introduction so that on another occasion even though "[h]eaps of swells & other people" were present a disgruntled Hall recorded in his diary:

Gathering not very pleasant one for us, as we knew no one. Misses L. should have introduced me to one or two men, or not asked me to call. They would have been glad enough to hear what an ex Colonial Prime Minister had to say.\textsuperscript{131}

Unlike Vogel, Hall had no desire to be elected to the House of Commons but he did foray briefly into British politics.\textsuperscript{132} The United Kingdom was experiencing a severe depression and reducing government expenditure was a priority. To effect this, the Liberals, led by Gladstone, favoured severing ties with the colonies because "they were a source of risk, expense, and embarrassment and [because] the mother country gained no advantage from their possession."\textsuperscript{133} This point of view was anathema to Hall and he agreed to speak at Bristol in support of the Conservative candidate, Colonel Edward Hill, as part of the latter's election campaign.\textsuperscript{134} Hall confessed to feeling "rather nervous about it. Never spoke to an English audience before."\textsuperscript{135} Hall received a mixed reception. His status as the former premier of New Zealand enabled him to counter the Liberal position on the colonies with authority but his remarks on British politics were less well received despite the fact that he tailored his arguments to suit the working class perspective of his audience. He ended his address promptly when hecklers started to blow horns.\textsuperscript{136} Even though the Conservatives ousted the Liberals from office, Hill was unsuccessful in his bid for a parliamentary seat but the following year he did become the member for Bristol South.

The Hills also introduced Hall to a new political phenomenon, the Primrose League. Founded in 1883, the League grew rapidly and was a successful means of spreading

\textsuperscript{130} 29 May 1885, Diary 1885, GHHC.
\textsuperscript{131} Ibid., 24 September 1885.
\textsuperscript{132} Hall was "asked more than once to contest some English constituency" but he had "no desire to leave New Zealand." JH to JEF, 16 November 1885, HC.
\textsuperscript{133} Unidentified and undated clipping included with entry for 30 October 1885, Diary 1885, GHHC.
\textsuperscript{134} Hall had met Hill in Dresden.
\textsuperscript{135} 19 October 1885, Diary 1885, GHHC.
\textsuperscript{136} Ibid., unidentified and undated clipping, 30 October 1885.
Conservative party propaganda. It was unusual in giving women political responsibility and even went as far as encouraging them to form groups of their own. Hall felt that the organization's use of "fantastical names" made it look "ridiculous." Nevertheless, nearly six months later, he was willing to address a meeting which consisted mainly of women. He subsequently joined the League. Despite the League's contribution to the Conservatives' electoral success, Hall did not directly transfer its practices to New Zealand.

When John Bryce, who had been a member of Hall's cabinet, sought damages in London against the Australian historian, George Rusden, Hall attended the hearing. Hall had earlier expressed his opinion of Rusden and his *History of New Zealand* when he had written of "that double distilled liar & slanderer Rusden, whose book is the most infamous production I have ever touched." The specific complaint of libel referred to Rusden's account of Bryce's participation in an incident during Titokowaru's uprising in 1868 when unarmed boys were killed. Since the case was placed in the wider context of Taranaki history including events as recent as Parihaka, Hall was able to contribute but did not see that his testimony would be "of much value." Hall was called on to speak for forty minutes on Bryce's behalf. Bryce was "surprised & pleased" to have Hall's support and later wrote that Hall "stayed in the over-heated court the whole of the eight days the trial lasted, so that he should not miss his opportunity of giving evidence." Bryce won his case but on appeal the amount of damages was reduced.

From mid-1886 Hall was engulfed in a succession of family tragedies. The first concerned the divorce of Aggie and Edward Wakefield. As the daughter of Agnes and

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138 29 October 1885, Diary 1885, GHHC.
139 19 April 1886, Diary 1886, GHHC.
140 20 April 1886, Diary 1886, GHHC.
141 JH to [?], 29 October 1883, Private Letters 1 January 1883 - 4 May 1884, p. 69, HC.
143 9 December 1885, Diary 1885, GHHC.
144 8 March 1886, Diary 1886, GHHC. For a transcript of the trial see J. Bryce, *Bryce v. Rusden: in the High Court of Justice, Queen's Bench Division, Royal Courts of Justice, Thursday, 4th March, 1886, before Baron Huddleston & a special jury. [s.l., s.n.], 1886*.
145 Rose to JH, 21 August 1887, Rose to JH, HC; *Press*, 1 July 1907.
146 Although Agnes was her Christian name, within the family she was known as Aggie.
George Hall, Aggie was niece to both Rose and Sir John. Edward was the son of Felix Wakefield and the nephew of Edward Gibbon Wakefield and was a prominent public figure in his own right. As a journalist he had been "feared for his merciless sarcasm" and as a politician he was noted for his opportunism.\textsuperscript{147} From 1884-7 he was member of the House of Representatives for Hall’s former seat of Selwyn. Divorce was considered scandalous and the legal and social consequences were severe. The proceedings were held in Dunedin and in deference to Hall’s standing the newspapers played the case down.\textsuperscript{148} Aggie admitted her adultery with Edward Withers, a bank officer, and for this lost not only the custody of her six children but all personal contact with them as well.\textsuperscript{149} Withers lost his employment. These events had immediate repercussions for the whole family. Rose was in London when she received the letters containing the news. "Stunned" herself, she forwarded the correspondence to Hall, who was on holiday in France with his daughters, with the words: "I wish we could have received this distressing intelligence together." Recognizing the "fearful shock" of the contents, she was anxious that he "may not see any one who will know so that you may have a little breathing time." She confessed, however, that "I knew there had long been much unhappiness & she had been sorely tried but I did not think she would have fallen so sadly."\textsuperscript{150} For Rose and Hall compassion overrode the decree of the law and a grateful Aggie wrote to them: "I cannot tell you the comfort your dear good letters gave us all...God bless you both for your real christian love & mercy".\textsuperscript{151} On a brief visit to the General Assembly in May 1887, Hall had a passing encounter with Wakefield and recorded in his diary: "Heaps of Members came to speak to & welcome me. Only Wakefield never looked in my direction. It was, of course, a relief to me."\textsuperscript{152} Aggie married Withers and they had one child who survived to adulthood. Hall continued to use his contacts to try to secure a position for Withers in other banks but he was unsuccessful.

The criminal activities of young Tom Hall, son of Tom and Sarah, exposed the whole family to publicity. Tom was on trial for twelve counts of forgery and the calculated attempt

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\textsuperscript{148} R.J.S. Harman to JH, 3 May 1886, Fol. 126, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{149} LT, 4 May 1886. Wakefield’s sister, Josephine, took over responsibility for the children but received little financial support from him. George and Agnes were able to maintain contact with their grandchildren.
\textsuperscript{150} Rose to JH, 17 May 1886, Fol. 126, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{151} Aggie to Rose and JH, 30 June 1886, Fol. 127, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{152} 17 May 1887, Diary 1887, GHHC.
\end{flushleft}
to poison his wife. That a female servant was also implicated in the attempted murder charge added to the case’s notoriety. Entrance to the courtroom was by ticket and The Lyttelton Times reported that as the crowd waited for the doors to open "the occupants of every cab which drove up...[had] to undergo a scrutiny, followed by a fusillade of comments of a somewhat free order." 

Hall’s first intimation of these events came when he was already en route to New Zealand with Rose, Mildred, Mary and Godfrey. The trial was due to start in Christchurch within days of the boat docking at Lyttelton, so to minimize the ordeal of being exposed to public curiosity, Rose and the family disembarked at Port Chalmers and travelled directly to Rakaia Terrace Station. Hall continued by sea in order to visit another nephew who was terminally ill in Christchurch. Hall subsequently returned to Hororata but Tom’s case meant that there was a stark contrast between Hall’s homecoming in 1886 and the fanfare which had attended his arrival in 1884. For eight days the legal proceedings were fully reported in the newspaper with debate continuing in the letters to the editor. The forgery charges were dropped but Tom was sentenced to life imprisonment for attempted murder. His parents were given sanctuary at Rakaia Terrace Station and later Tom’s wife and infant son also spent time on the property. Tom’s brother, Willie Hall, later acknowledged the importance of all this support when he wrote to his uncle: "Without you & Aunt as general comforters to the family I dont [sic] know what we should have done."

The family’s heartache did not end there. Within weeks Tom was charged with the murder of his father-in-law because in retrospect the symptoms Captain Cain exhibited prior to his death were seen to be consistent with poisoning although at the time they had been attributed to disease. At the end of another eight day trial held in Dunedin, the death sentence was handed down but on a legal technicality execution was commuted to life

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154 LT, 12 October 1886.
155 8-9 October 1886, Diary 1886, GHHC.
156 Ibid., 11 October 1886. The nephew was John Hall Neall.
157 Ibid., 12-13 October 1886.
158 For reports of the trial see LT, 12-20 October 1886.
159 LT, 20 and 27 October 1886.
160 W. Hall to JH, 30 March 1887, Fol. 134, SJHP.
imprisonment. Hall himself made no direct references to the trials in his diary but Wilfred expressed the suffering his father was subjected to when he commiserated with him by stating: "It must indeed be trying for you to feel that everyone you meet knows of it; and I don’t wonder that you think of leaving the country." The impact of these events on Hall’s family is indicated in a letter Hall wrote just after the second trial was over:

Thank you for what you say about Mildred & Mary & their proposed visit to Dunedin. We have felt compelled to give it up for the present. At some less painful time they hope to avail themselves of Mrs Oliver’s kindness... But at present it is better they should not be in Dunedin.

The whole episode faced Hall with the possibility of taking advantage of his influence as a public figure to mitigate private troubles. Right from the start Hall adamantly refused to use his connections on Tom’s behalf insisting that

It shall never be said that any influence my public position may give me has been allowed in any way to interfere with the administration of justice. I have carefully avoided, whatever my feelings may be, approaching the government, or any member of it directly or indirectly.

Over ten years later he reaffirmed this stand when he told Tom that for me to interfere in any way would vastly lessen the chances of the Govt doing anything for you. They will carefully avoid any action which might lay them open to the charge of giving way to personal or political influence.

Hall did not reject his nephew. He and Tom corresponded intermittently. Five years after the trial Hall visited Mt Eden prison and even though he did not see his nephew, he did check how Tom was faring. In 1901 both Hall and Mildred visited Tom in prison. Even though Hall would not intervene, he told Tom’s dying mother that her son’s “punishment had been sufficient” and in his will Hall left Tom £800 in trust.

161 For reports of the trial see LT, 22 January to 2 February 1887.
162 Wilfred to JH, 1 December 1886, Fol. 131, SJHP.
163 JH to [T.?] Fraser, 11 February 1887, Manuscript Letter Book, HC.
164 Ibid.
165 JH to T. Hall, 17 November 1899, MS x 923, p. 209, SJHP.
166 JH to TWH, 23 June 1892, MS x 916, pp. 174-5, SJHP.
167 T. Hall to JH, 12 April 1901, Fol. 243, SJHP.
168 JH to S. Hall, 7 November 1898, MS x 922, p. 227, SJHP.
With the passage of time, Tom's expectations of release became more realistic. His hopes of amnesty rose at the accession of Edward VII by which time he had been in jail for nearly fifteen years. For Tom to remain in prison after twenty years would have been unusual. Hall's priority was to minimize further pain and embarrassment. He insisted that if Tom were to be released, he should have nothing to do with his wife and son and that he should leave New Zealand promptly. Kitty, Tom's wife, had taken their child with her to Britain so that the boy could grow up protected from the knowledge of his father's misdeeds and the taunting of schoolfellows. Hall supported her when she returned to New Zealand in 1901 to obtain a divorce, for she was conscious that the case and its participants remained in the public memory. Fearful of being recognized in Christchurch and thereby causing distress to Dryden and Godfrey who worked in the city, Kitty elected to have her petition heard in Auckland. Not until November 1906 did Hall request that the premier grant Tom's release. The following year Tom was freed after twenty one years incarceration. He went to Australia where he worked as a photographer.

Hall feared that John Hall, another of Tom and Sarah's sons, may also have been a cause of scandal and for this reason the young man was despatched to California. This was arranged immediately after Tom's first trial. Lizzie, young John's wife, and their children remained for several years in New Zealand and despite his exasperation with Lizzie's inability to live within her means, Hall continued to provide for the welfare of her family. His responsibility ended when, with Hall's help, Lizzie located her husband and joined him in North America.

Hall had to deal with a third major family crisis in October 1886. His love for his sister, Grace, motivated him to help her son, John Neall, even though his immature arrogance

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160 T. Hall to JH, 12 April 1901, Fol. 243, SJHP.
170 JH to T. Hall, 18 June 1901, MS x 935, SJHP.
171 The Christian name of Tom's wife was Kate but within the family she was known as Kitty; JH to GWH, 16 April 1890, Private Letter Book 1 June 1886 - 28 July 1890, HC.
172 JH to K.E. Hall, 18 June 1901, MS x 935, SJHP.
173 K.E. Hall to JH, 4 September 1901, Fol. 245, SJHP.
174 JH to [?], 26 November 1906, MS x 930, pp. 383-7, SJHP.
175 Lyon, p. 1473.
176 JH to [?], 26 November 1890, Fol. 245, SJHP.
177 W. Hall to JH, 26 October 1886, Fol. 130, SJHP.
178 JH to E. Hall, 29 September 1890, MS x 914, p. 78, SJHP.
irritated Hall more than the behaviour of any other of her children. At first Hall thought that young Neall was exaggerating "his chest complaint" and was using it as an excuse to get out of the poorly ventilated insurance office where he worked. In the hope of effecting a cure and avoiding the development of tuberculosis, Hall invited him to spend time at Hororata on the condition of "absolute obedience" to Fountaine. When Neall "demurred" at applying for a year's leave, Hall "got warm which brought [his nephew] to his senses." Neall continued to try his uncle's patience but by the time the young man sailed for New Zealand Hall noted of him that he looked "very thin & frail." Tuberculosis was eventually diagnosed but by the time Hall himself returned to Lyttelton the case was hopeless and he was informed that Neall was "very troublesome to manage - dissatisfied & disobedient." In his diary Hall added: "Poor fellow, it is a great trial - fourteen weeks a sufferer. Cannot read - does not even like being read to." A week later Neall was dead and Hall recorded: "He looked very handsome & peaceful. I felt much affected. I do not grieve for him, but for his poor mother." The combination of sorrows was such that he went on to add: "Felt very miserable at having to move about in Ch.Ch. Met several acquaintances, whom I had to speak to." Neall was buried at Hororata where station hands were pallbearers and "Joe Lorette, who had known him as a child...spoke feelingly."

There was no respite from anxiety, for Hall's son, Godfrey, developed a badly swollen thigh in March 1887. Hall could afford to consult Dr Nedwill, a leading physician in Christchurch, and when the diagnosis was "not very definite" he could take Godfrey to Dunedin where the best advice in the colony was available from the recently appointed lecturers to the medical school. The chief consultant was Dr Ferdinand C.

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179 29-30 November 1885, Diary 1885, GHHC.
180 25 January 1886, Diary 1886, GHHC.
181 Ibid., 2 March 1886.
182 Ibid., 11 October 1886.
183 Ibid., 18 October 1886.
184 Ibid., 20 October 1886.
185 Although diagnosed, the complaint is not named in the records. From the facts that do remain a precise analysis is impossible and osteomyelitis and tuberculosis of the bone are both possible diagnoses. I am grateful to Dr Brenda Minto for the time she gave me to discuss the evidence.
186 19 May 1887, Diary 1887, GHHC. Dr Nedwill was a high achiever at Queen's College Belfast and one of the brightest doctors in Christchurch. I am grateful to Dr Geoffrey Rice for this assessment.
Batchelor, a "dynamic personality" who was "always in the forefront of progress." Hall described Dr H.W. Maunsell who actually operated on Godfrey as an "A.I. surgeon". This reputation was justified as Maunsell's skill and innovations won international recognition. Money also made it possible for Godfrey to be treated under the best possible conditions. To reduce his physical distress he travelled south in the maximum of comfort. As was customary for those with means, the surgery was conducted where the Halls were staying, not at Dunedin hospital where the patients were either very poor or had been seriously injured by accident. Comfortable circumstances also meant a more pleasant convalescence. The day after the operation Hall and Mildred hunted the town for grapes to tempt the invalid's palate and when they eventually found some they paid the expensive price of 3s a pound.

The outlay on Godfrey's health continued. His condition deteriorated again the following year and two further operations were required. When the prognosis appeared to be bleak, father and son travelled to England. In London they consulted Sir James Paget, surgeon to Queen Victoria and the outstanding doctor of his day. His definitive work on what came to be called Paget's disease of the bone meant he was well equipped to examine Godfrey's case. Only after he had formed his own opinion did he consult the case history provided by Dr Batchelor. Then he was able to notify Hall that the mischief appeared to have been well treated and well cured. That [Godfrey's] diet should be generous, and that he should live by his head rather than his limbs - that a town life would be better suited for him than sheepfarming.

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188 16 June 1887, Diary 1887, GHHC.
189 Hercus and Bell, p. 288.
190 14-15 June 1887, Diary 1887, GHHC.
191 G. Parry, Otago Medical School 1875-1975: an historical sketch, Dunedin, University of Otago, 1975, p. 21.
192 17 June 1887, Diary 1887, GHHC.
194 C. A. Birch, Names We Remember: 56 eponymous medical biographies, Beckenham, Ravenswood Publications, 1979, pp. 109-110.
195 17 January 1889, Diary 1889, GHHC.
Money furnished the best treatment for the body but it could not alleviate the suffering of the mind. Repeatedly Hall committed his feelings of fear and sadness to his diary, commenting that the "Dear boy’s face haunts me, & is an ever present cloud." These emotions became particularly acute when Godfrey had a relapse in March 1888. His sister, Mary, had died in the interim and, fearful of causing his parents further distress, the young man had remained quiet about his deteriorating condition. Hall depicted the pervasive spectre of terminal illness which Mary’s death evoked when he wrote of Godfrey: "Found him more depressed than I have previously known him. He seems to think, & I fear with too much truth, that the disease is incurable." Godfrey eventually recovered but coping with an invalid was troublesome. Hall committed his exasperation to his diary:

The poor boy’s illness is as inconvenient in point of time as it could be. The family has either to be again separated by sickness, or he has to be brought up to Wellington to be operated on by a stranger.

The most devastating experience for the whole family was Mary’s death from tuberculosis. No one recognized the significance of her lethargy in the summer of 1886-7 as an early symptom of tuberculosis and because she carried out her household duties and made no complaint none of the family detected anything amiss. Not until Mary developed a "nasty cough" in May 1887 and Hall became uneasy at its persistence was she also taken to Dunedin where Dr Batchelor examined her. After a microscopic test and consultation with another colleague, Batchelor confirmed the presence of the disease. Coming only one month after Godfrey’s surgery, the report was a great shock and Hall expressed his pain in prayer: "Thy hand, O God, is heavy of late on me and mine. But Thou art good as well as all wise. Thy will be done." The practical repercussions were immediate because current medical treatment advocated that Mary be removed to a dry climate. Meanwhile, Godfrey was

196 3 May 1887, Diary 1887, GHHC.
197 30 March 1888, Diary 1888, GHHC.
198 Ibid., 1 September 1888.
199 Ibid., 11 May 1888.
200 Rose to JH, 8 September 1887, Rose to JH, HC.
201 8 May, 11 and 17 July 1887, Diary 1887, GHHC.
202 Ibid., 17-19 July 1887. Dr Daniel Colquhoun, Lecturer in the Practice of Medicine, was also the founding editor of The New Zealand Medical Journal; F.C. Batchelor to JH, 19 July 1887, Fol. 136, SJHP.
203 19 July 1887, Diary 1887, GHHC.
204 Although it had been questioned as early as 1840, this idea was not displaced in Britain until 1895. F.W. Burton-Fanning, The Open-Air Treatment of Pulmonary Tuberculosis, London, Cassell and Company, Limited, 1909, pp. 1-2. In 1898 Nurse
still convalescing and Hall was committed to standing for Selwyn in the forthcoming election. Consequently, Rose took Mary to Sydney while her husband remained in New Zealand where he was successful in winning his seat. Mildred stayed with Godfrey in Dunedin until he was well enough to travel and they could both rejoin their father in Wellington for the parliamentary session.

Rose's correspondence to her husband reveals her attitude to his public life. At times, she had an altruistic view of his work and her role which she conveyed when she wrote:

You have embarked in a good cause for the good of y[ou]r adopted country & not for y[ou]r own glorification & we must try to keep private anxieties from interfering with public duty.

In one letter, she encouraged her husband to become premier again if his health could take the strain and even scorned the idea of a lesser position. She had mixed feelings, however, and in another she confessed that she wanted him to lose the election so that he could be with her and Mary. Only to him, however, would she admit her "treachery."

Although Rose was preoccupied with Mary while she was in Australia, she did not forget the welfare of her other children. She continued her role as advocate for them with their father and she did influence his conduct towards them. This could be as simple as mentioning the date of Godfrey's birthday and reminding Hall to give their son a watch. More seriously, when Wilfred failed to get honours at Oxford, she sat up late writing a letter in order to assuage her husband's disappointment and avert any reprimand. She stressed the obstacles that had lain in their son's way and pointed out that with a B.A. degree he was still able to gain "an honest livelihood" and that he had already held a teaching post. She employed a similar strategy to secure an extra allowance for Mildred. Rose explained that Mildred needed a new dress to attend receptions in Wellington but because she had been nursing Godfrey, she had not been able to devote the time to needlework and her means were insufficient to pay a dressmaker. Rose intervened because Mildred herself "would never

Maude introduced the new open-air treatment to Christchurch.

17 July 1887, Diary 1887, GHHC.
205
206 Rose to JH, 21 August 1887, Rose to JH, HC.
207 Ibid., Rose to JH, 8 September 1887.
208 Ibid., Rose to JH, 25 September 1887.
209 Ibid., Rose to JH, 13 November 1887.
dream of asking for help." Later she thanked Hall for his promise to raise Mildred's allowance and speculated on their daughter's "pleasant surprise" when he did so.

Although Rose and Mary were in Australia, Hall's career gave them the advantage of having connections. At Hall's behest, Sir Henry Parkes, premier of New South Wales, authorized a railway carriage for long distance travel. Status and contacts meant that callers were frequent and there were several invitations to join social activities. Rose declined most of the latter largely on doctor's orders but partly because Mary was "shy & reserved with strangers". Rose later regretted that she had encouraged Mary to be a recluse and thereby deprived her of cheerful companionship. Rose was introduced to James Hill, a prominent financial figure in Sydney and a long-standing business associate of Hall's.

Connections were particularly important in choosing a doctor. On Hill’s recommendation, which her husband instructed her to accept, Rose first consulted Dr Jackson, a specialist in lung diseases. She was disconcerted to find, however, that Jackson appeared to have few patients and was unknown to most of her circle. Her confidence was not improved by his "pig headed" refusal to treat the secondary symptoms which caused Mary great discomfort and which the helpless Rose found painful to watch. Her preference was to deal with Dr Sydney Jones who was equally highly esteemed by Hill but more widely known, and whose manner was more sympathetic. She consulted Jones in mid-October. Since Mary's condition continued to deteriorate, however, and at the beginning of November, the women moved to Bowral, 120 miles south west of Sydney,

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210 Ibid., Rose to JH, 3 September 1887.
211 Ibid., Rose to JH, 22 September 1887.
212 Ibid., Rose to JH, 29 October 1887; H. Parkes to Rose, 3 November 1887, Fol. 139, SJHP.
213 Rose to JH, 2 October 1887, Rose to JH, HC.
214 Ibid., Rose to JH, 29 October 1887.
215 Ibid., Rose to JH, [August] 1887.
216 Ibid.; Rose to JH, 22 September 1887.
217 Ibid., Rose to JH, 21 September 1887; Rose to JH, 15 October 1887.
218 Ibid., Rose to JH, 2 October 1887; Rose to JH, 15 August 1887.
219 Ibid., Rose to JH, 8 September 1887. There would appear to have been little difference between Jones' treatment and Jackson's. By 1897, Jones was President of the N.S.W. Medical Association. 'Presidential Address', The Australasian Medical Gazette, Vol. XVI, pp. 159-64.
220 Rose to JH, 17 October 1887, Rose to JH, HC.
where the higher altitude was considered beneficial and where Dr Newmarch's attentiveness and desire to try any means reduced Rose's sense of powerlessness.221

While Rose had to make all the arrangements, she did place her options before her husband. The responsibility which rested on Rose was magnified by her "terrible distance" from Hall.222 A six day voyage separated them and to exchange letters took at least a fortnight. While telegrams were much quicker their use was associated with emergency and their necessary brevity tended to alarm. Rose, therefore, was reluctant to send a cable.223 Prayer overcame some of her isolation224 and 'talking' to Hall in letters lessened her fears of making a wrong decision.225 She was then, however, disturbed by feelings of selfishness at causing distress to him and reproached herself bitterly.226

Nor could Rose diminish the impact of distance by discussing matters with her daughter. Medical people still believed that to tell Mary of her terminal condition would promote a more rapid end227 and Rose reluctantly bowed to the doctors' ruling.228 The imposition of silence was all the more agonizing because under ordinary circumstances mother and daughter were intimate. Rose recounted how, on Hall's departure after a brief visit to them at Parramatta, Mary "put her dear arms round me...& we cried a little together & that did us both good."229 This obedience placed the additional burden of deceit on her shoulders. She found the strain of hiding her feelings from Mary almost intolerable and informed Hall:

I do feel so lonely at times & long to have you with me. The one engrossing subject of my thoughts cannot be talked about with my darling child, before

221 Ibid., Rose to JH, 9 November 1887. By 1897 Dr Newmarch had moved to North Sydney and was a member of the Council of the N.S.W. Medical Association, 'List of Members of the N.S.W. Branch', The Australasian Medical Gazette, Vol. XVI, p. 157.
222 Rose to JH, 17 November 1887, Rose to JH, HC.
223 Ibid., Rose to JH, 7 August 1887.
224 Ibid., Rose to JH, 18 August 1887.
225 Ibid., Rose to JH, 27 July 1887.
226 Ibid., Rose to JH, 2 October 1887; Rose to JH, 21 August 1887.
227 Ibid., Rose to JH, 17 October 1887. A decade later candor was being advocated to ensure adequate measures were taken to prevent further transmission of the disease. Burton-Fanning, pp. 51-52.
228 Rose to JH, 2 October 1887, Rose to JH, HC.
229 Ibid., Rose to JH, 29 October 1887.
her I must keep up a cheerful countenance; tho' my heart is filled with the keenest grief & anxiety.230

In fact, both parents suffered needlessly. Shortly before Mary died a clergyman who was staying with the family discovered that Mary knew her fate.231 For Mary, too, openness was a welcome relief.232

Rose was no less intimate with her other daughter. A month after Mary's diagnosis, Rose could write to Mildred of the "agony of doubt & fear" which she experienced in Sydney.233 When Hall saw for himself how Rose and Mary were faring, arrangements were made for Mildred to travel to Sydney. Mildred herself found her mother's correspondence "fearfully distressing" and left immediately.234 Rose had nothing but praise for her elder daughter and said that "I think I must have broken down altogether...had she not been with me."235 Hall, too, found Mildred a steady anchor, and on a wet and gloomy Christmas Day he wrote in his diary: "Dear Mildred's brightness, cheerfulness, usefulness & tact beyond all praise."236

As long as there was any hope that the warm, dry climate of Australia would enhance Mary's prospects, Rose wanted to stay in Australia. When her daughter's condition continued to deteriorate, however, she wanted her to die among her family and the familiar surroundings of Rakaia Terrace Station.237 Making the decision to return home weighed heavily on Rose's mind and when Hall joined her in Australia they resolved the matter together.238 All of them returned to New Zealand in mid-January 1888.

Mary died at Rakaia Terrace Station on 2 March 1888. Both parents derived great comfort from Mary's faith in her Saviour239 but her death made a lasting impact on the family. Despite their submission to the will of God, both parents were bereft and because

230 Ibid., Rose to JH, 18 August 1887.
231 JH to Wilfred, 21 February 1888, Fol. 142, SJHP.
232 14 February 1888, Diary 1888, GHHC.
233 Rose to Mildred, 26 August 1887, Rose to JH, HC.
234 Ibid., Mildred to JH, [-] 1887.
235 Ibid., Rose to JH, 17 November 1887.
236 25 December 1887, Dairy 1887, GHHC.
237 Rose to JH, 2 October 1887, Rose to JH, HC.
238 JH to F.C. Batchelor, 5 January 1888, Fol. 142, SJHP.
239 Rose to JH, 2 October 1887, Rose to JH, HC; Rose transcription of conversation, 2 March 1888, Diary 1888, GHHC.
Mary was "young & highly gifted", Hall admitted that her fate was "a trial of our faith in the wisdom & love which we say governs the universe." Religious belief was tested further when Godfrey appeared to be seriously ill again and Mildred’s knee was swollen to the extent that she required surgery and was confined for a time to a wheelchair. Hall feared that two more of his children would die.

Because Godfrey and Mildred were in poor health, their parents took them to Britain at the end of 1888. There the travellers were reunited with Wilfred and Dryden. Both invalids convalesced and eventually recovered. By mid-1889 the whole family had returned to New Zealand together.

Grief lingered. In 1894 when Hall revisited the places in Australia he had last seen with Mary, both parents relived their heartache and Rose spoke for both when she wrote that "I feel the wound inflicted by that long illness & her death will never heal until I am with her again."
CHAPTER 10
THE PASSING OF THE OLD ORDER

It cannot be for the good of the Country, that the man who is here today and gone tomorrow, should have the same voice in the Government as those who have spent their lives here, helped to make the Colony and are bound up in its prosperity or adversity.¹

When questioned by a journalist in London in 1885, Hall predicted that he would be unlikely in the future to be "very active" in politics.² In his absence, however, Sir Julius Vogel had returned to New Zealand and as colonial treasurer was continuing his old policy of borrowing and spending. Hall admitted that contemplating the colony's prospects under such a regimen gave him "the blue devils" and by January 1886 he made it known that he was ready to stand for election as long as success was assured.³ When he returned to Canterbury at the end of the year, he announced publicly his intention to resume his political career and was pleasantly surprised by the positive response from his old adversary, The Lyttelton Times.⁴

For those who opposed the Stout-Vogel faction, Hall's return was a rallying point. Atkinson headed the opposition but he had lost the support of the South Island. Hence Hall, as a prominent Canterbury politician, was an attractive colleague. A Hall-Atkinson alliance was perceived as having the strength to be "fatal" to the ministry⁵ and after lengthy discussion with Rolleston, who spent several days at Rakaia Terrace Station, Hall himself concluded: "He seems to think I may be the missing link required to bind together the respectable elements in the House, & enable them to work with Atkinson."⁶

Increasingly, Hall came under pressure to resume the premiership. He was acceptable not only to those who were antagonistic to Atkinson but also to those who hoped that he could

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¹ JH to W. Parker, 17 December 1890, MS x 914, SJHP.
² JH to C. Short, 5 [September] 1885, Fol. 121, SJHP.
⁴ 6 November 1886, Diary 1886, GHHC.
⁵ A.K. Newman to JH, 8 November 1886, Fol. 131, SJHP.
⁶ 13 November 1886, Diary 1886, GHHC.
form a ministry with "new blood". He, as usual, was cautious but, during a brief visit to Wellington in May 1887, he recorded that both he and Atkinson were "ready to do whatever our party wishes."8

A return to the political arena necessitated winning a seat and, as in the past, Hall had several electorates to choose from. He recognized, however, that in Christchurch a new political consciousness was emerging so that now 'class' was an important criterion in the selection of a constituency.9 Consequently, he declined the offer to stand for the working class district of Heathcote where the incumbent was dying and which he himself had represented from 1866 to 1872.10 He had once not feared to stand for such a seat and had gained many working class votes. Now large farmers, merchants and professional men were being perceived as having their own interests which were different from those of labourers, artisans and small farmers. As a stationowner, Hall’s perspective was that of the ‘big man’ and he himself was conscious of his different outlook when he wrote of Heathcote: "the constituency consists principally of a suburban working class population, for whom large expenditure has many charms & large indebtedness few terrors." Hall knew he was unlikely to win such a seat especially as two "rather influential local men" had already been canvassing the area.11 Instead, having dismissed other offers,12 he opted for the seat of Selwyn, which he had held prior to his trip to Britain. Since it was a farming district, he expected it to "give no trouble."13 In fact, there was more of a contest than he anticipated as in July 1887 John McLachlan, a ministerial supporter and a resident in the area, came forward as an alternative candidate.14 Hall was very tempted to abandon his campaign. This opposition and serious illness in the family were stressful enough but Hall was also dismayed that a change in electoral boundaries which made the seat even larger than before would be an additional burden.15 Ultimately loyalty bound him to those who had already worked hard on his behalf and he admitted that he was unable to "hand over the seat to a fluent, drinking, atheistical fellow, who had contested it twice before."16

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7 I. Menzies to JH, 26 August 1887, Fol. 137, SJHP.
8 13 November 1886, Diary 1886, GHHC; 18 May 1887, Diary 1887, GHHC.
9 9 June 1887, Diary 1887, GHHC.
10 JH to J.D. Ormond, 18 January 1887, Manuscript Letter Book, HC.
11 Ibid.
12 From Ellesmere, Tauranga, Waimate and Akaroa.
13 JH to J.D. Ormond, 18 January 1887, Manuscript Letter Book, HC.
14 I.R. Campbell to JH, 6 July 1887, Fol. 136, SJHP.
15 5 July 1887, Diary 1887, GHHC.
16 Ibid., 8 July 1887; JH to S.W. Squier, 30 March 1888, Manuscript Letter Book, HC.
The challenge from McLachlan, who had formerly been a Hall supporter, underlined the fact that the emerging conflict between 'big men' and 'little men' was not confined to the cities. Country areas were divided too. As a runholder, Hall was seen as the embodiment of large landholding interest, whereas McLachlan, a farmer from Ellesmere, appealed to men on smaller properties in that area.

Growing social divisions meant that Hall had to accommodate new practices and attitudes which were developing in the election of 1887 and were particularly noticeable in Canterbury. He modified the style of his electioneering and recognized a changed relationship with those he represented. As well as speaking at public meetings, he talked with his constituents. Twice he went to Leeston to campaign on sale days when large numbers of local people gathered together. While he was confident that he would win, he was compelled to address himself to the politics of class by competing with populists for the votes of 'little men' who were gaining a sense of distinctive interests and he grumbled:

These very free & independent people are very troublesome constituents. Some of them are sensible & considerate, but too many think they know everything, & on the slenderest information pronounce condemnatory judgment on men who have spent their lives in the service of the public.

The most striking feature of the campaign in Canterbury, however, was the attempt to respond to the serious effects of the prolonged depression by promoting co-ordinated political action. Hall had to contend with two rival organizations which operated outside established parliamentary connections. The prime aim of the Canterbury Electors' Association, in which William Pember Reeves was an influential figure, was to redress high unemployment by gathering together like-minded candidates who would give the region a united voice and greater weight in the General Assembly. The upshot of this was that since Atkinson was perceived as "a proven enemy of Canterbury", the Association supported Stout and Vogel. Reeves' connections with The Lyttelton Times meant that he was able to

19 10 June and 8 July 1887, Diary 1887, GHHC.
20 Ibid., 8 July 1887.
21 Whitehead, p. 29.
publicize the Association's aims and advertise its candidates. The alternative organization, the Political Reform Association, did not explicitly endorse Atkinson but by promoting a return to retrenchment as the means of restoring economic health, it gave its blessing to his central policy. Like the C.E.A., the Reformers recognized the importance of an electoral strategy and met "to prevent any clashing of interests in the contests for seats." Hall, like other experienced members of the House, had no public contact with either Association. He was, however, interested in the activities of the P.R.A. but concluded that their arrangement seemed "very muddled."

Hall's campaign statement straddled views held by both political associations. By giving priority to the assertion that the remedy for the colony's financial ills was "unsparing retrenchment", Hall aligned himself with the Reformers against the Stout-Vogel alliance. Yet in shying away from a substantial increase in taxation, he kept some distance from Atkinson's economic policy. Neither Hall nor Atkinson, however, accepted free trade, an important plank in P.R.A. policy. In favouring protection for local industry, Hall was upholding the position taken by the C.E.A. and departing from his usual practice of siding with the large landowners who contended that customs tariffs led to their being taxed disproportionately. He stated that he felt "compelled to differ...from political friends" by insisting that diversifying the economy benefited New Zealand. He believed that the encouragement of new manufacturing industries would prevent the colony's being dependent solely on agricultural production and at the same time reduce Canterbury's high level of unemployment.

Hall won the campaign easily with 756 votes to McLachlan's 555 votes but McLachlan polled better in his local district where small farmers predominated. Although Hall's proportion of the vote fell from 73.5% in 1881 to a more modest 57.7%, his success in Selwyn was predictable. In an era when character was still an important consideration, he could rely on the fact that he was 'a local notable' and had earned the reputation of being a colonial statesman.

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22 P. Cunningham to JH, 6 July 1887, Fol. 136, SJHP.
23 7 July 1887, Diary 1887, GHHC.
24 Press, 2 July 1887.
25 Ibid.
27 Ibid., p. 147.
28 Ibid., p. 146.
Overall the election was a defeat for the Stout-Vogel government. Atkinson, however, did become premier. He was not a popular choice and had difficulty forming a cabinet. Although Lady Hall would have liked her husband to take up ministerial office or even the premiership,29 he was unwilling to sacrifice his family when Mary was dying of consumption. He refused to join Atkinson but he did give the ministry his general support at once.30

Once Hall returned to parliament, the pinch of hard times brought yet another sectional interest in his constituency to his notice. Suffering was widespread but the impact of the depression was not uniform. Hall wrote of his immediate neighbourhood that "tho' times are very bad, there is no actual distress." Eight miles away in the mining district of Glentunnel the situation was quite different. After visiting the area, he commented on the "terrible scarcity of work": many had left for the mines of Westport and those who remained were having no success in their prospecting.31

Hall's ability to be of practical assistance here was limited. By requesting geological specimens and copies of old examination papers, he was able to help the few who were studying to qualify as mining managers.32 He supported the government’s decision to provide relief work for the unemployed through a road building project in the district. Men from both Christchurch and his own electorate were eligible to participate but preference was given to married men.33 The situation also faced Hall with a personal dilemma. He believed in self-sufficiency but confronted with people who could not earn an income he was forced to concede that provision from the state was necessary. This conclusion vexed him and he informed one correspondent:

I am troubled a good deal with applications from Glentunnel...It is very difficult to know what to do, one cannot allow the people to starve & yet one is much afraid of encouraging them to rely upon the Government for their maintenance.34

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29 Rose to JH, 8 September 1887, Rose to JH, HC.
30 JH to H. Atkinson, 1 October 1887, Fol. 138, SJHP.
31 21 April 1888, Diary 1888, GHHC.
32 JH to J. Hector, 22 October 1889; JH to T. Fergus, 22 October 1889, (Manuscript Letter Book, HC).
33 24 April 1888, Diary 1888, GHHC; JH to C. Opie, 2 August 1888, Manuscript Letter Book, HC.
34 JH to J. McIraith, 22 July 1888, Manuscript Letter Book, HC.
For the same reasons that Hall did not accept ministerial office, he had a low profile in the House. He did not take a prominent part in parliamentary proceedings in either 1887 or 1888. While his political sense was as keen as ever, after an absence of five years he had lost confidence in himself as a public speaker. In his diary he chided himself on his performance:

Did not speak well. Am out of practice. Words d'ont [sic] come so readily as they used to do. Must practise at making short concise speeches. The great difficulty seems to be to know when to leave off.\textsuperscript{35}

More important, Mary's illness and his grief at her death as well as his continuing anxiety about Mildred and Godfrey overshadowed his duties. Mortality among the young was frequent enough to be taken seriously and after attending the funeral of William FitzGerald, son of the former Canterbury superintendent and his wife, Hall lamented: "This is the 7th child the F's have buried. How very sad. God grant that a somewhat similar visitation may not be in store for us."\textsuperscript{36}

Greater awareness of sectional interest was bringing changes to the political balance of power so that by 1889 the hegemony of landowners was increasingly under threat from the lower middle and working classes of the cities. Hall's views on representation meant that he took the challenge seriously. Although his own ministry had enacted manhood suffrage in 1879, he rejected the concept of representation based solely on numerical advantage. He believed that working class people were less well qualified than those of his own background and adhered to the dictum that "The judgment of the higher moral & intellectual being is worth more than that of the inferior".\textsuperscript{37} In this he followed the writings of the English philosopher, John Stuart Mill. Hall eschewed the principle of one man one vote, which Mill termed 'false' democracy, because it accorded power to the labouring class who constituted the majority of the population. The fear was that loss of political power would be permanent because no other sector could compete numerically.\textsuperscript{38} As a result, Mill advocated weighting the electoral process to counteract the 'first past the post' results engendered by a strict manhood suffrage system.\textsuperscript{39}

\textsuperscript{35} 16 May 1888, Diary 1888, GHHC.
\textsuperscript{36} Ibid., 4 June 1888.
\textsuperscript{37} 'Miscellaneous', p. 27, HC.
\textsuperscript{38} Ibid., pp. 27-28.
\textsuperscript{39} Mill's preference was to weight plural voting in accord with educational qualifications. See J.S. Mill, 'Thoughts on Parliamentary Reform', in J.S. Mill, Essays on Politics & Culture, ed. G. Himmelfarb, New York, Anchor Books, 1963,
Preservation of political advantage lay behind Hall's support for alterations to electoral practice during the session of 1889. He was a leading proponent of proportional representation, a system of voting which would enable substantial minorities to share political power. Implementation of the scheme would mean that even if men of property were fewer in number, they would not lose their influence entirely. He had first spoken in favour of the proposal in 1881 and by 1889 it had gained enough acceptance to be the subject of the first Representation Bill of that year. He estimated that two fifths of the House supported the measure. The bill was withdrawn during its second reading. Nevertheless, he accounted it progress that the matter had been discussed in the Assembly and informed the leading advocate of proportional representation in Britain that "our chief difficulty is to get a busy community such as ours to give much time & attention to a subject which does not appear to them a pressing one."

The second Representation Bill of 1889 specifically set out to increase the voice of the rural sector. In 1881, Hall had gained an advantage for the agricultural interest by securing a 'country quota'. Through this legislation rural electorates required a smaller number of inhabitants than urban ones as they were accounted as having an additional percentage of voters above those who existed. In 1881, the 'country quota' was 25 per cent but in 1887, the Stout-Vogel ministry which enjoyed more urban than rural support had reduced the figure to 18 per cent. With the return of the landed interest to power, there was a strong desire to revert to a higher figure. The issue was highly controversial. The proportion of urban dwellers had grown substantially in the 1880s, and the 'little men' and the working class were developing an identity of their own and becoming more insistent about asserting their interests. Consequently, debate surrounding the bill was lengthy and bitter as town and country vied for supremacy. Eventually the government won a quota of 28 per cent and this figure remained in force until 1945.

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42 JH to J. Lubbock, 30 October 1889, Manuscript Letter Book, HC.
43 NZPD 1881, Vol. XXXIX, p. 472.
Having secured this substantial advantage, the government did not resist Sir George Grey's motion to abolish plural voting. Plural voting enabled those who met property criteria to vote in every electorate where they qualified. Hall voted to continue plural voting.\textsuperscript{45} He must have felt vindicated after the 1890 election when 'popular' candidates made great gains, because he lamented that "The "one man one vote" which Grey forced upon us last year turned the scale in many instances."\textsuperscript{46}

Not content with the government's success in raising the 'country quota', Hall attempted to shore up the conservative interest further. He proposed to amend the Representation Bill so that in city electorates, where liberals dominated the urban multi-member constituencies, each elector would have two votes among three candidates. Creating three cornered constituencies would favour minorities because if the majority liberals were to stand three candidates, their supporters would be forced to divide their two votes among three candidates. This would provide an opportunity for the most popular conservative to beat the least popular liberal. It also meant that if the conservatives got organized and limited their candidates to two, they would have a chance of winning two of the three seats because their supporters' votes would not be divided. When Hall put forward his amendment in the House, town members were outraged and he was soundly defeated.\textsuperscript{47}

Hall's support for the country quota and plural and three corner voting was symptomatic of his anxiety about the future of the Atkinson government which represented men of property. With no relief from long-term depression in sight, the faction was in disarray because supporters of the government divided over the free trade issue. Hall admitted that the ministry was "unpopular" and "weak in the House."\textsuperscript{48} Its position was so "very uncertain" that Hall himself was recalled to Wellington from a visit to Christchurch.\textsuperscript{49}

In addition, Atkinson was very ill and inadequate to the task of being premier. In such an adverse political climate, no one else wished to assume the leadership. Although Hall and another member talked to the "lukewarm men privately" there was still no real cohesion.\textsuperscript{50} A week before the session ended, Hall concluded:

\textsuperscript{46} JH to [R.] Oliver, 1 January 1891, MS x 914, p. 312, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{47} LT, 7 August 1889.
\textsuperscript{48} 29 August 1889, Diary 1889-90 1894-5-6, GHHC.
\textsuperscript{49} Ibid., 12 August 1889.
\textsuperscript{50} Ibid., 23 August 1889.
Position very humiliating. A leader and not a leader. A following only part of which follows. Young hounds hunting about on their own account, regardless of huntsmen or whips.°1

The government was preoccupied with domestic politics but it did not ignore wider concerns altogether.°2 When he had been in Britain, Hall had "heard much & said little" on the questions of imperial federation and defence.°3 This made him a well-versed delegate for the New Zealand government when he attended the Australasian federation conference in Melbourne in February 1890. Hall had four reasons for New Zealand's not joining with Australia.

Hall's first argument was simply that the distance between New Zealand and the Australian colonies made federation impractical:

Nature has made 1,200 impediments to the inclusion of New Zealand in any such Federation in the 1,200 miles of stormy ocean which lie between us and our brethren in Australia.°4

Hall's second point was that New Zealand's remoteness meant that the colony would become submerged in a larger entity whose other partners might not pay sufficient attention to its needs. He had always advocated internal self-government and was reluctant to relinquish any hard-won autonomy to the larger neighbour across the Tasman. Indeed, Hall feared that in an Australasian federation New Zealand's position so far from the other colonies would lead to its marginalization. A major difficulty would be that New Zealand would not necessarily be represented by its most competent men. Those who needed to earn a living would be precluded because their presence in Australia would involve lengthy

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°1 Ibid., 5 September 1889.
°3 JH to H. Atkinson, 23 February 1887, Fol. 133, SJHP.
°4 Official Record of the Proceedings and Debates of the Australasian Federation Conference 1890, held in the Parliament House, Melbourne, Melbourne, Robert S. Brain, Government Printer, 1890, p. 175. Hall had already rehearsed this argument, see JH to GWH, 23 January 1890, Private Letter Book 1 June 1886 - 28 July 1890, HC.
absences.\textsuperscript{55} More important, he recognized the principle that those who resided close to the centre of government exerted more influence than those who lived on the periphery.\textsuperscript{56} Since New Zealand was relatively small and separated from continental Australia by the Tasman Sea, he foresaw that its priorities and concerns would be swamped by those of its neighbours.

Hall's third objection to federation concerned defence. Colonization by the French and the Germans in southern waters meant that the Pacific was no longer a British ocean. The arming of New Zealand ports in 1885 in response to the Russian invasion of Afghanistan highlighted the colony's sense of vulnerability. Australia and New Zealand lacked the resources to protect themselves and were unlikely to acquire sufficient strength to withstand a European aggressor. Hall believed that "an Australian army would be of no use to New Zealand" because permanent unity of action among its different colonial leaders would be impossible to achieve.\textsuperscript{57} Furthermore, the presence of an enemy in the Tasman Sea would prevent the trans-shipment of troops and if both Australia and New Zealand were under attack, then Australia would have no military forces to spare.\textsuperscript{58}

A fourth argument which Hall and his colleague, Captain William Russell, used against political union with the other colonies illustrates contemporary consciousness of New Zealand's separate identity. Although the self-image of New Zealanders was not clearly delineated, the settlers were aware of being different from their counterparts across the Tasman.\textsuperscript{59} Russell emphasized current belief that "with every distinct physical environment there comes a distinct national type" and concluded that New Zealanders were "likely to develop a very complete individuality".\textsuperscript{60} Hall believed that a significant difference already existed. He argued that native-born Australians knew "no loyalty to the old country" whereas devotion to Britain was instilled into young New Zealanders.\textsuperscript{61} As a result, while New Zealand endorsed the value of union for the Australian colonies, it remained aloof and reserved for itself entitlement to join the federation "at such times and on such conditions as may be hereafter agreed upon."\textsuperscript{62} Hall returned to New Zealand early in March.

\begin{itemize}
  \item 55 Ibid., p. 176.
  \item 56 Ibid., p. 177.
  \item 57 Ibid., pp. 177-8.
  \item 58 Ibid., p. 178.
  \item 59 For a fuller discussion see Sinclair, 'Why New Zealanders', p. 102.
  \item 60 Official Record of the Proceedings and Debates, p. 125.
  \item 61 Ibid., p. 182.
  \item 62 Ibid., p. 245.
\end{itemize}
Atkinson’s poor health severely limited his participation in the session of 1890 and by the end of June he wished to resign. Caucus, however, voted overwhelmingly to retain him in office. The difficulty was to find another leader from within the government faction who could command its members’ allegiance. Richard Harman, one of Hall’s friends, exhorted him to consider seriously becoming the head of a reconstructed ministry. When Hall indicated a preference that John Bryce take on the task, Harman replied forcefully:

I hope you will not encourage this idea. I should be very glad to see Bryce in the Ministry; but he is too uncompromising & hard for the position of Premier, & would be of much more value as a Lieutenant to yourself than as the Head himself.

By the end of the session, the ministry had made such a poor showing that a decision about Atkinson’s position was urgent. On 14 September Hall met to discuss "future plans" with five other faction members who were not in the cabinet. On their behalf, he informed Atkinson that if his health had not significantly improved by the end of February then he should retire and take the agent generalship in London. Who would replace Atkinson was not discussed.

The spread of the maritime strike from Australia to New Zealand in August 1890 added to the government’s woes and increased its opposition to federation. Amazed at "the extraordinary development of unionism", Hall became increasingly apprehensive about the future of his adopted land. When John Millar, "the undisputed spokesman of New Zealand labour" and founder of the maritime council, was suspected of planning to call out the railwaymen when the grain harvest would be jeopardized, Hall wrote to William Pember Reeves asking him to use his influence "to stop such foolish and mischievous utterances" and added that such a strike "argues an absence of the common sense and the judgment which

63 R.J.S. Harman to JH, 8 July 1890, Fol. 166, SJHP.
64 R.J.S. Harman to JH, 12 July 1890, Fol. 166, SJHP.
65 Atkinson’s interview, 14 September 1890, Diary 1889-90 1894-5-6, GHHC. The five were Bryce, Scobie Mackenzie, James Allen, Walter Buchanan and George Beetham.
67 JH to [?] Bell, 2 August 1890, Manuscript Letter Book, HC; JH to Wilfred, 2 August 1890, MS x 914, p. 3, SJHP.
ought to preside over so important an organization as the Maritime Council." In the event, the railways did not strike.

Hall did not understand the motivation behind the disputes nor did he fully comprehend the aspirations of working men. His summary of the maritime strike underlines his failure to grasp the new idea of union solidarity and the sense of common grievance held by increasing numbers of working men:

In N.Zd. the thing collapsed, largely because our people did not even profess to have any grievance. They went out simply because the Unions in Australia asked them to do so. Fancy some hundreds of miners who were making from 15/- to 16/- a day for 6½ hours work striking under these circumstances.

He believed "Communistic ideas & teachings" to be "mischievous nonsense" but he did concede that

a more even distribution of the good things of this world, when it can be accomplished without injustices & without discouraging industry & thrift, is a thing to be hoped for.

The resolution of these events had an impact on the election of December 1890. Prior to the strike, Hall anticipated no material alteration to the position of the factions in the election. By the end of the year, however, he was writing of "the strong class feelings which the late labour troubles have aroused, & which the ranting of the Lyttelton Times has fanned to the utmost." As in 1887, he anticipated that he would be returned without difficulty but once again he was eventually challenged by McLachlan, despite the fact that the latter had earlier assured Hall of his support. By mid-November Hall lamented that "I have reason to fear that a large section of the labourers will go against me, for what reason I cannot conceive."
In his campaign for Ellesmere, Hall laboured under two disadvantages. First, the electoral boundaries had been changed so that he gained areas where being a 'local notable' carried less weight, and lost others, including Hororata, where he felt assured of support. Second, he himself admitted that his refusal to abandon his well-established stand on state aid for denominational education played into his adversary's hands. Because Roman Catholics were seen as the chief beneficiaries of such funding, the opposition manipulated the deeply entrenched sectarian rivalry which existed between Protestants and Roman Catholics. Hall grumbled that "My atheistical opponent...assumed a truly Protestant horror of my assistance to R. Catholic schools, & is catching Orange votes all round." Hall's support for state aid was another aspect of his ecumenism but it also related to his conservative ideas of society. He followed the widely held supposition that religious beliefs and personal conduct were closely connected so that to include spiritual instruction in the school curriculum would reinforce the established order and be a bulwark against radicalism. Hall feared the democratic ideology of the major opposition faction, which was now called the Liberal party, because it threatened the political hegemony of the large landowner. At this stage, however, there was little to distinguish the Liberals from the government. The boundary changes, religious bigotry and, above all, class sentiment filled Hall with unprecedented unease as to the outcome of the election. The first returns made him fear the worst and put him "in a very blue funk". He did eventually win but his margin was further reduced to 53.8 per cent. This time he polled 727 votes to McLachlan's 625. On his accounting the final results did show a class bias and he reported that:

"The labouring men, especially the rowdies, voted for my opponent because he was more of a "working man" than I was. Of the farmers & of those above the mere labourer I had 90 per cent."
The House met in January 1891 and Hall was distressed that when the relative positions of the parties were put to the test the Liberals had a majority of seven. His serious misgivings about the Liberal victory were not merely because he and his faction had lost office but because his concept of social order was threatened. His values were paternalistic and had their roots in the privileges of a pre-industrial age. He equated the acquisition of wealth with sound stewardship and responsible conduct and went as far as to claim that "private property" was "the basis of civilisation". He believed that the colony was best governed by those who had invested in New Zealand because their large financial stake in the colony gave them a special interest in its being well managed. Wealthy landowners like Hall, however, were increasingly coming under attack from those who objected to land being locked up in the hands of the few. One cry in the election of 1890 had been to 'burst up the big estates' and the aim was to subdivide the old stations and settle numbers of farmers on small properties. Hall had no sympathy for land reform and justified his position by writing:

No man in New Zealand has been more liberal to those in his employ or is on better terms with them than myself. By life long labour & expenditure of considerable private means I have made a fine property, but I have spent upon improving it & employing labour upon it, all that it produces. If this is a crime, according to the new doctrine, I suppose those who waste their means, or wrap it in a napkin are the best citizens.

While Hall distrusted the new policies, he was also pragmatic about adjusting to a different political leadership and he declared:

If the bursters-up will give me for my estate anything like what I have spent upon it, they shall have it tomorrow, and I will place the proceeds where a man is not punished for having, by life-long enterprise, industry, and thrift, accumulated more than a shiftless neighbour. However I suppose these are old fashioned ideas and we old people must make the best of the position.

In his correspondence, Hall described those who represented the lower middle and working classes as 'Radical' and he labelled the underprivileged as the 'mob', evoking images of revolution and disorder from the era of the French Revolution. He feared the leaders of

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85 JH to Wilfred, 2 August 1890, MS x 914, p. 3, SJHP.
86 JH to [R.] Willis, 22 September 1890, MS x 914, p. 67, SJHP.
87 JH to W. Parker, 17 December 1890, MS x 914, SJHP.
labour for their 'demagoguery'. His distrust of "fluent agitators" had been aroused by Grey in 1879 and it had not abated.\textsuperscript{88} A passage in his notebooks records his horror at how

By cool effrontery, by sounding rhetoric, by suggestion of the false, by perversion of the truth, by flat misstatements, by gross appeals to tawdry & shallow sentimentalism, by panderings to all weaknesses, passions & prejudices, they are able to persuade the masses.\textsuperscript{89}

While Hall saw that having gained power the Liberals would be reluctant to relinquish it,\textsuperscript{90} he did not seriously entertain the notion that they could govern successfully. Consequently, his advice to Atkinson was to remain aloof and resist the temptation to form a coalition. To regain power, Atkinson's faction needed a convincing mandate and Hall advised the former premier to wait until the Liberals either failed to form a ministry or fell out among themselves.\textsuperscript{91} A month after the Liberals became the government, Hall observed that "Their party is already at sixes & sevens, and for this reason they had to bring the session to a hasty conclusion. Another week would have seen a big split in their ranks."\textsuperscript{92} He believed that if the Liberal party were given enough rope, it would destroy itself.\textsuperscript{93} In this he was mistaken: the Liberals formed the longest-lived government in New Zealand's history and remained in office until 1912.

In February 1891, Hall regarded Ballance and Reeves as "the leading spirits" and evaluated them as "socialists of an advanced type" whose idealism would be moderated by \textit{John} McKenzie and Joseph Ward.\textsuperscript{94} Three months later, Hall noted that Richard Seddon had become a political figure to be reckoned with. Hall disliked Seddon's politics and described him as "such a coarse, self asserting animal that he bears down his colleagues, & is posing as practically the Premier."\textsuperscript{95} Nor did Hall understand or sympathize with Seddon's courting of popular opinion. He complained to Richard Oliver, an opposition member of the Legislative Council, that

\textsuperscript{88} JH to J.R. Hill, 9 December 1890, MS x 914, p. 196, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{89} 'Miscellaneous', p. 32, HC.
\textsuperscript{90} JH to R.N. Bealey, 12 December 1890, MS x 914, p. 210, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{91} JH to H. Atkinson, 10 December 1890, MS x 914, p. 214, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{92} JH to W. Hall, 16 February 1891, MS x 914, pp. 395-6, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{93} JH to W. Fox, 23 February 1891, p. 426, SJHP; JH to [R.\] Oliver, 1 January 1891, pp. 313-4, (MS x 914, SJHP).
\textsuperscript{94} JH to W. Hall, 16 February 1891, MS x 914, pp. 395-6, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{95} JH to GWH, 18 May 1891, MS x 915, p. 79, SJHP.
Mr Seddon keeps flying about the Colony, posing as the "Boss" of the Ministerial Coach. He has been putting a heavy strain on his digestive organs by the number of banquets of which he partakes, at which he makes speeches & sings songs. When an election is coming off as at Egmont, he canvasses & promises, and appears at the Polling Booth in his shirt sleeves.96

Seddon's style and ideology created rivalries within the cabinet. His relations with Reeves were particularly strained. Ballance was able to hold these diverse personalities together. At Ballance's death in April 1893, Hall paid tribute to the premier's skill when he commented to Rolleston, the leader of the opposition: "He was distinctly the ablest man on their side...With all his faults Ballance was a great smoother over of difficulties and differences."97

The choice of a new prime minister briefly revived opposition hopes that the Liberals would fall apart. The options facing the Liberals were weighted unevenly. Ballance had given his blessing to Sir Robert Stout but Stout was not even a member of the House. Seddon had already been acting as Ballance's deputy and, although cabinet reached an understanding that he was to be locum tenens for Stout, Seddon had no intention of relinquishing his position. Stout gained a seat but, faced with Seddon's determination, he and his supporters gave way. In June, caucus affirmed Seddon as premier. The clashes of character were never resolved. Increasingly at odds with Seddon, Stout resigned his seat in 1898.

Despite his distaste for the style and substance of Seddon's politics, Hall appreciated that Seddon was no socialist and informed the proprietor of The New Zealand Herald: "Seddon may like measures which would enable his ministerial fingers to go into a good many pies, & for the sake of popularity & votes, may preach the Gospel of public plunder, but his instincts are individualistic".98 Over the years, however, Hall modified his opinion of Seddon. Initially he rued the advent of "a blustering, bouncing, brummagem Hercules"99 but after the election of 1896 he had acquired a respect for the premier's stamina and informed Reeves in London that "Seddon worked in a wonderful manner tearing from one

96 JH to R. Oliver, 18 May 1891, MS x 915, p. 74, SJHP.
97 JH to W. Rolleston, 29 April 1893, MS x 917, p. 397, SJHP.
98 JH to A.G. Horton, 27 May 1893, MS x 918, p. 2, SJHP.
99 JH to R. Oliver, 24 May 1893, MS x 917, p. 465, SJHP.
end of N. Zealand to the other, & making 3 & 4 hours speeches. He has wonderful strength."100

The leadership of the opposition was in disarray. Electoral defeat made finding a head for the faction difficult. There was widespread support for Hall above Bryce but, on health grounds, Hall refused to take up the reins and Bryce became the leader of the opposition.101 When Oliver continued to rue this situation, Hall reminded him that he was disqualified by poor health and by being a large landowner.102 In August 1891, Bryce earned the censure of the House and resigned from politics altogether. Once again Hall’s name was put forward for the post but the job was taken by William Rolleston. As The Lyttelton Times expressed it: "Sir John Hall is a politician of a bygone day. With the one exception of his sympathy with female suffrage, he remains very much the good old Conservative he was in the pre-Liberal period".103

The opposition had been effectively routed and by 1893 William Russell, one of its chief spokesmen, admitted that it was "difficult to lead a party in a hopeless minority in a way to cause enthusiasm."104 Once Hall had retired from politics, he was free to echo this opinion and writing to London he observed:

The Conservative party in this Colony, if indeed it can be called a Party, is not only...unorganized and apathetic, but seems utterly cowed by the enormous weight of public opinion which is opposed to it.105

The advent of the Liberals was in some respects a watershed in New Zealand political life. The fluidity of factional alliances within which Hall had conducted his parliamentary career was eventually replaced by the discipline of party organization and allegiance. The large landed interest which Hall had represented was badly trounced and did not regain power until 1912. The Liberals sought to champion democracy by eliminating privilege and sectional advantage and this was most clearly seen in the promotion of small farming by John McKenzie, the minister of lands, and Reeves’ Industrial and Conciliation Act of 1894.

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100 JH to W.P. Reeves, 6 December 1896, MS x 921, pp. 105-6, SJHP.
101 NZT, 21 January 1891.
102 R. Oliver to JH, 27 March 1891, Fol. 175, SJHP; JH to R. Oliver, 18 May 1891, MS x 915, p. 76, SJHP.
103 LT, 8 September 1891.
104 W.R. Russell to JH, 8 April 1893, Fol. 196, SJHP.
105 JH to A.D. Austin, 13 February 1894, MS x 919, pp. 10-11, SJHP.
Ironically, in the radical environment of the early 1890s, the conservative Hall worked to extend political democracy more energetically and effectively than the whole Liberal cabinet combined. In his last term of office, he devoted himself wholeheartedly to championing the battle for the enfranchisement of women.
CHAPTER 11
‘THE LADIES’ APOSTLE’

Now let the women rise and thank
Sir JOHN with heart and soul
For getting them the right to have
Their names upon the Roll.

By the time Hall entered his final session of parliament in 1893 his last political wish was to be instrumental in writing women’s suffrage on the statute books. He had long been a supporter of votes for women and had willingly become the chief advocate of the cause in the Assembly. Because he worked closely with Kate Sheppard and other leaders of the women’s movement, he was also their voice in the House. An examination of parliamentary decisions and Hall’s contribution towards the winning of female enfranchisement sheds light on the process which brought legislative success. This perspective complements that presented by historians of the women’s campaign.

When discussing the origins of the female franchise it is misleading to focus on the activities of the extra-parliamentary suffrage movement in the years 1885 to 1893. The successful enfranchisement of New Zealand women in 1893 rested on arguments which had been well rehearsed both within the colony and overseas. In fact, William Sidney Smith in his *Women’s Franchise Movement in New Zealand* states that Alfred Saunders and William Fox both advocated women’s suffrage as early as 1843. Moreover, as we shall see, a majority of male members of parliament accepted the principle of votes for women by the late 1870s.

As in other areas of thinking about government, the influential figure was John Stuart Mill. Having made clear his stance on women’s suffrage, he was elected to the House of Commons in 1866. Together with his disciple, Henry Fawcett, he promptly presented a

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1 Unsourced clipping, [March 1894], Retirement, HC.
2 Ellesmere Guardian, 15 November 1893.
3 JH to KWS, 10 August 1893, MS x 918, SJHP.
petition signed by 1,499 women that the right to vote in parliamentary elections be extended "to all householders without distinction of sex." The following year, Mill proposed an amendment to Disraeli’s Reform Bill that in the legislation the word ‘man’ be replaced by ‘person’. Mill’s resolution was unsuccessful but both the form of the amendment and the tactic of petition were to be reproduced time and again with increasing consequence in the colonial General Assembly.

One of the first responses to Mill in New Zealand came in 1869 from a woman. Using the pseudonym, Femmina, Mary Müller published An Appeal to the Men of New Zealand. Her comment on recent agitation in England and her question on female representation in parliament referred specifically to Mill’s activities in the House of Commons. She sent him a copy of her treatise and he replied encouragingly, enclosing a copy of his recently published essay, The Subjection of Women. She also showed that Mill was a major inspiration by writing on the copy of her pamphlet which she gave to Hall: "With the Author’s deep gratitude to Sir John Hall - our NZ Stuart Mill."

Mill’s stature as a writer and a philosopher ensured that his championship of women’s rights did not end in parliament. Through The Subjection of Women, the ideological framework of his actions reached a widespread audience. The ideas Mill presented were not new: what was innovative was his manner of marshalling them. He put the female franchise in the broader context of the injustices suffered by women. His argument ranged over legal, marital and economic inequalities and concluded that married women had, in fact, the legal status of slaves. Mill wanted redress on all these points.

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6 Femmina, [Mary Müller], An Appeal to the Men of New Zealand, Nelson, J. Hounsell, 1869, p. 3.
7 P. Grimshaw, Women’s Suffrage in New Zealand, Auckland, Auckland University Press/ Oxford University Press, 1987, p. 15
8 Hall’s copy is bound in ‘Women’s Suffrage Pamphlets’, HC.
With specific regard to the parliamentary franchise, Mill could see no "shadow of justification" for treating women differently from men. His was not an argument for universal suffrage as not all men were eligible to vote. His plea was on behalf of middle-class women. He advocated that those women who met the property criteria required of men should be permitted to vote. In part, he could rest his thesis on precedent. Women ratepayers in municipal areas already possessed the franchise and from this he could conclude that where women had been given political responsibility they had fulfilled their duties adequately. Indeed, he could go further. A woman could inherit the throne and those who had done so had exercised their power with considerable competence.

The speeches of New Zealand politicians reveal the importance of Mill's writing on the rights of women. Quotations from Mill became commonplace. Among those specifically won to the women's cause by The Subjection of Women was Robert Stout. He began to promote the female franchise in local politics in 1871. Seven years later, Dr James Wallis was the first person to introduce a motion on women's suffrage into the House of Representatives and he started his speech by admitting that he "was converted by the writings of Mr. Mill". He went on to demonstrate how Mill's thoughts had become his own. In 1880 his motion on recommending the female freehold franchise was virtually a summary of the argument in The Subjection of Women and Wallis readily acknowledged his source.

In New Zealand as in Britain, claims for the parliamentary suffrage were substantiated by precedent. Like Mill, Wallis pointed out that some women already had a measure of enfranchisement. The Municipal Corporations Act of 1867, which Hall had introduced,

11 Ibid., p. 57.
12 Ibid., pp. 20 and 54.
13 This contrasts with the British experience. For an assessment of the influence of Mill's essay in the United Kingdom, see W.R. Carr, 'Introduction' to Mill, pp. xxiv-xxvii.
14 Grimshaw, p. 15.
had not defined the elector as male. As a result, some women ratepayers were able to vote in local body elections because they lived in provinces which interpreted the law to include women. Then in 1875, with the abolition of the provinces pending, enfranchisement in local body elections was extended to female property holders throughout the colony. In addition, from 1877 women ratepayers were eligible to be elected to school committees and to vote or stand for the more prestigious and influential education boards. Women's interest in education was widely acknowledged: from the start they served on committees and even chaired them. Indeed, the fact that two women had been elected to education boards with "no injury" resulting was used straight away to clinch the argument for the female franchise.

The concept of women's having the parliamentary vote was accepted by a large majority of both houses in the New Zealand General Assembly when it was first introduced in 1878. That year the clause in the government's Electoral Bill giving the vote in parliamentary elections to women ratepayers passed in the House of Representatives by eighteen votes and by a majority of fourteen in the Legislative Council. These results are significant because they show that most politicians accepted the principle of votes for women. That principle failed to become embodied in law in the year 1878 only because the Electoral Bill was discharged in the face of an unresolved dispute between the houses over the Maori vote. So the colony's most influential women failed to get the vote, despite the desire of a clear majority of the parliamentarians to enfranchise them, simply because the two houses could not agree on another matter.

In the Council, Hall was the only person to speak on the subject of votes for women. As a large landholder, he defended property and most of his colleagues agreed with him. For him, as for other conservatives, neither men nor women had any abstract or indefeasible right to the franchise but their entitlement to vote rested upon their demonstration that they had the

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18 The Municipal Corporations Act 1867, clause 48 gave the municipal vote to "Every person" who was twenty-one and a ratepayer.
19 For more detail see Grimshaw, pp. 12-13.
21 The significance of the politicians' willingness to accept the principle of women's suffrage at this early date was pointed out to me by Dr Chris Connolly, whose advice has heavily influenced the argument of the next three pages.
22 NZPD 1878, Vol. XXIX, p. 230. The vote was 23:41.
23 NZPD 1878, Vol. XXX, p. 809. The vote was 10:24.
personal qualities to vote responsibly as well as interests which required protection under the law. Consistent with that position he argued:

I do not at all say, with regard to females, that they have any abstract political right to have the franchise. The question, to my mind, is, whether it is expedient that they should have that right. They have as much interest in the good government of the country, and in our having good laws, as men have. I think they have almost more interest, because they are the weaker vessels, and are less able to protect themselves. Therefore it is of more importance to them than to men that they should have the protection of good and efficient laws. For my own part, I should have been perfectly willing to have gone further in this direction than the Bill goes.24

As for the possible objection that women lacked the political education to vote responsibly, he replied that

to a certain extent, that is true, but it is a defect which will cure itself. When women have to take part in political life they will be careful to inform themselves more than they have done up to the present time about the merits of the various candidates.25

He saw, in other words, that enfranchising women would encourage them to take an interest in politics. He went on to argue that women’s discernment of character would favour the election of respectable candidates:

If they have not much political education, they have one characteristic which very largely compensates for its absence: they have a more intuitive appreciation of character than men, and will be better able, when a candidate comes before them to distinguish whether he is an honest man, really worthy of their support, or is a mere blatant, brazen-faced, self-seeking political humbug.26

Hall supported women’s suffrage yet when he was premier from 1879 to 1882 his government did not promote it. This was partly because his cabinet was split on the issue27 but also because Hall had other priorities at that time. His energies were focused on addressing three pressing issues: the colony’s economic and financial crisis, the confrontation with Te Whiti at Parihaka and the need to cultivate a ‘popular’ image by passing legislation which would trump Grey’s claim that his faction alone would enact ‘liberal’ laws. It was to meet this last objective that Hall’s government in 1879 introduced the Qualification of

26 Ibid., p. 608.
Electors Bill to liberalize the franchise by granting residential manhood suffrage. The bill made no provision for votes for women, for Hall was determined that it should not be exposed "to any risk whatever." And the issue of votes for women had, in 1879, become fraught with controversy for reasons which had nothing to do with female suffrage as such. This was because Grey had succeeded in making manhood suffrage a major issue. Conservatives were generally anxious to concede on this point, for fear of arousing popular antagonism, but were anxious to offset the democratic effects of an extension of the male suffrage by confining female suffrage to women who were ratepayers. This view was almost certain to prevail in the Legislative Council, where conservatives predominated, but it was increasingly unacceptable in the House of Representatives where the conservative implications of a ratepayer franchise were widely understood. This meant that if the issue of votes for women were raised, it could lead to a deadlock between the houses which would put the entire Qualification of Electors Bill at risk and undermine Hall's attempt to steal Grey's democratic thunder. The issue was not easily avoided, however. An amendment to enfranchise women ratepayers was introduced in the lower house. Hall felt able to support this as it would not provoke undue opposition in the Council, and it passed. When an attempt was made to grant women residential suffrage on the same terms as men, however, Hall (who did not object to the amendment in principle but feared that it would provoke conflict with the Council) opposed it and it was thrown out. This left the female ratepayer suffrage intact, a situation unsatisfactory to the democrats. They rallied their forces and, helped by three defectors from the female ratepayer suffrage camp and by changes in the attendance, they forced the recommittal of the bill and the clause was struck out. So female suffrage was rejected by a house whose members were prepared to accept it in principle while being unable to agree on the form which it should take because of their divergent attitudes to democracy.

Despite fruitless efforts by Dr Wallis to raise the issue of votes for women in 1880 and 1881, it was not seriously considered again until 1887 when the Stout government introduced a Women's Suffrage Bill to give women the vote on the same terms as men. This

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28 Ibid., p. 272.
29 Ibid., p. 173. The vote was 29:34.
30 NZPD 1879, Vol. XXXIII, p. 182. The vote was 27:19.
advanced proposal was acceptable to most members of the House and the bill passed its second reading with a majority of nineteen.\footnote{NZPD 1887, Vol. LVII, pp. 257. The vote was 41:22.} Those who favoured women's having an equal franchise with men then defeated the attempt to limit the vote to women of property by seventeen votes.\footnote{NZPD 1887, Vol. LVII, pp. 371-2. The vote was 28:11.} Yet the manoeuvres of the bill's opponents meant that the legislation was shipwrecked in committee despite having majority support. Believing the bill was secure, some supporters went home. Subsequently, sufficient members antagonistic to votes for women arrived and were able to take another division in the early hours of the morning so that the clause relating to the wider suffrage was struck out.\footnote{NZPD 1887, Vol. LVII, p. 372. The vote was 19:21. For more details of the manoeuvres see Grimshaw, p. 43.} The clause enfranchising women ratepayers remained. Since this was by now unacceptable, the bill was discharged.

While most members of the General Assembly accepted the principle of women's suffrage, successful enactment foundered on the shoals of faction politics because the reform was not a priority. In part this was because there was no evidence of popular demand for the measure, even from women. Opponents of the suffrage frequently used this argument:

The question had not been before the country; it had not even been brought under their notice by the ladies themselves. There had been no petitions from any part of the country bearing on this question.\footnote{NZPD 1879, XXXIII, 14 November 1879, p. 273.} This was to change with the advent of the Women's Christian Temperance Union which was founded in New Zealand in 1885. Formerly, both men and women had been influenced principally by John Stuart Mill but now the situation changed. Whereas the men's ideas continued to be dominated by Mill's writing, the women now adopted other sources of inspiration stemming from their own experience as campaigners for women's causes. The W.C.T.U. had a broad, moral platform which was based on a female perspective. The movement had its roots among evangelical Christians for whom prayer and Bible study were an essential part of its activity. Another important plank was the doctrine of separate spheres. This was the widely-held belief that God and nature had ordained recognizably distinct roles for men and women. According to this theory, the male domain was the public arena whereas the female's proper province was the home and the family. Here women were placed on a virtuous pedestal summed up in such epithets as 'the angel by the hearth'. The
W.C.T.U. aimed to eliminate the exploitation of women by ensuring that those in employment were protected by legislation and that the married women at home had a legitimate share of their husband's income. It also sought to safeguard the domestic domain by inaugurating throughout the colony an era of 'Social Purity'. Because the organization encouraged personal godliness, it attacked alcohol and prostitution as the two most visible and blatant abuses which threatened women, their children and the sanctity of the family.

The women were conscious, however, that they were practically powerless to effect change. They had no direct political voice and without one their claims would continue to be dismissed. Consequently, the campaign for the suffrage was an integral facet of the W.C.T.U. programme. The women believed that once they could elect political representatives there would be a new moral purpose in government which would not only improve their own lot but also initiate social reform in New Zealand. So important was gaining the right to vote that to secure it the women established a separate committee within the W.C.T.U. called the franchise department. Suffragist agitation began in earnest in 1887 when Kate Sheppard, whose petitions on behalf of women and children had been rejected, became the superintendent of the franchise department.

An essential figure in the women's strategy was a parliamentary advocate. On 5 June 1888 Kate Sheppard invited Hall to present to the House the franchise department's petition for equal suffrage rights. This petition was signed by the four colonial office-holders of the W.C.T.U. The following day Hall replied in the affirmative. He also agreed to Kate Sheppard's suggestion that during the debate on the Electoral Bill he propose the removal of the definition of "person" which specifically set out to exclude women from voting in parliamentary elections. He did not get a chance to do this, however, as the bill did not proceed beyond its first reading.

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38 Grimshaw, p. 37.
39 KWS to JH, 5 June 1888, Fol. 146, SJHP.
40 LT, 14 June 1888.
41 KWS to JH, 5 June 1888, Fol. 146, SJHP; JH to KWS, 6 June 1888, KWS Papers 176/53, Box 1, Fol. 1, Item 13, CM.
In choosing to approach Hall, the women demonstrated sound judgment. He was a prominent figure, was highly respected by all factions and had long been a supporter of the suffrage. In Britain he had participated in Primrose League activities and had seen first-hand how women could contribute to political life. Speaking of votes for women, he himself later pointed out to his colleagues that they should "find in the fact that the proposal is made by an old man who is not an inexperienced politician some assurance that it is not a rash or dangerous proposal." It was his custom to be well-informed and in the case of votes for women he was, as usual, amply prepared. He gathered and filed information from New Zealand and international sources and was then able to draw on it to spice his speeches with accurate and pertinent comment. Above all, his long career in politics meant that he was well-versed in the factional manoeuvres necessary to pass legislation through the Assembly.

Ideologically, Hall’s support for women’s suffrage rested on the philosophy of Mill. For Hall, as for Mill, the female franchise was not only just but was politically advantageous. He told Kate Sheppard that

The concession of this right seems to me not only a matter of justice to women, but a measure of great importance in the cause of good government.

Both Hall and Mill feared that under manhood suffrage the numerical advantage of the labouring class would give it an irreversible supremacy at the polls. The embodiment of Hall’s dread was the ‘loafer’, the unattached male with no anchor to the land. He considered that such men would destroy his own class and with it the economic basis of the colony’s prosperity. He, like some other station owners, believed that women of all classes would be more likely to vote for conservative politicians. Those who adopted this view reasoned that permanence and stability were as essential for women, the homemakers, as they were for landowners, and anticipated that this common interest gave the two groups a shared political outlook. Thus, as Hall concluded, female suffrage "would have a sobering effect - and tend to keep drunkards, profligates, & professional politicians out of Parliament."

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44 'Women's Suffrage-Newspaper Extracts 1887-93', 'Women's Suffrage-Newspaper Extracts 1893-94', 'Women's Suffrage Pamphlets' and 'Newspaper Extracts & Pamphlets: Women's Suffrage', HC.
45 JH to KWS, 16 May 1890, Private Letter Book, 1 June 1886-28 July 1890, pp. 374-5, HC.
46 JH to G.G. Stead, 30 June 1891, MS x 915, pp. 120-1, SJHP.
47 JH to GWH, 13 September 1891, MS x 915, p. 473 between pp. 251-2, SJHP.
To see Hall's campaign for the suffrage as simply a means of promoting the interests of property, however, would be to misrepresent his dedication to the women's cause. He was sincerely committed to votes for all women on any terms. In 1878 he said of the bill which proposed the enfranchisement of women that he would "have been perfectly willing to have gone further in this direction than the Bill goes", arguing that because women had more need of protection than men they had at least as much interest in good laws and hence were equally entitled to the vote. At later dates, the only reason he supported anything less for women was because he thought that that was all which could be won. In 1879, as we have seen, he voted for ratepayer but against residential suffrage not because he opposed the latter but because he knew that the Legislative Council would reject it and a vital electoral bill would very likely be lost. On every subsequent occasion, he stated his preference for universal suffrage. This he did in 1888 and 1889 when he was frustrated in his efforts to amend electoral legislation. In 1890, he again stated that his goal was universal suffrage, although he was willing to accept the 'half loaf' of ratepayer enfranchisement to ease its passage through the Council. From 1891 to victory in 1893, he campaigned single-mindedly for universal suffrage. Consequently, he did not consider postal votes for rural women "worth fighting about" even though this option would weigh in the landowners' favour. He recognized that if this issue were raised, then it could lead to a dispute between the conservative Council which wanted the postal vote for rural women and the liberal lower house which opposed the measure on the grounds that it was likely to be attached to the landowning interest. He also put the women's cause first when, as a member of the opposition who delighted in embarrassing the Liberals, he recommended that the suffragists avoid criticism of the government's handling of electoral reform because this antagonized Liberal supporters and was, therefore, counterproductive. Further afield, he supported suffragists overseas especially in Britain and the Australian colonies. Outside of politics and in the face of entrenched clerical conservatism, he championed the claims of Anglican women in New Zealand to a voice and a vote in church affairs. Hall, therefore, believed in the principle of justice for women and fought for that principle whether or not it coincided with the conservative cause.

49 JH to T.J. Withers, 26 September 1892, MS x 916, p. 342, SJHP.
50 JH to M.A. Hatton, 24 October 1892, MS x 916, p. 385, SJHP.
In the crusade for women's votes, Hall's counsel was crucial. He knew that many politicians cared little about the suffrage because there was no evidence that most people wanted it. Accordingly, in August 1889 he met with Kate Sheppard and "Advised petitioning, influencing, and representing public opinion." He was suggesting something much more far-reaching and laborious than the petition signed by the W.C.T.U.'s four leaders in 1888, and Kate Sheppard did not take up his suggestion immediately. Indeed, when politicians told her that they would support votes for women only "when the majority of N. Zealand women express a desire for it", she pointed out tartly that "this had not been the course taken when manhood suffrage was granted".

The lack of a petition demonstrating women's widespread desire for the suffrage handicapped Hall during the session of 1890 when he introduced a motion into the House that "the right of voting at the election of members of the House of Representatives should be extended to women." The motion was fully debated and was agreed to with a majority of 26. He followed this up with his Women's Franchise Bill. Since this was a private member's bill, Hall was not hopeful of success as government measures usually took precedence. Consequently, he also proposed a new clause in the government's Electoral Bill, stating that in all electoral legislation words of "the masculine gender shall include women." Despite the large majority for the earlier motion, the amendment was lost by seven votes. This dramatic turnaround occurred because those who opposed the suffrage made it clear that they would engage in extended stonewalling to prevent the bill from passing. Hall's amendment was rejected because some members who favoured the principle of female suffrage voted against it lest its inclusion should endanger the whole bill. Yet again, women's suffrage had been defeated, not because most members opposed it, but because it had low priority. It was regarded as of secondary importance in part because there was so little evidence that women wanted it. During the debate on Hall's original motion one

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51 For examples of this argument against the suffrage see NZPD 1878, Vol. XXVIII, p. 209; NZPD 1879, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 273 and 276.
52 9 August 1889, Diary 1889-90 1894-5-6, GHHC.
53 KWS to JH, 9 February 1890, Fol. 162, SJHP.
54 NZPD 1890, Vol. LXVIII, pp. 387-405. The vote was 37:11.
55 NZPD 1890, Vol. LXIX, p. 72.
57 LT, 22 August 1890. See also Grimshaw, p. 44.
opponent felt able to deny outright that women wanted the "proffered privilege." Even William Pember Reeves, Hall’s seconder, stated:

The franchise has often been extended by leaps and bounds, but never to an enormous section of the community which has shown no strong desire to have it...The mass of women have as yet taken little interest in the subject, and have not demanded that the franchise should be given to them.

The lesson of Hall’s defeat in 1890 was not lost on the franchise department of the W.C.T.U., which at last took up his suggestion of the previous year that it canvass the women of New Zealand to sign a petition registering their desire for the vote. As part of their petition campaign, the women used printed copies of Hall’s recent speech in the House made in support of his suffrage motion. He himself paid for the production of these pamphlets since the W.C.T.U. had "only £2 to spend."

Five weeks after Hall’s defeated suffrage motion, the collection of signatures was under way. Kate Sheppard invited Lady Hall to be the first to sign the petition. Rose appreciated "the compliment" but declined, stating that

Sir John thinks that the petition w[ou]ld appear more as the spontaneous expression of the feeling of the women of New Zealand, if it were not headed by the wife of a member, who has taken so prominent a part in the advocacy of this movement.

While canvassing for signatures was a novelty for the Hall women, they, like many other women from political families, were well-versed in the business of the public world. Reading the newspaper reports relating to politics was a long-standing habit for them all and

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59 Ibid., p. 392.
60 Ibid., pp. 387-92.
61 KWS to JH, 7 August 1890, Fol. 167, SJHP; JH to KWS, 15 August 1890, MS x 914, p. 19, SJHP.
62 KWS to Rose, 29 September 1890, Fol. 168, SJHP.
63 Rose to KWS, 12 October 1890, Manuscript Letter Book 18 January 1887 to 1 January 1891, HC.
64 For a comparison with women in British political families see P. Jalland, Women, Marriage and Politics 1860-1914, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1986, p. 16.
even when Mary had been terminally ill, she had continued her "intelligent interest." The women discussed New Zealand politics at length whether or not Hall was present.

Lady Hall was a leader in the campaign for women's suffrage at Hororata. She recognized that she was a person of influence in the district and admitted that no one else there was likely to take the trouble to promote the petition. Although she was in her mid-sixties, age was no barrier to her activities. She was committed to women's suffrage not only because she believed in it but because it was dear to her husband's heart. As she explained to Kate Sheppard: "I shall be only too glad to do anything in my power to help forward a work in which my husband is so much interested as Female Franchise." Rose and Sir John worked together for the petition so that when he was present, she was content to remain in the background but in his absence she was quite able to hold a suffrage meeting. Their daughter was also involved and when writing to Kate Sheppard, Rose paid tribute to Mildred by stating that she had "really worked very hard in the cause."

Rose's correspondence with Kate Sheppard concerning the women's suffrage petitions reveals the difficulties faced by women like herself who gathered signatures in rural areas. The petition of 1891, in fact, did not in general circulate beyond the cities and the towns where the W.C.T.U had branches, so that Hororata was a notable exception. Whereas in Christchurch lack of people to carry out a "systematic" canvass was the stumbling block, in the country distance was the major difficulty. As Rose told Kate Sheppard repeatedly, "People live so far apart in this neighbourhood that it takes a long time to visit all the people." One way of overcoming the need to collect signatures from door to door was to hold a meeting specifically to debate the suffrage. This was not a straightforward solution either. The weather could prove an additional hurdle and on one occasion heavy rain halved the expected attendance of seventy. While Rose was disappointed she also pointed out that
some people had come from six miles away. Another tactic to obtain more signatures was Sir John's plan for taking advantage of "an entertainment" which was already bringing members of the community together. These methods met a good response in the Hororata area. At the end of May 1891, Hall reported to Kate Sheppard that "we have about fifty signatures...In fact only one person to whom I submitted the petition refused to sign." He claimed, concerning a later suffrage petition, that this number of signatories was "quite 90 per cent of those who could sign."

When the House met in June 1891, the absence of a suffrage clause in the Electoral Bill revealed that introducing votes for women was not a government priority. While Ballance, the premier, supported the suffrage in principle, his first concern was to hold his party together. The suffrage issue threatened to pull it apart. Ballance and his colleagues were greatly influenced by the liquor lobby, a pressure group which, as Patricia Grimshaw has shown, transcended party allegiance. Members of this cabal believed that women's votes would be solidly in favour of temperance and, with Richard Seddon as the liquor lobby's representative in cabinet, the group was forceful enough to threaten ministerial solidarity.

The government, therefore, resisted Hall's efforts to advance the women's cause. Although he promptly introduced an amendment to the Electoral Bill which would remove women's exclusion from the suffrage, the House adjourned without a division on the issue. He was well aware that he had significant opposition to overcome as he warned Kate Sheppard that "our opponents are very vigilant & not very scrupulous" and that already they had resorted to scaremongering among new members. The ministry stalled and two months elapsed before the debate on the Electoral Bill resumed. Hall realized that because

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73 Rose to KWS, 28 September [?], KWS Papers 176/53, Box 3, Fol. 18, Item 429, CM. 32 people attended.
74 Rose to KWS, 20 May 1891, KWS Papers 176/53, Box 1, Fol. 3, Item 29, CM.
75 JH to KWS, 27 May 1891, MS x 915, pp. 91-92, SJHP.
76 Rose to KWS, 16 September 1893, KWS Papers 176/53, Box 1, Fol. 5, Item 188, CM; JH to KWS, 30 May 1893, MS x 918, p. 13, SJHP.
78 Grimshaw, Women's Suffrage, p. 67.
80 JH to KWS, 22 June 1891, KWS Papers 176/53, Box 1, Fol. 3, Item 38, CM.
of the divisions within the Liberal party, the premier was trying to avoid debate on votes for women and informed Kate Sheppard:

Mr Ballance has twice promised me to bring on the Electoral Bill but has failed to do so, and I cannot help having misgivings as to the earnestness of the Government in the matter...Some active, but secret opponents, are working very hard against us.81

Because the majority of the House supported the suffrage, the executive could not stand openly against the reform so that delaying the debate enabled the ministry to be evasive without disclosing the full extent of its antagonism.

Hall timed his presentation of the 1891 petition from 9,685 women of New Zealand to have maximum impact.82 On the afternoon of 14 August, the day on which the debate on women's suffrage resumed, he with some assistance unrolled the seventy-four yards of the petition from what The Lyttelton Times slightly referred to as "the Amazon battalion".83 Members gathered round to read it.84 That evening his attempt to have the word 'person' in the Electoral Bill include both men and women was again discussed. Opponents of the amendment once more stonewalled until the early hours and no division was taken.85

The government, however, could not ignore the growing strength and organization of those who supported the enfranchisement of women. Those who supported the suffrage were keen to put pressure on the ministry but agreed to give cabinet one more chance with the Electoral Bill.86 Hall and Alfred Saunders, the early advocate of the suffrage and now the member for Lincoln, called a meeting of supporters and with fifteen other parliamentarians formed a committee to put pressure on the government to advance votes for women. Ballance promised that the Women's Franchise Bill would have its second reading on 24 August.87 There was a full debate and when the vote was taken, the bill passed the second reading by a majority of 25.88

81 JH to KWS, 10 August 1891, MS x 915, p. 171, SJHP.
82 LT, 15 August 1891.
83 KWS to JH, 23 June 1891, Fol. 177, SJHP; LT, 15 August 1891.
84 Press, 15 August 1891.
86 JH to KWS, 10 August 1891, MS x 915, p. 171, SJHP.
87 A. Saunders to KWS, 15 August 1891, KWS Papers 176/53, Box 1, Fol. 3, Item 43, CM; Grimshaw, Women's Suffrage, p. 67; NZPD 1891, Vol. LXXIII, p. 330
88 Ibid., pp. 497-551. The vote was 33:8.
This clear majority forced the members of the government who opposed votes for women to resort to another tactic to thwart the enactment of the Women’s Franchise Bill. Again the manoeuvre was not overtly provocative. The stratagem was to introduce the apparently liberal notion of allowing women to stand for the House. This was introduced by Walter Carncross, a leading figure in the liquor cabal, and had the support of four cabinet members. In the division, this amendment passed by a majority of six.\(^9\) By including this radical motion, the bill’s opponents aimed to sabotage its chances in the more conservative Legislative Council. Thus, the ministry would have its way yet avoid the opprobrium of casting out the bill.

When the bill reached the Council, its “most pronounced advocate” was James Fulton.\(^{10}\) His wife, Catherine, was the national President of the W.C.T.U. but Fulton said that he had been converted, not by her, but by hearing the words of Dr Wallis over ten years before.\(^{11}\) Councillors were well aware that they were expected to reject the bill and that the amendment concerning women’s standing for the House had been added specifically to facilitate that end. The issue was, in fact, a red herring: the amendment was a statement of principle which was unlikely to mean anything in practice. Indeed, a seat in the House was not on the women’s agenda and they specifically denied interest in the option. As Helen Nicol, pioneer women’s suffragist in Dunedin, wrote to the editor of The Evening Star: “We do not want a seat in Parliament, but we do want a vote to put the right kind of men there.”\(^{92}\) Within the Council, John Barnicoat declared that a woman in the House “is one of those possibilities which will never happen.”\(^{93}\) Nevertheless, the Council fulfilled expectations and the bill was defeated by two votes.\(^{94}\)

During the session of 1891, Saunders began to question the sincerity of Hall’s conduct as the leader of the suffrage campaign. Saunders asserted that Hall was “so intensely bitter against” the ministry that in his eagerness to see it ousted from office he was no longer wholeheartedly promoting votes for women.\(^{95}\) Saunders reported to Kate Sheppard

\(^{89}\) NZPD 1891, Vol. LXXIV, p. 223. The vote was 30:24.
\(^{90}\) JH to KWS, 22 June 1891, KWS Papers 176/53, Box 1, Fol. 3, Item 38, CM.
\(^{92}\) The Evening Star, (Dunedin), 10 September 1891.
\(^{93}\) NZPD 1891, Vol. LXXIV, p. 468.
\(^{94}\) Ibid., p. 470. The vote was 15:17.
\(^{95}\) A. Saunders to KWS, 22 August 1891, KWS Papers 176/53, Box 1, Fol. 3, Item 52, CM.
that Sir John has been trying to use us to keep back the Government Land Bill which is their chief policy Bill and one that they must get through at any price. It is every day more and more plain that he would sell us all if he could possibly defeat the Government policy bills.\(^{96}\)

He added the warning "that the most fatal course would be to allow ourselves to be used as a decoy in Sir John's hand."\(^{97}\) But Saunders was an independent, sympathetic to the Liberal government. He also seems to have resented Hall's prominence in the fight for the suffrage. Sheppard realized this, for she ignored Saunders' warnings and continued to co-operate fully with Hall.

Women who had supported the petition were disappointed at the fate of the franchise in 1891 but did not abandon their struggle. Kate Sheppard refused to "mourn" and set about organizing another petition. Her aim was to dispel the doubts of those parliamentarians who still questioned whether women were serious in their demand for the franchise.\(^{98}\) This time she also sought to provide overwhelming evidence that those women who wanted the vote by far outnumbered the more conservative members of their sex. This petition was far more ambitious: canvassing was conducted throughout the colony. Hall encouraged Kate Sheppard in her work by observing that collecting signatures had a two-fold benefit. Not only did it add weight to the petition but it afforded the opportunity of educating more women about the suffrage. He also suggested a change to the text and promised "to introduce the Bill again the first day of next Session, if I am spared."\(^{99}\)

Initially, Kate Sheppard was worried that the pro-suffrage "pendulum" would not continue its forward momentum in 1892.\(^{100}\) These doubts were assuaged when her supporters eventually collected over 20,000 signatures making this the largest petition ever presented to the House.\(^{101}\) The Licensed Victuallers' Association, however, aimed to validate its claim that women did not want to be enfranchised. Henry Fish, the liquor lobby's

\(^{96}\) A. Saunders to KWS, 29 August 1891, KWS Papers 176/53, Box 1, Fol. 3, Item 54, CM.

\(^{97}\) Ibid.

\(^{98}\) KWS to JH, 14 September 1891, KWS Papers 176/53, Box 1, Fol. 3, Item 65, CM.

\(^{99}\) JH to KWS, 17 September 1891, MS x 915, p. 255, SJHP.

\(^{100}\) KWS to JH, 25 June 1892, Fol. 186, SJHP.

\(^{101}\) JH to KWS, 20 July 1892, MS x 916, p. 261, SJHP; JH to KWS, 7 July 1892, KWS Papers 176/53, Box 1, Fol. 4, Item 84, CM.
leader in the House, organized an anti-suffrage petition in Dunedin which gathered over 5,000 signatures. Hall dispelled Kate Sheppard's concern at this development by observing that

> Even if Mr Fish can show that some women do not want a vote, that is no reason why it should be denied to those who do wish for it and would make good use of it.

Fish's efforts were discredited when suffragists publicized the underhand methods he had employed to collect signatures. Men had been paid 7 shillings for every one hundred signatures gathered; the canvassers had approached young women who would be ineligible to vote; and, worst of all, the collectors had given no indication that this was a counter-petition so that some women had signed in the mistaken belief that they were supporting the female franchise. Hall used this "curious information" to pulverize Fish in the House.

Because of his outspoken and persistent antagonism to votes for women, Fish has been accorded a prominent place in the anti-suffrage movement. His offensive speeches brought him notoriety. He derided women's claims by reversing the doctrine of separate spheres and invited members of the House to imagine

> ...the husband finding his way home, expecting his wife to have his dinner or tea ready, but when he goes home he finds his wife doing - what? Discussing with a lot of hirsute women questions of politics.

Such ridicule received much publicity and was a gift to cartoonists but the significance of this and similar attacks has been overrated. His arguments appealed only to those who opposed votes for women anyway and produced a backlash in favour of the women's cause. In particular, his vituperative attacks on Dunedin suffragists, especially Harriet Morison, led them to establish the Women's Franchise League. For the first time female suffrage stood apart from temperance and thereby gained a higher profile, a broadening basis of support and a more specific strategy. Systematic canvassing for the petition was adopted and

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102 H.L. Nicol to JH, 9 May 1892, Fol. 185, SJHP.
103 JH to KWS, 18 April 1892, MS x 916, p. 93, SJHP.
104 KWS to JH, 8 April 1892, Fol. 185, SJHP; H.L. Nicol to JH, 9 May 1892, Fol. 185, SJHP.
105 JH to KWS, 27 June 1892, MS x 916, p. 211, SJHP; LT, 2 July 1892.
107 Ibid., p. 505; The Evening Star, (Auckland), 4 November 1893; K.W. Turner, 'Henry Smith Fish and the Opposition to the Female Franchise in Dunedin, 1890-1893', B.A. (Hons), University of Otago, 1985, p. 44.
Helen Nicol and Marion Hatton, leading figures in the Dunedin suffrage movement, travelled to other centres promulgating the League's cause and tactics. Hall made no real distinction between the League and the W.C.T.U. Both were working for female sufrage and he was willing to assist the League in its campaign to achieve the common goal. His advice was practical. Because producing a journal was expensive, he recommended to Helen Nicol that it was more economical as well as more effective to collect, publish and circulate suffrage information in small leaflets.

The women's vote was decisive in the Dunedin mayoral election of 1892. Fish was a candidate but women municipal voters rejected him. His defeat was acknowledged as a triumph for the suffrage cause. Not only did the experience give the colony a foretaste of women's political power but it provided the opportunity to answer sceptics. Already another politician had modified his stance. Hall reported to Kate Sheppard that Thomas Mackenzie had become a recent pro-suffrage convert because "of the feeling in his constituency."

While the women were keen to advance their cause by any legitimate means, Hall was concerned that nothing detract from the impact of the petitions or fuel the opposition's cause. He wanted to engineer success. He saw risks in holding public meetings on women's sufrage. Although they were an efficient means of collecting signatures for the petition, the presence of a large number of opponents could generate unfavourable publicity. Another danger was that the women would frame resolutions critical of the ministry. This aroused such party feeling at one meeting in Christchurch that little positive was achieved for the franchise. Consequently, he urged the women to concentrate on collecting signatures for the petition and advised them to avoid controversy by refraining from commenting on the government.

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108 Besides Dunedin, they campaigned in Waimate, Gore and Oamaru.
109 JH to H.L. Nicol, 25 April 1892, MS x 916, p. 116, SJHP.
110 Turner states that sufrage was the central issue of the campaign but questions whether the franchise won the support the women claimed for it, pp. 77 and 107-8.
111 JH to [A.K.] Newman, 7 December 1892, MS x 917, p. 18, SJHP.
112 JH to KWS, 4 November 1892, MS x 916, p. 406, SJHP.
113 JH to KWS, 6 May 1892, MS x 916, p. 125, SJHP.
114 JH to M.A. Hatton, 24 October 1892, p. 385; JH to KWS, 4 November 1892, p. 404, (MS x 916, SJHP).
When parliament opened in 1892, the prospects for women's suffrage were good. The ministry had incorporated the franchise clause in its Electoral Bill. Hall was once again sceptical of the government's intentions and prepared a Women's Franchise Rights Bill of his own. This had its first reading within six days.115 Debates were brief "because men's minds were practically made up upon the subject."116 Within a week of the start of the session the Electoral Bill had passed its second reading and no division was necessary.117 Similar success attended the bill's progress through the Council.

Despite the bill's unimpeded progress through both houses, it was lost this time because the houses fell out over the postal vote. Once again the principle of giving women the vote was not disputed. The stumbling-block for the franchise came at the committee stage in the upper house when councillors insisted on adding an amendment to give the small number of women who lived in remote rural areas the right to cast their vote by mail - a refinement which the women had never requested.118 This resolution was a party political manoeuvre. The bill had included provisions to enable more categories of itinerant males to vote and these electors were expected to favour the Liberals. Because most councillors allied themselves with the conservative opposition, they sought to redress the situation by including supporters of their own in the bill. Among those thought less likely to favour the government were women in isolated pastoral areas which still usually returned conservative members. As a stationowner and a member of the opposition, Hall agreed with the Council's amendment but he recognized that the alteration was really insignificant.119 He was more concerned that the resolution would endanger votes for women because it provided an excuse for conflict between the houses.120 Hall's fears were realized when after three conferences the differences proved irreconcilable. Saunders attempted to salvage the bill by moving that the issue was not sufficiently important to justify rejecting it.121 A member of the government later informed Hall that "it was never intended that women's suffrage should pass."122 That this was the ministry's intention became manifest when, as Patricia

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115 LT, 30 June 1892.
116 JH to L. Frank, 22 November 1892, MS x 916, p. 473, SJHP.
118 NZPD 1892, Vol. LXXVIII, p. 316. The vote was 13:8.
119 JH to [W.G. Parsonson], 1 October 1892, MS x 916, p. 348, SJHP.
120 JH to T.J. Withers, 26 September 1892, MS x 916, p. 342, SJHP.
122 JH to KWS, 4 November 1892, MS x 916, p. 404, SJHP.
Grimshaw has demonstrated, the Liberals enforced party discipline and Saunders' motion was defeated by 13 votes.¹²³

Saunders' resentment at Hall's parliamentary leadership of the cause continued. He grumbled to Kate Sheppard that Hall was not treating him fairly and added that he had "always left the post of honour for [Hall] and attended to any drudgery he liked to leave for me."¹²⁴ In another letter to Kate Sheppard, Saunders accused Hall of "vile unmitigated treatchery [sic] exhibited in half a dozen different ways".¹²⁵ Kate Sheppard, however, did not take the remarks seriously.

Despite the defeat of the Electoral Bill, progress had been made. The majority for the full suffrage was increasing in the lower house and most councillors supported it in principle. Nevertheless, Hall confessed to Kate Sheppard that he was bitterly disappointed that the franchise had not been granted.¹²⁶ Looking to the future, he believed that those who favoured votes for women could take advantage of the fact that 1893 was an election year. Since not passing an Electoral Bill would damage the government's reputation, Hall advised that pro-suffragist parliamentarians should unite to insist that no such bill should be passed without the franchise clause.¹²⁷ Such a lobby would frustrate those antagonistic to the women's cause who wanted to advance the Liberal party's standing by passing the Electoral Bill but who also wished to create delay by making the franchise a campaign issue. Hall encouraged the women to exploit the Liberal party's dilemma for their own benefit. He helped them to frame yet another petition¹²⁸ - one which requested that parliament pass no Electoral Bill which did not include votes for women and which would allow women to vote in the next general election.¹²⁹

¹²³ Grimshaw, Women's Suffrage, p. 72; NZPD 1892, Vol. LXXVIII, p. 817. The vote was 21:34.
¹²⁴ A. Saunders to KWS, 6 July 1892, KWS Papers 176/53, Box 1, Fol. 4, Item 83, CM.
¹²⁵ A. Saunders to KWS, 16 August 1892, KWS Papers 176/53, Box 1, Fol. 4, Item 92, CM.
¹²⁶ JH to KWS, 17 October 1892, KWS Papers 176/53, Box 1, Fol. 4, Item 19, CM.
¹²⁷ JH to KWS, 4 November 1892, MS x 916, p. 404, SJHP.
¹²⁸ JH to KWS, 6 December 1892, KWS Papers 176/53, Box 1, Fol. 4, Item 127, CM.
¹²⁹ Grimshaw, Women's Suffrage, pp. 86-87.
Hall’s hopes were laced with pragmatism. The events of the session of 1892 had left him with a "profound disbelief in the sincerity of the Government." Writing to one prohibitionist, he emphasized that in 1892 the brewers had triumphed because of ministerial duplicity. He made particular mention of Seddon, "who is practically the owner of a Public House at Kumara, which he kept for a considerable time." The point was significant. Seddon had been the Liberal representative in the three conferences between the two houses and, as the ringleader in the liquor cabal in the cabinet, he had been able to contribute to thwarting the Electoral Bill. More important still, terminal illness had increasingly kept Ballance from the House and Seddon had been acting premier. Pro-suffragists knew that in the session of 1893 they faced a "very cunning" foe when, in April 1893, Ballance died and Seddon became the prime minister. Hall told Kate Sheppard that "Privately no doubt Seddon will do all he can to postpone the reform." In fact, Seddon’s deviousness, because it was more subtle, was far more dangerous to the women’s cause than Fish’s more publicized histrionics.

The progress of the Electoral Bill during the session of 1893 built on events of earlier years. Even though provision for votes for women was incorporated in a government measure, Seddon obstructed the bill’s advancement by giving it a low priority in the order paper. He was under even greater pressure from the brewers’ lobby because a recently passed liquor bill meant that the franchise would also enable women to vote on licensing issues. Since women were expected to favour temperance, the licensed victuallers exerted their considerable influence to frustrate the Electoral Bill. Hall did not trust Seddon and once again he had his own suffrage bill to hand and was prepared to continue with it when Seddon delayed the ministry’s bill. Canvassing for the petitions had forged a strong network among women throughout the colony and Hall encouraged them to bombard Seddon with letters "representing local feeling and consequences and strongly urging immediate passing." While Seddon might disregard the women, he could not afford to offend Saunders and Stout, pro-suffrage allies of the Liberal party, and under pressure from them

130 JH to KWS, 4 November 1892, MS x 916, p. 404, SJHP.
131 JH to J. Barnett, 16 October 1892, MS x 916, p. 368, SJHP.
132 Grimshaw, Women’s Suffrage, p. 71.
133 JH to KWS, 24 May 1893, MS x 917, p. 468, SJHP.
134 JH to KWS, 24 July 1893, KWS Papers 176/53, Box 1, Fol. 5, Item 149, CM.
135 Grimshaw, Women’s Suffrage, pp. 90-91.
137 JH to M. Hatton, [- August] 1893, MS x 918, p. 179, SJHP.
he relented and the Electoral Bill went ahead.\textsuperscript{138} Immediately prior to the bill's going into committee, Hall presented yet another petition from the women.\textsuperscript{139} With later additions the total of 31,872 signatures represented nearly one quarter of the adult women in the colony.\textsuperscript{140} By now support for women's suffrage was so firmly established in the House of Representatives that cabinet ministers and others who were against enfranchisement obscured their opposition by absenting themselves when the division was taken.\textsuperscript{141}

The real battle for the bill took place in the Legislative Council. Lobbying was a powerful weapon and Hall encouraged the women in their plans to send the councillors "almost identical" messages from throughout New Zealand. In the interests of diplomacy, he recommended that no reference to postal voting should be made.\textsuperscript{142} He made one important exception to the pressure group strategy. Sir Patrick Buckley, the Liberal leader in the upper house, was "hostile" to the cause and Hall advised the women to avoid all contact with him because "he is a decided enemy & will upset our plans if he possibly can."\textsuperscript{143}

The most significant question facing the suffragists in 1893 was determining where the sympathies of the twelve new members of the Legislative Council appointed by the Liberals lay. A month into the session Hall reported that three of them had declared themselves against the suffrage.\textsuperscript{144} The Evening Post reported the new councillors equally divided on the issue.\textsuperscript{145} Their individual sympathies were crucial for Seddon had made it clear that although female suffrage was to be embodied in a bill introduced by the government, the suffrage clause was not a ministerial matter so that the government's supporters should feel free to reject it. This made it easy for Seddon's supporters in the Council to pursue his real agenda by voting against the suffrage clause in the government's bill.\textsuperscript{146}

\textsuperscript{138} Grimshaw, Women's Suffrage, p. 90.
\textsuperscript{139} NZPD 1893, Vol. LXXX, p. 322.
\textsuperscript{140} Grimshaw, Women's Suffrage, p. 137, Footnote 3.
\textsuperscript{141} Ibid., p. 89.
\textsuperscript{142} JH to KWS, 1 May 1893, MS x 917, pp. 399-400, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{143} JH to KWS, 24 July 1893, KWS Papers 176/53, Box 1, Fol. 5, Item 149, CM; JH to KWS, 1 May 1893, MS x 917, p. 400, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{144} JH to KWS, 24 July 1893, KWS Papers 176/53, Box 1, Fol. 5, Item 149, CM.
\textsuperscript{145} Undated clipping from The Evening Post in 'Political 1893', SJHP, CU.
\textsuperscript{146} Grimshaw, Women's Suffrage, p. 91.
The devices used by those councillors who desired to thwart the enactment of women's suffrage were mostly a repetition of earlier strategies. The results, however, were different. The lines were drawn at the committee stage. A motion to deny women the vote was lost by two votes with half of the new councillors supporting it.\textsuperscript{147} The attempt to prevent women from voting in the forthcoming election was defeated by 29 votes.\textsuperscript{148} The more dangerous proposal to grant women the right to sit in parliament was lost by three votes.\textsuperscript{149} The final ploy was to revive the postal vote proposal from the previous year. By this stage, Hall was most anxious and reported pessimistically to Kate Sheppard that "I am afraid that several Councillors who have hitherto supported us, will vote for this amendment...I am convinced that Messrs Seddon & Co want to wreck the Bill, I am afraid it is in great peril."\textsuperscript{150} The postal vote option was rejected, too, but by the narrow margin of one vote.\textsuperscript{151} The crucial vote came with the third reading and the sides were evenly matched. Seddon, however, was determined that the franchise should fail. The ministry reckoned that one more vote was required to secure this defeat. Consequently, Seddon asked Thomas Kelly, a new councillor who was paired in support of the suffrage, to change his mind. Kelly complied. News of this manoeuvre leaked out and so enraged opposition councillors, William Reynolds and Edward Stevens, that they voted in favour of the bill despite their earlier objection to votes for women without the postal vote.\textsuperscript{152} The final result was that the Council endorsed enfranchisement with a vote of 20:18.\textsuperscript{153}

In the lower house tension ran high while the vote was taken. The \textit{Evening Post} recorded the reaction when news of the result was received:

Sir John, with a smiling face, held up two fingers, first to the House, and afterwards to the Ladies' Gallery, as an indication that the Bill had passed through the ordeal. For a few seconds nothing could be heard but a buzz of conversation...The Premier and the Minister for Labour looked very much annoyed at the unsuccessful result of their labours in the lobby.\textsuperscript{154}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{147} Ibid., p. 92; \textit{NZPD} 1893, Vol. LXXXI, p. 432. The vote was 20:18.
\item \textsuperscript{148} \textit{NZPD} 1893, Vol. LXXXII, pp. 384-5. The vote was 4:33.
\item \textsuperscript{149} \textit{NZPD} 1893, Vol. LXXXI, p. 508. The vote was 18:15.
\item \textsuperscript{150} JH to KWS, 5 September 1853, MS x 918, p. 214, SJHP.
\item \textsuperscript{151} \textit{NZPD} 1893, Vol. LXXXII, p. 43. The vote was 19:20.
\item \textsuperscript{152} Grimshaw, \textit{Women's Suffrage}, p. 92.
\item \textsuperscript{153} \textit{NZPD} 1893, Vol. LXXXII, pp. 80-81.
\item \textsuperscript{154} \textit{The Evening Post}, 9 September 1893.
\end{itemize}
Hall immediately shared his excitement with Kate Sheppard by telegraphing to her: "Bill passed by two Hurrah."

Opposition was not ended. In an almost unprecedented step, the eighteen councillors who had voted against the bill petitioned the governor not to give his assent because passing such a revolutionary measure on the eve of a general election was unconstitutional. That means might be found to reject the bill led to a renewed spate of campaigning from both the suffragists and the liquor ring. This activity ended on 19 September when Lord Glasgow signed the bill. This time it was Seddon who telegraphed Kate Sheppard:

Electoral Bill assented to by His Excellency...at quarter to twelve this day and trust now that all doubts as to the sincerity of the Government in this very important matter has [sic] been effectively removed.

The ministry, in fact, had lost no time in claiming the reform as its own. The day after the bill passed its third reading in the Council, the pro-Liberal The Lyttelton Times reversed its earlier position of being an opponent of votes for women and commented:

The women of the Colony are not likely to forget that it is to the fearless adoption of the franchise proposal by Mr Ballance, and to the consistent adherence to it by his Liberal colleagues, that they owe their right to a voice in the affairs of the Colony.

The very day after the governor's assent was given, Seddon was pointing out that it was his ministry which had passed the suffrage bill. Although the outcome was contrary to his personal wish, he was not tardy to turn events to his own party's advantage. That the suffrage was granted in spite of his government's tactics, he omitted to mention.

Misrepresentations about the contribution of the Liberals to the measure's success were also sent to England for publication in The Times where it was stated that "had not the Liberal element in the Council been reinforced by the nominees of the Ballance government the measure would have been rejected." Hall was quick to quash this inaccuracy. He

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155 JH to KWS, 8 September 1893, KWS Papers 176/53, Box 1, Fol. 5, Item 166, CM.
156 Grimshaw, Women's Suffrage, p. 93.
157 R.J. Seddon to KWS, 19 September 1893, KWS Papers 176/53, Box 1, Fol. 5, Item 191, CM.
158 LT, 9 September 1893.
159 Truth, 20 September 1893.
160 JH to the Editor, Press, 6 November 1893, MS x 918, pp. 291-2, SJHP.
used every means he had to publicize this correction because a proper understanding of the events in New Zealand was important for the women's suffrage movement in Britain.\textsuperscript{161} Hall knew that the passage of the act would be influential with the English Conservative party\textsuperscript{162} and he was anxious to play down the radical claims which would alarm them. Consequently, he stressed that since the new councillors appointed by the Liberals had divided their votes evenly on the issue, "it is manifest that it is to the older members of the Council, and not the so-called 'Liberal Element' that women are indebted".\textsuperscript{163}

For Hall the enfranchisement of the women of New Zealand was a dream fulfilled. In a letter of congratulations his nephew, Willie Hall, expressed much of Hall's own experience and argument when he wrote:

Ever since I read a book of J.S. Mill's when I was about eighteen - it has been a wonder to me that anyone could be found to oppose the measure...It must be a great satisfaction to you to feel that you have wound up your political life by carrying what is undoubtedly the most 'liberal' measure ever introduced into a British community...'liberal' in its true sense of widening political rights & abolishing political privilege.\textsuperscript{164}

Hall did not take all the credit for himself but acknowledged the contribution of Kate Sheppard when he declared to her:

Once more let me acknowledge most heartily the invaluable assistance I have received from your judicious, energetic & persevering action throughout this long struggle...Politically I can now die happy.\textsuperscript{165}

When he received a resolution of thanks from the women, he replied that the winning of the suffrage had been "a labour of love".\textsuperscript{166}

Hall had made it clear in 1890 that this would be his last term in office and after the session of 1893, he was ready to retire. He was nearly seventy years of age and the longest serving member of the House of Representatives. Now was the time for 'a watch below'. Some women in Canterbury, however, thought otherwise. Just before parliament was dissolved Sarah Overton sent Hall a telegram stating that one hundred women had already

\textsuperscript{161} JH to R. Oliver, 6 November 1893, MS x 918, pp. 298-9, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{162} Lord Onslow to JH, 22 September 1893, Fol. 199, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{163} JH to the Editor, Press, 6 November 1893, MS x 918, pp. 292-3, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{164} W.G.H. Hall to JH, 21 September 1893, Fol. 199, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{165} JH to KWS, 8 September 1893, MS x 918, p. 202, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{166} JH to KWS, 29 September 1893, KWS Papers 176/53, Box 1, Fol. 5, Item 212, CM.
signed a requisition asking him to reconsider his resignation and stand for his old electorate of Selwyn. Hall was adamant that his retirement was final and politely declined. Women so appreciated what he had achieved that he received a second requisition inviting him to be a candidate for Christchurch. Their organizational experience and network of contacts gained in canvassing for the petitions had enabled them to collect 1,300 signatures in three days. Despite the compliment, Hall did not change his mind.

Having won the vote, the next priority was to ensure that as many women as possible were able to exercise it. Hall exhorted Kate Sheppard to lose no time in getting those eligible onto the electoral rolls. His motto for her captured the urgency of the moment: "Register! Register! Register!" Only six weeks remained before the rolls were closed. Once again the experience gained from working to win the vote stood the women in good stead: 109,000 women registered, more than 75 per cent of those eligible. Among these were Rose and Mildred Hall.

Some sectors of society voiced fears and expectations about what the enfranchisement of women would mean. Saunders was specifically sectarian in his concern: "The thing now is to get every woman on the roll in two months. Every Catholic woman will be on in two weeks." The Press, which favoured the conservative opposition, saw the women who spearheaded the franchise movement as radicals who would support the Liberals and it proclaimed:

Obviously it is now the duty of every woman in New Zealand to get her name placed on the electors' roll. To refuse to do so will be to give the shrieking sisterhood an influence in the elections out of all proportion to their legitimate claims.

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167 S. Overton to JH, 4 October 1893, Fol. 200, SJHP.
168 JH to S. Overton, [– October] 1893, MS x 918, p. 227, SJHP.
169 JH to Lord Onslow, 26 November 1893, MS x 918, p. 374a, SJHP.
170 JH to KWS, 8 September 1893, MS x 918, p. 202, SJHP.
172 Mildred had married John Cracroft Wilson in January 1893 and is entered under her married name on the Ashley electoral roll.
173 A. Saunders to KWS, 9 September 1893, KWS Papers 176/53, Box 1, Fol. 5, Item 169, CM.
174 *Press*, 20 September 1893.
Hall, on the other hand, hoped that the women would generally vote for the opposition interest. When he wrote that women would cast their votes "irrespective of party", he expected that they would rank men and policy above the class loyalty which placed the majority of men in the Liberal camp. Close to the election, he was more confident still and claimed that

One good & certain result will be the increase of the influence of the family or the settled population, as against that of the floating & unsettled part of the community; this means conservatism of the best & broadest kind.

This 'conservative' view of how women would use their vote was widely held. Many women saw themselves in this light, too, and Lady Atkinson, the widow of the former premier, paid tribute to Hall's influence on her thinking when she informed him:

I never was keen about having a vote, but I have been gradually educated, (partly by you) to think it best that modern women should have 'a fair field', & I believe that they will help to counter-balance the harm done by the numerous unsatisfactory male voters."

In the event, the women's vote seems to have favoured neither party strongly but certain trends were apparent. Candidates' views on the suffrage proved influential. William Rolleston, the leader of the opposition, had always been against votes for women and lamented when he lost his seat at the election that "The Priests, the Prohibitionists & the Petticoats were too much for me". Rolleston was not the only politician whose stance against the franchise contributed to his defeat. Yet other candidates considered that they owed their success "to the exertions of the ladies." Although Hall informed one of his opposition colleagues that "even if women's vote had not existed, the result would have been the same", he did discern some pattern in the voting which he attributed to the extended franchise. First, he pointed out that the women "are very susceptible of influence by organizations & agitation [worked?] by leading members of their own sex." In support of this contention, he cited the example of Maud Reeves, wife of the cabinet minister, who "two or three months before the election, started an organisation for placing women on the

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173 JH to [?] Whitcombe, 29 September 1893, MS x 918, p. 226A, SJHP.
176 JH to [?] Hill, 9 November 1893, MS x 918, pp. 309-10, SJHP.
177 A. Atkinson to JH, 18 September 1893, Fol. 199, SJHP.
178 W. Rolleston to JH, 4 December 1893, Fol. 201, SJHP.
179 JH to Lord Onslow, 16 December 1893, MS x 918, p. 422, SJHP.
180 JH to W.R. Russell, 19 December 1893, MS x 918, p. 444, SJHP.
181 JH to Lord Onslow, 16 December 1893, MS x 918, pp. 423 and 425, SJHP.
Rolls, & for influencing their votes." Hall felt that "This was largely instrumental in placing her husband at the head of the poll." Hall felt that "This was largely instrumental in placing her husband at the head of the poll." Second, the number of temperance candidates in the House had increased. Temperance, as a 'women's issue', had gained such support with the suffrage that Hall noted that even in Reeves' electorate "a Temperance candidate, whom Reeves did not support, came next to him." Hall dearly desired to be able to make a decisive comment about the impact of giving women the vote on political parties so that he could assist the cause elsewhere, especially in Britain. The evidence indicated that votes for women had been unable to prevent a further swing towards the Liberals, who were aided by the land issue and hints of economic revival. Hall was left to lament that "If we had had a Primrose League to organise & an old church to fight for the result would have been different." 

The dissolution of parliament brought to an end Hall's political career. He cut his last formal tie with politics at a farewell meeting in Leeston given by his electorate in March 1894. The occasion was politically and socially all-embracing. Hall laid special stress on asking women to be present. This was a novelty but seen as highly appropriate in view of his work for the suffrage. In his speech, he pointed out that, in the course of his long political career, the most dramatic transformation which he could recall was women's enfranchisement, about which he remarked: "Every politician is now its friend, and no opponents can be discovered." He could not resist scoring a political point and related that

As soon as the Bill was finally passed [Seddon]...asked if...I would accept a copy of the Act printed on parchment. I accepted his offer gratefully and promised to give this interesting document a place in my family archives; but I am sorry to say that this is the last I have heard of the matter...Perhaps if the report of this meets Mr Seddon's eye the parchment may still find its way into the place prepared for it.

Reeves eventually found the document and gave it to Hall. On hearing the news, Mildred informed her father that he ought to bequeath it to her "as I cared more about it than the rest of the family." Mildred would, no doubt, have been gratified had she been able to

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182 Ibid., p. 423.
183 Ibid.
184 Ibid., p. 425.
185 JH to D. McMillan, 4 October 1893, MS x 918, p. 229, SJHP.
186 Press, 9 March 1894.
187 LT, 9 March 1894.
188 15 March 1894, Diary 1889-90 1894-5-6, GHHC; Mildred to JH, 4 April 1894, Fol. 203, SJHP.
foresee that her daughter, under her married name of Mary Grigg, was to be the fourth woman to be elected to the New Zealand parliament.\textsuperscript{189}

Hall's speech at Leeston also demonstrates why in the celebration of the struggle for votes for women his name has been eclipsed despite the international acclaim he enjoyed in his lifetime. Hall was self-effacing and when speaking of the franchise he gave credit to others by stating: "I freely admit that my name has been placed too exclusively in the front... But others, men and women, have worked constantly and steadily in the same cause". At the same time, he quoted and criticized Joseph Ward, the cabinet minister, who asserted that "it was the Seddon Ministry, and they only, who conferred the franchise on women, whatever might be said to the contrary."\textsuperscript{190} The continued rehearsal of Ward's argument led to the government's being given the credit for what Hall had done. Another reason for Hall's being overshadowed was that in 1896, Kate Sheppard and other leaders of women's groups established the New Zealand Council of Women.\textsuperscript{191} This movement built on the contacts of the suffrage years and celebrated the successful struggle for the vote from the women's perspective. In the process, Hall's contribution was marginalized.

Immediately following the success of the campaign, however, Hall's role in winning the suffrage for the women of New Zealand was well-known in Britain so that when he travelled to London to tidy up business affairs in 1894, he was in demand as a speaker on the subject. Hall found the acclaim overwhelming and wearily remarked to his wife: "My lady franchise friends wanted me to be here, there & everywhere, & altho' I have refused most applications, I could not escape several."\textsuperscript{192} Nevertheless, he contacted Mrs Millicent Fawcett, president of the National Union of Suffrage Societies, and offered to provide her free of charge with 2,000 copies of his speech arguing for the franchise.\textsuperscript{193} The service he rendered which gave the pro-suffrage movement the widest publicity was to grant a

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{189} I am grateful to Mary Grigg's daughter, Mrs Jenny Barker, for sharing with me her recollections of her mother and grandmother.
  \item \textsuperscript{190} LT, 9 March 1894.
  \item \textsuperscript{191} J. Devaliant, Kate Sheppard: A biography - the fight for women's votes in New Zealand - the life of the woman who led the struggle, Auckland, Penguin Books, 1992, pp. 145-9.
  \item \textsuperscript{192} JH to Rose, 3 July 1894, MS x 919, p. 142, SJHP.
  \item \textsuperscript{193} M.G. Fawcett to JH, 7 June 1894, Fol. 205, SJHP. This was most probably his speech delivered in the House on 5 August 1890 which he had already had printed and distributed in New Zealand.
\end{itemize}
newspaper interview in which he explained the approach which was successful in New Zealand:

We did it by persistently keeping the subject before Parliament and the country, and by advocating it, not boisterously, but with studious moderation both in language and action. The great thing, when such reforms have to be passed, is that the advocates of them should be as temperate as possible in their advocacy. More is often lost by boisterous and hysterical doings than people realise. 194

Hall could not resist adding an appraisal of the part played by public estimate of his own character and "an amused smile" flickered over his face as he continued:

I am known to be of a somewhat cautious and Conservative disposition, and the fact that I advocated the measure reassured some people who had imagined that to give women a vote would mean wild and revolutionary changes. 195

Hall's assessment was correct. While the suffragists of New Zealand had been labelled 'the shrieking sisterhood', the description was not as damaging as it might have been because they were so obviously restrained and orderly. Indeed, notoriety for outrageous behaviour belonged to their opponents. Although Mrs Fawcett and her supporters in Britain continued to follow the path of moderation, from 1906 the suffragettes, led by Emmeline Pankhurst and her daughters, adopted militant tactics. This arguably harmed the women's cause. 196

By the first decade of the twentieth century, the struggle for the franchise was mainly a memory in New Zealand. Hall, however, was keen that the colony's pioneering example should not be forgotten. As mayor of Christchurch for the year of the international exhibition to be held in the city in 1907, he encouraged the construction of a display which would depict how women won the vote. While the whereabouts of the "Historic Pen" with which the bill was signed were unknown, he was pleased to discover that the petitions were still in existence and were available to be exhibited. 197

194 Undated clipping from The Westminster Gazette enclosed in the Marriage Law Reform Society to JH, 13 July 1894, Fol. 207, SIHP.
195 Ibid.
196 See the discussion in D. Morgan, Suffragists and Liberals: the politics of woman suffrage in Britain, Oxford, Basil Blackwood, 1975.
197 JH to KWS, 6 July 1906, p. 178; JH to KWS, 4 May 1906, p. 97, (MS x 930, SJHP).
Amongst those intimately concerned with the campaign for votes for women, Hall was not forgotten. On the twenty-first anniversary of its founding in New Zealand, the W.C.T.U. forwarded a resolution to him in gratitude for what he had done, congratulating him on the mayoralty.198 When Hall died, Kate Sheppard paid tribute to him in an obituary in The White Ribbon where she named Hall "that chivalrous, courteous gentleman, the modern embodiment of Chaucer's

Veray parfit gentil knight."199

198 LT, 29 March 1906.
199 The White Ribbon, 15 July 1907. My thanks to Kate Sheppard's great-niece, Tessa Malcolm, for forwarding this report to me.
I keep fairly well, but find the hills steeper & the roads to be walked longer than they used to be. Also I have difficulty in remembering names & figures.\(^1\)

After the successful conclusion to his political career, Hall was content to lead a quiet life and wrote to one friend: "I am vegetating quietly at Hororata, & intend to shirk even the bustle of the A & P show".\(^2\) In the fourteen years which remained to him, he still found much to keep him busy.

Although Hall had retired from political life, this did not signify an abrupt end to his concern about public issues. He was a convinced supporter of the Bible in schools movement and wholeheartedly rejected the tenet of the 1877 Education Act that teaching in the state schools of New Zealand should be secular. Hall believed that moral and religious instruction was very important and deplored "beyond measure the Godless character of our present system, & the effect it must have on the rising generation."\(^3\) Besides the social benefits deriving from the Christian ethic, he also hoped that religious lessons which focused on beliefs which the differing Christian denominations held in common would break down sectarian differences.\(^4\)

Hall and his fellow advocates made little headway in their efforts to introduce a clause into the legislation which would permit biblical instruction in schools. As Hall recognized, popular "infatuation" with the principle of secular education was against them.\(^5\) Moreover, proponents of religious education were split. Protestants saw the Bible as the sole source of religious authority and believed that its meaning was open to individual exposition. The Roman Catholic church, however, considered that it alone might interpret the Scriptures and claimed in addition that some of its own pronouncements formed an independent repository of God's truth. These differences made it impossible for the churches to agree on the place

\(^1\) JH to M. Burwood, 12 February 1905, MS x 928, p. 144, SJHP.
\(^2\) JH to R. Oliver, 6 November 1893, MS x 918, p. 299, SJHP.
\(^3\) JH to R.F. Garbutt, 14 June 1893, MS x 918, p. 59, SJHP.
\(^4\) JH to J.L. Wilson, 15 November 1891, MS x 915, p. 337-8, SJHP.
\(^5\) JH to [?] Willis, 3 March 1893, MS x 917, p. 240, SJHP.
which the Bible should hold in schools and played into the hands of secularists and influential Liberals like Sir Robert Stout who supported the non-religious stand of the 1877 Act.  

Nevertheless, Hall continued to promote the cause. For the parliamentary elections of 1899, he advised the national committee of the Mothers' Union on the appropriate tactics for members to adopt in order to make the matter a campaign issue. He chaired a large meeting in 1902 attended by all denominations except the Roman Catholics called to agitate for Bible readings and the reciting of the Lord's prayer in schools. He also contributed to the public debate through the correspondence columns of the daily newspaper where he emphasized his belief that the continued exclusion of religious instruction was "a grievous mistake".

While Hall had little hope that Bible in schools would be incorporated into the legislation, he was optimistic that another cause close to his heart would ultimately be successful. As a leading member of the Anglican laity, he was in an influential position to crusade for women's right to speak and vote at parish meetings, a privilege which was withheld from them in New Zealand. Partly as a result of his efforts, women now had the parliamentary vote and the means to influence how they were governed. Hall thought it anomalous that in a place where women could vote for members of parliament they could not vote in parish meetings despite doing an enormous amount of the work. To him the New Zealand position was manifestly inconsistent, especially as British women who were members of the Church of England possessed the right to vote in church affairs even though they were still denied it in secular ones. He began his campaign in the general synod of 1895 and in later diocesan synods he also initiated debates on the issue. As far as he was concerned, the case for granting this right was straightforward. As he told one of his female relatives in England:

The Church is almost entirely dependent on voluntary support & women, in very many ways, are the Clergy's most efficient & indispensable assistants.

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6 JH to the Dean [of Christchurch], 28 January 1905, MS x 928, p. 127, SJHP. For information on the debate on religious education I am indebted to Dr Colin McGeorge.

7 JH to [?] Hoare, 1 September 1899, MS x 923, p. 95, SJHP.

8 JH to Mildred, 27 October 1902, MS x 925, p. 197, SJHP.

9 Press, undated clipping in 'Church Questions 1875-1906', SJHP, CU.

10 JH to M. Burwood, 28 March 1895, MS x 919, p. 424, SJHP.
Under such circumstances is not their determination to exclude women from any voice in Church matters foolish as well as unjustifiable?11

He considered that secular acceptance of the women's cause would eventually bring the reform to the church.

Change did not come easily. The church's resistance to women's having a vote in parish affairs derived in part from its method of decision making. Bishops, clergy and laity constituted the three houses of the synods and a majority within each house was required before statutes could be enacted. Hence, at the general synod of 1895 Hall's motion to permit women to vote at parish meetings was lost because, although the laity "voted by more than two to one" for his proposal, the bishops and clergy did not support it.12

The women themselves backed Hall's endeavours. He wrote that he found it "quite refreshing" to read a letter from one woman expressing "her indignant & outspoken protest against the wrong which is inflicted on good & devoted Churchwomen".13 Women publicized their views on the right to speak on church affairs in the newspaper columns and he acknowledged that the women's published opinions had been influential in winning some converts among the clergy.14

Once again Kate Sheppard was an important ally for Hall. She was a Methodist but her support for women's rights transcended religious affiliations. She encouraged him and wrote an article on the church franchise for The Lyttelton Times.15 Clerical conservatism, however, was entrenched and brought Hall much heartache. At the 1898 general synod, he grieved that the reform's "most obstinate opponents are found in the ranks of those who must know best the value of woman's work & should be the foremost advocates for justice to them."16 His anger did not readily abate. Because he saw women's franchise as a lay concern which had strong lay support, he though it wrong for the clergy to be obstructive17

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11 Ibid., p. 427.
12 Ibid.; Proceedings of General Synod New Zealand, 1895, p. 36.
13 JH to H. Field, 28 January 1898, MS x 921, p. 405, SJHP.
14 JH to [?] Carrington, 11 February 1898, MS x 921, p. 414, SJHP.
15 KWS to JH, 10 February 1898, Fol. 227, SJHP; JH to KWS, 18 February 1898, MS x 921, p. 417, SJHP.
16 JH to [?] Carrington, 11 February 1898, MS x 921, p. 415, SJHP.
17 JH to [?] Bone, 21 February 1898, MS x 921, p. 424, SJHP.
and lamented: "I think more on the subject than I like to say."\(^{18}\) When Hall raised the question again in the Christchurch diocesan synod of 1900, Kate Sheppard watched as the stalling continued and she wrote to him of "the boiling cauldrons that were seething within" her as she listened to the debate.\(^{19}\) Hall did not live to see the successful conclusion to the franchise campaign as Anglican women did not get the ecclesiastical vote until 1919.\(^{20}\)

While neither of the religious causes which Hall espoused was implemented in his lifetime, he did see the completion of a church project with which he had been involved from the early days of the settlement. He was on the committee set up in 1859 to oversee the construction of Christchurch Cathedral. Progress towards completing the building had been erratic and at one period had almost been abandoned. He gave financial support but stressed to Bishop Julius that he had no desire "to lead off" the subscription lists.\(^{21}\) Hall attended the consecration in 1904 and was given special recognition as "the only survivor" of the original committee.\(^{22}\) His contribution to the Cathedral did not end there. In his will he left funds for its extension and these were employed to develop the chapter room area in 1962.\(^{23}\)

Hall's faith was ecumenical. All his life he engaged in activities which would break down sectarian barriers. The most serious division was between Protestants and Roman Catholics and, unlike most Protestants, he backed state aid to Roman Catholic schools. Privately he had supported Roman Catholic appeals for assistance as well\(^{24}\) and, in his retirement, his contacts continued. He had cordial associations with non-Anglican Protestants and had no spiritual qualms about attending a Salvation Army meeting.\(^{25}\) His desire to break down the divisions between the denominations was best expressed in a letter to a like-minded friend in England:

Tomorrow I am going to open a Sale of work for a Baptist Church! I am always glad when I can help to minimise the differences which separate

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18 JH to KWS, 18 February 1898, MS x 921, p. 417, SJHP.
19 KWS to JH, 24 October 1900, Fol. 241, SJHP.
20 Proceedings of General Synod New Zealand, 1919, p. 87.
21 JH to C. Julius, 26 September 1898, MS x 922, p. 175, SJHP.
22 JH to Grace, 21 November 1904, MS x 928, p. 63, SJHP; Press, 31 October and 2 November 1904.
23 My thanks to the verger, Mr Alan Summerell, for showing me the extension and giving me a commentary.
24 M.D.S. Cocks, ed., 'Hororata Through Church Eyes', Hororata, St John's Church, 1985, p. 23.
25 6 October 1896, Diary 1889-90 1894-5-6, GHHC.
Christians from one another, & was delighted to read the welcome offered by Bishop Creighton to the Congregational gathering in his diocese. I intend to read it to my Baptists. Hall’s will also demonstrated his ecumenism. The Salvation Army and the Mt Magdala Asylum run by the Roman Catholic order of the Sisters of the Good Shepherd were among the religious institutions to benefit.

Economic prosperity returned to New Zealand in the mid-1890s. Hall attributed the upturn to refrigeration which enabled the colony to export dairy produce and frozen meat. He told an old friend in England that "[Refrigeration] has doubled the income of myself & many others & made us wealthy." Yet wealth, he discovered, had its limitations:

I find that, after a moderate sufficiency, more money does not really make one happier. It means much anxiety & a sense of responsibility which is not easy to satisfactorily discharge. Altho I really give away a great deal I never feel easy. I wonder if other wealthy men feel the same? As a notable figure in New Zealand life, Hall had long been a target for letters requesting patronage and financial assistance and he still continued his charitable interests.

In retirement, Hall sponsored a range of activities. He was proud of being a Yorkshireman and in 1898, as the first president of the Yorkshire Society of Canterbury, he sang the praises of his birthplace and proclaimed the achievements of its sons and daughters in their new homeland. In 1900, he was elected president of the newly constituted Royal Humane Society of New Zealand whose aim was to practise and promote life saving and reward those who risked their lives to save others. Prompted by the deeds of a Miss M. Denniston at Sumner, Hall proposed to give an award "to promote swimming." Known as the Sir John Hall Shield, the award is still competed for annually by Canterbury boys’

26 JH to S.W. Squier, 23 November 1896, MS x 921, pp. 96-97, SJHP.
27 JH to W.L. Bell, 7 May 1905, MS x 928, p. 208, SJHP.
28 Ibid.
30 Royal Humane Society of New Zealand, ‘First Report’, 1900. My thanks to Mr John Wignall for making the early reports available.
schools.\textsuperscript{32} Presenting the trophy in 1914, Hall’s son, Dryden, explained that his father had "often thought then that it would have been more useful to him to have learnt to swim than to have become a good French speaker."\textsuperscript{33}

Hall continued to see youthful males as a potential risk to social order. Provision for their gainful occupation in leisure time had been an abiding concern. In 1893 Ursula Bethell, who was later to achieve fame as a poet, established the Boys’ Gordon Hall to provide "amusement & instruction for working boys of from 12 to 18 years of age, during their evenings."\textsuperscript{34} Hall was soon involved with the project but its success rested on Bethell’s enthusiasm and when she left for Britain, the movement foundered. Hall, however, did not lose sight of her vision. He bought a section of land and in his will he left £10,000 for the Boys’ Gordon Hall Trust.\textsuperscript{35} In line with his ecumenism the trust was to include representatives from the Anglican, Roman Catholic, Methodist and Presbyterian churches.

When the family returned to New Zealand together in 1889, Hall’s major priority was to establish his children as independent adults. The young folk were now in their twenties and had quite different personalities and interests. Mildred and Dryden were outgoing and at ease in company. Mildred still participated in theatricals and Dryden continued to be involved in sporting activities.\textsuperscript{36} While Dryden enjoyed going to dances and was happy to travel by omnibus, Wilfred avoided both.\textsuperscript{37} He went to singing lessons but found going to ‘at homes’ tedious and, on receiving one invitation, complained to his father:

\begin{quote}
I suppose I shall have to put in an appearance, & try & look as if I liked it, though it seems a stupid way of spending the afternoon if it is fine, & a long way to walk if it is wet.\textsuperscript{38}
\end{quote}

Godfrey also tended to be somewhat retiring and when he and Dryden were both sharing the Hall’s Park Terrace house in Christchurch Rose commented that "I know the two brothers

\textsuperscript{32} The girls compete for the Monica Thacker Trophy.
\textsuperscript{33} Press, 26 March 1914. I am indebted to Mrs Jean Ross for this reference.
\textsuperscript{34} U. Bethell to JH, 7 March 1895, Fol. 211, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{35} JH to U. Bethel, 8 October 1906, MS x 930, p. 296, SJHP; Codicil to the Will.
\textsuperscript{36} Rose to Wilfred, 19 July 1890, AGC; Wilfred to JH, 20 July 1890, Fol. 166, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{37} Dryden to JH, 11 July 1890, Fol. 166, SJHP; Wilfred to JH, 20 July 1890, Fol. 166, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{38} Ibid.
have not many tastes in common but still I think Dryden might do something more to induce Godfrey to be more sociable.*39

Despite the advantage of an English education and the status of having a father who was a public figure, Hall’s older sons did not find it easy to gain employment. Godfrey was the first to be settled and he became a clerk at Gould, Beaumont and Company, the stock and station agents. For over a year, Wilfred and Dryden worked at Rakaia Terrace Station. In 1890, Wilfred became a master at Christ’s College and later that year, Dryden started work with a law firm.

Although these positions promised to be excellent openings for professional careers, they did not bring contentment. Wilfred was not suited to teaching and rather than be dismissed, he chose to resign.40 Rose thought it "depressing to think that his life is such a failure"41 and Hall lamented to his brother, George:

...this is a terrible disappointment to me. The money & time spent on his education has been worse than thrown away, I did not say much to him as he feels the position very much.42

Faced with the prospect of finding a new job, Wilfred at first wanted to become a wharf labourer but his mother told him that "the other labourers w[oul]d never like having a gentleman permanently amongst them."43 Farming was the obvious alternative but Hall was anxious that his son gain the necessary training in agriculture "by working at it".44 So Wilfred became a cadet on a farm in the Manawatu and at the end of 1892 Hall set aside part of his own station for him to run as a separate property which was known as Farfield.45 Wilfred eventually left the running of the property to a manager and adopted the role of a gentleman scholar.46

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39 Rose to Wilfred, 30 November 1890, AGC.
40 Wilfred to JH, 7 March 1891, Fol. 175, SJHP.
41 Rose to JH, 2 March 1891, Fol. 175, SJHP.
42 JH to GWH, 18 May 1891, MS x 915, p. 78, SJHP.
43 Rose to JH, 7 March 1891, Fol. 175, SJHP.
44 JH to D.H. Macarthur, 4 April 1891, MS x 914, p. 467, SJHP.
45 JH to GWH, 6 October 1892, MS x 916, p. 358, SJHP.
46 JH to Grace, 21 November 1904, MS x 928, p. 62, SJHP. I am grateful to Mr Godfrey Hall for providing additional information.
When Godfrey, too, fixed upon farming as a career, Hall initially objected and wrote to his own brother:

Godfrey, unwisely as I tell him, wants to go on to the land. This may be to his taste but it will not prove to his interest. He has brains & aptitude for commercial work, but on a farm he will be no more use than Tom Snooks or Dick Hodge.\(^47\)

When Godfrey persisted and joined Wilfred at Farfield, Hall thought that he would "soon tire of farming"\(^48\) but it was apparent that their different talents complemented each other. Their father was forced to admit that the brothers were "well coupled. Godfrey's quickness & energy supplement defects in Wilfred's character, who is however a fairly steady worker."\(^49\)

This arrangement lasted until Wilfred's marriage early in 1896 to Millicent Potts, daughter of the conservationist, Thomas Potts, who was a neighbouring stationowner. Godfrey moved back into the family homestead and worked for his father three days a week.\(^50\) Hall was reluctant to hand over the management of Rakaia Terrace Station to him. He continued to see Godfrey as being "in delicate health" and in this he was probably influenced by Sir James Paget's opinion that Godfrey would be better to engage in city employment rather than sheep farming.\(^51\) Eventually, Hall acknowledged Godfrey's preference for farming and, when his manager's health failed, Hall experimented by letting Godfrey take charge of the books.\(^52\)

By August 1900, Hall reported that his son was "with an efficient assistant, managing under my general supervision."\(^53\)

Dryden worked at the law during his father's lifetime. Hall was not entirely satisfied with his son's position and complained: "The outlook in the legal profession is so poor that I have been trying to get an opening for Dryden in a Land & Stock Agency business, but so far have failed."\(^54\) In 1905 Dryden became a partner with Henry Cotterill and T.W. Stringer when their adjoining practices were amalgamated to become Duncan Cotterill. At this time, William Massey asked Hall if his son was prepared to enter political life but Hall firmly rejected the proposal on Dryden's behalf stating that "Entrance into active politics

\(^{47}\) JH to GWH, 1 November 1892, MS x 916, p. 6 between pp. 395-6, SJHP.
\(^{48}\) JH to GWH, [-] February 1893, MS x 917, p. 215, SJHP.
\(^{49}\) JH to GWH, 3 December 1893, MS x 918, p. 389. SJHP.
\(^{50}\) 3 March 1896, Diary 1889-90 1894-5-6, GHHC.
\(^{51}\) JH to S.W. Squier, 22 May 1899, MS x 922, p. 396, SJHP; 17 January 1889, Diary 1889-90 1894-5-6, GHHC.
\(^{52}\) JH to S.W. Squier, 30 May 1900, MS x 923, p. 491, SJHP.
\(^{53}\) JH to S.W. Squier, 18 August 1900, MS x 924, p. 102, SJHP.
\(^{54}\) JH to GWH, 1 November 1892, MS x 916, p. 6 between pp. 395-6, SJHP.
would mean the abandonment of all he has been working for for 10 years - his partners would
never agree to his entering such a contest.\(^{55}\) Six years later, however, Dryden gave up the
law for farming and in the 1920s he made a brief but unsuccessful foray into politics.\(^{56}\)

Mildred followed a conventional path. Initially, she remained a companion to her
parents. She busied herself exchanging social visits and working with the local children with
whom she was "really popular".\(^{57}\) In November 1891, she became engaged to John Cracroft
Wilson, the eldest grandson of Sir John Cracroft Wilson, 'the Nabob' of Cashmere. The
marriage was celebrated at Hororata by Bishop Harper in January 1893 and was the occasion
for much festivity. Guests came up from Christchurch for the day and for neighbours and
the local folk a ball was held in the Hororata Town Hall.\(^{58}\) Momentarily, Hall rued the
expense but accommodated it by observing that "it is only for once in one's life."\(^{59}\) Hall
went against custom by not sending a list of the presents for publication in The Weekly
Press because "it has always seemed to me a snobbish bit of display".\(^{60}\) The Wilson estate was
at Culverden. Hall described Mildred as "the joy of our hearts & the sunshine of our house"
and her departure left a substantial gap in her father's life.\(^{61}\)

Even when their offspring were adults, Sir John and Lady Hall continued to exert a
good deal of influence over them. Rose was concerned with their spiritual well-being and
personal relationships. In a letter to Wilfred for his birthday, she pointed out:

You know my dear son, in some measure how much I love you, & how
highly I value your high principles, & the pure and upright life which by
God[']s grace you have been enabled to lead. But still as our loving Saviour
said to the young man whom beholding he loved "Thou lackest one thing".
I ventured to point out the last evening you were at home, you are deficient
in that loving spirit of Christian Charity, which is the crown of all virtues &
le...
I am now more charitable than I used to be, I owe it to his teaching. I think too you also are unhappily indebted to me for a reserved nature which makes it doubly difficult to be pleasant and gracious in manner even when you most wish to be so.62

Rose also continued to act as mediator between her husband and their children and when Hall complained of Dryden's ingratitude, she informed him that "like yourself he is not a man of many words or loving acts & we have to take a great deal for granted which is not expressed."63 In the role of advocate, Rose could be passionate and, in defence of the twenty-nine year old Godfrey, she "attacked" her husband "violently" for using their son for unpaid secretarial duties and limiting his social life to those activities which interested Hall himself.64 Hall strongly resisted the criticism but he modified his treatment of Godfrey in order to escape his wife's "accusations & discontent."65

As a parent, Hall was more concerned with practical issues. He still complained about Godfrey's "unfortunate handwriting"66 but a more important goal was to ensure that Dryden was responsible in money matters. Consequently, when his second son's salary was raised to £100 per annum, Hall informed him that

It seems to me that £75 a year should be ample for all your outside expenses & that you should pay £25 towards your board & lodging. I do not propose to pocket this sum, altho' I might fairly do so, but shall pay it into a separate Savings Bank Account to be given you at some future time...a young man, at the age at which habits are being formed, should habituate himself to be, not indeed penurious, but economical, and should begin to lay bye [sic] something as soon as he can fairly do so. If I had not done this I should now be...in a very different position, to what I am, as are many who commenced life with better chances than myself.67

Hall found some of his children more congenial than others and summed up his various feelings to his brother:

My oldest & youngest children [Mildred and Godfrey] are sources of real comfort & joy. I have no anxiety about them. I wish I could say as much for the others. Wilfred is an enigma. Very well meaning, but sometimes I think he is intellectually as well as physically feeble. Dryden has great

62 Rose to Wilfred, n.d., AGC.
63 Rose to JH, 17 April 1894, Fol. 203, SJHP.
64 1 July 1897, Diary 1897, GHHC.
65 Ibid., 2 July 1897.
66 JH to OW, 15 November 1892, MS x 916, p. 431, SJHP.
67 JH to Dryden, 7 January 1892, Fol. 183, SJHP.
strength in both respects, but one feels anxious as to the way in which he will use it. 68

Beyond caring for his family, Hall kept a close eye on his business interests. Consequently, he refused to be disadvantaged by distance when he stood to lose a substantial sum of money when the Australian connections of the New Zealand Loan and Mercantile Agency engaged in dealings which he considered to be fraudulent. He refused "to submit" to the company's "scandalous" proposals and since its head office was in London, he went to England in 1894 to negotiate a compromise. 69 In the end he sacrificed £700 but he was pleased to report to Rose that even though the lawyer's bill would be expensive, he could have lost more than two thousand pounds if he had not personally been present. 70

Hall's experience in New Zealand politics meant that he was "peculiarly qualified to speak" on colonial matters. 71 Consequently, during his stay in London in 1894 he was invited to address the colonial committee of the House of Commons. While he could perceive no advantage in New Zealand's taking over the administration of Samoa and the Cook Islands, he used the issue to chide the imperial government for allowing other nations to gain a foothold in the Pacific. He commented at length on strengthening the ties between Britain and its colonies and stressed the importance of consultation. He was equally emphatic, however, that imperial taxation in relation to defence was unacceptable. 72 Where he was able to speak with particular personal authority was on the question of women's suffrage where he could relate its history and its impact on the recent New Zealand election. 73

Although Hall's visit to London was brief and he was fully occupied, he found being there without his 'belongings' "not at all enjoyable." He wrote home ruefully to his wife that "the social claims have been harassing, & I have had no wife & daughter, as in the good old days, to take these troubles off my hands." 74 The separation was no easier for Rose. Being apart from her husband raised practical problems for her and she lamented to him that she

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68 JH to GWH, [-] February 1893, MS x 917, pp. 214-5, SJHP.
69 JH to W.L. Bell, 25 February 1894, MS x 919, pp. 60-61, SJHP.
70 JH to A.G. Horton, 22 June 1894, Fol. 204, SJHP; JH to Rose, 3 July 1894, MS x 919, p. 140, SJHP.
71 J.F. Hogan to JH, 28 May 1894, Fol. 285, SJHP.
72 JH to [?], 7 June 1894, Fol. 205, SJHP.
73 JH notes, 7 June 1894, Fol. 285, SJHP.
74 JH to Rose, 14 June 1894, MS x 919, pp. 125-7, SJHP.
had not sought his direction about voting in the liquor licensing poll and reproached herself for not having learned from him how to use the Anti-Tannin teapot. She considered that one of her "faults" was "backwardness in adopting new things" and apologized because she felt that this "must often have vexed" him.75 Despite improved communications, ships at sea were beyond reach and she explained her feelings to her husband and how she would cope with them:

I think I shall make a list of the weeks you will probably be away & cut one off each Saturday night as children used to do at School. You have been away so much during our married life that I did not think I should miss you so much, but somehow it is a very different thing to know that you are beyond reach of telegram or letter.76

Despite their love for each other, John and Rose had different characters. Rose did not believe that John was sufficiently demonstrative in his love. She told him:

I suppose woman's nature requires some manifestation of love, at least mine does...I was "tenderly reared" not in the sense of luxurious living, but in the constant consciousness of a Father's love & appreciation; so it has often pained me to feel that try as I would to please you, I never seemed to make much impression upon you or win any manifestation of affection or approval.77

Once his business in England was completed, Hall returned to New Zealand.

Family matters dominated the Christmas of 1895 and brought Hall intimations of mortality. His brother, Tom, died on Christmas Day. In later years, the two had kept in contact but were not close. Hall and Godfrey travelled to Invercargill for the funeral. More difficult to bear was the death of his other brother, George. George had not enjoyed good health for years and in November 1895 he had had a slight stroke. A more severe stroke on Christmas Day left him paralysed. George and John "had always been 'chums'" and Hall found his brother's condition distressing to watch.78 George died at the end of February and after the funeral, Hall wrote in his diary: "self very depressed & miserable...things seem blank & drear."79

75 Rose to JH, 18 March 1894, Fol. 203, SJHP.
76 Ibid.
77 Ibid.
78 JH to Grace, 8 March 1896, MS x 920, p. 361, SJHP; 18 February 1896, Diary 1889-90 1894-5-6, GHHC.
79 Ibid., 29 February 1896.
Throughout 1896, Rose, too, was in poor health. She was troubled by bronchitis and pleurisy and even a spell by the seaside at Sumner did not restore her. For her sake, they decided to avoid the New Zealand winter and left for England at the end of March 1897. In London, Rose saw a specialist and several cauterizations were required to remove growths from her nose. Hall reassured their daughter that there was no indication of malignancy. Rose recovered sufficiently to accept one social invitation and the Halls went to Baroness Burdett Coutts' garden party.

1897 was Queen Victoria's golden jubilee and, being in London, Hall was able to enjoy the celebrations to the full. He informed John Fountaine, his manager, that he had "attended the Jubilee service at St Pauls - in furred robes - as a Citizen & a Leatherseller. The Lord Mayor & Aldermen & the Judges keeping me company." On the "great day", he had an excellent vantage point for seeing the Queen and her procession. Essentially Hall was present as a private citizen. New Zealand's formal representative was Richard Seddon. By now, Hall had modified his opinion of Seddon and he informed one English relative that the premier has polished up a good deal, & has a sensible pleasant wife. His success in political life is largely due to real brains, leathery lungs, untiring energy & utter disregard of scruples or of anything which can interfere with his own advancement. Privately he is a genial, pleasant fellow, I have always been on friendly terms with him.

After the festivities were over, however, the general consensus among the London-based Australasians was that "Seddon had not made a good impression". The Halls returned to New Zealand at the end of 1897.

Events like the Queen's jubilee highlighted the extent of British colonial connections and helped to fuel discussion on the best means of administering the Empire. The various

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80 Ibid., 1896.
81 JH to F. Jackson, 30 November 1896, MS x 921, p. 100, SJHP.
82 JH to Mildred, 12 June 1897, p. 255; JH to Mildred, 9 July 1897, pp. 264-5, (MS x 921, SJHP).
83 9 July 1897, Diary 1897, GHHC.
84 JH to JEF, 9 July 1897, MS x 921, p. 261, SJHP.
85 JH to Mildred, 12 June 1897, MS x 921, p. 254, SJHP; 22 June 1897, Diary 1897, GHHC.
86 JH to M. Burwood, 23 February 1897, MS x 921, p. 179, SJHP.
87 3 August and 19 October 1897, Diary 1897, GHHC.
proposals foundered on practicalities but the concept of imperial solidarity was unexpectedly boosted at the turn of the century when the growing tension between Briton and Boer in South Africa erupted into war. Hall wholeheartedly supported Seddon's decision to send a military contingent to the Cape and backed it with donations towards equipment and horses. For Hall, the British refugees from the Transvaal were "brother and sister colonists" who had been forced "to abandon everything which industry and thrift in past years had collected". At the ideological level, Hall saw events in South Africa as threatening New Zealand's security and Britain's status as the premier world power. He stated the case for British intervention in one of his notebooks:

...if [Britain] was to fail in this contest, it would be to invite aggression from many quarters where envious eyes look upon the British Colonies & if she should appear unable to protect them would not be long ere they found some pretext for attacking them.

Hall saw the war as a shared imperial responsibility and thought that even schoolchildren should contribute "their pennies" to the war effort.

Hall was not alone in his enthusiasm for military involvement. He was invited to a garden fête at Merivale where raffle tickets for a sapphire bracelet were unusually expensive at £1 each. Young men at Hororata joined up and some asked Hall for a reference. The popular response was such that a second contingent was sent and a third was paid for by public subscription. Hall wrote to one of his English friends:

In Canterbury 60 men were asked & immediately 600 offered themselves - men of all classes & very physically fit - so we have raised £10,000 and sent 100 from Canterbury with 100 from other places.

The structure and preoccupations of New Zealand society were different from those in Britain and Hall needed to explain: "They are not trained soldiers, but smart country lads accustomed to riding, & well adapted to irregular warfare, as they showed themselves in the New Zealand..."

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88 JH to [?] Fenwick, 5 March 1900, MS x 923, p. 391, SJHP.
89 R.J. Seddon to JH, 30 September 1899, Fol. 235, SJHP.
90 JH to the mayor of Christchurch, [-] 1899, p. 299; JH to R.J. Seddon, 27 December 1899, p. 300; JH to [?], 21 December 1899, p. 293, (MS x 923, SJHP); R.J. Seddon to JH, 16 December 1899, Fol 236, SJHP.
91 JH to [W.H.] Triggs, 28 November 1899, MS x 923, pp. 252 and 251, SJHP.
92 'Sº African War', in untitled notebook, AGC.
93 JH to [W.H.] Triggs, 28 November 1899, MS x 923, pp. 254-5, SJHP.
94 A. Studholme to JH, 21 January 1900, Fol. 237, SJHP.
95 JH to W.L. Bell, 27 February 1900, MS x 923, p. 381, SJHP.
Hall was in no doubt as to the calibre of these volunteers but he expressed some anxiety over the fact that professional military men were in short supply in the colony so that there were "no properly trained" officers.  

For Hall the importance of Britain's winning in South Africa overrode party considerations and he applauded Seddon's management, writing that the premier had "worked well & wisely." For leadership in organizing New Zealand's contribution to the War, Hall was pleased to present to Seddon in 1902 the national testimonial which stated: "Loyalty is but kinship written large, and every man and woman of this colony is proud of the crimson thread which makes the people of New Zealand loyal sons and daughters of the British Empire."  

On the personal level, the Anglo-Boer War enabled Hall to remember his nephew, George Buceo Hall, with honour. George had left New Zealand under a cloud in 1877 but, in 1880 during the first Transvaal War, he had sacrificed his life to save his comrades from ambush. Hall publicized the details of George's death so that they would act as an example to spur others on to valour. In this war, however, courage was not enough and even from the safety of New Zealand, Hall gained an indication of the impact of modern weapons. He was also aware that the African continent could be hostile in its own right when he commented to a friend that fever had proved "a more potent enemy than the Boer."

Personal tragedy overtook Hall's enthusiasm for military and political matters. His wife had a seizure in September 1899. Although her speech was not affected, the stroke left her partially paralysed and this limited her ability to indulge in the letterwriting which her husband stressed she "was fond of and did well." Her health continued to deteriorate and she died on 12 May 1900. Hall considered it "cruel" that death had come so quickly that he

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96 Ibid.  
97 JH to M. Burwood, 3 April 1900, MS x 923, p. 419, SJHP.  
98 JH to [?] Fenwick, 5 March 1900, MS x 923, p. 391, SJHP.  
99 Hall, p. 130.  
100 JH to the Minister of Defence, 7 June 1900, MS x 924, pp. 11-12, SJHP; unidentified and undated newspaper cutting, Fol. 249, SJHP.  
101 JH to W.L. Bell, 27 February 1900, MS x 923, p. 381, SJHP.  
102 JH to S.W. Squier, 18 August 1900, MS x 924, p. 103, SJHP.  
103 JH to S.W. Squier, 20 January 1900, MS x 923, p. 343, SJHP.
was not called from the neighbouring room\textsuperscript{104} and he was so grief stricken that he besought
the doctor: "If you know of anything which would remove this painful thought I should be
thankful to you."\textsuperscript{105}

The sympathy letters Hall received gave him a measure of consolation and a few of
them highlight facets of Rose's character as they were seen by those beyond the family.
Edward Bealey wrote from California how when he had visited the Halls, she had removed
his feelings of strangeness when he was newly returned to New Zealand.\textsuperscript{106} Another
remembered Rose's kindness in Dresden during an illness.\textsuperscript{107} Sir Henry Berkeley, the chief
justice of Fiji, stated how "strongly attached" his children had been to her when they had
been in New Zealand for their education.\textsuperscript{108} Her work with children led the vicar of
Sydenham to suggest that, as a lasting memorial, her name be used for one of the Sunday
School rooms in his parish.\textsuperscript{109} One of the more fulsome messages of condolence was sent
to Mildred by Mary Ovenden who wrote:

I felt [Lady Hall's] kindness & friendship...she was so full of wit & wisdom
& love, I don't think I could have enjoyed anyone's companionship more.
She was so intensely loveable."\textsuperscript{110}

There were other sources of comfort. Death cut across political barriers and one the
most cherished memories Hall had of Seddon was that he "came to see me & to look upon
that which contained all that I had held most dear. This one can never forget."\textsuperscript{111} Hall
derived real consolation from his Christian faith and he explained to Mary Rolleston when
her husband, William, died in 1906:

...a great, & wise, & beneficent Creator would not have implanted in the
breasts of his creatures that hope & longing for future reunion...only to doom
them to bitter disappointment. No. I have faith, though we now look
"through a glass darkly", in the Communion of Saints, as well as in a future
reunion in whatever condition our life may have deserved for us.\textsuperscript{112}

\textsuperscript{104} JH to M. Burwood, 23 July 1900, MS x 924, p. 41, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{105} JH to [?] Palmer, 29 May 1900, MS x 923, p. 488, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{106} E.W. Bealey to JH, 8 July 1900, Obituary Letters, HC.
\textsuperscript{107} R. Gosche to JH, 15 May 1900, Obituary Letters, HC.
\textsuperscript{108} H. Berkeley to JH, 19 June 1900, Obituary Letters, HC.
\textsuperscript{109} E.A. Scott to JH, 20 May 1900, Obituary Letters, HC.
\textsuperscript{110} M.E. Ovenden to Mildred, 29 June 1900, Obituary Letters, HC.
\textsuperscript{111} JH to L. Seddon, 23 June 1906, MS x 930, p. 166, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{112} JH to M. Rolleston, 30 May 1906, MS x 930, pp. 140-1, SJHP.
Although Hall had dreaded his wife's dying, he had not fully anticipated 'the blank' which underscored how much her presence had meant to him.\footnote{JH to [?] Scott, 19 May 1900, MS x 923, p. 456, SJHP.} He lamented to an old friend:

As happens I believe far too often in this life one does not sufficiently appreciate the value of a blessing until it is withdrawn. And so it is with me. I did not realise how essential a part of my life she was until she was taken from me...Forgive me dwelling so much on my trouble: it is some relief to unburthen one's self to so old a friend.\footnote{JH to S.W. Squier, 30 May 1900, MS x 923, p. 492, SJHP.}

His grief was keenest at Rakaia Terrace Station. Two years after his wife's death, the habits of a lifetime still permeated his reactions and he wrote sadly to his daughter about his return to the homestead: "But the dear loving figure that used to come on to the verandah was not there!"\footnote{JH to Mildred, 9 March 1902, MS x 924, p. 369, SJHP.} Rose had been in charge of domestic matters and Hall was inadequate to the task of taking over 'the female sphere'. As an immigrant, he lacked the family connections who may have been of assistance and several months later he complained to a friend: "I have no female relative who can take charge of the house & feel rather lost in it."\footnote{JH to S.W. Squier, 18 August 1900, MS x 924, pp. 100-1, SJHP.} This meant that the cook, Mrs Catherine Stuthridge, whom he referred to as "my old household treasure", had a relatively free rein.\footnote{JH to [?] Waymouth, 21 May 1904, MS x 927, p. 153, SJHP.}

Hall's loneliness was accentuated by the fact that few of his contemporaries survived and he commented to his longest standing friend in England:

I have now little or nothing to do with public life, the greater part of the friends in NZd with whom I have laboured have now passed away, & I am thrown back on my home life. All the children except Godfrey are married & away, & the house feels very desolate.\footnote{JH to W.L. Bell, 11 August 1900, MS x 924, p. 77, SJHP.}

To his sister he confessed:

I do not seem to feel the blank in my life lessening - especially in the big, old house which was permeated & brightened by her presence. Now more than half the rooms are useless, & many of them dismantled. They look very cheerless & dreary - & the house is too large for Godfrey & me.\footnote{JH to Grace, 26 September 1900, MS x 924, p. 147, SJHP.}

These feelings of emptiness persisted for the rest of his days.
Part of the gap in his life was filled by an increasing number of grandchildren. Despite his work for women, when his first grandchild, Frances Cracroft Wilson was born, he admitted to some disappointment: "The baby is really a fine little thing, its only fault is its sex."¹²⁰ Not until 1898, after five granddaughters, did he celebrate the arrival of his first grandson. Like his father before him, he rejoiced in the continuity of family names and on this occasion the child was given the Christian names he himself had longed for as a young boy: John Williamson Hall.¹²¹ Hall found this younger generation "very cheering company" and admitted to his oldest friend: "I want this help."¹²² Ten grandchildren were born during Hall’s lifetime¹²³ and the special place they held in his affections was marked on his eightieth birthday when the family gift to him was a portrait of them.

As a grandfather, Hall revealed some of the values which were important to him. The grandchildren were the second generation to be born in New Zealand but he was pleased to report to his friend in Britain that the grandchildren were "growing up very much like English boys & girls."¹²⁴ He enjoyed his grandchildren and wrote an account of his own schooldays for them.¹²⁵ Spending time with them also provided him with an opportunity to indulge in nostalgia. In 1905, he took Mildred and her children to the old Windwhistle homestead beside the Rakaia River for a picnic. There he taught one of his grandsons how to play a game that he and his sister had played at Scarborough.¹²⁶ He could also be serious. His Christchurch home was close to the prep school in Cranmer Square which one of his grandsons attended. Young John Hall joined him frequently for lunch and recalled that at the table he was told stories "with a moral for the young".¹²⁷

The close ties between Hall and his daughter deepened in his later years. She was his "strongest tie to this life."¹²⁸ Mildred, however, had sufferings of her own through which her father did his best to be supportive. John Cracroft Wilson was an alcoholic. His

¹²⁰ JH to GWH, 3 December 1893, MS x 918, p. 390, SJHP.
¹²¹ JH to S.W. Squier, 29 October 1898, MS x 922, p. 220, SJHP; the child’s full name was John Williamson Dryden Hall.
¹²² JH to W.L. Bell, 13 February 1901, MS x 924, p. 336, SJHP.
¹²³ There were eventually thirteen grandchildren. Godfrey married after Hall’s death and he had three children.
¹²⁴ JH to W.L. Bell, 3 December 1900, MS x 924, p. 253, SJHP.
¹²⁵ J. Hall, ‘Recollections of Early School Days and the following few years’, 1907, HC.
¹²⁶ JH to Grace, 16 April 1905, MS x 928, p. 177, SJHP.
¹²⁷ J.W.D. Hall to K. Foster, 17 February 1977, HC.
¹²⁸ JH to W. Hall, 26 September 1902, MS x 925, p. 154, SJHP.
drinking had begun when, as the future heir to the family estate, he was denied what he perceived as meaningful employment. In 1901, the Cracroft Wilsons went to England hoping that a change of environment for a few years would bring a cure. Mildred only knew peace of mind when her husband was playing golf. She wrote to her father:

My life may not be as lonely as yours has been lately, but I have bitter sorrows to bear & keen anxiety for the future of my children, & were it not for them I have many & many a time wished myself dead...my heart sinks for the future when I have found twice lately that even going into Bideford leads him astray & I cannot really feel easy about him anywhere except on the links. I could not overlook it & I talked most seriously & earnestly to him, but I get so upset I dare not say much & besides though he agrees with everything at the time, he has forgotten all about it next time.¹²⁹

Hall offered financial assistance so that John could take what treatment was available¹³⁰ but none proved effective. At a time when a broken marriage was socially ruinous, he went as far as to recommend to her that

should matters get worse you can always, as a last resort threaten that you & your children will part from him. It might be difficult, but not impracticable, & might frighten him.¹³¹

In 1901 and 1903, Hall went to Britain to be with Mildred and her children but was eventually forced to admit that "all the trouble & expense I have been to to help Mildred's efforts to reform her husband have been thrown away."¹³² The Cracroft Wilsons returned to New Zealand in 1903 and resided at Cashmere. Although her husband continued to give "much trouble",¹³³ Mildred took a leading role in charitable work.

When he was in Britain in 1903, Hall once more joined in social and political activities but with a bias towards colonial interests. He told the editor of The Press that a Canadian scientist had said that Ernest Rutherford had "A great career!! ahead of him and that when Rutherford had been introduced to Lord Kelvin, a leading British physicist, "they could hardly be separated."¹³⁴ Hall was the principal speaker at the New Zealand dinner and, in well-established arcadian terms, he concluded by paying tribute to his adopted land:

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¹²⁹ Mildred to JH, 28 August 1901, Fol. 245, SJHP.
¹³⁰ JH to Mildred, 3 June 1902, MS x 924, p. 477, SJHP.
¹³¹ Ibid.
¹³² JH to Dryden, 13 August 1903, MS x 926, p. 200, SJHP.
¹³³ JH to Grace, 26 August 1906, MS x 930, p. 215, SJHP.
¹³⁴ JH to [W.H.] Triggs, 30 June 1903, MS x 926, p. 171, SJHP.
In the course of a long life, he had seen many other lands, but he knew of no colony in which a man could more fairly depend upon making a comfortable living, if he was industrious and frugal, and there was no country in which the people themselves were more sociable and more law-abiding than New Zealand; in fact, there was no country in which, if he had to choose over again, he would sooner cast his lot than New Zealand.  

Hall was still concerned about British attitudes to the Empire. He attended a meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute where he heard a paper on 'Cabinet and Empire'. The proposal was to establish an imperial cabinet of advice for the Empire. Hall’s response to the paper stressed the problems of finding suitable colonial representatives. New Zealand’s distance from London made the appointment of those who normally resided in the colony "exceptionally difficult" but representation by Englishmen or former colonists was not acceptable. The only alternative to an imperial cabinet which Hall could suggest was "to have the very best of Colonial Secretaries".

With advancing years, Hall explored his family’s past. He exchanged photographs and stories with one of his Williamson relatives. He was also keen to research the family tree. On his trips to Britain, he had always visited family graves and ensured that they were being well maintained. In 1903, he not only had the stained glass window commemorating his aunt, Mildred Fowler, repaired but he sought to honour more distant ancestors. The most ambitious of these projects was a plan for the restoration of the Sculcoates sacristy which housed the Dryden remains. Having farewelled the dead, he also had to say goodbye to the living. He was very conscious that this would most likely be his last visit to England. Nothing could assuage the pain of parting from his sister and he wrote to Wilfred: "Parting with dear Aunt Grace will be a great trial for us both. In all probability we shall not meet again in this world. She is the most loving, self-sacrificing person I have ever known."
Old age meant that Hall lived with continual reminders of the finiteness of earthly existence. In 1900, the province of Canterbury celebrated its jubilee. Hall wrote a chapter for the jubilee publication Canterbury Old and New 1850-1900. He was one of the six hundred remaining "first settlers" who processed through the city. In a letter to his oldest friend he summed up what had been achieved:

The Settlement has not realised all the ideas of its founders. But a good work has been done. We have a population, in Canterbury alone, of nearly 150,000, almost all comfortably off, loyal to the Empire & proud...of it. There is much to be thankful for, and I shall readily join in the festivities. But my age makes me prefer a quiet life & I shall be glad when the fuss is over.

More poignantly, he was aware of the number of his friends and colleagues who had died. Sometimes he was called upon to rehearse their achievements and in 1906 he unveiled the window in Christchurch Cathedral to Richard Harman, his former land agent. Such occasions could be emotionally draining and after the much more public affair of unveiling the statue of William Rolleston, the last provincial superintendent, he wrote to Rolleston's widow: "It was a trial for me because I felt strongly every word I said, and I am no longer strong, or as strong as I look."

As the end of his own life approached, he put his affairs in order: he wound up his sister's New Zealand business connections which he had administered since 1852 and he employed George Rowley as a secretary to arrange all his papers. Faced with increasing land tax payments and legislation which disadvantaged owners of large properties, he sold most of his land at Hororata. Of the remaining 4,000 acres, Wilfred carried on with the 1,400 acres he had been running. An additional 2,600 acres and the homestead remained with Godfrey. At their father's death in 1907 Wilfred and Godfrey continued to work their respective properties. Dryden, preferring the professional career of a lawyer in town,
inherited the property of Riseholme and its seventy acres in Riccarton. Although she received no land, Mildred did inherit money in trust equal in value to what her brothers received.\textsuperscript{149}

With advancing years, Hall had abandoned some of his more youthful interests. Occasionally this proved a social disadvantage so that in 1905 when the Christchurch Club gave a ball in honour of the new governor, Lord Plunket, he explained how he coped to his niece:

As the oldest member I should have had to dance with Lady P. But as I have not danced for 20 years, I should certainly have made a mess of it, and have therefore recollected an engagement in a distant part of the Colony.\textsuperscript{150}

Hall had always been anxious about his health and as the years advanced his concern became more pronounced. A serious bout of influenza in 1904 adversely affected his strength\textsuperscript{151} but neuralgia and rheumatism were his chief complaints and he admitted to his sister: "My dislike for cold increases, and I coddle myself a good deal."\textsuperscript{152} The rheumatism became increasingly painful but Hall assured his sister that it was not "dangerous".\textsuperscript{153} Nevertheless, he had seen his father’s suffering from the same disease and he dreaded a similar fate.\textsuperscript{154}

Another indication of advancing age was Hall’s difficulty in coping with technological change. He liked the telephone\textsuperscript{155} but motorized transport was another matter. He thought motor cars a "curse" which made "country roads absolutely unsafe."\textsuperscript{156} Similarly, when he was a passenger in "a Motor Stage Carriage", he found twenty miles per hour "too fast."\textsuperscript{157} When as the only survivor of the first council, he was asked to propose the toast for the opening of the city’s electric trams, he wrote that he "felt something like the Rip van Winkle".\textsuperscript{158} He even had doubts about the bicycle and reported to an English friend:

\textsuperscript{149} Will of Sir John Hall.
\textsuperscript{150} JH to M. Burwood, 12 February 1905, MS x 928, p. 144, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{151} JH to W.L. Bell, 10 October 1904, MS x 928, p. 27, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{152} JH to Grace, 14 August 1905, MS x 929, p. 47, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{153} JH to Grace, 25 September 1906, MS x 930, p. 241, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{154} JH to Grace, 15 October 1906, MS x 930, p. 316, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{155} 6 December 1895, Diary 1889-90, 1894-5-6, GHHC.
\textsuperscript{156} JH to [W.H.] Triggs, 30 June 1903, MS x 926, p. 170, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{157} JH to Dryden, 13 August 1903, MS x 926, p. 197, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{158} JH to W.P. Reeves, 18 June 1905, MS x 928, pp. 235-4, SJHP.
In proportion to its size [Christchurch] must have more Bicycles than any place in the world - every workman & nearly every shop girl has one, & at their dinner & leaving hour the streets are almost dangerous.159

Hall regretted that he had not written an account of his experiences for posterity but explained to Alfred Saunders that "Every day brings its own time absorbing work & I suppose it will be to the end."160 He was, however, generous in lending his books to those who wrote about events through which he had lived and he commented critically on their publications. The first volume of Saunders' *History of New Zealand* appeared in 1896161 and Hall wrote to William Pember Reeves, the agent general in London: "I don't think Saunders means to be unfair but his book is rather history from an Alfred Saunders point of view."162 Saunders' bias was so marked that Reeves replied: "I do sincerely trust that old Saunders will not live to continue his history down to the last decade. The thought of S. as a historian adds a new terror to public life."163 Reeves' hope was not granted: the second volume of Saunders' history was published in 1899.164

Hall's public career came in for scrutiny in Saunders' second book and Hall dealt with the appraisal in two ways. Writing to W.H. Triggs, the editor of *The Press*, he could jest: "I ought to speak favourably of the history as I find the author treats me with much indulgence. This is no doubt one of his prejudices."165 Privately, however, he replied to Saunders in detail. Hall found much to commend but where he differed "widely" from Saunders was in his interpretation of events at Parihaka. Hall addressed Saunders' claim that Te Whiti's "obstruction of our survey & road marking was owing to continued ignorance" about the delineation of the land reserves. Hall demonstrated why this view was inaccurate, but over these events the two men remained at odds.166

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159 JH to M. [Fleming?], 14 August 1905, MS x 929, p. 41, SJHP.
160 JH to A. Saunders, 15 March 1897, MS x 921, p. 207, SJHP.
162 JH to W.P. Reeves, 6 December 1896, MS x 921, pp. 105-6, SJHP.
163 W.P. Reeves to JH, 1 February 1897, Fol. 222, SJHP.
165 JH to [W.H.] Triggs, 2 August 1899, MS x 923, p. 37, SJHP.
166 JH to A. Saunders, 7 May 1900, MS x 923, p. 442, SJHP; JH to A. Saunders, 23 August 1903, MS x 926, pp. 204-5, SJHP; A. Saunders to JH, 29 August 1903, Fol. 253, SJHP.
In 1898, Reeves published his own history, *The Long White Cloud*. Hall read the book "with much pleasure" but he disagreed with some of its contents. Once again, Parihaka was an important point of variance and he commented to Reeves that "If you had been at my elbow you would have been compelled to approve. No set of men were ever more anxious to make every concession...which could be done without sacrificing the authority of the Gov[ernmen]t". Reeves replied that the book represented "a desperate effort to be fair" but he admitted he had been influenced by *The Lyttelton Times* when he had written of Parihaka.

Hall recommended magnanimity in 1905, when he read the proofs of William Sidney Smith's *Women's Franchise Movement in New Zealand*. Smith objected to Reeves' statement on the franchise in *State Experiments in Australia & New Zealand* that one fine morning of September, 1893, the women of New Zealand woke up and found themselves enfranchised. The privilege was theirs, given freely and spontaneously in the easiest and most unexpected manner in the world by male politicians...No franchise leagues had fought the fight year after year.

To set the record straight, Smith described the incessant and long continued efforts made by women in almost every part of the Colony to gain public sympathy for this great reform, and to bring pressure to bear on members of Parliament.

Hall advised Smith to be moderate in his comment: first, because "The battle is over, we have won and can afford to be generous" and second, out of consideration for Maud Reeves who had been "an earnest advocate" of votes for women.

In 1906 Christchurch was to be the venue for the New Zealand international exhibition. In honour of the occasion, Hall, as the first chairman of the Municipal Council

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168 JH to W.P. Reeves, 18 August 1899, MS x 923, p. 78, SJHP.
169 W.P. Reeves to JH, 24 November 1899, Fol. 236, SJHP.
172 Smith, p. iii.
173 Ibid., pp. ii-iii.
174 JH to W. Sidney Smith, 5 August 1905, MS x 929, p. 33, SJHP.
and its only surviving member, was invited to be mayor. He declined the offer at first because of his age and his reluctance to undertake an election contest.\(^{175}\) With continuing pressure, he changed his mind\(^ {176}\) but he also had social reasons for accepting and he informed his nephew privately: "I did not quite like to see Christchurch represented by a Jew brewer & Public House runner."\(^ {177}\) His work for women was not forgotten and among the letters promising support was one from the Canterbury Women's Institute.\(^ {178}\) Such endorsements led him to state that if there had been a contest, the women's vote "would have left no doubt as to the result."\(^ {179}\) Any residual fear about losing an election for the first time in his life was removed when both sides of the political fence endorsed his candidature and his only rival withdrew.\(^ {180}\) Hall was conscious of the honour done him but admitted to his sister that he would be "very glad" when the year was over.\(^ {181}\) His doubts about his physical strength were accommodated by a division of labour. Because Hall's appointment was a tribute to his role in developing the city, he was to be the figurehead for public occasions with Mildred acting as hostess. Meanwhile, the routine duties of the mayoralty were to be undertaken by the Council.\(^ {182}\)

By October 1906, Hall was virtually an invalid. Despite being confined to bed, he ensured that Christchurch schoolchildren and those from Hororata and its environs should be able to visit the exhibition. He paid their entrance fee but indicated to the organizers that he expected a reduced rate.\(^ {183}\) The children appreciated what Hall had provided for them and wrote of their gratitude, to which Hall responded with pleasure.\(^ {184}\)

Hall's failing health meant that he fulfilled very few official functions. Consequently, he wrote to George Payling, the deputy mayor, offering to resign.\(^ {185}\) The offer was refused.\(^ {186}\) A ten-week convalescence with Mildred and her family at the Cashmere

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\(^{175}\) JH to [?] Taylor, 21 February 1906, MS x 930, p. 1, SJHP.

\(^{176}\) JH to [?] Anderson, 8 March 1906, MS x 930, p. 18, SJHP.

\(^{177}\) JH to W. Hall, 8 April 1906, MS x 930, p. 69, SJHP.

\(^{178}\) JH to A. Wells, 28 March 1906, MS x 930, p. 53, SJHP.

\(^{179}\) JH to KWS, 30 March 1906, MS x 930, p. 58, SJHP.

\(^{180}\) JH to C. Louisson, 24 March 1906, MS x 930, p. 47, SJHP.

\(^{181}\) JH to Grace, 12 March 1906, MS x 930, p. 21, SJHP.

\(^{182}\) JH to KWS, 30 March 1906, MS x 930, p. 58, SJHP.

\(^{183}\) JH to [?] Lane, 19 October 1906, p. 323; JH to [?] Lane, 3 October 1906, p. 282, (MS x 930, SJHP).

\(^{184}\) JH to [H.R.] Smith, 5 December 1906, MS x 930, p. 390, SJHP.

\(^{185}\) JH to G. Payling, 9 January 1907, Fol. 264, SJHP.

\(^{186}\) H.R. Smith to JH, 22 January 1907, Fol. 264, SJHP.
homestead brought some relief and restored his ability to joke with his grandchildren.\textsuperscript{187} In mid-March 1907, Hall returned to his own ‘quarters’ on Park Terrace. His home, however, was close to North Hagley Park where the exhibition was being held and he was forced to request that the gramophone for the battle of Gettysburg cyclorama be turned around to face away from his house because he was seriously disturbed by the noise.\textsuperscript{188} His request was granted.\textsuperscript{189}

Hall’s last days were made as comfortable as possible. Lucy Fountaine, the widow of his former manager, was his housekeeper. He was cared for by three nurses and, being in Christchurch, he was close to medical assistance. He was also attended by a mayoral secretary and his own private secretary. Several of these people read to him but his life was ebbing away and Mildred reported to her Aunt that “he finds life very dreary & longs for release.”\textsuperscript{190} He died at Park Terrace on 25 June 1907.

A few days later, a special train took his body and a large number of mourners to Hororata. In the manner they had adopted during his lifetime, the people of the district came from far afield to pay their respects to him and the school children lined the roadside as the cortège passed. The funeral was conducted by Bishop Julius and Hall was buried beside his wife in the churchyard cemetery.\textsuperscript{191}

\textsuperscript{187} Mildred to Grace, 15 March 1907, MS x 930, p. 498, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{188} JH to The Manager, 15 March 1907, MS x 930, p. 491, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{189} Mildred to [A. Hall?], 14 March 1907, MS x 930, p. 492, SJHP.
\textsuperscript{190} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{191} Based on newspaper clippings collected by Mildred and entitled ‘In Memoriam’.
CONCLUSION

The biographer, searching for the inspiration of [Hall's] career, would probably find that an infinite capacity for taking pains and a wide sense of duty were the most prominent features of the dead statesman's character.\(^1\)

Sir John Hall retired from political life one hundred years ago yet he would find the contemporary pre-occupation with recession, redundancy and unemployment all too familiar. He was the first New Zealand premier who had to deal with the consequences of the borrow and spend policies of previous governments. The 'think big' projects of his day were the public works and immigration schemes promoted by Julius Vogel and continued by Sir George Grey's administration. Embarking on such large expenditure without the means to repay the loans which funded it was anathema to Hall and by the time he took office the colony's credit had run out. He had little alternative but to balance the colony's books by raising taxes and cutting expenditure. He lamented the social distress which such measures caused.

Hall's programme of 'energetic retrenchment' returned New Zealand's budget to the black. It also had long-term benefits for the colony's administrative structures. He saw that politicians would always be tempted to buy votes by building new railways in important electorates, so his government removed the railways from political patronage by placing them under an independent board of management. It also increased the efficiency of the government departments by streamlining their organization and centralizing their head offices in Wellington. Seldom has a programme of retrenchment in New Zealand been linked to such enduring and important structural reform.

This approach owed much to Hall himself. He abhorred the borrowing which exceeded the colony's ability to repay and was horrified to discover that Grey had persisted with this policy even though the colony's annual expenditure was exceeding its annual income by over half a million pounds.\(^2\) The stringency of Hall's own ministry is captured in the cabinet minute book where spending £65 8s 6d on carpeting the Dunedin railway offices was

\(^1\) LT, 26 June 1907.
\(^2\) JH to W. Fox, 15 April 1882, MS x 913, p. 115, SJHP.
recorded as "quite unjustifiable" and those responsible were "deserving of censure." Hall insisted on a policy of prudent finance and regretted that after his resignation, Atkinson adopted a more lenient fiscal programme.

Hall's commitment to responsible stewardship derived from his childhood. His father had required him to be meticulous in his accounting and had instilled in him the belief that thrift was an integral part of respectability. The carefulness which enabled John to live on a small income as a young man persisted nearly all his life. His approach to his personal finances carried over to his management of public funds. He saw himself as accountable for the colony's fiscal health whether he was acting colonial treasurer for Stafford or a premier working with ministerial colleagues.

Hall's early experiences and training also contributed to his administrative efficiency. When his father had insisted on legible handwriting, tidy presentation and the habits of orderliness and diligence as essential to success in the mercantile world, John had complied. He, in turn, expected similar high standards from other people. His work as postmaster general in the Stafford ministry of 1866-1869 owed much to his early training in office work especially to the responsible positions he had held while employed by the general post office in London.

One of the bases of Hall's success was that he always had facts to hand. Once again this derived from behaviour practised over a lifetime. Even as a young boy he had kept letters from other people and had made copies of his own correspondence. He continued to collect and store information in a systematic fashion and this gave him a mastery of detail which made him formidable in debate.

Hall's most enduring contribution to New Zealand politics was that he shepherded several important pieces of democratic legislation through parliament. In 1867 he introduced the bill which enabled women of property in some provinces to vote in municipal elections. His ministry enacted residential manhood suffrage in 1879, a reform which, while it lagged behind similar changes in most of the Australian colonies, was not introduced in Britain until after the first world war. He was also the leader of the parliamentary campaign for women's

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3 Cabinet Minute Book, PM 4/1, 21 April 1880, NAHO.
4 JH to F.D. Bell, 10 September 1882, MS x 913, p. 217, SJHP.
suffrage. The passage of suffrage legislation in 1893 meant that New Zealand gave women the vote before any other colony with responsible government and well before any independent country.

That Hall was one of the founders of New Zealand democracy is ironic. He was politically a conservative and defended as far as possible the interests of the traditional ruling group, the great pastoralists. He wanted to secure government by large landholders because he believed that their considerable investment in the colony ensured sound administration. He considered that men like himself stood to lose the work and wealth of a lifetime if they did not exercise good judgment. He feared that 'loafer' and men of slender means had little to lose and, therefore, could engage in risk and radical enterprises. Hall shuddered at such men and their policies, for their votes threatened to end the influence of men of property.

Nevertheless, Hall backed universal male franchise. He introduced it because the advent of manhood suffrage was inevitable. He had seen how in the 1850s, democrats had used the issues of manhood suffrage and land reform to drive the conservatives from office in South Australia, Victoria and New South Wales. He could see that, under the banner of being 'democratic' and 'liberal, Grey was now threatening to mobilize the colony against him. He knew that once he and his fellow conservatives had been discredited, they would have lost, perhaps for ever, their voice in parliament. In his view, then, it was better for his faction to retain control by introducing the measure itself.

Hall believed that votes for women would help the conservatives combat the Liberal threat after 1891 but in this case, as we have seen, his support for the extension of democracy was principled and not merely tactical. For him, votes for women was a matter of justice. He was careful not to make the suffrage issue into a political football by using it to embarrass the Liberal government. Whenever he could, he supported those working for the female franchise overseas. And he championed the rights of women in the Anglican church, where his interests as a conservative pastoralist were in no way served by his efforts.

Hall, then, is a significant figure in New Zealand's history. His importance was recognized in his lifetime but is largely overlooked today. He has not been remembered for introducing manhood suffrage because the democratic mantle has fallen on Grey, the autocrat, who used the issue to create political controversy. With regard to women's franchise, we
have seen how his role was diminished by the Liberal government which claimed disingenuously to have championed women's rights. From the perspective of more recent feminist writers intent on demonstrating the role of women in their own emancipation, Hall's role has seemed far less significant than women like Kate Sheppard. Nor is his name associated with the events at Parihaka. Because John Bryce has been made such a figure of scorn, he dominates accounts of the confrontation. Nor does Hall receive many plaudits restoring the colony's finances between 1879 and 1882, for retrenchment has never been popular. Similarly, Hall's administrative reforms focused on an area of government activity which interests few people and has largely been neglected. So one of New Zealand's most important politicians has scarcely rated a passing mention in the history books.

While there are statues of many other New Zealand politicians, there is no public memorial to Hall except for a bust in the Christchurch City Council offices. Yet he is not entirely forgotten. His name is commemorated in Hororata beneath the east window of the local church, whose congregation has in recent years practised the ecumenism which Hall so earnestly but unsuccessfully preached during his lifetime. He was an Anglican but thought that there should be no barriers between denominations of the Christian faith. While the church at Hororata is still Anglican, today members of other communions are welcome to worship and hold services there. Used by his own descendants, it is truly a community church and as such fulfils Hall's dearest expectations. The presence of this building in a quiet, rural setting near to the home he loved is a more fitting reminder of 'the grand old man of Canterbury' than a statue in the centre of Christchurch.
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