THESIS

entitled

AN ANALYSIS OF THE INFLUENCE OF RELIGION AND OF RELIGIOUS
MOVEMENTS UPON THE COURSE OF NEW ZEALAND HISTORY SINCE
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S.G. Andrews.
AN ANALYSIS OF THE INFLUENCE OF RELIGION AND OF RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS UPON THE COURSE OF NEW ZEALAND HISTORY SINCE 1814.

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PREFACE.

"The first of human concerns is religion, and it is the salient feature of the modern centuries."

- Lord Acton; "Inaugural Lecture.

"History is the true demonstration of religion."

- Leibnitz.

The aim of this thesis, explained more fully in the introductory chapter, is to discover and to discuss the occasions, events and movements in the history of New Zealand, which have been influenced by religious motives, prejudices and ideals. The writer has emphasized not so much the proof of a definite succession of causes and effects, but rather the discovery and the demonstration of several broad trends, through which the influence referred to has affected various phases of development in New Zealand from about 1814.

In this field of historical research perhaps more than in any other, there is a danger of passing unwarranted moral judgments upon the actions of historical characters. It is difficult to form a moral judgment upon the actions and beliefs of individuals and groups, which no longer exist, except perhaps
in the memories of an older generation. It involves a knowledge and understanding of the spirit of the age under consideration, which could be attained fully only by one who was quickened by the same ideals and thrilled by the same emotions as moved those who are the subject of one's study. In such a research as this, it must also be constantly borne in mind that the religious motive was seldom, if ever, the sole cause of any event, and only occasionally was it the most important one.

Briefly summarised, the scope of this thesis includes a short introductory chapter, enquiring into the relation between religion and history; a brief account of the main religious movements in Great Britain which affected the development of New Zealand, with which is associated a consideration of the religious aspect of Maori life up to 1814; the temporary and permanent influence of the missionary movements on the Maori people and on the introduction of British authority up to 1840; the place of religion in the life of the early colonists, and its influence on colonial affairs up to 1870; the relation of religion to the political, social, educational and general development from 1870 to 1905; the relation of modern conditions and modern trends of thought in religion to the contemporary influence of religion upon the people, and a discussion in this light, continuing the theme of the preceding section as far as 1935; and finally, a brief review of the influence of the Jews in New Zealand in relation to the main
This makes seven chapters in all, followed by several appendices, including a map illustrating the geographical aspect of the work.

The consideration of the sources of the information used brings us to the main difficulty. There is no dearth of information relevant to the main topic, but much of this is only incidentally treated in the various works. The main difficulty concerns the criticism of the sources. There has been no general work on the history of religion in New Zealand; there are detailed church histories, none of them very recent in date, such as the works of Jacobs and of Purchas on the Anglican Church, of Morley and of Williams on Methodism, of Dickson on Presbyterianism, of Wilson on Roman Catholicism, and so on. But these are denominational histories, valuable for their purpose, but open to criticism by the student of the religious influence on the development of New Zealand. These works, so far as they are relevant have been considered mainly in relation to the queries: "Is this matter concerned with the influence of religion?" "Does this evidence treat New Zealand as its unit?" Purely local events have been included only when they affect the history of New Zealand as a whole, as in the case of the South Island ecclesiastical settlements or the "Pal Marire" movement, or when they illustrate the geographical distribution of the influence of a religious body, as the details in Father Poupinel's letter on Roman Catholic mission stations in 1864.
The most valuable source referred to in connection with the early part of the work is Professor J. R. Elder's volume of the "Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden", supplemented by his second work on "Marsden's Lieutenants". The former work presents Marsden's letters and journals in an easily accessible form, so that the writer was able to appreciate the motives of the early missionary, and to acquire an understanding of the growing success of missionary work, as well as the realization of some inadequacies. Reference was also had to contemporary writers and to the works of others on this period, but none was found quite so valuable as the work of Elder.

For a critical analysis of the missionary influence, recourse was had to Martin's "Missionaries and Annexation in the Pacific", a small volume which presents a viewpoint independent of religious prejudice.

For the periods after 1840, apart from church histories and such biographies as that of Selwyn by Curteis, no works deal exclusively with religious topics. The general histories such as that of Rusden and the Australasian volume of the Cambridge History of the British Empire were considered from two aspects: first, their attitude towards the religious bodies in the country; secondly, their attitude towards such problems as native policy, in the solution of which the religious factor was an important one. The Canterbury and Otago settlements were treated also in the light of the ecclesiastical conditions in England and Scotland, as outlined by standard
historians. Of the social, educational and political movements of the later decades of the century, and of more recent times, each has its own distinctive literature. Cocker and Murray have edited a history of the prohibition movement; the Bible in Schools League has issued many pamphlets, whose evidence has been carefully and critically considered in preparing the sections on the relation between religion and education. The parliamentary records give some indication of the trend of opinion as the decades pass. The more recent pronouncements of denominational leaders and thinkers have also been considered, when the section on the relation of religion to modern inventions (for instance, wireless) and the labour problem was being framed. For the chapter on the Jews, insight into the question was gained by the perusal of the results achieved in the research of Miss Violette F. Balkind, and the general information was gathered from many sources.

The other main difficulty has been the maintenance of an unbiased and interdenominational viewpoint. The denominational histories, besides being criticised, had to be correlated, and the general religious attitude on any particular question had to be evolved from the study of several different views. The only way of arriving at an interdenominational attitude has appeared to be the rejection of any feature not common to the majority of views considered. Any view quoted which is not that of the majority is definitely stated to be so. It is sometimes necessary to quote the viewpoint of a single church
body, especially when this body has been the precursor, in whose steps the other religious bodies have followed. An example to illustrate this is the case of the prohibition movement up to the founding of the New Zealand Alliance in 1886.

The writer has to acknowledge the courtesy of many friends who have directed him to sources of information, and of others who have given time to the discussion of problems with him; especially, mention should be made of the Hon. L. M. Isitt, M.L.C., who not only granted an interview, but supplied several useful items of evidence in the form of pamphlets on the question of religious instruction in state schools; of Mr. J. Malton Murray, who extended similar courtesy with regard to the prohibition movement; of the Christchurch "Press", who assisted in locating information; and of the Rev. M. A. Rugby Pratt, who made available the minutes of past Methodist conferences for the verification of several obscure references to the relations between that denomination and the prohibition movement.
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CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTORY.

THE RELIGIOUS INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY.

A religion is more than a mere system of doctrine and a programme of worship. While that definition would account for the beliefs and observances of the adherents of any religion, it does not explain the influence that religious beliefs and motives have upon human conduct. Yet conduct is the point at which the influence of religion has affected the course of human experience, emotions and ideas. History is primarily concerned with the study of human motives and conduct, mainly those of the individual in his capacity as a unit of society. Throughout the ages, we find religious beliefs and movements, which have very profoundly influenced the course of history; and whether the belief has its source in a superstitious fear, a desire to placate a wrathful deity, or whether it is inspired by a divine ideal of conduct, its influence remains undeniable.

This view does not of course mean that religion alone provides the key to history, since there is, for example, a certain truth in the economic interpretation of history.
But a study by the historian of the religious motive enables him to avoid the fallacy of supposing that human experience is moulded solely by rigid economic laws, or by physical conditions, operating to produce results, that can be foretold with the accuracy possible in the field of natural sciences. The recognition of the strength of the religious motive also prevents history from becoming a study of a succession of previously determined responses to stimulation of the senses. Indeed, psychology now declines to consider the validity of the latter theory. While the economic, the pseudo-psychological and the geographical interpretations of history each has its value, none of them is complete in itself.

Neither is the religious view complete in itself. We have recognised that a germ of truth can be found in all the other theories, and the recognition of religion as a determining factor enables the historian to complete his composite view of causation in history. Men are not automatons. On the primitive basis of sensory and emotional experience, and limited by geographical and economic forces, they have built up ideals, whereby they act, and standards, whereby they judge the actions of their fellows. Their ideals may not be religious in nature, but generally speaking they do originate in some form of religious belief. On the other hand, there are fearsome conceptions, which men desire to avoid, and regulate their lives in consequence. In so far as these are also religious, we find another and very prominent line, along which conduct is profoundly influenced by the religious motive. Can
an explanation which excludes religion, be sufficient in the case of the social history of a nation? Can the Crusades, the Reformation, or the colonization of New England be explained without introducing the religious motive?

While the limits to a spiritual interpretation of history are set by a very real world, explanations which neglect the spiritual aspect of experience are inadequate to account for the personality of a great social reformer, or for the general uneconomic passions, for aspirations in art and literature, or for ideals of a religious character. "Man is an animal, subject to what we call animal life; he is placed in a world that does not satisfy all his wants except in response to toil, and even then with such limitations, as to make his relations with his fellows one of struggle. But we shall see something else in history: that man has always felt himself to be something more than a peripatetic chemical laboratory driven by the sex instinct; that social history is the sum of innumerable adventures into strange regions, into which star-dust and X-rays never entered, and of which even the most genially disposed animals never dreamed." (1)

In studying history, too much stress is often laid on the importance of events, rather than on the tendencies and movements, of which the events are part. But for these tendencies and movements, neither progress nor retrogression

(1) Shailer Mathews: "The Spiritual Interpretation of History" - (page 25)
would be possible. Social progress, as revealed by a comparison of the modern with the primitive civilizations, shows the permanent influence of various tendencies upon human experience as it developed from century to century. The influence of religion is seen for instance in the transition from reliance upon force to the exertion of moral control, whether this control had its source in fear or love. The religious motive was at work, too, in the gradual emancipation of the individual from slavery and serfdom, in the growth of humanitarianism, as shown in the new attitude adopted towards the physically and mentally weak, and towards the unenlightened savage. In this last aspect, is found the connecting point as far as the relation of the Christian religion to New Zealand is concerned. Before 1814, religious considerations were powerful motives in Maori experience. After that date, New Zealand became more closely connected with the religious motives of the outside world.

There is, then, an inner spiritual force in history, however much its operation may depend on the more rigid forces of geography, economics and psychology.

"History .......... is not a mass of abstract principles\(^{(1)}\), but treats "of men and women like ourselves seeking, often with

\(^{(1)}\) Shailer Mathews; "The Spiritual Interpretation of History."  
- (page 198)
precise consciousness of their efforts, to realize, in the midst of the process from the impersonal to the personal, their own spiritual capacities in the adventure, not always simple and easy, of actual living. This imperative within human life is a phase of social psychology, a constant impulse of the spiritual to rise above the destructible materialistic forces of life." (1)

(1) Shailer Mathews: "The Spiritual Interpretation of History." - (page 198)
CHAPTER II.

THE BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY.

In the year 1814, the inhabitants of New Zealand first came under the direct influence of Christian beliefs and Christian motives. To appreciate the state of New Zealand at that time, it is necessary to examine the background of our study, that is, the state of the country in 1814. Further, to understand the course followed by the religious influence in New Zealand history, it is essential to analyse the various movements that made up the contemporary religious situation among the colonising people.

The first two decades of the nineteenth century provided an opportune period for the early religious experience of New Zealand. It is fortunate that the exploitation of the economic resources of the country did not commence until about the end of the eighteenth century. The accounts of Cook's voyages had aroused the interest of European traders, and the foundation in 1788 of the convict colony in New South Wales made trade with New Zealand more practicable than formerly. The precise date of the arrival of the traders is unknown, but some whalers began operations in the Dusky Sound area as early as 1792. Contact with the Maori race proceeded steadily, and was supplemented in succeeding years by the arrival of various escapees from the
Australian penal stations, whose influence, as well as that of the whalers, was exceedingly demoralizing. It was indeed an undesirable type of European, with whom the Maori first came into contact. While we must admit that the Europeans were ignorant of Maori rites and institutions, they were in addition tactless and overbearing. Prior to 1814, co-ordinating power was absent from the land, and hostility and ill-treatment provoked massacre and reprisal. The "Boyd" atrocity of 1809 is outstanding as evidence of the nature of relations at this time between the Maori and the European. It can be safely said, that, had not the missionary element been introduced when it was, the contemporary introduction of firearms would have been decisive in bringing about the virtual destruction of the Maori people. Had European interest in the economic resources of the country eventuated even forty years earlier, the native race could scarcely have been saved, since the evil influence of equally acquisitive traders could not have been offset by the spirit of humanitarianism.

Humanitarianism is, then, one of the great factors to which we must pay some attention. The eighteenth century was mercenary in outlook and atheistic in doctrine, but the decadence of the Church which led partly to the disaster of 1789, was arrested as far as Great Britain was concerned by the zeal and faith of John Wesley. Wesley initiated a revival of religious feeling, the effect of which was seen in the gradual displacement of the mercenary ideal. With this re-orientation
of public opinion, there arose a stirring of the public conscience over the treatment of the native races, who inhabited the exploited countries. Public zeal for fairness and justice ran to excess in the trial of Warren Hastings, but in its finer aspects, humanitarianism took up the slavery question and moved Wilberforce to undertake his lifelong crusade. But the connection of humanitarianism with New Zealand history is found in the birth of the great missionary movements round about 1800. Of these movements, the London Missionary Society, a typical example was founded in 1795, while other organizations, whose aims in each case were similar, included the Glasgow Missionary Society and the South African Society. Here could be seen a revival of first-century Christian missionary endeavour. "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature," became the scriptural keynote of the new missionary adventures.

In spite of the military events that occupied the attention of Europe just subsequent to 1800, missionaries were sent out, as in the case of South Africa, both for the evangelization and the protection of the coloured races. The missionary spirit began to permeate many strange environments, so that Samuel Marsden, the senior chaplain in New South Wales became interested in the welfare of the Maori race. Others besides he had no doubt seen the Maoris in the streets of Sydney, but it remained for Marsden not only to develop a sympathy for their plight, but to translate his sentiment into action. Beginning by befriending the lonely, homesick Ruatara on board the "Ann,"
he opened his house to Maori visitors, introduced them to the 
European agricultural and industrial arts, and pleaded their 
cause, not only with the governor in Sydney, but with the Church 
Missionary Society in London. It took Marsden several years to 
preserve the way and to make the paths straight, but in the end 
the spirit of humanitarianism prevailed. The steps, by which 
the missionary venture of 1814 are approached, are recorded by 
Marsden in his letters and journals. He himself seems to have 
realised the significance of his mission, when he earnestly hoped 
that the "glory" of the gospel might not depart from New 
Zealand "until time shall be no more." The influence of his work has not passed away. In later years, when the missionary elements attained an influential position with the Colonial Office, the government began to be interested in this phase, as 
in other phases of the humanitarian movement. The methods of 
the missionaries were by no means always wise, but their aims 
and ideals, pursued enthusiastically, constituted a powerful 
factor in colonial history, including the branch that interests 
us most, in this case, the history of New Zealand.

We have said that contact with an alien culture, for which 
he was, at the moment, unsuited, coupled with the undesirable 
nature of its introduction, had a demoralizing effect upon the 
Maori. It needed the sympathetic understanding of the 

(1) J.H. Elder: "Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden." 
- (Page 94)
missionary to initiate the Maori into European habits, European culture and European industries and trades, by which he might repair the shattered ruins of his primitive economic system, and to provide a new religion to replace that so rudely disturbed by the thoughtless adventurer. Religion was so much a part of the everyday life of the Maori, that the economic and military dislocation wrought by the introduction of trading and of the musket meant a religious dislocation as well.

The Maori people had many religious concepts, and indulged in many religious ceremonies, but they had no such definite theological system, as we are accustomed to call a religion. Nor was there a general code of conduct necessarily associated with their religious observance. Some superstitious custom was connected with every phase of life, a fact which is supported by the original meaning of the word "tohunga," which they used to designate what we would call a priest, but the real meaning of which is "expert," that is one experienced in the general activities of the tribe, one to whom the Maori could look for omens of success in any approved enterprise, such as the cultivation of the ground or indulgence in tribal warfare. The leading concepts of Maori deities were four. First of all there was that of Io, - the Supreme Being, whose cult was restricted to the very superior tohunga. Io was conceived as being a benevolent god, from whom only good could come.

(1) Elsdon Best: "The Maori." - (Volume I. Pages 232 to 337)
This conception of the Supreme Being, the parentless and the parent, grew, so anthropologists tell us, out of the beliefs in various departmental deities, which, however, still survived in 1814. Thus Rongo stood for peace and its arts, Tane for the sun, Tu symbolized warfare, bloodshed and death, and his 'tapu' or charm lay over all fighting men. Kiwa was the ocean god; Tānērōa was for fishermen, while Ruaumoko was a subterranean deity, who manifested his activities by volcanic disturbances, and who was generally symbolic of evil. These gods, who were also served by appropriate priests, had to be placated or else induced to perform good, according to their respective functions.

The third class of 'atua,' a term including anything which appeared to be of a supernatural nature, were mere tribal gods 'for everyday use.' These and the fourth class of 'familiars,' or the deified ancestral spirits had their respective priests, many of them mere charlatans dealing in deceit and magic. We have seen that the priesthood was graded like the deity whose rites were performed. The superior 'tohunga,' to whom the law of the tribe was entrusted, supposedly exercised his 'mana' for the good of the tribe, and to the detriment of other tribes as occasion arose. Thus his functions involved the blessing of the hunting and fishing seasons and of agricultural work, another testimony to the close connection existing between the observances of religion, and the events and exigencies of everyday life. For his services, the 'tohunga' was rewarded by goods and services, a custom which rendered the equivalent syste
of paying Christian clerics in money incomprehensible and astounding to the Maori, who failed to recognize the essential nature of payment, whatever might be the form in which it was embodied.

One other point of importance, as far as it bears upon our study, is the institution of "tapu." "Tapu" meant a prohibition. In effect, it was a "Thou shalt not." Any place connected with the supernatural, where any "atua" had favoured man with some manifestation of his power, or any place associated with death, especially burial places, as well as the persons of high dignitaries, chiefs and "tohungas" were "tapu." The shadow of "tapu" hung over the Maori from birth till death, and over his resting place for all time. The Maori had a conception of two spirit worlds, somewhat resembling hell and heaven, but he had no conception of punishment after death. Rather punishment was meted out in this world to the transgressor of any religious custom, and thus remained a very present and real possibility. Consequently, the Maori was very anxious to please the gods, and not to infringe the custom of "tapu." Moreover, his anger was roused if another desecrated his sacred places, and the unfortunate trader sinning in ignorance was sometimes made the victim to expiate the offence. The infringement of "tapu" and the violation of sacred customs were perhaps equally to blame with the economic exploitation and the arrival of firearms for dislocating the regularity of Maori life.

The old culture was breaking down; religious institutions,
so long held in reverence, were being rudely shaken; the introduction of firearms enabled warlike chiefs more easily to spread blood and fire over the land. Was this noble race doomed to an ignoble extinction? Was this young country to lapse into brutal savagery, or could it hope to enter within the pale of civilization? Already evil reports of the place had penetrated as far as the seat of order and government in New South Wales. What effect upon New Zealand were these reports and rumours to have? As it proved, fears were unwarranted, and few will deny the significance of the missionary influence in redeeming the race in adapting its old culture to new conditions, in securing many years of comparative inter-tribal quiet, at any rate in the north, and in paving the way for the introduction of ordered settlement and of a unifying governmental control.

In many ways, the Maori race was well prepared for the introduction of the Christian religious influence. Myth, magic and religion were intermingled in the affairs of daily life, so that it was impossible wholly to separate them. This importance of religion in everyday affairs was a stepping-stone towards substituting Christianity for paganism, for, though the relationship more closely concerns conduct and morality than observance, Christianity is very closely connected with the events of daily life. Then, too, the missionaries, though they possibly failed to comprehend the theological potentialities of
I, no doubt helped in their work because the Maori had already conceived of a Supreme Being. It remained but to gather all his ideas of goodness and benevolence into that conception. He was also able to complete the picture of his two spirit worlds in the light of the nineteenth century Christian doctrine. The mind of the Maori was therefore somewhat prepared for the missionary and his "good tidings", while his ordinary life had already been seriously jolted, so that the work of the missionary was made somewhat easier. Nevertheless, the influence of the Christian religion, when it came, was no less profound because of this preparation; and the consequent new attitude of mind, the comparative tribal peace and the habit of industry were powerful formative factors both for the Maori race and for the development of New Zealand.

(II)

We have, then, examined humanitarianism, a religious movement, whose reactions upon the history of New Zealand we shall find to be of no small importance. Its influence matured, as it were, in 1814, with the arrival of the first missionaries, but we must not think of it as the sole fundamental factor behind all religious influence upon the development of the country. It was but one of two factors, which were fundamental in the religious influence, at any rate, during the formative period of the history of these islands, and which
gave birth to trends, movements, opinions and prejudices which have been powerful in their influence on the history of the country since those early times. As the humanitarianism movement was more directly concerned with the missionary period, so the effects of the ecclesiastical system of Great Britain were evident during the colonization period, which began officially in the year 1840, though the influence was in general less direct than that of humanitarian ideas and movements upon the earlier phase. As in the case of humanitarianism, this other main religious factor was never the sole cause of the effects to which it contributes, for the economic consideration constantly intruded itself, nor was its range of influence ever confined to New Zealand.

The clue to this new factor lies in the ingrained intolerance of English orthodoxy, and the accompanying attitude of mind towards the so-called Dissenters, the Roman Catholics, and the Jews. The days had passed when organised, rigid persecution was the lot of those whose beliefs differed from those approved by the authorities of the Church of England, but there still remained social ostracism and several civil disabilities pressing upon Nonconformists in general. The most prominent case of social injustice was of course the contemporary condition of Ireland, and the treatment of the Irish and other Catholics. Let us not forget that economic stringency, always apparent in Ireland, was not the only cause of the Irish wave of colonization after 1815. Of that outspreading of the Irish population, the influence on New Zealand whose official
colonization period did not begin till 1840, was admittedly small, but the movement is indicative partly of a general religious discontent, which had a profound influence on the popular zeal for colonization, later on. Severe restrictions were, then, laid upon dissenters in general, and a social ban of disapproval rested upon them. Moreover, a parliament, in which, of course, their representation was non-existent, refused to lift their disabilities. Hughes, in his work on English history, recounts the failure of the House of Lords to pass the Dissenters' Marriage Bill of 1823, in spite of the favourable attitude of the Archbishop of Canterbury, because the Lord Chancellor considered that permission to perform the marriage ceremony "in their own chapel" was inconsistent with the predominance of the established church, a view supported by a majority of peers. Such an attitude on the part of the ruling oligarchy, followed by the rejection of other conciliatory measures, such as the Catholic Relief Bill in the House of Lords in 1829, and the speech of the heir-presumptive to the throne, declaring his repugnance from such toleration as would be expressed in the removal of the disabilities existing, was indicative of an ostracism, an ultra-sectarian bias, which ultimately produced the same kind of movements as the early Stuart attitude to Puritanism and Catholicism had provoked in

(1) Hughes: "History of England, etc."

- (Volume VII. Page 172)
the seventeenth century — namely emigration. It is noteworthy that the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 was not really expressive of the true social attitude towards Roman Catholics at that time.

On the Jews, too, similar restrictions were placed, and a supreme contempt was entertained by the English nobility particularly, for the rich Jewish financiers and merchants. This no doubt contributed to the readiness of this ubiquitous race to emigrate, — a factor of some importance in colonial history. To all these religious sects, public office, the universities and the franchise were denied, and, when some of these injustices were removed, the social ban remained, so that opportunity to escape was availed of, and New Zealand received its share of the outflow, whenever economic stringency provided another and perhaps more urgent reason for emigration.

The nature of this movement was such that it is obviously difficult to trace definite effects. We can, for instance, point to no single event, and say that it was due solely to the ecclesiastical condition of England. The economic factor always intruded, even if it cannot be said to have been predominant. But it can at least be admitted that religious intolerance was, in the nineteenth century as in the seventeenth, a fruitful cause of emigration from England and Scotland, effecting the decision of many of the worthiest of future colonists to leave the home of their fathers. Thus, indirectly, at a time, when it
was needed, population was supplied, and economic well-being increased, while these people, thus sorely restricted in their old country, saw to it that great advances were made in New Zealand, politically, educationally and legally. Perhaps one of most important effects was the absence of interdenominational hostility, at any rate, to the same degree as at that time prevailed in Great Britain.

A curious phase of this religious factor arose in Scotland, where the seeds of the famous Disruption had already been sown. The dispute between the lords as patrons of the local churches and the sessions of those churches, over their respective rights in the matter of pastoral appointments, led, in 1843, to a schism in the Scottish church, out of which arose the Free Church of Scotland. Composed mainly of people of the poorer classes, affected by the rural troubles of succeeding years, which roused the popular imagination against the upper classes, this Free Church movement is prominent in New Zealand history, for the foundation of the Otago settlement round the new centre of Dunedin in 1848. This colonial venture, which will be treated more fully in due course is introduced here merely to bear testimony to the extent of the influence of this religious factor upon the young colony. The settlement of Canterbury in 1850 is the result of another somewhat different kind of movement, this time within the Church of England.

Meanwhile, we have caught a glimpse of the lines along which our study must move. The succeeding chapters will deal
in turn with the missionary period and its effects, mainly on the Maoris, and as paving the way for the next phase, the period of colonization; followed by the influence of religion and religious movements upon the political, social and educational history up to the close of the nineteenth century. Then we will deal with the modern trends during and since the Great War, and their influence so far as can be judged by various authorities, upon the contemporary history of the country.
CHAPTER III.

THE MISSIONARY PERIOD.

The reasons, economic and political, which determined the foundation of a convict colony in New South Wales in 1788, did not closely concern New Zealand. Yet their effects in the formation of that first Australian colony and of its offshoots constituted a very important indirect factor, by which western civilization, including the missionary movement, was enabled to come into contact with the Maori people and their land. "The foundation of the settlement," says Martin, "led to the growth of intercourse between the Europeans and the Maoris. First came the trader, then the Pakeha, then the missionary, and finally the colonist." (1) It was a Sydney ship which left the sealing party at Dusky Sound in 1792; in 1794, an expedition for timber went to the Thames district. There ill-feeling arose, and the Maoris were fired on. Such was the beginning of an era of crime, immorality, bloodshed and cannibalism. Sydney traders brought liquor and, later, firearms; sometimes they took away, and occasionally ill-treated young chiefs. Massacre and reprisal, of which the case of the "Boyd" at Whangaroa in 1809 is the most gruesome, were reported and no doubt exaggerated in Sydney and elsewhere across the sea. Maoris quite often

- (page 25)
appeared in Sydney streets, and it is there that the missionary first became aware of the pathetic condition of the Maori race. Truly, the Sydney settlement is of some importance as regards our study.

It is well, perhaps, to gain some insight, if we can, regarding the motives of the central figure, so far as this early period is concerned, so that, later, we may be able to see just how far the aims of Samuel Marsden in founding his New Zealand mission were actually achieved, and how far the development of the country was affected by that achievement. Brought up in the spirit of piety born of the new Wesleyan movement, this man was surely fitted to be the instrument of evangelical humanitarianism, itself the child of the same movement. He was brought up, accustomed to "plain fare and scanty leisure .. ......... despising luxury and soft living." He was of "strong physique," and able, as a man to withstand rigorous conditions. We can expect him, then, to have a lofty aim, and to be prepared to go to all lengths to achieve that aim. His contact with the "New Zealanders," especially with the unfortunate Ruatara, gave him an earnest desire for the regeneration of the Maori race. That was his dominant motive in setting up his mission. But being a successful agriculturalist, and having had early experience in forge and croft, he hoped to supersede the primitive Maori

(1) J. R. Elder: "Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden." - (page 18)
industrial system and agricultural technique by a Westernized culture. By this means, he hoped, too, to create a new "interest," which would supersede the excesses of tribal warfare and cannibalism. The first and spiritual aim was early illustrated by his commission to Ruatara to set up a sabbath in New Zealand. The second, or industrial and agricultural aim could also be seen in Ruatara's wheat-growing experiment, and in the interest which Marsden aroused in the visiting chiefs, in 1814, concerning the various agricultural and industrial processes.

The influence of Ruatara in contributing to the success of the missionary enterprise was of no mean value. Besides, his activities already outlined, this pagan, disillusioned by the conduct of sea-captains, under whom he had worked, was yet sufficiently impressed by the humane and gentler aspects of Western civilization, as embodied in Marsden, to become, in effect, the first Christian missionary to his own countrymen. As a chief, his testimony carried weight, and to some extent, smoothed the path along which the missionary was to tread. Ruatara, an historian who knew and appreciated Marsden, speaks of the realization by the Maori that the "web of European life was not all bad. The examples of Governor King and of Marsden out-weighed the conduct of brutal and fraudulent captains.

It was good that, in establishing relations with a fearless and intelligent, but bloodthirsty race, there was a messenger like
Ruataroa, who could tell the tale of Marsden's kindness." (1)

So the breakdown of their primitive culture and the experiences of Ruataroa and others prepared the way for the missionary. Without the missionary, however, while enlightened and trained natives might have been sent to organise the life of the Maori people afresh, along Western lines, nothing could have been done to set up a new standard of morality, to combat the evils already introduced, or to prevent the frequent inter-tribal disturbances and massacres of whites. Marsden had an opportunity to study several chiefs at close quarters during 1814 and he wrote of them to the secretary of the Church Missionary Society: "They manifest every wish to cultivate our friendship, but woeful experience has taught them not to trust too much. Nothing but a practical knowledge of the English Christian's character can remove their prejudices and jealousies." (2)

Of these various aims which we have discovered, Marsden laid surprising stress upon the industrial one, realising the value of constant occupation and regular methods of life as making for a strong moral sense. So when the chiefs visited him at Parramatta in 1814, he let slip no opportunity of imparting to them the technique and advantages of European industrial culture. He writes on the 30th September of that year, that "the chiefs are all happy with us at Parramatta, and their minds enlarging

(1) G.W. Hacket: "History of New Zealand." - (Volume I. Page 9

(2) J.F. Elder: "Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden." - (page 132)
very fast. Beholding the various works that are going on in the smith's and carpenter's shops, the spinning and weaving, brick-making and building houses, together with all the operations of agriculture and gardening, has a wonderful effect upon their minds; and will excite all their national powers to improve their country\(^1\). Thus the work of the missionaries, though primarily evangelical was cultural and industrial as well, and along each of these lines, as well as others, their work influenced the history of the country. For the first time, the Maoris, ("a much injured people," said Marsden,) were being treated sympathetically. At last, a wholesome influence was to be introduced.

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\(\text{(II)}\)

It was in November 1814, that this first missionary venture to New Zealand was set on foot, by the departure from Sydney of the "Active," bearing Marsden and his companions, a friend named Nicholas, eight Maoris and two Tahitians. In addition, the great missionary brought with him three horses, one bull and three cows, the nucleus of a pastoral industry. His reputation and the friendly attitude of certain of the chiefs, who knew and appreciated this man, as a type distinct from that which the

\(^1\) J.K. Elder: "Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden." - (page 134)
Maori had come to regard as the normal European, assured Marsden of a friendly reception. But the missionary sought more than that. This first of the seven visits which he made, is significant, mainly because, in studying it, we see the genesis of the various phases of missionary work, lines along which the early religious influence affected the development of the country and its people.

Marsden sought first to establish peace among the warring tribes of the far north. For him, this was no easy task. He was the guest of Hongi, the great warrior. How was he to approach Hongi's enemies? Of the nature of the quarrels, Ruatara and Hongi had already apprised him, but the mere fact that he was appearing as the friend of Tipahe's enemies, was likely to increase the difficulty of his task. It is safe to say, however, that Marsden had no personal apprehensions. So using no wily diplomacy, he went with his friend Nicholas into the camp of Hongi's enemies, the Whangaroans, who received him cordially. Being fortunate in finding an interpreter, Marsden explained the object of his mission, dwelling on the benefits of peace. After sleeping a night in the camp, he took the chiefs next day on board the "Active," where he reconciled them to Hongi, Ruatara and Korokoro, so that the war ceased henceforth, and all the chiefs concerned in it promised not to injure Europeans.

This attitude towards tribal wars is an important feature of the missionary phase of the history of New Zealand, and is one of
the earliest examples of the influence of the Christian religion upon the Maori. The pacific attitude adopted was supported by the resolute refusal on the part of Marsden to provide any of the materials for war, or to abet it in any way, since even the smith was forbidden to sharpen or repair any instrument of war. This example has become the most famous one of missionary pacification of Maori tribes. So much has that been the case that the popular imagination has not visualized the broader task attempted and achieved along these lines. After all, the single war that was thus brought to a close concerned only a very small section of the New Zealand population, despite the repute of the chief Hongi. While the war was between two of the tribes that had come most frequently into contact with the European element in the country, and, therefore, were the more influenced by the disintegration of the old Polynesian culture, there were, all over New Zealand, many tribes similarly at enmity with their neighbour. Many wars occurred and persisted after 1844, but the general tendency seems to have been that where the Christian influence penetrated, peace, to a greater or less extent, prevailed. Precept would naturally avail but little in the case of the Maoris, who had for a time been associating with Europeans, who respected no law; it was example, mainly evidence of friendship and a feeling that trust could be placed in these new arrivals that formed the real basis of a greater degree of unanimity.
among the Maori people, the effects of which are noteworthy from 1830 to 1840.

Just as the work of pacification, extending over many years has been gathered by the popular mind into this one incident, so the story of the introduction of the Maori to the spiritual significance of Christianity is far better known, than the consequences of twenty years of evangelical work in the country. To the New Zealand child, the text: "Behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy," has acquired something of the same significance in the history of his own country as the words of Gregory in the story of the fair-headed slave boys in the Roman market-place have attained in the child version of English history. We have, of course, very reliable information in connection with this first sermon by Marsden. Naturally, his Journal gives a prominent place to it. Ruatara, impressed with the solemnity of the occasion, made elaborate preparations, and on that Christmas morning "a very solemn silence prevailed" - indicative of the attitude of the Maori towards the missionary and his message. It must have been a very thrilling moment for all concerned. Marsden confesses that "I felt my soul melt within me, when I viewed my congregation and considered the state we were in." (1)

(1) J.R. Elder: "Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden."

- (page 93)
The message presented that day is important not so much in itself, but because by it was begun the influence of Christian religious teaching in these islands, - a factor which has had innumerable effects. Marsden seems to have been impressed - very naturally - by the magnitude and importance of the task in front of the missionaries, and he expressed a hope, which, translated into historical terms, has been, and is being abundantly fulfilled. Concluding his account of the first Christian service in the country, he wrote: "In the above manner the Gospel has been introduced into New Zealand, and I fervently pray that the glory of it may never depart from its inhabitants till time shall be no more." The word "glory" is a difficult one to interpret. We might say that the word implies activity and repute, whatever other implications it might involve, and taking only these two aspects, we can safely say that historically, to this day, the "glory" has neither departed nor shown signs of doing so.

We have examined two features of missionary endeavour, which were present in this country from the beginning - the peace-making and the spiritual aspects of the work. Let us consider two others. We have seen that Marsden brought with him horses and cattle, and disembarked them the day before Christmas.

(1) J.R. Elder: "Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden." - (page 94)
1814, amazing the Maoris, who had previously been incredulous of Ruatara's reports of such animals. The missionaries must be coupled in our esteem with the explorers for introducing the basis of a pastoral industry. Through Ruatara, European agriculture had been begun, and the first mill had been introduced. The mill became a powerful civilizing factor among the Maoris. We read also that Maresden set up a smith's forge, in the erection of which the Maoris assisted, and into the routine of which they were speedily initiated. By this means, axes were made, one of the few articles which the Maori was prepared to accept as currency. Hoes and other agricultural implements were constructed and repaired as required. Thus some of the main industries of New Zealand rest on the basis of missionary work. If today, the Maori people are not easily adaptable to conditions of industry, it is scarcely reasonable to blame the missionaries, since this branch of their work, like many other important branches, was subsequently interrupted by factors, which they were not able to control.

Of the early apparent trends of missionary influence, the final one is perhaps the most fundamental and characteristic. It rests on a fresh European attitude of mind towards the Maori. The influence of humanitarianism had reached this isolated land. The Europeans, who had succeeded the explorers in their contact with the Maoris, were ruled by desire for gain and for expediency. Regarding the Maori people as a hindrance rather
than as of helps to them, they ruthlessly disregarded custom, and dealt treacherously with a people, unaccustomed to European wiles. Marsden may have profited by the experiences of these traders, but his motive in coming to New Zealand was entirely different in character. Inspired by the humanitarian movement, and by a genuine love for these people, he undertook both the responsibility and the risk of benefiting them, with little possibility of gain, and no desire for it. By his sympathy and care, he won the heart and support of Ruatara, an inestimable advantage to him in his work. He fostered peace, instead of fomenting strife and encouraging war, and he was careful, considerate and tactful in his approach to Maori authorities. Thus, when he required timber, he was careful to approach and to secure the consent of Tara, "a native of considerable influence," whose tribe controlled the land on which the timber stood. Marsden stated that his aim was "to prevent misunderstandings." For the whole race, he had a profound sympathy, which was manifested in his lifelong interest in and periodical visits to the mission in the Bay of Islands. His attitude to these "poor, benighted heathens" may seem to us somewhat superior in tone, but it was merely typical of the humanitarian attitude of his day, and his sympathy was certainly a vastly more advantageous factor in the history of New Zealand, than the rapacity of the average trader.

We are not concerned here with details of the history of
any one mission or of any one district except as they bear on and exemplify various effects of religion on the history of New Zealand. We have noticed the main trends along which the religious influence is, for a time, to advance - the spiritual trend, the peace-making, the humanitarian and industrial trends, all of which were not without importance in the subsequent history of New Zealand. Their influence will be apparent during the later stages of our study. Of their subsequent importance, Marsden himself seems to have had no doubt, and those who were left by Marsden in New Zealand, felt "the strongest persuasion" that they "had strong reason to believe that their labours would be crowned and blessed with success." To facilitate the missionary work in the district, Marsden bought some two hundred acres for twelve axes, deemed by all to be a fair price. On February 26th, 1815, Marsden left the country, having given a very promising beginning to the new enterprise. He was able to visit New Zealand on six further occasions, in 1819, 1820, 1823, 1827, 1830 and 1837. These subsequent visits gave opportunity for effecting a great deal of the organization of the mission work in the country, and placing it on a firm basis. From our point of view they are important, since they enabled Marsden to review his work, and see how far, in his opinion, his aims had been achieved.

(1) J.K. Elder: "Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden." - (page 34)
One of the results of the first visit of Marsden to New Zealand was to attract the attention of the British government to affairs there. Macquarie, of course, reported upon Marsden's new venture, and so stimulated the government, that in 1817 they took action in respect of the crimes committed by British masters and crews in various places, "not within His Majesty's dominions." One of the areas mentioned was New Zealand. Offences were to be tried and adjudged and punished just as if they had been committed on the open sea. Admittedly, the effect of this act was negligible, as far as New Zealand was concerned, but the step is important as being the first legislation concerning the conditions in this country, which, after many less direct means had been resorted to, had to be annexed in 1840.

Another forward step also resulted from this very first contact of the Maori with the missionary movement. The death of Ruatara deprived Marsden of his one outstanding Maori friend and helper, - the interpreter. Two youths were, however, engaged to go to England to aid in preparing a vocabulary. If they were not useful for that purpose, he asked that they be "put into a rope-walk and kept to close labour while they are in England." (1) This incident draws our attention to the unwritten nature of the Maori language and the importance of the work of the missionaries in regard to it. Despite its comparative

(1) G.W. Rusden; "History of New Zealand."

- (Volume I. Page 105)
unimportance today, the Maori language has been of some moment in the development of New Zealand. It is not suggested that it is owing to the work of the missionaries that Maori was used in dealings with the natives, and understanding facilitated thereby. That would no doubt have come in any case; the traders would have made satisfactory interpreters. But the work on the language of the people is historically important for at least two reasons. In the first place, a dictionary was compiled, and the language, hitherto unwritten, was reduced to a simple, convenient and phonetic system. The introduction and use of the printing press in New Zealand, another missionary innovation, facilitated distribution of books in Maori although it was not until 1830 that Rev. William Yates brought a printing press to New Zealand. The work of evangelization was thus expedited. It was, of course, Colenso, who, in 1834, was sent as a qualified printer to operate a printing press, just at the time, perhaps, when printed works in the Maori language were beginning to be essential to further advance in Maori culture.

The second result of the work on the Maori language was doubtless the fuller development of Maori education, which could scarcely proceed to any adequate extent, until a scientific study had been made of the language. The first school was founded during the first visit of Marsden to the country.(1)

(1) J.R. Elder: "Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden."
but Hall, the carpenter, records that the attendance fell off when the school was left to the superintendence of Kendall. In 1816, however, the first school building was opened, for the use of both Europeans and Maoris. A small vocabulary was used in the school. By 1817, the roll had increased in number to 77 children, all of whom were maintained and fed, if necessary, by the mission. The importance of this great work of education, which began so early in the history of New Zealand, was constantly stressed during the succeeding century. Up till the present, the religious influence has been marked continually in some way on education, or on the nature of educational legislation either proposed or adopted. Again, although we must realise that this beginning was very small, the movement gradually grew and formed a valuable pre-colonial basis for the education both of the Maori and of the European.

The movement against inter-tribal wars still continued, especially in the far north, where, so far, most of the missionary activities were confined. For a time, however, less success was attained, and war began to ravage the north, for some of the missionaries had so far forgotten their Christian ideals as to supply Hongi with ammunition. (1)

Some criticism has been levelled against the missionaries on account of their private trade. In some of their dealings in land, it must be admitted that they seem to fall far from their

(1) J.E. Elder: "Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden."
ideal of humanitarianism. Martin criticises them on this score, deploring their later attitude to the New Zealand Company. (1) Apart from these dealings in land, the practice of any private trade was constantly condemned by Marsden, who laid down rules relating to the question, but unfortunately these were often disregarded. Kendall saw fit to have commercial intercourse with Hongi, and thereby considerably weakened the missionary cause. Hongi carried massacre among the Waikatos and the Arawas, returning to eat his victims in full view of the missionaries. Te Ruaparaha began his ravages southwards.

"From Cook Strait to Waitemata," says Husden, "there was wailing and gnashing of teeth." Though this wave of strife was not wholly the result of the missionary lapse, it was so in part, and the repute of the missionaries suffered in consequence. Perhaps it restored to them some conception of the duty they had undertaken - of their vast responsibilities. Marsden, during his 1823 visit, made strict regulations governing missionary intercourse with trading vessels. Moreover, when further abuses occurred, Kendall and Butler had to leave the service of the Church Missionary Society. The evil was removed, and peace, to a large extent, restored once more. Now that the missionaries resolutely refused to dabble in the firearms trade, but instead distributed hoes, spades and axes, the Maoris were surprised, and no doubt impressed, with the incompatibility of

(1) K.L.P. Martin: "Missionaries and Annexation in the Pacific."
their savage excesses with the principles of Christianity. With the arrival of Henry Williams at Paihia, the influence of the missionaries again became important in the colony, and increased after 1823.

Then in 1822, the Wesleyan mission had been opened on the Kaeo River, by Rev. Samuel Leigh. The Wesleyan missionaries were also forbidden to trade, and the rule was vigorously enforced. Of them, Martin says, "It should be stated in justice to the Wesleyan mission that few complaints were made against them. Trade in any shape or form was prohibited, and in the one case where one of their number, Mr. White, acquired large tracts of land, he was dismissed from their service."(1) The Wesleyan mission was not intended to be a rival to the Church Missionary Society. Cordial relations existed throughout, and the dilemma of denominationalism was not presented to the Maori for more than a decade. The two missions agreed as to spheres of activity for the present, and the Wesleyans passed over to the West Coast, while the Anglicans retained the East. Thus was saved the effect on the Maori mind, produced later in 1838 and in 1842, of the consciousness of two varieties of Christianity, as it were. Denominational bias has not been a denominating factor in New Zealand history, even the more fundamental cleavage between the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches being less marked than in Europe. This is probably

a reaction against the intolerance of an outworn ecclesiastical system, as it is a factor worthy of note, when one considers the general religious influence on the development of New Zealand.

The year 1827 may be taken as the dividing year of the missionary period. In that year, the death of Hongi released the Anglicans at last from the patronage of a bloodthirsty chief. The death of the chief George, however, loosed the fury of the Whangaroans on the Wesleyan station, so that their work was destroyed, and they had to begin once more at Hokianga in 1829. This stage is then a convenient one for us to pause, and consider just how much had been achieved during those first thirteen years. Williamson has said: "The practice of missionary work had to be learned by experience, and it is not surprising that there was little progress in the early years. But after the language difficulty had been overcome, and some insight into native mentality had been gained, the missions did achieve a considerable improvement in Polynesian conditions." (1)

There he is speaking of Polynesian missions generally. Marsden in his journal of the 1823 visit, testifies to having learnt something of native mentality. In addition, he reports progress, with regard to the "improvement in conditions," "Their minds," he says, "are gradually enlarging - only they want an object - something of importance to exercise their active abilities with.

(1) J.A. Williamson: "A Short History of British Expansion.

- (Volume II. Page 35)
If they would turn to agriculture and commerce, these would furnish a field sufficient to occupy their minds. They would increase their wants and their means of supplying them. Until something of the kind is adopted, I cannot conceive how their wars are to be prevented.

Continuing, he refers to the unoccupied mind of the Maori continually brooding on his wrongs, and suggests that "it is possible if they had a regular intercourse with civil society, and objects of importance to occupy their minds, the force of those natural affections and superstitious notions would be gradually weakened and their feelings relieved." (1)

We must realise that the influence of religion upon the history of New Zealand in the first decade after 1814 was not marked by many outstanding movements or events, but rather, the period served two purposes. In the first place, research into the history of this period reveals the motives of the missionaries and suggests the general lines along which we shall expect to find the influence of religion and religious movements flowing. Secondly, the missionaries were adapting themselves to the special character of their work. Initial mistakes and false movements were inevitable. Profiting by the experience of this period, they and their work became of much greater direct importance during the succeeding decades.

(1) J.R. Elder: "Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden."
Apart, then, from the disastrous end of the first Wesleyan attempt, the religious influence was apparent, by 1827, along several of the lines of social development in New Zealand. In the second decade, the humanitarian motive was still the dominant one. Generally speaking, some arrangement was aimed at by which the Maoris could become united, and thus not only curb the constant tendency towards tribal wars, but also lead to the regulation, if not the cessation, of the evil European influences that had been introduced. Along this line, there were some important movements during the ten years after Marsden's review of the position. The Maoris, however, could find no Egbert; a Bretwalda seemed to be beyond their conception. Even Hongi had failed in his subjugation schemes, and was dead. Meanwhile, the unhealthy development, particularly of the kororāke settlement, quickened. Beyond the control of the law of any civilized land, the orgies of the scoundrels that gathered there defiled the pages of the early history of this country. The missionaries have been criticized for not attempting to reform these lawless Europeans, and indeed the exclusion rather than the reform seems to have been desired by the religious bodies. But it is certain that, if they hoped to exclude settlement, they scarcely aimed at a theocracy, since, by 1827, Marsden was convinced, however reluctantly, that, for the sake of the Maoris, British authority ought to be introduced. Of course, the
provisions of the act of 1817 remained a dead letter, and the failure of the colonizing scheme of the English Company, that sent out Herd in 1825, left the missionaries alone to deal with the problems of the country, to fight both the evil passions of the Maori and the lawlessness of the European. The menace of de Thierry also extends over this period, and was another reason why the missionaries favoured some increase in British control.

The period 1827 to 1840 saw a wide extension of the sphere of missionary activity. The most important part of the country was still North Auckland, which has gradually declined in importance since the influx of the colonists into the Southern districts. Before 1840, this portion of the North Island was important because of the relatively dense Maori population, and because of the more frequent contacts with European visitors and settlers. Therefore, our main attention has been directed towards that quarter. Nevertheless, by 1840, the main Church Missionary Societies at work had extended much further southwards. The amicable arrangement, by which the Anglican missionaries clung to the east, and the Wesleyans to the west side of the North Island had been preserved. By 1838, the Anglicans had thirty-five employees in their two districts (the northern one embracing the North Auckland field, the southern that of Rotorua and the Thames.)

(1) The report of the Lord's Committee on the present state

(1) Please see map - Appendix I.
of the Islands of New Zealand, 1838 (1) discloses the fact that five missionaries, twenty catechists, two teachers, two printers, one farmer, one wheelwright, one storekeeper, one stonemason, one surgeon and another designated an assistant were employed by the Church Missionary Society in New Zealand. The wide range of activities, attested by this list, and the geographical distribution bear evidence of the potentialities to be examined in the districts of densest Maori population. Twelve of these men, including two of the five clergy, were in the so-called southern district, in which stations had been set up at Mangapouri, Matamata, Rotorua, Puriri and Tauranga, mainly in the Thames Valley and Bay of Plenty district. The northern stations included Paihia, Waimate, Kerikeri, Whangaroa, Tepuna and Kaitaia. In the mission stations, 2,176 persons attended public worship (only 178 being communicants,) while in 51 schools, there were in all 1,431 "scholars." There were, in addition, states the same report, six Wesleyan mission stations with ten missionaries in all at Mangungu, Newark, Kaipara, Whangaroa and as far south as Kawhia and Taranaki. Thus, by 1838, an appreciable proportion of the population, including the most important tribes, was being affected by the influence of Christianity. It is noteworthy, that, up to this time, the North Island had received the full share of missionary attention; the colonization of the South Island was to be influenced more by another religious force - the

(1) This is presented in tabular form in Appendix II, adapted from J.R. Elder: "Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden." -(page 545)
reaction against the ecclesiastical system of Great Britain. But even into the South Island, the missions soon began to penetrate.

On the occasion of Marsden's final visit to New Zealand, from February to July 1837, he called not only at the Bay of Islands and at the Thames, but at Cloudy Bay. Almost immediately afterwards, mission stations were established in Cook Strait. Robert McNab, in his volume on "The Old Whaling Days," which is a history more particularly of the southern portion of New Zealand, has a chapter on the "Coming of the Church." He says: "The honours of the coming of the Church to Cook Strait were fairly divided between Wesleyan and Anglican." The first native teacher was an Anglican, the first visiting missionary was Mr. White, a Wesleyan, who first appeared in Queen Charlotte Sound and Cloudy Bay in 1836. Bumby and Hobbs, both Wesleyans set up mission stations at Port Nicholson and on Mana about June 1839. Port Nicholson had, therefore, become under missionary influence before the arrival of the "Tory," bearing Colonel Wakefield, in August of that year. Even Tamihane Te Ruaparaha had requested a missionary preacher for Otaki and Waikanae, the Anglicans sending Hadfield. Finally, it is noteworthy, that the first sermon preached to the immigrants at Port Nicholson was by Buller, a Wesleyan missionary. The southern movement continued onwards into the colonizing period.

(1) Robert McNab: "The Old Whaling Days."
In June 1840, Watkin reached the whaling station at Waikouaiti in the far south, while in the same month, Ironside was established at Cloudy Bay. At both these spots, the Wesleyans encountered the rival influence and the antagonism of the whaling community, although one whaler, Jones by name, extended his doubtful patronage to Watkin at Waikouaiti. The work of both Ironside and Watkin is notable, long journeys being made — (in the south these extended from Moeraki to Bluff) — the Maoris at all points, being at least touched by the missionary influence. The Cloudy Bay establishment persisted, however, only till the Wairau massacre of 1842 led to the Maori emigration to Otaki and Kapiti.

We have now acquired some idea of the geographical distribution of missionaries, and the extent and scope of their work during the later phase of the missionary era. It remains to examine that work in its various aspects, and to note the significance of it upon the contemporary and future history of New Zealand. Generally speaking, no new trends are discoverable, and approximately the same determining factors are behind the old trends. Moreover, until the arrival of the Roman Catholic mission in 1838, the two main missionary bodies worked amicably, generally speaking, so that the influence on the Maori and on the country generally, was similar in every district reached.

In the Journal dealing with his sixth voyage to New Zealand (1) M.A. Rugby Pratt: "Pioneering Days in Southern Maoriland." — (page 47 and seq.)
in 1830, Marsden reports on the satisfactory and promising state of the country, in that, for instance, "where these hellish songs were sung and (cannibal) rites performed, I now hear the songs of Zion." (1) One of the causes of universal rejoicing lay in the beginning that had been made with the works of publishing translations in the Maori language. The precise historical significance of this new work can, of course, be only roughly estimated. It was in part, merely a valuable accessory to the ordinary missionary work, but in addition, it may be said, that, with the work of the philologist, began all the linguistic and ethnological research into the Maori race. Moreover, by the study of the language, and the construction of an alphabet, intercourse between the Maoris and European authority was facilitated in later years. The first partial translations of scripture into Maori were published in Sydney in 1827; in 1830, Yate brought a printing press to New Zealand, but it was not until December, 1834, that a qualified printer, William Colenso, was provided by the Church Missionary Society for the Paihia Station. At Paihia, the history of New Zealand printing really began (another legacy of the missionary age,) and there, in 1835, appeared the translations of the Epistles to the Ephesians and to the Philippians. The joy of the Maoris at the disembarking of Colenso with his greatly prized cargo was surely prophetic. Colenso's journal, quoted by Elder, contains a notable sentence:

(1) J.R. Elder: "Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden."
"Throughout the Islands, there appears to be a universal movement, a mighty stirring of the people."(1) Indeed, the eagerness of the Maori to possess a book in his own language was such that, according to Yate, he would work a month for it.

Spiritually, too, the missionaries themselves bear testimony that their work was, at last, being rewarded. It is recorded that "some are walking in and adorning the Christian profession."(2) Naturally, of course, the primary aim of a Christian mission was to secure Christian converts, and this would naturally be a formative factor in the development of the country, since the principles of Christianity would be worked out in the lives of those who "made the history." The first decade had primarily been devoted to elementary and industrial education, and it was not till the conversion of the chief Rangi in 1825, that the missionaries regarded their work as spiritually rewarded. The elementary education work still went on. We have already recorded that, in 1838, there were 51 Anglican schools with two European teachers, while natives had also been trained as teachers. The wheel-wright, the stonemason and the farmer bear evidence of the industrial development of the country. Charles Darwin the

(1) J.R. Elder: "Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden." - (page 493)

(2) Church Missionary Register 1831 - (pages 61-68)
(quoted by J.R. Elder in "Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden." Page 495.)
great naturalist, visiting New Zealand in 1835, gives a notable description of the Waimate mission station. In "The Voyage of the Beagle," he says, "I went to Waimate, the settlement lately formed by the mission with the view of introducing agriculture and the mechanical arts among the natives. The thoroughly English appearance of three well-designed, respectable houses, surrounded by gardens, outhouses, and well-cultivated fields, was surprising and delightful. About twenty acres of land seemed to be worked. Corn was in full ear," (December 28th) "and looked well ............ In the garden, all English vegetables seemed to thrive. The farmyard was thoroughly English. A large barn, built entirely by the natives under Mr. Davis's directions, a blacksmith's shop and forge, English carts and farming implements successively engaged attention. In the barn, two natives were threshing corn; another native was attending to the winnowing machine. A mill and mill-dam, entirely the work of the natives, were next examined; they were good works of their kind, and would have been interesting independent of their locality." (1)

Such a tribute from such a man, who could have no possible motive to exaggerate, is surely valuable evidence of the scope and success of missionary work. The exact influence of this introduction of industry by the religious

(1) Charles Darwin: "Voyage of the Beagle." (1839) - (Volume III. Page 507)
bodies cannot be gauged, since admittedly its permanence has been seriously affected by intervening movements and events among the Maori race. But it is a fact that the simple and industrial education was a powerful antidote to the evil influences and habits resulting from the corruption of the old culture and standards of morality. Besides, the work supplied the physical requirements of the mission. Richard Davis defended the system of encouraging young men to enter the mission station and training them in Christian living and in industrial practice, with the aim of ultimately regenerating the Maori race through these pupils. While this aim might have been too sanguine, the general influence of this industrial training provided by the missionaries is obvious.

Perhaps the most important trend, as far as permanence is concerned, is seen in one dominant feature of the second and third decades. The New Zealand experiences and observations of Marsden had created the definite impression upon his mind, that, until British authority was definitely established in the country, the situation must continue to be dangerous and unstable. As early as 1830, he addressed a memorandum to
Governor Darling of New South Wales, concerning various scenes which he had witnessed in the Bay of Islands. He deplored the absence of legal authority, civil, military, or naval "to restrain the bad conduct of the masters and crews of those ships which put into the harbours of New Zealand." (1) He expressed the fear also that the quantity of arms, powder and ammunition in the possession of the natives, might lead to an attempt to redress their own wrongs in some disastrous massacre. He advocates the appointment of an armed vessel to New Zealand waters to watch over and restrain the trading elements and to apprehend escaped convicts. In 1831, Marsden wrote also to the Church Missionary Society on this matter, mentioning the revolting trade in preserved heads between New Zealand and Port Jackson. Here, he declares himself in favour of the appointment of a Resident in New Zealand, "with proper authority to notice the misconduct of the Europeans, and to whom the natives can appeal for redress."

As a result of these representations, Governor Darling prohibited the further importation of preserved heads. Marsden still felt, however, that unless a Resident were appointed, all commercial intercourse between New South Wales and New Zealand must cease. In despatches to Lord Goderick in both 1830 and 1831, Darling urged that the British Government should take some

(1) J.R. Elder: "Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden."

- (page 497)
action with regard to the outrages of lawless Europeans in New Zealand. The case of Captain Stewart, who gave passage to Te Rauparaha on his bloodthirsty expedition to the South Island, was reported and read with horror by Goderick. So Marsden's representations, which were typical of the missionary attitude towards the events in New Zealand, were of some weight in securing the appointment of James Busby as British Resident, in 1832. The visit of Laplace to the Bay of Islands in 1831, had caused the missionaries to fear that, possibly, the government of Louis Philippe might be disposed to annex the whole or part of the country. Accordingly, they began to press for a closer degree of association with Great Britain. In this, they were naturally seconded by the Maoris. This closer association was eventually brought about, when the British Government, influenced by the fear of a French colony close to New South Wales, was forced to act by the proceedings of the New Zealand Company. But this process occupied altogether some nine years, and during that time events had moved on. In 1831, a document requesting British protection had been framed by twelve chiefs, with the assistance of the missionaries, and forwarded to William IV, through the Church Missionary Society. It was this petition, that, as is stated in the reply of Lord Goderick, led finally to the appointment of Busby.

The inadequate powers granted to Busby left him entirely
unable to deal with the situation in New Zealand. His welcome by the European population was far from cordial, and the missionaries were not only the source of what influence he commanded, but it was to them that he had constantly to turn for friendly society. The importance of the friendly reception of British authority in New Zealand, cannot be too strongly stressed, since it helped to build up the "Waitangi" attitude of mind, both in Great Britain and in New Zealand. Such incidents as the massacre of some of the company of the ship "Harriet," which was wrecked off the Taranaki coast in April, 1834, served to emphasize the need for a firmer control in New Zealand, since the affair involved a punitive expedition by the "Alligator." Marsden suspected that European vice had caused this act of violence, and records a tribute by a chief visiting Sydney to the pacific influence of the missionaries. Further, when a parliamentary committee disapproved of the methods of Governor Burke in this matter, attention was drawn to the need of ordered government in New Zealand. In 1835, under the sponsorship of Busby and with the approval of the missionaries, the United Tribes of New Zealand were founded, and received British protection. The details of this constitutional arrangement need not concern us here, for the new union of the tribes lying between the North Cape and the latitude of the Thames was but one step forward, and again the missionary factor is evident.
"The true value of the work of Samuel Marsden in founding the New Zealand mission has thus become apparent," says Elder. "He had proved himself not only an apostle of Christianity but a pioneer of Empire, whose labours were ultimately to force his government to make effective Cook's setting-up of the British flag in New Zealand." (1) The rapid extension of missionary enterprise southwards, first to Matamata and Ohinemutu, in the Waikato and Bay of Plenty districts respectively, then as far south as Cook Strait, spread the influence of the Christian religion over a wide area. This influence had saved the Maori race from itself; inter-necine warfare, to a large extent, was becoming an unhappy memory, since the slaughter, which had accounted for some 80,000 people since 1800 was stayed. What good was left of the old culture was preserved, and the gulf between the Polynesian and Aryan modes of life was bridged. The introduction of industry, above all agriculture, and the mechanical processes attaching thereto, was an important step in the regeneration of the Maori; the study of the language had many practical applications, especially, at that particular time, in furthering the work among the native people; education was an inevitable concomitant; a new ideal was supplied to a

(1) J.R. Elder: "Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden." - (page 512)
people, whose standards of conduct had been debased by evil influences; finally, the preparation for the introduction of British sovereignty into these Islands was directly, and very often consciously the work of these agents of humanitarianism.

So far only two religious denominations were at work, and so far they had proceeded harmoniously. The entrance of Roman Catholic missionaries in 1838 was a new step, the importance of which lies really in the colonization period. Controversy had centred around the work of Bishop Pompallier, his followers and successors. At the outset, it can be stated that there is no historical evidence for supposing any connection to exist between the arrival of Pompallier and the policy of the contemporary French government with regard to New Zealand. A Catholic mission in the Pacific had been planned ever since 1827. Nevertheless, the fact of his arrival combined with the appeal of Baron de Thierry to the French government, no doubt hastened the proclamation of British sovereignty. Here we find another, if indirect and unconscious, religious factor, tending towards British annexation. The arrival of Bishop Pompallier was heralded with regret by Marsden, who said: "I much regret that the Catholic priests should have landed in these islands." (1)

W.J. Williams, the Methodist historian, is also somewhat bitter

(1) J.R. Elder: "Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden."
towards the Roman Catholic missionaries, on the ground that their choice of a field of labour was inconveniently close to that already chosen by a Protestant body. Nevertheless, we must remember that Pompallier came first to the place where there were some Irish trading families, notably the Poyntons of Hokianga. While the influence of a diversity of "persuasions" had an unfortunate effect on the Maoris, this fact does not detract from the value of the work done by the Roman Catholic Church in New Zealand, particularly in social and educational spheres.

After the death of Marsten in 1838, we must focus our attention not only on the missionaries alone, but also on the colonization aspect of New Zealand's development. In this regard, we shall find striking evidence of a new religious influence at work, in addition to the older trends manifesting themselves under somewhat altered conditions. As to the achievements of the earlier period, the testimony of Sir George Grey, when addressing the Church Missionary Society in London, in 1855, is notable: "No one doubted the effect of Christianity upon the mass of the people, which had been evidenced in their social improvement, their friendly intercourse with Europeans, and their attendance at Divine Worship; if the work should be consolidated and perfected,

(1) W. J. Williams: "Centenary Sketches of New Zealand Methodism."
the conversion of New Zealand would become one of the most encouraging facts in the modern history of Christianity, and a pattern of the way in which it might be established in other heathen countries.\(^{(1)}\)

At this time, the influence of the missionaries on the Maoris seems to have much over-rated in Great Britain, possibly owing to the references made by various select committees of Parliament. As we have seen, however, the influence was very profound. For instance, the fact that Te Ruaparapa asked for a missionary for Otaki was due to the evangelical impulse of the slave, Matahua of Paihia. Matahua had travelled to Cook Strait and converted Tamihana, the son of Te Rauparaha. With the ordinary tribesman, it was somewhat different, since, no doubt, he found some initial difficulty in accommodating his polytheistic beliefs to a monotheistic doctrine. Many of the old superstitious mental attitudes remained. However, this does not detract from the vast work done during the missionary period. Christianity, says Johannes Andersen - "subdued the ferocity of a bold and brave people, and welded together those that had been in continual enmity; it taught the sanctity of human life; it abolished cannibalism and slavery; it taught patience and

\(^{(1)}\) Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society (1853-1854) Pages 153 to 154. (Quoted by J.K. Elder: "Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden." - (page 546)
It is noteworthy, that, some decades later, when the Maori was disgusted with British muddling, the new religious cult, "Pai Marire" adopted an Old Testament basis and bore constant reference to Christian theology. For instance, the hymn "Atua pai marire rire" was really a hymn of praise to the Trinity. Certainly, Christianity had deeply affected Maori mentality. When a fuller understanding between the Maori and Pakeha came to pass, the influence of religion was still of profound importance.

(1) Cambridge History of the British Empire.
- (Volume VII. (ii) Page 57)
CHAPTER IV.

THE PERIOD OF DIRECT COLONIZATION.

1840 - 1870.

The year 1840 marks an epoch in New Zealand history, for with that year came evidence of a changed attitude towards the country on the part of the government and people of Great Britain. In bringing to pass that change of attitude, the influence of the missionaries had been very noticeable. In their reports to their Society in London, in their influence on the Colonial Office and in their representations as embodied in the despatches of such governors as Macquarie, Darling and Bourke, we see the missionary leaven at work.

As early as 1817, there was the abortive act for the more effectual punishment of murder and manslaughters committed by masters and crews of British ships in New Zealand and other places "not within His Majesty's dominions." Similar acts were passed in 1824 and 1829. Meanwhile we find constant reference in the letters and journals of Marsden to a new attitude on the part of the Maori people. Writing to the Secretary of the Society in 1820 (1), Marsden refers to the desire

(1) J.R. Elder: "Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden." - (page 46 note)
of the chiefs on both the east and the west sides of the Thames river for some measure of British protection, which would enable them to substitute agriculture for warfare. In 1831, thirteen chiefs sent a letter to William IV, praying for protection. In 1833, Busby was appointed. It was the inadequacy of the residential arrangement, the negotiations of the New Zealand Company and the fear of a French settlement, that led to the appointment of Hobson in 1839; but, as in the case of Busby, Hobson derived his early influence from the missionaries, and it was they who enabled the Treaty of Waitangi to be successfully negotiated. Religion was just as powerful a formative factor during the colonization period as during the missionary period of New Zealand history.

On January 29th, 1840, Captain Hobson arrived at the Bay of Islands in H.M.S. "Herald," and immediately came into contact with Busby and the missionaries, notably Baker (deputising for Henry Williams) and Colenso. Through Colenso's press, a notice was sent to the neighbouring chiefs to meet the new Governor at Mr. Busby's residence at Waitangi, on the following Wednesday. The invitation seems to have been restricted to those chiefs who had signed the Declaration of Independence in 1835, this first meeting being intended apparently merely as one of the chiefs of the Confederation of the United Tribes. Fortunately, however, other chiefs, equally anxious for law and order in the country, and hearing
of Hobson's arrival, hastened to be present at Waitangi on the
day of the meeting. The result was that a fairly reprepen-
tative gathering met on February 5th to hear the proposals
of the Queen of England. Meanwhile, Hobson had read his
proclamation to the European settlers of Kororareka, many of
whom were dismayed by fears for the tenure of the land which
they had purchased, and consequently lent but lukewarm support
to Hobson in the execution of his mission. Some forty-five
settlers, however, presented an address of welcome.

Indeed, the only wholehearted support which Hobson
received came from Busby and the various religious groups.
In order to negotiate with the Maori, it was necessary that
the framers of the treaty should have a full knowledge of the
Crown's intentions and also an initial acquaintance with the
subtleties of native character. This latter qualification,
neither Captain Hobson nor his staff possessed in any measure
at all, and consequently, had not the missionaries lent their
full support to the lieutenant-governor, the Maori barrier of
suspicion could scarcely have been broken down. The
suspicion of the chiefs was encouraged on the other hand by
speculators, who were desirous of avoiding regulation and
restriction and who played on the minds of the chiefs in respect
of the degradation that they would suffer by signing a treaty.
Somewhat bewildered, the Maori chiefs placed their confidence
in the hands of the missionaries, and the latter, notably Rev.
Henry Williams, already besought by Bishop Broughton of Australia to lend his support to Hobson — did not betray the trust.

Williams, who had been visiting the Manawatu district, where Hadfield had recently been installed, hastened back to greet Hobson and to ensure him of his warm support. To Williams, Hobson entrusted the task of translating the proposed treaty into the Nga-puhi dialect. This was naturally a difficult task, since it was essential that the translation should at once avoid all expressions of the English, for which there were no equivalents in Maori, and yet preserve the original meaning and intention of the treaty. This work, in its historical import, was the culmination of the missionary study of the Maori language.

Amid historic surroundings, not far from the scene of Marsden's first sermon in 1814, the assemblage of Maoris and Europeans met on February 5th, before Busby's house at Waitangi. In addition to the Protestant missionaries, there was also present the Roman Catholic bishop, Pompallier, who attended by special invitation from Hobson. In fact, each principal form of belief was represented on the official platform. The Revs. Samuel Ironside and John Warren of the Wesleyan mission at Hokianga arrived later with a contingent of Hokianga chiefs, and acted as witnesses to the signing of
the treaty on the following day. Indeed, the importance of the missionary element in connection with the treaty can scarcely be exaggerated, especially since it was Henry Williams who translated it into the Maori language, and who explained it clause by clause, adding explicitly that it had the full approval of the missionaries. Finally, it was Tamati Waka Nene, the famous Ngapuhi chief, educated by the Wesleyan missionaries at Hokianga, who made the speech confounding the opponents and rallying the waverers to the cause of acceptance. Captain Hobson reported to Sir George Gipps that Hene spoke "with a degree of natural eloquence that surprised all the Europeans and eventually turned aside the temporary feeling of hostility that had been created."(1) It was in large measure because the Maori associated a unity of purpose in both governor and missionaries that support for the treaty was finally won. ............... The treaty altered the whole character of New Zealand history.

On February 6th, a day earlier than had been agreed upon for the signing of the treaty, the chiefs, being anxious to return to their tribes, either signed or attached their marks to the treaty. Altogether forty-three chiefs signed that day, but the task of securing universal acceptance to the treaty still remained. In the work of securing signatures, also, the missionaries played a noteworthy part. Williams

(1) Quoted by T. Lindsay Buick: "The Treaty of Waitangi." (1933)
accompanied Hobson to the meeting at Waimate, while in the Wesleyan sphere of influence round Hokitika, the missionaries employed "their influence in inducing the natives to agree to the treaty."(1) In addition, the hospitality of the Mangungu and other mission stations was extended to the governor on his travels, and an interpreter was provided once more. The missionary influence was constantly exerted to combat the opposition of the natives which was abetted by many Europeans with interested motives. That complete sovereignty was able to be proclaimed over New Zealand by June 17th, 1840, is no small tribute to the influence of the missionaries.

One of the first questions that exercised the mind of the lieutenant-governor concerned the choice of a capital. On the first occasion that he had met Henry Williams, the matter had been discussed, and it was as a result of missionary experience that Waitemata rather than Kororareka was chosen as the site of the original capital of the colony. The development of Hobson's paralysis no doubt prevented exploration further afield, but the choice is significant of the influence exerted by the missionaries upon the policy of the governor in those early days. The missionary was, indeed, the trusted friend and adviser of the governor, and when, as Hobson's illness did not abate as the months passed by, he began to contemplate an early resignation of his office, it

(1) T. Lindsay Buick: "The Treaty of Waitangi." (1933) - (page 167 note)
was Henry Williams who persuaded him against retirement. During these months the religious bodies were particularly zealous, especially in regard to native policy. The success with the natives was largely due to them, for they became the harbingers of the promises of the treaty and the "apostles of its principles." (1) The attitude of Pompallier has been criticized by many, but it seems safe to say that the evidence points rather to the fact that the bishop declared himself "outside of all politics," (2) and declined the opportunity to reap a little national glory.

Moreover, the evidence all points to the conclusion that the humanitarian movement was by no means dying or dead. The religious sects in the country were anxious mainly to advance the spiritual and general well-being of the Maori race, and their motives in supporting the introduction of British authority arose from this anxiety. In that respect, the influence of the dominant religious movement in the country at the time can scarcely be measured, for the missionary support of Hobson affected essentially the whole course of New Zealand history.

(1) T. Lindsay Buick: "The Treaty of Waitangi." - (page 180)

(2) T. Lindsay Buick: "The Treaty of Waitangi." - (page 204)
Yet, if they supported British law and order, the missionaries did not bear any affection to the New Zealand Company. Here also, their main concern was security and peace for the Maori people, and their experience of the attitudes and methods of settlers did not encourage them to look favourably upon projects of colonization. Moreover, the methods of the New Zealand Company betrayed an unfortunate though perhaps inevitable lack of understanding of the Maori mind and custom, with which the missionary had long been conversant. But it was now too late to prevent the damage; the foundation of the Wellington settlement at Pito-one had preceded the arrival of Hobson by one week and the settlements of Petre, New Plymouth and Nelson quickly followed. The missionaries rightly feared that much of their influence over the Maori would be destroyed.

This fear conditioned the general attitude adopted by the clergy in New Zealand towards the Company's settlers, and explains the virtual alienation of the Company from the missionaries. This latter result was doubly unfortunate in that the Company lost the benefit of the experience of these precursors of colonization in their dealings with the natives. Nevertheless, the incursion of settlers was important from an ecclesiastical point of view, because therein lay the germ of that other religious movement, —, the
reaction from the ecclesiastical system of Great Britain, that gradually displaced humanitarianism as the dominant religious trend influencing the course of New Zealand history. While the influence of humanitarianism was mainly concerned with the early work of preparing the country for the introduction of law and order, the other movement manifested itself quite early in deciding the place religion was to take in colonial life. Particularly after 1870, this force, as well as humanitarianism, was evident in various social and legislative movements.

Apart from the two subsequent ecclesiastical settlements, the Wakefield settlers were not chosen specifically on any religious grounds. The result was that on arrival in a country, where the conditions of life demanded co-operation and occupied men almost exclusively with the business of keeping alive, religious prejudices and jealousies tended to be forgotten. This does not mean absolute apathy in religion. The Wakefield proposals, not always adequately carried out, included religious and educational endowments. Moreover, some of the early pioneers were especially noted for their piety. Such a man as Tuckett, the Quaker, surveyor in Nelson might serve as an example, contrasting in many ways with the unfortunate Colonel Wakefield, who was so tragically involved in the history of early Nelson. Places of worship were erected early in the history of the settlements, and
religion became a normal feature of life, rather than a cause of dissension. This comparative unanimity among the Churches paved the way for the interdenominational movements of later days, such as those for national prohibition and religious education, with their political concomitants.

So, in some measure, the partial failure of Wakefield's schemes for the colonization of New Zealand must be attributed to the influence of religious bodies both in Great Britain and in the colony. The missionary attitude to colonization was different from the view taken of the introduction of law and order. The unregulated entrance and settlement of the trading element had been no great blessing to the Maori race, over whose interests the missionaries kept jealous watch. Indeed, the missionaries seem to have disapproved of most innovators. Disusted with the religious upheavals accompanying movements such as the French Revolution, the conservative missionary societies constantly supported the forces of law and order, and, in turn, drew their main support from the alliance with the Tory governing classes. The influence of these societies upon the policy of the government, mainly on colonial policy, was no mean factor in the history of several colonies, among them New Zealand. Through the permanent under-secretary, Sir James Stephen and through the early colonial governors, they were a powerful factor in determining policy; their hostility was a force to be
reckoned with.

The reasons for their hostility to Wakefield do not greatly concern us. Certain incidents of his own pathetic
life story offended the strict moral sentiments of the (I)
evangelist. But more than that, they feared the results
of such a colonising policy as Wakefield's. Their fears, as
we have seen, had some justification in the results of
Wakefield's projects; the tragic story of the Wairau
"massacre" bears ample testimony to that. Furthermore,
such an incident, betraying the colonists woeful lack of
insight into Maori psychology, which the missionaries had
had ample opportunity to study, shows how indispensable the
missionaries were to the colonial government. The traders, it is
true, understood the Maori language, but the Maori possessed
only a very partial degree of confidence in them. That the
hostility of such a body as the Church Missionary Society would
be dangerous was recognized by Wakefield himself, who referred
incidentally in his "Art of Colonization" to "the clergy of
all denominations, who are immensely powerful." (2).

It is not necessary to trace the history of the Company's

(1) K.L.R. Martin: "Missionaries and Annexation in the
Pacific.», page 5.

settlements. We do not aim to expose the practical weaknesses of the schemes of a theorist; but it is necessary to stress the fact that the difficulties of the Company, with the Maoris, with the colonial governors, and with the Colonial Office, were in some measure due to the opposition of religious and evangelical bodies to colonization along the lines which Wakefield proposed. It is strange that these two opposing factors — the work of the missionaries in preparing the ground, and the work of Wakefield in laying the foundation — should ultimately have contributed in a considerable degree to the building of a new nation in the Pacific.

(III)

But willy-nilly the various settlements appeared, and changed the conditions under which the various churches were working. Their missionary work among the Maori people would not suffice for a colony with even a sparse European population. So the churches had to build up their ecclesiastical organisations in the country, and to begin ministering to the spiritual needs of their own countrymen. Here, for the first time, we see the influence of the reaction from the ecclesiastical organization of Great Britain, the feature to which the greater attention must be paid in our consideration of the colonizing period.
We have seen that religion began to enter somewhat haphazardly into the life of the young colony. As far as the Anglican Church was concerned, the work of organizing the religious life of the community fell upon the shoulders of George Augustus Selwyn, whose episcopate in New Zealand extended from 1842 to 1867, thus embracing almost the whole period covered by this chapter. Despite some weaknesses, Selwyn was a man of such breadth of mind and vivid interest in affairs as to express and shape the religious attitude towards nearly every important new development during his episcopate in New Zealand. Whilst helping to mould the religious life of the young community, he himself was most profoundly affected, and acquired a new outlook. His assimilation, as it were, of the colonial religious atmosphere is attested by Curteis, who describes Selwyn's return to England as being "like a blast of fresh and colonial air, let in abruptly upon a somewhat close and asphyxiating atmosphere of old-world precedent and custom."(1)

During the decade preceding the annexation of New Zealand, the Church, and not only the State of England had been slowly realising what splendid opportunities for expansion lay in the lands overseas. Ecclesiastical energy, so long under aristocratic control, burst forth with fresh vigour along a new line. The eighteenth century Church had

(1) G.H. Curteis: "Bishop Selwyn."

- (Pre:ace, pages VI to VII)
been all but moribund; religious laxity and corruption had pervaded the whole of Europe; in France, this state of affairs contributed to the Revolution; in England, the fervour of Wesley was instrumental in bringing about a revival. But all democratic and many humanitarian movements fell into disrepute during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic periods; it was not till 1832 that success attended the attempts to break the power of the aristocratic oligarchy.

That success, however, helped in bringing about an ecclesiastical revival. Further, in 1829, a most important step in removing the statues of intolerance was taken when Roman Catholics were emancipated. Earlier than this, the disabilities of Protestant dissenters had been diminished. Contemporary economic progress was laying the foundation of the ascendancy of the mercantile rather than the aristocratic section of the community. If the church had remained the ally of the nobility, its influence would have been doomed in England, and the ecclesiastical organization of the colonies would have been carried out on very different lines.

But the clerical profession was now opened more widely to the middle classes, and possibly the impetus to organize the Church missionary movements overseas was due largely to this fact. With irresponsible ardour the Church of the 'thirties organized itself for effective ecclesiastical action, and "prepared itself to carry the banner of English
Churchmanship into lands where hitherto only a few scattered and ill-disciplined missionaries had precariously laboured ... Among the colonies standing in urgent need of such supervision, the now rising settlement of New Zealand stood first of all. It was indeed, a happy inspiration, which whispered to some one ............... that probably George (Selwyn) was after all the predestined man for whom they were in search. Nor can we doubt that ............ all other projects .......... paled and died away into nonentity before the animating thought of organizing (as Theodore had done in early Britain) the Anglo-Catholic church in the rising Britain of the South." (1)

Selwyn, though sprung from the gentry, was freed from the prejudices of the eighteenth century aristocratic episcopate. He was a thorough Anglican, and it was the Anglican religious body in New Zealand that he came to organize. This fact caused some little dissension among the Protestant denominations in New Zealand. These had been increased in 1840 by the formation of a Presbyterian congregation at Port Nicholson, and by the arrival of Rev. J. Duncan, who took up work in the Manawatu district. It was the Wesleyans however, who were the more closely affected by Selwyn's organization. It is well too, that, in estimating the success of Selwyn's work, we should not neglect his somewhat narrow sectarian attitude. Prior to the advent of Selwyn, the Anglicans and Wesleyans had been almost

(1) G.H. Curteis: "Bishop Selwyn". Pages 23 - 25.
as members of a single body, using somewhat similar forms of service, co-operating heartily, and even transferring members from one church to the other as occasion arose. The religious influence then was not divided. But the first tour of Selwyn raised heated controversy, so that Rugby Pratt, as late as 1933 speaks of the "narrow arithmetic of sectarianism." Watkin, whose mission station at Waikouaiti was visited by Selwyn in January 1844, refers to the prejudices of the bishop and declares that "he is ignorant of us (the Wesleyans) and of our Founder."(1) The result of this dissension was only too obvious, Selwyn himself deploring the widespread Maori controversy over "Te teri" and "Hahi" or Wesley and the church. This spread as far south as Ruapuke, an island in Foveaux Straits.(2) It was inevitable that this dissension would diminish the influence of the Christian religion among the Maoris.

Perhaps we have been unfair to Selwyn in thus mentioning his intolerance, before estimating the extent of the positive influence he exerted in New Zealand for a period of some twenty-five years. But his work was so stupendous, that it is well to realise the limitations of the man, before we consider his achievements. Selwyn was a great man. Watkin

(1) M.A. Rugby Pratt: "Pioneering Days in Southern Maoriland." - (page 153)
(2) H. Jacobs: "Colonial Church Histories, New Zealand." - (page 121)
says of him - "He is, I suppose, the most primitive Bishop of the Church of England at the present time. He is in labours abundant, in journeyings often... He is an excellent traveller, and can bear privations and endure exertions which would finish some of us who are below him in station." (1) That is a striking tribute from one who also deplores the narrow sectarian bias of the new bishop. Those were rude colonial days; in most of the settlements a struggle was necessary to ensure a bare living. Amidst such surroundings, no complacent episcopal aristocrat could have excited anything but contempt. This bishopric was no fit living for an eighteenth century absentee, or for an indifferent nominee of an influential political patron.

Contemporary with the ecclesiastical revival in England, there was a colonial reaction from the old ecclesiastical corruption and intolerance.

Selwyn entered immediately into the lives of his people. His bishopric had yet to be created, and in the creation of it he left a permanent mark upon colonial development. After all, the Anglican were the predominant denomination, and the bishop may be said to have spent a quarter of a century continually in the service of New Zealand. He occupied some months by making a thorough visitation of the country from the Bay of Islands to Foveaux Straits; he thus knew

(1) M.H. Rugby Pratt: "Pioneering Days in Southern Maoriland." - (page 158)
and was known by each settlement in his vast diocese. He was a strong man and did not fear opposition; his strength ensured the maintenance of a generally high standard in dealings with the native race. For the Maoris, he had a sincere regard. He was the head and fount of the religious influence on the development of the country. His aim was the good of all, and in his later days he sacrificed his popularity by the tenacity with which he held to his views on native policy. When he sought to work for peace in the Taranaki district in 1859, he was misunderstood by both Europeans and Maoris. The settlers received him coldly; the Maoris suspected a man whom they had seen ministering to the soldiery invading their land. Yet he adhered to his advocacy of fair treatment for the Maoris, despite the Wairau massacre in 1843, the disturbance led by Hone Heke in 1845, and the intermittent conflicts that persisted from 1859 till after his withdrawal to Lichfield in 1867.

But Bishop Selwyn is also important because it was he who organized the government of the Church of England in New Zealand. The other religious bodies were not so early in organizing their church government. The Methodists, for instance held their first conference as late as 1874 in Christchurch. However, now that the separate mission-stations and ministerial charges were organized into a constituent body, their voice was the most effective religious
force in the country. Thus Selwyn not only embodied, but organized and strengthened the Church of England in New Zealand. In addition, the constitution adopted on June 13th, 1857, and amended in 1865, made the "United Church of England and Ireland in New Zealand" a body able to exercise an influence distinct from that of the State. We should expect, therefore, the Church of England acting more independently and exercising a more wholesome influence on the people of the country than if it had been fettered to the colonial government.(1)

Finally, the views of Selwyn in connection with the foundation of the Canterbury settlement are noteworthy. He realised that the proposal, like many another in which the New Zealand Company had played a part, might fail in execution "for want of forethought and foreknowledge. The wreck of public and private property in this country," wrote Selwyn in 1848, "can be fully known only to those who have seen it."(2) The bishop feared that the same haste and

(1) The churches in New Zealand are all amenable to parliamentary control, and are equal in the eyes of the State. There is no "established" State Church.

(2) G.H. Curteis: "Bishop Selwyn."
recklessness on the part of the Company, might ruin the proposed Canterbury scheme. He reviewed the proposed sites, declaring the Wairarapa valley to be unsuitable for the purpose, and suggested other possible localities. Strange to say, he failed to realise the potentialities of the district ultimately chosen. The amazing thing, however, is that so little use was made by the Company of the man, who not only knew the country and understood the true principles of colonization, but whose influence in bringing the new settlement into being, would have been invaluable.

The attitude of Selwyn towards the Maoris and the native policy will be treated more fully in a later section of this chapter, dealing with the Maori wars. Enough has been said of him to estimate the character of his influence upon the early history of New Zealand. He devoted twenty-five years of his life to the organization of the Anglican Church in New Zealand; to the attempts to conciliate the diverse interests of Maori and settler; and to making religion a powerful determinant of individual conduct and of community policy in New Zealand.

... ...

(IV)

Of the several provinces founded (an ultimately constituted in 1853), two require a somewhat more detailed treatment from our point of view than do the others, for Otago
and Canterbury were prominent fields for religious agencies. Religious motives were important in the very foundation of these colonies; in the lives of their people; in social, educational and political development; and in the respective contributions they have made to the progress of New Zealand.

As in the other parts of New Zealand, various secular forces actually preceded religion as a factor in the history of Otago. Weller Brothers of Sydney set up a whaling station in Otago Harbour itself in 1832, and muskets, rum and gunpowder made a rapid entry. Indeed, Otago Harbour speedily became a cosmopolitan centre with British, American, Portuguese, Dutch and French vessels frequenting its shores. Into this complex society, religious influence first came in 1840, when Watkin was appointed to Waikouaiti. It was the Wesleyan influence then that was the first religious factor in the history of the Otago district, and though faced with terrible evils and open immorality at Waikouaiti, Watkin extended his travels from Moeraki to the Bluff. Perhaps the most noteworthy success in this district was the breaking down of the influence of "tapu" and of superstition upon the Maori life, especially with regard to the dead.

But this Wesleyan influence is unimportant in the history of colonisation in Otago and in the study of the contribution made by Otago to the development of New Zealand. Yet religion
was a potent factor in Otago from the very foundation of the settlement. Here, too, we find an instance of a re-action from an Old World ecclesiastical system — that of Scotland. Whilst economic troubles in Scotland gave the actual impetus to colonization, it was religious zeal and religious conflicts that determined the nature of the settlement, and profoundly affected its later development. The key to the situation lies in the fact that the class economically impelled towards emigration was the class most profoundly affected by the Disruption of 1843.

The pioneers of the movement for the New Edinburgh settlement, Rennie and Cargill, had intended it to be an exclusive Scottish Presbyterian venture. But in 1843, the organisers began to "gather fresh impulse and aid from that widespread movement, which having agitated Scotland for ten years past, was now drawing to its close."(I) The result of the dispute over pastoral appointments in the Scottish Church led to the disruption. This great religious movement had attracted the watchful eyes of Rennie and Cargill; as a result the Free Church and the Company came to terms over the proposed settlement, and an accession to the band of leaders was provided in the person of Rev. Thomas Burns. It was

(I) T.M. Hocken: "The Early History Of New Zealand", page 129
provided that future ministers in the new colony must profess the principles of the Free Church, and the aim seemed to be to create an exclusive Free Church settlement though one document refers more broadly to the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. At this early stage, there is more evidence of the influence of religious considerations in that £25,000 of the purchase money was to be set apart for ecclesiastical and educational purposes, for the use of those maintaining Presbyterian principles. This narrow attitude alienated Rennie from Burns, and though the position taken up by Burns rapidly became untenable when the colony was founded, this did not detract from the degree in which religion influenced education in Otago.

During the three or four years of negotiations and waiting, Burns occupied himself with travelling from congregation to congregation and interviewing likely emigrants. From the very beginning, the appeal for settlers was made on an ecclesiastical rather than on a lay basis. When the venture was actually launched, the Wakefield plan for adequate reserves for religious and educational purposes was carried into effect by the agency of the founders of the settlement, a feature that was conspicuously absent in some other districts.

It was inevitable that the attempt at an exclusively Presbyterian settlement should break down. Watkin's work
had been carried on by Creed, Kirk and Stannard, while the Anglican Church had also appeared in Otago, and a mixed European population was already living among the Maoris in this district. Cargill unfortunately saw fit to intimate to Creed that he might well confine his labours to Wātikouaiti. Some ill-feeling resulted, but the Free Church ministers were more conciliatory, and no permanent bitterness remained. The exclusive methods of selection provided an excellent body of early settlers with common ideals as well as common limitations and a common mental attitude. But Otago could not and did not remain exclusively Presbyterian as far as its population was concerned. That would scarcely have been possible after the gold rushes and the consequent impetus to development during the 'sixties.

Nevertheless, though there were already a few isolated Presbyterian ministers in other parts of New Zealand, Otago became the home of Presbyterianism in the colony. In this respect, the aim of the Free Church promoters has been best achieved, since Presbyterianism has been a very live force in New Zealand history, and is to-day the inspiration of many New Zealanders. Otago has extended its influence all over the country, for it is in Dunedin that the Presbyterian divinity students of the Dominion are trained. The loftiest ideals of the Presbyterians were early reflected in the
provision made for the establishment and support of various churches and of various educational institutions. Perhaps the most outstanding of their ideals concerned education. Primary and secondary education were sooner or later provided in all districts. This educational activity culminated in 1869 in the establishment of the University of Otago, the first university institution in New Zealand and the one that has always received a more willing and substantial support from the people of the district than other similar New Zealand institutions. Otago has produced preachers, scholars, thinkers and later,— statesmen, and these consistently bear testimony to the importance of the settlement and of religion in its foundation. Presbyterianism has indeed contributed splendidly to the religious advancement of New Zealand, and has amply vindicated its claim to be regarded as an important religious force in the country.

The foundation of the Canterbury settlement is in many ways similar to that of Otago. Both were intended to be primarily church colonies. The founders in each case hoped to exclude settlers and preachers of denominations other than the official one — a vain hope as it proved. Finally, the
religion motive was important in each case in the selection of settlers, and in the early religious experience of the colony. Both became religious and educational centres, and the religious influence, spreading from both, has profoundly increased the importance of religion in general New Zealand history.

It needs no very close scrutiny of the records of the early period of colonization in each instance to understand how much religion entered into the choice of these early pioneers and into their life in the new land. These two settlements, Otago and Canterbury, provided the most important inflow of population into the South Island. Being regulated most effectively, these two colonizing ventures determined more than any of the later spasmodic immigrations the character of the two provinces. Moulded by their early environment, the men of Canterbury and of Otago carried into the political life of the country a seriousness and an earnestness of purpose that we should scarcely expect from men who were for the most part inexperienced in administration. In the case of Otago the spirit of the pioneers can best be gauged by a consideration of the sermons, speeches and articles of the period. For instance, in his address to the immigrants by "Philip Laing," April 15th, 1843, Cargill made a comparison with the Pilgrim Fathers, holding up their example of godliness and fortitude, while noticing that in material things the Otago settlers had
an inestimable advantage. Likewise for Canterbury, the sermons preached before the departure of the ships and the aspirations of the founders of the settlement bear witness to a religious influence dominating the whole enterprise. Most important of all is the truth of the statement made by the "Greenock Advertiser" originally with regard only to the Otago settlers, that they "have each been selected with great caution after careful scrutiny, and production of the most satisfactory testimonials as to character and blameless life." (I).

It has been no small gain to New Zealand that the men who planned and carried out the Canterbury settlement were moved by profound religious and broad educational ideals. Canterbury has indeed supplied many leaders in the political, religious, and educational life in New Zealand, not least among them Tancred, the first chancellor of the University of New Zealand. The general tendency in such a venture as a religious settlement was towards careful choosing of emigrants. Consequently, the general tendency of pioneer colonists to come of the best stock in the home country was greatly strengthened in Canterbury as in Otago, by this process of severe selection. Thus, during the period when native troubles and economic stringency were affecting the North Island, the leaders of the more

Prosperous South were men and women eminently capable of laying a sound foundation for New Zealand national life. It is not unreasonable to ascribe this as an indirect consequence of the religious character of the most important settlement in the South Island. In one way, the stability of life thus secured persisted to a greater extent in Canterbury than in Otago. The special character of the Otago settlement was materially changed by the gold rushes. Excluding Westland, a separate geographical entity, Canterbury proper was not greatly disturbed by this secular influence, and economic factors generally operated as steadily as the religious one.

The agent of the Canterbury Association in New Zealand and the "founder of Canterbury" was John Robert Godley, who is claimed by the Anglican historian Jacobs as a "true son of the Church . . . . . and a man of high and unbending principle." (1) The settlers who were brought out in the "Charlotte Jane", her three companion ships and the succeeding vessels were, generally speaking, men of similar character. It is interesting to note just how large a place religion did occupy in the minds of the early "pilgrims". In spite of more adequate preparations than had been made for the earlier settlements, the business of getting a living was yet a pressing one. We find, however,

that the "pilgrims" paid attention not only to their more immediate spiritual needs, but to the contemporary question relating to Church government in New Zealand. Meetings of clergy and laity were held in Canterbury as in the older colonies; the Canterbury Church Committee was appointed and definite opinions were expressed by the members, and reported by Godley to Selwyn. This early and important participation in religious constitutional affairs bears testimony to the deeply religious character of the settlement.

As in Otago, so in Canterbury, it was found impossible to maintain the exclusive nature of the colony. Persons belonging to various denominations came out in the first four ships, the "Charlotte Jane," the "Randolf," the "Sir George Seymour" and the "Cressy." Among these were some Methodists, who speedily became active, and after a time Canterbury was included in the Wellington pastoral circuit, and a minister, the Rev. W. Kirk, was allotted to the settlement. The incursion of other denominations did not diminish the potency of religion in the history of Canterbury, and further, it did not detract from the general Anglican character of Christchurch and the other centres of the Plains. Christchurch has also long contained the headquarters of the Methodist Church of New Zealand, another indication of the importance of Canterbury as a source of religious influence in the country. The character of the early settlement is
further revealed by the grants for religious purposes made by the Provincial Council. The Anglican Church with its endowments and trust lands was not the sole beneficiary; in 1857, a grant of some three acres was made to the Methodist Church for a ministerial residence and similar grants were made to other denominations.

A further comparison with Otago may be seen in the educational expression of the religious sentiments of early Canterbury. Although the first denominational schools were of course those of the missionaries and were not restricted to any one denomination, secondary education in New Zealand received a great impetus as a result of the foresight of the founders of Canterbury. "An important ............. feature in the design of the (Canterbury) Association was to set apart a proportion of one third - £1 out of every £3, the price per acre of land sold by them 'for the establishment and endowment of ecclesiastical and educational institutions' in connection with the Church of England."(1) When the Association was about to dissolve, the lands in trust for these ecclesiastical and educational purposes were transferred to the control of the Church Property Trustees, by a deed dated March 14th, 1856. The indispensable condition made was that the trustees should found and endow a college, which had been

(1) H. Jacobs: "Colonial Church History, New Zealand,"
contemplated by the Association from the beginning. One fifth of the urban and rural land vested in the trust was set aside for an endowment for Christ's College, Canterbury. This famous boys' school bore evidence of an ecclesiastical foundation from the beginning, its aim being to propagate the "most holy Christian religion, as it is now professed and taught by the United Church of England and Ireland, and for the promotion of sound piety and useful learning, more especially within the said province of Canterbury." The propagation of Christianity was carried out by means of College House, the collegiate department, with the training of students for Holy Orders. Thus Christchurch, like Dunedin, became a denominational centre for the training of divinity students. The grammar school proper has brought great honour to itself and to New Zealand.

Christchurch, placing its cathedral in the centre of the city, was typical of early Canterbury, with religion as the mainspring of social life. The influence of religion upon the development of Canterbury is inestimable; the influence of Canterbury on New Zealand is indisputable. More directly, religious influence from Canterbury has affected the religious life of the people in every phase. The work of Bishop Harper is a sufficient example. Finally, the driving force of the dominant religious organisations is exercised in large measure from Canterbury. It has been the true home of the English Church in New Zealand; its chief city has become the
During this period of individual provincial development, the political development of the colony had proceeded rapidly, and the struggle for responsible government had been won. By far the most pressing question of the years following 1856 was that of native policy. During these years, the old opposing forces were at work as far as native policy was concerned. The missionaries had been largely instrumental in securing the Treaty of Waitangi, the safeguard of Maori rights and property. The settlers had regarded the huge tracts of Maori land with envious eyes, and the Maoris were beginning to become more and more reluctant to sell. The blunders of the New Zealand Company had not improved the position. The Wairau "massacre" was the beginning of a long series of misunderstandings. That occurred in 1843; Heke's rebellion at Kororareka followed in 1845. The association of the missionary with his countryman, the settler, aroused suspicion in the mind of the Maori. On the other hand, the insistence upon fairness in land dealing with the natives which characterised men like Bishop Selwyn created much resentment against the settlers. The influence of religion upon the development of the North Island, was never so sorely tried as during the seventh decade of the nineteenth century. It
seemed as if the whole of the evangelical, industrial, social and educational work of the missionaries and the churches among the Maori people were doomed to destruction. At the same time, it seemed as though the hard-pressed settlers were beginning to regard religious bodies as traitors to the European element. Actually, the Maori wars, unfortunate though they were, resulted ultimately in a better interracial understanding, giving scope for new lines of development in which the religious bodies played no small part.

The causes of the Maori wars extend back into the early colonization period. The land-hunger of the settler; his impatience with a government that often refused to allow him to take up land which he had bought in good faith; the tantalizing spectacle of huge tracts of land occupied by a few natives, were fundamental factors at work in Taranaki in 1859. On the other hand, the Maori was dismayed at the results of the uncontrolled conflict between the two cultures and was disgusted at the attitude that the government adopted towards his rights. Governor Gore-Browne lacked tact; the Maoris refused to sell more land; Wiremu Kingi formed his League.

In Taranaki, Bishop Selwyn and his fellow-missionaries strove desperately to preserve peace. Their efforts were misunderstood by both sides. Selwyn's popularity suffered considerably, because he strove to uphold the rights of the
natives, as guaranteed to them by the Treaty of Waitangi. The distinction between tribal and personal ownership was not yet grasped by the average British settler. The natives slowly awakened to the gradual reduction of their lands, and the missionaries were accused by the settlers of thus awakening them to the situation. The missionaries were made scapegoats, and from the settlers' points of view were held responsible for many of the mischiefs of the war, while the Maoris regarded Selwyn's ministry to the soldiers as evidence of betrayal of their interests. No wonder Selwyn nearly lost heart. But the result was serious enough. During the ten years of war, the influence of religion upon the Maori was very seriously diminished, while on the other hand, the settlers developed a certain contemptuous hostility to the clergy. Simultaneously, gold discoveries in the south were introducing a new and powerful secular influence into the country.

This crisis reached its climax with the development of Pai Marire, commonly known as Hauhauism. We have already noted that this new movement affords evidence of the deep influence of Christianity upon the Maori mind. The new cult embodied features of Judaism and spiritualism, and was celebrated with rites that were at once sensual and blood-thirsty. Besides being the most serious menace the Government had to face, this new movement specially directed
its animus against Christian ministers. Two inoffensive missionaries were murdered at the hands of the "Hauhaus" - in 1865, Volkner of the Church Missionary Society at Opotoki; - 1869, the Wesleyan, Whitley, a man who had gained the confidence of the natives by his unselfish consideration of their needs, in the Taranaki district.

The four main phases of the wars - the Taranaki phase; the Waikato phase; the "Hauhau" campaigns; and the war with Te Kooti - occupied altogether the main attention of the country till 1870 and by that time the ravages of war had broken up the ecclesiastical organization among the Maori people. The work of the missionaries had suffered a very severe blow. Especially in their cultural training, they had lost the original touch with the Maori people. By the time that the atmosphere of suspicion had been overcome, other influences tended to enter as well as the religious one. Christianity has never since regained its former hold over the Maori people, although various denominations, notably Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian and Roman Catholic, carry on mission work in the native districts, and although religion has been influential in regard to educational and social work in the same sphere. The missionaries had not shirked their responsibilities during the wars. The work of Selwyn and of the Taranaki Methodist, Robert Ward is typical. Missionary influence at last bore fruit in the form of a new native policy.
Apart from the Maori missions, however, the effect of the Maori Wars was to renew activities along political and educational, rather than on purely religious lines. And yet the ultimate influence of religion upon the development of the country was not seriously weakened by the Maori Wars. Rather it was deflected into these new channels to operate in a more indirect manner. By 1870, the main religious bodies were established in the country and were extending their operations. Each of these denominations had its contribution to make along some line of colonial development. It is the aim of the next chapter to discover and explain these particular contributions in the light of various movements which characterised the history of the country during the next thirty years.
CHAPTER V.

THE PERIOD OF POLITICAL, SOCIAL, EDUCATIONAL AND GENERAL DEVELOPMENT.

1870 - 1905.

(I)

If any period in the history of the influence of religion in New Zealand could be justly described as static, it is surely that period just following the end of the Maori Wars. In 1870, the influence of religion along the two general lines that we have indicated had been seriously affected by recent events. We have seen that the Maori Wars left the religious forces in the country less wholeheartedly supported than formerly. These forces were too weak to mould the forms of national life in the face of contemporary economic development. The gold rushes in the South Island introduced a new element, whose general interests were far from religious in character. The whole country was about to enter into the development schemes of Vogel. The economic factor seriously restricted the influence of religious ideals. The churches
were able only to minister to their individual members, so that, though their influence may have been substantial, it was not a growing force. Religious influence on government policy actually declined. New men had come to the front, who did not recognise the indebtedness of the colony to the missionaries.

Not only did the influence on the Europeans change in character, but less scope than formerly was afforded for the play of the religious element in the solution of the native question. As in other matters of government policy, native affairs passed almost beyond ecclesiastical influence. Among the Maoris themselves, disruptive forces had done their work. The excesses of Hauhauism had been deplored by many loyal chiefs, but that religious monstrosity had undone the work of the missionaries extending over several decades. Especially did the Anglican diocese of Taipu suffer, Bishop William Williams having been driven out of the district in 1865. Runga-tu, another form of Maori religious expression, which also began about this time, has left its impress on the Maori mind. Indeed, the Maori remained a religious being, and in his fantastic, often repulsive way, he believed in a world of spirit. But the hope that the churches might organize the social life of the whole race was doomed. The missionaries now remaining in the country were elderly and broker
hearted by the disasters, and they lacked the vitality to begin afresh. Efforts to enter the King Country were frustrated. The dynamic personality of Selwyn had been removed, and his bright hopes had not been realized.

Even in the settlements untroubled by the Maori wars, secular forces were restricting the power of religion. Clergy and laity were in conflict in Nelson; the building of the Christchurch Cathedral ceased for years for lack of funds; no students were available for the St. John's Anglican College at Auckland; Dunedin was torn with a controversy among the Anglicans themselves concerning the new bishopric; the ecclesiastical organization of the country lost its central unity and its power to affect the course of national legislation.

Nevertheless, despite its unpropitious opening, this last period of the nineteenth century saw the religious denominations being organized in the form in which they have since most profoundly affected the people of New Zealand. The earlier Anglican hierarchy of seven bishoprics was completed in 1871, by the addition of the see of Dunedin. The first Wesleyan Methodist Conference was held in Christchurch in 1874. Presbyterianism had spread and had become a powerful educational force in the country. The two Presbyterian bodies in the colony co-operated in founding their Theological Hall in Dunedin, a training-ground for many eminent Presbyterian men during the succeeding years. Further, the Otago University, on
which Presbyterianism had exerted a strong influence, came to set a standard of university education for the whole colony.\(^{(1)}\)

An impetus to the extension of Roman Catholic influence in the country was given by the gold rushes. The Roman Catholic population on the gold fields has been estimated at from 15,000 to 20,000. Thus it was possible to found a Dunedin bishopric in 1869, and three out of the four existing sees were established within a few years. Interesting information on the geographical extent and the importance of Roman Catholicism in New Zealand is furnished by a letter dated July 14th, 1864, and written by a priest Poupinel to a Marist friend\(^{(2)}\). He describes more particularly the extensive Wellington diocese, which then included the whole of the South Island. In that district, there were nine principal stations including Wellington, Wanganui, Wanganui River (an important Roman Catholic field to this day) Napier, New Plymouth, Nelson, Christchurch and Dunedin.

\(^{(1)}\) The Presbyterian Church endows three chairs at the University of Otago - English, Philosophy and History, - and has a voice in appointments to these chairs.

\(^{(2)}\) This letter is published in full as an appendix to "The Church in New Zealand" by J.J. Wilson. The relevant portions are quoted in Appendix III of this thesis.
It is interesting to note that the main Catholic nationality in New Zealand was the Irish. Mere chance originally sent many Irish to the Auckland provinces, where their importance is shown by the proportion of Irish members in the earliest provincial council - twelve out of twenty-six. As far as New Zealand as a whole is concerned, the notable Catholic figures during the period up to 1870 included Sir Charles Clifford, the speaker of the first Parliament, Sir Frederick Weld of the "self-reliant policy," and the colonist Hon. Henry Petre. Already the notable social work of the Roman Catholic Church in the country had begun. The Sisters of Mercy had been ministering to the Auckland orphans since 1850. Such work was later extended to Canterbury and elsewhere. During the nineteenth century, we have also the beginnings of the social work among the Wanganui River Maoris, especially those of Herouharama, - which still continues. There stands the Aubert orphanage, a memorial to the work of its founder.

So by 1870, the religious life of New Zealand was fairly definitely organized in the conventional denominational field. The period following 1870 was one of political,
educational, social and economic development, and during that time denominational and inter-denominational influence on the development of the various phases of life in the country increased along certain special lines. The problems resulting from the period of direct colonization were solved, as completely as they could be, about 1870. In the matter of native policy, humanitarianism was now supported by the wisdom learned through bitter experience. The new native policy pursued could not, indeed, restore the Maori to his former level of civilization, but it made possible a gradual healing of the old sores. Apart from the antics of Te Whiti in 1881, little further native trouble was experienced, and gradually economic progress was made, even in the King Country, as the barriers of suspicion were slowly demolished. Forty years later, a railway had penetrated this area, while even the wild Urewera country was being opened more and more to the white man. The fundamental native problem - the apparent inability on the part of the native to adapt himself to the European social and economic system, either industrial or agricultural - has not yet been overcome. The results of the 1934 enquiry at least demonstrate the persistence of a native problem. (1) Nevertheless, the more conciliatory policy adopted after 1870, especially in the work of Sir Donald McLean, enabled the Maori and the settler to live in amity, and to

(1) The 1934 report on Native Affairs is treated in Chapter VI.
submit their common problems to the control of a legislature, representative of both races. This policy was not avowedly religious in character, but its nature was the direct result of the success of the humanitarian missionary policy of earlier days.

After 1870, native policy occupied the time of parliament to a much less degree than previously. Henceforth, economic considerations occupied the forefront of the political stage. The country was ripe for the development of Vogel's schemes. The discovery of gold occurred earlier in the South than in the North Island, and public works were further advanced there. Vogel extended the policy of public works development to the whole colony. He inaugurated a new immigration policy. Incidentally, finding that the provincial system was no longer a national asset, he had it abolished. The period of the Continuous Ministry had begun. Great figures appeared and the political development of the country proceeded rapidly. But when we examine the lives of these great men, what general religious trend is discernible? Few of them were outstanding denominational figures. The interlude of the Wesleyan prime minister, Waterhouse, a powerless legislative councillor, in 1873, is of no importance. The legislation of the period cannot be said to have been dominated by any great religious influence. A state system of education was set up in 1877; it was secular from the outset; in it we may see a reaction
from the ecclesiastical education system formerly in operation in the Home Country, although subsequent agitation for the "Bible in Schools" would seem to indicate that the secular system does not satisfy the wishes of the religious bodies in the country.

The Continuous (Conservative) ministry persisted, with two interludes till 1890. The leading figures were Vogel, Hall and Atkinson. The interludes were those of Grey, (purely the result of a political movement), and of Stout and Vogel (now opposed to Atkinson). Both of these ministries attempted minor reforms, mainly with regard to land. Hall was also a social reformer. But can it be said that any great religious movement dominated or even influenced these political events? The interdenominational struggle for the prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquors began. This will be examined in another section, but the movement was partly distinct from politics and partly independent of religious influence. For instance, Stout, an agnostic, was a prohibitionist leader. In the case of the Liberal regime, the most active years of which come within the scope of this chapter, we find social reforms and political events in plenty, but at first sight there is no apparent evidence of the action of a religious factor. Nevertheless, closer examination reveals that these reforms were part of a
world-wide movement based on humanitarianism, in this case essentially a religious movement.

Various explanations could be offered for the sequence of events along the lines of political development had been followed by a period of depression in which social evils had become apparent. The Liberal period was a reaction from this phase. Returning prosperity, resulting from higher prices for products and the invention of the freezing process made reform possible, just when the people sickened of retrenchment, "sweating" and unjust labour conditions. Then, too, other economic considerations had democratized politics in New Zealand. The urban population had increased; small agriculturists were becoming more important than large pastoralists; the miners had entered the country. From a political and social point of view, the liberal "swing" is not hard to explain.

But these factors merely facilitated the action of a deeper and more fundamental one. While the leaders were not necessarily men of deep religious piety, their work was part of a movement which had founded the missionary societies and had swept away slavery. Indeed, the achievement at this later stage, though not as revolutionary in character as, say, the abolition of slavery, was as characteristically humanitarian, and was the result of the same religious forces. The effects, however, were less direct, since such legislation depended so much on the prevailing economic conditions. There were no slaves to emancipat
Instead, women were made politically equal with men, and labour was placed on the same legal footing as capital. The movement for women's votes had indeed something like a religious origin, since the Quaker pioneer of Nelson, Alfred Saunders, was one of its earliest exponents. Though less obvious, the religious movement of humanitarianism was at work in the case of the legislation to improve industrial conditions, to found the Arbitration Court, to set up the pension system. Individual members of the various denominations supported these measures, but little action was taken by any of the denominational bodies with regard to the Liberal policy generally. (We do read, however, of sympathy on the part of Archbishop Julius for Ballance and Seddon and their work.) (1). Yet the work of social organisation begun in the earlier days by the churches, was now brought to fruition by the legislative policy of the Liberals. The Anglican historian, Purchas has said: "Humanitarian legislation owes more to Christian teaching than its authors generally admit, and it is by the humanitarian legislation of the last twenty years (1890 onwards) that New Zealand has chiefly influenced the world. Selwyn's successor in the work of nation-building and social organization was — with whatever difference and at whatever interval — Richard John Seddon." (2).

(1) H.T. Purchas: "History of the English Church in New Zealand (1914). Pages 224 - 225.
(2) H.T. Purchas: "History of the English Church in New Zealand (1914). Pages 202."
In connection with social reform generally, we have already noticed the view of Shailer Matthews, who attributed all modern humanitarian movements among European peoples to the influence of Christianity. The validity of such a broad generalization is not our concern, but it is inevitable that advancement in culture among Christian peoples must be Christian in character. Further than that, however, it is noteworthy that many of the movements for social reform in New Zealand were either inaugurated or at least supported in their early stages by Christian men and women. We have already noticed that Alfred Saunders was a pioneer of the movement for the emancipation of women. The same is true with regard to the movement for temperance and "prohibition". Saunders was one early supporter; a staunch Anglican churchman, and not the least among New Zealand's statesmen, was perhaps the most notable.

That aspect of the social reform movement, which was concerned with the reform or prohibition of the sale of alcoholic liquors attained such political importance in the colony, that, from our point of view, it requires separate treatment. Little mention has been made of the liquor question in New Zealand, and it will be as well to devote a few lines to its
history up to 1886. We did see that the influence of rum was one which the early missionary had to combat. Liquor had a most degrading effect on the Maori race, a fact which was duly recognised in the 'eighties when the King Country began to be opened up. The attitude of the missionaries towards a social evil like that is not difficult to imagine. Alfred Cox, in his "Recollections", apologises for having said that Selwyn was a total abstainer. But he adds that he was "temperate in all things." (1). Cocker and Murray agree on that point, calling Selwyn an "ardent temperance advocate." (2). Generally speaking therefore, the missionaries, whatever their private attitudes to liquor, recognised the evil and were prepared to take steps to remedy it.

At the period when missionary influence on the policy of the colonial governors was greatest, more than one ordinance was passed against the liquor trade. Nevertheless the ordinance of 1841 merely regulated distillation, and the governor and his advisers obviously had an eye on possible revenue. In 1842, a Licensing Ordinance was promulgated. This was Hobson's contribution to the solution of the problem. Grey's was more

(1). Alfred Cox: "Recollections" (1884). Page 244.

humanitarian. In 1847, it was enacted that no liquor should be supplied to any person of the native race. Various regulating ordinances were enacted at various times by the provincial councils up to 1875, while the General Assembly passed Fox's Licensing Act of 1873. This measure was practically abortive, and not until 1881 was any effective step taken towards state control of the licensing of public houses. In certain defined licensing districts, the magistrate and five residents, duly elected, were to act as a licensing committee to control licenses. The Act also set down regular hours to be kept by public houses. A most flexible arrangement was thus arrived at, and from a legal point of view it became possible to refuse licenses in any one district. When this was done in Roslyn, a suburb of Dunedin in 1881, the decision in the case of Heffermann v. Begg and Others was held by some to set a precedent in favour of total abolition in any district where the temperance party controlled the Committee.

Meanwhile, however, "temperance" activity, other than by legislation had begun in the colony. Indeed, had not public opinion supported such action, the legislation referred to would scarcely have been passed. As early as 1842, the Wesleyan missionaries in North Auckland formed a temperance society at Mangungu. In Auckland province, there was also the influence of the Nonconformist settlement of Albertland.
In Auckland itself, there was a crowded temperance meeting as early as 1842. In the same year, a temperance agitation on a small scale began in Wellington, and John Harding and William Fox speedily came to the forefront. Nelson was noted for the leadership of Alfred Saunders, who, as superintendent of the province, and as representative in the General Assembly, constantly urged on the temperance agitation. In Christchurch and Dunedin also, there were early movements towards temperance, as well as an attempt to hold up the ideal of abstinence before the children of the settlements.

It is obvious then that the "prohibition" movement, which sprang into prominence during the 'eighties of the last century did not rise from nothingness. Forty years of preparation had gone before. Soon, about 1870, evidence of a wider agitation against this social evil became prominent. In 1874, the first Methodist Conference made recommendations with regard to propaganda work, which included membership regulations for temperance societies. Evidence of the extent to which the total abstinence idea had been adopted is seen in the resolution to admit non-abstaining, but temperate members. In a similar manner, the Presbyterian Assembly in Dunedin in 1877 agreed to support legislation along temperance lines. In the Church of England, influential support for the new movement was not lacking, the Rev. T. J. Wills being especially notable in
opposing others of the Anglican fraternity in a temperance pamphlet. The Salvation Army included temperance work in its plan of campaign from the very inception in 1882.

The seemingly wide powers of the Act of 1881, as well as its electoral provisions were such as to occasion a struggle between the forces of liquor and anti-liquor, that has continued with more or less rigour ever since. In 1884, advantage was taken of another provision of the Act to declare the Wahe Potae, better known as the King Country, to be an area in which no liquor license might be granted. (1) This step was taken as a result of the formal application of the chiefs owning the land, through which it was understood a North Island Main Trunk Railway was to be constructed. This measure, the letter of which has been faithfully kept by succeeding governments, has however, been partially ineffective, because the railway itself has inadvertently facilitated sly-grog selling.

So far, considerable success had been achieved, and it is not remarkable that, in 1886, the New Zealand Alliance for the Abolition of the Liquor Traffic was formed. "It was called for by the growth of sentiment and conviction concerning the need of a more drastic method in dealing with the liquor evil than any hitherto in operation." (2).


(2) Cocker and Murray: "Temperance and Prohibition in New Zealand," Page 53.
Whereas the appeal of the earlier temperance societies had been made to the individual conscience to resist the temptation to over-indulgence, the aim of the alliance was now the removal of the temptation by the direct vote of the people. The first president of the Alliance was Sir William Fox, a former premier. The importance of the movement can be gauged when it is known that both Sir Robert Stout the premier, and Sir Harry Atkinson, an opposition leader, were vice-presidents.

(IV)

Organisation was now complete, and the Alliance immediately entered into colonial politics, as well as into the licensing administration. Already we have noticed the refusal of the Roslyn committee to re-license four public houses in the suburb. That was in 1881. Soon after the founding of the Alliance, two future leaders of the movement, both religious workers, (one a minister), and later, both parliamentarians, came into prominence. This was in connection with the so-called Sydenham campaign in Christchurch. The men were the Rev. (now the Hon.) L. M. Isitt and Thomas E. Taylor, both Methodists. If ever persecution was attached to an unpopular movement, it was to this, and it says a great deal for these men and their supporters that they finally won over public
opinion in 1890, closing four hotels in the district, but being prevented in the case of the other three by a judgement which was only finally reviewed and confirmed by the Privy Council.

The liquor question was now beginning to influence politics, and this new development also reflects a religious influence. At this time, the campaign for the women's franchise was reaching a culminating point. In that same campaign the cause of the women had been greatly aided by the body known as the Women's Christian Temperance Union. This movement originated in the United States of America, and in 1885, Mary Clement Leavitt visited New Zealand and organised unions throughout the land, from Auckland to Invercargill. The colonial organisation of the movement was completed in 1886, and the body speedily became politically active. In 1887, the annual convention passed a resolution asking the minister of education to prescribe compulsory scientific temperance education in the schools of New Zealand. Further, Mrs. K. W. Sheppard was made the Franchise Superintendent of the Union. Possessed of a boundless energy, as well as tactful organising ability, this woman was the chief means by which signatures were gained for the huge petition presented to the House of Representatives in 1893 by Sir John Hall. After stormy debates, and petitions by parties interested in the liquor trade, praying the Governor to withhold his consent, a government Electoral Bill introduced by Seddon ultimately
became law, a lasting memorial to the influence of a religious force upon the social and political life of the country at that time.

In the same year, in response to various private bills introduced from time to time by Sir Robert Stout, Seddon introduced the Alcoholic Liquors Sale Control Bill, which repealed the provisions of 1881 and constituted licensing committees in each electorate—these to consist of the resident magistrate and eight members elected on a parliamentary franchise. The electors were to determine whether the number of licenses were to remain as then allowed, or to be increased, or whether any licenses should be granted. For a valid poll, half the roll number must vote (a provision, providing an obvious loop-hole for the licensing party) and of those voting, a three-fifths majority was necessary to carry "no-license", but if "no-license" were not carried the votes cast for that issue were to be added to the votes for "reduction". As a result of the electoral Act, women voted on this issue in 1894, when "no-license" was carried in Clutha (Otago). In that district, the campaign for temperance had been begun about 1870 by the Rev. F. W. Isitt, at a time when the district was notorious for drinking and drunkeness. The total voting at this first local option poll does not indicate the relative position to any great extent, owing to the tactics of the
liquor party in neglecting to vote, thus obtaining invalid polls in many instances. The votes cast were: Continuance, 41,165; Reduction, 15,856; No-License, 45,856. (I).

In 1895, an amending act provided for the holding of the poll on the day of a parliamentary election, except that no poll was to be held if Parliament were dissolved within two years. The term "no-license" was henceforth to apply to liquor licenses of all descriptions. If no electoral poll were required in any district, and less than one-half of the electors voted at the licensing poll, the poll was to be void. The prohibitionists regarded the results of the poll of 1896 as disappointing. No new district was captured, and the continuance vote exceeded the no-license vote by 41,268. Reformers are not, however, usually daunted by slight reverses. In 1899, it was enacted that scrutineers would be allowed at licensing polls. In that year, though the colonial percentage of votes for no-license was only 42.23, yet proportionally the no-license party had made a considerable gain. Another legislative provision was enacted in 1902, by which electoral disputes were to be settled by a recount of the votes. The colonial percentage for prohibition was that time 48.38, while (I). A table comparing the votes cast at the polls from 1894 to 1928 is presented in Appendix IV.
the proportionate gain on the 1899 poll was over-whelmingly in favour of no-license. Two further electorates, Ashburton and Mataura, were won by the no-license party. Legislative provision was made in 1904 for the prohibition of the manufacture or sale of liquor in the Cook or other islands, while the grant of new licenses and the transfer of old ones was still further regulated. Finally, these provisions were all consolidated in the Licensing Act of 1908. At the poll of 1905, the votes for no-license were more than those cast for any other issue, but the proportionate gain was by no means so great. New Lynn (Auckland), Oamaru and Invercargill were gained.

This point marks the beginning of the most intense period of the struggle. Henceforth, the supporters of continuance began to organise for the struggle to a greater degree than previously. Already, however, the Alliance and its supporting Christian bodies had adopted a propaganda system. The "Prohibitionist" in its early days was directed by the trenchant pen of Rev. F. W. Isitt. This man and his brother were admirable and witty platform speakers, and to them the prohibition cause owed not a little of its popular support. In parliament too, the temperance party was strong enough to obtain favourable amendments, particularly in the case of the Licensing Bill of 1904. T. E. Taylor had first entered the
In 1893, L. M. Isitt had been released by the Methodist Conference for the furtherance of the temperance movement. (1). After 1905, the stage was set for a long struggle, the issue of which is not yet certain. It is convenient at this point to postpone the consideration of the climax of the liquor struggle until we come to consider the period after 1905, but it is well now to realise that had there been no Christian support, for such a movement, there could certainly have been no effective prohibition agitation. The main support of the Alliance came from the denominational leaders and from the Women's Christian Temperance Union and Mrs. Harrison Lee. On this point, it is interesting to read what Alfred Cox said, as early as 1884, in his "Recollections", when speaking of Sir William Fox. Declaring himself to be not a total abstainer, Cox says: "But I know not why I should show any reserve in speaking or writing in admiration of Sir William Fox, and of the earnestness that possesses him in battling one of the great evils of the age." (2). The criticism by Cox of the movement for prohibition is one that has come to light in recent years, and it is well that it should

(1). Minutes, New Zealand Methodist Conference, 1893, page III.
(2). Alfred Cox: "Recollections" (1884), page 242.
receive some attention here.

He says: "By the Author of our religion we have been taught to live a life of moderation and purity, and have been blessed by the endowment of a spirit calculated to control us in our wildest moods of wickedness. The professors of this new religion" (that is, of prohibition) "say truly that it is well for man's bodily and mental health to abstain from things hurtful; but it makes no pretence of being able to infuse into him a principle of restraint. It casts out, it may be, an evil spirit, but it does not arm the man lately possessed by it with a power of resistance in the hour of temptation and the day of trial. But Christianity not only professes to do this, but does it. A man must walk through the world with closed eyes, who fails to see that there is such an influence moving and controlling many men in it. This religion, above all other religions, was intended to reform and purify the world; is calculated to do that work well and thoroughly, and can point to results; has done more for humanity in enlightening men's minds and purifying their lives, than all the philosophies and free thought associations combined are likely to produce..... why should Christian men be unwilling to confess that the most effective means of reforming a man—the highest form of humanity—is Christianity; that it has power to strengthen a man's will, and to purify his life, as well as to save him;
that on its introduction into the world, it aimed at a height of purity and holiness that men had outgrown all experience or knowledge of? Thus feeling, I have never seen my way to joining 'total abstinence societies'." (I).

That view, essentially a Christian one, was and is the reason that many Christians stand apart from the prohibition movement. To be fair to Cox, we should state that he justly represents the views of the temperance party, that all attempts at humanising men are the outcome, or the fruit, of practical Christianity. Thus Cox agrees that the temperance movement was both inaugurated and supported by powerful Christian influences, though he also showed us a man, who, equally Christian in character, cannot accept the view that compulsory abstinence is a virtuous method of solving the problem. That view is still held to-day and will be mentioned again, when we notice the present relations between religion and the prohibition movement.

The tale of the influence of religion on general social progress would be incomplete without a reference to education.

(I). Alfred Cox: "Recollections" (1884), pages 242 to 243.
There has been a tendency at all times and in all places for education to be associated with religion. Probably it has been the custom for most races to employ their priesthood to conserve, extend and pass on the knowledge then and there extant. They were probably the only persons whose leisure the community could afford for this purpose, and all branches of knowledge, science as well as theology, were committed to their care. They naturally became the recognised educators. Christianity was no exception to this general rule, as the influence of religion upon mediaeval education testifies. In most European countries, the ecclesiastical system of education persisted at least, till the fall of the Jesuit Order. In England, religious influence on what education there was was still strong, even in the universities in the nineteenth century.

During the eighteenth century, this religious influence like many others, suffered from the prevailing ecclesiastical corruption; during the nineteenth century it was curtailed as a result of the religious and political reactions from the ecclesiastical and aristocratic system of the preceding century. As we have seen, New Zealand shared very early in that reaction, and it is to this that we must look at least in part for an explanation of the educational policy inaugurated during the 'seventies, and pursued ever since.

Education did not suffer materially from the early colonial privations; the religious colonies particularly, and the
others to a lesser degree, set up schools. The Presbyterian settlers in Otago and the Anglicans of Canterbury set up the first university institutions in the country. No general educational policy was followed however, until about the time that the general government took over the full control of colonial politics. At the same time, the education of the Maori race had been seriously interrupted by the wars, so that in 1874 the Governor, Sir James Fergusson, appealed for some means for educating the children of chiefs with a view to staying the decline in Maori morality. Rusden comments on Fergusson's appeal, saying, "The very hope thus expressed breathes sweetly among the dusty records of New Zealand story." (1).

The movement for European education was on a national basis and essentially secular, or at most gave religion a very small place in the proposed system. In 1870, J. C. Richmond had a series of resolutions carried, declaring the propriety of legislation to provide for a national education system. He contemplated secular state instruction, with facilities for religious instruction out of school hours, the latter system to be supported by parents or friends. In addition, assistance was to be given to denominational schools. An interesting reflection was made by Richmond during his speech on this matter, when he said: "I know that there is a feeling in the

minds of a good many against the denominational system altogether." (1). It is in this reaction from the old denominational system of education, with which they were only too familiar, that the colonial legislators set up a purely secular education system by the act of 1877.

A further unimportant attempt to set up an education system of a national character was made by Vogel in his permissive bill of 1873. It was, however, not until 1877 that an educational bill of historical importance was again introduced, when the problem of the relation between religion and education was considered carefully. Bowen, the mover of the bill, quoted a startling passage from Professor Huxley, praising the study of the Bible as a humanising and educative pursuit for children. Bowen himself declared that he would prefer the Bible to a "namby-pamby textbook of moral maxims." (2). His provisions for giving religion an honourable place in the schools, without compelling conscientious absentees to attend, were struck out of the bill by the House, and re-inserted, only to be subsequently abandoned, in the Council.

This refusal to allow religious teaching in the school course has ever since been the subject of intense criticism from

the religious bodies in the country, who realise that through
the schools, a considerable appeal could be made on behalf of
the Christian religion. The later stages of this dispute will
be considered in our next chapter, but we should notice here
the steps taken up to 1905 to amend the act of 1877.

Rusden, writing in 1895, deplores the secular fervour
which deprived parents of their right to demand that their
children should have liberty to receive religious instruction
at the public schools (so long as any parents might, if they
so desired, keep their children aloof). He refers to the Bible
as being in exile. (I). There is little doubt that, by that
time, a considerable body of public opinion supported such a
view. In the parliament itself, there was some feeling in
favour of religious instruction. Sir John Hall, who had
protested against the secular nature of the bill of 1877 as
being objectionable to the majority of New Zealanders, re-
stated his views in 1891, again declaring that the majority of
New Zealand parents favoured religious and Christian and moral
instruction in the schools.

An attempt to legislate with a view to altering the system
was made in 1892 by W.D. Stewart, who agreed with Hall's main
contention. Stewart pointed out the degree of liberty allowed

(I). G.W. Rusden: "History of New Zealand" (1895), Volume III,
page 370.
under Forster's education Act in the Mother country since 1870, as well as some permissive legislation in the United States. He failed, however, by a narrow majority in the Council and his bill was rejected despite his expressions of fear with regard to the possible degradation of society. So the national education system was to remain secular. Except for the private schools, at which Rusden declares some 11,000 pupils to have been attending in 1880, (I) and at most of which some religious instruction was given, the children of New Zealand were to receive no religious instruction whatsoever in connection with their actual school course. It cannot be said therefore, that religion influenced education in New Zealand before (or after) 1905 to the same extent that it did in many other lands.

While there was obviously a diminution of religious influence over the young, it would seem however, as though New Zealand's secular education system were at least partly the result of the colonial reaction from the ecclesiastical conditions which had profoundly influenced education (especially higher education) in the homeland up till 1870.

CHAPTER VI.

THE INFLUENCE OF RELIGION UNDER LATER CONDITIONS. 1905 - 1935.

It is generally admitted that the twentieth century conditions of life are vastly different from those popularly believed to have existed during the later nineteenth century. It is difficult, however, to settle a date at which these new conditions superseded the old ones. In New Zealand, the psychological shock received when Queen Victoria died was naturally felt less sharply than in Great Britain. Nevertheless, 1901 did mark a break with tradition, and served to strengthen tendencies which were already in existence. The break in New Zealand was rather a political one. Seddon died in 1906; Liberalism reached its peak at the elections of 1905; the liquor struggle was entering on its most intense stage. In the economic sphere, prices continued to rise for some time, and the people were prosperous. Prosperity meant a more complicated system of life. The pioneering days were over, and luxury was now possible to a greater extent than formerly. It was impossible that these new conditions should not alter the outlook of the religious forces in the community.

Soon after the beginning of the twentieth century, just when the people began to feel more disposed to purchase them, new luxuries began to enter the country.
Pessimists have not ceased to declaim against the evil influence of the automobile, which has enabled the average man to travel faster and more comfortably than he could previously do. The critics declare that new opportunities for pleasure provided by faster means for travel have resulted in a neglect of the observance of religious services. It is a fact that church attendance in this country had steadily diminished during the last thirty years, but it is another matter to say that this means a corresponding diminution of religious influence in the country. From one point of view, it may be said that the man weak enough to indulge in pleasure at the expense of his spiritual nature could scarcely have been a powerful force in religious society.

The automobile is only one example, but the same objection holds good with regard to the cinema. This social amenity may be a counter attraction to the social life of the church, but it is doubtful whether it has detracted from the spiritual leaven in the community. There have, of course, been unsocial and undesirable features connected with the films and the churches have been foremost in opposing such evils and seeking to remedy them. Generally speaking, however, the history of the last thirty years seems to show that the attitude of the religious bodies towards the cinema has gradually changed. Whereas at first the screen was regarded in the same light
as the seventeenth century stage was regarded by the Puritans, the tendency now is to appreciate and partly to utilise the possibilities of the cinema as a religious force. Films with a Biblical or religious background now receive the support of the churches.

The automobile and the cinema have profoundly altered the character of the religious influence in the community. They are developments belonging almost entirely to the period since 1905. The popular use of the wireless has been a development of as late a period as the last decade. The principal wireless stations have been set up only since 1925, while the present system of administration was inaugurated only in 1932. Pessimists are wont to decry the wireless also as an anti-religious factor in social life. Its influence may have diminished the numerical and financial strength of the churches, but the use of the wireless enables an estimated total of some 450,000 listeners (I) to be reached by a religious influence, by which many of them were never previously touched. Two Sunday services arranged in rotation in respect of denomination) and one daily devotional service are broadcast by each of the main stations, (I). This approximation is a minimum one, allowing for the number of listeners per license. The national total of wireless licenses on May 31st., 1935 was 157,508.
thus bringing to remote districts of the country a more adequate presentation of Christianity than has ever previously been possible. At the least, the opportunity to worship is presented to many to whom it was formerly denied. If the wireless atmosphere is not as worshipful as that of a church, where the sense of a common purpose is stronger in each individual, the question remains one for individual consideration: is this new religious atmosphere better than none at all?

It is indeed questionable whether the so-called "home" missionary work of the churches achieves as much as if formerly did. This work concerns the drifting population of the large towns, as well as the isolated settler and the Maori. For each of these classes, other influences are strong. The attractions of the city surround the dweller in the "doss-house"; the settler has his wireless, most likely his car, and certainly his newspaper; the Maori problem is recurrent. In 1934, the report of the Commission which investigated Native Affairs bore testimony to the continued existence of the same old problem. The difficulties of the Maori farmers, a problem which is acute in the Poverty Bay and the Bay of Plenty districts, are all really the result of the inability of the Maori to adapt himself entirely to the western mode of life. He cannot appreciate the value of money as a factor in economic life; his industry is of a somewhat haphazard character. The relation of the churches to these "home" missionary problems raises the question: is New Zealand still essentially a missionary country?
The answer must be — no. The missionary work done in this country, though important, is infinitesimal compared with the ordinary work devoted to the regular needs of church members. The present religious bodies could well be strengthened, but their pioneering work is done, and they appear to have realised this, because each main church supports some overseas missionary venture: the Anglicans are in Melanesia, likewise the Methodists; the Presbyterians have their fields in India and China; the Baptists support missionary endeavour in East Bengal. The Congregationalists, the Roman Catholics and the Seventh Day Adventists all have their fields overseas. In addition, the churches support such interdenominational work as that of the Mission in the Sudan and of the Mission to Lepers.

Some reference must be made to the intellectual life of the various churches during the period covered by this chapter. Stress has been laid mostly on the social and national interpretations of the Christian doctrines as drawn from scripture. We have seen that Julius and others supported the spirit of the "Seddonian" legislation. Since 1905, there have been many social thinkers in the churches concerned with the economic problems of production and distribution. These thinkers have naturally come to light during recent years and they strive to define the Christian attitude, especially towards the labour problem. Christian philanthropy has been prominent lately as always, but the churches have striven also to overcome the
fundamental causes of economic strain. It is difficult to discern a general tendency among Christians as such; some, like Mr. Walter Nash and the Rev. C. Carr have become parliamentary advocates of socialism; less prominent Christians have recently taken up the highly debatable programme of Major Douglas; others have a more or less purely scriptural remedy based on the promise: "Whatsoever is right, that shall ye receive." (I).

These reformers and their followers, however, do not make up the Christian membership of the community, and there are complaints that many nominal Christians seek their own good at the possible expense of their less fortunate fellows.

Obviously no historical judgement can be framed which will deal fairly with all these points of view. Similarly, we must reserve judgement when we notice the present agitation of the Christian churches over the problem of war. Thirty years ago few questions would have been raised on this issue.

At that time, popular support was accorded Sir Joseph Ward, when he presented the "New Zealand" to Great Britain. Compulsory military training was introduced in 1909. New Zealand was caught in the edge of the whirlpool of world politics prior to 1914, and finally was whisked to the centre. The religious bodies in the community gave their wholehearted support to the contribution made by the young nation of the South to the defence of the Empire. Since the Great War,

however, New Zealand has shared in the revulsion of Christian people in many lands against war as a method of settling disputes. At least a portion of the Christian men and women in the community look with disapproving eye at any proposals for increased armaments, but it is difficult to estimate just how strong this movement is or what regard the authorities pay to its influence. The question has, however, occupied the attention of most of the denominational synods and assemblies in turn. The Methodist Conference of 1935 devoted great attention to it and there was keen discussion. At present several of the district presbyteries are considering a motion relating to the subject to be submitted to the next General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. The general attitude to the question seems to be contained in the words of a prominent Presbyterian minister who said: "If the Church makes no pronouncement at all on the subject, it can be taken by implication that it supports war." (I).

The increasing complication in the mode of life among New Zealand people has had two main results as far as the organisation of religion is concerned. In the first place, there have been several attempts to bring about a union of the churches. More or less impracticable, schemes have been

vainly discussed by the representatives of various denominations. The main difficulty seems to be that those churches which adopt the congregational and connexional systems of church government cannot bring themselves to compromise with episcopacy. Apart from that, however, it has been impossible to reconcile the diverse doctrines of the non-episcopal churches. Of these, in New Zealand, the Presbyterian and the Methodist bodies are by far the most numerous. (I). The independent organisation of the Baptists and the Congregationalists has not admitted of much missionary work outside the main centres. But on points of doctrine these four churches would seem to be the bodies for whom a proposal of union is most practicable.

In 1903, the Presbyterians made overtures to the Methodists with a view to discussing a union proposal which would also involve the Congregationalists. An agreement with regard to essential Christian doctrines was decided upon, but further progress was prevented by the opposition of a strong minority in the Presbyterian Church. Recognising the need for a united front, however, the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches did combine their literary organs for a time, the Methodist "Advocate" being merged in the "Outlook" till 1910, when it re-appeared as the "Methodist Times". A step forward was taken by the Methodist Conference in 1913. Now independent of (I). The numerical strength of the various churches is shown by the table in Appendix V.
all Australian control, the Wesleyan Methodist was united with the United Free Methodist and the Bible Christian Methodist Churches. In 1919 a further abortive attempt was made to arrange a union among the Presbyterians and the Methodists. In 1920, another proposal which ultimately came to nothing concerned the possible union of the Presbyterians and the Congregationalists. So far, then, only the Methodist union has been of any importance, but the result of the movement for union has been that all the churches have tended to draw more closely together and to speak in unison with regard to current problems.

We should notice finally that the recognition of the difficulties besetting youth under twentieth century conditions has led to a more direct appeal by the Church to the young people of the country. Each of the principal churches has its Bible Class organisation catering for the spiritual needs of the adolescent; the sects co-operate in such ventures as the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association. The interdenominational Student Christian Movement made its appearance in the late 'nineties. All these new movements aim at the satisfaction of the physical, intellectual and spiritual needs of New Zealand youth. Denominational leaders now seem to realise that herein may lie the germ of future Church re-union.
We resume our study of the prohibition movement with the year 1906. The succeeding period was one of greater organization on the part of both parties. By that time the actual churches were more or less firmly behind the movement. In 1905, the Nelson and Auckland Synods had passed sympathetic resolutions. The supporters of the liquor trade were quick to realise that these motions represented a new and closer approach to unanimity on the question on the part of leading Anglicans, for the Anglican Church had not previously supported the movement as wholeheartedly as the other Protestant denominations. There arose about this time an outcry against the alleged influence of the liquor interests on the administration of the licensing laws. Each side was filled with apprehension by the organization of the other. In 1907, the work of local organizers of the movement was provided for, and the general organizing work was strengthened by the appointment of the Rev. John Dawson to assist the Rev. F. W. Isitt. Better organization and the consequent stirring of public opinion resulted in a notable success at the polls in 1908. Six new electorates were gained for no-license—namely Ohinemuri (Thames), Eden (Auckland), Masterton, Wellington South, Wellington Suburbs and Bruce. The No-License party polled a bare majority in sixty electorates out of seventy-six.
Naturally, despite their disapproval of the stipulation for a three-fifths majority, the prohibition party were delighted with the result of the 1908 campaign. Never before had they had so many volunteer workers. Ministers and laymen alike had organized the campaign most energetically. The press was used for propagand purposes. Support was gained in unexpected places, a notable instance being the gatherings organized by students in the University of Otago.

The feeling of the party was now that a poll for the principles of colonial option, as against local option, should be taken, a bare majority to decide the question of liquor or no-license. The New Zealand Alliance sent up a deputation to Sir Joseph Ward asking for such a provision to be inserted in the next licensing bill. The 1909 annual meeting of the Alliance planned a new campaign for "dominion option". A political success was achieved in the same year. The Government Defence Bill contained a provision for the sale of liquor in military camps, but the prohibitionists raised such a cry of opposition that that part of the defence proposals was dropped. This must be regarded as one of the great achievements of the New Zealand prohibition movement, and "no one can tell the harm that has been hindered by such a decision, especially during the period of the Great War."

(1). Cocker and Murray: "Temperance and Prohibition in New Zealand.", page 102.
The attention of those interested in the question was now drawn mainly to the proposals for reducing the three-fifths majority provision and for instituting a poll on the question of dominion prohibition. During the 1910 session, an act was passed providing for two ballots to be taken, one for local option and one for dominion prohibition. Another provision enabled the Maori people residing in the area presided over by the Maori Council to protect themselves by forbidding the sale of liquor to Maoris. Further, the employment of barmaids was virtually abolished, no new women being allowed to take up such employment. Another political gain was the result of the action of the Hon. George Fowlds in permitting some measure of temperance education in the state schools.

The prohibition movement has not been without its pamphlets and writers, and 1911 was a particularly productive year. Professor William Salmond, whose judgement naturally attracted attention, published a pamphlet entitled "Prohibition A Blunder", which drew several replies from prominent prohibitionists, including A. S. Adams and A. R. Atkinson. Other pamphlets dealt with the three-fifths majority question. An interesting contribution to the controversy was made by H. Curren, an evangelist among the Plymouth Brethren. His pamphlet, "Should Christians Vote Against The Liquor Traffic?" is valuable because it shows that the ideals of the prohibition movement
were understood and supported by minor Christian bodies as well as the more important denominations. Interest quickened as the 1911 poll approached. T. E. Taylor organised his Prohibition Young Men's and Young Women's Guilds. The Women's Christian Temperance Union was particularly active. To some voters, the double issue provided for by the 1910 act was confusing. As far as the local option poll was concerned, the no-license total was no less than the number of votes cast for continuance. On the national issue, however, the prohibition party had a majority of 54,282, the total vote coming only a few thousand short of the required three-fifths majority. In sixty-seven out of seventy-six electorates, more votes were cast for prohibition than for continuance.

The prohibitionists were naturally elated at these results and looked forward to an assured victory at the next poll, despite their "undemocratic handicap." Undoubtedly popular support had been won, but 1911 has so far, at any rate, been the peak year of the prohibition movement. Never since has prohibition gained even an absolute majority, though it came very near to doing so in December 1919. The reasons for the decline are difficult to isolate, but the main factor was undoubtedly the influence of the Great War. We have seen already that that catastrophe hastened the development of the new attitudes of mind and the new philosophies. There began the school who thought that prohibition was indeed a blunder,
that the compulsion it implied was un-Christian. In any case the war spirit is seldom helpful to religion or to moral or to social reforms. Moreover, in times of national stress, less attention could be devoted to purely domestic matters, until these matters interfered with national efficiency.

From 1911 to 1914, the emphasis in the prohibition demands was laid on the question of the democratic majority. Campaigns were set on foot to secure a thousand voters in each electorate, who would vote only for the candidate, who promised to support the proposals for a "bare majority". In 1913, Massey introduced a bill to reduce the necessary majority to fifty-five per cent, but owing to the lateness of the session, this bill did not even receive a first reading. The New Zealand Alliance, however, had presented more comprehensive demands than even this. They wanted a simple majority, the closing of bars on half-holidays, the punishment of sly-grog selling by imprisonment without the option of a fine, and the adherence to the spirit of the 1884 agreement with the Maoris of the King Country. The achievements of the Alliance were, however, limited to the defeat of a proposal to sell liquor in the Cook Islands. The prohibitionists now also used as evidence of the success of the abolition of the liquor traffic, the improvement in Auckland during the strike period of 1913, when all hotels in that city were compulsorily closed.

The results of the 1914 poll (held in November) showed
a decline in the vote for prohibition and for no-license, the decrease in the number of votes cast for national prohibition being 12,726. The Great War was having its effect; the Bible-in-Schools campaign had led to complications; the liquor trade was far better organized than previously; and lastly, a moderate party had developed. The Great War however, was not without a beneficial effect upon the prohibition question. The hours of opening and closing public bars (9 o’clock and 6 o’clock) were fixed afresh, radically reducing the opportunities for liquor consumption. But the principal change in the official attitude was the result of economic rather than religious considerations. The New Zealand Government, impressed like other governments, by the problem of the relations between liquor and efficiency set up by the National Efficiency Board in February 1917. The resulting reforms admittedly lie outside the scope of religious treatment of the subject, but the legislative changes profoundly affected the nature of the religious campaign. The three-fifths majority handicap was removed; six months after the carrying of prohibition at the polls would see it in effect; the previous interval had been four years. But the local option poll was abandoned, apart from restoration polls in the district already won for no-license. Further, state purchase and control was to be a third issue on the ballot paper, at every poll, if any, after the special "prohibition with compensation" poll to be held.
in April 1919. The main grievance of the prohibitionists seems to have been that the bare majority was offset by the intrusion of a third issue on the ballot paper.

Two polls were held in 1919; the second one at the time of the general election in December, when the third issue was presented for the first time. The churchmen were now backed by influential medical and commercial opinion, and yet each poll failed. The propaganda of the liquor party and the moral influence of the Great War had their effect. It is noticeable that, in April, while there was a slight majority of votes cast for prohibition by civilians, the expeditionary force returned a four to one majority against it. In December, prohibition failed to receive a majority over both the other issues by some 2000 votes, and prohibitionists blamed the inclusion of state purchase and control as a further option as the deciding factor in bringing about their failure.

The efficiency movement now came to an end, but it left its permanent mark on the struggle in discounting the economic arguments in favour of continuance. From 1920 the campaign was primarily religious once more, but no more could derision dog the heels of the prohibitionists, calling them social "fads", for there was a valuable economic basis for their argument. In the 1922 campaign, the ministers were notable protagonists of the prohibition cause. Their respective churches allowed them liberty to do temperance organization work.
conferences of the Baptists, Congregationalists, Churches of Christ, Methodists, Presbyterians and Seventh Day Adventists all supported the movement in the 1925 struggle. Church buildings were made available for the visit of temperance deputations. In 1927, the New Zealand Alliance made provision for the representation of the Churches on its executive. The Presbyterians and Methodists released various ministers for prohibition campaign work prior to the poll of 1928.

Since 1920, the main legislative aim of the Alliance has been the elimination of the state purchase and control issue from the ballot paper. Various parliamentary committees have considered this and other questions relevant to the liquor problem, but no material step has been taken. The disagreement of the House of Representatives and the Legislative Council over a fairly favourable bill in 1927 led to its being dropped. In 1928, a similar bill was defeated on the third reading. Defeated along its legislative programme, the Alliance continued to develop and to sustain its local organization, with a view to preventing it from lapsing during the period between the polls. Again co-operation between the churches was continually urged. This renewed vigour was met in 1923 with a merger of brewery companies.

The 1922 polls revealed no substantial difference in the position of the parties, but the 1925 results showed that a
decidedly smaller proportion of votes had been cast for prohibition in relation to the national population. What dismayed the prohibitionists to a greater extent was the result of the Ohinemuri restoration poll, by which the no-license party lost control of that electorate. The poll of 1925 all but exhausted the funds of the Alliance; its resources were weakened and a 7 per cent. decline was revealed in the prohibition vote of 1928 as compared with the preceding poll. Naturally the result was disappointing to the supporters of prohibition, but they were somewhat gratified in that no further "no-license" districts were lost. Since 1928, no poll has been held. One was due as usual in 1931, but was abandoned by the state owing to financial stress, and because the no-license party, conscious of its own financial disadvantages had no wish to force the issue or to oppose the necessary legislation. Under ordinary circumstances, a poll will take place at the end of 1935. There is a considerable body of opinion, however, which believes that once more, the prohibitionists will not force the issue. The finances of the Alliance are still inadequate, and they fear the expense of a dominion-wide campaign. The influence of the example of the United States of America in their decision following the 1932 elections is also feared by them, especially as the example of overseas prohibition movements has entered extensively into New Zealand propaganda. But the struggle still
continues, and the New Zealand Alliance and its supporting
denominational bodies are keenly alive. It would seem to be cert-
ain that whatever the final result, the struggle is not yet
ended.


We have already noticed the criticism of the prohibition
theory levelled by Alfred Cox as early as 1884. Reference has
been made also to Professor William Salmon's "Prohibition a
Blunder" of 1911. The ideal of prohibition has not satisfied
all the church members, and to-day there is a considerable body
of Christian opinion which believes that compulsory abstinence
is no virtue. These people uphold the ideal of personal
abstinence and would proceed by means of temperance education
to combat the moral evils of strong drink. They deny that
compulsion is an effective way of solving any moral problem.
While there is much to be said for such a view, it is difficult
to decide whether or not it is practicable. If the evil of
strong drink is to be removed, the majority of church people
believe that the ballot box is the most reasonable means for
doing it.

Whether all the religious bodies of the country or all the
adherents of these bodies are supporters of the prohibition
cause is immaterial. In spite of differing Christian attitudes
towards the liquor problem, it is obviously true that religion
has played by far the most important part in the development of the movement for prohibition. We must remember, of course, that there have been temperance and prohibition supporters who did not acknowledge religion as their ruling motive in doing so. (Sir Robert Stout, a notable figure in the movement, was one of these.) Further, economic and commercial considerations were reasons for the foundation of the Efficiency League. But by far the most important influence on the movement has been religious in character. The struggle really began with the problem of liquor in relation to the Maori people which confronted the missionaries from the very outset; that problem was partially solved by the agreement of 1884, which, however, affected only the King Country. The main question is not yet answered: is the evil influence of the drink traffic to remain?

"The moral and spiritual implications of the struggle against the liquor traffic have provided the dynamic for the struggle. The Churches have always acknowledged the importance of these factors, but have at the same time been cautious of becoming involved in what was considered by many as a political struggle. Gradually the identification of the Churches with the conflict has become closer and closer, until in recent years the New Zealand Alliance has been recognised as the Church in action against the liquor traffic. Members of all denominations have been numbered by thousands as supporters of the
Alliance and the Annual Assemblies of some Churches have specifically declared their recognition of the Alliance as the organisation existing to make effective church influence in the political sphere so far as the liquor traffic is concerned. (1)

Mention has already been made of the prohibition activities of the Anglican Church, the General Synod of which, sitting in 1922 at Auckland declared that either prohibition or some other drastic remedy was necessary to deal with the liquor evil. The Baptists, the Congregationalists, the Churches of Christ, the Methodists and the Presbyterians have likewise been referred to. The Salvation Army and the Seventh Day Adventists have gone further than the mere support of the movement for prohibition. Every member of these bodies is a total abstainer.

Of the Roman Catholic Church, some mention should be made. The Roman Catholics, as a body, do not support prohibition, but the ideal of temperance is stressed continually by them, and is made an essential part of the education of the young. However, there have been several notable catholics in prohibition, and the most outstanding was undoubtedly Dr. Cleary, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Auckland. Bishop Cleary was not a local optionist, since he saw that the success of no-license in any

(1) Cocker and Murray: "Temperance and Prohibition in New Zealand.", page 155.
one district would be offset owing to the facilities for obtaining liquor from adjoining areas. However, he was a prohibitionist, believing that in national prohibition lay the remedy for the evils of the traffic in alcoholic drink. As a writer, this man was outstanding, and repeatedly his statements were re-printed by the New Zealand Alliance, which recognized their special value for its campaign work.

The movement for the introduction of religious instruction in schools was really of later growth than that for the prohibition of the sale of intoxicants. After the failure of Stewart's proposals in 1892, little is heard of the question until the parliamentary movement just prior to the Great War. The argument of the supporters of the introduction of Bible-reading in schools has always been that the great majority have always secretly revolted against the secular system, and the early questions on the matter raised early in this century at least, give evidence of some popular support for the movement. In 1910, H. J. H. Okey, a Taranaki member of the House of Representatives asked the Minister of Education what possibility there was of a referendum being taken. Budo, the Minister, declared that the Government had no intention of holding such
a referendum (I). A similar answer was returned by Massey to Wilford in 1912, when the possibility of some legislation was discussed. In the next year, R. McCallum of Wairau twice suggested a geographical extension of the so-called Nelson system, by the passing of a permissive act allowing school committees to adopt it at will.

The question appeared to reach a sudden crucial stage in 1914. Public opinion was strong on the matter, and was continually being stirred up by the Bible in Schools League. It was election year, and the League supported a scheme for interrogating members as to their private attitude to the subject. This procedure was the subject of a question in the House, as to whether it might affect the purity of parliamentary elections. The subject received quite considerable attention on the part of Parliament. First of all the Governor, Lord Liverpool, referred to the subject in his opening speech; he mentioned the force of public opinion, and promised members the opportunity of arriving at a decision on the matter of a referendum. During the debate on the Address in Reply, both houses touched on references to the subject in the Governor's speech. In the Legislative Council, several members opposed the principle of occasional referenda either on any subject or on a matter of conscience such as this. In the House of

(I) For this section, almost the sole source of evidence for the period 1905 to 1919 has been perforce the Parliamentary Debates, Volumes C L III. to C L XXXI. (relevant sections).
Representatives, the most interesting view was undoubtedly that of Sir Joseph Ward. Ward, who was a Roman Catholic, supported the universal adoption of the so-called Nelson system, whereby clergymen and religious workers are admitted to the schools to conduct religious exercises, from which dissenting teachers and parents may disassociate themselves and their children. Ward, however, opposed the idea of a referendum on a matter of conscience, fearing to precipitate a bitter sectarian struggle.

During the same session various positions were considered by a parliamentary committee on the subject. The main classes of petitions were approximately those supporting legislation or a referendum, those opposed to any step being taken in the matter as likely to provoke sectarian trouble, and those who upheld the system of free, secular and compulsory education, as set up by the act of 1877. The first class of objectors were principally the Roman Catholic clergy, headed by the coadjutor Archbishop O'Shea. The second class objecting to any measure for religious instruction in schools consisted mainly of educational theorists, including several university professors. Each group, the supporters of Bible-reading in schools included, adopted the attitude of deploring any denominational teaching. The differences between the supporters and the first objecting class was concerned with what constituted denominationalism; the educational theorists levelled their arguments against any sort
of religious instruction as detrimental to the children, the teachers and the religious bodies themselves. The committee reported against any proposal for a referendum, and after some discussion the question was shelved.

During the years of the Great War this question, like many other domestic concerns, became almost insignificant. In 1916 and 1917 minor points were referred to, and we find L. M. Isitt coming forward for the first time as the champion of the cause of Bible-reading in schools. This man has been the parliamentary mainstay of the movement since the Great War, first in the House of Representatives, later in the Legislative Council. In addition, he has contributed to the theory of the movement, and has engaged in pamphleteering and platform-speaking with the opposing sections of the community. Strangely enough, the Hon. L. M. Isitt and the late Rev. Dr. Cleary, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Auckland, fellow-prohibitionists, have been outstanding opposing controversialists on this topic. The questions asked by the opposers of the bill has been: is it the province of the state to teach religion, or can it do it adequately? The supporters of the bill urge on the other hand that under democratic rule the will of the majority should decide, and they declare that the large majority of parents are in favour of some form of religious instruction. They also point to the religious observances in the secondary schools.

It would be futile to trace the course of proposed
legislation on the subject that has been submitted to Parliament since 1920, for so far no alteration has been made in the secular system. The same controversial parties exist that existed in 1914, and no attempt has completely reconciled them, though the Roman Catholic point of view was all but met early in this decade. The Religious Instruction in Public Schools Enabling Bill is a perennial measure for consideration by the legislature. In the House of Representatives, the leader of the movement now is Henry Holland of Christchurch (1); in the Council the Hon. L. M. Isitt is the chief protagonist. The bill provides for a brief daily religious observance, consisting of a hymn, the Lord’s prayer and a Scripture reading without comment, as well as religious instruction in school hours, conducted by teachers or others. The maximum time for all religious education shall be two hours. Teachers who object may withdraw themselves, and parents and guardians in a similar position may withdraw their children, such teachers and children to do other school work during the time provided. No denominational teaching is to be allowed. No additional public expenditure is to be made. The syllabus shall be prepared by the religious bodies and the Educational Institute, and submitted for the approval of the Minister of Education.

(1) This man should not be confused with the late H. R. Holland of Buller, Leader of the Labour Party.
Any work being carried on under the Nelson system may continue or be extended.

It is, of course, impossible to appraise or to condemn any such scheme until it is seen actually in operation. Whether that is likely to be the case is a debatable point; it is difficult to estimate the force of public opinion behind the bill. Admittedly the parliamentary attitude of talking the bill out or otherwise neglecting it does not represent the attitude of all the public, for in electing a candidate, the prime desideratum has never been considered to be the attitude of the nominee on the question of Bible-reading in State Schools. In a pamphlet, L. M. Isitt refers to the parliamentary support for the bill in the Lower House. This pamphlet, which is undated, obviously refers to the twenty-second parliament (1925 - 1928), which contained fifty-four Reform members in a House of eighty.

"There is a solid majority of Cabinet Ministers in favour of the Bill of nine out of eleven. Among reform members alone there is an absolute majority of the House for the Bill" (I). Such a statement cannot now be tested, but there must have been some grounds for making it.

The Bible in Schools League in its "Pronouncements of 1928" reveals some interesting details of popular support, which are worth quoting, for they give at least an approximate indication (I). L. M. Isitt: "Should I Support Bible Reading In State Schools?", page 18.
of the attitude of the interested public on the question.

"In 1927 a plebiscite of parents was taken. Over 70,000 families had an opportunity of voting. Those who voted numbered 45 per cent. This proportion is a normal return, evidenced by other votes under similar conditions, as for example, parent's votes through the post in electing representatives to High School Boards. The result was:

In favour of Religious Exercises in Schools Bill 25,478 — 81%  
Against Religious Exercises in Schools Bill 5995 — 19%

To satisfy themselves that the returned votes were thoroughly representative, tests were taken by the League in two large schools after the first count had been made. To parents who had not returned their votes a letter of reminder was sent, urging them, whether for or against, to record their votes.

The results, after 80% had voted, gave a slightly better percentage than had been given at the first count:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>First Count</th>
<th>Final Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North-East Valley, Dunedin</td>
<td>For: 59</td>
<td>224 84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Against: 18</td>
<td>44 16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albany Street, Dunedin</td>
<td>For: 57</td>
<td>198 88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Against: 8</td>
<td>26 12%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In quoting the foregoing extract, the writer is fully

conscious that it is inadequate. But it is valuable as being the only attempt made during recent years to ascertain the public attitude on the question of religious instruction in state schools. Like the prohibition and licensing issue, this question is not finally solved. In this case, however, the religious nature of the movement is even more pronounced. All the main Protestant Churches are firmly in support of it, and there has been virtual unanimity on the subject among the principal Church Synods, Conferences and Assemblies during more than a decade. At the present time a Methodist Minister is devoting his full time to the organization work of the League, and he is warmly supported by all the principal religious bodies. In 1877, the Churches and the people were agreed in preventing the setting up of sectarian education on the model of the Homeland system that they remembered. The question ever since has been whether religion can exist apart from denominationalism and sectarianism. No religious body wishes to have a State-directed denominational system. The reaction against ecclesiastical education has been too complete for that, but the question of the moral necessity and the political expediency of introducing Bible-reading in the schools is not yet solved.
Our work would be sadly incomplete without a reference to the influence exercised by the Jewish element in the country. The prominent part their leaders have been able to play, especially in the political and economic spheres, is a consequence of that reaction against the popular prejudices and the legal provisions formerly directed in Great Britain against all non-conformists, (using the word in its literal sense.) We have already reviewed the gradual diminution of the denominational feeling that had existed between the Dissenters and the Roman Catholics on the one hand and the Anglicans on the other. In Great Britain, this attitude had been expressed in acts removing political disabilities during the third decade of the nineteenth century, although we have seen that there was still some degree of ostracism on the part of the strict supporters of the older ecclesiastical regime. Ideas broadened, however, and the reaction against the old ecclesiastical prejudice in politics culminated in 1858, with the final decision of the Lords that each House might overcome entrance of a Jew.

While this agitation proceeded in Great Britain, the reaction in New Zealand was so early and so complete that no question was ever raised concerning the status of the Jews. From the beginning they were enabled to enter public life, and they have
profundely influenced the course of New Zealand history.

Despite the fact that as late as 1926, there were only 2591 (1) of them in the Dominion, the Jews have seldom attained such importance elsewhere within modern times as under New Zealand conditions, where there have been no political disabilities, and every avenue of advancement has been open to them.

The main national divisions among the Jewish immigrants have been English, German and later, to a very limited extent, Russian. Freed from the uncongenial atmosphere which confronted the greater Jews, such as the Rothschilds in Great Britain, the commercial enterprise of the Jews in New Zealand prospered exceedingly. To the Nathans and their co-religionists, New Zealand owes not a little of her commercial development. David Nathan, for instance, was in business at Kororareka as early as 1838; in 1840, Jacob Joseph arrived to set up business in Wellington. The early Jews took chiefly to commercial pursuits, and because they often had family connections abroad, they became the earliest colonial middlemen, and some of the oldest commercial houses of the present day are those founded by Jews. The name of Nathan is still important in the commercial sphere of Dominion life — not to mention the prominent names of Joseph and Levin.

The Jewish synagogues now remain only in the four main centres of the Dominion, Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and

(1) A table comparing the numerical strength of the various denominations is presented in Appendix V.
Dunedin, although they originally existed also in Hokitika, Nelson and Timaru. The history of the synagogues is not our main concern, but we should notice that round them the activities of the Jewish community have been organized, and that the presence of a synagogue in a town is evidence of a stronger Jewish influence in the particular community. Jewish philanthropy is worthy of note. The poor Jew problem is relatively absent in New Zealand, but in each of the four centres, Jewish philanthropic organizations have undertaken work among any unfortunate members of their fraternity. The outstanding feature is the work of the Jewish women of Dunedin among their needy sisters of the province of Otago. The Jewish ministers have likewise been prominent in the social and educational work of the communities. The Rev. H. Van Staveren of Wellington was perhaps the most outstanding in this connection. During more than half a century, this man was an enthusiastic worker on behalf of the sick and destitute and unemployed. He sat on the Wellington Hospital Board and was concerned also in the distribution of charitable aid. In addition, he was for years in educational work in Wellington.

Perhaps the most surprising contribution to the development of the country made by any Jew was in the political sphere. The connection of Sir Julius Vogel with New Zealand dated from the period of the Otago gold-rushes, which drew the attention of the young Vogel to this country. His work in Otago was in the first instance in the sphere of journalism. In 1861, he established "The Otago Daily Times", the first daily paper in the colony. He
was editor of both this paper and the "Witness". As early as 1862, he was in the Otago Provincial Council, and held executive positions in the provincial government. In 1863, he first entered the House of Representatives, where his foresight and constructiveness speedily brought him to the front. In 1869, he became Colonial Treasurer in the ministry of Fox, and began his developmental schemes. The building of railways and roads by the hundreds of miles was due to his initiative. As premier from 1873, and as Agent General from 1876, he fostered the immigration policy which was pursued during the earlier period of the "Continuous", (Conservative) regime. After a period in England as Agent General, he returned to become Colonial Treasurer on the opposing side in Stout's ministry lasting from 1884 to 1887. Despite his egotism and over-eagerness, it was to this Jew that we must ascribe, in great measure, the development during the "seventies", as well as the changed attitude on the part of English public opinion, with which New Zealand with its inter-racial wars had fallen into disrepute. The latter result was reinforced by Vogel's abolition of the outworn provincial system, which strengthened the credit of New Zealand with the overseas lender, and consequently facilitated Vogel's new fiscal policy.

Vogel was undoubtedly New Zealand's greatest Jew, but his is by no means the only Jewish name that appears in the parliamentary records. Sir Arthur Myers was finance minister in the Mackenzie ministry of 1912, and acted temporarily in the same
capacity in Massey's National ministry during the Great War, besides holding other ministerial offices at the same time. Before 1910, when his parliamentary career began, this man had been Mayor of Auckland, an office which he held three times. Frederick E. Baume, one of New Zealand's more scholarly Jews and an important legal figure, was another Jewish member. The Hon. S. E. Shrimski sat in each chamber during his parliamentary career, the first Jew to enter the Legislative Council (1885). The Hon. C. Louisson was another member of the Upper House, to which he was appointed in 1901. Bendix Hallenstein sat in the Lower House for a short period from 1872 to 1873.

Of more recent years, the most notable Jew in parliamentary circles was the Hon. Mark Cohen. Rising from office-boy to journalist, this man naturally acquired a profound sympathy for his fellowmen, and as an editor, made himself available for the airing of all real grievances. He came into public life first as a Dunedin City Councillor, and as the advocate of many advances in municipal organization. As an advocate of various avenues of social work, he gave perhaps first place to the cause of education. He sat on the Otago Education Board as a supporter of the secular and democratic system of education and was Chairman of the Board for a time. In 1920, Cohen was appointed to the Legislative Council, where he continued to advocate the cause of women and children. He died in 1928.

Other prominent Jews in New Zealand public life can be no more than mentioned. P. G. Phillips was one of the most notable
of Auckland's early mayors, of whom Henry Isaacs was another. Among the other Jewish mayors in New Zealand we can mention Sir Arthur Myers (Auckland), the Hon. Charles Louisson, (Christchurch), and the Hon. S. E. Shrimski, of Oamaru. There have been famous Jewish editors and journalists, Vogel, Cohen, and Farjeon the novelist being among them. In the public service, perhaps the most outstanding Jew has been Marcus Marks, formerly Government Printer. Many Jews have likewise been connected with education in New Zealand. We have already noticed Cohen in connection with primary education. Secondary education has derived support in some cases from important Jews, especially in the smaller provincial communities, as from Friedlander in Ashburton. One benefactor to University education in New Zealand was Jacob Joseph, the founder of two post-graduate research scholarships at Victoria College, Wellington. There have been several Jewish benefactors of the University of Otago. The University faculties have not been without Jewish members; while some of the administrators and many of the graduates are Jews. Law has been another important field for Jewish work. The first New Zealand woman lawyer was a Jew. The present Chief Justice, Sir Michael Myers, comes from a prominent Wellington Jewish family. On two occasions at least, in 1930 and 1935, while no Governor-General has been actually in the Dominion, he has held the post of Administrator.

The contribution of the Jews to the general progress
of New Zealand has thus been fairly considerable, and cannot be neglected when one attempts to sum up the influence of religious factors on New Zealand history. To the Jews, a large proportion of the commercial progress of the country has been due. A larger proportion of Jews enter commercial pursuits than is the case with any other religious sect in the country. There have been Jewish journalists, educationalists, philanthropists, lawyers, judges, mayors and parliamentarians in New Zealand. From the first, they suffered no disability of any sort. Even racial and religious prejudices they were almost invariably spared. In that we see the reaction of the colonists from the ecclesiastical prejudices which had formerly obtained in the Mother Country, and the result of which had prevented, for a time, as free an entrance of the Jews into public life as has been the case in New Zealand.

(1) In 1928, Miss V. F. Balkind recorded that 32.50 per cent of the Jews, and only 9.39 per cent of the whole population were engaged in commercial occupations in New Zealand.

- Violette F. Balkind:

"A contribution to the History of the Jews in New Zealand". (Unpublished)
CONCLUSION.

We have concluded our investigation into the influence of religion on New Zealand history since 1814. It is apparent that as far as general trends are concerned, the religious influence has been manifest along the lines of humanitarianism and of the reaction from the ecclesiastical system, organization and prejudices of Great Britain.

The humanitarian movement, originating in the eighteenth century ecclesiastical reaction, reached New Zealand first in 1814, and expressed itself in the evangelical social and cultural work of the missionaries among the Maoris. Incidentally, it contributed to the introduction of British authority into the country. The humanitarian work of the missionaries was all but destroyed during the Maori Wars, but humanitarianism, less closely connected with religion, reappeared in the social reform movements towards the close of the century, and has remained an important religious force to this day.

The nineteenth century reaction from the English ecclesiastical system has been demonstrated in the absence of any sense of clerical superiority or of denominational animosity. The new and virile Anglican movement was expressed by Selwyn in the ecclesiastical organization of the new country. A similar reaction from
the Scottish ecclesiastical organization influenced the Otago settlement in a way that has a profound significance for New Zealand, the comparative freedom from denominational hostility has permitted a great degree of co-operation in such interdenominational movements as that for the prohibition of the sale of intoxicants, or for Bible-reading in state schools. Differences have occurred of course but, generally speaking, on most questions a general attitude is discernible, which we can call the religious attitude. On most modern problems there is some general agreement. The absence of sectarian intolerance has enabled the participation in public life of many who have contributed largely to the general development of the country, the most notable example being the Jews.

It is impossible to offer an adequate explanation of history which denies a place to the influence of religion on the lives of men. Even atheists admit that religion has an historical importance. The historical significance of religion has altered from time to time, and varies also from place to place. For our purpose, it is sufficient to say that the significance of religion is a factor which cannot be neglected by the thorough student of the history of New Zealand.
APPENDIX I.

The following list of names of places and districts mentioned in this thesis provides the key to the map inserted herewith. The numbers indicate the order in which the name was first mentioned. Alternative names for any one locality are included in parenthesis. On the map the districts are indicated by numbers corresponding to those used in conjunction with their names in this list. The list and map should prove of special value in connection with the evidence presented in Appendices II. and III., and referred to in Chapters III. and IV. The place names are entered here under their respective chapter headings.

CHAPTER II.

(1). Dusky Sound.

(9). Mangapouri.

CHAPTER III.

(2). Thames district.

(10). Matamata.

(3). Whangarei.

(11). Puriri.

(4). Cook Strait.

(12). Tauranga.

(5). Waitemata (Auckland).

(13). Paihia.

(6). Kaeo River.

(14). Waimate.

(7). Hokianga.

(15). Kerikeri.

(8). Rotorua.

(16). Tepuna.

(17). Kaitaia.

(18). Mangungu.

(19). Newark.
(22). Taranaki.  (41). Wairau (principal district
(23). Queen Charlotte of Marlborough.)
   Sound.
   (Wellington).
(30). Moeraki.  (48). W(h)anganui River (Kauerau).

CHAPTER IV.
   (later Russell).
(38). Petre (W(h)anganui).  — New Lynn (an Auckland
   electorate).

CHAPTER V.
CHAPTER VI.

(57). Masterton.
(58). Bruce.
(59). Wairau.
(60). Hokitika.
(61). Timaru.
(62). The Hutt. (Lower Hutt).

(63). Upper Hutt.
(64). Waitotara.
(65). Rangitikei.
(66). Waimea.
(67). Tuapeka.
(68). Manukikiru Junction.
(69). Koworou.
(70). Dunstan.
(71). Fox Diggings.
(72). Queenstown.

CHAPTER VII.

(63). Upper Hutt.
(64). Waitotara.
(65). Rangitikei.
(66). Waimea.
(67). Tuapeka.
(68). Manukikiru Junction.
(69). Koworou.
(70). Dunstan.
(71). Fox Diggings.
(72). Queenstown.

APPENDIX III.

(57). Masterton.
(58). Bruce.
(59). Wairau.
(60). Hokitika.
(61). Timaru.
(62). The Hutt. (Lower Hutt).

(63). Upper Hutt.
(64). Waitotara.
(65). Rangitikei.
(66). Waimea.
(67). Tuapeka.
(68). Manukikiru Junction.
(69). Koworou.
(70). Dunstan.
(71). Fox Diggings.
(72). Queenstown.
APPENDIX II.

The following list is adapted from one furnished to the Lord's Committee on the Present State of the Islands of New Zealand 1838, and quoted by Elder. (I) The aim in inserting it here is to supplement the evidence quoted in Chapter III, of the geographical extent and professional specialization of missionary work in the country. It must be remembered that the list embraces only the activities of the Church Missionary Society, whereas by this time (1838), the Wesleyans, though fewer in number, had as wide geographical range. The Anglicans adhered to the eastern districts; the Wesleyans clung to the western side of the North Island and pushed steadily southwards. By 1838, the Wesleyans had ten missionaries in six stations — at Mangungu, Newark, Kaipara, Whangaroa, Kawhia and Taranaki.

The precise significance of the Anglican terms, Northern and Southern districts can be appreciated best by reference to the map in Appendix I. The Anglicans had 51 schools with 1,431 "scholars"; 2,176 persons attended religious worship, of whom 178 were communicants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>OFFICE</th>
<th>DISTRICT</th>
<th>STATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brown, Rev. Alfred N.</td>
<td>Missionary</td>
<td>Southern</td>
<td>Matamata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maunsell, Rev. Robert</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>Mangapouri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williams, Rev. Henry.</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>Northern</td>
<td>Paihia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williams, Rev. William.</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>Waimate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashwell, Benjamin.</td>
<td>Catechist</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>Paihia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baker, Charles.</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bedggood, John.</td>
<td>Wheelwright</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>Waimate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapman, Thomas.</td>
<td>Catechist</td>
<td>Southern</td>
<td>Rotarua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarke, George.</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>Northern</td>
<td>Waimate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colenso, William.</td>
<td>Printer</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davis, James.</td>
<td>Storekeeper</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davis, Serena.</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>Kerikeri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edmonds, John.</td>
<td>Stonemason</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>Puriri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairburn, William T.</td>
<td>Catechist</td>
<td>Southern</td>
<td>Paihia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ford, Samuel H.</td>
<td>Surgeon</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>Mangapouri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamlin, James.</td>
<td>Catechist</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>Whangaroa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kemp, James.</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>Northern</td>
<td>Tapuna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King, John.</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>Tauranga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King, Philip H.</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAME</td>
<td>OFFICE</td>
<td>DISTRICT</td>
<td>STATION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King, W.</td>
<td>Assistant</td>
<td>Northern</td>
<td>Waimate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadfield, Octavius</td>
<td>Catechist</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knight, Samuel M.</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>Southern</td>
<td>Rotarua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matthews, Joseph</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>Northern</td>
<td>Kaitaia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matthews, Richard</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morgan, John.</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>Southern</td>
<td>Mangapouri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pilley, Henry M.</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rotorua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preece, James.</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Puriri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puckey, William G.</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>Northern</td>
<td>Kaitaia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shepherd, James.</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kerikeri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stack, James.</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>Southern</td>
<td>Tauranga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wade, William R.</td>
<td>Superintendent of the Press.</td>
<td>Northern</td>
<td>Waimate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williams, Marianne.</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td></td>
<td>Paihia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilson, John A.</td>
<td>Catechist</td>
<td>Southern</td>
<td>Matamata</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The following extracts are selected from a section dealing with "Writings of the Early Missionaries" in the "Church in New Zealand", by J. J. Wilson, the historian of Roman Catholicism in the country. They are contained really in a letter written by the Rev. Father Poupinel, the Visitor General of the Marist Order, to the Rev. Father Lagniet, Marist, and dated 14th July, 1864. This letter was first published in a volume of "Annals of the Propagation of the Faith", dated 1865, which also makes further remarks.

This somewhat lengthy extract, which covers some twenty-one pages in Wilson's volume,(1) provided valuable evidence for the writer in compiling the first section of Chapter V of this thesis, dealing with the position and influence of the various denominations about 1870, and the attitudes adopted by each towards the others, especially that of the Roman Catholic missionaries towards the other Christian bodies.

The letter is of some literary and historical interest apart from our subject, and contains interesting descriptions of various scenic regions. It is the account of a visitation, embracing many districts.

(1) J. J. Wilson: "The Church in New Zealand" pages 234 to 255.
"You will be still more pleased to hear that the Catholic population has very considerably increased in this province (Canterbury) during the last three years, and is now over 1220 souls. Father Chataigner, indeed, thinks that it amounts to 1800. True it is very much scattered; but this is the case likewise in the other stations. Here at least, owing to the situation of the country, there are not so many difficulties in the way of visitation as in many of the other provinces. The poor Catholics had remained, for the most part, so long deprived of the succors of religion that they had well nigh lost all desire for its ministrations. But now a very observable and consoling change has taken place, and I hope that Christchurch will soon have to boast of a very respectable and edifying congregation."

In a similar way, Poupinel treats of the promising work in the Wanganui, Wellington and Hawke's Bay districts, and of the difficulties in Otago, which "could never boast a resident priest. Each year a missioner came to visit the Catholics of this province, as well as those of Southland, a new province, and quite distinct from Otago........Alas! at Dunedin there is not to be found even the smallest Catholic chapel."

Following the letter there are the remarks of the writer of the "Annals of the Propagation of the Faith" concerning the state of the various Roman Catholic missions in New Zealand about this date (1865):

"We now proceed to point out the actual state of the nine districts or principal stations of the diocese of Wellington."
Wellington (boasts) two churches, two schools, a boarding school directed by the Sisters of Mercy, and a providence home, in which twenty young girls (Maoris) are educated. This station serves Otaki also, where there is a little chapel. The Catholic population is about 1500.

The Hutt, eight miles north of Wellington, is the residence of Father Seon. The Catholic population is only 360, scattered over different districts; in the Lower Hutt, there is a chapel and a school for girls; in the Upper Hutt, or St. Joseph's, twelve miles to the north, there is a chapel; in the Wairarapa, further north, a chapel is building.

Wanganui, the residence of Father Pezant and Brother Euloge, has a magnificent church, a school for boys, a house which the Natives frequent when they come to town; many chapels in the important places of this district; and about 700 Catholics. The Father ministers to the spiritual wants of the secondary stations of Waitotara on the west, and of Rangitikei to the south on the sea-coast.

Wanganui River, or Kaueeroa, 50 miles north on the river, is the residence of Father Lampila and Brother Elias-Regis; it has a church, a school, and about 650 Catholics.

Napier is the site of a beautiful church, and two schools... Father Regnier and Brother Basil and Florentin reside with 40 Maoris in a large farm; here all the Natives of the country assemble on Sundays and on festival days. About 800 Catholics.
(6). Taranaki, or New Plymouth ..... (has) a little chapel, a school, and from 500 to 600 Catholics.

(7). Nelson (boasts) a church, a school for boys of high reputation, a girls' school, three chapels in the interior. The Fathers in Nelson have to do duty in Waimea and at Wairau, now the province of Marlborough. There are from 500 to 600 Catholics.

Following this list there is an account of the development of Roman Catholicism in (8) Christchurch and (9) Dunedin. In Christchurch a beautiful church was being built, as well as a schoolhouse for little girls destined for Sisters of Our Lady of the Missions. There were from 1800 to 2000 Catholics. Dunedin was the residence of Fathers Moreau and Aime Martin. There, the new chapel finally became too small to hold the congregation, so large had it become as a result of the gold-rushes. There were chapels also at Tuapeka, at Manukiriro Junction, at Koworou, at Dunstan and at Fox Diggings. Others were being built at Queenstown and at Invercargill. The Catholic population of Otago was from 15,000 to 20,000 souls. Of the two priests, one toured the mining districts, while the other remained in the town. At the diggings, it appears to have been the Irish who came under the more direct Roman Catholic influence.
APPENDIX IV.

RECORD OF THE RESULTS OF THE NO-LICENSE AND PROHIBITION POLLS FROM 1894 TO 1928.

The Prohibition movement is perhaps the only instance of a case where the results of a religious influence can be approximately measured by statistics. Of course, the individual work of reformation carried on by various temperance societies, cannot be adequately measured. The following table, which is adapted from Cocker and Murray's "Temperance and Prohibition in New Zealand" (pages 271 and 272), presents the data in a form, which admits of each comparison between the various polls, and is therefore useful in judging the extent to which the movement can claim success, illustrating the relevant sections of Chapters V and VI.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>CONTINUANCE</th>
<th>REJUCTION</th>
<th>NO-LICENSE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>41,165</td>
<td>15,856</td>
<td>48,856</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>139,580</td>
<td>94,556</td>
<td>98,312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>143,962</td>
<td>109,449</td>
<td>120,542</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>148,449</td>
<td>132,240</td>
<td>151,524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>182,884</td>
<td>151,057</td>
<td>198,768</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YEAR</td>
<td>CONTINUANCE</td>
<td>REDUCTION</td>
<td>NO-LICENSE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>189,241</td>
<td>162,759</td>
<td>223,466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>237,025</td>
<td>205,661</td>
<td>234,656</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>274,405</td>
<td>257,442</td>
<td>229,474</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>264,189</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>241,251</td>
<td>32,261</td>
<td>270,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>282,669</td>
<td>35,727</td>
<td>300,791</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>299,590</td>
<td>56,037</td>
<td>319,450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>374,502</td>
<td>64,276</td>
<td>294,453</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is noteworthy that, by 1908, the operation of the Reduction vote had decreased licenses by 343. In Dunedin, the most remarkable change took place. There were 75 licenses in existence in 1893, and only 30 in 1908.

The electoral districts won for "no-license" were twelve in number, namely Clutha (1894), Mataura (Southland) and Ashburton...
(Canterbury) (1902), Invercargill, Oamaru (Otago), and Grey Lynn (Auckland) (1905), and Bruce (Otago), Wellington South, Wellington Suburbs, Masterton (Wellington province), Ohinemuri voted for the restoration of licenses.

By 1927, the number of persons per license had increased almost to three times the number in 1894. That perhaps is the most remarkable achievement of the Prohibition movement.
APPENDIX V.

THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THE PRINCIPAL RELIGIOUS BODIES
IN NEW ZEALAND SINCE 1926.

The year 1926 is the latest that a census has been taken in New Zealand. The 1931 census was abandoned as an economy measure. Consequently, the figures quoted here can be taken only as indications of the comparative strength of various denominations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>Membership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Church of England</td>
<td>553,993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterians</td>
<td>330,731</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholics</td>
<td>173,364</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodists</td>
<td>121,212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptists</td>
<td>21,955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>7,282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jews</td>
<td>2,591</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lutherans</td>
<td>2,483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unitarians</td>
<td>1,024</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quakers</td>
<td>449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small Protestant Bodies</td>
<td>49,857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Sectarian and all others</td>
<td>79,528</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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Williamson, J.A.: "Foundation and Growth of the British Empire."

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