THE FOUNDATION

OF THE

DIOCESE OF WELLINGTON

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INTRODUCTION

Scope of the work, 1829 to 1859; conditions of life; territorial boundaries and nomenclature; conflicting elements in the population; adherence to the prescribed limits; social, religious and political state of England; material available; assessment and conclusion

To-day as a noble plan goes forward for the building of a worthy cathedral to the glory of God in Wellington, capital of the self-governing dominion of New Zealand, with its proud title of the "Empire City", it is well to take a backward glance at the past. For the cathedral is to be no temporary erection of wood but is to rise in all its majesty with its foundations securely dug, a permanent witness to the vision of the pioneers of old who by their faith and toil planted the seed that has brought forth such good fruit. Just over a hundred years ago Wellington was no more than a dream of the future, its site the abode of the Maori, scarcely known to a handful of white adventurers, where the rites of tapu and makutu reigned unchallenged.

It is not the purpose of this work to trace the development that has taken place in the course of a century; space does not permit. But, for the conclusion of the study, the year 1859 has been chosen in no arbitrary fashion. This date marks the finish of the old and ushers in the new
It is the turning point in the history of the diocese of Wellington; it is "the end of the beginning". In 1858 the Venerable G. J. Abraham, Archdeacon of Waimata, was consecrated first bishop of Wellington. The first general synod of the Church of England in New Zealand met in March of the following year, and in October the Wellington diocesan synod, its bishop in the chair, held its first session. The basic machinery by which the church is governed to this day was firmly established and its subsequent development has been along normal lines; for the fundamental beliefs have remained unchanged since that three years ministry close on twenty centuries ago. Synod has succeeded to synod, bishop to bishop, new parochial districts, parishes and archdeaconries have been formed at the demand of population and progress, the boundaries of the diocese altered, the constitution amended in its details, the old faces replaced by new. Time has marched on, but the foundations, on which the whole superstructure has risen surely and certainly, stay the same, immovable, as they were laid in 1859.

The story then is limited to a period of approximately thirty years, beginning in 1829, but a period that exhibits sufficiently the interplay of the diverse elements and influences that went to establish the constitution in the particular form that now obtains. It is shown how through
trial and tribulation, of man and of nature, the organisation grew; how precarious beach-heads in Wellington, Otaki, and Wanganui were won, expanded and consolidated into one solid base. The struggle is still being waged with untiring vigour, and will ever be so waged as long as man inhabits this world, but unless a vast revulsion of feeling takes place the ground conquered in those thirty years will never be surrendered. Rather will it be the more extensively tended, and already the blue print of a scheme for more parishes and churches has been roughed out. For the Wellington diocese is a living organism, and as such it must develop or die. But the key to its nature lies in the manner of its begetting; its heredity is no less significant than its environment. Above all, in dealing with a religious subject, it must always be remembered that the outward and visible is but the token of the inward and invisible. It cannot be treated, in the words of Carlyle, "as if the church lay in bishops' chapter houses, and ecumenic council-halls, and cardinals' conclaves, and not far more in the hearts of believing men"

In a young country the records of early growth cannot but fail to be similar. The conditions of life are much the same for all — isolated aggregations of human beings living in hastily erected huts, separated from neighbouring settlements by perhaps a hundred miles of bush or rough
country, subjected to all the inconveniences of improvisation and inexperience, and with the full knowledge that failure and death may be their daily companions. As we know, success, astonishing and outstanding, attended the efforts of our pioneers. The country was tamed, political institutions sprang up, and the churches, Anglican, Roman Catholic, Wesleyan and Presbyterian, established themselves in their full integrity. But, as a necessary corollary, the greater the progress of the white man, the smaller the importance of the native, and this period witnesses the transition of the Wellington district from a sphere of missionary operations to a settled ecclesiastical system. Yet the final triumph, culminating in the foundation of the diocese, was hard bought by "blood, toil, tears and sweat". It was a combined operation, for the history of the Church of England lies not only in the work of its accredited agents. Its instruments were by no means always shock troops, the chosen of the Church Missionary Society and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The "rongo pai", the glad tidings, were first propagated by natives, most of them not even baptised members of the church whose gospel they preached. Maori and missionary, layman and parish priest, each added his quota and so shaped the final edifice. Their individual imprint is, and always will be, upon it. The rivalry and co-operation of the other denominations too left their
mark. The article of 1859, a child of its age, reflects faithfully its spirit, as subsequent modifications and accretions tell of the birth of new generations and new ideas.

As the various tendencies of the day are all apparent and well exemplified in the histories of Wellington, Otaki and Wanganui, individually and collectively, it has been possible to limit the area discussed within these comparatively small boundaries: that is, the West Coast of the North Island from Cape Palliser to the Wairarapa river and inland to the mountain ranges of the Tararuas and Ruahines. The Wairarapa, now an archdeaconry within the diocese, is not mentioned save for passing reference, nor are the outlying districts, Nelson, Taranaki and Taupo, of the old archdeaconry of Kapiti, from which they have long since parted company. The area with which we are concerned rejoiced formerly in many names. By the missionaries it was commonly called the Western District, although it is on occasions referred to as the South-Western District, and very rarely as the Southern District, while Selwyn habitually designated it the Southern Division. Politically it formed a part of the province of Wellington and consequently of New Munster so long as that transitory title existed.

Within this area every variety of churchmanship
flourished under every condition. Wellington, the settlement that was the most successful exposition of the New Zealand Company's aims, was never a true sphere of missionary operations; Otaki, the abode of the Maori, was possibly the most satisfactory mission station in New Zealand - even today it is one of the five native pastorat of the Wellington diocese; Wanganui, a bastard off-shoot of its parent, Wellington, enjoyed a dual development, lying as it does next to the large Maori pa at Putiki, another important pastorate. Both the powerful church societies, the Church Missionary Society and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, were continuously active from 1839 and 1840 respectively. The clash of native and European, of missionary and settler, particularly over the land question, cast the heavy burden of strife over the early days. 1842 saw the arrival of Bishop G. A. Selwyn with his distinct views of clerical authority, discipline and organisation. Finally E. G. Wakefield, whose intention it was to transplant a vertical slice of society from the old England to the new, had entered into an agreement with the church authorities at Home to provide for a diocesan system on English lines, with a Bishop at its head supported by dignified beneficed clergy, maintaining as much pomp and ceremony as was practicable. Anything further removed from the fiery ardour of the missionaries it would be hard to imagine.
Yet it was from this inchoate mass that within twenty years was evolved a definite and successful working machinery. Personal interests were subordinated to the common good, and all men of whatever shade of opinion pulled together. It is well that it was so, for the other churches were active and the Wellington Provincial Council passed a bill authorising secular education. Only a general survey of this question of education has been attempted, for space precludes a closer investigation. The political aspect of it has, however, been thoroughly discussed in a thesis by Miss Margaret Macdonald, and the religious aspect is, the writer understands, the subject of another thesis this year (1945). Similarly only the outline of Selwyn's church policy for New Zealand can be sketched, save where it impinges definitely on our area. The individual steps by which a constitution was promulgated for the whole country lie outside the scope of a work on a single diocese.

It is with Wellington's particular contribution and peculiar problems that this thesis is concerned. It is easy to be dazzled by the glittering achievements of New Zealand's first and greatest bishop. Many people have been, with the result that the work and influence of Octavius Hadfield have been almost consistently underrated. Perhaps they will now be seen in their right and fuller
perspective, as the writer has been granted access to all Hadfield's private correspondence and papers by the kindness of Miss Amy Hadfield, one of his daughters. To date no history of him has been published, although one is at this moment in the press, a somewhat tardy recognition of one of New Zealand's greatest pioneers. As missionary, archdeacon, organiser, administrator, and constitution maker he fills many of these pages.

So far as is possible the story of the foundation of the diocese is seen through his eyes and those of his fellow labourers. In this manner are considered the missionary activities with their successes and failures and their great decline from the middle of the century. On the other hand the sad, vexed question of the land claims is largely omitted as its influence on the fortunes of our area, save in Wanganui, was, although important, far less so than, for instance, in Taranaki.

Mention is made in this work of the social, religious and political state of England during this time, for where there is no background there can be no clear delimitation of the foreground. Interest in missions and colonisation was increasing, the spiritual soul of the Church of England was being awakened from its slumber by the Evangelical revival and the Tractarian movement, while the demand for synodal organisation and action was growing.
Liberty was stirring and painfully casting off the yoke that had stifled and cramped it since the extravagant claims of the French revolutionaries had rendered suspect every novel idea. The long supremacy of the Tories had at last yielded to a Whig majority and the Reform Act of 1832; the Corn Laws were repealed, the Navigation Acts, encrusted with centuries of tradition, abolished at a simple request from Canada; Chartists and Free Traders, the Durham Report and responsible government, the "year of revolutions" and the fall of Metternich, the arch-priest of reaction, gave proof that a fresher and freer era had dawned after the long black night of authoritarian repression and centralisation. The ferment of the new freedom was effervescing in men's minds, but it was clear that only too often enthusiasm had outstripped knowledge, that, for example, the immense expansion of the missionary societies was equalled only by their ignorance of local conditions. Political and religious liberty was the incessant cry of the colonies, a cry that could not be denied by England, even had there been any desire to deny it. But there was little, for the period of colonial indifference was setting in full flood, and the ebb was not to come for some forty years. This new freedom, which extended to science and literature, to music and history, the latter rising as another art under the stimulus of
Ranke, to economics and indeed to the entire sphere of man’s occupations, imprinted its hallmark on the form of organisation adopted for the diocese of Wellington. For insignificant as is Wellington in the affairs of the world it cannot fail to be influenced by them. In a very small way it mirrors them.

The material available to the writer proved to be considerably more comprehensive than had been anticipated, but it was quite uncorrelated. No previous attempt has been made to discuss in detail the history of the Church of England in this area apart from one book on Wanganui dealing with the decade subsequent to 1840. The degree of research can best be judged by the fact that only one of the clergy concerned, the Reverend Samuel Williams, has been favoured with a biography. There are in existence, however, manuscript and typescript letters and diaries of nearly all the principal actors, copies of six periodicals published regularly by the missionary societies, local almanacs, a few specific papers and parochial histories, a considerable number of general secular and church histories and pamphlets, and the various contemporary newspapers. Many of these works are extremely partisan, ranging from the fulsome laudations of the missionaries to the vituperative denunciations of E. J. Wakefield and Samuel Revans. Consequently it has sometimes been
difficult to sift fact from fancy, as the former is so often informed with, and distorted by, prejudice. It has been a case of treading delicately in a morass of conflicting interests and loyalties. Finally the writer has obtained some most interesting and valuable information by word of mouth from people who knew intimately some of the men who figure in these pages.

Lastly some assessment of the importance of the foundation of the diocese of Wellington is attempted. Briefly it is this, that it was inevitable. As civilisation progressed so did the church. As more colonists landed the power of the Maori waned. Hence it rapidly became evident that the Church established in New Zealand would be the white man's. Wellington itself followed the normal development of an English community. The consummation of parochial and episcopal organisation might be delayed; it could never be prevented. In Otaki, although missionary work increased at a remarkably rapid rate up to approximately 1850, when the terrible deadness that succeeded the "first love" began to cast its clammy hand over further progress, the establishment of a purely native church under the ultimate control of the Church Missionary Society had been doomed ever since the organised landing of settlers at Port Nicholson and the proclamation of British sovereignty by the Treaty of Waitangi. The
arrival in Wanganui of the Rev. C. H. S. Nicholls in 1852 as schoolmaster and parish priest to the white population showed that the pastor was displacing the evangelist. The selection of Hadfield, the indomitable missionary, the fervid saver of souls, to be first bishop of the new diocese when it was formed was evidence, conclusive and irrefutable, that the old order, short as it had been, was gone for all time. The meeting of the clergy of the diocese of Wellington in solemn conclave in October, 1859, was merely emblematic of the swift advance made by the inhabitants of the colony of New Zealand in things spiritual and things temporal.
CHAPTER I

THE COMING OF CHRISTIANITY

First request for a missionary in Cook Strait - Delay in sending one - Reasons for the missionary expansion - Its progress - Christianity first spread by natives - visit of parties to Wanganui - Success of Ripahau and Tamihaua Te Rauparaha at Otaki - Conversion of Wellington natives - Reasons for failure of missionaries to establish a theocracy - Waning of missionary influence and increase of its activities - Contribution of natives to the Church of England.

"Why did you not come to us sooner?" So did the Maoris greet Henry Williams and Octavius Hadfield on their arrival at Otaki in November, 1839. Twenty-five years had elapsed since Mareden's first service on Oihi beach in the bay of Rangihoua, but they had been years of trial and peril for the missionaries so that their mere presence and survival were in themselves a triumph. It was not until 1825 that their first convert had been baptised, and yet on New Year's Day, 1829, before the second Maori, the savage Taiwhanga, had been received into the church, Mareden was writing to the Church Missionary Society that a chief, who two years previously had sent his son to him, had arrived that morning from near Cook Strait with a request for a
The beginning of Christianity in the area that was later to become the diocese of Wellington was indeed humble. We do not know the name of this Maori, or what his motives were. For already it was growing apparent to the natives that a white man, be he whaler, pakeha-Maori or missionary was a definite asset to a tribe by the advantages derived from his presence, and Marsden never elaborated the subject since its consummation at that time was quite impracticable. Nevertheless, it was a beginning. The following year Cook Strait was again a source of interest owing to the many outrages committed by the whalers, and in particular to the nefarious contract entered into between Captain Stewart and that inscrutable, savage warrior, Te Rauparaha, for the torture and murder of a rival chief, Tamaiharamui, one of the most despicable acts ever perpetrated. Despite this event the founding of a mission station at Kapiti was mooted, but the labourers were too few, their central position at Paihia itself insecure, while the distance between the two regions, some 700 miles, precluded the possibility of anything approaching regular communication even by sea. By land it could not be considered, for this was the heyday of Te Waharoa, Te Rauparaha, and Hongi's many imitators. The border raids of earlier days with but few casualties and some traces of Rousseau's noble savage still remaining
were superseded by a welter of bloody massacre and indiscriminate slaughter with powder and shot, and life was, as Hobbes conceived it, in the state of nature, "nasty, brutish, and short". Further, the idea of expansion had not yet seized the minds of the missionaries, except for Henry Williams, the intrepid sailor who had dedicated his life to the service of God as before he had fought for his country, and who had more than once attempted to open up the Bay of Plenty by sea from the Bay of Islands.

So the plan was shelved but not completely forgotten, for in his report of April 16th, 1833, to the C.M.S. Henry Williams again refers in a few words to the project, while Captain Robertson of the brig "Bee" mentioned on his arrival at Sydney on October 22nd, 1835, 1 that Te Rauparaha desired a British settlement in Cook Strait with a missionary stationed there. Why this fierce man should seek a missionary is not quite clear; 2 a European settlement would in itself have increased his trade and enabled him to procure the muskets and rum for which he ceaselessly schemed. Possibly his shrewd mind thought that a man of God would give an appearance of respectability to his criminal proceedings. Be that as

2. See W. Williams, "Christianity among the New Zealanders" p.269. He thought that the presence of flax traders occasioned Te Rauparaha to request a missionary.
it may, the following year he and a resident European wrote to Henry Williams to the same effect but without avail since, although the missionary offensive was at last under way, no individual could be spared.

This great advance was destined to overrun the island from Te Reinga to Cape Palliser, from Cape Kidnappers to Mount Egmont, and to storm in a remarkably short space of time into every pa and, Kainga, despite the counter-attacks of heathenism. Even today, as is evident from the rise of the Ratana and Ringitu persuasions, the latter is like the fire in the fern that seemingly dead suddenly springs to life and can never quite be extinguished, even though the whole area is outwardly "covered with the glory of God". Since 1833 there have been many setbacks, notably the rise in the sixties of the Pai Marire superstition, or Hauhauism as it is more commonly called, but Christianity has not again been forced on to the defensive. The attack was launched in this year for many reasons. The bases of Paihia and Waimate had been consolidated, reinforcements had arrived from England; Hongi, the Maori Napoleon, was dead - his influence had indeed protected the missionaries, but his actions had strictly confined the area of their operations; the termination of the "Girls' War" had brought peace between the Ngapuhi and their neighbours; the inland tribes were beginning to
return from their remote strongholds to their wasted fields and the missionaries to understand that evangelisation could not be carried out by a policy of concentration in one or two settlements. Henry Williams, the senior member of the mission, favoured expansion especially as the native schools were at last proving their worth. The Maoris trained there were returning to their homes and imparting to their tribes, however imperfectly, the instruction they had received. Finally there was a change in the Maori mind, even though it could still be characterised at most as a "shifting sand".

In 1832 Henry Williams had written in his diary that "all is dark, dreary, and dire confusion". This however was merely a passing phase for Carleton was able to quote the Maoris as saying that "the God of the Missionaries had been too strong for them: their hearts, instead of swelling with bravery, turned round, jumped up, and sank down with fear", and the Ngapuhi complained that owing to the words of Te Wiremu (Henry Williams) "their guns would not shoot". Further, the benefits conferred by the adoption of Christianity were being slowly realised. War would give way to peace, crops cease to be plundered,

the custom of "utu" and stripping parties die out, cannibalism and exhumation of corpses be abandoned, tribal barriers break down, infanticide, suicide and polygamy become rarer, slaves be freed. In a word there would be peace towards men of goodwill. This reign of charity could not be expected to burgeon forth overnight, and many grim and terrible ordeals still lay before the missionaries. But their mana was increasing day by day - in 1828 and again in 1830 they were able to negotiate with success between hostile tribes - and the natives in the south were now receiving muskets so that the Ngapuhi could no longer molest them with impunity. A woman in Waikato claimed to have visited heaven and to have returned with a favourable report, while requests for teachers poured in from every quarter.

Zero hour struck and the assault went forward. The end of 1832 saw the rear protected with the establishment of a station at Kaiata in the north. The advance turned southwards: in 1833 it reached Puriri, in 1834 Mangapouri; Matamata, Tauranga and Rotorua were overrun in 1835, and next year Maunsell and Hemlin settled at Manakau, while in June, 1839, positions at the Manakau Heads and the mouth of the Waikato were occupied. Of the first three stations, two had to be abandoned temporarily and one permanently owing to the intransigence of the
Maoris, but these were only local setbacks and did not affect the campaign as a whole. 1835 was, however, a desperate year for the missionaries. The outlook was gloomy, with death and destruction raging on every side. In the hope of making peace they travelled with the "tauas" but Wilson, Brown and Knight all reported cannibal atrocities. Lesser men might well have quailed before such bloody orgies, but the work went on with the threat of death never far distant. Nor was their labour in vain, for, when the "Tory" dropped anchor in Port Nicholson, its crew was greeted by natives requesting a service.

Yet, except for a brief visit by two Wesleyans, Bunby and Hobbs, in June of the same year, no missionary had penetrated to this area. The explanation of this apparent inconsistency is quite simple. The Maoris themselves, both consciously and unconsciously had taken time by the forelock, and without orders had skirmished far ahead of the main body. Some like Ripahau (or Matahau as he is often called) were heathens who instructed their compatriots to read and write for the mana it conferred upon themselves. By chance what they taught happened to be extracts from the Bible, the Prayer Book, and the Catechism, since in 1835 a printing press had reached New Zealand and under Colenso's management was publishing many copies of these books, while of other literature there was virtually
none. Others, like Wiremu Te Tauri, were professed and sincere Christians ready to suffer martyrdom for their faith. But all alike shared in blazing the trail and grubbing the ground so that others might plant where they had cleared and reap what they had sown. "Thus the work of God was carried on without the previous arrangement of man", and, as in primitive times, the slaves were active agents in the propagation of the Gospel. For while they had ravaged the land with fire and sword, Hongi and his successors had brought back year by year their conquered foes as slaves. Many of the latter, among them Ripahau, were freed and cared for by the missionaries in their schools at Paihia and elsewhere. In the course of time, as the interior became safer for travel, these men drifted back to their homes in all parts of the island.

It was in this way that the Gospel was first propagated in Wanganui, Otaki, and Wellington. Only a few of the natives are known by name, but they have left us the heritage and the glory of "lives obscurely great". Wanganui, the district nearest to the sphere of missionary activity, suffered by the perversity of chance more bloodshed in the establishment of Christianity than the other two areas. The first group of missionary natives which attempted to breach the outworks of heathenism consisted of two chiefs of the Ngatiruanui tribe, Putaka... and Te Awaroa, themselves just converted. They came with
a small party but were cooked and eaten in the neighbourhood of Karamu (Chariton's Creek) with great relish by Hepia Taratoa, who remarked that since they were Christian their flesh would taste all the sweeter. Those who made the next attempt met a similar end at Te Ahituatine, this time under a misapprehension, as the local natives thought they were trying to bewitch them. On discovering their error they were genuinely sorry, and in point of fact only one more cannibal feast disgraced the Wanganui river.

As is often the case, however, immediate failure resulted in eventual success. Two natives from Operiki pa, some forty miles up river, heard that the Ngatiruanui possessed a portion of the Bible. Fired by curiosity Hopera and Tahamurehua set out for Matangi to see this wonder for themselves. Here they met a native convert, Henere, who took it upon himself to baptise them thinking that they would thus be better able to expound their new religion. He also composed a hymn in honour of the occasion. Interest was growing, enthusiasm being aroused, and the next party, the third, reached the Putiki region in 1838. This achieved a great personal success in so far as none of its members was killed. Despite the efforts however, of its leader, Wiremu Te Tauri, to promote study groups, the Taupo natives made no converts. But "God walks in a mysterious way, his wonders to perform". A

young Wanganui chief, Hoani Wiremu Hipango, with his whole tribe was converted at about this period - the exact date is uncertain, but the fact is incontrovertible by obtaining by some means or other a copy of the Ten Commandments. These Maoris were so impressed by this negative code that they disposed of their idols and observed Sunday. In passing it is interesting to note that, despite many assertions to the contrary, the natives in the southern part of the North Island did indulge in idolatry, and that the Rev. Richard Taylor himself, who was for thirty years stationed at Putiki, saw some of the graven images that had been hidden in caves.

If true Christianity had not yet gripped the minds of the Wanganui tribes, an interest in it had been aroused, as was amply demonstrated later on the arrival of Henry Williams. Indeed, in the south, the missionaries were nowhere received with the suspicion and hostility that had been their measure in the north. The story of Otaki shows with what earnestness the demand for a missionary was pressed. It is an oft-told tale, perhaps the most frequently recited of all the pioneer work done by a Maori. There are many versions, but although they differ in detail they all agree on the result, and that is what matters.

When Hadfield and Henry Williams reached Waikanae in
November, 1839, "a neat Church, lined with tall reeds" had been erected, twelve hundred natives were assembled to greet them, and a service was held which included the singing of two hymns to original native tunes. The great Ngatiawa leader, Reretewangawanga, was busy with pencil and slate; his son, Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitaake, better known as a leader of the "King Movement", was to prove Hadfield's staunch supporter and one of the saviours of Wellington in 1843; and seven hundred, nine hundred, one thousand natives regularly gathered for prayer despite the unsettled state of the tribes (on October 16th a battle had been fought between the Ngatiawa and Ngatiraukawa at Te Kuitititonga in which the latter had been badly worsted). Many of the leaders, however, notably Tamihana Te Rauparaha, son of the old warrior, and his cousin, Matene Te Whiwhi, were turning towards peace rather than war. Chapels dotted the countryside; most of the natives were professing Christians, and some, in so far as they could, had embraced the new religion in its entirety. As Henry Williams put it: "There is a new feeling, arising from the great change which the introduction of the Gospel has effected."

The veracity of these statements might well be

queried for no white man, save a few whalers and adventurers, had been in communication with this area. Yet they are true. It was no heathen community that welcomed Hadfield, although many, particularly of the Ngatiraukawa, still followed the old practices. He did not have to undergo the weary business of starting from scratch without a single helper. His instruments were to his hand; the field of action had been cleared. It was for him to direct the operations with his superior skill and knowledge and make plain the places that were dark. This is not to belittle his work or underrate his difficulties - his record can stand with that of any man - but rather to give due credit to Ripahau, Tamihana, Te Whiwhi and their nameless helpers for their magnificent success in bringing the "good news" to their fellows. It cannot be too often emphasised that the white missionaries to Wellington, Otaki and Wanganui found a people professing Christianity and, like Oliver Twist, eagerly asking for more. To the natives goes the honour of being the first servants of God on this coast. And so was justified the "patient continuance if well-doing" of the English missionaries in the Bay of Islands, the men who had instructed many of these Maoris. No doubt the final result would have been the same had none of this preliminary work been carried out, had Mason and Hadfield

had to bear the sole burden themselves; but, as it was, their task was immensely eased.

It has already been mentioned how in 1836 Te Rauparaha and a European had sent letters requesting a missionary. After a visit to Cloudy Bay (across the strait from Kapiti) Marsden wrote on August 11th of the following year to the Church Missionary Society stating that a missionary was needed in Cook Strait. In 1838 of some fifteen Christian natives who set out from Tauranga one at least reached Otaki and others undoubtedly travelled down the Wanganui River. But the records are vague and the results of the expedition unknown.

Meanwhile in 1836, or possibly earlier, the headless body of a Maori had been buried at Paihia. Thus released, his slave, Ripahau, now homeless, received regular instruction at the mission school without showing any signs of becoming a convert, although his behaviour was consistently good. Shortly afterwards, he received permission to leave with a raiding party from the Bay of Islands to visit some relatives at Rotorua. Here he apparently became known to Chapman but soon proceeded to Cook Strait, where others of his tribe were living. Nothing more was heard for two years—why should it have been?—when Chapman unexpectedly received a letter

from him asking for books and stating that a number of people were anxious for instruction. This letter he forwarded to the Bay of Islands where by chance Tamihana Te Rauparaha and his cousin arrived with their demand for a missionary, a demand to which, with such momentous consequences for the future, the young and sickly Hadfield acceded with the words: "I will go: I know I shall not live long and I may as well die there as here."12

During these two years Ripahau had laboured, with a few scraps of paper acquired from the whalers, among his fellow tribesmen, some of whom became so enthusiastic that he was encouraged to pursue his work systematically. He received an accession of strength on the arrival of some Rotorua Maoris who, among the pieces of paper they carried for cartridge wads, possessed a torn and blood-stained copy of the gospel of St. Luke. This had previously belonged to Tarore, a girl eleven years of age who had been murdered by an Arawa "taua", and was purchased by Ripahau. Himself no Christian — on his arrival he had said that the Bible was a bad book as it taught men not to drink rum, to have two wives, or fight, but to live in peace and pray to God — he was won over and converted by Tamihana and Te Whiwhi, the very chiefs whom he had in

11. W. Williams to O.M.S., November 12th, 1839.
13. Ripahau to Katu (Tamihana) Te Rauparaha, cited by Phyllis L. Garlick in "Peacemaker of the Tribes", p. 48
the first place instructed in the purely secular arts of reading and writing. With a few others they withdrew to Kapiti where they could study in peace. For a time, however, owing to the eager kindness of Wiremu Kingi, Ripaheau dwelt with the Ngatiawa until induced to return by a gift of tobacco and a shirt. 14

It is a curious story, as is the conversion of the Wanganui natives by an odd copy of the Commandments, showing the fortuitous happenings of chance, or, as some might consider it, of divine providence. Whichever it may be, the result remains. Te Rauparaha's son and nephew sailed away to the Bay of Islands determined to "hear the words straight from a white man's mouth", 15 and to satisfy the emptiness in their minds that their native superstitions and beliefs could not fill. At last the tide was turning in favour of the missionaries, for the influence of these two chiefs, of the family of the dreaded Te Rauparaha, was not inconsiderable.

In contrast with the wealth of information available about Otaki and Wanganui there is almost a complete dearth concerning Wellington. We can judge only by later evidence, but that this is conclusive is beyond question. In August, 1839, the Rev. J. H. Bumby reported that the

Port Nicholson Maoris were "of milder aspect, and gentler carriage, than the natives of the north of the island."

Two services were held each Sunday in the Pipitea and Te Aro pas, a native, whose name is not recorded, was painfully multiplying his cherished copies of the Bible by hand, and there was a general demand by the Maoris, strongly opposed by the whalers, for a resident missionary.

It is, moreover, certain that from time to time natives travelling down the coast from Otaki brought news of Ripahau's teaching, and doubtless Port Nicholson Maoris who visited northwards came back filled with accounts of the strange new learning, although the names of none of these men are known. That no outstanding characters came to the fore as in Wanganui and Otaki it is fair to assume, for had they, it would have been most unlikely that nothing should be heard of them at a later date.

By the schooner, however, in which the two Wesleyans travelled Richard Davis, or Reihana, a Church of England native, arrived with his wife and family. He had been trained for some years in the school at Paihia, but that he came with definite instructions to prepare the way for the foundation of a mission station under Henry Williams, as E. J. Wakefield maintains, is not borne out by the fact. Doubtless it was hoped that he would perform valuable work on his own account, but the idea of settling at Port

Nicholson was very largely his own, and, further, there was no European who could be allotted to this particular task. Even if such had been the intention it would have been vain. It could not have withstood the logic of events.

Already the activities of the Baron de Thierry and the Manto-Bordelaise Company had aroused the English to the necessity of defeating the designs of their age-old foe, while the presence of Bishop Pompallier, who was both a Frenchman and a Roman Catholic, caused a shiver to run down the spines of all good British churchmen and patriots. As far back as 1833 the luckless Busby, the "man-of-war without guns", as the Maoris had so aptly sized him up, had been appointed in an attempt to curb the more outrageous crimes committed by the lawless beachcombers of Kororareka. Even the home committee of the Church Missionary Society, which for years had been cherishing the ideal of New Zealand as a missionary preserve, a sort of Utopia come to pass in the idyllic waters of the southern seas where not even man was vile - indeed the very reverse for, even if his physical habits were such as would have revolted a wild animal, his soul would be saved, realised that circumstances had overwhelmed its happy scheme. If annexation there had to be, and such was inevitable, let it be by England. Further the "notorious".

17. So described by Mr. Dandeson Coates, secretary of the C.M.S.
Edward Gibbon Wakefield was still hard at work on his plan for the systematic colonisation of New Zealand, an event which would assuredly spell the doom of the noble, innocent natives of that country. (It is only fair to add, however, that such a fate had been the result of previous encounters between colonist and savage elsewhere). Mr. Dandeson Coates, the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, had promised that he would resist the New Zealand Company by every means in his power, and this pledge he fulfilled to the letter. Strangely enough, though, opposition and his failure to get a bill passed through Parliament did not seem to deter Wakefield. Rather his determination appeared to be stimulated, and finally he had the audacity to despatch the "Tory" to Wellington without the government's permission.

The old order was undeniably changing, for the chief settlement of the New Zealand Company and a mission station could hardly flourish cheek by jowl, and the new to which it was yielding scarcely recommended itself to the missionaries. In September, 1839, their influence was supreme in the centre of the North Island; Wanganui and Otaki, to which latter station the district of Wellington would probably have been added, were awaiting the arrival of English missionaries to consolidate the work already accomplished by the natives, and to set up their own system of church organisation and government. There stil
lingered a strong hope that a native church might arise, free from all contaminating influence by white settlers, a church that would stand by itself and not be absorbed, as it has been, in a system that is intended primarily for Europeans and to which it must conform, even though it may manage to retain some traditional elements peculiar to itself. For at this time the Maoris were considerably more powerful than the whites, of whom there were only a few thousand scattered around the coasts with their principal settlement of some two thousand souls at Kororareka, whose position was revealed even so late as the 'sixties as extremely precarious. The pakeha-Maoris were on occasion treated as slaves, although it was recognised that their value as traders was such that their services were to be retained at all costs. Only the missionaries possessed any consistent degree of authority over the natives.

So at the very moment when their influence was at its peak, for there was virtually no one to challenge it, and when it seemed that they might yet establish their Christian theocracy with Reihana at Wellington, Ripahau at Otaki, and Hipango at Wanganui preparing the ground for them, the missionaries saw their plans irretrievably shattered. The cup of success they were about to drain was dashed from their lips. The Roman Catholics had
Wesleyans with whom relations had always been cordial, were powerful, they were definitely the junior partner in the evangelisation of the island, but it was absurd to expect that a fertile land with a mild climate could long avoid seizure by one of the great colonising powers. As it was, the arrival of the "Tory" on September 22nd, 1839, was the first visible intimation of the systematic colonisation of New Zealand. The signing, on February 6th, 1840, of the Treaty of Waitangi provided a basis for the legal government of the country under Captain Hobson, and with it vanished the unofficial rule exercised by the members of the Church Missionary Society. The latter might still influence the decisions of those in high places; they could no longer frame a policy of their own. The writing was on the wall for those who cared to read, for it is an irrefutable law of nature that the weaker must bow to the stronger, and as the power of the white man increased and that of the Maori declined, so did the Church of England, as such, gradually arrogate to itself one by one the prerogatives of the old missionary organisation until in 1859 its development was so far advanced as to permit local diocesan control. This does not signify that missionary work decreased in itself. In point of fact, although its relative importance was on the wane, it expanded ever more rapidly and with increasing success up to about 1850, when for various
reasons which will be dealt with later, there was a noticeable falling away.

From now on the chief actors are all white men, valuable as are the roles of the extras played by the natives. But it must never be forgotten that, as in the times of the apostles it was the slaves who carried the word of God throughout the eastern Mediterranean - as centuries later it was by the same agency that the Germans first learnt of Christianity - so in Wellington, Otaki and Wanganui it was partly these same humble instruments that first propagated the gospel. That their coadjutors should have been chiefs and the sons of chiefs, in addition to the ordinary members of the tribes, furnishes an excellent testimony to the manner in which religion influenced the country from the highest to the lowest. Destiny has not granted the Maori race a church of its own, but today it has its own bishop, whose see is most appropriately named Aotearoa, and it adds a noble and unique contribution to the church of its conquerors and fellows in Christ.
CHAPTER II
THE BEGINNINGS OF A CHURCH
1839 to 1842


Henry Williams and Hadfield set off on their southward journey to Otaki on October 21st, 1839. They expected to land in an area peopled by Maoris and a sprinkling of whalers, where the younger man would be able to pursue his missionary activities unhindered. Their disillusionment was swift and bitter. Unable to beat up to Kapiti against a strong westerly wind they sheltered in the harbour of Port Nicholson, "very different from what is represented in the map of Captain Cook". Here they found Reihana who greeted

them with the news that Colonel Wakefield was buying up all the surrounding land, despite the protests of many of the Maoris. This knowledge infuriated Williams, who was unable to take any action at the time as Wakefield had travelled northwards. And it is here that begins on this coast the sad sorry tale of the land claims and purchases that was to poison relations between missionary and colonist for many weary years, and that was partly to cause the C.M.S. to expel their faithful and tireless old worker who had done more than any man, except perhaps Samuel Marsden, to found the mission in New Zealand.

It is not proposed to discuss the whole unhappy sordid question, but merely to deal with the local purchases in the Western District and the general repercussions that were felt there. On finding Reihana anxious to quit a spot where his property was in jeopardy, Williams bought sixty acres from him for a mission station. This the Maoris would not allow the Company's surveyors to peg out until Williams himself returned, when to the intense astonishment of the colonists, in consideration of the setting aside of native reserves, he made over to them all but two acres. One of these he reserved for Reihana; the other, which he later sold for the endowment of a church at Pakaraka. Such
briefly is the story of a transaction which by deliberate misrepresentation has caused so much obloquy to be heaped upon the head of an innocent man. The New Zealand Spectator well expresses the view held of Williams and most of his fellow missionaries, by his contemporaries. It accuses him of being "the Coryphoeus of Missionary Land sharks" and dilates on "his selfish views, his hypocrisy and unblushing rapaciousness." In reading such damning indictments, however, it should not be forgotten that the administration of the law of slander was lax a hundred years ago and that all controversy was carried on with like fulminations. Even so the language is strong enough.

Yet even had Williams retained his purchase Wellington would never have become a missionary centre. The home committee of the C.M.S. decided against the plan; but of incomparably greater moment was the presence of the "Tory", visible evidence and mute witness that the old order of native sovereignty was gone beyond recall. The most that could be worked for now was the preservation of the Maori and a modicum of his rights against the encroachment of the eager, and often none too scrupulous, invader. The first of many such acts induced by this sense of trusteeship, a sense strongly

2. New Zealand Spectator, March 29th, 1845.
3. Ibid., May 31st, 1845.
felt also in South Africa under Philip, was the purchase of land. It must have seemed hard to Williams that a circumstance, so unforeseen as the systematic colonisation of New Zealand, should bring his scheme crashing into ruin about his ears when all the reports he had received of the evangelising efforts of the natives had been distinctly favourable both here and at Otaki and Waikanae.  

As was to be expected, however, he did not permit misfortune to daunt his spirits; he did not flag or fail or falter. His time in Wellington was not wasted. On November 13th he visited Ngahauranga and went on to Petone by canoe, distributing "one hundred prayer books, fifteen Testaments, and six catechisms". Hadfield, as usual, was unwell and was able to eat only bread and water, but he made light of his disabilities and the following day the two men set out for Waikanae. Four days hard walking brought them to their destination where they found ample traces of the ministry of Ripahau, who "has laboured with astonishing zeal and perseverance".

The warm welcome they received must have rejoiced

5. Ibid., November 13th, 1839.
6. Ibid., November 22nd, 1839.
the hearts of the missionaries, still aching from their harsh shock at Port Nicholson. They had indeed been preceded by the ubiquitous Colonel Wakefield and his precocious but erratic nephew, Edward Jerningham Wakefield, but the Maoris had not parted with their land. A battle between the Ngatiawa and Ngatiraukawa had been fought over the ownership of the land, but the two tribes were again at peace. Old Te Rauparaha himself, who knew how to submit gracefully when the necessity arose, greeted them with the words "You have done well to come", and reproved Williams for not having paid any heed to his letters: as a result his children had had to go themselves. But he omitted to mention that he had urged the ship's captain to put them ashore among some heathen friends of his. So, as Hongi, "the Maori Napoleon", had acted as the protector of the early missionaries, did Hadfield accept the patronage of a scarcely less successful and bloody warrior. He now settled down to that life of labour and devotion to the interests of the Maoris and the general welfare of the Church of England in this land that was to raise him to the high office of Primate of New Zealand, an honour which no man has more fitly merited.

With the first mission station in the Western

7. Henry Williams to Danderson Coates, January 23rd, 1840.
District planted, Henry Williams continued on to Wanganui which he reached on December 14th. Once again it was no cold greeting that was accorded him. He was the first white missionary of any denomination to visit these parts, yet on the following day, which by chance was a Sunday, at a service on the beach held in defiance of wind and rain some three hundred Maoris were present. Today a congregation of these proportions would not discourage its pastor, and as he travelled to Pukehika, fifty miles up the Wanganui River, his reception by the natives was always the same; delight and enthusiasm at seeing him, repeated and importunate demands for religious tracts, request after request that he should send a missionary to live amongst them. Would it be possible, he thought, to maintain stations at Otaki and Putiki where the native could be insulated from the white, and where a church of the Maoris could be organised by the Maoris for the Maoris? The first of these conditions was still largely fulfilled at Otaki as late as 1859, and even today the support of its native Church is derived entirely from the Maori Mission; outside circumstances, however, soon rendered the second condition entirely impracticable. At Wanganui, despite the great pa at Putiki and the thousands of natives

8. In the early days often, and more correctly, referred to as Putiki-waranui. "Putiki" is here and subsequently used as this version of the name is more common today.
living up the Wanganui river, neither condition was possible of realisation. For already on November 20th E. J. Wakefield had visited the mouth of the Wanganui and once more the question of land claims, not finally arranged till McLean's settlement in 1848, was rearing its ugly head. The complicated and conflicting accounts of Williams's purchase, each informed and distorted by blind and biased partisanship— it is not even established beyond reasonable doubt that he bought any land at all—need not detain us. It suffices to state that in attempting to protect the interests of the Maoris and maintain the old order and what he tended to regard as the proprietary right of the missionary over the native and his possessions, Williams advised the latter not to sell any land, and gave a blanket to Koroheke to induce him not to sign Colonel Wakefield's deed of sale.

This war to the knife bred much ill-feeling and misunderstanding in Wanganui, as elsewhere, and seriously hampered Mason and Taylor in their ministrations. In Otaki, however, where the Maori predominated and in Wellington where the colonists were in the majority, it had little real effect on religious development as such. Had missionary and settler co-operated in the early days, had future generations been spared the
unedifying memory of many of New Zealand's pioneers losing all sense of proportion and mental honesty over a problem that was admittedly difficult, but by no manner of means impossible of solution, the organisation of the church would still have been remarkably similar, if at all different. The full fury of this insensate strife was largely lulled by the end of the first decade of organised settlement, and its chief legacy in this sphere was one of bitter recollections rather than of positive damage.

Meanwhile the indomitable Hadfield was reconnoitring his new field of operations, which extended from Cape Palliser to Mount Egmont and from the Manawatu Gorge to Queen Charlotte Sound. January, 1840, found him pressing on to Otumatua by way of Taranui, Waitotara and Patea. This was virgin ground but again Christianity had preceded its official announcer. On May 22nd he and Henry Williams were back in Putiki together bringing with them a copy of the Treaty of Waitangi, which most of the chiefs signed. This visit to the district was by no means Hadfield's last, but in future he was to come as the guest or the superior; he would no longer be the host in his own home. For Williams fulfilled his promise to Turoa of sending a married missionary (since according to the Maoris a married man would be the more likely to settle down
permanently). On June 20th, 1840, the Rev. John Mason arrived with his wife, and a lay catechist, Mr. Richard Mathews. So in the space of seven months two great advances had been made in the Western District; the Church of England was establishing and consolidating its beach-heads – or so it seemed. It was not till twelve years later that the first reinforcement of any real value was received, and thereby hangs a long unhappy tale, told in the subsequent pages of this thesis.

At this juncture it is well to pause and consider what manner of men were these who sacrificed the easy comfort of a leisured, cultured society, who cut themselves off from practically all intercourse with their friends and intellectual peers to devote their lives to delivering a few thousand savages, half a world away, from their "loved Egyptian night". That they were convinced they had a mission to fulfil is clear. To argue that the same fiery zeal equally sustained all alike in their devotion to duty would be absurd. Some flagged and then failed, but happily the annals of the Western District have no such derelictions of duty to report. Mentally tough and convinced that their cause was just, it is little wonder that the missionaries refused to yield by one jot or tittle to those who were, or whom they believed to be, their
opponents. The labours of the Roman Catholics they stigmatised as "the efforts of Satan", and Henry Williams wrote "that the Popish and Protestant Churches can ever become reconciled is as likely as that fire and water shall unite". Even the generous Hadfield fulminated against the "popish priests" for "disseminating damnable heresies" and against the Wesleyans for "scattering far and wide their specious errors". This sectarian bitterness between Methodist and Anglican was a new portent as Marsden and the early missionaries had always been on good terms with the agents of the Wesleyan Missionary Society. Taylor's description of E. J. Wakefield is evidence of his uncompromising attitude towards the colonists. No love was lost, for there was none to be lost, although often the private relations between men holding conflicting views was more cordial than their public utterances. It is indeed not surprising that these evangelists who came to save souls among the natives raised up enemies among the white population. In very truth "they were born warriors ... for in those days religion was still a banner, under which to fight .... There was a very madness of necessity, an agony of salvation".

9. Henry Williams to O.M.S., October 23rd, 1840.
10. Hadfield to Danerson Coates, October 11th, 1839.
11. Ibid.
It was this agony of salvation that sustained them through every danger, and made them face every peril with a cold-blooded courage beyond praise. Mason was drowned while crossing the Turakina when it was in full flood. Hadfield, who almost met the same fate on this occasion in attempting to rescue his friend, used nonchalantly to sail over to the South Island in an open boat—even the whalers thought him mad—until on the powerful representations of Henry Williams, a former officer of the Royal Navy, the local committee presented him with the "Flying Fish". Taylor, who was unable to swim, spent many days travelling by canoe on the numerous rivers in his district. Wars and rumours of war brought the missionaries hurrying to the focal point of danger to attempt to negotiate peace, or failing that to tend the wounded. Twice, in August 1840 and March 1841, Mason and Matthews parleyed with the great Te Heu Heu himself; in 1843 Hadfield, ably seconded by Wiremu Kingi, restrained the Maoris from sacking Wellington on the news of the massacre at Waireau; it was largely thanks to Taylor in 1847 that Wanganui was not abandoned after the Gilfillans had been fouly murdered, an event that brought Govett post-haste from Otaki; on February 6th of the same year Taylor, after the murder of two missionary natives, Manihera and Kereopa, visited Iwikai and Herskiekie in
the upper reaches of the Wanganui at a time when the natives were seething with discontent and spoiling for a fight, thanks to the successes of Hone Heke who had developed a penchant for chopping down the Kororareka flagstaff. These instances are not exceptional; they were part of the day's work and as such they were accepted.

Courage and unswerving devotion to their ideal, the salvation of the Maoris from a state of heathenism, were their common denominator. Otherwise they varied as men do. Mason who arrived in New Zealand early in 1840 was a youngish man with an Oxford degree. A good administrator and enthusiastic traveller, he obtained many converts, appointed native teachers, organised churches, and developed the embryonic machinery created by Henry Williams on his first visit. His system, taken over by Taylor, who improved upon it, worked well for years. Mason seems, however, as so many of the missionaries of that period were, to have been of an austere and severe disposition, and Jerningham Wakefield's description of him on a trip up the Wanganui on a hot sunny day as immaculately turned out, sitting bolt upright on a backless plank some three inches across and maintaining an unbroken silence, may not be wide of the mark for all its bias.

The tributes paid him by Hadfield and Selwyn respectively that he "laboured effectively" and was "a valuable and useful man, and much respected by the Natives" are borne out by the statistical survey of his ministrations. These latter he conceived as his "duty and endeavour to go up the river as frequently as possible, to visit the Natives at their Pas". At the end of twelve months he could reckon to his credit thirteen chapels, with three building, fifteen schools at which the regular attendance was about nine hundred, and a congregation of some one thousand eight hundred natives. On June 19th, 1842, he opened a brick church, 40 feet by 26, built under his supervision and thanks to his initiative by volunteer labour, in the presence of eight hundred people, some of whom were pakehas. On Sundays he held two services and a school for the natives; during the week he attended the morning school, and then assisted Mrs. Mason in the school for females — the wives were expected to work as hard as their husbands — and on four evenings weekly he held a Bible class. On his travels he visited the natives up the rivers, inland at Mangawero, and along the coast from Taranaki to Rangitikei. Despite the mutual antagonism between

15. Selwyn in a letter, dated October 4th, 1842.
17. Mason's report to C.M.S. for year ending June 30th, 1841.
18. Ibid.
missionary and settler and the fact that he had come to
preach the gospel to the Maoris, Mason did not neglect
the colonists. For these men who, dissatisfied with
Wellington, had towards the end of 1840 drifted in to
try their luck at Wanganui of which they had heard such
glowing accounts from the Wakefields, he occasionally
held a service. On November 29th, 1841, he performed
the first wedding in Wanganui, and white children
were admitted to his mission school.

When he died he had despite all obstacles laid a
firm and enduring foundation on which Taylor built with
confidence. His difficulties had not been inconsider-
able. Wanganui was certainly, as its founder
E. J. Wakefield had christened it, "this refuge of the
lawless". One settler had it that "a more conceited
coxcomb of a priestling (than Mason) never donned
habit". This is merely the language of abuse,
reflecting more discredit on the author than the object
of the remark, but hostility was never more plain.
Further his knowledge of Maori was poor, while Hadfield
remarked on his ignorance of the conditions likely to
be encountered in New Zealand. Even so the Account
rendered of his stewardship of two and a half years is

19. Between Gilbert Francis Dawson and Harriet Heywood
Stiles. The Gilfillan wedding was not, as is
popularly supposed, the first in Wanganui.
20. Quoted by L.J.B. Chapple and H.C. Veitch in
impressive. On his arrival he and his party lived in tents for twenty days while raupo huts were being erected, services were conducted in the open air and not one native was a member of the Church. On his death the house and the church he had built and three hundred baptised adults attested to his ministrations.

Yet, successful as had been his efforts at conversion, two circumstances proved convincingly that the Maoris were not to be the senior partners in the Church of England. The settling of the immigrants and the visit of the Right Reverend George Augustus Selwyn, Bishop of New Zealand, on October 13th, 1842, showed that the march of time and the advance of civilisation could not be stayed. But as yet the Maori was strong and the white man weak, and until the latter gained an appreciable ascendancy a twin development was inevitable, a duality admirably, if unconsciously, expressed in Selwyn's entry "Native services to large congregations. Deputation of English residents .... to congratulate me". 21

Mason's ministry at Wanganui has been dealt with in some detail as it was typical of the life led by his contemporaries. Meanwhile at Otaki Hadfield was achieving remarkable success. In 1837 at the age of

22 he had offered himself as a missionary despite handicaps that might well have appeared insurmountable. Afflicted by asthma, he was compelled to leave Charterhouse and prevented from taking a degree at Oxford. A trip to the Azores did something to improve his health, but his father told his sisters that "he would have preferred my becoming a chimney-sweeper rather than a missionary". Nevertheless 1838 found him in New Zealand assisting at the school at Waitati, and the following year at Otaki where he expected to die. Faced by the immediate difficulty that both the Ngatiawa and the Ngatiraukawa desired his presence he solved the problem by having a "door of utterance" at both Waikane and Otaki. Besides occupying these two centres he was to "keep a general oversight of the settlements all around, until he should have more assistance". Wanganui's detachment from his care has already been noticed, but even so the burden remaining was Herculean in its proportions. In his immediate neighbourhood the Ngatiawa were well disposed to him, but the Ngatiraukawa "were a rough, proud and turbulent people. Infanticide was more common among them than among any other tribe. It seemed scarcely

22. Manuscript autobiography of Hadfield's early life, from which the foregoing information is also taken, in the possession of Miss Amy Hadfield, Marton.

23. Henry Williams's Journal December 4th 1838
safe to live with them". Undaunted he explained his objects to them, and "a small party came daily to me for instruction".

So day by day and year by year the work went on, as with increasing confidence and knowledge and an improving grasp of the Maori tongue, idiom and mind, he traversed his district time and again, until by 1845, when he was stricken down by an illness that appeared fatal, he was able to write that "during that period I baptised many hundreds of adult Maoris and directly or indirectly through schools that I established, taught more than 2,000 men, women and children to read and write in their own language". It was a stupendous achievement, made all the grander by reason of his physical debility. Pleurisy detained him in Wellington during January and February 1842, yet such was his indomitable selflessness that he improved the occasion by ministering to the English and natives who had then been twelve months without a clergyman of the Church of England. When later in the year his district was slightly reduced in area by the transference of a part of it to the Rev. Robert Cole on his arrival at Wellington, he was considerably irritated since the area

24. Manuscript resume of his work at Waikanae and Otaki by Hadfield.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
27. Henry Williams had written to the O.M.S. on January 23rd, 1840: "Mr. Hadfield is very weak, we can have little dependence on him"
involved contained some one thousand five hundred Maoris, about one hundred of whom were baptised, and to whom Cole, a member of the S.P.C. with no Maori, would not be able to minister adequately. A year previously Hadfield estimated, and he was a man not given to exaggeration, that four thousand natives connected with him met daily for prayers, whereas in May, 1840, the total had been approximately only two thousand five hundred, if the word "only" is appropriate to such a figure. The school and church at Otaki were both prospering and were attended by many young people. On February 11th Hadfield wrote: "I am thankful to say that the Gospel is making a rapid yet steady progress ... The ancient superstitions are fast vanishing ... the old Atua shun the light of day". War had ceased, and there was a great spirit of enquiry among the natives. Eighteen schools, in which more than six hundred people were daily being instructed, had been established. Lastly he was "careful not to baptise without evidence of the pre-requisites - faith and repentance".

Yet nobly as he had wrought, the labour was too great by far for one man. In a single year he had twice travelled to Wanganui, once to Taranaki, three times to

28. William Williams to C.M.S., May 5th, 1840.
29. Hadfield to C.M.S., February 11th, 1841.
30. Ibid.
the South Island, and had made several trips to Wellington. In October 1842 Selwyn preached to more than five hundred Maoris in the Waikanae chapel - "I gathered from their faces that they understood what I was saying" - and saw preparations for a new one. 31 Hadfield's report for 1843 stated that at Otaki there were one hundred and fifteen communicants, at Waikanae one hundred and forty; a new church, regularly attended, had been built at Te Rewarewa, ninety miles up the Manawatu river, and native teachers, led by Tamihana Te Rauparaha, had sailed along the coast of Canterbury and Otago to Stewart Island. A missionary magazine might truly write that

the Western District contains so scattered a population, that additional labourers are very much needed; there being a great desire for religious instruction, to impart which the Missionaries are obliged to be frequently absent from their Stations. 32

The additional labourers, however, were not forthcoming to gather in the harvest that was ripe for the reaping. Native teachers, more intelligent than their fellows, were used as stop-gaps, but even as substitutes they fell far short of what could have been desired. Only a year or two before they themselves had been heathen, they could be but imperfectly trained, and the value of their work cannot be rated highly. Many of them laboured devotedly, Rota Waitoa and Riwai te Ahu, two of

31. Selwyn's Journal, October 12th, 1842.
32. C.M.S. Quarterly Papers, Lady Day, 1843.
Hadfield's earliest helpers, being the first Maoris ordained into the ministry, but the task was beyond them. Herein lies one of the root causes of the great "deadness" that began to prevail among the natives at the turn of the half century. The missionaries, Hadfield, Mason and Taylor, overran the land and for a few years while all was new great enthusiasm prevailed. As soon, however, as the novelty began to wear thin and the "first love" grew cool, it was seen that only too often the seed had fallen on stony ground, that rapidly as it had germinated its roots lacked depth and strength. But this was as yet hidden in the mists of the future, although to thoughtful men it was plain that unless the gains were rapidly consolidated much that had been won would be lost.

During his first three years at Otaki Hadfield's attempts to ground his natives more securely in the tenets of the Christian faith were considerably hampered by events in Wellington. The New Zealand Company brought out its own chaplain, the Rev. J. F. Churton, who arrived on April 21st, 1840, on the "Bolton" together with a former head of the New Zealand mission, the Rev. J. G. Butler, who came as Native Guardian and Interpreter to the Company. The former met with so little support that in January, 1841, he left for Auckland, "an impoverished man"33, and the latter died on June 18th.

33. C.F. Pascoe, Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G., p.434.
Neither had specifically identified himself with the spiritual welfare of the Maoris, who were thus left largely to their own devices. Hadfield, who spent a few days every two or three months at Wellington, did what he could for both races. In the nature of things, however, this could not be much and his efforts were not assisted by the behaviour of Mr. Davy, a candidate for holy orders, who had been appointed by Bishop Broughton. (For until Selwyn's arrival in May, 1842, New Zealand was included within the boundaries of the diocese of Australia). It was not until August of the same year, on Selwyn's installation of Cole, that Wellington again enjoyed the full-time ministrations of a clergyman of the Church of England, and was so enabled to develop along the conventional lines, in spiritual matters, of an English community.

Encouragement during this interregnum was chiefly to be derived from the behaviour of the Maoris under Hadfield's guidance, even though his hand could only be rarely on the tiller. Selwyn found the natives especially requiring great care and attention, but they "were at the time conducting themselves generally in a very satisfactory manner, under the influence and instructions of the Revd. Octavius Hadfield". The testimony of the Rev. John Couch Grylls, convict chaplain

34. Extract from a Journal kept by one of the passengers on board the "Tomatin"...December 26th, 1841 to November 11th, 1842.
at Sydney, on this subject is most striking\(^{35}\) and is corroborated from independent sources. "It would have been a lesson", wrote one laymen, "to some of our thoughtless and fashionable congregations, to witness the devout and serious aspect and demeanour of these tattooed men, who ... were performing Christian Worship with decorous simplicity and reverential feeling".\(^{36}\) In the words of another "the natives throw European people into the shade, both for honour, honesty and religion".\(^{37}\)

These Maoris worshipped in their own chapel of "'raupo' and 'tohitohi' grass",\(^{38}\) the Europeans, when they did turn aside from the pursuit of profit or pleasure, in private houses, native whares, or court houses, anywhere in fact except in a church, for there was not one. It may be argued that the settlers were struggling with their backs to the wall for sheer survival, but this is palliation not exoneration. Further the facts are against this view, and it is generally agreed that despite the New Zealand Company's procrastination, for various reasons, in the distribution of land "there is in fact no parallel to it (Wellington) in

35. For an account of the visit paid by Grylls to Wellington in April, 1840, see The Missionary Register 1841, p.308.
38. G.F.Angas, op. cit.
the history of modern colonisation".39 At Petone Churton held his services in a "native whare ... occupied by the Surveyor's men" and used by them as a dwelling and lumber and cooking room, and their occupations were not 'interrupted even during the hours of Divine Service'. Consequently 'respectable persons' were driven from attendance".40 Yet it was at this time that he was able to write: "Be assured no illustration can be offered of 'fields white already to the harvest' more apt and immediate than the spiritual condition of New Zealand",41 and by New Zealand he meant its Maori inhabitants. His relations with his fellow colonists, despite their stigmatism of his departure as a desertion of them,42 were clearly not overcordial. E. J. Wakefield contemptuously remarks on "his querulous and discontented spirit, his unbending stiffness and morose manner, and ... his general want of the colonizing spirit".43 Butler, sixty years of age, carried quietly on at Petone, but he was past his prime and beloved though he was his influence was not considerable.

Davy, Churton's successor, enjoyed a short career

39. William Deans to Andrew Deans, April 11th, 1842.
42. E.J. Wakefield, op. cit., p.545. Churton "had deserted his flock".
43. Ibid., p.300.
but a merry one. A catechist holding a B.A. degree, his instructions were to "read prayers and preach, to visit the sick, to superintend schools for the young and to inter the dead". These he interpreted to include the performance of the marriage ceremony, the holding of champagne dinners, the appropriation of fifty pounds held in trust for a hospital, and the splashing of Captain Hobson as he landed from his boat. E. J. Wakefield sanctimoniously comments that he was scouted by all worthy people (presumably including himself), but adds the interesting information that since no one would hear him read public prayers this office was performed by Colonel Wakefield, Mr. St. Hill and other leading citizens. At last towards the end of 1841 his conduct became so outrageous that "he has been obliged to go away".

It is not surprising that the Church of England, the established church of most of the colonists and of their fathers' fathers, was held in such low repute in Wellington during these years. It is not surprising that in 1841 Hadfield was worried over the state of the "new settlement where people are prone to forget the God of their fathers", and where the missionaries were treated with contempt as hypocrites, land-jobbers and

45. E. J. Wakefield, op. cit., p.373.
47. Hadfield in a comment made on the state of Wellington in 1841.
men not to be trusted. From this designation, however, he himself must be excluded, for his standing with all parties was quite exceptional. Colonel Wakefield wrote that he "well deserves the estimation in which he is held"; Jerningham Wakefield that "his irreproachable character and winning demeanour procured him the love and respect of all classes, in both races; of the heathen native and the brutal beachcomber, as well as of the grateful converts and the colonists of education".

This is high praise made the higher when the normal bias of the writers is considered. Even Saunders who is somewhat prejudiced against the missionaries and all their works considers that he had the "wisdom of the serpent and ... the gentleness of the dove". This is scarcely flattering but in it the writer tacitly admits Hadfield's influence. Without doubt one of the reasons for his popularity was his refusal to buy an acre of land. Indeed as early as 1839 he threatened to resign from the C.M.S. on account of the land policy of its representatives in New Zealand, a policy apparently sanctioned by the home committee. He complained of the "extensive purchases" and of "a worldly spirit among our ... people", so that "the very name of a New Zealand Missionary is in these

50. E. J. Wakefield, quoted ibid.
parts treated with opprobrium and contempt.\textsuperscript{52}

It was on his frail shoulders then that the example of a Christian and a gentlemen - the Maoris immediately recognised him as a "rangatira" - principally devolved, and right well did he fulfil this duty in the new, raw, bustling settlement that contained such a high proportion of men of intellect and discernment. During these early years when missionaries were at a discount, when the official representatives of the Church of England in Wellington were men either of no weight or positive discredit, he by himself maintained the noblest traditions of his Church, a no mean feat for a young man in his twenties. But his single-handed efforts could not have prevailed unaided, for after all Wellington occupied only a small part of his district. Excellent work, however, was performed among the Maoris, particularly at Te Aro, by a Wesleyan missionary, the Rev. John Aldred, and among the settlers by Father O'Reilly, a Roman Catholic priest, and by the Rev. John McFarlane, the Presbyterian minister and first resident clergyman in Wellington. The latter married and baptised many members of the Church of England,\textsuperscript{53} but he too complained of falling congregations.

\textsuperscript{52} Hadfield to Danderson Coates, October 11th, 1839.
\textsuperscript{53} In a letter to the New Zealand Colonist, August 23rd, 1842, McFarlane states that he conducted 48 out of 74 marriages, and 53 out of 114 baptisms for members of the Church of England.
and difficulty in obtaining money to endow schools and
churches.54

Aldred, O'Reilly and McFarlane, however, were
ministers of rival churches. Their services were merely
accepted out of sheer necessity. So, for all Hadfield's
careful tending of the guttering flame, it was no bright
expectation that greeted Selwyn on his first visit on
August 12th, 1842. Certainly a site for a church and
cemetery had been received and plans for a cathedral
considered, but there was no other provision for
religious and charitable institutions,55 Sunday was not
observed, and "with some most honourable exceptions the
settlers seemed to be seeking their own safety and
advantage chiefly".56 "Church matters (were not) so
advanced, as the condition and size of the settlement
would have naturally led him to expect".57 In a word
"everything will have to be begun".58 He was presented
with a public address, but was compelled to express, with
all courtesy, his decided disapprobation of the sentiments

One Sunday McFarlane's congregation numbered 14,
another Sunday 7.

55. *New Zealand Government Gazette*, October 26th, 1841.
Reserves L and M were allotted as a burial ground,
the eighteen acres being proportionately divided
among the various denominations according to the
number of their adherents. In addition an area of
1 acre 4 poles (opposite the cemetery) was granted
the Church of England for a church.


58. Selwyn to S.P.G., July 29th, 1842.
therein contained. A second address, from the members of his church, gave him more pleasure. The first welcome reflected the delight there had been at the news of his appointment and at his expected arrival "with a suite of clergymen." A further cause of rejoicing was the fact that he had agreed to the request of the directors of the New Zealand Company to mediate between it and the C.M.S. Some interesting features, of little intrinsic importance in themselves but valuable as indicating the direction of the wind, can be seen in the circumstances of this address: it was carried unanimously at a meeting representing practically every shade of opinion, an event almost unique in the stormy history of those rough days; it was seconded by Mr. Hanson who was not a member of the Church of England; and among those elected to the committee was Mr. McFarlane, the Scottish minister. This happy combination of circumstances might seem to augur well, but a local paper, adequately representing the sentiments of the majority of the colonists, stripped the gilt from the gingerbread. "A willing deference," it reads, "to the Church of England and its clergy - a disposition to shew them every mark of respect, and to afford them all practical assistance; but a determination to maintain unimpaired the grand principle of religious equality among all denominations." 60

60. New Zealand Colonist, August 12th, 1842.
This principle is the keynote of the development of the Church of England to this day. Already among the Wellington settlers there was growing the demand for that independence which as a nation and a church we enjoy. "Daughter am I in my mother's house, but mistress in my own" was no poet's fancy. Politically and socially the house, no longer under the mother's close supervision, as yet reflected, as experience and human nature have shown to be the case elsewhere, little credit on the daughter. She had no great conception of her responsibilities and was abusing her new found freedom in an arrant disregard of her duty and a vulgar display of gross selfishness. Anyone who stood, or was imagined to stand, in the path of their interests, which appeared to be chiefly dispossessing the native of his land, was lashed by the colonists with a vituperative bitterness that did as little credit to their heads as to their hearts. No one, nothing was safe: Hobson, Shortland, Fitzroy, Auckland, Wanganui, the missionaries, their own political opponents writhed under the cracking thong. Selwyn was solemnly warned that should he "fix his principal residence at Auckland, instead of being received with affectionate regard as our best friend, he will be coldly looked upon as instrumental to our injury and a main prop of a rival settlement". It is scarcely surprising then that on his return from Nelson he could

61. The Wellington agent of the New Zealand Society to the home committee.
find no more suitable building in which to conduct a
service than the Mechanics' Institute, "a Rubishing (sic)
Mud building, filled with 'worthless fossils, and
rubishing skeletons of fish'. Some of which the Bishop
had to remove in order to make room for the Bible". 62

Wellington was scarcely a religious settlement. The
materialistic outlook that characterised England in the
"Hungry Forties" had reached out to the furthest corner
of her empire. Self-help, the very principle by which
Selwyn and Hadfield were to found the diocese of
Wellington, was the order of the day. The boundless
energy of the new age was sweeping all before it. The
criterion of success was the amassing of wealth. Charity,
the first of the virtues, was regarded as weakness - and
nevertheless practised, for the settlers were Englishmen.
There was, too, a sense of civic responsibility as
witnessed by Wellington's first self-elected council and
the many public meetings. The colonists were virile and
they had come to stay; there could be no mistake about
that. The missionary was a shadowy diminishing figure
receding into the bush tracks inland; Wellington and
its immediate environs, Petone, Lower Hutt and Porirua,
saw him less and less frequently in his official capacity.
The transition period lasting from the beginning of 1840
until Cole's arrival was over. The latter's appointment

as a member of the S.P.G., a body that has always been the faithful, if sometimes dull, hand-maid of the more regular, conservative side of the Church of England, showed clearly that the zealous fervour of evangelisation had yielded to the more formal observances of orthodox churchmanship. His post was no sinecure for progress was in the air, exhilarating and freshening. Schools would be founded, sites for churches and parsonages acquired, buildings erected and church and state would march hand in hand in their growth, if not in their views. The gain might be slowly bought, but bought it would be and in such a way that it would not shrivel in a night.

This extension of the scope and activity of the church included the Maoris too, for all that Cole was the agent of an organisation that catered primarily for the needs of Europeans. In Otaki and Wanganui, as has been described, the progress made by the missionaries proceeded at an ever more rapid rate, but with the appearance of Selwyn, who had come to organise the Church of England in New Zealand as part of a catholic entity and not as a proprietary preserve of the C.M.S., and with the steady consolidation of their gains by the colonists it was becoming increasingly obvious that the haphazard growth that had previously obtained would have to be pruned and trained along more regular lines. For
by their advances the missionaries undermined their own position. This phenomenon, observable at all times in all lands, is easily explained. As they tamed the natives they rendered them powerless to resist the incoming settlers. The latter were no longer deterred by the fear of cannibalism, the Maoris had been taught to abjure war, the power of the chiefs was almost broken by the influence exercised by the native teachers, and the natives were being persuaded to live in love and charity with their neighbours. As yet much of the interior remained closed and warriors like Rangihaeata still offered a gallant and unyielding front to the invader, but their days were numbered. The missionaries were busily sowing the seeds of their own eventual supersession. The evangelist was to become the pastor, the Mission the Church.
Selwyn's policy of centralisation - Religious revival in England: its results - E. G. Wakefield's plans for the Church of England - Their incompatibility with Selwyn's Scheme and resultant failure - Progress of the other denominations - Social activities - Work and loyalty of the laity - Troubles of the Church of England - Gradual improvement - Spiritual and material state of Wellington - The cemetery dispute: its implications.

Selwyn brought with him to New Zealand a type of churchmanship new to Maori and missionary alike. The very creation of the diocese implied co-ordination, and its first bishop arrived regarding a policy of centralisation as an ideal in itself. At Wellington he hoped to place a clergyman "of high character and standing" as archdeacon, with ample resources, but the New Zealand Company failed to provide its promised quota and the scheme lapsed into abeyance. Nevertheless as a portent for the future it was of great significance, for had it succeeded the missionaries within the proposed archdeaconry would have come under its jurisdiction. The authority of the C.M.S. in church matters, which had previously been

unchallenged, would have been seriously diminished, for it had been by express invitation that Bishop Broughton of Australia had paid his visit in 1838. The attempt had failed, but what of that? The failure had been due to circumstances outside Selwyn's control, and it was not his nature to admit defeat. He was not dubbed the "best-hated man in New Zealand" for nothing, nor was it on any idle ground that he earned the sobriquet of "bishop-maker", as, centuries before, Warwick had won that of "King-maker". And even if no archdeacon resided in Wellington it was a member of the S.P.G. that was ensconced there.

So, at this stage, it is pertinent to enquire why a change of this nature was occurring in New Zealand, the "missionary isle". Not only had a vast local transformation taken place with the colonisation of the country; much had happened in England too since the C.H.S. had given its instructions to Henry Williams in 1822. The Union Jack waved over many new colonies and the Red Ensign could be seen in all the seas of the world. To cater for the needs of the emigrants the old Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, founded under royal charter during the reign of Queen Anne, was casting off the dull sloth into which it had fallen; the study of Christian antiquity was being enthusiastically pursued; the whole church was being roused from its
agelong slumber by the vigour of the Evangelical and Tractarian movements; the day of the vicar of Bray was almost done, and fewer clergymen fell asleep during their own sermons or had to be forcibly restrained by bystanders from joining the corpse in the grave in a drunken stupor. Tractarianism in particular, with its conception of an outward and visible church, was seizing on the minds of many, among them Selwyn himself. Though no Puseyite he worshipped from afar, and unhappily could find in his scheme of things no place for the Wesleyans. Much too as he admired the work done by the more evangelical C.M.S. and its servants in New Zealand — he so captivated old Henry Williams that the latter was "afraid to say how delighted I am" — he insisted on a stricter system of discipline, a demand that was to cause many heartburnings in the days to come.

It is not necessary to recapitulate the full story of his appointment, the facts of which are well known and easily accessible in many books. Consecrated at the age of thirty-two in the chapel of Lambeth Palace on October 17th, 1841, he landed at Auckland on May 28th, 1842. His position as first bishop of the diocese of New Zealand, itself a child of its age, was a sign of the times. In 1840 a contemporary journal was writing "that the state of the world is deeply investigated ... Every 2. Henry Williams to E. G. Marsh, June 24th, 1842.
system of opinions is undergoing a sifting. Among the activities that were being investigated and the opinions that were being sifted were those of the missionary societies. The work of these was rapidly coming into prominence, and in April, 1841, fifty-four years after the founding of the first colonial see in Nova Scotia, the Colonial Bishoprics Council was formally established, so that the English bishops, all of whom were members, might come into closer relationship with the C.M.S. and the S.P.G. It was hoped that means would be devised by which "both Societies might be induced to carry on their operations under the same superintendence and control", while leaving them "perfect liberty to prosecute their holy work unimpeached". Here were two propositions that on the surface appeared both reasonable and attractive, but experience might suggest that the latter would be subordinated to the former in the course of time. "In effect, the result, although as yet foreseen by only a few, would be that instead of being a "guild with its own peculiar vocation" in the Church the C.M.S. would become, like the S.P.G., an integral part of it. Some of its members, however, were aware of this

3. The Missionary Register, January, 1840. Introductory Remarks, p.3.
4. This was primarily the work of Bishop Blomfield (of London) and Lord Chichester, President of the C.M.S., who publicly announced the desire of the Archbishop of Canterbury and other prelates to come into closer contact with the C.M.S. and S.P.G. See Church Missionary Intelligence, 1841.
threatened infringement of their liberty. In 1842 Hugh Stowell, preaching on the anniversary of the society, while rejoicing in the accession of the bishop, uttered solemn words of warning against "any attempt, from whatever quarter, or in whatever shape, to corrupt the Society from the simplicity that is in Christ". On the following day John Cunningham said at Exeter Hall: "We will preach Christ and Him crucified - or, we will hold our peace!"

The words were brave but the damage was done. Selwyn came out to New Zealand to combine the activities of the two societies under the same superintendence and control. His views, more authoritarian than latitudinarian, clashed as such with the democratic organisation that was naturally derived from the voluntary and unofficial origin of the C.M.S. Simultaneously in England a clamour was growing louder year by year for more colonial bishoprics. This the colonies echoed in no uncertain tone with the further cry that a bishop should be elected by his flock and not appointed as hitherto by Letters Patent from the crown. In New Zealand as elsewhere, notably in Canada which in 1854 severed all connection between church and state, there was the additional request that all religious denomina-

6. Ibid., p.403.
tions should enjoy equal rights and that no one of them
should be regarded as the established church of the realm.
Finally there was an increasing restlessness in England,
delicately tempered though it was by fear of praemunire
and infringement of the royal prerogative, for some form
of synodal organisation. Convocation, suspended during
the reign of Queen Anne, had not since been resumed.

This new surging interest in the affairs of the
Church of England was transcending the bounds of the
mother country and spreading far and wide throughout the
lands where it was recognised. In New Zealand special
local conditions obtained. In Wellington a system of
church government, complete with educational facilities,
endowment policy, and provision for churches, parishes
and a cathedral had been evolved. Although not
destined to take root of itself some of its features were
incorporated in the system eventually adopted in 1859,
and together with the impressions left by external factors
and the old missionary organisation, it helped to compose
the resultant amalgam.

When the New Zealand Company proposed to transplant
a slice of English society direct to its new colony one
of the essential elements was the Church of England. The
natives were to be treated with justice and humanity, the

7. E. G. Wakefield in a letter written during 1841 from
England to his sister Catherine, Mrs. Charles
Talesse.
missionaries with the respect due to them in recognition of their sacrifices as the pioneers of civilisation, but the established church was to take firm root and minister to the wants of the colonists. The settlements would thus be given an appearance of respectability and provide the requisite amount of religion to which the inhabitants were accustomed at home. To this end E. G. Wakefield had his plans carefully laid. At a very satisfactory meeting between Selwyn and the Committee of the New Zealand Company in 1841 the practical decisions were reached that the latter should advance five thousand pounds, on the security of the native reserves at Wellington, for the purpose of immediately establishing native schools. The children were to live away from their parents, the masters were to be clergymen of the Church of England, and the children of chiefs were to board with the teachers as private pupils. This excellent scheme, however, was doomed never to come to fruition, although the Rev. Samuel Williams later inaugurated with some success a very similar one at Otaki. "Secondly", it was decided, "that the bishop and the Company agree to subscribe as much respectively as the other shall subscribe for endowment of the Church of England at Wellington, Wanganui, New Plymouth and Nelson".

8. Instructions of the New Zealand Company, drafted principally by E. G. Wakefield.
Here was a fair offer indeed, and one that was heartily welcomed by Selwyn who promptly adopted it as the basis of his endowment policy. He immediately undertook for the C.M.S. and the S.P.C., while Wakefield agreed to do his utmost "to get a larger contribution from the Company for Wellington". "You will see what I want, the latter continued, "as a provision for churches and clergy, is a large subscription from others as a PROVOCATIVE to the Company to be liberal ... I think if matters proceed as they promise, New Zealand will be the most Church of England country in the world".

It was not to be. The bright hopes were soon dimmed amid a welter of recriminations, apathy and misunderstandings. That Wakefield was sincere in his efforts cannot be doubted, but in Selwyn he had mistaken his man. Wellington, as the chief settlement, was naturally selected as the site of the "palace" of the Bishop of New Zealand, who by the aura of dignity and security that his presence conferred was to attract immigrants. The chief figure, however, in this propagandist advertisement was little used to lie down at the bidding of any man, and was not in the least minded to become a dignified but purely decorative figure-head. After his first great visitation tour in 1842, a detailed reconnaissance of his sphere of operations that, lasting
for six months, took him two thousand two hundred and seventy-seven miles as reckoned by his pedometer, he decided that the atmosphere in Wellington was not conducive to religious sanctity. Hence the choice of Waimate for his headquarters. He had planned to form the Company's territory from Wellington to New Plymouth into an archdeaconry, the fourth in the North Island, but even this lesser scheme had to be perforce abandoned. This shattering of his hopes was all the more painful since he considered the appointment of archdeacons, responsible heads capable of acting with authority and without constant reference to himself, as of the most vital necessity owing to their intense difficulties of communication. The Wellington settlers too were disgusted - the pressure put on Selwyn to remain with them has already been mentioned - and not entirely without reason. They had borne a large share in the creation of his see despite the obstacles presented by the attitude of church and government in England, and they felt entitled to some reward. As E. G. Wakefield later expressed it: "I will not say that Dr. Selwyn turned round upon us, and joined our foes, the anti-colonising 'Church Missionary Society'; but I am sure he is not a wise man."
The third attempt to establish some system of church organisation for Wellington had failed. Henry Williams had hoped to make it a missionary centre, the New Zealand Company the seat of the Bishop of New Zealand, Selwyn the headquarters of an archdeaconry that was roughly to coincide with the Western District. Now it was merely a station of the S.P.G. Nevertheless these three attempts in three years by three different parties augured well for the future, if only by reason of the interest evinced and aroused. That Selwyn at any rate had not abandoned hope is apparent from his opening a few months later with the Wellington Bank of an account, styled the Archdeaconry of Wellington Church Fund. Throughout 1843, however, the sense of grievance against him, although he was still not actually unpopular, and in particular against the missionaries, remained strong. This feeling was now quite inexcusable in so far as it was to these men that, after the massacre at Wairau, the inhabitants of Wellington owed their safety. The difficulties showed no signs of resolving themselves, and a newly landed immigrant was moved to write that "gross immorality prevails amongst the Colonists".

It was no cause for wonder then that plans for

erecting a church were practically moribund. A large sum of money had been raised in both England and New Zealand for this purpose, bricks had been baked and Selwyn invited to select a site and direct the commencement of the undertaking, but no agreement could be reached either as to the situation of, or the specifications for, the building. Selwyn, the lover of cathedrals, favoured a temporary chapel with the additions of side aisles if necessary, while prints were being prepared and money collected for a permanent and lasting cathedral that should reflect credit on its builders and worthily testify to the glory of God. The inhabitants retorted that they would never live to see the realisation of such an ambitious project, and in its place proposed a design of their own. This was virtually a compromise for, despite the fact that the church was to be a permanent one, its scale was not to be so lavish, although judged by any criterion the specifications, namely brick foundations, wooden walls, brick buttresses and plaster pinnacles, were rather ambitious, particularly in a land subject to violent earthquakes. Still, as he confessed, Selwyn was prepared to leave the colonists to their own devices provided they footed the bill. This, however, had not entered into their calculations, as they expected him to provide the lion's share of the cost. At last in despair he was forced to write: "Wellington is
not quite so cheering (as Taranaki), as the people... will not fall in with my plans.\textsuperscript{15}

By the time that a working agreement had eventually been reached and a church erected, the year 1844 had almost run its course. Already the Wesleyans possessed a "small wooden building" and had laid the foundations of a large brick church,\textsuperscript{16} while the Presbyterians had built "a neat, substantial and roomy chapel".\textsuperscript{17} The latter had been officially opened in February, the month in which Selwyn rented an empty wooden building and went with the governor to choose another site for his church, as the first was "vile".\textsuperscript{18} He obtained a grant of the location he most desired, arranged for the work to begin with the utmost dispatch, and left funds for that purpose in the hands of Cole and other managers appointed by himself.\textsuperscript{19} The tenders called for on February 16th were accepted, and thus somewhat tardily the Church of England set about putting its house in order and doing those things that it had left undone - it was more than four years since the "Aurora" had let go her anchor in Port Nicholson. For, quite apart from the keener enthusiasm and more strenuous endeavours exhibited by

\textsuperscript{15} Selwyn in a letter, dated August 7th, 1842.
\textsuperscript{16} E. J. Wakefield, \textit{op. cit.}, p.530.
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{18} Mrs. Selwyn to her cousin, C. H. Palmer, January 23rd 1845.
\textsuperscript{19} Selwyn in a letter, dated February 27th, 1844.
rival denominations, how badly the Anglican community had lagged is well illustrated by a glance at Wellington's progress in other directions. The town now boasted a Horticultural and Botanical Society, an Oddfellows' lodge, and a cricket club; horse racing was firmly established and theatrical performances presented; the settlers had incorporated themselves as a borough; there was no lack of hotels and banks were in operation.

Yet, as often happens, while procrastination and petty squabbling have prevented the realisation of the main object, a number of devoted people had been quietly and unobtrusively working away on their own account. In 1841 a church was built in the Maori style near Aglionby on the western bank of the Hutt River, and on September 24th, 1844, the Karori chapel, Sunday and day school was opened. The site of the latter was given by a Mr. Yule and practically the whole burden was borne by the local inhabitants, outstanding amongst whom was Mr. Justice Chapman. Selwyn wrote in December, 1843,\(^20\) that Petone was likely to claim £35 for a chapel that had been completed, a sum that entailed a total outlay of £105, as for every pound raised by the inhabitants an additional

\(^{20}\) Selwyn in a letter, dated December 14th, 1843.
pound was provided from the interest accruing from both the Wellington church fund and from Selwyn's private fund. Then in 1845 Christ Church, Taita, was built on property belonging to the Hon. A. G. Tollemache. So steadily and effectively the Church of England strengthened its grip in the Wellington area. An outlet for the energies of the less frivolous minded was provided and a modicum of social life for the outlying settlers made possible. (Was not the hour after morning service in an English village sacred to local gossip?)

To supervise the whole of this district there was only Cole, never a strong man; indeed only a few of the clergy of the Church of England in the early days were fortunate enough to enjoy robust health. All the more honour and recognition then are due to those scattered members of the laity who displayed such a spirit of initiative and manifested such a strong faith. This vigorous and rugged devotion very shortly found expression in two eminently just and reasonable demands, the convening of a synod and the representation of layman as well as cleric when one should be called. Here in a new country where distances were great and inhabitants few, where a clergyman's cure almost certainly

21. This church is still in good repair and is situated at Taita on the east side of the Hutt road where it can easily be seen by passing travellers.

22. For fuller account of land acquired by the Church of England see Appendix B.
extended for hundreds, and probably thousands of square miles, and where only too often a man, unable to obtain spiritual comfort for many a long month, was compelled to fall back upon nothing but his own faith and belief, it was only right and equitable that the voice of the laymen should be raised and heard in the counsels of the church for which they were doing so much. The day was not far distant when their dissent would veto a measure approved of both by the episcopal and clerical benches. In the meantime their energy could only be approved and encouraged, and hopes held out that some of the more fashionable and sophisticated town dwellers might learn from their exertions and example. The address presented by these latter to Selwyn had rejoiced in the prospects of "an efficient and permanent establishment of religion in these islands", but, as we have seen, with certain outstanding exceptions, they accomplished little in establishing either its efficiency or its permanency.

Yet the course taken by the Church of England was destined to flow on with "pomp of waters unwithered". Obstacles and disappointments there certainly were and hidden snags were continually delaying progress. The opposition of the other denominations to the recognition of the Church of England as the established church of the land, the old unhappy vexed cemetery question, Cole's unfortunate love affair, the virulent hostility displayed
at this stage towards the missionaries, the general unrest and fear engendered by the pellicose attitude and frequent forays of the Maoris in the Hutt Valley, all these aggravated the difficulties under which the church laboured. Even so on July 29th, 1847, the chapel built at Hawtrey's on the Porirua Road, five miles from Wellington, was dedicated by Selwyn, who was assisted by Cole, before a "very numerous and attentive congregation." Of yet greater import, however, was the official opening of a church at Te Aro on September 10th, 1848. This was to be to the southern portion of Wellington what St. Paul's at Thorndon was to the northern and more exclusive quarter, for "from the very straggling position of the houses, and other causes, the attendance is neither so regular nor so good as we could wish." Unfortunately, despite the erection of this second centre of worship, no assistance could yet be afforded Cole, whose duties already overtaxed his strength. Then, as a third witness to the fact that the Church of England was alive and active, on November 5th, on ground donated by Captain Daniell, the "Old Church" in Lower Hutt was opened.

The tale was, on the whole, one of progress. The

23. New Zealand Spectator, July 31st, 1847.
24. The subscription list of 1848 for this church has been framed and may be seen in the present St. Peter's church.
26. New Zealand Spectator, November 8th, 1848.
lead, held by the Wesleyans as late as 1846,\textsuperscript{27} was 
wrested from them, and church matters advanced more 
rapidly in 1848 than three years previously when Selwyn 
feared for their slowness. Cole recovered from his 
disquietude, and an auxiliary of the British and Foreign 
Bible Society was formed, while in the previous year 
(1847) the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge 
had voted books for distribution in Wellington.\textsuperscript{28} 
Education was not neglected, and a school opened by 
Mr. and Mrs. Buxton under the auspices of the Church of 
England on January 1st, 1843, continued to do good work 
until it was taken over by the Church of England Education 
Society on its foundation in 1851. Even so Wellington 
was still during the period from 1842 to 1849 largely 
dependent on money sent from England, and from 
January 1st, 1845, to December 1st, 1848 an additional 
sum of close on three hundred and thirty pounds was 
received from the general church fund.\textsuperscript{29} But the 
church was taking its rightful place in the social and 
official activities of the town. Selwyn was elected 
patron of the Horticultural Society and Taylor requested 
to judge one of its flower shows. Cole who, in addition 
to his pastoral duties, was colonial chaplain became one

\textsuperscript{27} Henry Williams to Danderson Coates, August 20th, 1846. 
\textsuperscript{28} Missionary Register, May, 1847, p.217. 
\textsuperscript{29} New Zealand Church Almanac, 1849.
of the managers of the savings bank, and took the chair at a public meeting held to acknowledge and refuse the gift of five hundred pounds raised by Auckland to relieve the distress caused by the great earthquake of October 14th, 1848. In connection with this disaster a curious phenomenon, not unknown today, was witnessed on the Sunday following the shock. All the churches of all the denominations were filled and there was abroad a great air of devoutness – fear would be the truer if less palatable word. Once, however, all immediate physical danger had passed and there was no further need for divine protection the inhabitants drifted back into reliance on themselves. As Quarles has put it:

Our God and soldiers we alike adore
When at the brink of ruin, not before;
After deliverance both alike requited,
Our God forgotten, and our soldiers slighted.

The fear of God, an offended God, and judgment to come lapsed into the background, while man busied himself once more with the pursuits of getting and spending.

Wellington was possessed by no extraordinary ardour of the spirit. It numbered its normal quota of zealous churchmen and their few bitter opponents. But, as the settlement grew in material prosperity and the economic foundation became more stable, churches were erected in conformity with the outward profession of Christianity
adopted by the majority of its inhabitants. The progress made was slowly consolidated in both the secular and religious spheres. The period of virtual stagnation, if not actual retrogression, that set in during 1842 after a brilliant beginning was abruptly ended in 1846 when the New Zealand Company, at the pinnacle of its favour with the government, obtained loans amounting to two hundred and thirty-six thousand pounds. Further the presence of a vastly increased number of troops more than balanced the losses incurred through the depredations of the Maoris, since the amount of cash in circulation rose rapidly. Then in February, 1849, the hard-pressed Cole at last received long overdue assistance with the appointment of the Rev. T. E. Hutton as deacon and inspector of schools in the Wellington area. With his advent a new era unfolds, but before this is considered a backward glance must be taken at a problem that admirably exemplifies the position occupied by the Church of England in Wellington during this period.

In 1841 eighteen acres of public land were set aside as a burial ground; and every religious body each received an amount proportionate to the number of its adherents. Selwyn had that allotted to the Church of England, some 7½ acres, fenced in at a cost of £50, but at their special request he allowed the dissenters to use
his portion for their own purposes, even though their own sections were left untended. Nevertheless when he proposed to build the main church of the southern division upon land that had been granted specifically to the Church of England, these same dissenters, who had been enjoying all the benefits that are derived from using another man's possession without incurring any of the obligations that arise, quite brazenly and unashamedly put forward the patently unjust claim that the ground was intended for the joint use of the parties. The Independent minister, Mr. Jonas Woodward, indulged in language, the very violence of which not only plainly indicated extreme and blind partisanship but also suggested a weakness in his case that could be glossed over only by an appeal to the emotions and not to strict logic. He inveighed against his Anglican benefactors with hysterical shrieks about "patriots" and "watchmen", "liberty" and the "Episcopalian yoke". Yet peculiarly enough he did not make the slightest attempt to encroach upon the rights of the Roman Catholics whose cemetery had been marked out by the same authority at the same time as that of the Church of England. Selwyn was even threatened with dire penalties should he not comply with the efforts made to force his hand, but these he treated, in most amusing fashion, with the

30. New Zealand Gazette, November 23rd, 1844.
contempt that they deserved.

This popular outburst against him is, nevertheless, symptomatic of the state of feeling at that time existing in Wellington against the Church of England in general and its bishop in particular. The civil power too was scarcely popular. Tempers ran so high that Mrs. Selwyn wrote "Let him (the governor) do what he will, the most violent abuse is all he meets with, specially at Wellington, where they are equally frantic against the Bishop - chiefly for consecrating the burying ground, and objecting to a vile site for a Church". The Church of England apparently smacked of despotism, so chained and muzzled it must be, and in March, 1849, its Bishop was compelled to resign the 7½ acres previously awarded him. This hypersensitive regard for rights, if not for right, was only to be expected in those salad days when men, suddenly endowed with more freedom than they had ever known before, were of necessity still green of judgment. In the face of such feeling, however, it was inevitable that the Church of England in Wellington should be so organised and governed as to be free of all state connection. Both sides would see to that.

32. New Zealand Spectator, March 24th, 1849. In return Selwyn received for the Church of England plots No. 2 and No. 3 on the map of a second survey made in 1844, and made some limited concessions. The New Zealand Journal, September 22nd, 1849, incorrectly states that Selwyn surrendered half of his previous grant. Hence some confusion has arisen, but the former statement is taken from the New Zealand Government Gazette, March 23rd, 1849.
CHAPTER IV

OTAKI AND WANGANUI FROM 1842 TO 1849

General difficulties of the missionaries in New Zealand - The Western District more fortunate - Otaki; Hadfield's work and illness - His successor - Samuel Williams and his ministry - Education encouraged - Signs of coming failure - Wanganui: Taylor - His itinerary - His dual capacity, evangelist to the natives and pastor to the settlers - Lack of assistance - The missionaries, moulders of tradition - Taylor's immense missionary successes - Wanganui's low condition materially and spiritually, and improvement from 1848 - The years 1843 and 1849 the Indian summer of the missionaries.

Although the years from 1842 to 1849 represent the zenith of missionary success among the Maoris, trouble piled on trouble beset the workers themselves with sad consistency. Mason was drowned, and Hadfield prostrated with the illness that for four years made his life a "commentatio mortis"; Taylor was vilified by the unworthy citizens of Wanganui; two Christian natives were murdered in cold blood by a heathen tribe; Grey's infamous "Blood and Treasure" despatch on the land-grant controversy was a foul attack on the missionaries' honour, and Selwyn, at odds with the home committee of the C.M.S., used his influence against Henry Williams,
Clarke and Fairburn who were all dishonourably discharged from the society they had so honourably served. To the bishop himself his diocese seemed to be altogether "an inert mass which I am utterly unable to heave", and the fulcrum, St. John's College, that was to lever the dead weight was in 1847 scourged by an epidemic of typhoid fever.

Throughout this unhappy yet glorious period, however, the Western District was, on the whole, more fortunate than other areas. Its inhabitants could often afford to watch the clouds pass overhead. At Otaki, where Hadfield was still regarded with "affection and love" and where his mana was still strong, the storms of war and false accusation left his successors practically untouched, while the barracking of the Wanganui settlers did little to upset Taylor, that dour sturdy Yorkshireman. Like Wellington these two centres continued happily enough in their state of semi-isolation from external control. Otaki was probably the most satisfactory mission station in New Zealand, possibly in the world, largely because in material prosperity its advance was so outstanding. Taylor at Wanganui was able to defy both Selwyn and

3. Selwyn to Hawkins, August 30th, 1848 (misdated 1838), quoting from his diary for May 12th, 1848,
the local committee of the C.M.S. when occasion demanded, and his success was great. Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitoake consistently worked for peace, Hadfield's influence restrained Te Rauparaha from sacking Wellington, and at last, sick at heart, Rangihaeta, the tough old fighter for freedom and inveterate hater of the British, became a churchgoer and endeavoured to prevent civil strife among his countrymen.

Force of circumstances was no doubt proving too much for the veterans of raids and bloodshed, but no inconsiderable part of the credit belonged to the missionaries, as contemporary evidence testifies. As early as 1842 E. J. Wakefield himself was writing of the good behaviour of the Otaki natives, their lack of "extravagant ... observance" their acceptance of the new doctrine as cheerful rather than saddening, their cultivation of wheat, and the introduction of Christianity amongst them by the authority of the younger chiefs. This last was a point of the utmost importance for only too often the authority of the chief, on which the tribal discipline depended, was undermined by the influence wielded by the native teacher with a resultant breakdown of control. Above all the Maoris had been inspired with friendship,

instead of suspicion and jealously, towards the white man. This testimony of an independent witness is borne out by facts. During 1843 a "beautiful and spacious new chapel"[^5] was built, yet, large as it was, it could not contain more than two thirds of the congregation at the evening service. The following year several heathen chiefs were converted, the proselytising efforts of the Roman Catholics failed dismaly, and the system of using native teachers for religious instruction showed some promise. But already a note of warning was sounded: "A few Christian Natives have fallen into sin ... I fear that not a few have become lukewarm regarding Christianity"[^6].

This cloud that was to grow until its lowering aspect blotted out the horizon was as yet no larger than a man's hand, for a certain amount of backsliding by individuals is inevitable in any community, but the immediate outlook became gloomy enough when early in 1845 Hadfield went down with his disease. Such was the urgent necessity of restraining the natives, unsettled by accounts of Hone Heke's exploits, that late in March Selwyn and his wife took up their residence at Otaki for three months. The Rev. H. Govett, ordained on May 18th for the express

[^5]: Selwyn quoted in The Dominion, June 4th, 1938.
[^6]: Hadfield's report to C.M.S. for year ending June 30th, 1844.
purpose, then held the fort as best he could until early in 1847 when he was transferred to New Plymouth to fill the vacancy created by Bolland's death. Despite the fact that he earned a well deserved reputation as Archdeacon of Taranaki Govett was no missionary at heart, and Hadfield, appealing to the C.M.S. to send out an agent, stated that he could not recommend him.7

Another stop-gap appeared in the Rev. W. Cotton, Selwyn's chaplain, who, able as he was, enjoyed gifts that were better suited to a more cultured community.

At last — in December 1847 there arrived a man admirably equipped for the position. The Rev. Samuel Williams had imbibed the missionary zeal of his father, Henry, whom he further resembled in his indomitable character and tireless vigour. Brought up in a hard school he was a hard man, but one given to generosity and hospitality in a remarkable manner — his house at Otaki was known far and wide as the "Wayfarer's Rest". Born in New Zealand he possessed a grasp of idiomatic Maori, an acquaintance with the natives' way of thinking and an affectionate interest in them. As his biographer truly says: "To all intents and purposes he was a Maori amongst the Maoris".8

7. Hadfield to C.M.S., March 8th, 1847.
unusually skilled farmer, a philanthropist, a man of business and an educationalist he performed work at Otaki that was not less than outstanding. Sent there in July 1847 to settle various disputes he so impressed the natives that they petitioned Selwyn and the C.R.S. to station him among them permanently. Meanwhile, however, the substitutes were not merely marking time in the hope that some day something would turn up. Mr. Tudor, a lay catechist, performed excellent if limited work at the Waikanae and Otaki schools; Cotton, a keen apiarist who wrote Hints on the Management of Bees for the New Zealand Spectator, introduced their culture, and Mr. Wright attempted in 1847 to establish a school at Waikanae for European and half-cast children.

On his arrival Samuel Williams recommenced the building of a new church. The idea had emanated from Hadfield, but owing to his illness the project had been temporarily abandoned. Such were the vigour and enthusiasm, however, with which the work was resumed that the completed church was almost certainly the finest native building in the country. The cost of the labour alone, had it not been voluntary, would have amounted to at least two thousand five hundred pounds. Around this place of worship, which by its position in the centre of the settlement was to be
symbolic of the place of religion in the community, the roads and squares of a village, for a short time named Hadfield, were laid out systematically. Christianity and civilisation were proceeding apace hand in hand. In 1847 the Lieutenant Governor of New Munster, E. J. Eyre, reported officially that "the natives are doing wonders and are most comfortable, with good barns, huts with fireplaces, nicely-fenced large gardens, extensive wheat fields beautifully tilled, numerous small paddocks of grass, and a variety of comforts". The previous year it had been estimated that the natives in the Wellington district were spending fifty thousand pounds on imported goods, and that between Wellington and Manawatu they had ten thousand acres of crops.

Education, the basis of human advancement, seemed to be going from strength to strength. About 30 acres of rich land in the immediate vicinity of the new village of Hadfield, or Otaki as it is now known, were set aside by the natives for the use and support of their school. Reading, writing, arithmetic and the catechism were taught by Maoris, and English by a master from England, while instruction was also given

10. Wellington Independent, October 10th, 1846.
11. Ibid., November 14th, 1846.
in handicrafts. This central institution, which bore some resemblance to E. C. Wakefield's scheme, was attended by some one hundred and twenty pupils, mostly boarders from the neighbouring pas, and was fed from the many village schools at which both children and adults received an elementary education. By August, 1848, Williams, who had previously been deacon at Selwyn's native college and who later founded Te Huto College, had a roll of one hundred and fifteen children and three hundred and fifty adults, among the latter being Te Rauparaha himself.12 It is little wonder that on returning to his old station in the following year Hadfield was impressed with the vast improvement in the educational system and, in particular, with the establishment of infant schools. For here was a wise and far-seeing attempt to win the future without which all the gains of the present, great as they might be, imposing as they might appear, would inevitably be lost. That they very nearly were lost is the tragedy of a good job only half done, of "too little and too late".

These material achievements, the building of a church, school and village, and the sowing and reaping of crops, were paralleled in the spiritual life of the

12. Samuel Williams to Henry Williams, August, 1848, quoted by N.T. Williams, op. cit., p. 78.
natives. Selwyn in 1848 found Otaki "still a green spot in the midst of a crop which seems to be withering away because it has 'no root', or 'deepness of earth'".\(^{13}\)

And well he might rejoice for, as a traveller saw a year later, dawn brought practically the whole population to the daily service and the school that followed.\(^{14}\) This was at 5 a.m., at which early hour Williams began his day's work. On Sunday at Otaki alone from seven to eight hundred natives attended each of the three services, and some one hundred and thirty communicated. Along the coast to the north the story was the same, a story that is the more remarkable as prior to Williams's arrival eighteen months previously the inhabitants had been thrown in a large measure upon their own resources. They had stood the trial well, but the glitter was deceptive as results at Wanganui too were to show.

Early in 1843 this station was suffering from the interregnum between Mason's death and the appointment of his successor. The latter, the Rev. Richard Taylor M.A., F.G.S., was an excellent choice. Left an orphan at the age of thirteen he early displayed that enterprise and initiative for which he later became famous. A degree at Cambridge, membership of the

13. Selwyn to Hawkins, August 30th, 1848.
14. The Rev. J.F. Lloyd wrote a long letter to the C.M.S. on his observations on the work of the missionaries. Published in the New Zealand Spectator, November 3rd, 1845.
Geographical Society and the publication of two books about New Zealand, which have since been recognised as classics, attested to his intellectual ability. His physical courage was beyond dispute; his morale was no less striking. Adopting an attitude of trusteeship towards the Maoris he recked little of the infuriated settlers. The saviour of Wanganui on more occasions than one, he was, like Henry Williams, stigmatised as a traitor. His reward for preventing a sanguinary conflict between two hostile tribes, by purchasing fifty thousand acres of disputed land, was a cartoon in Punch, which suggested that "Father Taylor should have his picture hung up in the C.M.S. hall with the words 'fifty thousand acres' under it". Never daunted he described a gathering of Maoris at Putiki as a meeting of "gentlemen savages" and that of the white settlers as one of "savage gentlemen". Yet such was the staunch and inflexible honesty of his character and purpose that he came in time to be regarded by native and pakeha alike as the arbiter in their disputes, even E. J. Wakefield admitting that he persuaded the Maoris to allow one or two colonists "to locate on sections that had hitherto been strictly interdicted". 15

15. E. J. Wakefield, op. cit., p.590.
On his arrival on April 30th, 1943, it very soon became apparent that he had come to stay. He had a substantial two-storeyed house built and set out on a detailed reconnaissance of his district. Arranging an itinerary by which he announced beforehand on what dates he could be expected to visit the more populous and central areas so that the natives in the outlying areas could assemble there to meet him, he reserved the Christmas season for his family and the largest gathering of the year at Putiki. He also took responsibility for the spiritual welfare of the Europeans, crossing the river every Sunday when he was at home to conduct a service for them. This schedule, maintained during his thirty years tenure of the station, enabled him to reap a rich harvest, one authority holding, although without substantiation, that he made more converts than any other missionary.

Among his top priorities the building of churches figured high. The efforts he made were prodigious, and 1844 was an "annus mirabilis" in this respect. Curiously enough little reference is made in his diary to this aspect of his work, although as early as August 21st, less than four months after his

16. The specifications still exist in the Wanganui Museum.
arrival, and again on November 30th\(^\text{18}\) he mentions that he crossed the river to see the progress of a church that was being erected for the Wangamui settlers. The foundation stone was apparently laid in October and during the year he claimed one hundred pounds from the General Church Fund for a "Church in progress". Although incomplete it was opened on the first Sunday of 1844 at short notice. Nevertheless the ceremony was attended by eighty of the one hundred and twenty Europeans, who "have come forward so very liberally and generously".\(^\text{19}\) Unhappily the number of this congregation was never again equalled or even approached, and henceforth the attitude was one of apathy and indifference verging on hostility. At Putiki Mason's brick church, shattered by an earthquake during 1843, a year remarkable for the number and intensity of its shocks, had to be demolished. Put on his mettle by this setback Taylor had a larger and safer wooden one erected, after a meeting of five hundred natives had unanimously decided that each pa should furnish a proportionate amount of the timber. Then on August 18th a chapel was completed at Aramoho (now a suburb of Wanganui). At Pipiriki too, the second largest pa on the Wanganui river and about fifty miles

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\(^{18}\) Ibid. November 30th, 1843.
\(^{19}\) Ibid. January 7th, 1844.
upstream, the Maoris erected a "very respectable building". To render it more complete they adopted the most unusual procedure of engaging two pakehas to saw wood for the floor, and a carpenter to fashion a pulpit, altar and chancel rails. Throughout the district there was certainly "a growing improvement in the Natives relative to their Houses of Prayer".

In every direction, even in his relations with the settlers who for a few months regarded him as a distinct improvement on Mason, Taylor had solid grounds for hope and joy. Natives from distant Rotoaira visited Putiki, the doctrines of the Church of England still reigned unchallenged, and despite stricter requirements the number of communicants was increasing, three hundred and fifty receiving the Sacrament on Christmas Day, 1843. The tenuous penetrations made by his predecessor into the abodes of heathenism were strengthened and broadened. The base of Putiki, where the Maoris were particularly friendly, became daily more secure. The teachers in the pas grew in skill and reliability. Hoani Wiremu Hipango, already a tower of strength, supervised the district during

20. Taylor's report to G.M.S., for year ending June 30th, 1844.
21. Ibid.
22. E. J. Wakefield, op. cit., p. 590.
Taylor's absences. Selwyn reported a congregation of three or four hundred at Pukehika, the most populous of the river villages. Mrs. Taylor's Sunday school was well attended as were the Bible class meetings. And so day by day and year by year the work went on, but always the same question recurred; could one man, once the initial enthusiasm had evaporated, maintain what he had won?

Taylor, like all his fellows, thought the answer must be unfavourable. His isolation, acute as it was, became even lonelier with Hadfield's retirement from Otaki in 1845. As in 1839 there was again only one missionary in the Western District. His duties were multifarious. In his first year alone he visited Otaki, Wellington, Taupo and Taranaki as distinct from his own station, preaching the gospel wherever he went. Roused before dawn by inquisitive natives he would be kept awake till the small hours of the morning by their importunate enquiries. And his labours were not in vain. While the settlers attending his services might number twenty at the most, his native congregations at Pukaki were regularly two or three hundred, and when visiting parties were present seven or eight hundred. On his tours he was able to report

25. Taylor's Journal, August 7th, 1843. "I had my Bible-Class Meeting full: 150 present".
the well-nigh incredible totals of one or even two thousand, as at Ihupuku. In 1844 the Maoris prized "the Word of God as highly as when it first arrived", the Sunday school usually comprised the whole population of each place, and Taylor debited himself to the C.M.S. to the amount of £44 and to the Bible Society for a further £10 to provide Bibles for his converts. A year later, despite every incitement from the heathen tribe to sweep colonist and missionary alike into the sea, the Wainganui natives were living in peace and "externally at least, the Church is prospering". On July 20th, for instance, two hundred and twenty-two natives communicated at Pipiriku, and on September 7th Tuoroa, the fighting chief of the Taupo toua, sacrificed his tapu as an "āriki", or chief priest, by being baptised. Selwyn and Taylor assisted Major Richmond to mediate with Te Heu Heu, and at the end of September the Waitotara tribe wrote to the latter requesting protection, for, in embracing Christianity, they had forsown war.

In 1846 and 1847 too the tales of Taylor's

26. Taylor in a letter, dated March 21st, 1844. See Church Missionary Quarterly Papers, Midsummer, 1846
27. Taylor to C.M.S., March 22nd, 1845.
29. Ibid., July 20th, 1845.
30. Ibid., September 7th, 1845.
successes among the Maoris continued to grow. The story of them makes good reading, but unhappily space precludes the mention of how he mediated with Rangihaeata in the Hutt, carried out a census of his district, learnt of Hori Patere's desire to build a brick church at Pipiriki, visited Taupo in mid-winter on the occasion of Te Heu Heu's extinction in a landside, and always used his influence to restrain the warlike and encourage the faint-hearted, be they Maori or pakeha. One incident, however, requires special notice, not for its own intrinsic importance, but for its potential significance for the future. To assist him in his single-handed labour he engaged his third lay catechist, Matthews, in direct opposition to Selwyn and the local missionary committee.31 Even Hadfield, his friend, but a man who could be hard enough when it pleased him, attacked him very sharply.32 The authority empowered to take action, however, proved to be the home committee of the C.M.S., so nothing was done and Taylor remained in possession of the services of his helpers. But the upshot was renewed agitation for local autonomy, for government by Nero, if need be, on the spot rather than a Board of Angels, if such it was in London; and this time the demand came not only from

31. Henry Williams to Danderson Coates, December 11th, 1845.
32. Hadfield to Venn (secretary of the C.M.S.), June 25th, 1846.
Selwyn but also from the missionaries themselves, a demand that was all the more surprising as the soundness of Selwyn's judgment in many matters was being seriously disputed.

For all that has been said, and rightly, against their "enthusiasm" the missionaries were, nevertheless, chiefly men of shrewd minds and practical outlook, and the memories of old England nourished and sustained them in New Zealand. Taylor, who once held a service in a cave formerly used for cannibal feasts, could recall his old parish of Coveney upon which the battlemented tower of Ely Cathedral looked down in all the architectural pomp of its majestic glory, a proud sentinel of the succeeding centuries, of the past, the present and the future. But the work was the same, the preaching of Christ crucified, and in that service Taylor never spared himself. Sustained by his faith he did not flag or fail. Sternly he went on to the end, as though in this far distant half legendary corner of the world the eyes of all the ages were gazing down upon him. Like Hadfield, who considered that he must practise more of self denial than he knew of, he remained loyal to his exacting code of morals, on one occasion forbidding his companions to eat a wild duck as it had been given to them by two adulterers. It would have been very easy, too easy as some of the

earlier missionaries had found, to have relaxed his standard, to have faltered in his high purpose. Here were no noble traditions, no proud glories of the past from which to draw strength and inspiration, no long line of triumphs in which the failure of an odd individual could be regarded merely as an unfortunate lapse and quickly forgotten. The influence of the missionaries for good or evil was inestimable. They were the first of their calling, and as such they were responsible for its good repute. Their strength and inspiration they had to draw from themselves and their faith. They had no one and nothing else upon which to fall back for support when they were weary or dispirited. They could not bask in the reflected glory of other men's deeds. They had to fight their own battles alone. The traditions of generations yet unborn were theirs to mould, theirs to make or mar.

The beginnings of the nation state of New Zealand and the Church of England within its borders were in safe hands in the Western District. Mason and Taylor, Hadfield and Samuel Williams fought a good fight. Assailed by false accusations of greed, land-grabbing and hypocrisy, with few friends they could trust among their fellow-countrymen, living a life of intense physical discomfort, spending most of their days among an alien and backward race, almost cut off from the
cultured conversation of their equals, they stood at the bar of history majestic in the grandeur of their achievements. They made mistakes for they were only human, but they were blemishes rather than stains. Each tentative step forward was fraught with peril. They had to learn from each stumble and laugh at each setback. Their contemporaries criticised them for supporting the tribal system, "the beastly communism" of the Maori people, as a Minister of Native Affairs once described it, and in particular for teaching in the native tongue and approving the communal tenure of land. Succeeding generations have blamed them for assisting in the destruction of tribal life. To accuse them, as is the custom of too many books dealing with the history of New Zealand, of retarding the development of the dominion is absurd. Whether voluntarily or not, and usually the latter is true, they opened up the interior to the settler by taming the natives. Often the colonist owed his very existence to the influence of the missionaries, an indebtedness that was naturally grudgingly acknowledged by men who believed that the wealth of a country lay, not in the character of its people, but in its material resources.

This unhappily was the philosophy of the Wanganui settlers who, even in those rough days, were notorious for their lawlessness, yet abstained themselves from
church on the grounds that the peace with Te Heu Heu in 1845 had been achieved by bribery. Wanganui itself was still no more than a "pork and potato" settlement, holding its land virtually on sufferance, and unable to expand since E. J. Wakefield's purchase of 1840 with a handful of Jews' harps, red night-caps and other trinkets had long since faded into the distant and forgotten past. This stagnation was stirred only by the endless wranglings between Maori and pakeha, regular troops and militia, Wanganui and Wellington, settler and missionary. The few inhabitants were, as an army officer remarked, "a restraint by their presence without being a benefit to our society." All the church land outside the town limits was still in the hands of the Maoris and was of no value, while Selwyn had earlier refused an offer of 2½ acres, set aside by Colonel Wakefield as a site for a cathedral, together with two thousand acres for the purposes of its endowment.

Had he neglected the Europeans entrusted to his care Taylor might well have been excused, for his work among the natives was exhausting enough and the whites evinced but little appreciation of the services he rendered to them. But this he did not do. With the

34. Quoted by L.J.B. Chapple and H.O. Veitch in Wanganui, p.61.
assistance of a surgeon, Mr. Rees, he established a small hospital in Wanganui in February, 1846, to which Captain George Grey gave £20 when, three weeks later, he was a guest at the Putiki mission house. Mr. William Ronaldson opened a school, under Taylor's general supervision, for European children some twelve of whom were enrolled as pupils. Such enterprise was remarkable amid the general apathy of the community, which in 1847 very nearly packed its bags and deserted the scene of its listless endeavours. The natives were again on the warpath and the confusion was dire and dreary. On May 30th, 1847, the pa and chapel at Aramoho were burnt. A few weeks later, however, a skirmish, dignified by the title of the battle of St. John's Wood, proved the turning point in Wanganui's gloomy history, and not before time.

The signing of a formal peace and general pardon on February 21st, 1848, ended a desultory struggle that had shown at least one thing, the interdependence of the two races. The settlers drifted back to their homes and the land question was finally settled after a most searching scrutiny of claims and in a very friendly manner by Grey, McLean and Spain, assisted by Taylor.
who acted as general adviser and pea. The first
gleams of the morning sun of prosperity lit up the
little garrison outpost which has in time grown from
township to town, and from town to city. As nerves
became less frayed relations became more cordial.
Mr. Missionary Taylor, formerly accused of inciting the
natives to ruin the colonists, gradually came to occupy
to some degree that position of respect and confidence
that is so often the happy lot of a good pastor.
There was even the first whisper, slow and uncertain of
utterance, for the appointment of a parish priest who
should minister primarily to the white inhabitants.
The attendance at church, however, still left very much
to be desired and little more than £100 was granted to
Wanganui from the General Church Fund between January
1st 1845, and October 31st 1848, but, as in Wellington,
material prosperity led to a desire for the outward
professions of religion. On May 24th 1848, this took
concrete form in McLean's appointment of Taylor to
allocate reserves for churches and burial grounds.

Even so Taylor still had every reason to attack
the evil influence of the whites and their general
indifference towards religion, while the boarding school
that had been established was most inefficient. Among

36. New Zealand Church Almanac, 1849. The exact amount
was £104.10. 5.
the Maoris, on the other hand, the flood of enthusiasm was sweeping on through every pa and Kainga. It was too extravagant to last, but in the meantime Taylor rode its seething crest in triumph. On his way to Auckland he left Piripi and Hone Piumera, the successors of the martyred Manihea and Hereopa, at Taupo where they were favourably received. At Pipiriki, where a short twelve months before the natives had threatened to shoot him, they were building a new church and four hundred and thirteen communicants. At Hikurangi 'I never baptised so many chiefs at once. Among them were nearly all the chief leaders of the late war.' On one tour the unprecedented number of one thousand and thirty-five natives presented themselves for baptism, but even now the curtain had yet to be rung down on the grand finale. On December 22nd Taylor baptised six hundred and seventy-two Maoris at Putiki; on Christmas Day there was a congregation of four thousand, some of whom had travelled one hundred and fifty miles for the express purpose, and seven hundred and seven communicants, "the largest number who have ever assembled in this land to receive the sacrament." Three settlers

37. Mrs. Taylor's Journal, October 31st, 1848.
38. Taylor's Journal, October 1st, 1848.
39. Ibid., December 25th, 1848.
were present at the European service; seven hundred had attended the horse races four days previously. Well might Taylor write in his diary: "I could not help contrasting the different way this season was celebrated by the natives." 40

What an indictment on the one hand, what a triumph on the other! It was less than eight years since Mason had arrived and not ten from Henry Williams's visit. Taylor had laboured practically single-handedly, for his assistants carried no heavy metal and the other denominations were conspicuous by their absence. The Presbyterian, Inglis and the Roman Catholic, Le Compé, were merely birds of passage, and Woon, the Wesleyan missionary, did not settle at Waimate, seventy miles north of Wanganui, till 1848. Here was achievement on the grand scale — or so it seemed. Yet a year later, although the number of communicants at Putiki on Christmas Day had risen to the all-time record of seven hundred and seventy-six, Taylor was to admit: "I am unable to report any signal instance of spiritual development." 41 In other words not one out of the vast total of converts was fit to be ordained.

It was a significant admission, and one that boded

40. Ibid., December 23rd, 1848. Not December 21–22nd as is often incorrectly quoted.
41. Taylor's report to the C.M.S., for the year ending December 31st, 1849.
ill for the future. At Otaki also the monsoon clouds were beginning to bank up on the horizon, an ominous portent that the Indian summer of the missionaries, brilliant as it had been and still was to a large degree, had almost had its day. The schools were not as well attended as they might have been; the nominal religion of the professing white Christian appeared far more attractive to the natives than their own continual and rigorous observances; material prosperity was substituting the acquisition of the things of this life for religious devotions as a philosophic ideal; the cessation of fighting and fear of a quick and violent death had led to dispersal over a wide area, and the population was scattered like the cattle upon a thousand hills instead of, as of old, concentrated in a few large pas for mutual protection. The spade-work had been more than successfully done, but peace had its problems no less than war. While the number of missionaries had not increased, the converts and the difficulties of communication with them had grown in Hadfield's own words: "Our missionary force was never sufficiently strong to build up the superstructure after we had laid the foundation."42

It is a tragic confession. Given the men they

42. Hadfield to his sister Amelia, April 22nd, 1859. In this letter he gives a resume of his work at Waikane and Otaki. Manuscript in possession of Miss Amy Hadfield.
would have finished the job, but the men were not to be had and the job went unfinished. New Zealand was not ploughing a lone furrow, it was just one corner of a world which was being ever more intensively cultivated by missionaries. Its allowance of manpower, although quite insufficient, was very generous in comparison with that allotted to India where there was approximately one missionary to every million inhabitants and to China among whose untold masses were five agents of the C.M.S. This lack of men to give constant instruction meant that little or nothing could be effected to strengthen the shifting sand of the Maori mind. The thrill of reading and writing and the mana conferred by these attainments were still very powerful in 1849, but the natives had not learnt that stern self-discipline without which all hope of eventual success is vain. They had not learnt to tread the path of duty which, even though it sometimes leads to glory, is not fair and smooth but dull, crab and rough. Few of them had the stability of mind and character to face and conquer temptation when they should stand at the parting of the ways. The descent to hell was to prove all too easy, and if the C.M.S. was unable to do anything to prevent it, to finish the job it had begun, its importance and influence would be seriously diminished.
CHAPTER V

CONSTITUTION MAKING AND THE COLLAPSE OF MAORI CHRISTIANITY.

The transition of New Zealand from a field of missionary operations to a settled ecclesiastical system - The Western District up to 1849 - Selwyn's first synod, 1844 - His second synod, 1847 - Anomalous position of the Church of England in New Zealand - Selwyn's conception of it as part of a universal church - The provisions of Selwyn's pastoral of 1852 - Legal position of the Church of England - Interest in New Zealand in the proposed constitution - Selwyn's pastoral of 1853 - Selwyn's other measures: Endowment policy; equality of Maori and pakeha; control of agents of the C.M.S.; a native pastorate - The collapse of Maori Christianity - The church as an end in itself - Bad influence of white on Maori - Religion idealist rather than practical - The economic and political factors - Comparative advantage of the Western District.

"No Christian Mission has ever left the shores of England under more auspicious circumstances, on a brighter day in the Annals of the Church, or in a manner more solemn and befitting the occasion."

1. Journal kept by one of the passengers on board the Tomatin . . . December 26th, 1841, to November 11th, 1842, p.1.
written on a winter's day at the end of 1841, were to
prove within a few years no idle boast. By 1859 New
Zealand, the destination of this party, numbered
within its coasts no fewer than five bishoprics. Up
to 1849 the course of affairs had proceeded haphazardly
enough, with each settlement practically an entity in
itself from the administrative point of view.
Certainly all had welcomed on occasion the tireless
Selwyn, as year after year he traversed his vast
diocese that, thanks to the error of a clerk, extended
from 50° South to 34° North. But, as Hadfield said,
"of the rest of New Zealand I hear but little; the
concerns of my own neighbourhood are those only which
come within the compass of my knowledge."²

These lines had been penned in 1841, but even
eighteen years later the position was little better,
although much had been attempted and the outlines of a
concrete system of organisation were emerging from the
shadows. The force of circumstances was inexorably
casting the development of the future in a mould of its
own shaping. Environment could not be denied in the
constitution of the church that Selwyn had come to
organise. The C.M.S. by no means approved of all his
measures, but it soon realised that the eventual
supersession of its own power was unavoidable. As
² Hadfield to the C.M.S., February 1st, 1841.
early as 1845 it began to meditate a gradual withdrawal, ending in the euthanasia of its mission, and giving place to a settled ecclesiastical system. Such a transition period is always fraught with grave risk but fortunately for New Zealand the movement was complementary; as one side abandoned its positions the other quietly and with a minimum of fuss took them over. There were the usual teething troubles and growing pains, but, apart from the scandalous dismissal of Henry Williams and two others from the C.M.S., the metamorphosis took place without any really bitter controversy, although there were some strong differences of opinion.

It is not proposed to discuss at length the evolution of a constitution for the Church of England in New Zealand. This topic falls outside the scope of a work devoted to the foundation of a single diocese. Only the salient features and those that are directly concerned with Wellington need be touched upon. Mention has already been made of Selwyn's abortive effort to form an archdeaconry of Wellington, his establishment of a comprehensive endowment fund and his plans for the building of churches and a cathedral. He did, however, succeed in 1847 in founding the

3. In a circular addressed to "The Missionaries and Catechists now in New Zealand", from C.M.House, London, July 14th, 1845.
archdeaconry of Kapiti; to which Hadfield, who had been rural dean since the institution of that office in 1844, was appointed on his recovery in 1849. This was all that the Western District could show of visible organisation at the time, but it was a beginning and plans were being made for the future, plans that matured so rapidly that within ten years their consummation was complete.

In September 1844, Selwyn, in his longing for counsel and advice, took the first concrete step towards a more effective system of control to replace the existing machinery of the local C.M.S. committee by calling what has subsequently become known as his first synod. It was a very modest assembly, consisting of three archdeacons, four priests and two deacons, and was in reality little more than a meeting of the old missionary committee. Its purpose was to "frame rules for the better management of the mission, and the general government of the Church". 4 Earlier in the year Selwyn had written to the same effect saying that he aimed to "deduce a plan of operations . . . from the records of the first three centuries of the Church". 5 Nevertheless, harmless as the synod might appear, it aroused transports of alarm

and paroxysms of rage. Accusations of priestly assumption and infringement of the royal prerogative were on every lip, for since the suppression of Convocation in 1717 no bishop had dared to summon a synod.

Furthermore, much genuine perplexity arose. The laws and customs of an ancient church, many long since obsolete in England, were to be applied to an entirely new state of society. It was admitted that legislation was urgently required, but it was hampered by the conservatism of sentiment of men who failed to conceive of a church as other than the established one of the realm. The dread of royal supremacy and remunire hung over their heads, and they were quite unable to appreciate the similarity of their position to that of the provincial branches of the catholic and apostolic church in their initial stages in primitive times.

For three years more the matter rested there, until in September, 1847, Selwyn, undeterred by the opposition he had aroused, summoned a second and more important synod. A radical constitution was proposed by which the laity were to be admitted, not only to discuss the affairs of the church, but also to sit in the same chamber with the bishops and clergy. Its inauguration was preceded by preliminary discussions. Selwyn in his charge to the synod stated his views:

"They are simply these: that neither will I act without
you, nor can you act without me. The source of all diocesan action is in the Bishop; and therefore it behoves him so much the more to take care that he act with a mind informed and re-inforced by conference with his clergy." The clergy, then, were to assist the bishop in his decisions, and if the proposed constitution were accepted the laity would assist both bishop and clergy.

In themselves those two synods were of no great intrinsic importance, since the regulations they laid down were purely temporary and transient, but, regarded as paving the way to the establishment of a settled form of church government, their value cannot be overestimated. The original plan of the three orders meeting together has long since been fully realised, whereas in England the laity were excluded until the twenties of the present century. The vast forward surge of liberty and democracy thus swept into the government of the Church of England in New Zealand. It is against this background that the constitution of the Wellington diocese has to be considered, for the form of procedure adopted by the diocese of New Zealand would presumably be copied, with a few minor amendments perhaps, by the new bishoprics as they arose at the demand of population and with the possibility of endowment.
Meanwhile the interest aroused by the two meetings soon became evident. A spirit of unity had been engendered by the suggestions put forward, for it was only right that the laity, some of whom saw a clergyman perhaps once a year and who yet, while carving out their own livelihood, found time to uphold the worthiest traditions of their faith, should have no weak voice in the decisions reached regarding their spiritual welfare. The possibility of being accorded this privilege, not unnaturally, delighted them, and many of the most influential of their number turned their minds to an able review of the church's position.

These efforts took positive shape in 1850 with the presentation of a letter to Selwyn over the signatures of two hundred and seventy names—none of them, however, from Wellington, but including those of Grey, Martin, Swainson and Prendergast. It requested that the church should be so constituted as to manage its own affairs, with the laity carrying their full burden, and further suggested that it should resemble "that which has proved so beneficial to our brethren in America".

Fortified by this communication, Selwyn attended the meeting of the Australasian bishops in Sydney in October of the same year. For fear of infringing the royal prerogative the name of synod was not assumed,
but it was clear that the necessity for common counsel and action had been forced upon the bishops, and in 1849 Gladstone, a theologian himself, proposed that they should "organize themselves on that basis of voluntary consensual compact which was the basis on which the Church of Christ rested from the first".  

Things seemed to be on the move at last, and not before time. Selwyn complained of his flock's lukewarmness, the latter of exclusive clerical rule, and it is true to say that the Anglican Church, "that strongest link in the chain which binds the colonist to his mother country, had not yet taken firm root in the new soil."  

Its laity in numbers, wealth and social influence exceeded that of all the other denominations combined; its clergy, if few, were able, yet its organisation was chaotic. The Roman Catholics bowed unquestioningly to the dictates of their priests; the democratic Church of Scotland found a congenial climate, while the Wesleyans, as usual, managed their affairs with conspicuous success. But the Church of England had lost the old without gaining the new. It still suffered from all the disabilities entailed in its conformity to the trammels and conventions that obtained

in England, without enjoying the advantages that accrued from its pomp and dignity, from its endowments and its connection with the state.

These anomalies grew more apparent as the country became more settled. The necessity of self-government obtruded itself ever more urgently, and the growth of population made it clear that new dioceses must be created to relieve Selwyn's shoulders of a part of the increasing burden. The advantages of co-operation, deliberation and discipline had to be secured without endangering the unity with the church in England or violating any of its laws, without jeopardising its endowments or infringing the liberty of those of its members who preferred the old order. But it was something more than a national church that Selwyn envisaged. Its own characteristics it might have, and should have, as an adequate provision for local needs, but it was to be the southernmost bastion of a grand catholic whole stretching from pole to pole.

At the consecration of the Bishop in Jerusalem Selwyn had brought tears into the eyes of his fellow prelates by the emphasis he placed on the words, "Behold, I go bound in the spirit unto Jerusalem." In his mind he was the last of the Crusaders going forth to win back the birthplace of Christ from the infidels, or, failing that, to take as many converts in
his saving net as he could by unwearied fishing. This ideal was ever before him, a pure and shining vision, drawing him on as did the Holy Grail the Knights of the Round Table, and never obscured by the round of daily tasks.

The problems of local church autonomy were not, however, peculiar to New Zealand. Australia, Canada and South Africa were all seeking to formulate some system of organisation to deal with their own particular conditions. Meanwhile in 1852 Selwyn issued his famous pastoral. A constitution was needed because the Church of England in New Zealand was not established by law, and therefore a large portion of the ecclesiastical law of England did not apply. This constitution, as one not imposed from above, was to enjoy full popular approval. We can here detect a certain change in Selwyn's views. At Sydney he had supported the suggestion that the bishops and clergy should compose the synod while the laity held a "convention" with a limited right of veto over synod decisions. The idea of popular government was taking root, but three features require comment. Reference throughout is made exclusively to the general convention, and all sites and endowments are to be vested in the general corporation. This strong centralised control was always Selwyn's aim, but it immediately met with
strong opposition, for the claims of the diocesan synods of the future were thus ignored. Had the general convention retained these wide powers the authority of the Wellington synod would certainly have been less than it is, and its organisation would probably have been somewhat different. Finally some explanation must be given of the broad statement of the necessity for an Act of Parliament or Royal Charter to "secure to the Church the liberty of framing laws for its own government." Expert legal opinion was hopelessly divided on the question as to whether the Act of Submission of Henry VIII's reign did or did not prevent colonial bishops from assembling synods for the purpose of legislation in church matters.

The controversy flowed ceaselessly back and forth. 1852 witnessed the failure in the House of Commons of three successive attempts, in as many sessions, to remove the disabilities under which the colonial church was labouring. The Attorney-General, Sir F. Thesiger, and Sir. R. Bettell found themselves hopelessly at variance with Sir W. Page-wood, better known as Lord Hatherley. The next year Archbishop Sumner's Colonial Church Regulation Bill was lost in the Commons after passing the Lords - a happy accident this, as the proposed legislation interfered with the principle of local autonomy. But the bishops were
still bound by their Royal Letters Patent, and they were still prevented by law from convening a synod. In other words the position was one of stalemate. If anything was to be effected there would have to be some drastic departure from precedent, but many of the laity were averse from taking any step that would separate them from the united Church of England and Ireland as established by law.

Such was the legal deadlock when Selwyn arrived in England in May, 1854. Meanwhile in New Zealand the pace was quickening. Here was no static community fettered by the conventions of the past, but an eager pulsing body of men conscious of their youthful vitality. It was for them to build the traditions of the future on virgin soil, and well they knew it. Selwyn's pastoral did not fall on deaf ears. Clergy and laity rivalled one another in their enthusiasm; lectures, meetings, sermons, addresses, letters to the press, editorials, all swarmed in profusion. Every view was propounded and confounded. The "dead mass" of the forties which Selwyn had been "utterly unable to heave" was stirring. Criticism was often biased, captious and ill-founded, but, refusing to be provoked by any incivilities, Selwyn let the critics talk in the hope that "they would feel their feet for themselves and stand all the firmer for it." Herein lay a twofold significance. By public discussion clergy and laity
alike were being trained to the responsibilities of self-government, and, if at first licence was mistaken for liberty, that was no new phenomenon. Secondly, open argument tacitly implied the establishment of a democratic organisation. For Selwyn, authoritarian though he was, in his desire for a strong centralised control had always aimed at this as the consummation of his efforts.

He recognised, however, that a visit to England was essential if he was to carry out his scheme, since, with the death of Bishop Broughton, the metropolitan of Australia, discussion of the question of local autonomy had been postponed till further information should be available from the colonies. Selwyn also had two other problems for deliberation, the furtherance of the Melanesian Mission and the subdivision of his diocese. The first is here irrelevant, except in so far as it indicates that New Zealand, whatever form its own church might take, was to be the base for missionary operations among the islands of the Pacific. The second, however, is of great moment, for it was specifically concerned with the foundation of new sees, and Wellington had many reasons to believe that it would be one of the first. Indeed from now on the emphasis tends to shift, slowly at first but at an increasing rate, from the diocese of New Zealand to its
offspring of Christchurch, Nelson, Wellington and Waiapu. It was not only in the state the decentralization and local autonomy were being approved. Just as New Zealand was denying her complete dependence on England, so were the various districts in the colony repudiating the absolute authority of Auckland.

Selwyn announced his plans in a second pastoral of October 5th, 1853, the original draft of which was circulated among the chief centres for comment. At a public meeting in Wellington the substance of the draft was approved, although a slight and unimportant alteration in the wording was recommended. Wanganui adopted the latter "in toto". Christchurch, as might have been expected, opposed many of its provisions. Landing in 1850 under the vigorous Godley, the Canterbury settlers still clung to the theory of their special origin, namely that they were a self-contained section of the Church of England under their own bishop. Jackson, the bishop-designate, however, found colonial life not to his taste, and with the departure of Godley from Christchurch; this High Church community fell more into tune with the rest of New Zealand. With the amendments proposed the various settlements, Selwyn now had a very fair blueprint of the final structure. His planning had been gradual and cautious; the building was to be more rapid.
There for the present the constitution can be left. As yet unformulated, it gave promise that the embryo would shortly develop into a healthy infant. Other measures devised by Selwyn call for attention. His endowment policy, whereby, on the pound for pound system, every minister had half his stipend found by the general church fund and half by the voluntary contributions of his parishioners, proved remarkably successful. Within a few years both bishoprics and parishes became entirely self-sufficient and independent of support from England. Another decision of Selwyn's, the recognition of no difference between Maori and pakeha as members of the church, was of immense importance. In 1841 the C.M.S. had recognised the entire control of the bishop in spiritual matters, but the missionaries were only to minister to Europeans with its approval. 8 Now, not only were they to serve the white man's needs, but the regular clergy were to care for the Maoris, as occasion arose. 9 By this one ordinance the unity of the diocese was assured and the equality of the two races established, but it was a nail in the coffin of a native missionary church. Another divergence of interests arose over Selwyn's demand to locate the agents of the C.M.S.

8. Minutes of the C.M.S. Committee of Correspondence, November 16th, 1841.
9. Selwyn to the S.P.G., November 2nd, 1852.
where he alone thought fit. Necessary though this request appeared to be, for, as Bishop of New Zealand, Selwyn would scarcely welcome the presence of an extra-territorial authority in his own diocese,\textsuperscript{10} the society strongly resisted it, and not without reason. For it was difficult for the C.M.S. to acquiesce in an arrangement whereby they waived their rights over their own members, and as a result they declined to present their catechists to the bishop for ordination.

The problem was not easy of solution, but Selwyn was the man on the spot, while Salisbury Square was twelve thousand miles away. The logic of the case rested with the former, particularly as many of the members of the C.M.S. in New Zealand were impatient of control by a body that knew little of their local conditions.\textsuperscript{11} But there were other differences. Selwyn was strongly opposed to the catechists on principle. They were usually men of a fairly humble origin in life, very often craftsmen, and not always with a high conception of their responsibilities, and as such they rarely met with the approval of the more educated settlers. The work they did, and this is no disparagement of the

\textsuperscript{10} The C.M.S. still retains the right of location in most of its mission fields.

\textsuperscript{11} Hadfield in a letter to his mother complained bitterly of the ignorance of the Home Committee.
results obtained, after their ordination, by men like Puckey, Hamlin and Colenso in other parts of New Zealand, could normally have been performed equally well by a schoolmaster. Hence, when Selwyn did ordain them he lengthened the period of their probation in the diaconate to as long as ten or fourteen years. Finally little provision was made for a native pastorate. In fact up to 1859 only two Maoris, both early converts of Hadfield's, were ordained, Rota Waitoa on Trinity Sunday, 1853, and Rivai Te Ahu two years later. Selwyn's quite natural fears of backsliding by men only recently heathens and savages were later proved groundless, but his timidity in creating a native pastorate and his refusal to trust even picked individuals increased the dominance of the pakeha in the church.

The missionary and the native were losing ground at every step, but a far more weighty series of blows was in store, blows that rocked the whole edifice of Maori Christianity and threatened to bring it crashing down in ruin, dire and irretrievable. The "great deadness" that, for many reasons, followed the "first love" began to set in and imperil all that had been achieved. The novelty was wearing off, the thrilling

12. It is interesting to note in this connection that the Roman Catholics were considerably more cautious even than Selwyn. It was not until 1945 that a Maori became a Roman Catholic priest.
becoming the common-place and monotonous. It was the old story, so familiar today, of keenness becoming stale for lack of stimulus; but, to the missionaries of the time, with their short experience, the disappointment was bitter in its intensity. The initial success had almost been too great, and, where the new religion had been embraced simply for the benefits it conferred, the apostasy was most rapid and complete, just as the "rice Christians" in China fell away as soon as they found that the advantages accruing were outweighed by the disabilities. For many years the conversion of the Maoris had proceeded apace. Unfortunately, while the number of converts was growing daily, the number of men to minister to them and confirm them in their faith remained practically unaltered. Taylor at Wanganui had to wait till 1852 for the Rev. C.H.S. Nicholls (who was not a missionary), Hadfield at Otaki till 1855 for the Rev. Riwai Te Ahu. Cole at Wellington had received assistance in 1849 with the arrival of Hutton, but the Maoris in this area were a secondary consideration. This fatal lack of manpower was fully appreciated by the missionaries, and again and again their correspondence carries the same burden of complaints of a harvest ready for the reaping and of so few to reap it. But New Zealand was not the
sole consideration of the C.M.S., and neither the men nor the money could be spared. Thus, through no fault of its own, the Mission was doomed.

That the Church should replace the Mission did not appear to the missionaries of the time as the logical outcome of their efforts, and it is extremely doubtful whether any of them regarded the establishment of a church as an end in itself, as did the Wellington settlers. To the former the saving of souls was all important, and once this had been achieved they had no very clear plan for the future. It was recognised that discipline was essential to any success that should be more than ephemeral, and to this end the benevolent paternalism of the type practised by Marsden and Henry Williams was favoured. It was hoped that it would be possible to establish a native church along these lines and so insulate the Maori from the adverse effect that was produced on his mind by the nominal and slack Christianity of many of the Europeans, whose standards of conduct he naturally accepted as a guide for his own, but there was no clearly defined programme. But, if they saw little further ahead than the work they were doing, Selwyn was planning for the future, despite the difficulties of the present. "I... sometimes doubt whether I am right in complicating the episcopate with all the
machinery of the subordinate ministries; and yet I feel that without that pervading influence, the whole system will be powerless."13

Selwyn now saw his end in sight, but Hadfield had to admit that the native church had not "reached that stage which might have enabled it to have an organisation of its own ... it was still dependent on the ministrations of foreigners."14 Hence native Christianity would have to be backed by outside force if it was to control any but those who had sincerely adopted it as their creed, for "no new law or restraining power had been substituted for what had passed away."15 The breakdown of authority was inevitably leading to lawlessness and anarchy, so the missionaries had to choose, in so far as there was a choice at all, between two evils, not unnaturally they took the lesser. So the end was the white man's church, but with the reservation that this was not necessarily an end in itself, for the saving of souls, the tireless evangelisation of the heathen, was to continue unabated.

But the paucity of the missionary force, the lack

13. Selwyn to Abraham in a letter written during 1849.
15. Ibid.
of enthusiasm, the partial breakdown of authority and the power of the white man were not the only causes for the retrogression, in some instances one might almost say the recidivism, of the Maoris. The difficulties of teaching them English were almost insuperable owing to the lack of suitable lay instructors. Their Christianity, despite the magnificent achievements of their farming along the coast, was of an idealist rather than a practical nature. "It is time that our Maori friends should begin to lean less on man, more on God, and, under God, on their own efforts."16 They were becoming disillusioned, too, as they saw the doctrine of divine peace set at nought. "The year of revolutions," the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny all served to undermine their belief in the efficacy of the blessings that Christianity would give them in life. And if the hopes it held forth were proving delusive in this world, might they not turn out to be equally phantasmagoric in the next? Apart from the woman in Waikato who claimed to have found heaven a pleasant spot, no one could answer this question.

With the uncertainty as to what might be in store after death went the certainty that for the moment their condition of material prosperity was

happier than they had ever known it. The gold-diggings in Australia were imperiously beckoning thousands with their glittering prospects of easy wealth. These men had to eat, for such is the immutable law of nature, and, since not only the unemployed but also many farmers had succumbed to the lure of gold, New Zealand, Maori and pakeha alike, eagerly seized the fleeting opportunity with both hands. By 1853 practically the whole native population was engaged in the lucrative trade of exporting food to the miners. "As landowners, farmers, graziers, shipowners, labourers and artisans" the Maoris were proving themselves "the main props of New Zealand." Little wonder is it that to many of these improvident souls the undeniable welfare of the present appeared vastly more attractive than some shadowy and unsubstantiated promises for the future.

The professing Christian became the materialist, the pound sterling the criterion of success, the standard of values in all things, as the dollar is regarded in America today. In times of prosperity such a creed is very comfortable, but as surely as night succeeds the day, so, in our economic system

17. quoted by Harold Miller, *Maori and Missionary*, p.15
does a slump follow a boom, and, when in 1856 a
sudden steep fall in agricultural prices knocked
the bottom out of native farming, the bottom was also
knocked out of native Christianity. Politically too
the Maoris were confronted by an unpleasing dis-
illusionment. When in 1852 the Constitution Act
that granted New Zealand self-government had been
before the House of Commons the Colonial Secretary
had given an assurance that the natives were to be
put as completely as possible on a footing with
the European. This pledge was not honoured,
however, the chiefs remained without the franchise,
and the Englishman's reputation for trustworthiness
was not enhanced so, fearing also the rapid
encroachment by the settlers of the remaining land,
the "King" movement arose with its own "parliament",
embodying as one of its main aims the rejection of
Christianity.

The failure of the missionaries to inculcate
habits as well as principles and their tolerance of
"an emotional system of religion without a strict
system of teaching and discipline had left them (the
Maoris) without backbone, moral or intellectual.19

18. Ibid., p.22.
The penalty had to be paid. In the days of trial many were weighed in the balance and found wanting, but many more remained true to their faith. This is particularly true of the natives in the Western District. Their loyalty stood out as a beacon of hope amid the dark slough of despond that was engulfing so many of their fellows. It stood out too as a memorial to the patient toil of the missionary labourers, Hadfield and Mason, Taylor and Samuel Williams, Riwai Te Ahu and Ronaldson. They were the leaders, but their assistants had ably supported them. Few had failed, and the measure of their success can be judged by the fact that here Hauhauism gained no hold. The story of their work with its glowing tale of triumph up to 1849, has been told. Its continuation to 1859 is discussed later against the sombre background of apparent failure. For the failure was relative rather than absolute. The advances made during this period, poor as they seem when compared with those of the previous decade would have gladdened the heart of any missionary toiling in India. The influence of these early missionaries was destined to live on and triumphantly survive the cataclysmic events that would have proved the ruin of a work less solidly performed.
Today five native pastorates in the Wellington diocese alone bear sufficient witness to the fact that not all the labours of those who strove and sought and found in the days of old were in vain.

20. By an agreement with the Methodist the Church of England has abrogated all its rights over the Maoris in the Wellington diocese north of the Waitotara river.
1849 a turning point in the foundation of the Wellington diocese — Consolidation of the Church of England in Wellington — Changed attitude of the newspapers — The Wellington Clergy: Hutton; Poole; Stock; Cole; Paul; Baker; Wheeler; St. Hill — Their characteristics and work — Wanganui: Disappointing progress of the Church of England — Decline of Maori Christianity — Temporary replacement of Taylor by Stock — Peaceful behaviour of the Maoris — Parish of Wanganui and Sub-pastorate of Putiki — Otaki: A chequered career — Failure of Hadfield to form a native church.

Some events stand out as turning points in the history of men and movements. They may be unperceived at the time, they usually are, but as the years roll by and when, from the vantage point of distance, details disappear the outlines remain, viewed in truer perspective. Their significance can be better judged from their results, although, with the constant emergence of new information, criticism and evaluation colour the effects with fresh nuances of light and abode. The selection of
a few specific phases may seem arbitrary, perhaps it is, but the clear understanding of one or two focal points rarely fails to clarify the whole position and permits a comprehensive grasp of the subject that might otherwise be denied. The psalmist of old lifted up his eyes to the hills; we too must beware of confining our vision to the valley in which we stand and should seek the mountain tops.

In 1814 Marsden introduced Christianity into New Zealand; in 1839 Hadfield set foot on the shores of Port Nicholson, and three years later Selwyn visited the settlement of Wellington. These are landmarks that stand out in the history not only of the Church of England but of New Zealand itself. The choice of 1849 as another focal year in the foundation of the diocese of Wellington is not so plain, and requires explanation. Certainly it marks no such noteworthy occurrence as the dates mentioned above. It is charged with no events pregnant for the good or ill of man. Rather is it the space in time in which the new definitely supplants the old, in which, although the final issue could not by now be in doubt, the players who have held the limelight have to acknowledge the stranger claims of their successors. For in our area 1849 may be taken as the peak year of missionary success;
the acme had been reached, never again to be approached. The story now was one of descent, not ascent. Further, the appointment of Hutton to Wellington as deacon ended the period of preparation in this settlement.

With two men where before there had been one, new work could be undertaken. Churches had already been built: Thorndon and Karori, Porirua and Hutt, Taita and Te Aro, each had one. During the next decade no more were erected. The ground had been so well prepared by Cole and a few devoted laymen that the wants of all had been adequately catered for. The Church of England was an integral part of Wellington. New men were appointed to minister to the growing flock. The normal life of a parish, with its little affairs and petty troubles, continued along its ordered course. Routine took the place of experiment; committees were formed, churchwardens appointed, sextons engaged, choirs trained, education encouraged, and Sunday schools expanded. Selwyn had already become patron of the Horticultural Society, and his lead in the social activities of the settlement was followed by his clergy. Paul frequently gave his views on education, while Baker lectured on architecture and music, and Stock on electricity. "The trivial round, the common task" replaced the
naturally not predisposed in favour of the missionaries, nor, somewhat more surprisingly, of an established church.\textsuperscript{4} The \textit{Wellington Independent}, absorbed in the far more intriguing pastime of loosing its literary broadsides against the government and its local rival, the \textit{New Zealand Spectator}, paid but scant attention to spiritual matters. On the other hand it usually refrained from direct hostility, except over such controversial topics as secular education, and gave formal notice of various church functions, even printing communicated accounts of the proceedings. This is significant in that it shows that, whatever might be his personal views, the editor realised that the activities of the religious bodies made good "news". For, after all, with a few outstanding exceptions, the press caters for the public and tells it what it wants to know, in order to keep its sales at the highest level. If a man's opinions are reflected in what he reads, the newspaper takes good care to reflect them for him.

It is fair to assume, then, that the remarkable change of policy evinced in the columns of the \textit{New Zealand Spectator} bears some relation to the tastes of its readers. This paper continued to

\textsuperscript{4} \textit{New Zealand Gazette}, September 18th, 1844. The grant of £200 to Selwyn by the Governor in Council is called an "extraordinary proposition".
flourish long after our period, and that it did so while devoting what must seem to us a disproportionately large amount of space to the affairs of the Church of England, is conclusive evidence of where lay the interests of many of its subscribers. Its attitude towards the missionaries in the early days had been somewhat less friendly.\textsuperscript{5}

"But, Humbug for ever! and humbug for all!

So, come to our field-day in Exeter Hall."\textsuperscript{6}

Yet in 1853 the editorial suggested that the Church of England should start a general fund to deal with all matters relating to the church, education, cemeteries and so on.\textsuperscript{7} A week later\textsuperscript{8} the editor tuned his attention to the question of the severance of church and state. That two out of three successive leaders - the paper was published only twice weekly - should be devoted to a sympathetic treatment of church affairs tells its own story.

This interest extended to the reports of meetings. Five, six, seven columns of small print were given to an account of the general church meeting held in January of each year. When speeches were not printed verbatim, they were reported at great length. Motions

5. *New Zealand Spectator*, October 26th, 1844. The paper maintained that the natives in the South Island were more civilised as they had had less contact with the missionaries.


and amendments were quoted in full. Even the Church of England Education Society received considerable publicity, and the comments on its work were usually favourable.

The information contained in these early files is of inestimable value. If not as complete as a Hansard, they not only present the reader with the facts of the case but also give him a bird’s-eye view of speakers and audience. From the account of the acrimonious public debates on the proposal of the Wellington Provincial Council to introduce secular education the whole scene can be vividly pictured — Paul giving a quiet and scholarly address, small boys perched at every point of vantage, Hadfield producing without avail argument after argument from the recesses of his vast knowledge, the frou-frou of the ladies' skirts, Fox indulging in personalities, the atmosphere growing more and more heated, in every sense, until the meeting has to be adjourned no less than four times. Such reports made the church a living reality; its servants were men of flesh and blood, concerned with the daily life of the people. The interest of the

general public was aroused. The advantages thus derived from the friendly support of one of the two newspapers, with its wide presentation and circulation of church news — for the Church of England received a better press in its columns that the other denominations — boded well for the future too, when the question of a bishopric for Wellington should come up for discussion.

The interest in Wellington itself during this period lies, indeed, rather in the constitutional development and the forward moves that resulted in the enthronement of Abraham as bishop, than in the parochial activities of the clergy. It has been shown how the spade-work was performed, and further detail would merely be wearisome while adding little, if anything, of value to the general theme. Already progress was so swift that the visit of Hadfield and Henry Williams in 1839 was not much more than a distant memory to the Maoris who had welcomed them, and Cherton's failure and Davy's misdemeanours were things of the past. The New Zealand Church Almanac no longer printed hints for gardeners and recipes for cakes. The problems now were the building of schools, the appointment of teachers, the repair and enlargement of churches. Life was beginning not to be altogether dissimilar from the state of society
written of by Kipling:

"Ancient, effortless, ordered, cycle on cycle set,
Life so long untroubled, that ye who inherit forget
It was not made with the mountains, it is not one with the deep."

Brief mention must, however, be made of the various men called to the cure of souls at Wellington. In their characteristics they reflect the life of the community they served. The Maoris were by now being assimilated, as an insignificant minority, by the white population, and, although in 1850 ninety-six natives of the Pipitea pa erected a "neat little weatherboarded church", none of the other eleven pas in the district possessed a chapel. In the Thorndon hospital "where patients of both races lie side by side", the duties of the day began with English and Native services. Hence the qualities sought in the clergymen appointed were those of the parish priest, not the fervid evangelist. Hutton, orderly and punctual, an admirable schoolmaster, with "an old head upon his young shoulders", was not cast in the heroic mould.

12. So described by Mrs. Selwyn.
of the missionary pioneers. Suffering from chronic ill-health - in 1857 he travelled to England on sick leave - he was a laborious worker and took over the charge of Hutt and Taits, a position that entailed periodic visits to the Tairarapa, until in October, 1858, he was compelled finally to resign.\textsuperscript{13}

The Rev. S. Poole, appointed to St. Peter's, Te Aro, early in 1854 on its separation from St. Paul's, seems to have performed his duties adequately, but without any great distinction. He was succeeded two years later by the Rev. Arthur Stock, a man who, like most of his conferees, knew his own mind. An honours graduate, he came out from England in 1853 as a member of the C.M.S. Henry Williams formed a high opinion of him,\textsuperscript{14} but after two years he decided to sever his connection with the society, since he felt he was not the man for the job, an opinion held also by Hadfield. Despite his ability and steady application, he totally failed to master Maori as a spoken language, although its grammar proved no trouble to him, and so, considering the circumstances, it would seem that his resolve to devote himself to parish work is an indication of

\textsuperscript{13} His popularity may be gauged from his farewell gift of 130 sovereigns. Incidentally the address presented to him by the inhabitants of the Hutt on October 19th, 1858, states that he had been with them for eleven years. This must be incorrect as he did not arrive in Wellington until 1859.

\textsuperscript{14} Henry Williams to F.G. Marsh, February 20th, 1854.
strength, rather than weakness, of character. Hadfield, as archdeacon, had no hesitation in recommending his appointment to St. Peter's, whose first vicar he became when in 1859 the parish was formed.

At the beginning of 1854 an irreparable breach with the past took place, for, after twelve years of loyal and unceasing labour, Cole laid down his office and left the shores of New Zealand, never to return. Always tactful, kind-hearted, and generous to a degree — he defrayed no less than £40 of the cost of a clock for St. Peter's out of his own pocket — he made the Church of England respected by his own high character. Without any surpassing gifts, he possessed that invaluable virtue of "saving common sense", and he was habitually referred to with affection. It is quite possible that his sermons were "more moral essays" and that he was unable to give "spiritual consolation", although the latter charge may well be, at least partially, untrue, but he did not pass his time in dancin obsequious attendance on the mighty. He sought out the poor and the weak and the outcast, and in so doing laid

15. For example in the following instances: Mrs. Selwyn to Coleridge, October 28th, 1842, and New Zealand Spectator, May 17th, 1845, and January 31st, 1846.
16. The opinion of a Wellington settler, a contemporary of Cole's.
the foundations of the Church of England in Wellington with sure hands and lasting effect. The Rev. R. B. Paul, one of the original Canterbury settlers, acted as locum tenens at St. Paul's for the remainder of 1854 and also during the following year, until his place was taken by the Rev. Arthur Baker, and he himself passed on to Nelson where he rendered excellent service as Archdeacon of Waimea. Like Poole he stayed too short a time to leave much mark, but his scholarship and knowledge of education did not go unnoticed by his contemporaries.

Mention of Baker recalls, apart from Davy's delinquencies, the most unhappy episode in the early history of the church in Wellington. A man of strong opinions and remarkable versatility, who loved a fight, he seems to have stated his political opinions somewhat uncompromisingly, and on September 3rd, 1858, he was charged by a certain George Schroder of Nelson with assaulting his daughter. No breath of suspicion had previously tarnished his reputation, he appeared to be wearing Cole's mantle with decorum, and judging from the conflicting evidence that was produced at his trial, he was almost certainly innocent. There is no call, however, to enter into the sordid details of the case, which is fully set out in the local papers. It is enough to say that
he was indicted by a girl of thirteen on a charge that is particularly difficult to disprove. The verdict of guilty was brought in by a bench of magistrates, some of whom were undoubtedly prejudiced against him, and, although the Supreme Court did not reverse the magistrates' finding, it was with some hesitation that it upheld the decision. Selwyn, that stern moralist, refused to pronounce clerical censure against Baker, and when the latter resumed his duties at St. Paul's, the bishop preached a sermon that was virtually an exoneration of his conduct.

Not without reason, however, Baker felt himself a marked man, and shortly afterwards he left the diocese. But the significance of the incident does not lie in this; rather it is to be found in the fact that, despite the publicity, the Church of England was able not only to survive the scandal but even to pass through the trying time unscathed. An individual, not the church, had been indicted; an individual, not the church, suffered. In Davy's time both had incurred odium; now it was only the one. Meanwhile another of the clergy who worked regularly in Wellington had left for Ahuriri. He was the Rev. Edwin Wheeler. Although never appointed to any

17. According to the jurists, Blackstone and Hale.
18. One of the magistrates, Mr. Pharazyn, was found guilty by the Supreme Court of suborning a witness.
specific post, he lent his assistance willingly whenever he could spare the time from his school. His name figures rarely except on formal occasions, and the part he played in the development of the church as such was not a great one, except in the direction of education. Finally, in 1859, at the imperious demand of a growing population, the Rev. H.W. St. Hill, who had been assisting at the Thorndon school, settled at Porirua. This did not imply an independent living since the whole of the Wellington district from To Aro to Taita was still a single parish with St. Paul's as its mother church. The vicar of the latter was its senior priest, the holders of the other benefices being of the nature of curates. Recently ordained, St. Hill had very limited experience and no true estimate can be attempted of his work before 1859.

Taking these men as a whole, some characteristics appear as common to all. Young rather than old, few of them were endowed by nature with robust constitutions. Yet the amount of work they accomplished would have done credit to the same number of fit men. Clever, able and learned, they introduced a taste for culture and enriched the social life of the pioneer town. Always ready to give of their time and resources, they practised the greatest virtue of all,
charity. Noble, sincere and self-sacrificing they lived up to their own high standards and to the traditions of their faith and country. And yet there was something lacking. None of them ever achieved a bishop's purple and lawn. The fiery ardour and zeal, the divine spark, that inspired the Jesuits in Canada, Livingstone and Schweitzer in Africa, and many of the missionaries in New Zealand itself, were not theirs. They would not have been at their best, presumably, when accompanying a Maori "tana", the baskets of the warriors crammed with gobbets of human flesh. This is no reflection on their courage, but their talents lay in other directions, and in their own sphere of operations their success is undeniable. They filled the unforgiving minute with sixty seconds worth of distance run, but, one and all, they were devoid of that incalculable touch of genius that soars above mere talent, however great. They were not the equals of Selwyn and Hadfield, who, all things to all men, preserved an invincible spirit that knew not what it was to fail and admit failure.

"By their fruits ye shall know them." The work was steadily and solidly performed. If the labourers were somewhat lacking in imagination and initiative, perhaps it was better so, for even if they did not transcend the bounds of the ordinary they did
not fall into those vast errors by which brilliance is so often extinguished. By their enthusiasm the missionaries had severely prejudiced the whole position of the Church of England in New Zealand. By their conventionality the regular clergy restored it to a place of respect and planted it firmly amid the clashing tumult of the conflicting partisanship that characterised the period. Their work may have been unspectacular, but it was reliable, and when the church came of age men were surprised at its vigour and maturity. The opposition to the Church of England from the Roman Catholics had been strong, particularly after the arrival of Monsignor Viard in 1831 with his attendant priests, yet from the middle fifties the establishment of an episcopate was reckoned inevitable, and the only question was how soon. When it is remembered that Cole had become first rural dean of Wellington only in 1849, the rapidity with which the aim was achieved is, judged by any standards, remarkable. Undoubtedly the desire to have a bishop was strong among those who remembered with affection the lordly palaces of England, but that the day had arrived when such a proposal could be contemplated with solid grounds for its success in the young township of Wellington attested to the strong position attained there by
the church. The superb pomp and princeely endowments
of a Durham or an Ely would inevitably be absent,
but Selwyn agreed with the venerable Bede that the
title of a bishop was to be a "nomen operis". And
it was these few clergy, working quietly away, who
had made possible, and ever probable, the creation of
a bishopric at Wellington. The secure foundation of
the diocese on the hearts of the people is their
memorial. It is not an unworthy one.

In dealing with the history of the church in
Wellington it has been deemed advisable to omit,
extcept for passing reference, the question of
education, since this topic does not bear directly on
the subject of the thesis, namely the foundation of
the Wellington diocese. Nevertheless the matter is
of such interest that a short appendix discussing its
problems and implications has not been considered out
of place. A word or two may, however, be said here
concerning the more important points. Provision for
the facilities of education for the Maoris, with its
results, has already been dealt with, and the
following remarks are concerned chiefly with the
European element of the population. Selwyn and
Hadfield, like Grey, were both extraordinarily

19. "The title of Bishop is a name, not of honour,
but of work." Bede quoted by Selwyn in his
charge to the synod held in 1847.
interested in the building of schools and the instruction of the young, and the foundation of the Church of England Education Society for Wellington in 1851 was largely effected by Hadfield. Selwyn also made an abortive attempt to found a college at Porirua to be the counterpart, for the southern half of the island, of what St. John's College, Auckland, was to the northern. As Otaki was predominantly Maori there was no need to provide educational facilities on an elaborate scale for the whites, but at Wanganui the Rev. C.H.S. Nicholls, formerly headmaster of the Leeds Grammar School, was appointed to establish the Wanganui Native and Industrial School, which, after many early setbacks, has developed into the Wanganui Collegiate School. The endeavours, indicative of the immense value attached to education by these far-sighted pioneers, were not in vain in safeguarding the future. Not infrequently the vigour of a religious denomination can be fairly accurately assessed by its policy towards, and the state of, its schools. Granted that this is a fair premiss, the position of the Church of England in Wellington, in particular, during the fifties must be regarded as flourishing.

The comment applied by Nicholls to his school, that its success "during the time I was connected to i
was at least equal to that of other similar Institutions, altho' not in proportion to the exertions bestowed upon its management", 20 might well be used to sum up the position of Wanganui itself during the decade from 1849 to 1859. Up to the time of the settlement of the land claims in 1848 its development had been stifled, and in virtue of the fact that from 1852 it rejoiced in the possession of two men of the calibre of Taylor and Nicholls the advancement of the Church of England, although no slower than in other places, was not so rapid as could reasonably have been expected. A meeting had been held earlier to discuss the possibility of supporting an Anglican clergyman. This was thought to be impossible, so an arrangement was reached whereby the stipend of two hundred pounds was to be found half by the parish and half by the funds of the Native and Industrial School that was to be established. The scheme was admirable since the members of the Church of England, few in number, were drawn mostly from the working class. In point of fact the school enabled the parish to have a minister, and the parish enabled the school to secure the services of a highly qualified man. The choice of this schoolmaster-parish priest,

who was to divide his time equally between his scholastic and parochial duties, could scarcely have fallen on a better man. Nicholls's strength of will and extraordinary grasp of detail were by-words amongst his contemporaries. On one occasion, deliberately pitting himself against a mesmerist, he rendered the manipulations of the latter entirely innocuous, while his diary is so terse and staccato as an overseas cablegram.  

On the formation of the parish of Whanganui in 1859 he became its first vicar, since Taylor still preferred to devote his time to work among the Maoris.

Despite the combination of these two men, a contemporary account stated in 1856 that the Freebyterian minister, the Rev. David Hogg, had the largest congregation, while in 1859 the Roman Catholics were supporting no fewer than four priests and two laymen in the area. Sourcing for converts was brisk and, with a quick eye to the main chance, many of the Maoris transferred their allegiance as one sect or another seemed to offer the greatest advantage. As early as 1852 Taylor was expressing his fear, a complaint he had to reiterate a year later,

23. The Roman Catholics offered to build a mill for the Maoris 250 cheaper if they embraced their religion.
that "much deadness and indifference to religion prevails, and that it is more perceptible to me now than it used to be ... The natives think more of traffic than anything else."24 Later still the Maoris were preferring "economic to spiritual advantage."25 On Christmas Day, 1853, his congregation totalled only a thousand and the number of communicants had decreased by two thirds.26 The tale of disappointments continued. At the end of 1854, after close on twelve years of unceasing effort, Taylor returned to England on a not undeserved furlough. Stock, whose unfitness for, and dislike of, missionary work has already been mentioned, acted as locum tenens. Easily discouraged, his experience at a pa in Rangitikei, where no one came out to welcome him, was not calculated to raise his spirits; nor was the earthquake of 1855 that brought the heavy roof of the mission church at Putiki crashing through the walls. Five years earlier John Telford, a European catechist, who had settled at Pipiriki was emphasising the imperative need for more help.27 A second catechist, James Booth, had arrived with his wife in 1882, and three years later, after a visit to

24. Taylor's report for the year ending December 31st, 1852.
26. Ibid., December 25th, 1853.
27. Telford to the O.M.S., in a letter written during 1850.
England to restore his health, he opened an industrial school at Pipiriki, from which place Telford had been compelled to retire owing to the extreme humidity of the climate. In the same year it seemed that Taylor would receive a further accession of strength by the appointment of the Rev. William Ronaldson, now an ordained member of the C.M.S., to Ngatiruanui in the vicinity of Waimate, sixty miles north of Wanganui. This design never eventuated, but what was Wanganui's loss was Wairarapa's gain for, after spending a few months at Otaki, Ronaldson opened a new station at Papawai. The number of native teachers was still growing, however. In 1851 there had been one hundred and fifty-six in the Western District; three years later there were one hundred and ninety-three.

With the presence of all these workers, the results obtained cannot be classed as outstanding; indeed, they are disappointing from every aspect except one, but this perhaps the most vital. In 1857, the year of the Waitara dispute, Taylor was able to write that "all are living in peace." There had been a serious declension in Christianity among

23. An original letter from H.Venn and H.Straith, secretaries of the C.M.S., to Hadfield, in the possession of Miss A.V. Hadfield.
29. Missionary Register, May, 1851, p.221.
30. Taylor's report, for year ending December 31st, 1857.
the Maoris without doubt, as Hadfield was not slow to point out in the most unflattering language, but this was not peculiar to any one district. The mere fact that the local natives did not again take up the meres they had so recently laid aside, and sally out in a "tana" seeking blood and "uta", was a triumph of the first magnitude. The lion's share of this victory can justly be claimed by the Church of England. The Wanganui settlers as a whole had never tried to wean the Maoris from the arts of war and instruct them in the pursuits of peace, and as Taylor points out: "This church (Christ Church, Wanganui) has the honour of having been the earliest church in the Cook's Straits Settlements. From that period to the present time public worship has been celebrated in it, even during the war, when no other denomination visited the place."32

But Wanganui was growing. By 1855 its population, exclusive of the military garrison, had risen to a thousand. A post office and police establishment, a resident magistrate and a customs

31. Hadfield to the C.H.S., March 4th, 1857. According to the writer Taylor's structure was superficial, his acquaintance with Maori slight and he had an utter want of system in reference to his native teachers.

32. This statement is not strictly accurate when applied to Wellington also. By a curious coincidence the Presbyterians opened their first chapel in Wellington on the same date (January 17th 1852) as Taylor had his, but the Presbyterians had an independent core, although their building was a chapel rather than a church.
officer gave visible evidence that this, the most unfortunate of the Wakefield settlements, had at last found its feet. In 1858 it enjoyed the distinction of being the first church in the Western District to have its individual accounts published in the New Zealand Church Almanac. The various sects were by now firmly established and in the previous year at a dinner held in honour of Featherston, the Superintendent of the Wellington Province, the healths were drunk of the clergy of all denominations. All this time, too, the original missionary work was being continued. Taylor was acting in the familiar role of peacemaker, settling inter-tribal disputes, and baptising, among others, Rangi-Irihau, the only one of the Gillilian murderers to have escaped justice, while Hori Kingi, one of the most trusted native teachers, conducted a regular court for offences against the teaching of Christianity. The standard of conduct demanded among the converts was still high, in some respects too high, and after Selwyn had revoked Taylor's ban forbidding women who smoked to communicate, the rule was re-established on the latter's return, in all its vigour by a unanimous decision of the native teachers. But the missionaries had well-nigh "served their day" in all save strictly

33. Taylor's Journal, August 7th, 1852.
local matters. The emphasis was shifting away from them and, even though Putiki is still a native sub-pastorate, the establishment of the parish of Wanganui brings us, as the year 1859 does in the diocese as a whole, to the end of the beginning. Taylor sustained his unflagging efforts till 1873, but the dual development was now virtually a single growth, and an area that had once been almost entirely a sphere of missionary operations had become a parish within the bounds of a settled ecclesiastical system.

Otaki during this decade remained a Maori stronghold, but was thus all the more liable to the fluctuations in native Christianity that occurred. It was a bitter blow when Samuel Williams, whose work has already been noted, felt it his duty to remove to Hawkes Bay to found Te Hute College. His school of a hundred day pupils and ten boarders dwindled under Stock, his successor, to a total of thirty; the grants of money made by Grey who, in accordance with his unfailing determination to advance the cause of education, had proposed its settlement on a more permanent basis, were discontinued by the Wellington Provincial Council; the attendance at church fell away; economic prosperity and a materialistic outlook progressed hand in hand; Tinuhare Te

Rauparaha, the friend of Ripahau, who had created a most favourable impression on his visit to England, cast off his old loyalties, made unwarranted accusations of Puseyism against Hadfield, came under Fox's anti-clerical influence and took to drink; Hakaraia Kiharoa, the principal teacher of his tribe, who but for a serious disease of the lungs would have been ordained, passed away; finally a Mr. Duncan of the Cameronians, a Scottish sect, proselytised some of the Potukahuru in Manawatu. It was a sad tale, made all the sadder by the high hopes that had attended its start.

Yet, amid all this darkness, strange and unexpected shafts of light shot through as reminders of brighter days. Hadfield could argue in 1853 that the Maoris were coming to have a truer appreciation of the value of schools; a far larger proportion of women were presenting themselves for baptism — evidence, this, of their increasing emancipation — but the overall numbers, particularly of the males, showed a vast decrease; the habits of the people and their attitude towards civilisation.

35. Church Missionary Intelligencer, 1852, p.150.
36. Hadfield's report for year ending December 31st, 1852.
37. Hadfield to C.M.B., May 30th, 1851.
38. Hadfield's report for year ending December 31st, 1853.
improved; a doctor was obtained in 1853 by Hadfield; and the plans for a girls' boarding school proceeded apace, although one was never built. Hadfield, however, was aware that the success of his labours hung by a thread, and that "any neglect may ruin it". By 1855 even this local victory was in doubt.

Superficially there had taken place a considerable decline, and most varying opinions were held by the men themselves on the spot as to the true place that religion occupied in the hearts of the natives. The number of boys at the boarding school had considerably decreased. The parents, for all Hadfield's belief that they appreciated the importance of education, remained apathetic and indifferent and, thanks to the rise in prices, found their children more valuable working at home. The difficulty of obtaining schoolmasters with both the necessary scholarship and an insight into the Maori mind proved insuperable, three men showing themselves unsuitable within the space of two years. Purely local conditions also provided their quota of reasons for non-success. In June, 1854, a severe attack of measles, that scourge of primitive peoples who, unlike the whites, have at first no immunity against it, caused the death of two pupils at the Otaki school; the earthquake of 1855 brought

39. Ibid.
40. Hadfield's report for year ending December 31st, 1855.
chimneys crashing into ruin and induced a wave of panic; the manual labour required to break in the land proved too heavy, and finally a new school at Ahiriri offered apparently superior attractions.

Once again, as in Wanganui and the remainder of New Zealand, the future was slipping through the hands of the missionaries from lack of means. The old tragedy was repeating itself. Yet the whole structure did not collapse into the bottomless abyss of war. That was the ultimate triumph, the supreme vindication, and it is undeniable that the credit belongs in very large measure to the Church of England. The Rev. Riwai Te Ahu, Hadfield's assistant since 1856, was so conducting himself as to encourage the latter in his aim of establishing a native pastorate, and in 1859 Selwyn expressed his surprise and gratification that the native converts were so strong and consistent.\[41\] The allegations, with their false statistics, put forward by Fox and the semi-illiterate Dorset some year previously were convincingly refuted,\[42\] but the game was almost played out. It may be, though, that the small hard core of genuine Christians that remained was of more value and solid

\[41\] Hadfield to his sister, Amelia, April 22nd, 1859; letter already cited.

\[42\] New Zealand Spectator, July 14th, 1852, printing a letter of Hadfield's written on December 26th, 1850.
worth than the much larger body, which in the first flush of enthusiasm superimposed the thrilling new creed of Christianity, with its consuming novelties, on the old pagan rites and superstitions. When the hurricane struck and self-interest indicated desertion, the nominal Christians abandoned what to them appeared the sinking ship. Although its trials were such it did not founder, but the future did not lie in the hands of the faithful, of those who had remained at their posts, weathered the storm and brought the vessel safely to port. They were too few and too weak. It was the colonial, not the native, church that was founded.
Disappearance of personal and legal objections to the foundation of a diocese of Wellington - Promulgation of a constitution for the Church of England in New Zealand - Its provisions and legalisation - The effect of environment - Decentralisation - Plans for proposed diocese of Wellington - Difficulties in the way - Hadfield's refusal and Abraham's acceptance of the bishopric - Significance of the consecration of William Williams as bishop of Waipu - Continuance of its work by the O.N.S. - Provisions of the first synod of the diocese of Wellington - Retrospect and conclusion.

The story is almost told. Wellington, once a missionary sphere of influence, had by 1859 become an integral part of a settled ecclesiastical system; Wanganui had outstripped Putiki in relative importance and the Rev. C. H. S. Nicholls was its first vicar; and Otaki, as in 1839, was under Hadfield, but the latter, no longer a young missionary with his spurs yet to win, would but for ill-health have been bishop of Wellington. During the fifties the personal and legal objections to the creation of the diocese of Wellington fell away, and as early as 1851 Selwyn, in
conformity both with a widespread desire for the
foundation of new sees and with his own wish to
relieve himself of part of his growing burden, agreed
to resign the southern portion of his vast diocese to
the bishop-designate of Lyttelton. Jackson, however,
soon discovered that his bent did not lie in the
direction of colonial life, and the post remained
unfilled, the diocese unfounded. But during his
visit to England in 1854, a visit fraught with such
happy consequences for New Zealand, Selwyn persuaded
Henry Harper, vicar of the quiet village of Strathfield
Mortimer, to assume the cope and mitre of the diocese
of Christchurch,¹ and on Christmas Day, 1856, his
installation was performed at the small pro-Cathedral
of St. Michael.

The precedent had been set; from now on the
problem was not if, but when. For Selwyn's success
during his stay in England was not confined to his
winning of Harper. He had also so captivated the
home officials of the C.M.S. that they enthusiastically supported his plan of dividing the North Island into four sees under the three great missionaries,
William Williams, Brown and Hadfield, and his own
personal friend, Charles Abraham, while he retained

¹. With the foundation of Christchurch the name of
the diocese was altered from that of Lyttelton to
that of the most important settlement.
a general oversight and took Melanesia for himself.\textsuperscript{2} As this scheme matured the society was gradually to withdraw its support from New Zealand, and hence, by implication, to admit the supersession of its authority.\textsuperscript{3} Further the proposed appointment of missionaries as bishops involved the inextricable intermingling of the two types of churchmanship existing in the country, and thus ensured the unity of the Church of England. It was, without doubt, one of the greatest advances made towards the safe establishment on a sure basis of a system of government for the church. The end came even closer of achievement in this year of 1854, when the legality of a constitution was settled once and for ever. The Gordian Knot that threatened to tie up all progress was slashed through with one bold stroke by Mr. Labouchere, the Colonial Secretary, who, in a despatch to Canada, which was wrestling with the same difficulty as New Zealand, suggested that the system "should be simply voluntary".\textsuperscript{4} The way was clear for Canada, and New Zealand was not slow in taking her cue. Threats of praemunire and dread of the royal prerogative faded into oblivion. The colony was autonomous; so would its church be. The General Assembly in 1856

\textsuperscript{2} Selwyn to Coleridge, August 14th, 1854. 
\textsuperscript{3} Proceedings of the C.M.S., 1854-5, pp.151-2. 
\textsuperscript{4} Labouchere to Sir Edmund Head, Governor-General of Canada.
passed the Religious, Charitable and Educational Trusts Act, which rendered less complicated and more effective the titles to property held by such institutions. Two years later, in 1858, by the Bishop of New Zealand's Trust Act, Selwyn was authorised to convey lands held in trust by him, as a corporation sole, to trustees appointed for that purpose by the General Synod.

The false rail was passed, the straight itself reached. There was a desire for a bishopric (there always had been since 1842 when it had seemed that Wellington would be the seat of the new bishop of New Zealand), and the man for the position and his understudy, should ill-health prevent the principal's acceptance, were at hand. The diocese of Christchurch stood as precedent; there was no legal let or hindrance; and the C.M.S. had granted its consent to the consecration of its own agents. There were endowments, scarcely princely, but still sufficient for a hard-working colonial bishop, for one placed to act with, rather than over, his clergy. and the S.P.G. had avowed its willingness to provide a further sum. The C.M.S. had already formulated their opinion that "the Missionary character must give way

Such was Selwyn's view of a bishop's function.
to the pastoral." Finally, on June 13th, 1857, the "Constitution for associating together, as a Branch of the United Church of England and Ireland, the members of the said Church in the Colony of New Zealand" was officially promulgated. The document appeared over seventeen signatures. The first four alone are in themselves of some interest, for the names of Selwyn and Harper are followed by those of Henry and William Williams. The French have a saying "que de souvenirs, que de regrets!" Memories, yes; but regrets, no. For, in this final consummation of such diverse aims and ideals, the old unhappy yesterdays, even the "Blood and Treasure" despatch and Henry Williams's dishonourable discharge, are almost forgotten. Supported by men of every shade of opinion, the church was "not simply a human organisation but a community of which Jesus Christ is the living Lord", as it had been in the days of the New Testament.

It was an organisation that stood on its own feet and had its own laws, and well it needed them. Many years earlier Hooker had recognised the danger and anarchy that would result from lack of control. He had written that "the urgent necessity of mutual communion for preservation of our unity ... maketh it requisite that the Church of God here on earth have

her laws." Now Selwyn - it is a strange coincidence, as a token of the unity of the future, that his copy of the Polity should have been presented to him by Samuel Marsden - told the conference summoned in 1857 to approve the constitution of the youngest branch of the Church of England: "The colonial churches must have laws for their own government, and as neither the Church nor the State at home is able to make laws for them, they must be free to legislate for themselves." This they did, but the sacraments, doctrine and Prayer Book of the Church of England were maintained in their full integrity. The laity, however, were granted absolute equality in the councils of their church after much debate. A curious alliance of the evangelical missionaries, the High Church Christchurch representatives and the authoritarian Selwyn sought to restrict the right of the laymen to sit and elect to communicants, but the Auckland lay members and Hadfield were adamant for the wider franchise, that is of all professing members of the church, and happily they won the day.

As may be surmised from the result of this decision, the constitution was proposed, not as an authoritative decree from above, but for free

8. At a meeting held in 1852 at Wellington to discuss a constitution for the Church of England Hadfield had suggested a synod of the three classes and election to it by all professing members of the church. For an account of the meeting see New Zealand Spectator, April 14th, 1852. See also, for discussion of the constitution, Ibid., May 5th, May 12th and August 4th, 1852.
discussion and amendment. In the powers reserved to
to the general synod, however, Selwyn's love of
centralisation was very clear. The individual
diocese was not considered as a unit of the
ecclesiastical system, nor was a diocesan synod
regarded as having an original and inherently
independent existence. Its functions and very being
were said to be derived from the general synod. Large
powers by delegation were, however, to be permitted
to it.\(^9\) One of its duties was to recommend to the
church and state in England, through the general synod,
yany clergyman it might desire as bishop. This was a
new departure, since latterly it had been the Crown's
prerogative to nominate to a vacant see, and, through
the Prime Minister, it still is in England. But the
denial of the right of the lesser bodies by the
greater to manage their own property did not meet with
general acquiescence among the delegates present at
the conference. The matter was hotly disputed and a
disproportionate amount of time devoted to it,
possibly because from a legal standpoint the Church of
England in New Zealand is simply the holder of trust
property. The protagonists of decentralisation
emerged triumphant, and finally the General Assembly
was requested to legalise the constitution, which it

\(^9\) By Clause 17 of the constitution.
did by the Trusts Act of the following year.

In its broader aspect it is evident from some of the circumstances of the debate, and from the amendments made to the bill, that Selwyn had aimed at the reproduction in New Zealand of the system obtaining in England. Such a determination was only natural for, after all, it was the organisation with which he was most familiar, the organisation that had been hallowed down the centuries in the country that gave its name to the church. The glories, and the shames, of its history form an integral part of the national heritage of our proud race. But New Zealand was not, and is not, England. Doctrine and polity might be transferable, but old customs inevitably take on a new form in another land. The daughter colony has to integrate her own character from experience, and she would indeed be a colourless and valueless member of the British Commonwealth of Nations if she borrowed her culture second-hand. Many factors went to influence the constitution as it was finally adopted. The experiments of others were not ignored. New Zealand studied the form of organisation adopted by the American church when the rebellious colonies severed their political connection with England, and learnt from the semi-regulated Melbourne System to avoid all entanglement with the state. In this
latter she was at one with Canada, while she succeeded in steering clear of South Africa's episcopal troubles.

The Church of England as settled in New Zealand is no exotic growth. It was born and bred in the country, partaking of its national characteristics, good and bad. The influence derived from England was foremost, as in all our institutions - at any rate until very recent years - but it was tempered by local needs and aspirations. The finished article might seem a trifle rough to more refined critics but, even if spun of coarser cloth, it was essentially practical and ready for use. The warp and woof of evangelical and High Churchman, of missionary and pastor, of lay and cleric, of authority and autonomy, produced a durable fabric able to stand up to any amount of hard wear. In its homespun origin it bore witness to the genius of the British race to fashion a garment well adopted to every climate and all conditions. The church in New Zealand is a living organism, rough-hewn from life and experience, but its basic rules remain as they were constituted at the preliminary conference of 1857 and confirmed by the first general synod that met on March 8th, 1859. As is the parent, so in this case are the offspring, among them the diocese of Wellington. With the
repudiation of Selwyn's policy of control decentralisation has continued steadily. When Abraham convoked the first session of his first synod on October 12th, 1859, the diocese was recognised as a unit of the ecclesiastical system with an independent existence. This local authority is the hallmark of the vigour and the essential flexibility of a system planned and brought to fruition, with many alterations readily accepted, by the wise "master-builder", whose natural bent was towards the concentration of power.

The immediate advantages were no less plain. Those who were disposed to give property for endowment were encouraged to come forward liberally, in the assurance that their gifts would be appropriated in the manner that would prove most advantageous. Too much power had hitherto been vested in the hands of an individual, namely the bishop of New Zealand, and abuse of such sole authority was not unknown, as in Tasmania, although Selwyn had always behaved with the utmost decorum and rigid probity. This authority was now delegated to the various synods, who were thus enabled to appoint experts in each particular sphere. Paternal benevolence yielded to discussion on equal terms as the children reached their majority. Christchurch
had already attained it, Wellington and Nelson maintained their twin growth from the old days, now seemingly so long past, of settlement by the New Zealand Company, and Waipu, which was to approximate most closely to the organisation of a native church - its first synod was conducted in Maori - was not lagging behind. Clergy were to be appointed by diocesan boards who would thus obtain the men they desired, and the dioceses of Wellington, New Zealand and Christchurch, as mark of their greater importance, were to send four clerical representatives to general synod, while Nelson and Waipu were limited to three.

Efficient synodal government was clearly impossible in New Zealand at that time, except within comparatively small areas, owing to the delay caused by the slowness and irregularity of communications. Selwyn, of all men, knew this best, and that was the reason why, as far back as 1844, he had planned to create five archdeaconries, including that of Kapiti, for the North Island. Three years later he said that, given the freedom, he would soon find and endow sees where necessary and fill them with competent men. In 1850 the first concrete proposal for a bishopric of Wellington was put forward. After the South Island

10. Selwyn to Abraham, August 1st, 1844.
11. Selwyn in a letter to an "eminent British statesman" in 1847.
episcopacy had been determined a bishop for the Cook Strait settlement, with his headquarters at Trinity College, Porirua, the grant of which had been made possible by the dissolution of the New Zealand Company, was to be consecrated: "I will agree to give up to him, all the country south of the Whanganui River and the Northern Settlements of the Middle Island as far as the Northern boundary of Canterbury." Selwyn felt himself unable to consent to be bishop of the North Island alone, since he would be subject to the jealousies of the Wellington settlers and would unduly increase the preponderance of the town where he settled. At the time, however, Wellington was not a large field, "but if it should ever become populous, it would be easy to divide the Cook's Straits Bishopric into two." The same lack of instruments still stood in the way, but the idea, once formulated on paper, was not pigeon-holed. Selwyn was more than ever convinced that the surest foundation for a church was the appointment of a bishop. The first missionary in a new country should be a bishop, on the fundamental principle that every tree created has seed within

12. Selwyn in a letter, dated December 20th, 1850.
13. Ibid.
itself. "If the Church of England had £500,000 a year to spend on missions she could not do better with half of that sum than spend it on 500 bishops with £500 a year each."14 But if these men were not to be wasted a staff of competent assistants was essential.15 In 1854 he surrendered the £600 per annum granted him by the C.M.S. and converted it to assist in the endowment of new sees.16 At this time too a curious rumour, unimportant in itself but most interesting as a pointer to the direction of the wind of popular opinion, was current, namely that Selwyn was to be translated to Australia and Hadfield was to be his successor in New Zealand. Comment was most cheering and enlightening. The adoption of this arrangement "would give very great satisfaction both to the colonists and the native race", and it "would be a gratifying change in the course which has hitherto uniformly obtained on such occasions."17

There could be no doubt that Wellington wanted a bishop and that Hadfield was considered as eminently suitable for the post. At a select meeting of the Church of England held in December, 1855, it was

14. Selwyn in a speech at the Mansion House in 1854.
15. Selwyn to Coleridge, September 2nd, 1850.
16. Selwyn to the Colonial Secretary, June 7th, 1854.
17. New Zealand Spectator, April 22nd, 1854.
suggested\textsuperscript{18} that half the endowments in the Wellington district should be set aside as an episcopal fund, while all those belonging to the New Zealand Company were to be transferred to the S.P.G. Further, plans for parochial organisation and endowment were put forward. At the public meeting a few days later it was unanimously determined that the control of the endowment should be placed in local hands and that Nelson and Wellington should be united in one diocese, the revenue to be provided from the general fund possessed by each. In reply to Fox Selwyn openly stated for the first time his opinion that a "migratory" primacy, the practice adopted in the rural provinces of the African church, would prove best suited to New Zealand. This policy, still adhered to, means simply that the archbishopric is centred in which ever diocese the primate happens to have his seat, be it Auckland or Dunedin, Wellington, Nelson or elsewhere.

Meanwhile the testing of public opinion and the arousing of popular interest continued. A memorial on the subject of the proposed foundation of a bishopric of Nelson-Wellington was inserted, early in 1856, in the \textit{New Zealand Spectator}, to elicit

\textsuperscript{13} \textit{Ibid.}, December 13th, 1855.
signatures. An editorial praised this move as a "step in the right direction" — a "half-loaf is better than no bread" — and as an effort "to set in order things that are wanting."

There is little reason to doubt that such was the general view in Wellington, and Royal Letters Patent were actually made out in Hadfield's name as bishop of Nelson-Wellington. The Nelson settlers, however, strongly objected, with good reason, to their connection with Wellington. Their endowments amounted to ten thousand pounds, Wellington's to four thousand pounds; the bishop would almost certainly devote more of his energy and time to the chief centre, and they would be honoured by his presence little more frequently than by Selwyn's. Their arguments were so manifestly justified that in 1856 Selwyn agreed to their existence as a separate see, the scheme fell through, and, by implication, Wellington also was launched forth on a separate existence.

The end was clearly coming nearer, and Hadfield was there, somewhat unwillingly no doubt, but prepared to yield to universal demand, to crown the noble work

19. Ibid., April 2nd, 1856.
20. Ibid., April 5th, 1856.
of close on two decades by becoming first bishop of Wellington. He had enjoyed a varied career, and always he had been the pioneer missionary at Otaki, rural dean of the Western District, archdeacon of Kapiti, bishop-elect of New Munster, of Nelson-Wellington, and now of Wellington. Twice the higher office had been denied him by force of circumstances; surely the third occasion would prove luckier. Time alone could answer the question, and certain snags had still to be removed before the course of events could flow on full flood. Selwyn had proposed that the new sees should be suffragan to that of Sydney; in other words, that the primate of New Zealand should be the bishop of Australia, not the bishop of New Zealand. Considerable opposition was aroused, although the reason behind the plan was to prevent any one diocese in the country from becoming over-influential. Wellington decided that it was to be subordinate to no extra-territorial bishopric, nor permanently to any within New Zealand. The proposed diocese was to coincide with the provincial boundaries, Letters Patent were requested for Hadfield, and pleasure was expressed that now and in future the nominee should be acceptable to his clergy and laity, while patronage would be in local hands.

22. See New Zealand Spectator, January 27th, 1857, for an account of the meeting.
The emphasis had shifted from the organisation of a missionary church, and the comment of the C.M.S., that "New Zealand is very rapidly changing its character, and is every year assuming that of an English Colony, rather than a native community",\textsuperscript{23} was undeniably true. But the colonial church was, as yet, uncertain of its future. No intelligence had been received by December, 1857, from England of the reception accorded the constitution, and it was feared\textsuperscript{24} that the ground assumed by the Melbourne system was firmer. The S.P.G. had passed a resolution that grants of endowment should be made only to legally incorporated dioceses, as those in Canada and Australia where church acts were in force, thus deliberately excluding New Zealand which by its Trust Deed did not specify the Church of England.

The incontrovertible argument, however, against such differentiation lies in the fact that no colonial legislature can establish a church; all that it can do is to legalise a sect; and this by an act of the General Assembly was done. Then the division of the diocese of New Zealand was likely to be indefinitely postponed by the succession of fleeting and transient phantoms which occupied that "most changeable of all

\textsuperscript{23} Proceedings of the C.M.S., 1857-8, p.181
\textsuperscript{24} Selwyn in a letter, dated December 3rd, 1857.
caravanserais, the Colonial Office. The colonies would not submit to be made the victims of English party spirit and they believed themselves to be more competent in the management of their own affairs. Finally Hadfield, the desired of all, felt it incumbent upon himself to send in his formal refusal of the offer on the grounds of ill-health. It was a hard sad blow, but Selwyn, least of all men, refused to be discouraged. His dearest friend and closest coadjutor in New Zealand, Charles Abraham, archdeacon of Waiemata, would have to go. "I would not grudge him to the Wellington people, who certainly had some grounds for thinking that the first New Zealand Bishop would reside among them; and yet have patiently accepted the annual pittance of visitation which is all that I have been able to dole out to them!"

The citizens of Wellington did not prove unworthy of the man who was to come to be their bishop, nor did they betray the trust reposed in them. They settled the whole of their four thousand pounds of endowment on the bishopric, and converted to the same purpose the one thousand pounds granted from the Jubilee Fund by the S.P.C. for Trinity College, now definitely abandoned. At colonial interest the bare

25. Selwyn in a letter, dated August 26th, 1858.
minimum of five hundred pounds per annum was thus obtained, while the liability for the whole annual maintenance of the clergy in the Wellington diocese was at the same time admitted. - an act of faith and trust that deserves long to be remembered. For the presence of a resident bishop was to repay in full, even if not in pecuniary fashion, the devotion of every pound of the endowment to his maintenance. In lieu of Hadfield's nomination that of Abraham was carried unanimously at the general meeting of the Church of England on January 26th, 1855, and later by the Archdeaconry Board. It must be clearly understood that neither of these bodies had, or has, the right of election; they could merely record their approval or disapproval of the person nominated. If their choice proved disagreeable to him Selwyn had the right of refusal, and thus the establishment of the Wellington diocese could have been delayed indefinitely, in theory if not in practice. With Abraham, however, there could be neither fear nor doubt. Fox, as usual, proved hostile to any suggestions that did not emanate from himself, recommended canvassing, bunting and all the loud trappings of an election campaign, received no support except from his immediate followers, and left the meeting in high dudgeon. Subsequently, in the
columns of the *Wellington Independent*, he raised howls of indignation which could by no manner of means be construed as righteous; the constitution had been adopted in a "hole and corner manner", no Wellington colonist had attended the conference held in Auckland in 1857 (in point of fact both Hadfield and Dr. Prendergast had been present); the acquiescence of the diocese in Abraham's appointment had been attempted in a "rough-handed way"; church affairs generally were conducted by a "close borough sort of management"; and several members were hampered by the constitution which "practically excluded them from Church Membership." 27

This cross-grained and cantankerous ungraciousness was treated with the contempt it merited, and the arrangements proceeded untroubled by Fox's captious criticism. Abraham returned to England, and on September 23rd, 1858, he was consecrated, under Royal Letters Patent, by the Archbishop of Canterbury in the chapel of Lambeth Palace. 28 Hadfield, also home on sick leave, acted as his chaplain. So it was done. The deed was consummated, and the ambitions of close on twenty years realised. The diocese of Wellington,


28. The Rev. Edmund Hobhouse was consecrated bishop of Nelson at the same service.
New Zealand, had its first bishop. The role of the actors was, however, reversed. Hadfield, the "bishop in expectancy" of so many years, the outstanding figure of the Western District, the missionary who five years previously had moved that the C.M.S. should commence a gradual withdrawal from New Zealand, that it should "resign into the hands of the clergy and laity of the district of Wellington their present charge of the native settlement", the man who had borne the heat and burden of the day, Selwyn's "alter ego", was the subordinate.

But did that matter? Hadfield had accepted nomination under pressure, his mind was even yet set on the organisation of a native pastorate, and the lieutenant might be better able than the commander to pursue the task of evangelising the heathen. Already the two men were deep in consultation on a plan that would suit the C.M.S. in reference to church work in the Wellington diocese, and with his residence at Otaki the bishop's commissary, for such had Hadfield been appointed, enjoyed a most favourable position for furthering any such project. At Wellington, to minister to the wants of the pakeha, there was Abraham, steeped in the tradition and culture

29. At a meeting of the Church of England in Wellington held on February 21st, 1853.
30. Hadfield in a letter to his mother, September 23rd, 1858. (Manuscript).
of Eton and Windsor, a man who united the best of both worlds. A furious worker, adventurous and not lacking in initiative, he epitomised all that was most noble and dignified in a "flunkey in purple".

In addition to his personal qualifications he possessed the inimitable advantage, in a young colony, of ample private means. The safe keeping of the honour, dignity and piety of the Church of England in Wellington was assured, and at his right hand the bishop enjoyed the counsel of one whose courage, integrity and fearlessness were equalled only by his sagacity, generosity and knowledge.

Abraham did not reach Wellington, where the general synod was sitting, until a few days after the opening of the session. On his arrival a historic act was performed, for, at the cathedral church of St. Paul, Archdeacon William Williams was consecrated first bishop of Waipu by the metropolitan of New Zealand assisted by his fellow prelates. Almost old enough to be the father of the men who installed him in his high office, it was only right that the veteran missionary should be raised to episcopal rank

31. He paid £1,000 into Selwyn's church fund, and, when at Eton, gave up a salary of £2,000 per annum to better the condition of the foundation scholars.
in the country of his labours. The pomp and circumstance of the stately cathedrals of England gave way to the rough simplicity of a fifteen year old wooden church, but what surer proof could there be that the faith of the mother country had taken root in her daughter's house?

Success followed success. The policy of the S.P.C., as Abraham remarked, had "succeeded well", for at this same synod the first formal divisions of the diocese of Wellington whose boundaries were to be contumacious with the province, were sanctioned. Wanganui and Ahuriri (the latter soon to be transferred to Waiapu) became rural deaneries; seven parochial districts, which were to become parishes when their boundaries were determined, formed the core from which subsequently, with the growth of population, all the others that we know today have lived off. Then on June 12th, 1859, it became known that the home committee of the C.M.S. accepted the constitution of the church in most generous fashion. The missionaries had carried the church

33. Namely St. Paul's, St. Peter's (both in Wellington), Lower Hutt, Taita and Upper Hutt, Wairarapa, Porirua Road, and Otaki. The first two districts were each to return two synodsmen to the diocesan synod, the remainder one each.
and well; they had helped to plant it in its integrity; and now they could leave it in good hands. But their work was not yet completed: "the Euthanasia of the Mission cannot be a sudden death." A proposal of Selwyn's that the society should be approached on the question of its resignation of control over the native settlements was not accepted. In its place a resolution of the five bishops, ten clergymen and thirteen laymen, only six of whom were connected with the C.M.S., was unanimously carried: "That since the colonisation of New Zealand, there has never been a period when the native race more urgently required the undiminished efforts of the Church Missionary Society than at the present moment."

The evangelising policy of the C.M.S. was justified to the hilt; its power as a controlling factor in the councils of the Church of England in New Zealand was gone. The general synod had met and made provision for diocesan synods. The latter, in their turn, met and made provision for local bodies and organisations. The government was on the spot, for the general synod had determined that: "Every Diocesan Synod shall consist of the Bishop of the Diocese, of the Licensed Clergy, and of not less than

34. Selwyn in his address to the first general synod.
one Synodsman, for every Parish of the Diocese."

All motions had to be passed by a majority of the orders, and if the laity could throw out a measure agreed upon by clergy and bishop, so could the latter by his sole vote exercise an absolute veto, a prerogative of which Hadfield, in particular, made good use. So here at last was the trinity of government, the three orders pledged to the one end. Each was answerable for all, all for each, and with this clear knowledge of individual duty for the common good the sense of responsibility developed space. Inspired by the past, conscious of the present, men built for the future.

Their faith and foresight can be compared only with the practicality of their measures. Then on October 25th, 1859, the year in which Darwin's Origin of the Species was published, the first synod of the diocese of Wellington was declared at an end the foundations, upon which generations yet unborn were to raise the superstructure, had been carefully and methodically laid. There were a board of pensions, diocesan trustees, trustees for the bishop's residence, for properties at Karori, Porirua

35. Statute 2, Clause 1.
36. The following provisions were made during the first session of the Wellington synod.
and Wellington, and for church property in the Hutt valley and in the Wairarapa. Provision had been made for the determination of parish boundaries, for the duration of synod, the election of synodsmen, the establishment of a diocesan fund for payment of the clergy, and the appointment of curates and churchwardens. In the mere holding of the synod lay proof that the inchoate mass had assumed body and shape. The bishop, seven clergy (the remaining three were unavoidably absent), and ten laymen meeting in the Provincial Council Chamber were an earnest, a witness, that the beginning was indubitably ended.

The personnel of the licensed clergy of the diocese bore this out further. Hadfield and Taylor were there with their years of toil and experience and their tales, already half legendary, of carnivals and whalers, of disputes with the New Zealand Company, of wars and rumours of war. But Churton had long since departed for Auckland, Davy had sought areas where his reputation had not preceded him, Cole, broken in health, had returned to England, as had his old deacon, Hutton, and Willy Evans was dead, Nason drowned, Poole and Paul in other dioceses. Ronaldson, however, sometime catechist at Putiki, was in his seat, but now as an ordained member of the C.M.S. and responsible for the spiritual needs of the Wairarapa.
Wheeler, the free-lance schoolmaster of Wellington, had been appointed to the cure of souls at Taiopoukura. Samuel Williams too was in Hawkes Bay at Te Hute College, while Baker and Stock, Nicholls and St. Hill represented the latest decade. Finally the only Maori present, in his solitude symbolical of the race that had failed either to obtain its own church or to retain the supremacy it had enjoyed twenty years previously, the Rev. Riwai Te Ahu furnished pleasing witness of the potentialities of his countrymen (potentialities not belied in the creation of the native see of Aotearoa and those valiant exploits on Takrouna's grim height) and of the success achieved by the missionaries in their education of a backward, if ingenious, people towards a higher culture. The laity too were not unworthily represented. Even today, as measure of their calibre, their names or families live on, and their contributions to New Zealand history are not small. Coutts Crawford, who had grazed his sheep on the Miramar peninsula, and Henry St. Hill, sometime resident magistrate at Wellington, met again. Keboell, Stokes, and Wallace, Barton, Ludlow, and Captain Smith, all settlers of considerable means and influence, evinced a remarkable sense of responsibility in spiritual matters. It was a grand example that they set, and the willing and honorary service
rendered by those busy men well attests to the position religion held in the daily life of the people a hundred years ago.

There in the Provincial Council Chamber, seated in solemn conclave, their bishop in the chair, let us leave them. They were but the outward and visible sign of an inward faith, the proof of the organisation attained by the Church of England in the diocese of Wellington. It had been founded with a rare insight into the democratic character of New Zealand - Self-government was already diffusing a spirit of enterprise; particularism was yielding to a more catholic outlook, and yet it was being discovered anew that, as in the times of the apostles, order was not incompatible with freedom and initiative. Rather it might be claimed that they went better together. The authority of the old world and the liberty of the new were being welded into an amalgam that partook of its strength from both. New faults of its own would arise in time, but if it be true that "the most efficient cause of the prosperity of new colonies is the capital, living and dead, which they acquire from old civilisation," then there need be no serious fear for the future. While missionary and cleric ensured the welfare of the church, Wakefield systematically introduced a class.

of settler whose general conduct redounded to the credit of the land of his birth.

It was a felicitous combination. The old unhappy far-off things and the battles of missionary and colonist of long ago were now but memories, transmuted into less savage and softer recollections by the dulling passage of time. The tones were gentler, and many of the principals of the early struggles lay buried in the cemetery off Bolton Street. Conflicts and clashes of opinion still occurred — they always will — but with less virulence and on different topics. The theory of evolution and the merits of Posyism replaced the question of land claims, and with the change the accusations of traitor were heard no more. Life was kindlier and not so primitive. Comfort and culture were advancing; the process of assimilation of the Maori race appeared to be progressing steadily, to be rudely interrupted within the year by the fighting cult of Hauhauism; and local customs and practices were setting the mould of new traditions in a new land. Responsibility was begetting responsibility. A fresh race of men, no longer English or Scottish, Welsh or Irish, was developing in its peculiar environment into a nation. Heredity still remained strong, but the title New Zealander
was being increasingly used of the white settler rather than of the original Maori conqueror of five centuries before. The Church of England also was assuming local characteristics, and its official title, the Branch of the United Church of England and Ireland in New Zealand, was soon to be amended to that of the Church of England in the Province of New Zealand. National consciousness was having its way in things temporal and things spiritual. A nation state was setting up as mistress in her own house. The political barriers had been read and passed unchallenged in 1836, the religious in 1857, and the ancestral home, where the daughter might seek advice and help as adult and not as child, was twelve thousand miles away.

And yet "plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose." Superficially there might be little in common between the heathen Maori chief, tattooed and savage, who in 1829 requested old Samuel Marsden, the convict chaplain of New South Wales and pioneer evangelist of New Zealand, to send a missionary to dwell amongst his tribe, and the bishop of Wellington a scion of the long centuries of the culture and tradition of the English nation, as he presided in 1859 over his own synod. This last scene is far enough removed
from that enacted twenty years earlier, when Hadfield
and Henry Williams struck boldly across country for
Otaki in the territory of the bloody Te Rauparaha,
and even from the one ten years later when Hutton
came to bear a part of Cole's burden. But
fundamentally all was the same. Fashions, conditions,
communications, customs, theories, all might change.
There might be growth here, decay there; organisation
might replace chaos and governments come and go.
All this might be, and was, and is. One empire
yields to another, to be replaced in its turn by a
third. The Greeks had to admit that their
civilisation was of but recent growth when compared
with that of Egypt, and who can accurately tell how
many peoples preceded the Egyptians themselves?
Life has changed, and with it controls and ideals.
But one thing has always remained constant, even
though it has expressed itself in many ways - in
hero-worship, in myth and legend, in religious belief,
in rationalistic theorising (which after all is
religion under another guise), in awe and wonder of
the supernatural, in a seeking after the
"imponderabilia". For, as Disraeli, that mystic
penetrating student of mankind, said "The spiritual
nature of man is stronger than codes or constitutions."
The foundation of the diocese of Wellington in the
year 1859 is one manifestation of the spiritual nature of man. Its constitution, a child of its time and of the land of its birth, is a manifestation of man as he was in 1859 in New Zealand.
EDUCATION

One of the most important duties of a religious body is the provision of educational facilities. If the future is to be won and the fruits of the present not allowed to die away through sheer inanition, the young must be taught to fill the places vacated by the old. Hence the incalculable value of early training. Not infrequently the vigour of a religious denomination can be fairly accurately assessed by its educational policy and the condition of its schools. Granted that this is a fair premise the position of the Church of England in the diocese of Wellington during the period reviewed in this thesis can only be regarded as flourishing, particularly during the 'fifties. At first education had been left, as is customary, to individual enterprise and not entirely unsuccessfully. On January 1st, 1843, Mr. and Mrs. Buxton opened a Church of England school in Wellington. This continued till 1851 when instruction was placed on a more formal and comprehensive basis by the foundation of the Education Society. Although intended primarily for members of the one denomination, dissenters were welcomed, and in no sense could the school be regarded as exclusive. Admittedly an improvisation, it

* Vide supra, Chapter VI, pp. 10-11.
1. Father O'Reilly, the first Roman Catholic priest in Wellington, also ran a school to which he admitted his "dear dissentient brethren".
rendered good service and was in every way typical of the pioneering decade of the 'forties, just as in its super-
session it typified the consolidation that marked the next ten years. It was partly supported from Selwyn's
General Church Fund and in 1845 it had a roll of twenty-five boys and twenty girls. It was not much, but at
least it was a beginning. The Wesleyans, Roman
Catholics and Presbyterians also started schools before
1850 and these Grey, in lieu of any state system of
education, endowed; but the standard of literacy remained
low and as late as 1864 provision had been made for only
sixty per cent of the children between the ages of five
and fifteen.

This unduly small proportion of pupils receiving
instruction contrasts unfavourably with the remarkably
large number of natives who could read and write. In
fact it is probably no exaggeration to state that a
greater percentage of the Maori race than of any other
nation in the world (not excluding the English) had
learnt the rudiments of education. The first schools
in New Zealand had been those of the missionaries, and
this policy of teaching was always pursued with the
utmost vigour. That unhappily adults rather than
juveniles should have preponderated was not the fault of

2. S.E. Grimstone, Southern Settlements of New Zealand,
p.71.
the missionaries. They knew that the future was being lost largely through lack of instructors, suitable both in numbers and qualifications. This failing was endemic in the missionary system of the time and its deplorable effects have already been depicted in the body of this work.

Selwyn, however, learnt from his own errors and the errors of others, and, if one half of his flock had suffered for a particular reason, he was determined that the other should derive every possible benefit from this experience. Aware of the paramount need for education he appointed Hutton to Wellington not only as resident deacon but also as inspector of schools. Further he laid down in the most categorical manner that "no Deacon can be admitted to the order of Priesthood, whatever may be his qualifications, who shall have neglected the Schools committed to his charge."³ The surest way for a probationer to recommend himself to the bishop was by diligence and skill in the management of a school, and so far as possible no permanent distinctions were to be drawn between the offices of clergyman and schoolmaster. The most important object was to sanctify the work of teaching by identifying it with the ministry of the Church. The deacon in all stations where there were two clergymen was

³. New Zealand Church Almanac, 1850.
to attend the parochial schools from nine to twelve every
morning and to take all classes in turn for religious
instruction. 4

There could be no mistaking the tenor of these
instructions and the pursuit of them was as vigorous as
the wording. 1851 marked a great step forward with the
formation in Wellington of the Church of England Education
Society. This body resulted from a meeting in May at
which a complete system of primary and secondary education
with religious instruction was resolved upon. A strong
provisional committee including Sir George Grey, always
an ardent advocate of learning, was set up, subscriptions
were collected and the government donated a section in
Sydney Street. In January of the following year the
St. Paul's, or Thorndon, school was formally opened by
Selwyn, and on April 24th, 1854, a second school was
founded in Ghuznee Street. The former, starting with
thirty-five pupils under the mastership of Mr. Wadsworth
who had served under Hadfield and Hutton, had by
February, 1853, as measure of his success, 5 a roll of
one hundred and five. Interesting, however, as it would
be to trace the history of these two schools, space
forbids. In pursuance of his policy of assistance Grey

4. Ibid., 1845.
5. New Zealand Spectator, February 19th, 1853: "It may
be justly regarded as superior to any school of a
similar class in these colonies".
made a government grant of two hundred and sixty pounds, while the remainder of the funds was raised by the Education Society, church collections, entertainments and school fees. That the supervision was satisfactory may be gathered from the fact that both Grey and Selwyn periodically held examinations, while Lady Grey and Mrs. St. Hill often assisted the staffs. For a short time Toomath, the father of secondary education in Wellington, acted as headmaster of the Thorndon school, but after his resignation it went through a lean period and was only pulled together in 1859 on the arrival of Howbray.

It is clear from these facts that private enterprise and official assistance worked well together, and that denominational education was not considered incompatible with the making of good citizens. Indeed it may fairly be assured that the reverse was true and that the children became better citizens through the inculcation of religious beliefs; since not only the Church of England but also the other sects all received financial help. Secular education, which in the final analysis amounts to nothing more than dogmatic irreligion, was only

6. See Education Ordinance enacted by the Legislative Council on September 8th, 1847. Section 1, Paragraph 3 states: "That in every such (assisted) school Religious Education, Industrial Training, and Instruction in the English language, shall form a necessary part of the System to be pursued therein". Lay pupils, however, could attend without receiving religious instruction.
introduced with the granting of local autonomy and was indeed one of its first fruits. It was plain, however, that the Church of England had no monopoly, as it did in England as the established church of the realm. Nevertheless the opening of two schools and the comparatively large numbers attending them bore witness to its local strength, and also to the fact that parents were sending their children to school, although, particularly in Te Aro, the workers' district, the attendance was liable to follow the fluctuating curve of economic prosperity. Further, although the appointment of secular schoolmasters was encouraged, religious instruction was still exclusively in the hands of the clergy. But above all it was obvious that at last the Church of England had achieved some degree of organisation. Two schools were under its immediate control, while another two, the Te Aro Grammar School, under the Rev. Edwin Wheeler, and the Wellington Grammar School, run by Mr. W. Marshall, acknowledged its ideals and practices.

While the prospect at Wellington was bright, a project for a southern counterpart at Porirua of St. John's College, Auckland, proved stillborn. As early as 1847 Selwyn had contemplated such an institution. Like most of his schemes it was ambitious, but unlike most

7. Selwyn to Hadfield, March 25th, 1847.
of them it failed to come to fruition. A brief review of its salient features may be of interest as showing both the ideas that were at work in Selwyn's mind and also his plan for the assimilation of Maori and pakeha, a plan that inevitably meant the eclipsing of the former by the latter. In Canada the French have retained their individuality and nationality only by a most stringent policy of exclusion and artificial fosterage of racial customs and traditions, while in De Valera's Eire a similar policy has developed into a veritable complex of suspicion and hatred towards everything foreign to Eirann ideas. The Maoris, however, have proved in the past to be easily assimilable and while justly proud of their adventurous heritage have not seen fit, apart from the King Movement that failed, to attempt to dwell as a race apart. Indeed the Ngatirau-Kawa presented some five hundred acres of land to Selwyn as a token of good-will and for the purpose of establishing a College for the native and English youth, that they may be united together as one people, in the new principle of faith in Christ and obedience to the Queen. As at St. John's College there were to be no drones in the hive: everyone was to work his

8. At the present moment (1945), however, a movement with a racial and nationalist bias seems to be gaining ground owing to the rapid increase in the birth-rate and the experiences of the members of the Maori Battalion overseas.

9. Quoted by Selwyn in a letter to his mother-in-law, the Dean of Ely, written on July 12th, 1849.
passage and the arts of industry were not to be ignored; and provision was made for "oppidans" and theological studentships. All were to have access to college examinations and the deacons trained there were to minister to Wellington as those from the parent college served Auckland. The S.P.G. promised one thousand pounds from the Jubilee Fund for the endowment of scholarships. But Selwyn always had a premonition of failure and the magnificent gifts of land and money were diverted to other ends - the money to assist in the endowment of a bishopric for Wellington, while the site of the proposed college is still held by the church in trust. In point of fact there was never any necessity for an institution of this kind, and even today one theological college is more than sufficient to supply the needs of the Church of England in New Zealand.

The schemes of Samuel Williams for the education of the Maoris in the Otaki area have already been dealt with, as has indeed the whole position of native Christianity in general, but one school remains to be discussed. While Trinity College at Porirua was proving to be nothing more than a phantom without substance, the foundations were being laid at Wanganui of an educational institution whose name is today known far and wide beyond the bounds of

10. Selwyn to the Dean of Ely, September 13th, 1850.
New Zealand. Wanganui Collegiate School, a lineal descendant of the public schools of England, in its humble beginnings and chequered career reflected the conditions of the times of its birth and childhood. Later in 1851 Selwyn arrived in Wanganui to consult with Dr. George Rees, the colonial surgeon, and Mr. H. C. Field, a prominent settler, whom he, as a corporation sole, had appointed to act conjointly with Taylor in church matters. In passing it is perhaps worth noting that here is another example of Selwyn's policy of making the laity actively responsible for work that contemporary opinion usually considered to be the preserve of the clergy. Among other matters discussed was the establishment of a church school. Grey, on being approached, willingly authorised a Crown grant of two hundred and fifty acres of land—principally swamp and sand ridge—while Selwyn advanced seven hundred pounds to the trustees for the improvement of the land and the erection of buildings. The former in 1853 also directed that one thousand pounds should be paid out of the official revenue, but when in 1855, on non-payment, application was made it was refused, as by then New Zealand had achieved local autonomy and the government favoured a policy of secular education.

In common with the practice of the day it was stipulated that the Wanganui Native and Industrial School, as
it was originally named, was to be "for the education of children of our peoples of all races and of all poor and destitute persons." This clause of the trust has given rise to some trouble, and when in 1858 the government commissioners carried out an inspection they ignored the presence of the thirty white boys on the roll—incidentally a sign of the improving times in Wanganui—and issued a report that was both unfavourable and prejudiced. In compliance with their request the school was reserved exclusively for Maoris, but the attempt to enrol more natives failed owing to the King Movement and the Taiporohemui Land League. Other difficulties there were too that are worthy of mention as casting light both on contemporary conditions of life and opinion and on the influences that affected the development of the church. A school house costing one hundred and twenty pounds had already been built when on January 23rd, 1854, the school was officially opened. No better description of this signal occasion can be given than in Nicholls's own words: "Commenced School— one pupil H. Newport (copy book). Ryan to reap Oats". The start was modest enough in all conscience, and perhaps it might be queried whether the harvesting of the oats did not appear the more important. Yet from this tiniest of acorns has grown a mighty oak that can to-day claim to be surpassed

by none, and equalled by but few, in New Zealand. Its immediate future, however, might not seem to portend such a development. Some entries from the Headmaster's diary speak too eloquently to need elaboration.

"Feb. 7th (1854)\textsuperscript{13} John Williams (Hoani Wiremu Hipango) and Abraham (a native teacher) brought 5 maori scholars."

"Feb. 13th. 5 Maoris absconded".

"Feb. 15th. 4 boys agreed to return".

"April 21st. Trustee Meeting at one. No one there".

Such was the continual tale Nicholls had to tell. Furthermore some of the white settlers refused to send their children to a school attended by Maoris, and with the advent of secular education proposals were made that the school should be assisted out of the rates\textsuperscript{14} - a suggestion which, if adopted, would have put an end to the control exercised by the Church of England. But the headmaster, the unremitting guardian of the interests of his church, was always there to move an amendment to the motion for official assistance, and under his unflagging championship the amendment was always carried, the motion always lost.

So in the teeth of remorseless hostility was the denominational integrity of the school maintained inviolate, and Selwyn's object of placing all education

\textsuperscript{13} Ibid., February 7th etc.

\textsuperscript{14} Meetings to this purpose were held. See New Zealand Spectator, November 27th.
under himself and a board of his own appointment achieved, as it had been in Wellington and Otaki. It was impossible to prevent a secular system of education from prevailing generally throughout New Zealand, but the Church of England, like the Roman Catholics and Presbyterians, was able to form a self-contained enclave within the broader plan. Hadfield and Paul, Baker and Stock had resisted the introduction of "dogmatic irreligion" by the Wellington Provincial Council stoutly but vainly. The authorisation of secularism meant that the various denominations, deprived of state assistance, must either surrender their schools to the government or build and maintain a self-sufficient organisation of their own. The Church of England, faced with this problem, built, and has since maintained, such an organisation. It is an additional proof that the roots of the church in New Zealand are deep and strong.
The following is a list of the land grants issued to the Church of England in our area from the Crown Land Office, Wellington, up to 1856:

"Grants of land issued to the Lord Bishop of New Zealand and others in the Province of Wellington, New Zealand, for Religious purposes connected with the Church of England.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Grants</th>
<th>To Whom Issued</th>
<th>Locality</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>483</td>
<td>Bishop of New Zealand</td>
<td>Part of Town Acres Nos. 169 and 171, Wellington</td>
<td>Site of Church and School St. House in Willis Contents 2 roods 29 perches.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Trustees for Church Missionary Society</td>
<td>Missionary Station, Wanganui</td>
<td>This grant was delivered to D. McLean Esq., for W. Williams and others contents, 10 acres.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Bishop of New Zealand</td>
<td>Reserve for Industrial School, Wanganui</td>
<td>Contents 250 acres 32 perches Land for Church Mission School Contents, 33 acres 3 roods.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Ven. Archdeacon Hadfield</td>
<td>Otaki</td>
<td>This grant was delivered to the Ven. Archdeacon Hadfield Contents, 62 acres.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Trustees for Church Missionary Society</td>
<td>Otaki</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Bishop of New Zealand</td>
<td>Part of Town Section, 542 Wellington</td>
<td>Site for a Church, Contents 17 perches.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>625</td>
<td>Bishop of New Zealand</td>
<td>Part of Country Section, 25, Lower</td>
<td>Site for a Church, Contents 1 acre, 35 perches</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* See supra, Chapter III, p. 3, note 18A.
The above are all the Grants that were issued from the Office of the Commissioner of Crown Lands.

The following Grants were issued from the "Civil Secretary's Office":- A Block in Porirua Harbour, for a College, containing about 500 acres, issued to the Bishop of New Zealand.

A Block at Otaki for a School, containing about 396 a. 2 r. 36 p., issued to Trustees for Church Missionary Society, Venerable Archdeacon Hadfield, Venerable Archdeacon Williams, and Reverend Robert (Richard) Taylor.

A Block at Otaki, containing about 68 a. 2 r. 35 p., issued to Trustees of Church Missionary Society.

A Block at Otaki for a Mission Station, containing about 24 a. 1 r. 16 p.

There is also a Grant ready for Issue, in the Crown Land Office, to the Bishop of New Zealand, of a portion for Country Section 35 Karori District, contents about 4 acres.

David Lewis
Principal Clerk.

Wellington, 20th, 1856.
The above is by no means a complete list of land held by the Church of England in the Wellington diocese, as there had been many private gifts by individuals. Among others Captain Daniell had donated a site for a church at Lower Hutt, Mr. Yule and Mr. Justice Chapman at Karori, the Hon. H.C. Tollemache at Taita, and the Revs. S. and S. Hawtrey 20 acres at Hawtrey's (or Porirua as it is now known). In addition Mr. Barton had given a property for a school in the Hutt valley, while land had been officially set aside for a cemetery in the heart of Wellington. The original mission stations at Otaki, Wanganui and elsewhere were naturally built on land owned by the Maoris. See also New Zealand Church Almanac for tenor of church property, which included 500 acres donated by the Maoris for Trinity College, Porirua.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

UNPUBLISHED (unless otherwise stated the works mentioned are typescript documents in the possession of the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington).

"Letters and Journals of the Rev. Benjamin Y. Ashwell of Kaitoteka, to the C.M.S., 1834 to 1869."

These letters and journals, as do those of the other missionaries and colonists listed below, give a remarkable insight into the character of the missionaries and settlers themselves, of the conditions of life in a new country, of the difficulties that had to be faced from Maori and unsympathetic pakeha alike, and of the gradual development of New Zealand.


"Letters and Journals from Thomas Chapman (missionary at Rotorua) to C.M.S., London, 1830 to 1869."

"Letters of the Rev. E.B. Clarke from the Waimea and Tauranga districts. July 15th, 1856, to December 14th, 1868."

"Colenso Papers, 1833 to 1863."

Letters to J.R. Godley, 1848 to 1861 - 3 Vols.
Letters from J.R. Godley, 1849 to 1863 - 2 Vols.
These deal principally with the forming of the Canterbury Association and the founding and early years of Canterbury, but give some interesting material for comparison between the beginnings of Canterbury and Wellington.


Manuscript letters, papers and fragments of the journal of the Rev. Octavius Hadfield, together with a number of letters written to him by various correspondents ranging from members of his family to the home secretary of the C.M.S. These documents, in the possession of Miss Amy Hadfield, Marton, a daughter of the late bishop, are of the utmost interest and value, the more so as no biography of Hadfield has yet been published.
They include — inter alia — a resume of his work at Otaki up to 1859 and a monograph on the Maori race. Unfortunately some of the writing is scarcely legible now, but the writer believes that some of the facts contained in them have been made public for the first time, hence assisting him to form a fuller estimate of Hadfield than has hitherto been possible.

"Diary of the Rev. Samuel Marsden, 1819."

"Marsden (S.) and Others. Letters 1820 to 1847."

"Letters and Journals of the Rev. Samuel Marsden, 1765 to 1838."

"Letters and Journals of the Rev. John Morgan, missionary at Otauhao, 1833 to 1865."


The entries are almost too brief to shed much light on contemporary life, but two letters of Nicholl's inserted at the end give additional evidence of his brusqueness, grasp of detail, and strength of character.

"Journals and Letters of the Rev. William Gilbert Puckey, (missionary at Kaitaia) 1831 to 1868."

Copied from manuscript lent by the C.M.S. in 1837.

"Letters from S. Revans to H.S. Chapman from September 20th, 1839, to September 1st, 1842." 2 Vols. Revans was one of the most outspoken of the outspoken Wellington settlers, editor of the firstpaper published at Port Nicholson, and strongly opposed to the dominance of the Church of England.


These letters give possibly the best account of any of the early days in Wairarapa, and also of the lack of co-operation between the C.M.S. and its agents in New Zealand.

"Journal of Bishop of Selwyn from 1st January, 1843, to 23rd March, 1844, with various other notes."

"Letters from Bishop Selwyn and others, 1842 to 1867." Vols. I and II contain Bishop Selwyn's letters, Vols. III and IV contain letters by Mrs. Selwyn, the Rev. W.C. Cotton, Lady Martin (wife of the Chief Justice, Sir William Martin), Bishop and Mrs. Abraham, and single letters from other writers.
"Selwyn Papers, 1835 to 1867." Vol. I, correspondence of Bishop Selwyn; Vol. II extracts from letters to England by Mrs. Selwyn. Vol. I has letters from the C.Y.S. and resident clergy. Extracts in Vol. II supplement letters in series, "Letters from Bishop Selwyn and others, 1842 to 1867".

"Journal kept by one of the passengers on board the 'Tomatin' (the vessel by which Selwyn travelled out to New Zealand from England) with extracts from Bishop Selwyn's letters Dec. 26th, 1841, to Nov. 11th, 1842."

"Reminiscences", of Mrs. S. H. Selwyn (wife of Bishop Selwyn) from 1809 to 1867.

"Journal of the Rev. Richard Taylor from January 1st, 1833, to September 17th, 1873." This copious work runs to no less than fourteen volumes for Taylor must surely have been one of the most prolific diarists New Zealand has ever known. A wealth of material on the history of Wanganui is contained in these pages, which are of immense value to the historian.

"Letters and Journals written by the Rev. Henry and Mrs. Marianne Williams and the Rev. Williams and Mrs. Jane Williams, 1822 to 1864." Of great value, particularly for the north and east of the North Island.

"Letters from Henry Williams to the C.Y.S., 1822 to 1851." Five volumes.

"Reports of the Rev. Samuel Williams on Otaki and the surrounding districts. Nov. 13th, 1847, to Dec. 31st, 1858." Not so comprehensive as could be desired.


"Canterbury Church History and Instructions to J.R. Godley 1849-1854."

"C.Y.S. Church Mission in New Zealand." Various correspondence, 1840 to 1860. Contains numerous letters to and from Selwyn.


Burnett, Cornelius "Interesting Chapters from the Early History of Wanganui and Wanganui in 1856." A.D. Willis, Wanganui, 1887.


Fox, William "The Six Colonies of New Zealand". John W. Parker and Son, London, 1851.


Grimstone, S.E.  "The southern settlements of New Zealand." R. Stokes, Wellington, 1847. Statistical information and local ordinances up to 1846.


"The Church in the Colonies." S.P.G., London, 1848 to 1851. 1844 to 1856. Contains accounts of Selwyn's visitation tours, extracts from his letters to the S.P.G. and other matters of interest from New Zealand. (H.B. The four works immediately above were random collections printed and published at various times and there is considerable duplication of material.)

Sherri, R.A.A. and Wallace, J.H. "Early History of New Zealand." From the earliest times to 1840 is written by Sherri; from 1840 to 1845 by Wallace. Edited by Thomson W. Leys. H.Brett, Auckland, 1890.


Taylor, Richard "Te Ika a Maui. New Zealand and its Inhabitants." Bertheim and Macintosh, London, 1855. This book is too well known to call for comment. A classic of early New Zealand literature, it is inevitably biased in favour of the missionaries.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Author</th>
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<tr>
<td>Wakefield, E.G.</td>
<td>&quot;A view of the art of colonisation, with present reference to the British Empire, in letters between a statesman and a colonist.&quot; John Parker, London, 1849.</td>
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Reference throughout is made to this edition, not to the earlier one published in two volumes in London in 1845. This book, another classic of New Zealand literature, is an uncritical but masterly account of the years 1839 to 1844. Naturally the writer is prejudiced in favour of the New Zealand Company and hence against the missionaries.
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PAPERS AND PERIODICALS.

"New Zealand Gazette and Britannia Spectator." The first newspaper published in New Zealand at Petone in 1839 by the New Zealand Company.

"New Zealand Colonist and Port Nicholson Advertiser." First published in 1842, it lasted for only some twelve months.

"New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Straits Guardian." First published in 1844, it was to begin with opposed to the missionaries, but later supported the Church of England giving it an excellent press.

"Wellington Independent." First published in 1845 it was for many years Fox's organ and almost consistently opposed the Church of England.

"Wanganui Record." First published in 1853.
"Wanganui Chronicle." First published in 1856.

"New Zealand Journal." Published fortnightly in London, it gives an excellent resume of New Zealand news.

"Wellington Almanac."

"New Zealand Church Almanac." The official annual publication of the Church of England in New Zealand. Printed originally at St. John's College, Auckland.

"New Zealand Government Gazette."

"The Church Missionary Gleaner." A monthly publication.

"The Church Missionary Intelligencer." Also published every month. The volumes dealing with the years 1850 to 1853 are of particular interest.


"The Missionary Register." Gives a fairly full account of the various societies (not only Church of England ones) that sent out missionaries to foreign lands, but is particularly generous in the space it allots to the C.M.S.

"The quarterly papers of the C.M.S. for Africa and the East, from their commencement in 1816 to Christmas 1848. To which is prefixed a brief view of the principles and proceedings of the society to July 1848." These particular papers were published by Seeleys, London, in 1849.

"The Church Missionary Record." Published monthly. The six above periodicals between them, despite certain duplication, give a very full account of missionary activities of the period.

MISCELLANEOUS DOCUMENTS.

"A charge delivered to the clergy of the diocese of New Zealand, at the diocesan synod ... September 23rd, 1847." By George Augustus, bishop of New Zealand. 2nd Edition. Francis and John Rivington, London, 1849.

"A letter to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of New Zealand from members of the Church of England in that colony." Printed at the College Press, Bishops' Auckland, 1850.


"Church Missionary Society Circular Minute from the committee of the C.M.S. to their missionaries in New Zealand." T.C.Johns, printer, London, 1855. A most valuable document on the policy of the C.M.S. at the time.


"Ecclesiastical state of the colonies" (in 1844). New Zealand Pamphlets, Vol. V. This pamphlet contains inter alia - letters from the Bishop of New Zealand, and documents relative to additional bishoprics in the colonies.


"The Native Pastorate and Organization of Native Churches. First paper issued 1851; Superseding several earlier Regulations and Minutes applicable to particular Missions. Minute upon the employment and Ordination of Native Teachers. Second and Third Papers issued." Gilbert and Rivington, Printers, London, 1866.


"Visit of the bishop of Australia to the Church Missionary Society's mission in New Zealand: and notices of its state and progress." Hatchards, Seeleys, and Nisbet, London, 1840.

"Wellington Archdeaconry Board Accounts, June 30th 1853 to December 31st 1856."

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Brown, C.P. "Centenary History of the Parish of Christ Church, Mangamui 1844-1944." Printed by the "Mangamui Chronicle", Mangamui, 1944.

Buick, T. Lindsay "An Old New Zealander or, Te Rauparaha, the Napoleon of the South." Whitcombe and Tombs Ltd., Wellington, 1911.

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Chapple, L.J.B. and Veitch, H.C.


Chapple, L.J.B. and Veitch, H.C.

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Elder, J.R.

"Haraden's Lieutenants." Coulls Somerville Wilkie, Ltd. and A.H. Reed, Dunedin, 1934.
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Hawker, Ethel M. "A Selwyn diary and other papers" Isitt-Tilday print, Christchurch, 1927.


Jacobs, Henry


Together with Purchas's history of the Church of England in New Zealand, this book is the standard authority on the subject. Dean Jacobs deals in particular with the constitutional development of the church, while Purchas is more concerned with the human side of the picture. The two are thus complementary.

Johnstone, S.M.


Kemp, A.G.


Kendrick, G.V.


Lane, C. Arthur


Macdonald, Margaret

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<tr>
<td>Reed, A.H. and Reed, A.W.</td>
<td>&quot;Two Maoriland Adventurers: Marsden and Selwyn.&quot; A.H. and A.W. Reed, Dunedin and Wellington, 1939.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rusden, G.W.</td>
<td>&quot;History of New Zealand&quot;. 3 Vols. George Robertson, Melbourne and Sydney, 1883. Much interesting material on the early days.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Scholefield, G.H.</td>
<td>&quot;Makers of Wellington&quot;. Articles appearing in the &quot;Evening Post&quot;, Wellington, from August to November, 1929, written under the pseudonym of &quot;Condor.&quot;</td>
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This monumental work by the editorial secretary of the society is the standard history of the C.M.S. Well documented and of immense detail it is a most valuable book of reference.

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<tr>
<td>Taylor, Richard</td>
<td>&quot;The Past and Present of New Zealand; with its prospects for the Future.&quot; William Macintosh London, 1868. The story of New Zealand, and in particular of Wanganui, as seen through the eyes of a missionary who was at the same time a geologist of not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tucker, H.W.</td>
<td>&quot;Memoir of the Life and Episcopate of George Augustus Selwyn, D.D., Bishop of New Zealand, 1841-1869; Bishop of Lichfield, 1867-1878.&quot; Two vols. William Wells Gardner, London, 1879. The standard biography of Selwyn. Well documented but inevitably prejudiced in his favour, as the author was requested to write his life by his friends and family. The apparent discrepancy between the date of his laying down of office in New Zealand and his translation to Lichfield is not real.</td>
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