H. J. C. Harper
Bishop of Christchurch, 1856-1889
If the Church shall fail to reproduce itself—in other words, to beget individuals of a like species with itself—surely that must be an index of sterility.

J.C. Wynter.

A thesis
Presented for
the degree of M.A. and Honours

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The story of Canterbury as a Church of England settlement begins in 1843, when Edward Gibbon Wakefield conceived the idea of founding such a settlement in New Zealand. As a suitable background for the main theme, however, I have briefly considered the coming of Christianity to these Islands. Attention is then drawn to the genesis of Canterbury and to the role of the English Church in founding and developing the colony. I have regarded the year 1890 as a convenient point at which to conclude the story, because Bishop Harper's resignation took effect then, and the gains of the Church during the first episcopate had been consolidated.

In this thesis my aim is to catch something of the spirit of those Churchmen, who devoted their energies to making Canterbury what they believed she should become -- a holy habitation. I have not been content with a mere description of Church affairs or with a monotonous narrative of consecrations and dedications. An attempt has been made to assess the influence of the Church on the community as a whole, and to estimate the value of her work. It has to be born in mind, of course, that the Church is a failure from the world's point of view -- so was Her Lord -- and that the world at large underestimates the beneficial effects emanating from organised Christianity.

The Church of England in Canterbury from 1843 to 1890 illustrates something unique in the history of the English Church. Although the same experiment will never be repeated, we should at least be thankful it was attempted once. It also demonstrates the influence which ideals exercise upon practice, and the way in which ideals are modified when applied in practical life. Finally, it is well for us to remember that many who toiled for Canterbury's sake were not ashamed to own Jesus of Nazareth as their Lord and King.

There has been ample opportunity to carry out research, especially among the records at "Church House" in Christchurch. Numerous published and unpublished reports, despatches, letters, minutes, and papers have been carefully examined. The problem has not been a lack of material, rather was it to decide what to leave out. Volumes might be written about the Church in Canterbury; I have had to compress the story into a few pages. The task sometimes seemed laborious and wearisome, but now it is finished I.
feel well rewarded.

References made in the course of the work show to what sources or authors the present writer is indebted. Thanks are also due to Sir James Hight, to the Provincial and Diocesan Secretary, Mr L.H.Wilson, to Mr L.W.Broadhead, the Church Steward, to the Rev. Canon H.S.Hamilton, and to the Revs. J.F.Feron and H.G.Norris, for the material they have put at my disposal, and for their interest in the writing of this thesis.
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NELSON
1859

Greymouth
Kumara
Hokitika
Ross
R. Taramea
R. Hurungi

Gillespie Pt.

CHCHRCH
1856

Oxford
Kaipori
Christchurch

Aoraki
Ashburton

DUNEDIN
1871

Invercargill

Dunedin

Waimate
R. Waitaki

Geraldine
Timaru

Boundary in 1860 ——

" 1890 ——
CHAPTER I

THE MISSIONARY CHURCH IN OLD NEW ZEALAND

Waft, waft, ye winds, His story,
And you, ye waters, roll,
Till, like a sea of glory,
It spreads from pole to pole.

Dr. Heber.

Though Abel Tasman sighted the west coasts of New Zealand in 1642, the Dutch, preoccupied with the East Indies and distracted by internal troubles, took no advantage therefrom. New Zealand remained unexplored by Europeans till its rediscovery by Captain James Cook in 1769. Recognising its suitability for British colonisation he took possession of it in the name of the Crown, but it lay neglected by the British government till rapidly developing European interests in the Southern Pacific forced its hand. The islands were relatively near to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land which, in the early decades of the nineteenth century, were the centres of British shipping and trading interests and of missionary effort in the South Pacific.

As a chaplain to the convict settlement of New South Wales, Samuel Marsden became acquainted with the native New Zealander. Maoris sometimes left their homeland in whaling ships for short visits to Australia, and Marsden
was so impressed with the intelligence and noble bearing of those he met, that he resolved to introduce their people to the light and freedom of the Gospel. Towards the end of the year 1814 he established the first mission at the Bay of Islands. The pioneers of the mission were William Hall, a carpenter, and John King, a shoemaker. Marsden taking the view that "to preach the Gospel without the aid of the arts will never succeed." In any case, clergymen were unobtainable at the time.

Marsden was very wise in coming to New Zealand accompanied by Ruatara and other Maoris of high position. He spent his first night in the strange land surrounded by cannibals to whom he preached his first sermon at Oihi, on Christmas day, 1814. Although returning to Parramatta soon afterwards, he retained a lively interest in the work of the mission, and paid occasional visits to the missionaries until he died in 1838. Meantime, Hall and King, without a knowledge of the Maori tongue, were not very successful, while the Maori's growing passion for firearms was a stumbling-block to missionary advancement.

The outlook brightened in 1820 when Thomas Kendall and Hongi sailed for England to provide Professor Samuel Lee with valuable assistance in the compilation of a Maori vocabulary and grammar. It was unfortunate that Kendall later fell into disgrace, being dismissed from the

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Church Missionary Society in 1823, and that the crafty Hongi, whose real aim in visiting England had been to procure weapons of warfare, soon deserted the missionary cause. Nor had the tragic early death of Ruatara in March, 1815, tended to assist matters, but with the arrival of Henry Williams in 1823, and of his brother after him in 1826, the Maoris hearkened once more to the Gospel story.

William Williams was a remarkable linguist and translated the New Testament into Maori, while the work of his brother Henry may be summed up in the words of a Maori chief: "This island was a very hard stone and it was Archdeacon Williams who broke it." Indeed, the Archdeacon exercised a wonderful influence and did more than either Busby, or Wakefield, or Hobson on the matter of relations between white-man and Maori. One of the most energetic and devoted of the missionary clergymen was Robert Maunsell who translated the Old Testament. Each of these men was greatly assisted in his work by religious publications in Maori after 1835 by William Colenso at Paihia.

The missionaries, with their heritage of secular and spiritual knowledge, gradually leavened the thoughts and feelings of the people among whom they worked. Their saintly lives were in themselves a condemnation of surrounding brutality and vice. When Charles Darwin, the celebrated naturalist and biologist, visited Waimate in 1835 he

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remarked: "The lesson of the missionary is the enchanter's wand." His opinion of the Williams brothers and others was that it would be difficult to find a body of men better adapted for the high office which they fulfilled. Marsden, too, was satisfied with the mission when he made his final and seventh visit in 1837. Selwyn expressed similar opinions several years later and described the missionaries as able and zealous ministers.

In 1838 the first Roman Catholic mission was established by Bishop Pompallier at Hokiang. As the Wesleyans had been active since 1822, when Samuel Leigh had settled in the country, the acute mind of the Maori soon became confused at the appearance of Anglican, Wesleyan, and Roman preachers. Despite this disunity Christianity spread, missionary zeal increased, and stations were established throughout the islands. The advancement was largely due to some of the Maoris themselves among whom was Te Rauparaha's son, Tamihana. He requested Octavius Hadfield to let him conduct a preaching and teaching tour through the villages which his blood-thirsty father had conquered. He made the journey and Bishop Selwyn later found traces of his work in the South Island.

A new era in New Zealand history commenced in the course of the year 1840 when the missionaries used their influence to persuade native chiefs to sign the treaty of

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Waitangi. They have been bitterly criticised as adverse to colonisation or for sapping the native vigour. It seems more reasonable to believe, in Henry Williams's case at least, that the missionaries feared the despoiling of the Maoris at the hands of the colonists, but were not opposed to colonisation if it was justly planned and decently conducted.

The missionaries were so successful in establishing peaceful relations with the Maoris that by 1840 white settlers were entering New Zealand in the hope it would soon become a British possession. There was now no serious impediment, within the country itself, to colonisation, and as the number of settlers increased a regular Church establishment became highly desirable. The mission had long yearned for a bishop, and its aspirations were realised in 1842 when the resolute, capable, and sympathetic George Augustus Selwyn, arrived to take up the stupendous task of organising the Church. One of his greatest problems arose from the existence of Hahi (Church) and Weteri (Wesley). Much of his valuable time was spent attempting to settle doctrinal points among the Maoris throughout his extensive diocese. The Maori's memory had been disciplined for generations and he could ably support his arguments with a host of texts. Still, despite difficulties and divisions Christianity had gone far towards curbing his fierceness and teaching him

the sanctity of human life.

The agents responsible for transforming the Maori mind and blasting the trail for colonisation partly comprise Cook, whalers, ex-convicts, and half-converted Maoris, but higher praise belongs to Marsden who introduced Christianity, to Williams who established it over an extensive area, and to Selwyn who organised it on a sound ecclesiastical and constitutional basis.
CHAPTER II

THE GENESIS OF CANTERBURY, 1840-1850

Even should Britain’s decay be down-written
In the dread doom-book that no man may search,
Still shall an Oxford, a London, a Britain,
Gladden the South with a Home and a Church!

M.F. Tupper.

Despite missionary efforts and the arrival of white settlers in New Zealand during the early forties, little was known about the middle portion of the South Island. Roving whalers merely used the Peninsula bays at their convenience, while the French were content to remain at Akaroa where they had settled in 1840. Although a certain Mr. Heriot attempted to cultivate on the plains, at that time, he had been unsuccessful. In 1841 the plains narrowly escaped becoming the site of the Nelson Settlement, but it still remained for the Deans brothers, who found a home at Riccarton in 1843, to examine and make known their potentialities.

Early in 1844 Bishop Selwyn, accompanied by Tamihana Te Rauparaha, made his first missionary tour of the South Island. After landing at Peraki on January 9th, they proceeded to Taumatu where Maoris could read and understand parts of the catechism. Here was proof that the seeds of Christianity had been successfully sown by Tamihana, and at

2 Akaroa and Banks Peninsula, 1840-1940. p.54. (Kempleman’s Log). Akaroa Hall Co. Ltd.
the same spot the first recorded service of the Church of England was held on January 11th, 1844. This event marks the beginning of Church Worship in what was to become the Christchurch diocese.

When returning from the southernmost districts of the South Island Bishop Selwyn visited Akaroa, though he quickly sought a more homely atmosphere at Pigeon Bay with the Sinclairs, whom he described as "Scotch settlers of the right sort," and for whom he conducted evening prayer. Gradually, white as well as native Christians became scattered over the plains and round the bays, which offered such golden opportunities to intending colonists that Canterbury nearly became a settlement of Scottish Presbyterians in 1847. Christian ideals had been introduced, and since the failure of Pukaniu's plot, hatched after the Wairau Massacre, to exterminate the whites of both plains and peninsula, there was little fear of war with natives, or of disputes arising from native land titles.

Meantime in England there was discontent among the poor and oppressed. Political and economic unrest, accompanied by a religious revival was paving the way for a "Canterbury Pilgrimage." Soon emigrants would be singing:

"No space for us, no space for us, within the crowded town;
No want of us, no want of us, upon the breezy down!"

A score of hands for every plough, a throng for every loom -
Oh, ask me not dear wife to stay and struggle with the gloom.
My heart, like yours, still fondly yearns to old familiar things,
Yet listen to the Bird of Hope that thus its promise sings:

'Across the sea the skies are blue,
And lands are broad, and men are few.'

At this very time when emigration was looked upon as a possible solution of England's troubles, Edward Gibbon Wakefield rescued colonisation from ignominy and by invoking the aid of Churches made it socially respectable. As one of the most celebrated colonising thinkers he instilled new life into theory and revolutionised practice. In 1843 he conceived the idea of planting a Church of England Settlement in New Zealand. The scheme was delayed for nearly a decade, however, because of opposition from the Colonial Office, Missionary Societies, and Governor Grey, and through lack of public confidence. Moreover, it was not till the latter part of 1847 that Wakefield met one of the ablest protagonists of his cause -- John Robert Godley.

At Wakefield's proposals Godley's imagination soared to great heights. Being the son of an Irish landed proprietor he was well acquainted with land from an early date. Taking a keen interest in colonisation he had already advocated

5 A poetic offering in the Canterbury Papers, no. 8.
a huge emigration scheme to relieve distress in his homeland, so it is not surprising that both men soon set to work with fresh vigour. Whereas Wakefield was to induce the New Zealand Company to grant the Church colonisers sufficient land to give them a start, Godley was to ensure the foundation of the new colony by organising a body of influential adherents. Consequently, in 1848 the Canterbury Association was formed. It comprised a number of distinguished, talented, and responsible Church dignitaries and laymen. Though all were Anglicans and richly endowed mentally and spiritually, it was a question whether they were able to organise and found a colony — a work that involves practical experience.

Extreme optimism inspired the Association's plans. In the new Canterbury, colonists would enjoy a quiet and happy life in a fine climate and beautiful country-side where want would be unknown. Emigration was to be so agreeable that it would entail little more than a change of natural scenery. To reproduce overseas all of what was best in the old country was the colonists' declared intention. By founding a City of God problems surrounding the question of education would be overcome, strife between classes of society prevented, true religion promoted, and God's honour and glory advanced. Evangelising was to go hand in hand with colonising. The

7 It did not receive a Royal Charter of Incorporation till Nov. 13th, 1849.
8 Canterbury Papers, p.5.
process of migration and settlement was set out in great detail. It was confidently assumed that about 2,000,000 acres of land would be easily sold at £2 per acre, of which 10/- would be paid to the New Zealand Company, £1 per acre to a Religious and Educational fund, £1 to the Emigration fund, and 10/- to public works. The moneys necessary for churches, parsonages, schools, a college and chapel, and residences for Bishop, Principal of college and Archdeacon, were clearly and precisely set out, as were the salaries for the Bishop, Archdeacon, clergymen, and school-teachers. Indeed, a very idealistic picture was painted.

Even before an attempt was made to put these plans into practice thoughtful men perceived flaws. The Association's principle of religious unity invited criticism. Those who maintained that dissenters would appear in Canterbury, just as they had in England, proved to be right. The founders of Canterbury misunderstood the peculiar characteristic of their Church, if they regarded her as something less than a mixed and tolerant community. Other critics had their doubts about the rosy pictures, and the smooth working of the Canterbury Association's plans. Some protested against its policy as an attempt to found a priest-ridden colony. Rather than planting a Church for the sake of the colony, they were accused of planting a colony for the sake of the Church. The Association replied that their ultimate object was a superior
colony. Against the charges of being bigoted Puseyites or fanatical Evangelicals, the Association answered that it was resolved to repel all party spirit, whether of High Church, Low Church, or Dry Church! 9

It is easy to criticise, but when all is said, we have emphatically announced the grand principle that colonists have souls as well as bodies requiring nourishment. We smile at the idealism; we respect the attempt to guard against the demoralising drawbacks of colonial life, and to create a healthy moral atmosphere, by making provision for endowment of religious and educational institutions in connection with the Church of England. Following Wakefield's lead the Association deplored certain features of previous attempts at colonisation:—the appropriation of more waste land than could be occupied, the shortage of labourers and domestic servants, the lack of organised preparation and of provision for school and college training. Godley and others, also learning from Wakefield that a colony which failed to attract women was an unattractive colony, laboured to make the colony a fit place for respectable English wives and mothers. Moreover, Wakefield's basic assumption was adopted, so that the sums accruing from land sales could be employed to develop the district wherein the land lay. Instead of profits falling to private persons, they were to be administered by

9 Ibid. p.69.
the Association which was bent on advancing the temporal and spiritual elements of the settlement.

While all these plans were being laid preparatory works were proceeded with in the prospective colony. Mr. Joseph Thomas, who was selected in June, 1848, to conduct surveying, had the necessary qualifications for that capacity. Mr. Cass and Mr. Torlesse were recommended to assist him. After examining various districts in New Zealand, including the Wairarapa and the Manawatu and Ahuriri plains, he chose the interior of the country adjoining Banks Peninsula as a most suitable site for settlement. He did so because the government had extinguished native titles in this area which had the advantages of superior climate and position. On obtaining written sanction from Governor Grey and Bishop Selwyn, Thomas acquired the land and commenced the survey and public works entrusted to his charge.

At first Thomas intended to lay out Christchurch at the head of Port Cooper, and suggested that the College be established at Oxford where it would be well removed from a sea-port. In a letter dated May 15, 1849, however, he wrote that he might place the capital on the plains. Thomas used his common-sense in most things. He insisted that depots of fuel and sawn timber be scattered over the plains before arrival of the colonists. Carpenters were brought from Hobart Town to build emigration barracks, a large store, an

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10 Canterbury Association Minute Book. Minute of June 17, 1848. Church House, Christchurch.
11 Despatches to Secretary of N.Z.Co., etc. (A) p. 21. Letter from Thomas, Church House.
Agent's house, Association's offices, a jetty, boat-sheds, and a Coxwain's house, at Port Lyttelton. Thence they would go to Christchurch where Mr. Jollie would have finished his survey work.

When Mr. Godley arrived as Chief Agent of the Association in April, 1850, he was astounded to find how much had been effected by Mr. Thomas. He strongly approved of his work. Unfortunately, Thomas had overdrawn his credit and Godley felt compelled to suspend operations. They were resumed on Godley's own private credit, when he read of the Association chartering four vessels for the settlement, from which he inferred that all was going well. Like Thomas he intended constructing a Church at Lyttelton as soon as possible, but insufficient funds thwarted his intention.

Worse was to follow. When news reached Godley of the small quantity of land sold in July he entertained thoughts of failure concerning the Canterbury Settlement. Nor did the presence of the Deans brothers and other squatters give encouragement to the Chief Agent. Yet he came to see the folly of retaining a privileged class, and of regarding squatters and land-purchasers as enemies, when in fact they were dependent on each other.

At home, meanwhile, business had been progressing apace, despite the loss of Godley who had been the head and

12 Ibid. p.70. Letter from Godley to Sec. of Cant. Association.
heart of the whole affair. It is true that the committee meetings were not well attended, and that a few Wakefield devotees such as Lord Lyttelton, Mr. Sewell, and later Mr. Selfe, bore the heat and burden of the day, but this state of affairs made such enthusiasts labour more fervently. A Room was hired for land-purchasers, meetings were held up and down the land, and pamphlets and articles published to advertise the Settlement. There was much excitement: "The standard is raised. Who will gather round it? Who will join our Canterbury Club?"

Particular care was taken in appointing surgeons and chaplains to accompany the colonists, who had also been carefully selected. Most of the latter were under forty years of age, all professed allegiance to the Church of England, and as a body were deemed a fair representation of English society at its best. Among the colonists, actual and probable, we have the high-minded and capable Captain Bellairs; the conscientious and able Henry Sewell; the provoking, but good, agreeable, and clever James Edward Fitzgerald; the trustworthy Mr. Townshend, comparable with the Vicar of Wakefield in simplicity and goodness, and the steady Mr. Ward who was a true gentleman. There were a few rascals, but the large majority under the leadership of Mr. Brittan were fine specimens of humanity.

Though it is evident that the Canterbury Settlement had many features in it making for success, the Association

foresaw the possibility of failure if a bishop could not be
found to accompany the colonists. Time and time again it
had asserted the necessity of a bishop, who could be obtained
only when there was a sufficient endowment. Fortunately this
was forthcoming.

The Association was eager to obtain a bishop, if for
no other reason than to end all the nonsense about its seal
being papistical. Mr. Wynter's proposal of Mr. Maddock as
a suitable Church-colonising bishop had appeared to solve the
problem, and Maddock's refusal was grim news. An ominous
slur now tainted the Settlement.

Hopes again rose with the nomination of the Rev.
T. Jackson, Principal of Battersea Training College. Then a
hitch occurred because Selwyn's consent had to be obtained
before the territory of the New Zealand Bishopric could be
divided. When Jackson at last set sail he did so as Bishop-
Designate, but disappointment followed once more. Although
a man of great talents, and a superior preacher and orator,
he lost heart in a cause which he had previously championed
so successfully. Further, he mixed with persons of dubious
character and proved to be extremely incompetent in financial
matters. Even the failure of Battersea Training College was
attributed to finance and Jackson. Though gifted and
amiable he showed himself unfitted to found and maintain a

15 The Founders of Canterbury, p.252. Letter of Wakefield to
Wynter, April 9, 1850.
16 Ibid. p.345. Letter of Wakefield, October 21, 1850.
colonial Church.

At such a time, the attitude of Bishop Selwyn was not an encouraging one. As early as 1847 the Bishop condemned hasty methods, and provoked the retort that he was not a wise man. Selwyn was well aware of the enterprise's shortcomings, and wrote in 1850 that he had been startled at the impropriety with which old settlements such as Nelson were made over to a new See, without communicating with the Church in New Zealand. For the most part the Bishop held sound views. He warned against speculation at Port Lyttelton, and recommended that the College be set away from the disturbing society of a sea-port. Perhaps the clash was due to Selwyn's advocacy of native rights more than anything else, for when Godley arrived to win over the Bishop he found no need to do so. It soon became evident that the general spirit of the whole enterprise was identical with Selwyn's. His hope was the same as the Association's, namely, that leaders and clergy with labourers and settlers, would all set sail to establish a Christian colony, where their first act on landing would be prayer and thanksgiving, and where the first building into which they entered would be the House of God.

In September, 1850, the "Cressy," "Charlotte Jane," "Randolph," and "Sir George Seymour" put to sea with the first

18 Canterbury Papers. P.86. Letter of Bishop Selwyn.
body of colonists. Thus began the experiment of fostering religious unity and peace, by encouraging persons of one faith to emigrate and settle together in some new land, as had been attempted years before by the Pilgrim Fathers in New England, Roman Catholics in Maryland, and Quakers in Pennsylvania. As the pioneer ships disappeared from sight many must have prayed with the Rev. Thomas Jackson: "And God in His mercy grant, that among the brightest gems in the crown of England, the most enduring and loyal of her children ... may be soon found that Britain of the future, the now nascent Colony and Province of New Canterbury."
CHAPTER III

FROM ANNUS MIRABILIS TO THE ARRIVAL OF BISHOP HARPER,
1850 - 1856.

No man in this world can go through any enterprise that has greatness in it without being often and sorely disappointed, because nothing great is ever done without enthusiasm, and enthusiasts are always over-sanguine.

J.R. Godley.

Bishop Selwyn called the year 1850 "the year of miracles," a description which is well justified by the arrival of the famous first four ships at Port Lyttelton. On 16th December, 1850, two of the pioneer ships - the Charlotte Jane and Randolph - entered the harbour, to be followed next day by the Sir George Seymour. As the Cressey had sprung a foremast off the Cape of Good Hope she did not reach Lyttelton till 27th December.

James Edward FitzGerald could boast of being the first to spring ashore. Together with his fellow colonists he was welcomed by Sir George Grey, who modified the Customs regulations enabling them to land their possessions duty free. But this action and welcome did not console disappointed colonists, many of whom were bewildered by the grim realities of the settlement, as compared with the Association's passionate descriptions. Clergy and teachers found that

1 Jacobs, H. op. cit. p.176.
not a single Church, parsonage, or school had been erected. Colonists of whatever class, age, or sex, found themselves bundled into the immigrants' barracks, which served as residences as well as educational and ecclesiastical institutions. The Education and Ecclesiastical fund was represented by a large bell, surplices, sets of communion plate, various pieces of Church furniture and books!

Nor did the rapid arrival of more ships stem the rising tide of murmurings and complainings. Previous comers were forced out of the barracks on to the adjacent hillside, which soon presented a multifarious assortment of huts, tents, wares, and shake-downs. A dense cloud hung over the settlement with the first violent sou'-wester, which caused some to take refuge under the great bell of St. Michael's. More trials and difficulties were experienced in transporting belongings to Christchurch.

The presence of a relatively large number of clergy and school-masters placed Mr. Godley in a difficult situation. All he could do was pray for the appearance of the Reverend Thomas Jackson. However, Bishop Selwyn arrived before the Bishop-Designate, and officiated at the first Church service held in the Lyttelton Customs House. He also conducted a synod, visited settlers, and held several other church services. His visit which dated from 3rd January, 1851, was

4 Church News, p.3. February, 1900.
an inspiration, the settlers overlooking his faults in their admiration of his great virtues. The Revs. H. Jacobs, B. Dudley, G. Kingdom, and E. Puckle, all of whom had come out as chaplains, attended the synod and were especially impressed with Selwyn's encouragement, adroit mind, and gift for organisation. Eventually, it became a saying in Canterbury that, "the fractional part we are actually enjoying of Bishop Selwyn is better than a whole new bishop to ourselves." Selwyn, on his part, found a spirit of unity and concord among the people, and was well pleased with the country.

In the middle of February, 1851, the arrival of the Bishop-Designate of Lyttelton was hailed with rapturous acclamations. At last the Episcopal structure would be firmly established, adorned, and perfected! Selwyn's second visit at this time added lustre to proceedings. He promised to resign the portions of his diocese comprising the Canterbury and Otago settlements, and discussed Church order and discipline. Mr. Kingdom was licensed to the cure of Christchurch; Mr. Puckle to Sumner and the outlying districts of the capital; Mr. Jacobs to the Collegiate School, with the pastoral charge of Port Levy, Pigeon Bay, Akaroa, and adjacent native settlements, while Mr. Dudley was licensed to the cure of Lyttelton and the harbour of Port Victoria. Before departing Selwyn expressed his delight at

5 Purchas, H.T. The English Church in New Zealand, p. 150.
6 Church Minute Book of Lyttelton. p. 2. 1851. Church House.
the spirit of unity which marked this new branch of Mother Church.

Alas! The Bishop-Designate made a hasty departure soon afterwards and never returned. Some began to lose faith in the Canterbury enterprise, regarding the whole thing as a sham. The tale spread round that Jackson's visit had been intentionally planned to entice more land purchasers.

Bishop Selwyn's visits must have meant much to the early pioneers in those dark days. The faithful Bishop paid a third visit to the Canterbury settlement towards the end of the same year, 1851. A meeting was held in the temporary Church at Lyttelton on 28th November. Here he made known his wish that Messrs. J.R. Godley and C.A. Calvert should take part in the proceedings as representing the laity. Several matters were discussed, among which were the appropriation of weekly offertory and Church fees; appointment, powers, and duties of Church Trustees; conduct of baptisms, communions, marriages, and burials; organisation of a Branch Board of Australasian Missions; question with regard to native stations. After informing the meeting that his instrument of resignation had been taken home by Jackson, and that the constituting of a cathedral chapter and appointment of a dean and canons would be matters concerning the future bishop, Bishop Selwyn emphasised his wish of stirring synodical action. For this purpose, he asked the clergy present to elect two of themselves to act as commissaries,

7 Church Minute Book of Lyttelton. p.25.
till they obtained a bishop of their own. The choice fell upon the Revs. O. Mathias and R.B. Paul, but Mathias alone regulated Church affairs from 1853, when Paul went to Wellington, until 1856 when the first Bishop of Christchurch was installed.

Meantime, the ecclesiastical framework of the colony was broken up. A destructive process manifested itself as early as 1851, for the Australian gold rushes, which occurred at that time, not only drew men away from the settlement, but also encouraged an immigration of pastoralists from Australia by creating a strong demand for foodstuffs, which led to a rapid and high rise in their price. Godley found himself in a dilemma. The Canterbury Association, as we have seen, intended Canterbury to be an exclusive Church of England settlement, and it clung tenaciously to its ideal of a mainly agricultural colony of Anglicans. Godley, as its agent, saw that the colony needed capital and stock if it was to survive, and though betraying his masters in modifying the pastoral regulations to facilitate the development of pastoral farming, it would seem that his action saved the colony.

Religious unity was rendered impossible from the outset, for the immigration of Australians only hastened a process which had for some time worked with latent effects.

Most of the settlers in Canterbury before 1850 were Presby-

terians, with the exception of Roman Catholics at Akaroa, while a number of Wesleyans together with some more Presbyterian came out on the first four ships. By 1853 Wesleyans and Presbyterians were conducting services in Canterbury. The presence of the former can be easily explained because the Wesleyans were not, at the time, regarded as a distinct sect outside the Anglican Communion. Although Roman Catholics had no Church in Canterbury till 1862 their faith was likewise practised. Consequently, the relative strength of the Church of England was weakened by the presence and development of other faiths, in addition to the influx of Australian pastoralists, and the slow progress of land sales which seriously hindered the Association's work.

Bishop Selwyn was disgusted with the poor provision made for religion in Canterbury. He was not one to complain merely because facilities were inadequate, but he believed he had good grounds for objecting when so much had been promised for religion, and so little expended on it, in comparison with the steps taken to erect costly and commodious offices and undertake other expensive public works. Indeed, months and months elapsed before anything resembling a Church was erected. There was much bitter criticism and many taunts were flung at the Association. Sir George Grey stigmatised the Canterbury settlement as the "ugly duck" of New Zealand. Apart from his unfair attacks, there did seem

9 Creighton, L. op. cit. p.97.
10 Canterbury Old and New. p.87.
to be a great deal of humbug in the whole business. There were no Churches, no bishop, and clergy remained unpaid.

To the imputation of maladministration the Canterbury Association had no effective answer. Though making numerous mistakes they were especially condemned for laying sacrilegious hands on the educational and ecclesiastical fund, in an effort to overcome financial obstacles. But it was hardly fair to imprecate this body of honourable men, when they were emptying their own pockets for the sake of preserving the Association's ecclesiastical plans. Moreover, the Association had done splendid work by sending out an agent to select a site, ensuring a survey, organising an excellent body of colonists, transporting them comfortably to their prospective home, giving them comparatively quick possession of their land, fighting for their rights of self-government, and making some provision for public works and ecclesiastical institutions.

In 1852 Canterbury could boast of four Churches and a number of private houses in which services were performed.\footnote{11 J.R. Godley, \textit{op.cit.}, p.240.} Furthermore, at Christchurch there was a grammar school conducted by the Rev. H. Jacobs.

In December, 1851, after Bishop Selwyn's third visit, the clergy of the Canterbury settlement met at Christchurch to discuss, among other things, the provision of church accommodation at Riccarton, the Christchurch Cemetery (with a foot-bridge to the Bricks), the Upper Heathcote district (near Mr. Willock's house), Sumner, Papanui, Christchurch
Quay, and Governor's Bay. 12

Already in July, 1851, the Parish Church (St. Michael and All Angels') had been opened for divine services by the Rev. G.T.B. Kingdon, who, by the way, received the nick-name of "Go to bed" Kingdon. Henry Jacobs rode over from Lyttelton, paying his first visit to the plains, in order to preach the opening sermon: "Who hath despised the day of small things?" (Zech. iv:10). 13 In 1852 Kingdon went to the North Island and the Rev. O. Mathias became second Incumbent.

Although St. Michael's is looked upon as the Mother Church of the plains, the honour of being the Mother Church of Canterbury should belong to Holy Trinity, Lyttelton. As we have seen, the first service was held in the Lyttelton Customs House. Afterwards, worshippers gathered in a temporary Church at the immigration barracks. It was of this Church that a writer in a Wellington paper wrote, that on Sundays there were lighted candles in the day-time on the Holy Table, also six bags with crucifixes on them, and six clergymen officiating at the same service. 14 The truth of the matter was, that a pair of handsome brass candlesticks had been placed on the altar, also some dark blue bags for collecting the offering with the sacred monogram worked on them! The increasing number of clergy with the arrival of

12 Church Minute Book. p.48.
ship after ship adequately accounts for the presence of more than one clergyman at a service.

Following an indignation meeting at Lyttelton of land purchasers, complaining that Churches and schools promised by the Association were not provided, Mr. Godley headed a subscription list for the erection of the first Church in Canterbury. Unfortunately, the architect and builder were so incompetent that the money raised was wasted, and services were resumed in the temporary church. Throughout this period early settlers observed the Church's rule with regard to Matins, Evensong, and Holy Communion.\(^{15}\)

Meantime, on the plains the Rev. W. Willock was conducting services like a real pioneer clergyman. Although he worked a farm he did not fail to carry on something like a ministry. Having milked his cows on Sunday morning, he thought nothing of walking over the hill to conduct a service at Governor's Bay, returning home to milk at night. As a High Churchman of the old school, he had previously earned for himself the title of Iron Priest.\(^{16}\) He was brave, resolute, powerful, and very frank. Despite a quick temper, he hated no man, and though his surface was tarnished, virtues lay deeper down.

The Rev. George Dunnage had come out, like Willock, with the first colonists. In 1852 he built a house at Papanui which served as a landmark for many years.\(^{17}\)

\(^{15}\) Ibid. p.3. February, 1900.
\(^{16}\) Ibid. p.115. June, 1882.
\(^{17}\) Ibid. p.3. April, 1901.
Unfortunately, he was too ill to work, and died the following year. It was Mr. Puckle who pioneered for the Faith in the district, even though he dwelt at Heathcote. From April, 1854, to December, 1855, various clergymen, including the Revs. O. Mathias, C. Mackie, H. Jacobs, and R. B. Paul, carried on his work at Papanui. At length in January, 1856, the Rev. R. Bradley became the first resident clergyman of St. Paul's.

The district of Riccarton fared even worse. Mr. Puckle held services fortnightly at Mr. Deans's house for some months in 1852-3, but administrations were most irregular till 1857. In the Avonside district, however, things ran more smoothly. The Rev. C. Mackie was one of the early settlers in the neighbourhood and the custom grew up of holding services at his house, because during the winter months boggy creeks and swamps prevented attendance at St. Michael's. Long before the arrival of a bishop, Selwyn formed this parish that built the Church in which the first service was held on Christmas day, 1855.

Even in these early days, places such as Rangiora and Kaiapoi were not altogether forgotten. Once a month, the Rev. W. Willock came from Christchurch to assist Mr. George Thomson, the lay reader at Rangiora, by conducting services and administering the sacraments, following the arrival of settlers in 1853. Again, it was a melancholy

19 Ibid, p.3. August, 1899.
20 Ibid, p.3. October, 1901.
duty performed by Mr. Jacobs, who communicated with Mr. Fletcher, catechist at Kaiapoi, stating that his services, though performed so well for the natives, were no longer required because of lack of funds. 21

That most of the above-mentioned clergy remained at their posts, must be attributed to the belief instilled in them by the Canterbury Association, namely, that the Faith as practised by the broad-minded Anglican Communion, was an excellent instrument for developing Christian character and fashioning a noble manhood.

As early as 1853 Mr. Godley said he was well pleased with things. Prepared to maintain that the "Canterbury Settlement" had been successfully carried out, he spoke of a magnificent colony in embryo containing the elements of high civilisation. Believing that the scheme would never have been accomplished without the enthusiasm, poetry, and unreality which overlaid it, Godley saw nothing in the dream to regret or be ashamed of. Instead, he went so far as maintaining the reality to be in many respects sounder and better than the dream:

"Is the desire to flee from toil and trouble a worthy motive for civilisation? Ought not our motive rather to be a desire to find a freer scope, and more promising object for our toil and trouble?... I have seen here clergymen ploughing and barristers digging, and officers of the army and navy "riding in stock", and no one thought the worse of them, but the contrary." 22

21 Church Minute Book. Minute of Meeting, August 18, 1852.
Upholding the nobility of hard and honest work, Godley regarded those who were dissatisfied as unfit for colonial life.

With regard to purely Church affairs, Godley again proved worthy of his hire. He urged, as a last resort, the purchase of town land on Church account for a permanent endowment. Mr. Godley was not only alarmed that no permanent endowment had been provided for a large number of clergy, but he also wished, and rightly so, to dissociate ministers as much as possible from secular occupations and ties. Consequently, the educational and ecclesiastical fund became locked up in landed estates. To do this was not the original intention of Canterbury's founders. Rather than thinking in terms of wealthy permanent endowments for the future, they had hoped to give the colonial Church a good start in life, by granting them a portion of the sums arising from land sales. Reality modified the ideals.

Early in 1853, after Godley's departure, that acute lawyer, Henry Sewell, arrived in the colony to wind up the Association's affairs, the British Government having decided to enforce the forfeiture of its functions, because of the Association's financial troubles. At this time, Canterbury, in common with other New Zealand settlements, had been granted local self-government by the New Zealand Constitution Act of 1852, and arrangements were being made for the setting up of a Provincial Legislature. To Sewell fell the task of

23 Ibid. p. 212.
transferring the management of the Association's affairs to this and other local bodies.

It had always been Godley's contention that a local association could carry out the Association's objects more satisfactorily than the distant Committee of Management, and that control of all affairs, ecclesiastical and educational included, should be vested in local bodies responsible to people in the settlement. Godley had no hesitation, therefore, in claiming for the Church the same independent position as would be given to the Provincial Council.

For some time, men had been seeking some means whereby the Church in New Zealand could make laws and maintain harmony among its members. Up to this point Godley was at one with Selwyn and some of his fellow colonists:

"A society that cannot make a law for the regulation of its own affairs, or express a corporate opinion or do a corporate act ... can only by a great stretch of language be said to be a living body. In order to collect funds, to build churches, to get and keep congregations, to exercise order and discipline among them, and to convert the heathen, a machinery is wanted."24

Godley and Selwyn realised the need for a Church constitution as most of the Ecclesiastical law of England was not applicable to the unestablished Church in New Zealand. But they differed as to general principles of Church organisation and the drawing up of a constitution.

Taken as a whole, the Christchurch diocese supported Godley during the year 1852, in his objection to Selwyn's

24 Ibid. p.91.
proposal of vesting power in a central authority. Selwyn's General Principles made no reference to diocesan conferences, only to a General Convention and General Incorporation in which all sites and endowments would be vested. The Bishop also mentioned the need of procuring an Act of the British Parliament or a Royal Charter, but one point he really laboured was that the colonial Church be prohibited from altering the existing ritual of the Church of England, and the authorised version of the Holy Scriptures. To this Godley asked the pertinent question:

"Why should we not have the same right of revising from time to time our liturgies and articles to suit our circumstances, which every national Church, and which the Church of England herself, has repeatedly claimed and exercised?" 25

For the time being, however, Canterbury was more concerned about her Church properties and other diocesan matters, which she vigorously affirmed should be regulated by local Church bodies. Perhaps we can best explain this attitude, by referring to the genesis of the Canterbury settlement in which an English Church, carrying on age-long English traditions, was to be transported overseas. Canterbury was to be a distinctive colony with a bishop all to itself; it would brook no interference from outside.

Nothing seemed to kill the spirit of the pioneers. Almost destitute, but fearless and godly, they obstinately struggled on to transform reality by applying their ideals. Canterbury must have its bishop. There was no alternative.

25 Ibid. p.97.
Bishop Selwyn bore Canterbury's wishes in mind when he went to England in 1854 to obtain legal sanction (which proved unnecessary) for bishops to hold synods of clergy and laity in their dioceses. He deemed this to be essential, as the Established Church of England knew nothing of such synods, of election of bishops, or of representation of laity in Church government. While trying to settle this matter, Selwyn discussed the appointment of a bishop to "Canterbury" with various clergymen. Englishmen were also informed of the type of men required in the colony -- "men who can stand alone ... no friend but their ever present Lord." 26

On returning to New Zealand, the good Bishop informed the Canterbury colonists of what he had done, recommending to them his old college friend, the Rev. Henry John Chitty Harper, with whom he was prepared to divide his diocese. It was in the course of this visit that Selwyn himself was asked to accept the bishopric. While warmly thanking the presenters of this petition, he affirmed in a most admirable manner, that it was a clergyman's duty to obey his commanding officer and to leave his post only when a clear call came from elsewhere. 27

What joy to Canterbury, when news was received of Dr. Harper's consecration in Lambeth Palace Chapel, 10th August, 1856! What self-sacrifice displayed by the father of a large family at the age of fifty-two, used to every comfort of English civilised society! Many a man of his age

26 Creighton, L. op. cit. p.212.
would have flinched at performing this responsible and serious task, in a diocese four hundred miles long, made dangerous by the presence of rugged mountains and death-enticing rivers. As we might expect, such a man had good credentials, among which we may count his fine record as chaplain to Eton. One of the Fellows of that College wrote in a private letter: "My dear Harper, -- Salt is good: you have been the salt of this place." 28

Another ideal which continued to animate the pioneers was the founding of a College that would be no mean rival of an Eton or an Oxford. It was to consist of two departments. The Lower Department would be established on the plan of the great grammar schools of England, both as to instruction and discipline. The Collegiate or Upper Department was to comprise four divisions -- theological, classical, mathematical and civil engineering, and agricultural. As we might expect, all persons connected with the College were to assemble for divine worship in the chapel twice a day. 29

The first home of the College, as already mentioned, was the immigrant's barracks at Lyttelton. There, in a little room about twelve feet square with rudely white-washed walls, a small table, and a few wooden stools, was the centre for a sound system of Church education and theological training! When removed to Christchurch the College found its first

29 Appeal for Aid in behalf of the Diocese of Lyttelton. 3.10. London. 1850.
home in the house, previously occupied by the Rev. O. Mathias, situated on Oxford Terrace opposite to St. Michael's. 30

Mr. Godley asked Mr. Jacobs to carry on the grammar school there in 1852. Christ's College as now constituted, was founded by the Church Property Trustees, and endowed with one-fifth of town and rural lands received from the Canterbury Association through Mr. Sewell's mediation. According to the Deed of Foundation, dated May 21, 1855, Christ's College was founded for "the propagation of the most holy Christian religion, as it is now professed and taught by the United Church of England and Ireland, and for the promotion of sound piety and useful learning, more especially within the ... province of Canterbury." 31

All this time, Bishop Selwyn had set his heart on the establishment of the New Zealand Church's constitution. With unfailing physical and mental energy, he continued to hold meetings for this purpose up and down the land. By 1856 a real advance was made with regard to Church organisation. Bishop, clergy, and laity alike, agreed to organise themselves on the basis of voluntary consensual compact, which had been recommended previously to Australian bishops by Mr. Ewart Gladstone, and already voiced in America. 32

New Zealand now agreed that it was on such a basis that Christ's Church rested from the very beginning, and all the

31 Ordinances, Deed of Foundation, and Statutes of C.C. p. 10. Whitcombe and Tombs Co. 1873.
32 Jacobs, H. op. cit. p. 221.
heavy and bulky trash commonly known as colonial acts, imperial acts, royal charters, and various legislative enactments, was thrown to the winds.

Towards the end of 1856 the ship Egmont, with Bishop Harper and his family on board, sailed into Lyttelton Harbour. Bishop Selwyn happened to be there, at the time, in his yacht the Southern Cross, and greeted his dear Harper before giving him a chance to land. As soon as Selwyn had stepped on to the Egmont's deck, he clasped both hands in those of Bishop Harper. They gazed at each other silently for a few seconds, and it is interesting to note, that if the panel in the Selwyn pulpit of Christchurch Cathedral intends to depict this historic scene, the artist has made a mistake in placing the ship alongside the wharf. However that be, Christchurch at last had its bishop.

33 Purchas, H.T. Bishop Harper etc. p.60.
CHAPTER IV

THE CHURCH ATTEMPTS TO SET ITS HOUSE IN ORDER.
1856 - 1865.

Let all things be done decently and in order.

St. Paul.

Soon after Bishop Harper and his family came ashore, they attended a thanksgiving service in the immigration barracks. One of the Bishop's sons took a keen interest in the curious but church-like structure, in which the memorable service was held. On the following day the new arrivals set out with a few necessary possessions up the bridle path, Bishop Selwyn mastering the situation by harnessing his sailors to two hand-carts which both Bishops pushed from behind. When some distance up the hill, a man working a team of bullocks saw their plight and came to the rescue. After a very rough and jolting journey from Heathcote Valley in a vehicle driven tandem fashion by Mr. Fitzgerald, the new Bishop arrived at Christchurch where he was greeted by the Rev. H. Jacobs, Head-master of Christ's College: "Tandem venisti, my lord."2

Bishop Harper was enthroned in St. Michael's Church on Christmas day. A simple service was held at which Bishop
Selwyn preached, many remaining for Holy Communion. Yet it must be admitted that some of the younger men were more impressed with the Bishop's charming daughters than with the service itself! With the Bishop's installation Christchurch became an English see under Letters Patent, and therefore entitled to rank as a city. As for Selwyn, he gladly handed over this portion of his diocese to an episcopal colleague.

A small cottage on Cambridge Terrace provided the Bishop with his first home, and for nearly two years he had a fire-less lean-to for a study. Like other pioneers the Harpers were compelled to submit to hardships, and in spite of their tender upbringing performed their tasks bravely and cheerfully. The Bishop himself was confronted with an enormous task. Christchurch, the centre of his large diocese, was characterised by a thriving trade rather than by her ecclesiastical and collegiate institutions. Very few Churches were ready for dedication and most of the clergy were very ill-paid or preoccupied in faring. Tradition had almost dug for them a grave -- nothing ought to be done without a bishop -- and for six years they achieved nothing comparable with Canterbury's material advances. From a devout Churchman's point of view things were in a sorry state. What Canterbury needed was a bishop, who would not only manage and direct others, but himself pioneer for the

3 Purchas states that Dr. Harper preached, but see Letters from New Zealand, p.11.
4 Purchas, H.E. Bishop Harper etc., p.54.
Faith, propagate it -- in fact, do the work of an apostle. Bishop Harper lost no time in setting about his tasks. On 31st December, 1856, a synodical meeting of the clergy of the province of Canterbury was held in the College Library. After Bishop Harper had been officially received and Selwyn farewelled, discussion arose on the matter of public education. Then the meeting was adjourned to allow the Bishop of Christchurch to converse with the Superintendent of Canterbury. While Selwyn was still in Christchurch another meeting was held. When the question was raised of native education, Bishop Selwyn stated that a favourable answer might be obtained from the Archdeaconry Board at Wellington. He then suggested discussing clerical maintenance and division of parishes, and made some valuable suggestions with regard to the former. According to him, funds from whatever source for the maintenance of clergymen should be paid into a general fund, though local sources from which the funds arose might be variable. The Bishop of Christchurch concurred, and it was resolved that all Church of England members in each district, requiring the Church's regular or occasional ministration, should state the annual amount they severally would be willing to contribute towards the maintenance of a clergyman.

The synodical meeting held on 14th January resolved that a diocesan fund be formed for the maintenance

5 Church Minute Book. p. 75.
6 Ibid. p. 76.
7 Ibid. p. 80.
of clergymen, catechists, and school-masters, and for the building of Churches, personages, and schools throughout the diocese. Funds were to be raised by voluntary contributions, collections being taken on four Sundays of the year, and by monies received from marriage licenses, surplice duties, Church offerings, and certificates of registration. The offertory of the Feast of the Epiphany was to be appropriated without deduction for the support of missions among the heathen.

His Lordship was not one to discuss diocesan matters and then do nothing. On the contrary, he did things on a grand scale. Hardly settled down in Christchurch, he was soon preparing for a visit to the southern parts of his huge diocese. As a preliminary to this, the Bishop decided to spend some time on Banks Peninsula, and set out on foot accompanied by his son Henry, the Archdeacon of Christchurch, and a Maori guide. At Kaituna "the Maori women, as their wont is, came out to welcome the Bishop, waving their hands, squatting down, rising, coming forward a few yards, squatting again, rising, and crying out, 'Haeremai, Haeremai,' welcome, welcome!" Selwyn had so won the Maoris respect during his several visits to the Peninsula, that Harper found it easy to gain their affection. Before touring various bays and returning by whale-boat to Lyttelton, a public meeting was held at Akaroa to explain the Church's financial

8 Ibid. p.80.
9 Christchurch diocese at this time included Otago, Southland, Banks Peninsula.
position and to urge the local people to support their clergy.

This visit entailed hardships which were nothing, however, in comparison with those experienced on the Bishop's first southern journey. Setting out with Henry in July, 1857, he intended to visit all the principal settlers on route, and hold baptisms and marriages when required. They travelled on horseback with a pack-horse carrying their necessaries. At the time there was only one Anglican clergyman in Otago, the Rev. A. Fenton, and the Bishop was often welcomed with the remark: "Well, my Lord, you are the first clergyman we have seen here." Such a long journey was bound to involve adventure and give occasion to humorous incident. Beyond Dunedin, on one particular stage of the tour, the Bishop, his son, and a guide had to cross a lagoon. On this venture the latter commented: "Pity there's no artist handy! three fellows stark naked, one of them a bishop; up to their waists in water, clothes on their heads, plodding through mud and water!" Sometimes, on the other hand, the Bishop had to cross dangerous rivers, and on this same journey was nearly drowned when his horse stepped, without warning, over a ledge of rock into deep water. No wonder the clergy at St. Michael's took some time to recognise their bishop, when he returned to Christchurch just in time to attend divine service. His

11 Purchas, H.T. Bishop Harper etc. p.94.
13 Ibid. p.40.
episcopal garb was travel-stained and mud-bespattered, the filthy gaiters bound together with flax, and the episcopal hat so disgraceful as to be unworthy of the name. There is no mistake about Harper, he was a man of stout stuff.

Such an example was urgently required. The Church in those early days was groping in the dark. The Bishop-Designate and many of the first clergy had admitted defeat. In these critical times, however, young men stepped forward to fill the breach. Francis Knowles gave up journalism to go to Banks Peninsula as a school-master and catechist. Despite his youth and inexperience, he did a deacon's work, and put some of the higher clergy to shame. Bishop Harper perceived his talent, and at his first ordination service admitted him to deacon's orders, so that as far back as 1857 the Rev. F. Knowles was placed in charge of Pigeon Bay. In 1858, however, he was licensed to Lyttelton, and because of the scarcity of clergy little could be done for the boys until 1859. In September of that year the Bishop licensed another colonially-ordained deacon, the Rev. H. Torlesse, to the cure of Okain's Bay, including Stoney, Akaloo, Decanter, McIntosh, Pigeon, Levy, Le Bon's, and Duvauchelles Bays.

Mr. Torlesse well deserves to be called the first missionary to the white-man in Canterbury. Those committed to his charge included an irreligious and immoral gang of sailors, whalers, and escaped convicts, endeavouring to

14 Ibid. p. 49.
16 Ibid. p. 3.
17 Ibid. p. 3.
establish themselves as sawyers in the bays. On arrival at Okain's Bay, Bishop Harper, the curate, and his wife, were greeted with noisy oaths. His Lordship turning to the couple said: "I knew you had a very difficult and trying task before you, but I think if any can succeed here, you are the ones to do so." And they did succeed. For some time, the vicarage consisted of a one-roomed hut and the Church of a framed canvas long room, and though the first Sunday services were accompanied by the barking of dogs and hammering of nails close by, Mr. Torlesse persevered and eventually won. On Christmas Eve he organised a sports day, and proved himself such a good athlete, that onlookers and competitors alike agreed there was something in the parson after all. Having received some encouragement Mr. Torlesse stirred up all around him to build a suitable Church, but by the end of 1863 ill-health compelled him to resign. Long and dangerous incessant journeys, a bad accident with his mule, together with the duties of pastor and school-master contributed to the sapping of his strength. At the parting elderly men broke down and wept. What a change in four years!

In many districts the Church's work was hindered by lack of Church accommodation and of an adequate supply of clergy. At the annual synodical meeting of clergy in January, 1860, the Rev. C. Alabaster, noted for his eloquence, acute mind, and deep pitty, proposed a much-needed scheme for promotin

18 Ibid. p.3. January, 1902.
19 Church Minute Book. p.88.
missions, working Church societies, and more social intercourse among Christians. A clergyman's duties were not to be limited to conducting Church services, baptising, marrying, and visiting the sick. He should live among his people as their friend, teacher, guide, and counsellor, to help parents bring up their children, to console the sorrowing, to strengthen the weak, and to exhort the fallen.

There seems to have been sufficient clergy in the early 'sixties when we compare their numbers with the population. We have to remember, however, that their various tasks were made extremely difficult, because population was scattered, travel strenuous, and members of other denominations ministered to and instructed. In 1861 the Rev. H.W. Harper could write that his pastoral district, with an area of nine hundred square miles, contained a population of four hundred persons, and was practically roadless.20 A country parson in those days, was a sort of unofficial postman to people who lived at great distances from one another. After three years in his district, Mr. Harper, writing to his friend Francis St. John Thackeray, informed him that he had never once been in a Church since his ordination!21

Wherever Bishop Harper went -- to Banks Peninsula, Otago or Southland -- he learnt that much had to be done. At Little River the first services were held in the school, the Maori Church, and Mr. William Coop's residence.22 Until a

21 Ibid. p. 69.
Church was built at Kaituna services were usually held in the woodshed, granary, or school, and occasionally out in the open. Many of Akaroa's early Church services were simply held under a large gum tree. The Church of England school there in 1863 was an unlined building, and as there were insufficient books and an inexperienced teacher, the attainment of the pupils was low. Prior to 1869 Le Bon's Bay lacked a Church and the preacher delivered his address from a timber stack. After 1858, when Mr. Bradley who was formerly a clergyman at Papamui became a farmer, Charteris Bay and Purau received a preacher on alternate Sundays for seven consecutive years. On one occasion when Mr. Bradley was visiting Purau, he was very impressed with some bullocks belonging to Mr. Robert Rhodes. Turning to the latter he said: "Supposing this were not Sunday, what would you take for those bullocks?"

In an account of his visitation to Otago and Southland in 1863, Bishop Harper confessed that he could not carry on in these districts much longer. He wrote thus:

"My visit to this part of the diocese, this year, has more than ever convinced me, that no time should be lost in securing for the Church in Otago and Southland, a Bishop of its own."

Another colonising bishop was needed who would not only watch

23 Ibid. p.298.
26 Akaroa and Banks Peninsula. p.262.
27 Ibid. p.233.
over work being done, but would follow the settlers into every district and observe for himself the most convenient spots for congregations to gather, Churches to be built, and ministers placed. The new bishop would need to be fearless, energetic, and devoted, and repeatedly visit his scattered flock to keep it aware of its spiritual needs.

A better start had been made at Christchurch, the heart of the diocese, but it was nothing of which to boast. Temporary little Churches, like that at Lower Heathcote, were scattered here and there, so flimsy that no bishop would dream of consecrating them. However, there was a gradual though steady improvement after Bishop Harper's arrival. The Provincial Council's resolution in December, 1858, to grant £10,000 towards building ecclesiastical institutions provided a great stimulus. The sum was so divided that Anglicans received £7,800, Presbyterians £1,000, Wesleyans £300 and Roman Catholics £400. An encouraging start had already been made with the Church at Avonside which had been consecrated on 24th February, 1857. It was described as the first substantial building erected to God's service, even though it was built merely of cob with quoins of brickwork in alternate layers of dark and light-coloured bricks. Next year, St. Peter's Riccarton was dedicated. The Rev. Crosdaile Bowen had been placed in charge of the parish in 1857, and soon set about erecting a Church. For thirty-

9 Purchas, H.T. Bishop Harper etc. p. 80.
0 Church News. p.3. August, 1899.
1 Ibid. p.5. November, 1899.
three years he lived and worked in Riccarton till his death. In 1859 a petition was presented to the Bishop asking him to consecrate the Parish Church32 which he agreed to do in September of the same year.

Yet much remained to be done, especially in the outlying districts and the native settlements. In a report read at the diocesan synod of 1859, a Mr. Stack is mentioned as appearing admirably suited for work amongst the natives.33 Capable men came forward when the need was greatest. Mr. Stack had a difficult ministry, but he was comforted by Bishop Harper, whom he described as a kindly looking old gentleman. He found Banks Peninsula almost spiritually destitute. At Port Levy the Maoris housed their pigs in the Church and held services in their houses, that is, when they were held.34 Kaiapoi was chosen to be the centre of Stack's mission. A teacher's house was to be built immediately, and a Church erected to serve temporarily as a school. On 17th December, 1862, the foundation stone of the Maori School, Kaiapoi, was eventually laid by the Bishop in the presence of Maoris, clergy and others.35 Mr. Stack interpreted the Bishop's speech to the Maoris, who curiously watched the ceremony and gave a liberal donation. James West Stack faithfully ministered to the natives until 1887 when he became Vicar of Fendalton. Stack did his work well,

32 St. Michael and All Angels was often called the temporary Church of Christchurch or pro-Cathedral.
33 Diocesan Synod Reports, p.31. 1859.
35 Church Quarterly, p.19, January, 1933.
not hesitating to live amongst the Maoris no matter how their habits differed from his own, in the hope of reviving a spirit of self-respect among them. He also rendered valuable services to the science of ethnology.

Bishop Harper's arrival instilled new life into the Church in many other ways. Not long after his enthronement the erection of a Cathedral began to be earnestly discussed. In the course of the diocesan synod held in September, 1859, a statute was passed for the constitution of a Cathedral Commission. Its chief task was to appoint Mr. G. Scott (later Sir Gilbert) architect and obtain a design from him. The first commissioners were also empowered to collect funds for building the Cathedral Church. Eventually, in December, 1862, while meetings were held to discuss the rebuilding or enlargement of St. Michael's, there was a burst of enthusiasm for realising the noble idea. A subscription list was opened immediately, and donations soon reached a total of several thousands. Reliance had to be made on voluntary contributions because sums arising from the Dean and Chapter Estate were very small. Then delays occurred regarding the appointment of a resident architect, so it was not till 16th December, 1864, that the Corner Stone was laid by His Lordship. 37

Canterbury Churchmen believed that a Cathedral would answer the needs which could never be satisfied by

36 Diocesan Synod Reports, p.49, 1859.
37 Church News, p.608, November, 1881.
any number of parish Churches. They required a Mother Church in which the Bishop's throne could be placed, and where the Church's teaching could be most authoritatively and clearly expounded. Situated in the heart of the city the Cathedral Church of Christ would diffuse its influence to every quarter. Their desires were stimulated by the undying pioneer spirit which moved them, though they dwelt thousands of miles away from England, to reproduce an English diocese and erect a visible heaven-pointing spire. As a mute witness to the Faith that helped to make Canterbury what it was, the Cathedral Church was most desirable. Unfortunately, the work was begun only to be suspended, for an economic depression occurred at the very time when hopes had been raised highest.

The diocesan synod of 1861 had stated, that next to places of worship schools were of chief importance to the welfare of the community. In nine of the parishes there were fourteen schools, and five in three of the parochial districts. About six hundred children were receiving instruction in Church schools, excluding seventy scholars at the Grammar School of Christ's College. Despite this provision for education difficult problems had to be solved. State assistance would either have to be given to all denominations in proportions to the sums raised by themselves, or all left to the operation of the voluntary

38 Diocesan Synod Reports, p.49, 1861.
Bishop Harpel occupied a most embarrassing position, being the director-general of most of the educational institutions, many of which, similar to that at Akaroa, were a disgrace to the Church. As a result he was forced to rely upon home training, and a better organisation of Sunday schools whereby a pastor might establish closer relations with the children committed to him.

It is easy to deride the Church's attempt to educate the people of Canterbury. She is to be praised for attempting so much though in straitened circumstances. Genuine attempts were made to create a wholesome atmosphere, not only by providing Churches and schools, but also by establishing an asylum for orphans and a house of refuge for fallen women, and maintaining, as far as possible, the services of a chaplain to the hospital, the gaol, and lunatic asylum. The orphanage was opened in February, 1862; the synod of that year approving of the steps taken by the Standing Commission for its establishment, and thanking the Rev. J. Haven for granting the use of a building rent-free. 39 The synod of 1863 adopted the Bishop's views as to the desirability of establishing a house of refuge, 40 when immorality was on the increase. Although built in 1864 it never received the Church's full support. In January of the same year the Rev. Henry Torlesse, who had recently resigned from Okain's Bay, was appointed chaplain to the hospital, gaol, and lunatic

39 Ibid., p. 35. 1862.
40 Ibid. p. 35. 1863.
asylum. Bad times, apathy, and the scarcity of money hindered all this work, but a start had been made and some good done.

In June, 1864, the Venerable Archdeacon Mathias passed away. Few could claim to have taken a deeper interest in the welfare of Canterbury than the Archdeacon. Always eager to assist and assure her development and prosperity he was noted for his generosity, kindness, and sound advice. He was a lovable man, and though he sometimes wrote and spoke most strongly, he was disposed to act gently.

The Rev. H. Jacobs, with whom we are already familiar, was appointed Archdeacon of Christchurch in the same year. He was always willing to do anything requiring accurate scholarship and two years later he became the Dean.

Courteous and modest, he led a gentle unassuming Christian life second only to that of Bishop Harper. Closely associated with him was the Rev. C. Cotterill (later Canon), as also representative of the cultured and orthodox divines who firmly laid the foundations of the English Church in Canterbury. He had lived in the province since 1848 but his first settled charge was at Lower Heathcote in 1857. What is now known as Woolston was a promising centre of culture in the 'fifties. It was not long, however, before Mr. Cotterill was summoned to assist the Rev. H. Jacobs at

42 Ibid. p.10. October, 1864.
43 Ibid. p.20. October, 1864.
the Grammar School.\textsuperscript{44} By his quiet and consistent life this good man exercised a healthy influence on his family and his Church.

While Otago and Southland still remained a part of Bishop Harper's diocese, his field of work was enlarged on the west. Gold discoveries in Westland created opportunities for another mission. In the latter part of 1865 the Bishop, accompanied by his youngest son George, made his first missionary journey to the gold-diggers. He won their affections for none could mistake his courtesy, good temper, and saintliness. Among other things, he informed a meeting at Hokitika that he had by the last mail proposed to his son Henry, on his return to New Zealand (he had been sent to England to engage clergy), to undertake the office of organising clergymen on the West Coast.\textsuperscript{45}

Plans were already laid for the division of the Christchurch parish, the setting up of regular ministrations on Banks Peninsula, and provision of outlying districts of Oxford, Waimakairiri, Ellesmere and Ashburton with clergymen. To the synod held in 1864\textsuperscript{46} the Bishop reported that six new churches had been completed since 1863, and three others commenced. He hoped to have organised a parochial district near Wairata, as had been done in the early part of the year at Ashley. Governor's Bay and other peninsula bays were to

\textsuperscript{44} Church News. p.13. August, 1902.
\textsuperscript{45} Church Quarterly. p.2. October, 1865.
\textsuperscript{46} Diocesan Synod Reports. p.9. 1864.
be placed, as soon as possible, under the regular superintendence of clergymen. At least two more clergymen were needed for Christchurch, which the Bishop believed should be divided into three separate parishes, making St. Michael's, St. Luke's and St. John's (Latimer Square) the parish Churches. He also conceived the possibility of a fourth district including Middle Heathcote and Addington.

Thus the Church was to go forward, and the past example or future possibilities of such men as Willock, Knowles, Torleiss, Stack, Mathias, Jacobs, Cotterill and Alabaster, must have gladdened the Bishop's heart. When so sorely pressed by thronging duties, the Bishop was fortunate in having good men, however few their number.

One of the Bishop's most painful duties during all these years, was to persuade Canterbury churchmen to support Bishop Selwyn and accept the Church constitution. As early as May, 1857, Bishop Harper and the Rev. James Wilson attended the Auckland conference, summoned by Selwyn to prepare a draft report on Church organisation. Consequently, the basis and general outline of the constitution were settled. The Church in New Zealand was defined as a branch of the United Church of England and Ireland, associated with Mother Church by voluntary compact, and free to govern itself through a representative body. While maintaining the doctrines and sacraments of the Church of England, and

47 Jacobs, H., op.cit. p.234.
accepting its Book of Common Prayer, the Church of the Province of New Zealand was to be autonomous, suffering no interference on the part of the State legislature. In laying down certain unalterable fundamental provisions, however, the conference was to cause friction in the future. At the time Canterbury appeared thankful and satisfied, but its representatives later asserted they had been trapped.

According to the constitution of 1857 the diocesan synods were subservient to the General Synod, rather than being the units of the ecclesiastical system. Because of their views on "the property basis", the method of appointing Church Property Trustees, the fundamental provisions and principle of centralisation, Canterbury Churchmen were obliged to act in opposition to the representatives of the other dioceses.

On 16th December, 1858, Archdeacon Mathias had summoned at His Lordship's request, a meeting of clergy to elect two clerical representatives to attend the first meeting of General Synod. Was it an ominous sign that the election was delayed? In January, 1859, a synodical meeting again postponed consideration of the Bishop's recommendation to elect clerical and lay representatives for General Synod. Instead, other business received the meeting's attention. It was recommended that Incumbents and Church-wardens of the several parishes should settle

48 Church Minute Book. pp.80-81.
49 Ibid. p. 83.
whether they should have weekly offertories or not. Among other matters discussed were the churching of women, and the question of clergymen consenting to perform burial services in the Christchurch public cemetery, which had been advertised by a Presbyterian minister! Eventually, Canterbury sent besides its bishop, the Rev. C. Alabaster, a saintly High Churchman, and Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Hall as representatives to the General Synod held in Wellington, March 1859. The Synod was outwardly marked by concord and fidelity.

In his presidential address Bishop Selwyn impressed upon his hearers that the Church was being organised on the basis of voluntary compact:

"Do we then boast ourselves against Mother Church in thus abandoning some parts of her present system? On the contrary, we desire, as faithful children to show, so far as God may give us grace, how glorious she might have been in the purity of her doctrines and in the holiness of her liturgy, if she had been released from those chains which the peculiar circumstances of the Colonial Church have set us free."50

Other matters considered were the appointment and maintenance of clergy, establishment of a tribunal for clerical trials, defining of parishes and tenure of landed property.

At the next General Synod in 1862 there were no clerical or lay representatives from Canterbury. In the interval Canterbury became convinced that Selwyn had betrayed it. Its opposition became so obstinate and soured as to suggest the possibility of a breach within the young

50 General Synod Reports. p. 8. 1859.
Church. Canterbury Churchmen objected to the constitution as being unchurchlike, holding that the principle of voluntary compact applied only to the relationship between Church and State, and not within the Church itself where the basis must be Church authority. They also denounced the property basis, being averse to a system whereby property was managed, and discipline effected, from the centre. Another strong objection arose from the relation of the diocese to the General Synod. Canterbury regarded an ecclesiastical province as one in which the unit and basis was the diocese. Nor would it accept any part of the constitution as unalterable. Perhaps the cause of the main objection, however, was the General Synod's claim to appoint all Church Property Trustees. The whole issue seemed to centre on the appointment of these trustees. Nevertheless, the real issue at stake was the right of a diocese to look after its own local affairs without interference from a larger authority.

Canterbury's attitude can be easily explained. She not only possessed a large amount of Church property which she had acquired through many sacrifices, but she had been uniquely founded with the intention of becoming an independent diocese.

Up to 1965 Canterbury steadfastly adhered to its principle of complete independence in things temporal. There

51 Jacobs, H. op. cit. pp. 269. ...
were many anxious moments for Bishop Harper as his clergy and laity, led by such able men as Archdeacon Jacobs and Mr. J. E. Fitzgerald, persisted in opposing his beloved Selwyn. Realising the futility of opposing Canterbury's wishes, Bishop Harper promised in 1863 to join his clergy and laity if they released themselves from General Synod. A disaster for the Church seemed imminent when the third General Synod met at Christchurch on 27th April, 1865. Were it not for Bishop Selwyn's charming personality, the composed attitude and gentle manners of Bishops Harper, Williams and Paterson, the spirit of reconciliation so admirably revealed by Sir William Martin and the North Island clergy, together with the characteristic cautious policy of laymen, one more wound would have scarred the Body of Christ. As it happened the peace and unity of the Church was preserved, Canterbury being well pleased with the Synod's decisions.

The constitution was revised so as to make the property basis less impressive, and though the fundamental provisions were still declared unalterable, Canterbury's struggle was well rewarded. The inherent rights of dioceses were recognised and diocesan synods permitted to appoint their own trustees. At last, the Church in Canterbury could set its house in order, after the manner it thought best.

52 Diocesan Synod Reports. p.29. 1863.
53 General Synod Reports. p.9. 1865.
54 Diocesan Synod Reports. p.8. 1865.
CHAPTER V

A BLOW TO THE CHURCH'S PRESTIGE.

Discord, a sleepless hag, who never dies,
With snipe-like nose and ferret-glowing eyes,
Lean sallow-cheeks, long chin, with beard supplied,
Poor crackling joints, and withered parchment hide,
As if old drums, worn out with martial din,
Had clubbed their yellow heads to form her skin.

Dr. Warton.

No sooner had peace been restored, than the Church
was again threatened with discord. Scarcely had Bishops
Harper and Selwyn extricated themselves from a distressing
entanglement, than they found themselves unhappily placed in
another. Indeed, "the Jenner difficulty" eventually wit-
tnessed the Church at war with itself.

In 1860 the Rural Deanery Board of Otago had been
organised to deal with various Church affairs in the southern-
most portion of the Christchurch diocese. 1 Two years later
the Board resolved that there should be a Bishop of Dunedin
to superintend the Church's work in the provinces of Otago
and Southland. 2 In February, 1863, the Board carried a
resolution embodying a scheme to create a sufficient endowment
for the founding of a bishopric. The sum of £5,000 was to
be raised to augment the £1,000 promised by the Colonial
Bishopric's Fund.

2 Ibid. p.8. 1863.
In his address to the General Synod of 1865 Bishop Selwyn referred to the Rural Deanery Board as having a status comparable to that of a diocesan synod, but nothing is to be found in the synod reports with regard to establishing a separate bishopric. Nevertheless, a significant resolution was passed: "That the next session of the General Synod be held in Dunedin, if by the time of meeting there be a Bishopric of Dunedin constituted, and the Bishop shall have entered upon the duties of his office."

Soon after the session of 1865, therefore, Bishops Harper and Selwyn attended a meeting of the Standing Committee of the Rural Deanery Board in Dunedin. There Selwyn suggested that a special meeting of the Board should be held to pass a resolution requesting him to write to the Archbishop of Canterbury, asking the latter to recommend a competent person for the office of bishop. His suggestion was adopted, and Bishop Selwyn wrote to Dr. Longley, who thereupon proceeded to select the Rev. H.L. Jenner. Selwyn was astonished when His Grace immediately replied informing him of what he had done. He straightway wrote to Bishop Harper explaining the situation to him, and stated that it was not only necessary to raise the endowment fund, but to ensure also that the Archbishop's choice was acceptable to the diocese of Christchurch.

Selwyn is usually reproved for taking these steps. It would seem that he seized the helm for himself after he had 3 General Synod Reports. p.104, 1865.
agreed to stand aside, so impatient was he of obtaining results. He over-looked the difference between managing his own diocese and meddling in that of another bishop. It seems almost incredible that one of the leading authors of the constitution should violate the laws which he helped to frame. The constitution provided that the nomination of a bishop should proceed from a diocesan synod, and that sanction must be given to the appointment by General Synod. These preliminaries were not carried out according to the strict letter of the law. Though it might be argued that Dunedin had no synod, Bishops Harper and Selwyn had already granted the Rural Deanery Board a status similar to that of a diocesan synod. All that can be said in defence of Selwyn is that his letter must have been misinterpreted by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Unfortunately, however, Selwyn erred on one or two future occasions.

On receiving Bishop Selwyn's letter Bishop Harper summoned the Rural Deanery Board and in February, 1866, it resolved:

"That as a sufficient provision has not yet been made for the support of a Bishop, it is not expedient to take any action at present with a view to confirm the conditional appointment of the Rev. H.L. Jenner, more especially as that appointment has been made without the authority or concurrence of this Board." 5

Though Bishop Harper exercised his right of veto he later withdrew it, and very foolishly did not inform the Bishop—

4 Constitution of General Synod, 1865, p.16.
5 Church News, P.7, June, 1871.
Designate of the meeting's proceedings. Dr Jenner, therefore, had good reason to complain in 1873 when writing to Bishop Harper: "Had I been allowed to receive these resolutions (there were two) you may be sure that I should not have presented myself for consecration."6 So much for Bishop Harper's blunder. Bishop Selwyn now pursued a course of action which convinced the entire English Episcopate that Dr. Jenner had been accepted by the diocese of Dunedin.7

When the Primate visited the southern districts in March and April of 1866 he succeeded in raising over £1,000 on Dr. Jenner's behalf, although he did not pay the sum over to the endowment fund. While still in the south he wrote a letter to Jenner addressing him as Bishop of Dunedin. During this visit he also learnt that several members of the Rural Deanery Board who had supported "the February resolutions" now desired to confirm the nomination. Bishop Harper regarded the resolutions as "virtually withdrawn", but at no time had the Primate obtained the formal consent of Church-people in Otago or Southland. Nor had he obeyed the directions of the constitution by submitting the nomination to Standing Committees. As a result of Selwyn's letters to the Archbishop of Canterbury and to Dr. Jenner, however, the latter was consecrated on 24th August, 1866.8

6 Dioceses of the Church of the Prov. of N.Z. and Associated Missions, p.43.
7 General Synod did not recognise a diocese of Dunedin till 1869 according to documents.
Just prior to this event Bishop Harper had written to the Bishop-Designate informing him that he himself had not sent in any formal resignation of a single portion of his diocese. He also wrote to Dr. Selwyn advising a special meeting of the General Synod to sanction the arrangements already made. Selwyn approved, but took no steps to summon such a meeting.

At last, in February 1867, the Rural Deanery Board, having received news of the Bishop's consecration, decided to prepare for Dr. Jenner's reception by providing a suitable residence and completing the requisite endowment. This discussion was interpreted by Jenner as the Board's recognition of the validity of his nomination. Indeed, all might have gone well had not news reached New Zealand that Bishop Jenner indulged in extreme ritualistic practices. To the ensuing accusations Jenner replied that it was ridiculous to imagine or think he intended carrying out "high ritual" in New Zealand, and declared that if he was given fair play he would overcome every obstacle. But the fears of many remained unallayed.

In the same year, 1867, Bishop Jenner prepared to sail for New Zealand. He was advised to postpone his departure, however, by Harper and Selwyn, both of whom were in England at the time attending the Lambeth conference. The Bishops thought themselves justified in doing so because of the excitement, opposition, and indignation which had

9 Ibid. v.3. June 1871.
arisen in Jenner's prospective diocese. Indeed, a crisis had been reached, and the Rural Deanery Board decided to refer the whole matter to General Synod. In August, 1868, the Primate wrote to the Rural Dean promising to authorise the formation of the diocese of Dunedin. At last Selwyn had realised one of his mistakes. In his presidential address to the General Synod of October, 1868, he informed it that the first question requiring its attention would be an act to validate the election of members chosen to represent the two portions of the diocese of Christchurch. Later in the session a motion was carried:

"That a committee be appointed to consider and report upon the expediency of bringing to a completion the ecclesiastical arrangement proposed for that part of the Diocese of Christchurch which is included within the Rural Deanery of Otago and Southland." 11

When the question of Bishop Jenner's appointment was brought before Synod a hot debate ensued. The victory lay with Jenner's opponents:

"That whereas the General Synod is of opinion that it is better for the peace of the Church that Bishop Jenner should not take charge of the Bishopric of Dunedin:-(sic) This Synod hereby requests him to withdraw his claim to that position." 12

After the judgement Bishop Selwyn still endeavoured to persuade the Rural Deanery Board, which would soon be recognised as a diocesan synod, to accept Dr. Jenner as their bishop. Then quite unexpectedly Bishop Jenner arrived at

10 General Synod Reports. p.7. 1868.
11 Ibid. p.27. 1868.
12 Ibid. p.45. 1868.
Dunedin, only however to rend his diocese in two. Though he was personally attractive, and had acquired a reputation as a Church-musician, intense feeling arising from ignorance or prejudice was a deadly enemy of his cause. The first synod of the new diocese which met in 1869 experienced a very boisterous meeting. Bishop Harper acted as president, and towards the end of the session had the painful experience of sitting in the chair from the evening of 6th April until 6 o'clock next morning, being subjected to several insults. How those Christians loved one another! The synod defeated the proposal for the appointment of Jenner who returned to England not long afterwards.

At the General Synod of 1871 the Bishop informed those present that he had two letters; one from Dr. Tait, Dr. Longley's successor, and one from Dr. Jenner. The latter's letter questioned Harper's right as Bishop of Christchurch to administer the See of Dunedin. Bishop Harper defended himself on two grounds: on the fact that he was consecrated under Royal Letters Patent to the original See of Christchurch from which he had not formally resigned, and on the authority of the General Synod's statute number 12, which declared that "until a day to be fixed on that behalf by the Standing Commission, the Bishop of Christchurch shall continue to have charge of the Diocese of Dunedin." According to Jenner Harper's claim was an invasion of his diocesan...

rights, because the Primate of all England had declared him to have an equitable claim.

Dr. Tait realised that Selwyn had not been authorised by any written document to request the late Archbishop of Canterbury to select a bishop for Dunedin, and that the appointment was not confirmed by the General Synod of New Zealand, but he deemed Jenner to have an equitable claim, considering the unsettled state of the constitution of the Church of the Province of New Zealand. He found that the Rural Deanery Board which was represented as having the authority of a diocesan synod had approved the nomination of Bishop Jenner after it had been made, and that an endowment had been collected for Bishop Jenner by name, as Bishop of Dunedin, chiefly through the exertions of Bishop Selwyn. He recommended Dr. Jenner to forgo his claim, however, in face of opposition. But these views, he admitted, were given only on a partial understanding of the case!

The General Synod of 1871 came to this conclusion:

"Whereas the law of the Church requires the sanction of the General Synod to the nomination of a Bishop to any See in New Zealand: this Synod does hereby refuse to sanction the nomination of Bishop Jenner to the See of Dunedin whether that nomination were in due form or otherwise. But at the same time this Synod begs to express its sympathy with Bishop Jenner in the painful position in which he has been placed." 14

Never had the Church's conduct in New Zealand been so disgraceful. One cannot help sympathising with Bishop

14 Ibid. p.35. 1871.
Jenner who was placed in such a questionable position through no fault of his own. Undoubtedly, the slow means of communication complicated matters, but it is difficult to believe that Bishop Selwyn and the entire English Episcopate were mistaken about the whole affair. Bishop Harper himself had blundered, and the clergy and laity of the new diocese of Dunedin had misrepresented Dr. Jenner's intentions. Bishop Jenner asked for fair play, and it may be doubted whether fair play was allowed him. On the other hand, he never became an office-bearer in the Province, so he could not legally claim to be the first Bishop of Dunedin. He should not have spoken of resigning the Bishopric, for the most he could have done was to withdraw his claim. Yet one expects that a Christian Church would have adopted a more tolerant attitude towards Dr. Jenner and given him the chance for which he pleaded. The Jenner affair was a blow to the prestige of the Church.

On 4th July, 1871, the Rev. Samuel Tarratt Nevill was consecrated first Bishop of Dunedin. On the same day that the ceremony took place in St. Paul's, Dunedin, the Bishop of Christchurch formally resigned his charge of the Dunedin Bishopric. Even so, the English Episcopate was prepared to recognise the Rt. Rev. S. T. Nevill only as second Bishop of the new See. Bishop Harper, as Primate, respectfully protested, arguing that the attitude of the

15 Ibid. p. 48. 1874.
English bishops was not reconcilable with Church order. It was equivalent to the encroachment of one bishop in another's see. Bishop Jenner heartily concurred! The General Synod may have been mistaken in refusing to confirm Bishop Jenner's appointment, but it had the legal right and as late as 1874 the matter was still disputed. In that year, however, the Church of the Province of New Zealand passed its final judgement, when it reasserted the view that the Right Rev. Samuel Nevill, D.D. was the first Bishop of the See of Dunedin.

16 Ibid. p.49. 1874.
CHAPTER VI

PROGRESS DESPITE DIFFICULTIES.
1865 - 1871.

As adversity leads us to think properly of our state, it is most beneficial to us.

Dr. Johnson.

From 1865 to 1871 the Church in Canterbury faced many perplexing problems, other than those created by the Jenner incident. In the 1860's the colonial Church was neither bond nor free. Since she was not subject to the ecclesiastical state laws of England, she was virtually left to manage her own affairs. On the other hand, she was still in spiritual communion with the Church of England; though divided by the Ocean they were united by the Eucharist. Nevertheless, it would not have been fair to expect Mother Church to continue assisting her by satisfying her domestic needs and guiding her general policy. If progress was to be made the colonial Church would have to rouse herself. Her diocesan synods and archdeaconry boards lacked both tradition and legal precedent, and being mere parts of a voluntary system their future hung in the balance. Yet suggestions of something better were not forthcoming. The trouble was that Church-people had themselves to blame for the weak organisation and slow progress of their Church.
Generally speaking, they were ignorant of the constitution and too impatient with its working. In the Christchurch diocese, for example, means were provided to supplement the curate's stipend in new and poor parishes by establishing a Parochial Aid Fund.\footnote{Church Quarterly. p.3. October, 1866.} Church offertories on the first Sunday of the month were placed apart for this purpose, and when the Fund was threatened by some of the larger parishes becoming faced with pecuniary difficulties, many persons became impatient of the whole system.

The bitter criticism of malcontents was unfair. Prior to 1857 there had been no bishop and the Church had been established in a most unsatisfactory and imperfect condition. Since that date some progress, though admittedly little, had been made, and in every good work the Bishop had acted in unison with synod. The clergy and laity together moved for themselves. Surely it was better then, to hold fast to what was gained, rather than give it up and thereby destroy the synodical system. This system was becoming more closely knit each year, and its dissolution would have left the Church destitute and fruitless. What the Church needed was a sense of family brotherhood, and it was the synodical system which could succeed in bringing it about.

The Church had not yet lost its feeling of bewilderment. In October 1866, Bishop Harper wrote to supporters of the Cathedral-building project, informing them of the Cathedral commissioner's announcement that they were still
under the necessity of suspending all building operations, in spite of the appointment earlier in the year of a Capitular Body. Archdeacon Jacobs had been appointed Dean of Christchurch, and the four other members of the chapter were the Venerable Archdeacon Harper, and the Revs. B.W. Dudley, J. Wilson, and G. Cotterill. For the time being they were to help train theological students, visit and examine parochial schools, and act as examining chaplains to the Bishop, on whose behalf they were also to visit Churches in and near Christchurch. The Bishop regarded them as Church officers acting as his assistants in any duty whereby the welfare of the diocese might be promoted. He also hoped that exertions would be renewed to complete the building of the Cathedral of which the foundations only had been laid:

"For temporary residents as well as that part of the population of Christchurch, who either cannot secure seats in our Parish Churches, or who do not choose, or unable to pay the required rent, some free Church like that which the Cathedral will be, is certainly needed." 4

Such were the Bishop's hopes. What steps were taken? Because of continued commercial depression the Cathedral Commission reported no progress in 1867 towards the erection of the Cathedral. Next year a similar report was issued, and not only had the engagement of the resident architect terminated, but hope of further progress would depend solely on a distinct and successful revival of commercial enterprise,

2 Ibid. p. 90. October, 1866.
3 Ibid. p. 90. July, 1866.
and on the increased fervour and free-giving of Churchmen. An even more gloomy aspect opened up before the diocesan synod of November, 1869. Matters had reached such a crisis, that enquiries were afloat with regard to the sale of some or all portions of the Cathedral site. Bishop Harper summed up the position reached in 1871:

"Assuming the absolute necessity of some additional church accommodation, apart from all parochial limitations, it becomes a question whether under the pressure of so many demands on the liberality of our people for other religious objects of equal importance, sufficient means could be collected for constructing the building on the present site, and if not, whether we might not legitimately dispose of the site for the purpose of providing that accommodation elsewhere." 5

But synod passed rather a remarkable resolution: "That in the opinion of this synod it is undesirable to part with the Cathedral site." 6 It further recommended the Church Property Trustees to make a grant of £1500 towards the Cathedral Building Fund should they find themselves in a position to do so. The grant was to be conditioned on the sum of £5000 being raised by public subscription for the same object. Here is at least one proof that the spirit of the pioneers had not died.

Perplexities and difficulties lay elsewhere. Bishop Harper felt the force of grim reality when he began seeking for a larger supply of clergy from among his own Church-people. It would have been unreasonable to expect the Mother Church to provide for the increasing spiritual wants of any colonial Church, and simultaneously cope with her

5 Ibid. pp.10-11, July 1871.
6 Ibid. p. 53. July 1871.
own needs. To think otherwise would be tantamount to expecting Mother Church to support the entire colonial ministry, and build its Churches and schools. The Church must be thrown on its own resources, and though they were meagre, Harper gave notice of his intention in 1866 to establish a Home Mission. His plan embraced the supply of the Church's ministrations to the districts which were never or seldom served by clergymen, as well as the sale of Bibles, Prayer Books, and other religious publications in all parts of the province. Synod agreed that a genuine attempt should be made to secure at least two missionary clergymen for the southern district of Canterbury and Banks Peninsula.

The assembling of the next synod took place after a very short notice in June 1867, because Harper had been invited to Lambeth and desired to settle a few diocesan matters hastily, and discover the sentiments of his diocesan Church on the relations of the colonial Church to the Crown and Mother Church. He again emphasised the importance of obtaining missionary clergymen, and reiterated the need of satisfying the spiritual needs of the lunatic asylum, hospital, and gaols. More obstacles would have to be overcome in those parts of Banks Peninsula not included in the parishes of Akaroa and Governor's Bay, than in the district between the Rangitata and Waitangi not included.

7 Ibid. p.13. November, 1866.
in the cures of Timaru and Geraldine. Certain areas of Banks Peninsula could not be visited regularly and only at the price of great fatigue, while the settlers, no matter how eager they might be, were not in a position to give liberal contributions. Synod felt itself bound to declare the impracticability of obtaining the services of two missionary clergymen, hoping the Bishop would seek aid in England and approach the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. This was not all. Synod announced, to the alarm of many, that the Provincial Government was withholding all future grants from Christ's College Grammar School, and the High Schools in Christchurch and Lyttelton.

Something was done in the interval between synods on these matters. Sunday services were held by the Rev. H. Fendall for twelve months in the district lying along the north bank of the Ashley, though at the end of this period he resigned. Canon James Wilson gave his services on Sundays to the inmates of the hospital and lunatic asylum, while the synod of 1868 had the pleasant duty of thanking the workmen of the Lyttelton and Christchurch Railway for their munificent contribution to the orphan asylum.

In 1869 more encouragement was given to the Church. Three grants in aid of Church-building, to the amount of

9 Ibid. p.20. June, 1867.
10 Ibid. p.12. September, 1866.
11 Ibid. p.13. September, 1866.
£140, were made to the diocese by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. At the same time the S.P.C.E.P. still granted £100 annually for Church purposes, and this was applied to the support of the Maori Mission. The S.P.C.K. also offered books to clergymen for clerical libraries, and free grants of Bibles, Prayer Books and other religious publications for the goldfields and other parts of the diocese. Synod's best thanks were due to these Societies for their well-timed and admirable assistance. Nevertheless, there were still large portions of the diocese for which no adequate provision had been made, especially Banks Peninsula, the district south of the Rakaia, the populous townships of Temuka and Waimate; and some parts of the goldfields in Westland. There was ample employment in these districts, in vacant cures and in the chaplaincy of the lunatic asylum, hospital, and gaol, for at least five more clergymen. And there was worse news. The Committee of Management of the orphan asylum informed the Standing Committee it was impossible to carry on unless accommodation was increased. With this knowledge, synod bravely resolved that every effort should be made to continue the orphanage as a Church of England institution, even if the Government withdrew its children. Be this as it may, the orphan asylum ceased to exist as an institution of the Church in 1870. The Church could perform such important functions only through

12 Ibid. p.15. November, 1869.
the voluntary liberal offerings of her members.

Fate seemed to be working against the Church. The Maori School buildings at Kaiapoi were destroyed by fire in 1870. 13 Harper trusted that rebuilding would be aided by the General Endowment, and proposed to facilitate matters by surrendering four out of twenty acres of land held by him in trust for the benefit of the Maoris. The Standing Committee added more woes to the Sighing List by reporting, that the plan proposed to be carried out with regard to the hospital chaplaincy would have to lapse for want of a suitable clergyman. 14 Nor did the report of the Rev. James Stack on the Christchurch Maori Mission do much to brighten the gloomy outlook in 1870. 15 Mr Stack was sorry to announce that the spiritual condition of the Maoris under his care was not so satisfactory as in former years. He attributed the prevailing indifference to the rise of Tamaiharoa's heresy, to the invitation sent by the Maori King through Ruini (a catechist working under Stack) to the southern islanders to act as mediators between his people and the Government, and to the bad example set by Ruini, after his return from the Waikato, in frequently absenting himself from divine service. Stack displayed his insight into the Maori mind by emphasising that anything, however trivial, which served to break the dull monotony of their lives and

13 Ibid. p.10. September, 1870.
14 Ibid. p.16. September, 1870.
stir their stagnant brains, assumed for the time an exaggerated importance. Still, there were subjects for congratulation. He thankfully noted the continued support of St. Stephen's Boarding School even though the mission premises had been destroyed by fire, the erection of a new Church at Little River, and the confirmation of about thirty persons at St. Stephen's in August.

In December of the same year, 1870, the Rev. Henry Torlesse passed to his rest. Many fellow-colonists and former inmates of the hospital, lunatic asylum, and gaol, had held him in high esteem. The latter had good reasons to be thankful for his kindly advice and encouragement. Mr. Torlesse was a genuinely pious man of wide sympathies; worthy of his hire in the Master's vine-yard. Though dying at the early age of thirty-seven, his life experience included a large share of trials and temptations. Like many others he had fallen to rise, been baffled only to fight with greater vigour, and had lost his grip in order to take a firmer hold of life. Such a man could, and did, do much to stimulate and establish his weaker brethren.

So far, our story has been one of difficulties and disappointments. There was a brighter aspect to these critical years. One of the brightest spots in the diocese at the time was Westland. A clergyman visiting the West Coast when our period opens wrote:

"One is struck with the degree of order and of Sabbath quiet in this place (Hokitika). The
diggers, as a body, are a quiet, well-behaved, and well-disposed set of men. If they see a man is desirous of doing them good they will listen attentively; and once or twice when preachers have addressed them in the open air, if any ill-disposed person attempted to disturb the speaker, they would not permit it." 16

The writer goes on to say that the Wesleyans had most creditably taken the lead, having erected an excellent Church, the bell of which rang his congregation to service in the Supreme Court! But Bishop Harper was alive to the needs of the district in which he found so many warm-hearted working men and after his return from the Coast to Christchurch in August, 1866, he sent the Rev. J. Bagshaw to take up duty there, till the Ven. Archdeacon Harper returned from England where he had been obtaining helpers. By November, 1866, when synod met, Westland was under the charge of the Archdeacon, 17 who established a Clerical Maintenance Fund from which a missionary clergyman's stipend could be supplied. A parsonage and Church had been erected at Hokitika through public contributions, and a small Church at Kanieri chiefly through the exertions of Mr. Schew, the warden of the district. Before going to Westland the Archdeacon had been warned that he would not stay at Hokitika more than a year or two, because of the place and the people. He soon thought otherwise. Of the miners he wrote:

"A class by themselves, lusty, powerful fellows, given to occasional sprees, with something sailor-like in their comradeship, rowdy but honest, and free from crime." 18

16 Ibid. p.9. April, 1866.
17 Diocesan Synod Reports. p.31. November, 1866.
Moreover, he was so successful in the district that by the end of 1869 the time had arrived when the missionary district of Westland was to have a more complete parochial organisation in its settled parts.

In the middle of 1870 Bishop Harper made his annual visit to Westland,\(^\text{19}\) where he enjoyed the hospitality of people who paid little heed to conventionalism and formality. He, in turn, was known everywhere because of his ramblings amongst, and conversations with, men at work throughout the district. At Hokitika the Bishop found a striking contrast with the state of things five years previously. His first service at Hokitika was held in the Corinthian Hall; now he conducted services in All Saints', which could accommodate four hundred persons and contained a large harmonium as well as a strikingly beautiful font of Oamaru stone. He spoke with warm admiration of the well-ordered Sunday school and of Mr. Browning, the superintendent, who was present with twenty teachers. Because their average attendance was one hundred and seventy instruction had to be given in the Church, the day-school not being large enough. The Bishop also held divine service at St. Andrew's Church, Kanierri, which possessed a valuable harmonium played by Mr. Blackburn, a miner with a reputation in the district for musical skill. As was usual on the Coast, a hearty service was held, the hymns being sung with great vigour.

\(^{19}\)\textit{Church News. p.4. September, 1870.}
A similar pleasant state of affairs existed at Ross. In St. Paul's the morning and evening services were very fully attended by a large and attentive congregation. The Church had been repaired and painted, and the Rev. D.O. Hampton and the vestry could boast that their building was free of debt, something which could not be said for most New Zealand Churches. The Sunday school was flourishing and the Bishop was deeply impressed by the co-operation and good-will which characterised Church work,

In the February number of Church News, 1871, All Saints' Church, Westland, was congratulated for the heartiness of its congregational singing. The congregation sang their hymns as if they meant them, and amidst the resulting volume of sound everyone confidently gave of their best. On 4th January, All Saints' school and parish festival was attended by seven hundred people. After a morning service in the Church a procession of children and others marched to the cricket-ground where all helped one another to enjoy the day. Towards evening the procession reformed and marched back to All Saints', to the beating of drums and with flags flying. After hearty cheers for the Archdeacon, Mr. Browning, his teachers, and others, the happy company dispersed.

Church affairs in Governor's Bay likewise had a favourable record. From the beginning the inhabitants united in a serious attempt to obtain a resident clergyman.

20 Ibid. p.11, February, 1871.
21 Church Quarterly, p.1. April, 1866.
Prior to 1866 they had been occasionally visited by clergymen from Christchurch. In 1866 they completed a good stone Church and an excellent parsonage, and made provision for a resident clergymen who would have the charge of the Bay and the neighbouring district. Their efforts were rewarded, for in the middle of the same year the Rev. E.A. Lingard was appointed by the Bishop to the cure of Governor's Bay and the neighbouring districts.

It was also encouraging that from Easter 1866 to November 1866 nine Churches had consecrated and two made nearly ready for consecration. On the other hand, there was a shortage of clergymen for the Home Mission, and at the synod held just before his departure for Lambeth in 1867, Harper was glad to hear that clergy had been asked what portion of their time they could spare from their ordinary duties to devote to mission work. Furthermore, the parish of Christchurch had been divided into the two parishes of St. Michael's and St. Luke's.

Before departing for England, Harper reminded his diocesan Church that it should maintain its connection with the Church of England, continuing one with her in doctrine and government which were the inheritance of the Catholic Church. To this end he intended seeking for a Court of Appeal, while in England, which would not only assist in maintaining unity of doctrine and discipline in the

22 Diocesan Synod Reports. p.11, November, 1866.
in the colonial Churches, but bind them together with their Mother Church. On returning from England Harper said he felt justified in assuming the general soundness and vitality of diocesan organisation, and believed the lay members were becoming more alive to the responsibilities of their membership. He added, nevertheless, there was something to be learned if the system was to become perfect and complete. It seemed needful, for example, that some provision should be made for the trial of bishops, and that General Synod should appoint a Metropolitan along the lines recommended at Lambeth because Bishop Selwyn would soon be leaving New Zealand for the See of Lichfield. A tribunal would keep the colonial Church in spiritual communion with the Church of England, and this was most necessary, as an appeal on points of doctrine would not be dealt with by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

The Christchurch diocesan synod of 1868 adopted an address to the Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of Lichfield and New Zealand, part of which was as follows:

"We cannot but regret the approaching severance of the direct tie which has bound your lordship so closely and for so many years to the Church in this country; at the same time that regret is softened by thankfulness when we reflect that it has pleased Almighty God to grant such marked success in your labours in this part of the world, as in other respects, so especially in these two great works which will ever be associated with the name of Bishop Selwyn — the establishment of the Melanesian Mission and the successful organisation of our Church in New Zealand." 25

23 Ibid. p. S. September, 1868.
24 Ibid. p. C. September, 1868.
25 Ibid. p. 50. September, 1868.
Canterbury, in particular, lay in a great obligation to Selwyn for his fostering care when the infant Church was blindly struggling in the province, and also for his efforts to found the diocese and obtain a bishop. With his departure the Church in New Zealand lost an inspiring leader and example.

Bishop Harper could never hope to win for himself a world-wide reputation such as Selwyn's, but the Christchurch synod of 1869 had many a good reason for congratulating their Bishop on his election to the office of Primate of New Zealand. Only one adverse vote had been cast in the election -- Bishop Harper's own. The title of Primate was deemed to be more suited to the circumstances of the Church in New Zealand than the title of Metropolitan. That the bishop residing at the civil metropolis or seat of government should be Primate ex officio, did not commend itself to the Church. If the Primacy were attached to a special see any vacancy would involve, as a matter of course, the new bishop being constituted Primate. The title of Primate was also regarded as being the original title of the presiding bishop, and therefore preferable to Metropolitan.

Despite the additional burdens laid on the shoulders of the ageing Bishop he still vigorously performed his multifarious tasks, and amidst all his more materialistic preoccupations, believed that synod's chief business was to propagate true religion and godliness and they were

best serving the Church when they took counsel together on spiritual matters.\textsuperscript{27} With regard to alterations in the forms of Church services, the Primate adhered to the wise rule laid down in the preface of the Prayer Book, by which the Church is recommended to be neither too easy nor too stiff in admitting or refusing innovations in services. Bearing this rule in mind he ventured to suggest Evening Communion, because circumstances and household duties prevented some attending the morning celebration. Whether they were to be adopted or not, however, was a matter for the New Zealand Church to decide, for the diocese of Christchurch was bound to act in strict union and fellowship with the other dioceses. Union in a wider sense was also dear to the Primate's heart:

"Unquestionably, our first attempts should be to heal those divisions which stand in the way of growth of true religion in this colony ... union among Christians is essential to the highest interests of mankind." \textsuperscript{28}

Again, this matter would have to be referred to General Synod. Knowing it was proposed to present the synod of 1870 with the regulations of a Sunday School Institute in order to obtain its sanction as a part of the diocese machinery, the Bishop in characteristic fashion warned against sectional efforts; stating it was the business of General Synod to decide finally upon matters calculated to promote the religious well-being of any diocese. Of course, he

\textsuperscript{27}\textit{Ibid.} p.5. September, 1870.  
\textsuperscript{28}\textit{Ibid.} p.3. September, 1870.
highly approved of systematic Sunday school teaching and the engagement of well instructed teachers.

In the same presidential address the Primate praised the work of the lay readers throughout his diocese, and concluded with an eulogy on the lay brethren of synod. According to Harper it was an important truth, formerly overlooked by the Church, that her lay members had an equal stake with the clergy in her welfare. They should be fellow labourers in promoting God's honour and glory, for by their united actions and hearty co-operation they would be assured of God's aid and blessing. Above all else, the Primate was a man of peace upholding colonial unity as essential to the progress and development of Church and State. He chose the "via media" in many matters and was alarmed, for example, by any extremist, whether bishop or clergyman, who dictated to his congregation what was best suited to himself. This does not mean he allowed no latitude in the performance of divine service, for he did in the case of special services, when it was evident the congregation were of one mind and sympathised with their clergyman in providing additional services. It might be sufficient in such cases merely to obtain the Bishop's sanction.

On 18th December, 1870, the Primate held an ordination service in the Church of St. Michael and All Angels', where F.J.Opie and J.Preston were ordained
deacons --- mission deacons to Oxford and Temuka. In the same month the Bishop opened the new chancel of St. Andrew's, Oxford, and took the opportunity of visiting stations in and about the district, and conducting, among other services, confirmations at St. James's Cust and St. Andrew's Oxford. The services helped to unite Churchmen and showed there was still some life in the Church for faithful men to build on. In January, 1871, Mr. William Arthur Pascoe was ordained in St. Luke's Church and also appointed a mission deacon. His head-quarters were Waimate. One priest and three deacons were now engaged in the mission. The latter acted as Harper's curates and at the same time received counsel from the missionary priest. The deacons were not independent parochial clergymen.

Near the close of 1871 the Home Mission reported that in the Oxford and Cust district there were two Churches and three schools available for services all of which were supplied by the Mission. The hilly nature and dangerous tracks of Banks Peninsula, however, prevented regular visitation, and though some of the bays were visited three times a year others were visited twice, and the less accessible only once. There were two missionary chapels and one stone church connected with the Home Mission on Banks Peninsula. The large district of Ashburton relied solely on the Mission for religious instruction by the Anglican Church. Mission Churches were urgently needed

at Ashburton and near Mt. Somers. As the district contained about 2,500 square miles and a great deal of travelling was through mountainous country, a full-time task for a resident clergyman was available. Four visits had been made to Geraldine and Temuka in connection with the Home Mission. Waimate had been neglected until the Rev. W. A. Pascoe was appointed mission deacon, for it was he who succeeded in stirring up Church spirit and bringing back some who had strayed. For more than six years a clergyman had not been seen in the Mackenzie country which should have been visited at least once every three months. Services had now been held on many stations where the people appeared eager to attend regular services, and to see a clergyman even at long intervals. Whenever the missioner was in Christchurch the hospital was visited by him twice a week and several services were held there on Sundays.

In a period of about ten months the mission priest -- the Rev. W. H. Cooper -- had held 173 services, 23 celebrations, 44 baptisms; 6890 people had attended services and the priest had travelled 4261 miles.

At the annual parochial meetings held throughout the Christchurch diocese in 1871 fairly satisfactory financial reports were presented by the retiring Church officers. At Kaiapoi a resolution to abolish pew rents was not
adopted, but it was a significant move. The Rev. Canon Dudley of Rangiora had for years put up a staunch fight against the introduction of pew rents in his district, although it meant receiving a smaller income. The other matter was the adoption of resolutions to introduce Hymns Ancient and Modern into several parishes. It would be a great advantage if only one book were used throughout the diocese. Not all the meetings had been peaceably conducted, and at least two boisterous meetings were held at St. John's the Baptist. 32 The Incumbent and Churchwardens advocated enlarging the Church, but several members of the congregation opposed them because the old debts amounting to £1400 had not been cleared away. It was to the Church's disadvantage to have this matter brought out into the open. Nor was the dispute arising over the alteration of forms of Church services a recommendable type of Christian witness. Well might a cynic say: "How these Christians love one another!"

Fortunately, more pleasing reports came from St. Luke's and St. Michael's, both of which were to be enlarged, and from Holy Trinity Church, Avonside. The latter had been enlarged by completion of the west end, the erection of a comfortable vestry, and the construction of an attractive bell turret.

"The avenue from the river planted by the exertions of the Rev. J.C. Bagshaw, is now in beautiful growth, the church-yard is well-kept, there are many appropriate churchlike tombs and memorials; and altogether Avonside Church in the quiet sunshine,

standing in its trim shrub-planted, sheltered "God's Acre", with its pretty grave crosses, and flower-tended graves around it, its school-house, parsonage, and glebe, within the same ring fence, carries us away to scenes far distant, and reminds us more than any place we have yet seen of the village churches of old England." 33

It was most gratifying also, to learn of the friendly relations existing between the Rev. W.E. Paige and the people of Templeton. Mr. Paige had accepted the cure of Avonside when it became vacant, but on realising that the Church's work at Prebbleton and Templeton had little chance of being successfully continued, he determined to remain there. As a token of their esteem the parishioners of Templeton gave him a fine-looking dog-cart at Easter. Perhaps it was also a reminder to visit them more frequently! There was little fuss about the presentation. The trap was simply sent to the parsonage with the accompanying note: "My Dear Mr. Paige -- I have been requested by your parishioners at Templeton to beg your acceptance of a small token of their esteem; trusting you will find it useful, I remain etc.etc. William E. Tosswill." 34

By the year 1871 the Christchurch diocese was divided into twenty-four cures, including the Maori Mission and Christ's College Chapel, under the same number of clergymen. 35 Divine worship was conducted every Sunday in thirty-nine Churches either by the clergy or licensed lay readers, and there were school-rooms and other buildings where services were held on stated Sundays in each month.

Three parochial districts had recently been formed and served by deacon curates. The remaining parts of the diocese on the eastern side including the country between the Raksia and Rangitata, the Mackenzie country, the Peninsula, and the district on the banks of the Ashley and Cust, were under the charge of the missionary priest, whose visits had also been extended to the three parochial districts for those ministrations requiring the office of a priest. A second missionary priest was urgently required, and the Primate urged the necessity of increasing the number of clergy and the means of supporting them. For this purpose, he proposed the amalgamation of the Assisted Parishes Fund and Home Mission Fund to simplify collection and obviate an objection against the former fund, that it was sometimes applied to a cure claiming the status and privileges of a parish and the power of nominating its own clergyman. That more assistance might be given to needy cures within the Canterbury block, the cures of Christchurch might be asked to surrender part of their grant from the Church Property Trust Fund.

One cannot help feeling for the poor lot of the person in the early days. Most of them were so miserably paid it is a wonder they remained at their posts as they did. It was not uncommon for them to ride long distances to conduct a service, and arrive at the Church soaked to the skin and fatigued, only to find a small congregation and
then be disturbed during the service by late-arrivals who came from afar. After his travels the weary clergyman would sometimes have to return to a rat-infested, drafty, cold parsonage, in which the chimneys belched smoke into every room, and in which tolerable conveniences were lacking. A wretched stipend did not improve matters, and conditions in some parts of the diocese were not ameliorated for some time:

"A parson there was at the Cust,
Who said that he felt that he must,
Get a rise in his pay
Or ther'd soon come a day
When he'd leave them in utter disgust."

There is something to be said for the saying that an underpaid clergyman makes a worldly lite.

Another matter which troubled Harper's mind was the position of Church schools in Canterbury. He hoped steps would be taken by synod to ensure Church schools receiving a fair share of the educational grant of the province, to which they were entitled as representatives of the largest religious body in Canterbury. Harper was convinced of the desirability of maintaining the schools, and of the need in the diocese of special training and preparation for those taking holy orders in addition to the study of theology.

Synod sympathised with the Bishop, being of the opinion that the interests of the Home Mission should be furthered in every possible way, and a missionary clergyman

37 Diocesan Synod Reports. 9th July, 1871.
obtained for Banks Peninsula. The same synod of 1871 also hoped, that any education measure for Canterbury would provide for denominational schools which satisfied government requirements with respect to numbers, discipline, and secular instruction. 38

Yet amidst difficulties and disappointments the work of the Church was spreading and having some effect. Church and Community were not so inextricably bound up as they were in the 1850's, but wherever a zealous parson went there was a social improvement. Through the same age-long message, the Church gave ability to the lives of men who were formerly bewildered by the changing scenes of life. The Rev. W.H. Cooper, who spent most of his time galloping from one end of the back-country to the other, would report results were encouraging in spite of severe weather often preventing persons who lived at a distance from attending services. Sunday-schools were established where children of Anglican parents had not previously received instruction; St. Andrew's Church, Oxford, was enlarged; a new Church was to be built at Waimea, and lay readers had been appointed to hold services in Churches which had been closed. Church-building was under way at Prebbleton and Waipara, and the foundation of a new Church at the Ashley township had been laid by the Priests towards the end of 1870.

There are always exceptions to prove the rule. Church

affairs in Timaru, for instance, were deplorable. The vestry concluded that if they were to pay their minister's stipend the organist must go, and the debentures for £450 which they borrowed to build the Church be practically repudiated. The Sunday school fared better even though it lacked support, but the number of children was continually decreasing. Some parishioners did nothing except hope the Bishop might succeed in stirring up Church spirit, and inaugurate a new era in Church work when he visited the district.

In November, 1871, the Primate admitted Mr. F.G. Brittan, who had come out from England in one of the first fourships with his father, Mr. W.G. Brittan, to the order of deacon. Mr. Brittan was appointed curate of St. Mary's, Addington. 40

A special correspondent to Church News writing on the recent consecration of St. Mary's Church said:

"A few minutes after 11 o'clock, a procession was formed headed by a dozen choir boys; they certainly presented a motley appearance, clothes of all colours and shapes, white flannel caps, straw hats, and billycocks. It would very much have added to the solemnity of the service if surplices had been provided for the choir. And then, the clergy, one naturally asks why they cannot adopt some uniform style of dress -- short surplices to the knees, and long surplices trailing to the ground, surplices with a multitude of plaits, and surplices plain on the shoulders, correct-looking cassocks, and grey trousers and muddy boots, two college caps, a biretta, a bell-topper, and felt hats of many shapes. The High, Low, and Broad Church seem to have each their (sic) distinctive style of dress, but if all things were done decently and in order such incongruities would not be seen." 41

The close of the year 1871 struck a sad note in some respects. The murder of Bishop Patteson of Melanesia sent a thrill of horror through the Church in New Zealand. With regard to local affairs the foundations of the Cathedral remained untouched, the problem of education was greater than ever, the social work of the Church was practically at a stand-still, and clergy were still in short supply. On the other hand, Church-building had been seriously taken up in many parts of the diocese, the Jenner difficulty had been settled for all practical purposes, and Bishop Harper relieved of responsibility for Church affairs in the Dunedin diocese. And though the labourers were relatively few, a movement was afoot to fill the ranks in the future.
CHAPTER VII

TRIUMPH THROUGH PERSEVERANCE
1871 - 1881.

Firmness, both in sufferance and exertion, is a character which I would wish to possess. I have always despised the whining yelp of complaint, and the cowardly feeble resolve.

Robert Burns.

In December 1871, the Primate had made his customary visit to Westland. At least one event took place there which gave him great hope for the future, namely, the consecration of the new Maori Church at Arakura. It had been built at the expense of the natives themselves, who gave the impression of being more sincere than previously about the religion they professed. An address containing the following words was presented to the Primate:

"Great is our joy, O Bishop, at your coming to ratify and give weight to the important work which is this day completed... Behold this building which stands before you. This place was in darkness. The soul sought and there is light... And now, O friend, return to your place in peace. May the great Shepherd be with you and the love of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you for ever, Amen." 1

Bishop Harper carried these affectionate words in his heart, as he returned to the busy centre of his diocese to face the coming New Year.

For some time all went well. At Easter 1872 special services were held as usual throughout the whole diocese, the

1 Church News, p.55, January, 1872.
happy choral services of Easter Sunday succeeding the solemn and mournful services of Good Friday. With regard to the latter, the Rev. W.H. Cooper conducted at Avonside, probably for the first time in New Zealand, the devotion of the "Three Hours Agony." Simple and touching addresses, each followed by a hymn, were delivered on the "Seven Last Words." A reporter for the Christchurch "Press" thought it was an excellent idea to have sermons divided by hymns, because people could leave Church when they pleased! 2

In May 1872 the new Church of St. Michael and All Angels was opened. 3 On 29th April a large assembly of worshippers had gathered in the old Church, which contained so many precious memories, to listen to the farewell words of the Dean. For many the opening service in the new Church was dull and unimpressive. Some complained of the lack of order and organization and accused the choir of tumbling in through the vestry door like a flock of sheep escaping from a drafting yard. They even congratulated the designers of the chancel, on the success in inducing parishioners to have that ugly excrescence removed. Say what they might, the ceremony marked a milestone and not a tombstone in the history of the English Church in Canterbury.

It was not long before more serious trouble arose elsewhere. Pseudo-nominators appointed the Rev. J.O!B. Horne to the incumbency of Avonside. 4 As this act was

2 Ibid. p.106. May, 1872.
3 Ibid. p.117. June, 1872.
performed by an illegally elected body, it was not binding upon the parishioners who desired a new nomination. Deadlock then arose because the vestry refused to guarantee a stipend.

A more pleasant state of affairs existed in Southbridge and Leeston and at Burke's Pass. In the first district splendid work was done by the Rev. J.K. Wilmer who was a zealous and single-minded clergyman. Though clergymen very seldom visited the latter district in the MacKenzie country, Church-people there determined to erect a place of worship, which would be open to clergymen of the Church of England and also to Presbyterians and Roman Catholics. By September, 1872, the Church of St. Patrick was opened and the Revs. W.H. Cooper (Anglican) and G. Barclay (Presbyterian) were holding services. 5

There were always disturbing features somewhere, however, and this time it was a great scandal, which had arisen over the use of a lottery for the purpose of building a permanent chancel at St. Michael's. The Primate, of course, was perplexed by other problems than this. He was still faced with the fact that the number of clergy holding cures of souls was not proportionate to the increase of population. 6 English clergy could seldom be obtained because the Mother Church had first claim upon them, and also because the voluntary system and colonial life were usually distasteful to them. The Church needed young men who were willing to

5 Ibid. p. 154. September, 1872.
6 Diocesan Synod Reports. p. 7. 1872.
receive special training. Candidates for ordination were to have zeal as well as knowledge, the power of discriminating between the needs of the various members of their flock, practice as well as theory, and some experience of colonial life. To encourage men with these qualifications to enter the Ministry, Bishop Harper supported the establishment of a Pension Fund for the benefit of sick or elderly clergymen and for their families when they were taken from them. In order to further Church work in every direction the synod of 1872 recommended the formation of a committee for that purpose.

In connection with the Maori Mission the year 1872 was quite a promising one. The Rev. J.W. Stack reported as follows:

"I have the pleasure of recording the most interesting event that has yet taken place in connection with the Diocesan Maori Mission, namely, the ordination of George Peter Katu by the Primate." 7

On two previous occasions George had refused nomination for the colonial Parliament, being determined to take Holy Orders despite the miserable stipend of £50 a year. During the past year he had visited Stack three times a week to study and in the intervals had prepared papers. All this time he maintained his wife and family at his own expense! He was ordained at St. Michael's on Trinity Sunday. Archdeacon Wilson presented him to the Bishop and he answered all the questions in a courteous manner. When he read the Gospel the congregation were deeply impressed by his melodious

7 Ibid. p. 59, 1872.
voice and careful pronunciation. Indeed, his reverent
demeanour throughout the whole service was an inspiration
to all present.

Various parts of the diocese in 1873 offered signs
of encouragement. In Geraldine and Temuka Church matters
were improving, congregations becoming increasingly larger,
and a Christian spirit pervading the entire district. Arch-
deacon Harper was so popular in Westland that its inhabitants
successfully opposed the Bishop's wish to transfer him to the
vacant cure of St. Michael's. At their annual meeting, the
Rev. C. Bowen, the incumbent of Riccarton, congratulated the
parishioners of St. Mary's, Balswell, on having freed them-
selves from debt. The Rev. G. J. Cholmondeley at St. John's,
Heathcote, spoke of dividing the parish into three. In the
middle of the year the Rev. D. O. Hamilton was appointed to Banks
Peninsula. With "the right man in the right place" there
were hopes that the diocese, which had been reproached for
neglecting the spiritual wants of the Peninsula, would stand
in higher esteem. Towards the end of the year, the Rev. H.
Glasson from England filled the hitherto vacant cure at
Avonside, and the Rev. H. J. Edwards who was visiting the
province temporarily filled the vacancy at St. Michael's.

The diocese could now boast of thirty-three cures,
though some of these were still unprovided with clergymen.
The Archdeacon of Westland required more assistance and at

9 Ibid. p. 75. May, 1873.
least two more clergymen could find work south of the Rangitata. Other districts besides these remained unprovided for, despite the ordination of four deacons and two priests since Easter 1872, and the arrival of five clergymen from other branches of the Church. Deacons were especially valuable where the time had not arrived for division into separate cures. They could assist the priest at celebrations, visit parishioners, conduct mission services, and instruct the youth. The last task was of vital importance, because the state excused itself from assisting religious education, when confronted by Christian disunity. For Harper secular education was inadequate, as it omitted what was necessary for the training of the higher part of human nature. Therefore:

"It is the work of the Church to feed the lambs of the flock of Christ ... and there is no work which will tend more to the increase of the Church, its establishment in the truth, and its growth in spiritual power than the work of religious education." 11

Already a movement was afoot to free the Dean from parochial duty and erect a residence for him, so that he could devote himself to the education of candidates for Holy Orders and other diocesan purposes. That the general work of the Church might also be facilitated the synod of 1873 resolved to amalgamate the Home Mission Fund, Assisted Parishes Fund, and Church Work Extension Fund in one fund to be called the latter.

11 Diocesan Synod Reports. p.11, 1873.
Before passing on we should mention the death of Dr. A.C. Barker, who had been a regular communicant at St. Michael's from the time the congregation met in a V-hut to the first Sunday of April 1873. Dr. Barker came to Canterbury with the first pilgrims and for some years was the only medical practitioner on the plains. His first home was a tent, and it must have been a singular sight to see a Rugby brass plate at the entrance with the inscription "A.C. Barker, Surgeon." Bishop Selwyn once visited Dr. Barker in his tent and afterwards spoke very affectionately of him. The loss of his wife and a spine injury compelled him to give up his practice in 1858, and thenceforth he devoted himself chiefly to science with photography as a hobby. Nevertheless, he retained his interest in theology, and though an independent thinker won the respect of many by his enthusiasm, freshness, and consistent Christian life. Such a medical man was rarely found. In the latter part of his life he could still enliven the discussions of the Philosophical Society, and was very interested in the development of the museum and Christ's College.

In January 1874, the temporary curate at Akaroa, the Rev. W.H. Cooper, was instituted to that incumbency. He succeeded the Rev. W. Aylmer who had preached his farewell sermon at St. Peter's on Sunday, May 25, 1873. Mr. Aylmer had arrived from England in the Lady Nugent in 1851 and

12 Church News. p. 62. April, 1873.
resided in Akaroa for over twenty years. As a kind, generous
and hospitable clergyman his name was associated with Akaroa
for many years. He was a very valuable resident in the
early days for he was an excellent gardener with a good
sound knowledge of horticulture.

In February the Primate consecrated a new Church
at Byreton. As the harvest was nearly over and a beautiful
summer's day chosen for the ceremony, there was a large
assembly of people. One farmer distinguished himself by
releasing all his men from labour so they might be present,
and still paying them their wages for the day! The 'seventies
were a period of much church-building, but there
would be little point in referring to each consecration
as it occurred.\textsuperscript{14}

An unusual service took place at St. Luke's Church,
Christchurch in March of the same year.\textsuperscript{15} An adult implored
the Bishop to baptise him by immersion, and his wish was
complied with at an early morning service commencing at
7.30 a.m. A large wooden tank was placed near the west
end of the nave on this curious occasion.

The year 1874 saw a revival of interest in social
work. It was decided to close the house of refuge, which
had been opened in 1864 by the late Rev. H. Torlesse, and
later re-open it on a new basis. If inmates were to be
systematically classified the premises would have to be

\textsuperscript{14} See Appendix D. p.148.
\textsuperscript{15} Church News. p.65. April, 1874.
enlarged. Dean Jacobs had succeeded the Rev. J. O'B. Hoare as chaplain to the institution in 1871, and reported that a considerable amount of good had been done for female criminals in a quiet way. In the same year a report of the Committee on the S.P.C.K. offered useful suggestions for the sale and distribution of pure literature. About this time, too, the Bishop took a keen interest in the Church Association for the promotion of temperance. He did not urge prohibition, believing that membership should include those who used their liberty without abusing it, for they were just as valuable as abstainers in restraining excesses which were so degrading to human nature.

At the diocesan synod of 1874 Bishop Harper referred to certain proceedings of the last General Synod. New statutes sanctioned certain alterations in the formal organisation of the Church, and the Ecclesiastical Tribunals. Statute compelled the bishop of each diocese to appoint a chancellor, Church advocate, and registrar. The Bishop also mentioned the statute of General Synod (no. 17) in which provision was made for the establishment of a Board of Theological Studies, with the object of raising the standard of theological attainments of the clergy. The synod was again informed of the shortage of clergy. From Easter 1873 three had retired from service in the diocese, and though seven had been added to it, there were still

16 Ibid. p. 123, September, 1874.
17 General Synod Reports. p. 220, 1874.
In 1876 and 1877 the Kaiapoi case threatened the unity of the Church in Canterbury. The Incumbent of Kaiapoi, late in 1875 was accused by some of his parishioners of holding erroneous doctrine. Thereupon a commission was set up to examine the facts, and the Rev. H.E. Carlyon was charged on three main points: doctrine, practice, and ceremony.²⁰ With regard to the first, Mr. Carlyon was accused of teaching the sacerdotal character of the Ministry, when sacerdotalism was a private view tolerated within the Church and nothing more. He was further charged with holding the doctrine of transubstantiation. In connection with practice he was charged with practising Confession. As to ceremony he was imputed with symbolising the two doctrines taught — requiring the people to stand when he entered Church, crossing himself and bowing at time of administration, mixing water with wine at Holy Communion, crossing the consecrated elements, making the sign of the cross with the cup, and elevating the same after the prayer of consecration.

At first Bishop Harper did not adopt a very serious attitude. He did not so much condemn the ceremonies, for example, as their ill-timed introduction. He upheld the wisdom of his Church, in that it chose the happy mean between rigid control and complete liberty in matters of worship. In October 1876 he pointed out to synod that a clergyman could be removed from his cure only by the Bishop on the

²⁰ Church Magazine. p.4. January, 1876.
recommendation of the Standing Committee, and only then if he had been proved guilty by a competent tribunal. After a year's dispute Harper was desirous of following after the things that made for peace, and pleaded with the disputants to respect the opinions of those who differed from them. Taking the example of the Holy Communion he spoke the following words:

"The meaning of the mysterious words -- 'This is My Body,' 'This is My Blood,' will be differently estimated by different minds, and eager disputants will be ready to claim for their own interpretation of them, the fulness of truth, and so assume for themselves an infallibility of judgement which we so justly condemn in the Church of Rome." 21

Despite all the Bishop's efforts at reconciliation heated controversy continued, and the Church papers of the day were filled with disgraceful mud-slinging and sarcasm.

By February 1877 the Church Advocate had forwarded the verdict of the Assessor's Court to the Primate, who promised to lay it before the Bench of Bishops at the termination of General Synod. 22 Until then, impatient parishioners at Kaiapoi never ceased complaining of their being thrust out of their parish Church because their clergyman attached more importance to bodily exercise than to spiritual worship.

At last the long awaited judgement came. Mr. Carlyon was condemned by the Bench of Bishops for maintaining doctrines contrary to the authorised teaching of the Church, and encouraging various practices and ceremonies

22 Church Magazine. p. 7. February 1877.
connected with them. Many breathed a sigh of relief at the receipt of this decision, affirming it would check the growth of materialism and lawlessness within the Church. In spite of the judgement, however, Mr. Carlyon would not retract, and when appearing before Bishop Harper he made a very lengthy defence. On its conclusion the Primate rose and gave a dignified reply, which contained the following:

"It is a painful duty which I have to discharge, painful because you, a clergyman of my diocese are the first clergyman in New Zealand against whom it has been found necessary to proceed in the Ecclesiastical Courts of this Province, and towards whom I have to act judicially; and because I am persuaded that but for your unguarded language in statements of doctrine, and undue reliance on your own judgment in the use of public acts of religion, you might have done good service in this diocese to the glory of God and the edification of the people committed to your care."

Nothing daunted the supporters of Mr. Carlyon, who met at the Kaiapoi Institute and protested against the decision of the Bench of Bishops. Mr. E. Mountfort and the Revs. W.H. Cooper and C. Coates took an active part in the meeting. Before the end of the year, Mr. Carlyon departed from New Zealand for England to seek advice from the learned divines of the English Church! After his departure, however, the Bishop appointed the Rev. Mr. Elton, who had recently arrived from Ceylon, to take temporary charge of Kaiapoi.

The peace of the Church was by no means restored. Kaiapoi remained divided for a considerable period of time, and the unhappy dissensions there nearly found a counterpart.

23 Ibid. p.7. October, 1877.
24 Mr. Carlyon later made a full retraction but did not return to Kaiapoi.
in Waimate where the Rev. C. Coates was in charge. Another unhappy parish at the time was that of St. Michael. At the Easter meeting in 1876 it had been resolved:

"That considering the present disorganised state of the parish and the small probability that sympathy and co-operation between the incumbent and the parishioners will exist in the future this meeting is of opinion that the peace and well-being of the parish can only be secured by the resignation of the incumbent." 25

Here the cause of the trouble was a difference of opinion on the allocation of Sunday offerings. The Rev. H. J. Edwards claimed that his stipend should be the first charge on the revenues of the parish, and was supported in this demand by the Bishop. Bishop or no Bishop, Mr. R. J. S. Harman, the Churchwarden, repeatedly pointed out that a first charge had already been placed on the revenues to defray the interest and sinking fund on the building debts. There was deadlock.

In July the Incumbent left and the retiring Churchwarden and vestry were re-elected. St. Michael's was vacant once more, and several stings were left behind. Mr. H. J. Hall advised the parish not to be too impatient in obtaining another incumbent, for if they selected a clergyman who indulged in those theological antics which had been causing so much controversy, they would bring St. Michael's into greater disrepute.

The Maori Mission was in a bad way. The Maoris held the Church responsible for the results of colonisation:

25 Church Magazine, p. 77. May, 1876.
"You came here professedly to do us good. You taught us to renounce war and live at peace. Now we know what your real motive was. You taught us to throw away our arms, in order that we might fall an easier prey to your countrymen. You taught us to look up to heaven for riches, and while in our simplicity we were trying to do so, your countrymen took away our lands from under our feet and enriched themselves at our expense." 26

Another vexing problem arose from the division of parishes and parochial districts which was taking place from time to time. In 1872 the parish of Merivale was formed out of portions of the parishes of Papamii and St. Luke, and the Oxford district was separated from Cust. In 1874 the district of Kelvern was formed. In 1875 the parish of Heathcote was divided into Heathcote and Opawa, and in 1876 a portion of the outlying district of St. Michael's parish together with a large portion of Halswell was formed into the parochial district of Addington, and so on. The first thing to be considered was whether the separated parts could, or could not, stand alone. Perhaps the one remedy was to pay the clergy's stipends from a common fund. Though a difficult principle to put into practice it had scriptural precedent: "And whether one member suffer all the other members suffer with it; or one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it." 27 The next thing to be considered was the growth of spiritual life in the districts and parishes when formed. The problem was how to increase the number of clergy and obtain men of sound learning and culture.

26 Diocesan Synod Reports, p.92, 1875.
27 First Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians: Chapter 12, verse 26.
The years 1875, 1876, 1877 were not marked, of course, wholly by perplexity, disgrace, or gloom.

For the more thorough superintendence of the diocese the Bishop brought about the creation of several Archdeaconries in 1876, though the plan had been carefully laid in the preceding year. Dean Jacobs became Archdeacon of Christchurch, holding dual office. The Archdeaconry of Akaroa was revived and conferred upon the Rev. Canon Willock. The Rev. Canon Dudley became Archdeacon of Rangiora, and the Archdeaconry of Timaru and Westland was superintended by the Bishop's son Henry. With regard to the latter the people of Westland had at last made up their minds, though unwillingly, to part with the Archdeacon who within the last ten years had been nominated for nearly every other parish in the diocese. St. Mary's, Timaru, was very fortunate in obtaining his services, and the parishioners were to be congratulated on having turned over a new leaf. A correspondent in the correspondence column of Church News in January 1876, wrote:

"The rebound is 'prodigious'. Many who had given up going to any church have come back, and many who had given our church up, and gone the Presbyterian and Wesleyans have rejoined us." By 1877 the vestry were of the opinion that a new church should be built capable of seating over five hundred!

In December, 1875, on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Province, Bishop Harper was

28 Diocesan Synod Reports. p.18. 1875.
29 Church News. p.47. February, 1876.
presented with a pastoral staff and crozier (cross). At the time, the chief pastor was beset by many cares and troubles despite his untiring labours, single-mindedness, and fatherly gentleness. Amidst the encircling gloom it was a red-letter day, and the complimentary words of Mr. H.B. Gresson, who presented the pastoral staff, deeply moved him. Then the Dean in his kindly manner presented the crozier:

"My Lord, we do not wish to see the office of Bishop, or of Primate, in this our adopted country, surrounded with the trappings of earthly greatness ... but we recognise in the pastoral staff and crozier the tokens of a kingdom which is not of this world." 30

Next year, in October, the Canterbury Female Refuge was opened for the reception of fallen women desirous of reform. 31 In 1877 the Upper or Collegiate Department of Christ's College was opened and three valuable scholarships were offered for competition. On All Saints' day of the same year the new Church of St. Saviour was consecrated. The Rev. H.B. Cocks well deserved to be congratulated on the completion of this Church in such a poor and struggling parish. In other parts of the diocese — Ashburton, Lincoln, Melvern, and Philipstown — strenuous efforts were also being made to promote the spiritual interests of the people. The Diocesan Education Committee had been at work, and a Diocesan Sunday School Association formed, which had arranged for a regular supply of Sunday school materials

30 Ibid., p. 35, January, 1876.
31 Ibid., p. 151, October, 1876.
and given model lessons in catechising. Finally, the synod of 1877 took great pleasure in heartily thanking the Very Rev. Dean Bromby of Hobart Town and the Rev. H. B. Macartney for their earnestness and zeal in carrying out mission services throughout the diocese. 32

The year 1878 opened with pleasant forebodings. At Kaiapoi the rival Sunday schools and rival choirs were merged into one, and the harmonious working of all things in St. Matthew's parish, Knightstown, provided one example, among many others, of Church affairs being conducted on Christ-like principles. A good report on the Maori Mission was published early in the year, the Rev. J. W. Stack having found that the more sensible Maoris were awakening to the folly of thwarting the only persons who took an active interest in their welfare. 33 As the year passed, however, discouraging reports came from elsewhere. In Westland the Church at Kumara possessed nothing but an unfinished church, no chancel, vestry, school-room or parsonage, no font, bell, or communion service. 34 Kumara was a gold-field town and when the gold-field there proved deceptive a legacy of debts were left behind. In Canterbury itself, death was soon busy at work. First, the Primate's private secretary, the Rev. Robert Simeon Jackson, passed away. He had returned to the diocese in 1874 after service in the

32 Diocesan Synod Reports. p. 72. 1877.
33 Ibid. p. 45. February, 1878.
Melanesian Mission. Though broken-down in health he was so brave, determined, and enduring that he literally died in harness. Even his last sermons were characterised by the old fire and vigour. Then came the unexpected death of the Rev. W. F. Oldham, who had been recently instituted to Kaiapoi where it was hoped he would reconcile the discordant elements. At the same time, Archdeacon Willock was stricken beyond all hope of recovery. Then came the death of Mr. Philip Hanmer, the first Chancellor of the diocese. The Church would suffer through the loss of such able men.

In the absence of the Primate, the diocesan synod of 1878 was presided over by the Dean. In his presidential address he referred to the death of Bishop Selwyn, and expressed the hope that something connected with the Cathedral would be erected to his memory. 35 He then went on to speak of the Lambeth Conference which he upheld as a manifestation of existing life and unity, and as a means of promoting the same. 36 Though the conference had rebuked schism and discouraged excesses in doctrine and ritual, it commended a considerable amount of elasticity in the forms of worship.

On turning to purely local matters the Dean reported that Churches, parsonages, or Sunday schools had been erected in about twenty different parts of the diocese. In the course of the preceding year the services of nine clergymen had been lost, but three deacons had received licenses, a

35 The Selwyn Pulpit stands as a memorial to New Zealand's first Bishop.
priest had arrived from overseas, and the number of divinity students had increased to about fifteen. With regard to the latter, the Dean believed the Church should compel her young candidates to take a B.A. degree as well as the L.Th. In doing so the Church would not underrate the value of practical qualifications and matured character. When discussing the appointment and position of lay readers in the Church, the Dean pointed out that there was perhaps no other colonial diocese, in which the Church had employed so many of these valuable agents in proportion to the number of parishes and districts. There were about eighty licensed lay readers which was nearly double the number of the licensed clergy.

The Church was beginning to find itself. Synod recommended that a full-time chaplain be appointed for the hospital, lunatic asylum, the refuge, and other public institutions. It suggested that the offerings of Churchmen on S. Andrew's day should be shared equally by the S.P.G.F.P., C.H.S., and S.P.C.K. in reward of their generous assistance in previous years. Synod had the pleasure of sanctioning the formation of several parochial districts into parishes -- those of Sydenham, Rakaia, Temuka, and Geraldine (a portion). Finally, the Church Society was to promote union among members, support needy clergymen, maintain chaplains of reformatories, asylums, hospitals and gaols, supplement Church Property Trustees'
aid to Churches, parsonages, and schools, and assist the education of candidates for the ministry.

Early in 1879 the Hon. H. B. Gresson was appointed Chancellor of the diocese, to fill the vacancy created by the death of Mr. Hammer. At Kaiapoi the Rev. D. O. Hampton was doing his best to restore unity in a distracted parish. In the Ashburton district the Church was making rapid progress. Besides additions to St. Stephen's (the Parish Church), two new Churches had been built and proposals made for erecting a school-room at Ashburton. In April the Rev. F. Knowles undertook to hold services every alternate Sunday for seamen at Lyttelton, if some suitable building near the wharves were obtainable. In the latter part of the year the Rev. W. C. Harris returned to the diocese from England, where he had been recovering his health, to take up duties as Organising Chaplain. Mr. Harris had been previously a distinguished head-master of Christ's College, being noted for his strong character, strenuous labours, and calm judgement. The Rev. Arthur Davidson also arrived to assume the chaplaincy of the asylum, refuge, and other public institutions in or near Christchurch.

St. Saviour's parish had a very favourable record in this year, chiefly through the exertions of the Rev. H. B. Cocks who was inspired by a real love for his work. In October a new school-room was opened and at the ceremony Mr.

37 Church News, p. 50, March, 1879.
38 Ibid. p. 154, November, 1879.
Cocks recited a prologue prepared for the occasion which concluded thus:

"Then say not, as to-night you take your seat,
'This is a work unfinished, incomplete,'
But to the not far-distant future raise your eyes,
When on this site far nobler walls shall rise,
When over all New Zealand you shall search,
And find no building worthier England's Church." 39

Two synods were held in 1879. The first was called specially to consider a draft bill embodying the Church Property Trust Ordinances with particular reference to the regulation of the Bishop's income. The second synod of 1879 was a milestone in some respects. The Bishop announced he could offer to the Sunday schools of the diocese the services of Mr. Harris for the purpose of inspection. Synod was also informed that the S.P.G.'s annual grant of £200 would be withdrawn from the diocese at the end of the year, because the Church was thoroughly established. At the same synod a most novel resolution was passed:

"That this synod, recognising the value of the services rendered by women duly authorised by the Bishop, and under the direction of the parochial clergy in the Church at home, would gladly see the organisation of such work in the diocese." 40

Synod realised that, among other things, women could be useful social workers, and that was what the Church needed.

Christchurch was not a City of God in the 1850's, let alone in the 1870's.

In his presidential address at the opening of this synod the Primate had spoken affectionately of Mr. Hassal,

whose death had occasioned six vacancies in Church offices. Not only had he been a synodsman, a lay reader and parochial officer in his own parish, but also a trustee of the Diocesan Board of Trusts and of the Church Property Trust Estate, a Diocesan nominator, a member of the Standing Committee and of the Clergy Pension Board, and an assessor of the Bishop's Court. This was an exceptionally fine record for a layman.

We have seen that the S.P.G. regarded the Church as how thoroughly established. The Church, however, was always eager to tackle more than she could successfully cope with. Consequently, impatient Churchmen sometimes resorted to employing doubtful methods of raising money. At the synod of 1890 the Primate dealt with this delicate problem in an admirable manner:

"... The Church is to be ever aiming at the highest possible standard of action and deed, though from the weakness of human nature she may be unable to attain it. Neither riches nor the good and excellent works which may be effected by them can accomplish the purposes of God in His Church. The real power of the Church for good, consists in the spiritual life of its members, and where that life abounds ... there will be little need for the questionable stimulus of bazaars or popular entertainments, or even of appeals from the pulpit or platform." 41

Bishop Harper never believed in doing evil that good might come.

Before this synod met, Sir Thomas谭red had passed away.42 Sir Thomas first arrived in Lyttelton in 1853, and though he sailed for England in 1854, he returned to Canterbury in 1872. On settling at Woodbury he took the lead in building

11 Ibid. pp.22-23. 1880.
a Church, and always felt a keen interest in Church work. Frequent contributions from his able pen are to be found in the columns of Church News. He was sincere, patient, humble, and a true Christian gentleman.

The death of Wereta Tainui early in 1881 was a sad event for the natives of Westland. This chief had been a faithful Churchman, and had been mainly responsible for the erection of the native Church at Arahura. His last words were: "My children be kind to one another when I am gone." Archdeacon Harper, who had recently visited Westland, further reported that the district as a whole had suffered from the removal of many of its old residents and families to other parts of New Zealand.

As usual, however, there were subjects for congratulation. Mr. Harris reported that a large majority of the five hundred ladies and gentleman who were Sunday school teachers in the diocese deserved praise for their punctuality, regularity, and earnestness. The synod of 1881 was in turn very thankful for the successful efforts made by Mr. Harris to improve the efficiency of the Sunday schools. As Bishop's chaplain he performed other useful tasks such as the inspection of Churches, Churchyards, and Church schools. Before the end of the year the office of Archdeacon was conferred upon this worthy clergyman.

In 1881 the diocese was divided into forty-two curas,

43 Ibid. p.453. February, 1881.
44 Ibid. p.552. August, 1881.
there being twenty-two parishes and eighteen parochial districts. The two remaining cures comprised the spiritual charges of Christ's College Grammar School, and of the Christchurch hospitals and lunatic asylum and Seamen's Mission. There were eighty-three Churches and of the forty-two cures one only -- Waikari -- was without a minister or Church. Nevertheless, population was increasing, and additional clergymen were required for city parishes and districts such as Ashburton and Timaru. In the words of the Primate, "The Church must never be content with what it has already attained." 46

Despite all failings and negligences on the part of the Church, the year 1881 closed on a triumphant note -- the consecration of the Nave of Christchurch Cathedral. Nothing has yet been mentioned in this chapter about the persevering efforts which issued in this great achievement, but all through this troublesome period the Bishop, clergy, Cathedral commissioners, Cathedral Guild, and a few influential laymen persistently appealed to the liberality of apathetic Churchmen. More often than not, it seemed that the prophecy of Anthony Trollope, the novelist who visited Christchurch in 1872, would be perfectly fulfilled. He wrote as follows:

"In a few years the very idea of Canterbury being specially the province of one denomination will be lost to the memory of the colonists themselves, unless indeed it be perpetuated by the huge record of failure which the town of Christchurch contains." 47

It would be difficult to find a greater example of triumph

45 Diocesan Synod Reports. p. 17. 1881.
46 Ibid. p. 21. 1881.
through perseverance than that revealed by the building of Christchurch Cathedral. If Trollope's words did anything they spurred enthusiasts on. The Bishop was among those who felt their sting. Though always very cautious the Bishop was most generous with regard to the Cathedral project. He really had the Cathedral heart, for he was a great believer in promoting the Church's welfare in all parts of the diocese. A little suspicious of the way in which the parochial system tended to narrow Christian sympathies, he looked forward to a Cathedral which would play a unique part among the Churches of the diocese. He once spoke of the Cathedral as the source from which spiritual life would flow continuously throughout the diocese, like the mystic river in the vision of Ezekiel which gushed forth from beneath the altar, watering the land and cleansing the Dead Sea.

Thanks to the generosity of the well-known Rhodes families the spire of the Cathedral was completed before the middle of 1881. 48 For the first time the Cross was raised high above the busy city beneath as an emblem of the Christian ideals which inspired the Founders of Canterbury. In September the Cathedral bells pealed out, and they were so effective, that Dean Jacobs who was nearby with a friend could not make his eulogy heard. After three attempts the friend shouted in his ear: "No, Mr. Dean, it is no use, those confounded bells are making such a din that I can't hear a word you say."

49 Wigram, H. op. cit. p.155.
Several months before the consecration of the Nave a Cathedral Chapter was formed, and the Rev. W.H.Elton appointed a minor canon and precentor with their concurrence. Mr. Elton was also to manage and supervise the Cathedral school. Mr. R. Wells was appointed organist. Meetings were held, too, between the Standing Committee, and Governing Body of Christ's College and the Chapter, in reference to the appointment of a principal of the Upper Department of Christ's College who would be offered a canonry in the Cathedral.

On All Saints' day, 1881, the ceremony of the consecration of the Nave took place. That it was an important event can be gathered from the fact that the Bishops of Dunedin, Wellington, and Waiapu, with their chaplains, were present besides the Primate, Dean, Canons, and other diocesan and visiting clergy. Many a pioneer had longed to see this day. Those who did see it, after waiting for thirty years, must have thought the spectacle more of a dream than a reality. It was no dream. Henceforth, Christchurch was the "Cathedral City."

50 Diocesan Synod Reports. p.113. 1881.
CHAPTER VIII

CHANGING TIMES, 1881 - 1890.

Ships, wealth, general confidence, —
All were his:
He counted them at break of day?
And when the sun set! Where were they!

Byron.

The opening of the Cathedral for regular divine service was a very encouraging event. Another Church was needed in the city to meet the needs of a growing population, we well as for visitors and those who, because of pew rents, could not attend their parish Church. Moreover, the Cathedral was to prove valuable for special services held in connection with the Choral Association and Girl's Friendly Society, during Advent, on Festivals, for oratorios, and for other special services, including memorial services, children's services, and clerical refresher services. With regard to the actual ceremony itself, however, there was the usual inflow of petty correspondence for months afterwards. One correspondent described the ridiculous efforts of the clergy to ward off sunstroke, adding that college caps were always a nuisance on such crowded occasions. He continued thus:

"And ... surely religion is not rendered more spiritual by wearing black stoles on those joyful occasions, and country clergy of small stature might refrain from borrowing giant surplices, as if the cope were an illegal vestment to be smuggled in by degrees at the tail end of the procession."

1 Church News. p.52. March, 1852.
Mentioning country clergy, we find they still experienced hardships and perils in the same undying pioneer spirit. For example, the Rev. T.A. Hamilton, curate of Ross in Westland, wrote of a trip from Okarito to Gillespie's Beach, describing how the road which lay along a beach must be traversed at low water because of the bluffs. The bluffs were very dangerous and had to be rounded at full gallop. At one particular spot a huge wave jammed him up against a great rock and the spray, descending on his head and shoulders, nearly washed him out of the saddle. Nevertheless, he was well rewarded for the trip. At Gillespie's he met a girl aged fifteen, who, when she heard a confirmation would shortly be held at Ross by the Primate, asserted she would ride the ninety miles to be confirmed!

The same curate found that the average miner in his district was fairly educated and thoughtful, reading with avidity whatever literature came his way. He was glad to learn, therefore, that the Diocesan Book Depot had been opened at Mrs. Lavender's opposite the Bank of New Zealand in Christchurch.² There was a need everywhere for religious literature to combat increasing scepticism and immorality.

To create for society a healthy moral tone the Church also required lay assistants and desaconesses. The Primate stated at the diocesan synod of 1882 that the work of the Church was incomplete without the services of women, who had their proper gifts from God just as men had his.³ What the

² Ibid. p.45. March, 1882.
³ Diocesan Synod Reports. p.13.1882.
diocese lacked was a body of earnest-minded women prepared to undertake offices of mercy as their exclusive occupation. In 1885 the Primate was still agitating for the occupation by sisterhoods and deaconesses of a distinct place in the Church's ministries. Women were doing valuable work as Sunday school teachers and district visitors, and by aiding the Girls' Friendly Society, which had been founded by Mrs. Townsend, and the home connected with it for sheltering young girls and women exposed to dangerous temptations. Immorality became fairly prevalent in the '80's, and women movements such as those inspired by Miss Torlesse fulfilled a very noble purpose. There were many living in a state of open sin and the words of Dean Howson were applicable to Christchurch at this time:

"The wounds in society are very deep and some of them are of such a kind that only a woman's touch can succeed in healing them." 4

Undoubtedly, the Church of the time was faced with serious social problems. The '80's witnessed the formation or increased activity of the Social Purity Society, Girls' Friendly Society, Temperance Society, the Churchmen's Club, Cathedral Union, Mothers' Union, Recreation and Improvement Clubs, and Young Men's Societies. Their objects were mixed, and included the promotion of intercourse among church-people, the providing of a friendly welcome to strangers, the provision of amusement and instruction, and the spiritual, intellectual, and physical improvement of members. In the same period, St. Catherine's Lodge existed for the reception of young 

women who were strangers in the colony, or were living at a distance from relatives or friends, or awaiting opportunities of employment. Then there was St. Mary's Home, a place of refuge for the unfortunate victims of the selfish vices of men.

Social workers were required for the Maori communities. Mr. Stack's report of 1887 informed Churchmen of the good work that had been done for the native brethren by the Church in the past, but also of the evil example of white men who tempted the younger Maoris, especially when their elders such as Tare Teihoka, a faithful lay reader at Kaiapoi, were taken away from them. The tendency to drink was becoming stronger, and the Church could not turn a deaf ear to the statement of the Archbishop of Canterbury: "The Church is not, and can never be, indifferent to the great sin of intemperance." The task confronting the Maori Mission was no longer the conversion of heathen, but rather the undoing of the harmful teaching and vicious example of white men.

Apart from the usual amount of larrikinism, lawlessness among both native and white youths was a striking characteristic of the '80's. In 1889 a meeting of Justices of the Peace considered the problem of juvenile depravity. They admitted good work was being done at the Lyttelton orphanage and Burnham reformatory, both State institutions, though in the latter institution the better class of boys should have been separated from those requiring more careful and tactful treatment. Youthful

5 Ibid. p. 21. 1887.
6 Church News. p. 16. April, 1889.
lawlessness was unanimously traced back to the neglect of parents. Here, surely, was a task for Christian men and women. In some parishes youth work had already been taken up seriously. The Merivale Recreation and Improvement Club had been formed at St. Mary's in 1883. Among other things, there was a drawing class, a Shakespearean class, and a chess club. As far back as 1883 the St. Stephen's Young Men's Society had been formed in Ashburton. In the same year the Girls' Friendly Society could boast of three hundred members and one hundred and ten associates.

Despite the reawakening of the Church's interest in social work and the division and formation of parishes and parochial districts — St. Albans, 1882; Fendalton, 1883; West Lyttelton, 1885; St. Alban's again in 1886 — the Bishop was never satisfied with the work being done. "The Church must make more progress." He was continually bringing before synod the need for more clergy and more division of parishes and parochial districts. In 1885 he asked synod how the Church could fulfil her lofty calling, and how his priests could fulfil his command never to cease in their labours, until they had done their utmost to bring all those committed to their charge into an agreement in the faith. The cures were too large for effectual working. Therefore, the missionary work of the Church would have to be revived, and endowments used judiciously to the greatest advantage of all

7 Ibid. p.69. May, 1883.
8 Diocesan Synod Reports. p.22. 1883.
9 Ibid. p.18. 1885.
having a reasonable claim upon them. In the most populous cures of Christchurch and its suburbs, temporary buildings could be erected in which services could be conducted by assistant clergy or qualified laymen.

In 1888 the Bishop stated that the Divine Master had assigned four special works to his Church, namely, the relief of bodily suffering, the supply of the spiritual wants of the ignorant, the education of the young, and the conversion of the heathen. The Church could do more than she had in all these fields. Of these tasks, however, the Bishop had most to heart, perhaps, the education of the young. Though religious education was given in the Cathedral, at Christ's College, and in several Church day schools, he relied most upon the Sunday schools, never ceasing to praise the work of teachers in them. The training of children in the Faith required great patience, for it had to be done gradually, precept by precept, line by line. The Bishop would have preferred more Church day schools such as that at St. Michael's, which since 1883 had progressed favourably under the efficient leadership of Miss Hookham. In the past he had trusted a great deal to Archdeacon W.C. Harris, whose visits to Sunday schools had been a most wholesome stimulus to the children, teachers, and superintendents. His death in 1885 had struck the Bishop a severe blow. Harper had always admired his earnest and persevering attempts to promote religious education. The Archdeacon had also been a

10 Ibid. p.19. 1888.
valuable preacher for he never occupied the pulpit to propagate his own views, but taught the Church's doctrine pure and simple.

Next year another prominent Church dignitary passed away -- the Ven. Archdeacon James Wilson. We have already noticed the valuable part he played in drawing up the principles of the Church constitution and organising the diocese. His opinions were seldom disregarded and always couched in lucid and cultured language. He was the first to remind the diocese of the Canterbury Association's idea of building a College chapel.12

Two years previously two distinguished laymen had been taken to their rest -- Dr. William Donald, and Mr. H.J. Tancred. Dr. Donald had been sent down from Wellington to Lyttelton in 1850 as a colonial surgeon, and was present to welcome the first body of Canterbury colonists in December of the same year.13 He was a regular attendant at Holy Trinity, a Church Property Trustee, a synodman for Lyttelton, a representative in General Synod, 1865 to 1971, a Fellow of Christ's College, and a member of the Cathedral Commission. As a medical man he opened his heart and purse to the sick and destitute. When he was struck with paralysis the Church lost a loyal servant, and the orphans of Lyttelton a beloved friend.

Mr. H.J. Tancred was one of the seventeen who signed the Church constitution in 1857, and one of the thirty-four who affixed their signatures to the amended constitution of 1865.14 Furthermore, he was one of the founders of the University of

12 Ibid., p. 22. February, 1886.
14 Ibid., p. 96. May, 1884.
New Zealand, and had the honour of being its first Chancellor. He became a Fellow of Christ's College in 1856 and was appointed to the Hulsean Chichele Professorship of Modern History. As a great reader and man of philosophical mind, he proved himself to be an interesting lecturer and sound theologian. Besides having an honourable career as a statesman in local and national politics he had a favourable record as a Churchman, being a member of both the diocesan synod and standing committee. His originality, wit, and culture endeared him to many.

The Rev. E.A. Lingard succeeded Harris as Archdeacon of Akaroa in 1885, and when the Dean resigned the office of Archdeacon of Christchurch in 1889, because of failing health, the Rev. Croasdaile Bowen succeeded him. Unfortunately, he died after less than a year in office.\textsuperscript{15} Archdeacon Bowen had been a prominent member of the diocesan synod, and taken a keen interest in education, having been chairman of the Riccarton school committee. His last conspicuous act was his proposal that the Ven. Archdeacon Julius of Ballarat should be the next Bishop of Christchurch. In 1890 the Rev. Canon G.J. Cholmondeley succeeded Archdeacon Bowen. The new Archdeacon had served in the diocese first as a curate to St. Michael's. In 1862 he was instituted to Lower Heathcote with Sumner which he held till its division in 1875, becoming in 1876 Vicar of Opawa, which prior to this date had been included in the cure of Lower Heathcote. He was sincere, studious, sternly pious, and delivered solid pulpit instructions.

\textsuperscript{15} Ibid. p.11. February, 1890.
Sometimes when preaching, he would lean forward in the pulpit, stretch forth his hands, and say: "Pause, brethren."

While these changes were taking place, Archdeacon Dudley of Rangiora was 'still going strong'. "The Grand Old Man" of North Canterbury completed his 84th birthday in 1889, and, on that day which was a Sunday, he drove many miles, and conducted several services including a funeral! Archdeacon Dudley could remember the time when there were only about fourteen cures in the Christchurch diocese.

In 1889 there were forty-six cures, and all were occupied by clergymen except two. All contained Sunday schools, and besides school-rooms there were ninety-four Churches in the diocese. Yet parts of cures were still wanting and the old problem of the supply of able clergy remained unsolved. With the appointment of the Rev. W.B. Stanford as Principal of the Upper Department of Christ's College in 1882, there had seemed every prospect of training sufficient men for the Ministry of the Church. In 1890, however, the position had not greatly improved. Most of the existing clergy laboured under great discouragement, and as one layman put it, "the parsons get more kicks than ha'pence." I suppose it was not to be wondered at that few young men offered themselves for the Ministry, when the clergy were generally treated with contempt.

There were exceptions of course. One outstanding

16 Ibid. p.7. January, 1890.
17 Synod Reports. p.22. October, 1889.
18 Church News. p.82. May, 1882.
clergyman of the time was Archdeacon Harper, though even he had to fight occasionally against apathy or opposition. We have already seen the great work he did in Westland. In Timaru he carried on in a like manner. In September, 1880, the foundation stone of St. Mary's Church had been laid. Someone passed the remark, at the time, that if the building envisaged could be tackled and completed, people in future years would say "there were giants in the land in those days." There were, and Archdeacon Harper was one of them. In August, 1886, St. Mary's was consecrated, and acclaimed before the completion of the chancel, sanctuary, and vestry, as the most beautiful church in the diocese:

"In memoriam of its architect, the late Mr. W.G. Armstrong, of Christchurch, ... whatever the eye rests on his work it is satisfied, whether it be the granite pillars, the beautifully carved work of capitals, bosses, and corbels, the magnificent roof, the graceful arches, or the windows. All is in keeping with the best specimens of early English architecture." 20

The consecration of St. Mary's was a high-light in the history of the diocese. Although the Church was endeavouring to rouse her members to spiritual awareness, scepticism, materialism and vice of all kinds -- gambling, intemperance, sexual immorality -- were on the increase. It was always under great difficulties that new Churches were erected. Cures were in debt and stipends insufficient to keep many of the clergy from anxiety. The Primate, himself, perceived the trend of the times. Accordingly he invited missionaries from overseas.

20 Church News. p.139. September, 1886.
to stir up Church-people in every district. The Rev. C. Bodington and G. E. Mason were two such missioners who conducted soul-stirring services throughout the diocese in 1886. Their impressions and opinions were highly valued. According to Mr. Bodington the Church needed more clergy, a devotional society for clergy, a fuller development of sisterhoods, guilds, Church societies, associations of teachers, and more lay preachers and district visitors. In his opinion the Church needed more of a diocesan outlook and a higher level of teaching. This was very sound criticism and his opinions must have been shared by Mr. Mason. After the latter returned to his own country, however, he wrote some reminiscences which contained the following complimentary remarks:

"And when we crossed the Straits southward to Christchurch and found the well-ordered Cathedral with its Dean and Canons, and the venerable Priest - at the age of eighty -two as vigorous and active as a young man of thirty -- the daily choral services, conducted on the model of the best English Cathedrals, with a choir of irreproachable reverence, we felt we had found, perhaps, the highest point yet attained in the Colonies of civilisation of refinement and of religion." 22

But there were parts of the diocese, especially Westland and the Maori settlements, about which complimentary remarks could not be made. Even St. Saviour's, Sydenham, had slipped.

The clergy of Westland were separated from the rest of the diocese and really had to "rough it". In 1885 people were leaving so fast that it was almost decided to close the

22 Ibid. p. 178. November, 1887.
Church at Rimu. 23 With regard to the Maori Mission a Select Committee of Enquiry investigated the state of affairs after the resignation of Mr. Stack in 1887. 24 They found that the number of Maoris at Kaiapoi, on Banks Peninsula, and in Westland totalled about seven hundred. There was dissatisfaction at Kaiapoi over the failure to carry out the distribution of native reserves. Bishop Grimes, the Roman Catholic Bishop, had disturbed some of the Maoris on one of his visits, but it had to be admitted that the Church of England had been neglectful in comparison with the work of the Wesleyans. Some followers of the Hau Hau schism dwelt at Temuka. The main problem was to obtain native lay readers, the present staff comprising the Rev. G. Mutu, who was slowly regaining the confidence of his people. (he had previously lost his license), and seven lay readers.

It is not surprising, when we take all things into consideration, that Bishop Harper felt he must retire and hand over to a more capable and younger man. The Primate was hindered in his work by deafness, bewildered by the changing times, and troubled about many things. He first tended his resignation in 1887, but later decided to remain in office till the close of the General Synod in 1889. 25 Even in these last years of his episcopate, he endured the painful experience of losing his wife and being involved in the Property Tax dispute.

In 1887 the New Zealand Government decided to tax the

23 Ibid. p.135. September, 1885.
24 Diocesan Synod Reports. p.53. October, 1889.
Church's property. A quarrel ensued as to who was responsible for paying the tax on the mortgaged lands -- the diocese or the mortgagees? Legal judgement in 1888 favoured the view of the Church Property Trustees who held the mortgagee responsible. The Bishop remained unsatisfied. He called a special synod in August 1888, holding that the law of the Church was of a higher order. Synod was stubborn. He lengthened its term and fought out his case with a dwindling synod until he won. Though the Church's finances could hardly bear the strain, though the clergy were poor and most synodsmen content with the judgement of the highest court in New Zealand, the diocese was held responsible for paying the tax! The Church Property Trustees thereupon refused to obey the synod's decision, and the matter was not settled till Harper had retired. Archbishop Julius and others saw to it that Harper's view was upheld.

In this dispute Harper had been determined to the point of stubbornness, but never arrogant. When he laid down office he did so in his customary humble way. He confessed his shortcomings, and earnestly hoped that Bishop Julius would supply what was wanting, and perfect that which had been only partially effected. No one has ever been able to say that he said or did anything really unbecoming his sacred office. On the contrary, such comments as this were made about Bishop Harper: "Oh, sir, if all Christians were like

26 Synod of May 1889 also dealt with the matter. See Reports, pp.17... May, 1889.
Bishop Harper, there would not be much free-thought in Christchurch. "27 Though he moved among diggers and adapted himself to the unconventional ways of colonial life, his saintly life was one long noble and beautiful example.

Bishop Harper's episcopate was a disturbed one. It was through no fault of his own. He was a man of peace. Hence incompetent clergy were sometimes removed to offices, under the guise of promotion, where they could do less harm. Those seeing his peaceful face and venerable form felt that the other world was not so very far away. All men marvelled at his physique, sincerity, and exemplary life. One Christchurch citizen said: "We may not come to church much, but it does us good to see the old man walking down the street." 28

Many stories could be told of his little acts of kindness and of love. Here is one from the closing years of his episcopate: "A small boy had fished a willow branch out of the Avon on Park Terrace, and try as he might he could not lift it up on to a small truck. At this time the Bishop happened to pass by, and he did not hesitate to lift one end of the branch while the boy lifted the other, and help him to balance it on the truck. The boy marched happily away with his load, and never forgot the help so willingly given by such a friend in a time of need." Wherever he went, even in his old age, he made himself useful, exerting a most beneficial influence on those around him. The words of the poet Cowper are especially applicable to the closing years of Bishop Harper's life:

27 McKenzie, G.M. op. cit. p.131.
28 Purchas, H.T. Bishop Harper etc. p.218.
"A Christian's wit is inoffensive light,
A beam that aids, but never grieves the sight,
Vig'rous in age as in the flush of youth,
'Tis always active on the side of truth;
Temp'rance and peace ensure its healthful state,
And make it brightest at its latest date."
In the foregoing pages an attempt has been made to trace the history of the English Church in Canterbury between 1850 and 1890. We have seen that in its origins the Canterbury settlement was in the nature of a crusade to extend the Church. Indeed, there were fears that the clergy might override the people. The very name of the capital suggested this tendency and some demanded a change of the name from Christchurch to the well-sounding, right-down English historical name of Lyttelton. Their fears were not without justification. However noble and inspired were the ideas of the founders of Canterbury their original plan failed and rightly too. The English public was never sufficiently convinced of its soundness, the amount of money paid into the land fund fell far short of expectations, and the demands of colonial life were clearly envisaged neither by the promoters nor by the first settlers. Moreover, the Canterbury Association attempted to thwart the spirit of the age. Amidst democratic tendencies they hoped to establish an order of society along the lines of the old regime. Little did they dream of colonial conditions promoting civil and religious equality, and tending to bring about the mergence of classes.

To-day we would laugh at the idea of an English Cathedral town society, with the bishop at the top and the labourer at the bottom, and all the intermediary grades of society rigidly fixed.
We would smile, too, at the idea of a City of God, knowing only too well the sinfulness and frailty of human nature.

The realisation of such dreams in this world was impossible. But was the experiment a complete failure? Could Canterbury have been launched without it? Surely it is something that the settlement fell into the hands of enthusiasts and men of vision, who were unique as a body of colonists in their high standard of character and culture. There were few Canterbury pilgrims to be ashamed of; knights, squires, yeomen, parsons, lawyers, and physicians, comprising a substantial element. From the earliest days of the colony education was given to both sexes, and after the passing of a decade or so a cultured Englishman might visit Christchurch and be impressed by the academic serenity of parts of the city. Canterbury was the most English of all the New Zealand provinces and Christchurch the most English of the cities. The best features of England were brought to Canterbury in the first instance by the English Church.

The English Church gave the colony a good start in life. How did it assist its development? In the earliest days the Church was very intimately connected with the community, and whether services were held in private houses, station-houses, woolsheds, or out in the open, a considerable proportion of the settlers gladly availed themselves of the opportunity of public worship. Surrounded by hardships and feelings of
bewilderment, the early pioneers honoured the Church which supplied words of comfort and helped to stabilise society.

As the years passed special buildings were erected for worship and teaching, though other denominations frequently shared the use of them. Many of the native-born Anglicans who by 1890 attended Church seemed less devout than their pious forefathers, while labouring men tended to prefer toiling in their gardens to attending Sunday services.

Eventually, churches were erected throughout the entire province, services being conducted in a more Churchlike manner. Choirs were specially trained and anthems as well as services were sung. By this time, however, there were sharp divisions among the people and the Church tended to look after its own. It would be foolish to imagine that in 1890 the Church held the same high place in the popular esteem as it did in 1850. This is not to imply that the Church ceased to be an instrument for good in the development of the community. Recall the names of Dean Jacobs, Archdeacon Harris, and Mr. H.J. Tancred in education; Judge GresTon in law; Mr. H. Wells in music; Mrs. Barker and Donald in science and medicine; and of Mrs. Townsend and Miss Torlesse in social work. Other representative Churchmen were Sir John Hall, Professor Cook, James Edward Fitzgerald, Henry Sewell, and William Rolleston. Sir John Hall was one of the members of the original Chatedral Commission and did much to further the Cathedral project. He was intelligent, conscientious, and courageous. As a leading member of the
House of Representatives and Premier of New Zealand, 1879-1882, he showed himself to be a most useful statesman. Professor Cook, who became Professor of Mathematics at Canterbury University College in 1874, contributed to the progress and development of higher education. He was a Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, of Christ's College, and of the University of New Zealand. For a considerable period of time he was a member of the Cathedral Chapter and Cathedral Choir. Fitzgerald distinguished himself in journalism, being Editor of the "Lyttelton Times" for two years, and founder of the Christchurch "Press". He played a less prominent role in provincial and national politics, tending to be impractical. Nevertheless, he was the first Superintendent of Canterbury and Premier of the first representative ministry formed in New Zealand. Together with Sir John Hall he was a member of the original Cathedral Commission. Sewell was a cultured and clever English solicitor who came to Canterbury, as we have seen, to wind up the affairs of the Canterbury Association. He remained in New Zealand until 1872, benefiting the public service with his acute mind and unflagging industry. He was a leading member of the first House of Representatives and Premier for a short while in 1856. Rolleston did great service as a statesman and as a competent administrator. His chief fault, if it can be called a fault, was his extreme anxiety to do what was right. He was Superintendent of
Canterbury from 1868 to 1876 and sat in the House of Representatives for many years. In 1873 he became a member of the Cathedral Commission.

All these persons were exercising a most beneficial influence on the community many years after the settlement had been founded. These were only a few. Churchmen throughout Canterbury helped to diffuse a spirit of justice and consideration. Some districts even became identified with the names of Anglican pastors — Archdeacon Harper in Timaru and Westland, Archdeacon Dudley in North Canterbury, the Rev. W. Aylmer in Akaroa, the Rev. H. B. Cocks in Sydenham, and Archdeacon Bowen in Riccarton. And as for the Primate, he was identified with the whole of Canterbury!

In numerous quiet and unostentatious ways the English Church was an influence for good in Canterbury. The Cathedral itself stood as a silent witness in the very heart of the capital to which it belonged. Members of other denominations who never entered a parish Church were occasionally to be found in the Cathedral. At musical recitals and memorial services were to be seen people of other faiths and citizens at large.

It must be admitted the Church had fallen short of what she had professed. The marvel is she accomplished so much. The Church had to rely mainly on the voluntary system, and with the relatively little money at her disposal she took the
initiative in social and educational work. As late as 1890 Christ's College could hardly be surpassed as an educational institution. In was only in the primary department that the Church was backward. Even so, it might surprise the cynics, how much was effected by the Sunday schools in raising standards of moral conduct. To the best of her ability the Church ministered to the spiritual wants of the inmates of hospitals, homes, asylums, and reformatories. In the '80's a movement inspired by Miss Torlesse performed valuable rescue work among women. Nor should we overlook the influence of Church societies in preventing vice and preventing social wounds and diseases.

The most important part played by the Church was the preserving and propagating of her ancient belief in another world. Its effects cannot be scientifically estimated, but Canterbury would have been a less congenial home if a large proportion of her population had not been taught to lay up for themselves treasures in heaven. Other Churches played a conspicuous part in spreading the same belief. None was more closely identified with Canterbury than the English Church.

In 1950 Canterbury will celebrate its centenary. Already the Church is organising a centennial appeal to enable her to enlarge the Cathedral and work more effectively throughout the province. The pioneers have set a high standard and provided an inspiring example. Will the present generation accept the Church's challenge with similar courage, zeal, piety, and
self-sacrifice? They will do so, only if they believe as was believed long ago:

"There never was found in any age of the world, either philosopher or sect, or law or discipline, which did so highly exalt the public good as the Christian faith."
APPENDIX A

FIRST MEMBERS OF CANTERBURY ASSOCIATION.

President: Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Sumner)


The first Committee of Management appointed on 27th March, 1848, comprised The Bishop of Oxford, Lord Courtenay, Lord Lyttelton, Sir Walter Farquhar, Mr. Charteris, Mr. Somers Cocks, Mr. Hutt, Rev. Mr. Hawkins, Rev. Mr. Gleig, Mr. Adderley, Mr. Halswell, Mr. Godley, Mr. Cavendish.
APPENDIX B


From the income of this estate the Bishop received £1,000 a year, his Secretary, £100 per annum, his Chaplains, £400 per annum; the remainder of the revenue being applied to official expenditure — in 1867.

2. Dean and Chapter Estate. Acreage: 1,000 acres of rural land. Property tax value, £52,415.

The income of this estate was applied to the Dean (£600) and five Canons (£100 each). The remainder was devoted to management expenses, to paying interest on loan contracted for building the Cathedral, towards the stipend of the precentor (£400), and the maintenance of the Cathedral services.


This estate's income was utilised in paying expenses of management, interest on loan contracted in 1879 for erecting Churches, parsonages, and schools, and towards payment of clerical stipends — a grant of £50 per annum each was made to 47 curates.

The above acreages excludes glebes, reserves, and special endowments. There was also the Keyer Trust, R.H. Rhodes Endowment, and Clergy Stipend Aid Fund. Among the reserves we might mention the sites of Churches, vicarages, and schools in connection with the Parishes of St. Michael, St. John and St. Luke; the Cathedral site, the reserves of Cramer Square and Chester Street, and the Cemetery Reserve.

4. Jackson Trust Estate. Original acreage: 3½ acres of town land in Christchurch; 650 acres of rural land. The property tax value in 1867 was £54,475.

Portions of the Estate were held in trust for the Clergy Maintenance Fund, the Bishopric Endowment Fund, the Dunedin Bishopric, and Professorships and Scholarships in connection with Christ's College.
Estates 1, 2 and 3, together with the Christ's College estate, were managed by the Church Property Trustees. The benefits of this property were limited to Canterbury. The Jackson Trust Estate, on the other hand, was managed by the Diocesan Board of Trustees (Bishops in New Zealand Trusts Act, 1871). These Trustees were, however, the same persons as managed the other estates, the only difference in management being that books and accounts were kept separate.
APPENDIX G

BISHOP SELWYN'S GENERAL PRINCIPLES.

1. That the bishops, clergy, and laity shall be three distinct orders, the consent of all of which shall be necessary to all acts binding upon the Church at large.

2. Subject to the foregoing principle, that each order be at liberty to conduct its deliberations separately, or to unite with the others at its own discretion.

3. That, provisionally, till a definition of Church membership shall have been agreed upon by a General Convention, every person shall be deemed a member of the Church of England who shall make a written declaration to that effect to the clergyman of his parish or district.

4. That every adult Church member, who shall have been duly registered, be entitled to vote at the election of lay representatives to the first General Convention.

5. That it shall rest with the General Convention to decide how and by whom all patronage shall be exercised; and in what manner all persons holding Church offices shall be removable from the same; and also to fix the amount of all salaries, fees, and other allowances.

6. That it is necessary that the Church body, constituted as above, should be legally incorporated, and that all sites of churches, burial grounds, schools, and lands for endowment of the Church, etc., should be vested in the General Incorporation.

7. That, in order to maintain the Queen's supremacy, and union with the mother Church, a draft of the Constitution proposed for the Church in New Zealand be submitted to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, and to the Archbishop of Canterbury, through the Metropolitan Bishop of Sydney, with a petition that Her Majesty would be graciously pleased to direct the necessary steps to be taken whether by Act of Parliament or by Royal Charter, to secure to our branch of the English Church the liberty, within certain limits, of framing laws for its own government.

8. That neither the Doctrines nor the Ritual of the Church of England, nor the Authorised Version of the Bible, shall in any way be subject to the decision of the General Convention.

9. That the Bishop of New Zealand be requested to embody the
above resolutions in the form of a petition, and to take such steps as may be necessary for carrying into effect the wishes of the memorialists.

The above Principles were appended to Bishop Selwyn's Pastoral Letter, dated April 19th, 1852. It cannot be said, however, that Selwyn was the sole author of these Principles. What he did was to build on suggestions embodied in an address, which was sent to him in 1850 and signed by such persons as Sir George Grey, William Martin, and William Swainson.
APPENDIX D

CHURCHES OPENED OR CONSECRATED IN CANTERBURY
1857 - 1889.

1857 - Holy Trinity, Avonside.
1858 - St. Peter's, Riccarton.
1859 - St. Michael's (Parish Church); St. John's, Lower Heathcote.
1860 - St. Luke's, Christchurch.
   Holy Trinity, Lyttelton; St. John's, Rangiora.
1861 - St. Mary's, Timaru.
1862 - St. James', Harewood Road; St. Bartholomew's, Kaiapoi.
1863 - St. Mary's, Halswell; Cemetery Chapel, Christchurch;
   St. Paul's, Leithfield.
1864 - All Saints', Burnham; St. Mary's, Geraldine; St. Peter's, Akares.
1865 - St. Anne's, Pleasant Valley; St. James's, Southbridge,
   St. Mark's, Cpawa; St. John's, Christchurch.
1866 - St. Mary's, Heathcote Valley; St. James's, Cust; St.
   Andrews', W.Oxford; St. Mary's, Merivale.
1867 - St. Paul's (?), Flaxton; St. Mary's, Addington.
1868 - St. Saviour's, Templeton.
1869 - Holy Innocents', Mt. Peel.
1870 - Several Churches in course of construction.
1871 - St. Simon and St. Jude, Ashley; St. Paul's Maori Church,
   Aratara.
1872 - New St. Michael's - St. Michael and All Angels'; All
   Saints', Prebbleton; St. John's, Leeston; St. Mary's,
   Geraldine, St. Patrick's, Burke's Pass.
1873 - St. Augustine's, Waimate.
1874 - St. Thomas's, E.Clyde; St. Matthew's, Fernside.
1875 - St. Mary's, Springston; St. Cuthbert's, Governor's Day;
   St. Mary's, W. Oxford.
1876 - St. Matthew's, Caledonian Road; St. Barnabas's, Fendalton;
   All Saints', Sumner; St. John's, Hororata; St. Bartholomew's,
   Kaiapoi; St. Paul's, Tai Tapu.
1877 - St. Barnabas's, Woodend; St. Saviour's, Sydenham; St. Paul's
   Papamoa; Holy Innocents', Amberley, St. Mary's, Springfield;
   All Saints', New Brighton.
1878 - St. John's, Windermere.
1879 - St. Thomas's, Woodbury; St. Stephen's, Lincoln; St. Alban's,
   Pleasant Point; St. Andrew's, E. Oxford (a severe gale had
   blown previous one down); All Saints', Sherwood (later
   removed to Whtven); St. John's, Winchester; St. Andrew's,
   Little River.
1880 - St. Mary's, Southbrook; St. Mary's, Otaio; St. James's,
   Chertsey; St. Luke's, Brookside; St. James's, Harewood Road.
1881 - St. Mark's, Rakaia; The Cathedral.
1882 - St. Ambrose's, Sheffield; St. John's, Okain's Bay; St. Luke's, Little Akaroa; St. John the Baptist, Rangiora; St. Mark's, Greepark; St. John's, Barhill; St. Alban's, Oho; St. Mark's Taumutu.
1883 - St. Mary's, Geraldine; All Saints', Killinchy.
1884 - St. Paul's, W. Melton; St. Thomas's, Dunsandel.
1885 - Church of the Epiphany, Gebbie's Valley; St. Peter's, Teddington; St. Peter's, Springfield; Church of the Good Shepherd, Phillipstown; St. John's, Duvauchelles Bay; St. Saviour's, W. Lyttelton.
1886 - St. Mary's, Timaru.
1887 - St. Stephen's, Peel Forest; St. Andrew's, Otaio; Mission Church, New Brighton.
1888 - St. Paul's, Port Levy; St. Stephen's, Ashburton; St. Philip and St. James's, Waterton.
1889 - St. Andrew's, Tinwald; Holy Trinity, Kumara.
### APPENDIX E

**DIVISIONS OF THE CHRISTCHURCH DIOCESE IN 1855 AND 1889.**

#### In 1855:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parish</th>
<th>No. of Services on Sunday</th>
<th>Incumbent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Christchurch</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>C. Matthias</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Riccarton</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>C. Matthais</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Papamui</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>C. Mackie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Avonside</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>C. Mackie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Lincoln Road</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>R. Paul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Christchurch Quay</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>J. Wilson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Sumner</td>
<td>(Alternate Sundays)</td>
<td>G. Cotterill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Kaiapoi and Rangiora</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>J. Raven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Lyttelton</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>E. Dudley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Governor's Bay</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>G. Cotterill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Port Levy, Pigeon Bay</td>
<td>(Alternate Sundays)</td>
<td>To be served by a cycle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okain's Bay etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td>W. Aylmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Akaroa and Peraki</td>
<td></td>
<td>W. Willock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Native Villages</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Sheep Stations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</table>

#### In 1889:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parish or Parochial District</th>
<th>No. of Services on Sunday</th>
<th>Incumbent or Curate or Officiating Minister</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Addington and Halswell</td>
<td>2 or 3; 1</td>
<td>Rev. H. E. East</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Akaroa</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>&quot; McK. Gibson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Ashburton</td>
<td>2 to 4</td>
<td>&quot; A. A. Scott</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Avonside</td>
<td>2, 3, or 4</td>
<td>&quot; W. A. Pascoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. New Brighton</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&quot; W. S. Dunkley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Banks Peninsula</td>
<td>180 in year</td>
<td>&quot; H. H. S. Hamilton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Burnham</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>&quot; A. R. D. Tosswill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Christchurch</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot; W. Harper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Michael's</td>
<td>3 or 4</td>
<td>Arch. Lingard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Luke's</td>
<td>3 or 4</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. John's</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rev. F. A. Hare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cemetery Board</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christ's College</td>
<td>2 or 3</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courtenay</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rev. W.T.P. Winter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courtenay</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&quot; E.H. Wyatt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kimberley</td>
<td>2 in month</td>
<td>&quot; E. Whitehouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kirwee</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&quot; J. F. Teakle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Melton</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Arch. Dudley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darfield</td>
<td>Alternate Sundays</td>
<td>Rev. J. W. Stack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cust</td>
<td>2 or 3</td>
<td>&quot; J. Preston</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ellesmore</td>
<td>26 or a month (?)</td>
<td>&quot; W. F. Knowles</td>
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<tr>
<td>Flaxton and Eyreton</td>
<td>3 or 4</td>
<td>&quot; C. J. Merton</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fernside</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>&quot; E. A. Phillips</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fendelton</td>
<td>2 or 3</td>
<td>&quot; J. Sheldon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geraldine</td>
<td>3 or 4</td>
<td>&quot; H. Gould</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governor's Bay</td>
<td>1 or 2</td>
<td>&quot; C. R. Smith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little River</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>&quot; L. C. Frady</td>
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<tr>
<td>Heathcote and Sunner</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>&quot; E. R. Otway</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaimpoi</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>&quot; R. J. Thorpe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leithfield, Amberley,</td>
<td>1, 1, 1</td>
<td>&quot; H. J. Gilbert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Softon</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot; H. Collins</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lincoln and Springton</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>&quot; W. E. Gillam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lyttelton</td>
<td>3 or 4</td>
<td>Arch. Bowden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Longbeach</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Rev. H. B. Cocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalvern</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>&quot; H. T. Purchas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerivole</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Arch. Dudley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opawa</td>
<td>2 or 3</td>
<td>Rev. T. J. Smyth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxford</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>T. A. Hamilton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otaio and Bluc Cliffs</td>
<td>3 or 4</td>
<td>Arch. Harper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papamui</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Rev. C. Costes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prebbleton and Templeton</td>
<td>1 or 2, 1 or 2</td>
<td>&quot; C. H. Gossett</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phillipstown</td>
<td>3 or 4</td>
<td>&quot; E. Z. Chambers</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rakia</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>&quot; J. Blackburn</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sangiols</td>
<td>3 or 4</td>
<td>&quot; W. S. Bean</td>
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<tr>
<td>Riccarton</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sydenham</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Alban's</td>
<td>2 or 3</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Haori Cure - St. Stephen's</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Igawai</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temuka</td>
<td>4 or 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timaru</td>
<td>3 or 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waikari</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waimate</td>
<td>3 or 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodend, Ashley, Loburn</td>
<td>2, 2, 2 in month</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Lyttelton</td>
<td>2 or 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westland</td>
<td>2 or 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hokitika</td>
<td>2 or 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumara</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stafford</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Goldsborough</td>
<td>-</td>
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NOTES: The most valuable sources were: Canterbury Papers, Church News, Synod Reports, and Church Minute Books, Jacobs, however, proved invaluable on the constitutional side, and the Register provided an authoritative check on other material, besides being the basis for compiling Appendix D.
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Shrimpton and Mulgan.

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