

TIMOTHY PETER CLARKE

Bishop Hobhouse

THE NELSON EPISCOPATE (1859-1865)
OF THE RT. REV EDMUND HOBHOUSE D.D.,
FIRST BISHOP OF NELSON, NEW ZEALAND.

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PREFACE

In 1841 New Zealand became a diocese of the United Church of England and Ireland and the Rev. George Augustus Selwyn, a former student and tutor of Eton, was consecrated as its bishop.

Throughout the colony's earliest years Selwyn laboured alone to create for it a comprehensive episcopal system of ecclesiastical organisation. In 1856 he was joined by an old friend, the Rev. Henry John Chitty Harper who accepted the new bishopric centred on J.R. Godley's Church of England settlement in Canterbury. Further division of Selwyn's over-large diocese in 1858 created new dioceses in what had been the New Zealand Company's settlements at Wellington and Nelson and the Ven. Charles Abraham and the Rev. Edmund Hobhouse were appointed as their bishops. At the same time the volcanic plateau and east coast of the North Island became the missionary diocese of Waiapu with the Ven. William Williams as its bishop.

With the exception of Williams these new bishops were ex-Etonians, old friends of Selwyn and members of well connected "County" families, which meant that their class background was very different from that of the settlers to whom they were called to minister. They were an élite band of educated cultured men moving among folk who, in England, had been tenant farmers, clerks, tradesmen, servants or navvies.

This thesis attempts three things. First, it provides a narrative of Hobhouse's episcopate at Nelson. Second, it examines his theological, spiritual, moral and social attitudes against his upper-class Victorian background and in the light of the intellectual and cultural movements of his time. Third, it examines his work in the context of the emerging colonial church. Comparisons of Hobhouse with the other Etonian bishops show how all their ministries were affected by the cultural and educational gulf which separated them from the laity and raise the question whether or not the Church was wise to consecrate to the colonial bishoprics men whose class, education and culture were so at variance with those of the settlers and natives.

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A NOTE ON NOMENCLATURE

Whenever Anglican writings present a definite and codified concept of the universe, it is an hierarchial one. Just as the Angels have their Orders, there is, among men, a rigid spiritual hierarchy which first divides laymen from sacred ministers, and then divides the ministers into three Orders of Bishop, Priest and Deacon, each with its special function in the hierarchy. The differences between these Orders are of a theological nature relating to the spiritual powers conferred in the differing ordination rites.

A Bishop is the spiritual and administrative head of a diocese, and to him alone is reserved the performance of those sacramental rites which change one's station in the divine hierarchy - confirmation and ordination.¹ Priests have the power to bless and absolve from sin. It is their duty to care for the spiritual growth of the laity by preaching, counselling and administering Holy Communion, Penance and Unction, the sacraments which enrich individual spiritual experience. The ministry of deacons is to teach and to serve the whole church community.

Superimposed upon this theological hierarchy of Order is a network of Dignity. Dignities are purely administrative devices, for whereas ordination changes a person's station in the divine hierarchy and thus alters for ever his relationship to God and the whole created universe; acquisition of a new dignity affects only his temporal authority. The office of Archbishop, for instance, is theologically no different from that of Bishop; he merely administers a Province made up of several dioceses with their bishops. By the same token, an archdeacon is an administrative officer (usually in priest's orders) appointed by a bishop to supervise the routine administration of a part of the diocese, and a dean is the chief minister (also normally a priest) of a cathedral.

Leaving aside the bishops, nearly all Anglican clergymen are priests possessing differing dignities. Even during Selwyn's rule in New Zealand, when a high degree of scholarship was necessary before a man could be ordained to the priesthood, few remained long in deacon's orders.²

1. Baptism, the sacrament by which one is admitted to membership of the Church may be administered by a priest, or in an emergency by a deacon or layman.
2. Ordination to the diaconate for one year is a prerequisite for ordination to the priesthood. It is not common for men to remain deacons longer than this prescribed year.

Many dignities confer on their holder a special name (e.g. Archdeacon). However, this leaves the correct term of reference for the remaining clergymen undefined. Originating from the post-Reformation fear of the Roman Catholic Church, with which the word "priest" is exclusively linked in the public mind, Englishmen have had a deep seated reluctance to refer to their clergymen by this title and it has become much more common to speak of the "Parson", "Vicar" "Rector", "Curate", or "Minister" of a district or parish. "Minister" is a general term applicable to any man in Holy Orders, but the rest of these names have precise meanings which distinguish the details of a clergyman's tenure of his parish, glebe and tithes. They are technical terms which arose out of England's peculiar patronage system and have little meaning elsewhere. Although some of them have since been taken over by the New Zealand church, historically their use is best restricted to England. Nineteenth century sources, however, abound with their imprecise use and for this reason I have avoided them except in quoting. Technically a curate was a clergyman inducted by his Bishop to a cure of souls but possessing no benefice, and, in this sense, the name was frequently (and with some justification) employed in the early official papers of the New Zealand Church; however it now means an assistant minister and its use should be confined to the quotations, where the older, correct meaning applies.

The distinctions which I make between clerical posts are as follows:-

- i) Chaplains are clergymen whose ministry is to one special section of the community regardless of territorial considerations. They are appointed by the Bishop and their stipend provided by the Bishop and/or from diocesan funds.
- ii) Missionaries are clergymen with a ministry to all inhabitants of a territorial district, appointed by and responsible solely to the Bishop. Stipends are provided by the Bishop and/or the diocese.
- iii) Officiating Ministers are inducted by the Bishop into the cure of souls of a district, but with their selection involving a call from the inhabitants who also provide their stipends. Unlike 1) and ii) they have the assistance of Churchwardens and vestries in organising the church's work and worship.
- iv) Assistant Ministers are appointed and paid as iii) above, but are subordinate to the authority of officiating ministers.

Unless it is otherwise stated, a clergyman may be assumed to be in priest's Orders.

In the colonial New Zealand Church, however, because of the shortage of clergy, the laity took upon themselves as much responsibility as was consistent with their ranking in the spiritual hierarchy.

Laymen may perform those parts of the church service which involve no sacerdotal ministry of Grace, thus they may read the Orders of Morning and Evening Prayer (provided that they omit the Absolution and the Blessing) but they may not consecrate the elements at Holy Communion. They may also read sermons, and perhaps even write their own.

It was common, in the colonial church for Bishops to license some men whom they called Lay-readers to do these things when the officiating minister was absent. It was not a perfect solution, for the congregation was still deprived of all sacramental spiritual life; but it did ensure some form of worship on a regular basis for those not fortunate enough to have a regular priestly ministry available to them.

PLATES

Hitherto New Zealand has known only two photographs of Bishop Hobhouse:- a slightly surly profile reproduced in Ault's The Nelson Narrative (facing p.64.), and a much younger profile in the possession of the Nelson Provincial Museum Trust Board.

Through the kindness of Hobhouse's grand-daughter, Miss D. Hobhouse, I am now able to reproduce some other photographs of the Bishop, thus giving to New Zealand several more flattering likenesses; along with one of Mrs Hobhouse taken in Nelson in 1862.

The plates are as follows:-

By courtesy of the Nelson Provincial Museum Trust Board:-

I.) Profile of Hobhouse as a young man, date unknown.

By courtesy of Miss D. Hobhouse:-

II.) Full face of Hobhouse as a young man, seated, date unknown.

III.) Full face of Hobhouse as a young man, seated, date unknown.

IV.) Full face of Hobhouse in old age, 1887.

V.) Profile of Mrs Hobhouse, standing, Nelson 1862.



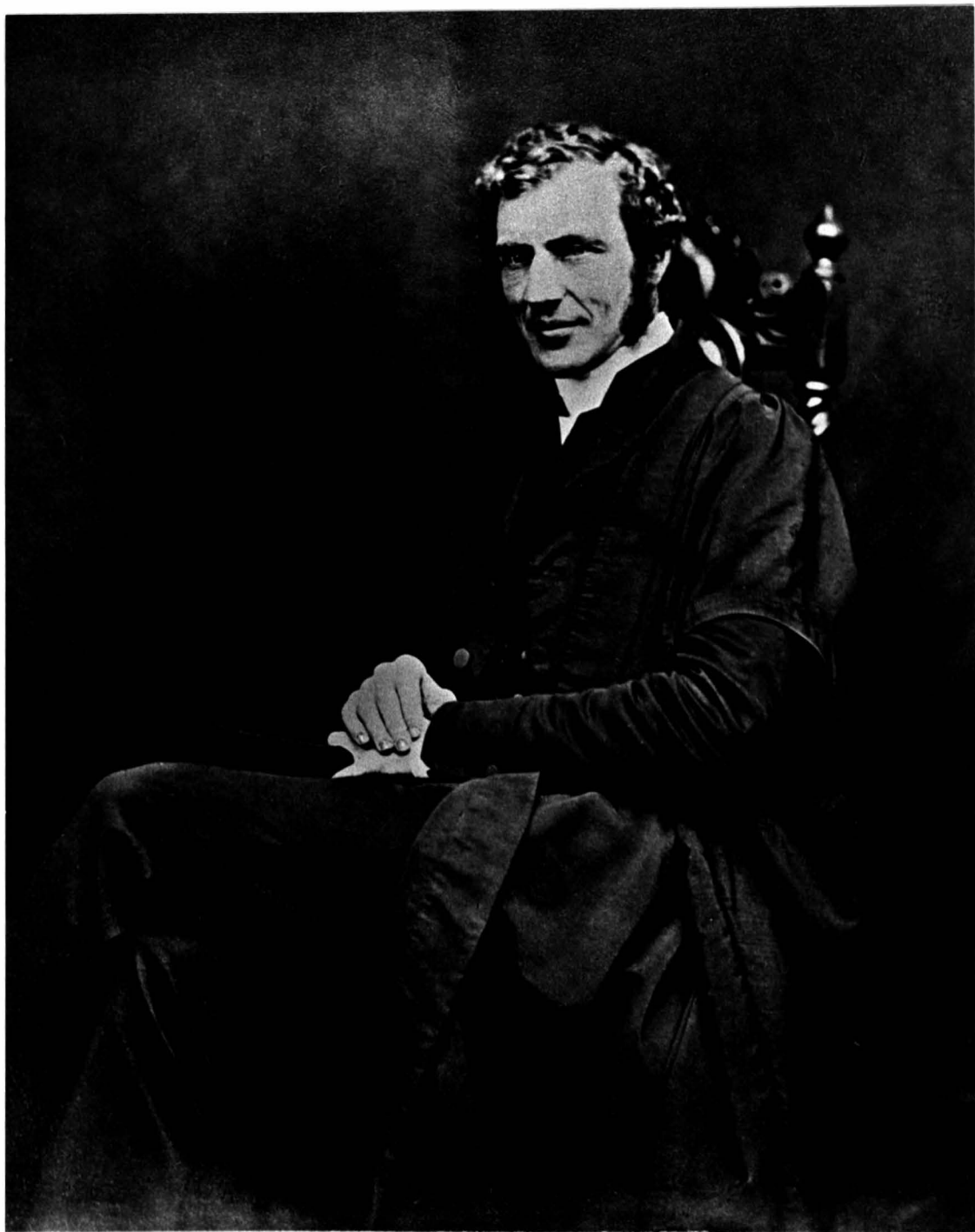
PLATE I.

Profile of Hobhouse as a young man, date unknown.

By courtesy, Nelson Provincial Museum Trust Board.



PLATE II. Full face of Hobhouse as a young man, seated, date unknown.
By courtesy, Miss D. Hobhouse.



Edmund Hobhouse

PLATE III. Full face of Hobhouse as a young man, seated, date unknown.
By courtesy, Miss D. Hobhouse.



EDMUND HOBHOUSE, BISHOP.

1817—1904.

PLATE IV.

Full face of Hobhouse in old age, 1887.

By courtesy, Miss D. Hobhouse.



PLATE V. Profile of Mrs Hobhouse, standing, Nelson 1862.
By courtesy, Miss D. Hobhouse.

THE DIOCESE OF NELSON, 1862.

From a map drawn by Mrs M.E. Hobhouse and printed with

An Account of the Diocese of Nelson,

a booklet prepared by Miss E. Hobhouse to publicise the

Bishop's work.

Reproduced by courtesy of the
Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

INTRODUCTION

Edmund Hobhouse was born in London on 17 April 1817, the same year that his father the Rt. Hon. Henry Hobhouse became Under-secretary of State for the Home Department. His family, called the "younger branch" because it was descended from a younger son early in the eighteenth century, had during the making of fortunes which was so characteristic of the period, settled at Hadsphen, a country house of moderate size two miles from the town of Castle Cary in Somerset. Edmund was the second of four sons, having brothers who earned distinction in the family's traditional legal and ecclesiastical careers.

In September 1828, Hobhouse entered Eton as a boarder and made good progress at his academic studies. However on 20 January 1830, he was suddenly smitten with violent headaches. We can be sure now that the headaches were migraine, but this malady was unknown to his doctors and they treated him by blood-letting and "applications to the shaved head."¹ Needless to say the effect of this remedy was negligible and he left Eton in June. After a year of complete rest he continued his education under a private tutor and was able, in 1835, to enter Balliol College, Oxford, where because of his headaches, he followed a reduced course of study. In Easter Term 1838, after the shortest possible residence, he graduated B.A.

From Balliol he went to Durham where he studied theology until the summer of 1840 at the same time contriving to keep the residence necessary to be granted his Balliol M.A. His theological studies culminated in ordination to the Diaconate at Christmas 1841 and the Priesthood a year later.

In June 1841, after two fruitless attempts, he was elected to a Merton Fellowship. This very soon brought him a curacy at St. Peter's-in-the-East which was one of the College's livings. In 1843 he became vicar of the parish, a position that he held until 1858. His work was further increased by his acceptance of a Merton Tutorship in 1846 and by his appointment as secretary to Bishop Wilberforce's newly created Diocesan Board of Education in 1847.

In Easter Week 1850 his old migraine returned and he was forced to take three months leave which he spent with his parents at Hadsphen. Later in the year he spent two months touring in Greece. He took another month in 1852 for the same reason, and a further three months over Holy Week and Easter 1853, followed by a trip to the United States in August. These rests combined with a determination to work at a lower pace spared his health from total collapse, but the warning was surely plain.

¹ Hobhouse, Outline of My Life; pp 2,6.

Selwyn, during his 1854 visit to England, raised with Hobhouse the possibility of his going to New Zealand. However, he offered no definite post and the invitation was refused.² 1855 brought him the offer of the new diocese of Christchurch. However as soon as it became possible for Harper (who had been Selwyn's first choice) to accept the bishopric, Hobhouse withdrew his claim. Two years later (1857) he received another call from Selwyn, this time to accept the Diocese of Nelson, and despite widespread doubts about his health,³ he accepted this call. Much preparation followed, both official, concerning the division of Selwyn's diocese, and personal involving family farewells, booking a berth, packing and the like. The consecration was delayed, then twice postponed, so that it was not until Michaelmas, 29 September 1858, that the Archbishop of Canterbury (Sumner) and the Bishops of London (Tait), Lichfield (Lonsdale) and Oxford (Wilberforce) laid hands upon Hobhouse and Abraham, who had accepted the see of Wellington thus raising them to the Episcopate.

On New Year's day 1858, Hobhouse was married to Mary Elizabeth Brodrick, seeing matrimony, he said, "as a means of carrying with me something of an English Home, and a remedy against the coming Isolation from congenial Society."⁴ There is more than a suggestion here that while he was willing, even happy to serve the Church in the colonies, he was under no illusion about the comforts he was renouncing.

In November 1858 Mrs Hobhouse was delivered of a still-born child, and on 11 December, before she had had time to recover fully, they left England attended by Hobhouse's Chaplain, the Rev. Lonsdale Pritt, and one Maid-servant, Deborah Hill. The Nelson Episcopate had begun.

2 Hobhouse to Lord Lyttleton, 25 Jan. 1856. Canterbury Museum.

3 e.g. "His health is not strong- i.e. he was overdone and subject to a rush of blood to the head." Bishop Wilberforce to Lord Lyttleton, 10 Jan. 1856. Canterbury Museum.

4 Hobhouse, Outline, p.18.

CHAPTER I

ECCLESIASTICAL ORGANISATION

The first problem which Hobhouse had to face in Nelson, and in New Zealand as a whole, was the almost total absence of any organised system of church government or administration. New structures had to be created; structures consistent with the Anglican tradition from which the New Zealand branch of the Church sought its inspiration, yet which would function smoothly and efficiently in a young colony.

In England diocesan and parochial boundaries had been part of the nation for as long as could be remembered. They followed yet older Anglo-Saxon administrative districts, and formed a political as well as a spiritual network over the country. In the colonies there was no such organisation. Colonial bishops had the boundaries of their dioceses decreed by their Letters Patent; but beyond that there was nothing. Let it not, however, be supposed that a bishop, coming into a newly created diocese is offered a blank piece of paper on which to draw the image of his choice. Rather, he is like a sculptor who, when confronted with a new piece of marble, examines the minute flows and the lines of cleavage, then proceeds to "call forth" the form which these dictate. The Bishop, certainly is head over a new diocese, but his action is limited by the society and the culture of the people already resident there.

The tasks of organisation and administration should not, however, fall solely on the bishop. It was the practice of the early church, when important decisions had to be made, to call together a representative council for discussion and resolution. The same practice obtained in the English Church. When Parliament met, Convocation came together (until its suppression in 1741) to debate ecclesiastical matters.

The Church in the colonies, deprived of the spiritual hindrance and practical aid which England's erastian system conferred on the home Church, revived the older system of government by representative bodies of churchmen. Selwyn held his first synod in 1844. In England this was regarded as an affront to the Royal Supremacy, and therefore of doubtful legality; however attitudes altered swiftly and in 1857 the New Zealand Church became, not by Act of Parliament but by the voluntary consent of her members, an independent Province of the Church of England with her own Constitution.

In coming to New Zealand, Hobhouse consented to be bound by this constitution. He had taken no part in framing its provisions or its form; but in 1857, after he had received a definite call from Selwyn and the Archdeaconary Board of Nelson and when the Archbishop of Canterbury and Crown Officers had signified their consent, he was entrusted with negotiating

the form of the new Patents with the Colonial Office. ^{1.}

Correspondence with Selwyn and Gray (Bishop of Capetown), and his 1853 trip to the United States when he observed the institutions and processes by which this independent episcopal church governed itself, gave Hobhouse much useful experience for this work on the Patents.

By 1859 the skeletal principles of doctrine and worship had been settled, but before the New Zealand Church could have a life independent of the mother church the flesh of organisational detail was still required. This was the task of the first General Synod which met in Wellington in March 1859 - only weeks after Hobhouse's arrival in New Zealand.

Selwyn's presidential address, 9 March 1859 outlined the work before Synod, then the questions which he had raised were sent to Committees to be reported, debated and resolved. Hobhouse sat on those which considered:-

- (i) Standing Orders,
- (ii) the Appointment of Pastors to Parishes,
- (iii) the transfer of trusts,
- (iv) the definition of Church Officers (this arising out of the first report of the Committee on the Permanent Organisation of General Synod)
- (v) the Disciplinary Tribunals which had to be established,
- (vi) a fund for Home and Foreign Missions.

The Synod's work was hard and demanding, and Hobhouse lamented both the practical difficulties:-

Unhappily our legal Members are very few. Mr Swainson, the ex Attorney general comprises all the lawyer power of any Calibre. He is of the greatest Service, but would be more useful if ^{2.} we could only cut him in bits and make him serve on every Committee.

and lay ignorance:

Hard fighting in Synod - on Appointment of Pastors. Some of our good Laity are little better than Farmers and find it hard to follow the Arguments or enter into the Explanations, and so get alarmed for their Order and its supposed Interests. ^{3.}

When Synod closed, the only question which awaited legislation was ecclesiastical discipline on which a draft bill was to be revised by the Standing Commission and then circulated to the dioceses for comment.

The final act, before members separated, was the consecration of Church Missionary Society missionary William Williams as first Bishop of Waiapu.

Next, the Constitution elaborated by General Synod was taken by the Bishops to the Dioceses where they were to carry it into effect.

1. Hobhouse, Outline, p.18.
2. Hobhouse, Diary, 11 March 1859.
3. ibid., 23 March 1859.

For Hobhouse this was of course Nelson; a diocese which covered all the South Island north of the ~~Nuruni~~ River in the east, and the Grey in the west (see map). With the exception of the settlements around Nelson itself, the area was very sparsely populated, and in parts hardly yet explored. Somehow, he had to administer the Church in this region in such a manner that it served the spiritual needs of the inhabitants, most of whom he had not even met.

Already, though, he knew there would be problems. In Nelson as elsewhere in New Zealand, the clergy were too few in number; and either disillusioned by the problems before them, or so lacking in zeal as to have entirely abandoned their calling in favour of one far more lucrative - farming. The laity, many of whom had infrequent contact with the colonial clergy and were out of the habit of church-going, were dazzled by the radiance of new-found social freedom in a brand new country, and showed no inclination to submit their beliefs and morals to sacerdotal authority. And, most immediate of all, there was a dire shortage of money for building and furnishing churches, or for paying ministers' stipends.

Before Hobhouse could address himself, as Bishop of Nelson, to these problems, it was necessary that he take possession of his diocese. This requirement was met on 28 April 1859 (Thursday in Holy Week) when he was enthroned in Christ Church Nelson - the church that served for many years as Nelson Cathedral. ⁴.

After this formal entry into his diocese, Hobhouse began finding out more about it. He visited Motueka for a week, then on 16 June he visited Stoke where he read Evening Prayer, preached and held a meeting with residents to consider building a church. Later in June he visited Collingwood where, as guest of the resident magistrate, he saw that the diggers had all forgotten their religious training:

Not a breath of united Prayer or Praise ever rises from the lips of Christian Men, most of whom have till recently been trained in the ordinances of religion. ⁵.

On the Sunday of his visit he held divine service twice in a large Maori hall. He also planned to go up as far as the first dig so that he might "hold service and baptise" and meet some of the gold diggers.

This visit convinced Hobhouse of the need for a clergyman to reside there as soon as possible. He met with the church people, who agreed to raise £100 per annum toward a clergyman's stipend and to arrange services under a lay reader until a clergyman could be obtained.

4. Technically, a parish church which serves also as a cathedral is known as a pro-cathedral.

5. Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse, 21 June 1859.

When Nelson Synod came together officially on 9 August 1859, Hobhouse had seen the populated areas around Nelson and was more than ever aware of the diocese's needs. In answer to the two most pressing he had already acted by appointing the Rev. T.L. Tudor as Native Chaplain and sending the Rev. J.C. Bagshaw to Motueka, however there were much more far-reaching administrative decisions to be made, so Hobhouse lost little time in convening his first diocesan synod. Basically this was a co-opted body, for there were as yet not rules to govern the election of synodsmen.

Hobhouse's synod address bears remarkable affinity to Selwyn's at General Synod six months earlier. He began by outlining the role of synods in governing the Church in New Zealand, then went on to discuss the many institutions and rules which this synod had to create. His topics covered every aspect of church administration, for he dealt with the creation of property trusts, the machinery of synod elections, the formation of parishes, the appointment of ministers, discipline, the necessity of a standing committee to act on behalf of synod between sessions, the creation of a general fund which would support missions to settlers in thinly populated areas, to the Maoris and to the pacific heather; the need for statistical returns, ^{/n} a pension fund and a common hymnal for the diocese; and finally the importance of the Church taking a leading role in education.

With the exception of education, these topics arose out of the business of March's General Synod. The 1859 General Synod had put flesh onto the bones of the Church's Constitution by laying down guidelines which ensured uniformity of system, but not necessarily of practice, throughout the country. To the five diocesan synods was delegated the task of clothing this body of administrative law with precise procedures adapted to local needs and prejudices.

For twelve days Nelson synodsmen debated details of organisation, and produced a rather complex system which required among other needless complications annual synod elections; yet despite its deficiencies it was a major advance for Hobhouse and his diocese.

By creating institutions and procedures it gave structure to the Church in Nelson. All Church life in the diocese could now be co-ordinated; local congregations were more obviously part of a diocese and thus of the whole world-wide Church; individual and local efforts would be but one tiny part of the Church's whole divine mission.

When the synod was over Hobhouse wrote to his sister that his infant diocese was on its feet and walking. He said that the results were better than he had anticipated from "the oddest set of Church legislators ever assembled ... Farmers, Captains, Majors, Lieuts. R.N., an attorney, an apothecary and an ex barrister." 6.

6. Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse, 29 Aug. 1859.

Mrs Hobhouse offered a more elaborate picture of this odd set:

It was no wonder there were some irregularities at first starting seeing the materials of which the assembly is composed: a retired captain of small traders, all bristling and bushy, a prosperous Footman turned Farmer, a broken down old lawyer, one or two old military men, a good honest yeoman who when he dines with us drinks to our health in a tumbler of beer, and so on. And it is a great thing to have got them to take an interest in Church matters and give up time to them and carry on their discussions in a Christian tone. 7.

There was considerable coming and going among the clergy during the next twelve months.

On 10 November Hobhouse appointed the Rev. W. Bird who was tutor and private chaplain to a runholder named Tetley, as a missionary clergyman in the Woodstock (Awatere) region.

In January 1860 the Ven. R.B. Paul who had administered the Church in Nelson from 1857 to 1859 returned to England.

Tudor went to Auckland to prepare for ordination to the Priesthood, returning after the ordination (4 March) to live with the Hobhouses while he began his ministry among the diocese's Maori population.

Pritt, who had accompanied Hobhouse from England as his Chaplain, left Nelson in February after his engagement was broken off.

In June the two departures were made up by the arrival of the Rev. R.H. Codrington and the Rev. H.M. Turton. Codrington had been Hobhouse's curate at St. Peter's-in-the-East, and now offered his gratuitous services to the diocese for three years. He was sent out to begin the mission at Collingwood while Turton, who was Hobhouse's cousin, remained in Nelson as assistant minister at Christ Church. Thus in his first year Hobhouse had replaced some clergymen but had gained none. He had eight ordained men with whom to satisfy the spiritual needs of some 9,000 churchmen who were scattered over half the South Island. In this the 1860 synod roll is misleading. It names eleven clergymen, two of whom (Paul and Pritt) had left Nelson, while a third (the Rev. E.C. Wyvell) who appears in the 1860 and 1861 rolls held no post and evidently took no active part in diocesan affairs. The only other reference to him is in Hobhouse's diary: "I found Mr Wyvell today at the Torlove's doing nice watercolours of this grand Alpine region" 8.

7. Mrs M.E. Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse, 22 Aug. 1859.

8. Hobhouse, Diary, 6 Dec. 1861.

The 1860 Nelson Synod, being the first elected under the rules created in 1859, opened on 3 August. Hobhouse devoted some of his address to a review of the past year's activities, then went on to consider present problems.

Within one year his emphasis had moved from the creation of rules and institutions to matters affecting the Church's pastoral ministry. People and their spiritual needs were much more important to the second synod.

Things seemed to be progressing well in the diocese, and although Codrington wrote that he thought the Bishop was under strain,⁹ Hobhouse's own letters show no signs of it. He was however, working very hard, having, since his arrival, added the duties of officiating minister at Christ Church Nelson to his episcopal labours. In addition to his administrative responsibilities, this involved him in preaching five times a week as well as daily exposition in the Chapel, and addresses in hospital and goal.¹⁰

The principal administrative topic discussed by the 1860 Synod was the enrolment of church-members, for the 1859 synod had not created rolls of those eligible to vote in synod elections, nor had it decided upon the qualifications (whether a simple statement of belief, or communicant status) for those wishing to be enrolled. This problem required solution before the synodical system of Church government could come into full operation; however the rolls provided more than a list of those eligible to vote in synod elections. In that they also provided the clergy with an indication of those to whom their pastoral ministry primarily lay, they signified the changed relationship of Church to society in the colonies. In England, where the Church of England was Established, everyone was a member of it unless he stated his dissent; whereas in New Zealand where the Church was a voluntary association, no-one was a member (in the administrative sense) unless he was enrolled.

Hobhouse was anxious to establish a new precision in defining Church membership in New Zealand. Church rolls helped in this, but he took other steps as well. Earlier that year he had first expressed the wish that immigrants should bring from their English clergymen certificates testifying to their Baptism, Confirmation and Communicant status so that there might be no doubt about their bona fides and "to show that his relationship to them is first a spiritual one"¹¹.

9. Fragment, R.H. Codrington, 6 May 1860; Hobhouse Papers, Folder 1.

10. Extracts copies for English Circulation, March 1860; Hobhouse Papers, Folder 1.

11. Mrs M.E. Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse, 11 Oct. 1860; also Hobhouse to Richmond, 2 Feb. 1860; (Webster Papers).

With the same end in view, he sought also to define the availability of the Church's Occasional Offices. On 8 February 1860 the Nelson Examiner reported an act of suicide. It stated also that Hobhouse had refused permission for the Anglican burial service to be read over the body on the grounds that no proof had been tendered of the deceased's membership of the Church of England.

His reason for refusing is critical. As a suicide the victim could have no claim upon the Anglican service anyway, for the rubric prefixing "The Order for the Burial of the Dead" in the Book of Common Prayer states: "that this Office ... is not to be used for any that die unbaptized, or excommunicated, or have laid violent hands upon themselves", but Hobhouse's refusal was on completely different grounds, and was explained in a letter to Nelson's Superintendent dated 13 January (i.e. before the death in question).

My dear Sir, I find that the practice prevails here of assuming that the bodies of all deceased persons which are unclaimed by any denomination of Christians have a claim upon the Church of England for interment, and for interment with the same services that are used in behalf of the most attached and consistent members ... It becomes my duty to notify you .. that while I am quite ready to minister to the living, whether of my own communion or not, who are ready to accept of my services, I do not feel bound to give my services after death, unless they are claimed on the grounds of the deceased's Membership of the Church of England, and these grounds must in reason be stated to my satisfaction. 12.

There is a rigidity about the action and about the letter which did not appeal to the people of Nelson, and when only six months later a similar case (though without the complication of suicide) was made known through the press, Hobhouse was stigmatised as "harsh and inconsistent" while the Presbyterian minister who officiated at the burial was hailed as "acting in the more christian spirit." 13.

Again Hobhouse's reason for refusing was that the deceased was unknown to the Anglican clergy, so that (regardless of his having been baptised) he could not in death claim a ministry which he had ignored while alive.

To Hobhouse Church Rolls, Certificates, and restriction on the Occasional Offices represented three ways in which he might define Church membership. Before Hobhouse's arrival people had been in the habit of moving from church to church as the whims of different preachers caught their fancies, but to his precise mind, love of order and knowledge of those doctrines for which Anglicanism stood, this was intolerable chaos which must be rooted out. Church rolls, certificates and restriction of the Occasional Offices to known members of the Church would be three important steps in bringing order out of the anarchy which he had found in Nelson - provided his instructions were followed by the clergy.

12. Nelson Examiner 22 Feb. 1860. He expressed the same views in a sermon "The Grave and its Teachings," Sermons, pp. 224-234.

13. Nelson Examiner, 29 Aug. 1860.

Unfortunately, few Nelson people saw the same need for precision, and the rigidity which stemmed from Hobhouse's remorseless logic in all such matters earned him, very early in his episcopate, a reputation for narrowness and uncharitableness.

1860 was the year of the Taranaki Land Wars, and by September refugees were billeted in the city, placing an additional strain on the Nelson clergy. The Odd-Fellows Hall was obtained soon after their arrival and served as a temporary extra Church; ¹⁴. but there were insufficient clergymen to conduct the services and to preach. It is but one instance of a problem that plagued Hobhouse throughout his Nelson episcopate, showing that the best administration in the world is useless if it lacks vital officers.

Under Hobhouse's leadership 1861 was a year of happiness and expansion for the Nelson Church. In January Codrington, of whose ministry at Collingwood everyone spoke well, moved to Spring Grove where he assisted Poole who until this time had had the whole of the Waimea under his care. Also in January a church school was opened at Picton under the charge of Philpott who had been living with the Hobhouse's for some months.

The high-point of Hobhouse's year came in February when Hobhouse travelled to Auckland to assist Selwyn and Abraham in the consecration of the Rev. J.C. Patteson as missionary Bishop in Melanesia on 24 February.

In April the Taranaki refugees returned home, and the Rev. C.H.J. Halcombe (who with his wife had recently arrived from England) went to continue the missionary ministry at Collingwood.

The Diocesan Synod met in May but its proceedings were not reported in the Examiner because of strife caused by Hobhouse stating in his 1860 synod Address that the English Reformation purged away the accretions of Romish error.

Hobhouse began his 1861 Address by describing the consecration of the Bishop of Melanesia, and elaborating its missionary significance. Then, inevitably, he gave considerable time to his own diocese's current position:- He had not yet found a clergyman for the Amuri. A scheme mooted the previous year for vesting land given for Maori advancement with Maori Trustees had had to be deferred because the land question throughout the country was far too controversial at that time to permit any alteration to the current Maori Trusts.

14. Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse, 8 May 1861.

Tudor (the Native Chaplain) was making a year's visit to England, and Hobhouse stressed his personal fear that the Maoris might misinterpret his absence. Little advance had been made in the enrolment of Church members, and he again stressed its importance for establishing Church activities on a more orderly basis.

Finally he declared that although the General and Diocesan Synods had set up the Trusts, and other machinery necessary for the execution of Diocesan business, the voluntary labour upon which these relied was seldom forthcoming, nor was it very efficient, so that much of the work fell, unnecessarily, to the Bishop, "We have set up," he said, "a machinery that we cannot man." ¹⁵. The criticism was not of the machinery itself but of its complexity. By way of remedy, Hobhouse sought the three things he was least likely to find in New Zealand Society. "We need" he said, "more men of Leisure, ability and goodwill combined". ¹⁶. Yet he was saying this not in England, but in a colony where leisure as it was known to a whole class of Englishmen did not exist; where many had found refuge because their abilities were not adequate to keep up the struggle for respectability in England; and where many looked sourly at the Church as an institution founded on patronage and deference.

Although he intended to point only to the needless complexity of the administrative system, in fact he touched on the root of a problem plaguing the whole colonial Church. The Constitution was a great legal document and was undoubtedly a triumph for Selwyn, however it relied too heavily upon an English social structure which the New Zealand Company had wished to reproduce in New Zealand but which had just not transplanted.

On 17 May Hobhouse despairing of achieving a standard book for the whole country, sanctioned Mercer's Hymn Book and Psalter as the hymnal of his diocese, and the session closed on 21 May.

In the remaining months Hobhouse dedicated two new churches:- the Church of the Good Shepherd in the Wairau (6 October) and the Church of the Nativity Blenheim (22 December) however the encouragement drawn from these portents of Church expansion was marred by the absence of clergymen to minister in them.

The shortage of clergy became even more depressing in December when the Rev. W. Bird signified his intention of withdrawing from the Awatere. A whole rural region was thus left without the services of an ordained minister.

On 31 December Hobhouse relinquished the cure of the town (Christ Church) parish and licensed to it his cousin, the Rev. H.M. Turton, who had been

15. Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse 10 June 1861: and Nelson Synod Proceedings 1861.

16. ibid.

assistant minister since 1860. This meant that although Hobhouse continued to preach and to share some of the pastoral work, he was spared the time-consuming duties of parish administration and could devote more of his energies to his episcopal work.

1862 was the year of the second General Synod of the New Zealand Church. It had been decided to rotate the venue around the five New Zealand Dioceses, and this time the Synod met in Nelson. Although it did not open till 20 February Selwyn had been in Nelson since 11 January, and Harper since 18 January. They, together with Hobhouse, did much preparatory work before the arrival of Bishop Abraham with Archdeacon Hadfield and the Wellington contingent on 9 February, and of Bishops Williams and Patteson on 11 February. The Synod's legality was jeopardised by difficulty in achieving a lay quorum, since, as a protest against surrendering control of their Trust property to General Synod, no clergy or laymen attended from the Diocese of Christchurch. Harper, it seems, was having trouble with rebellious men who had no intention of sharing their wealth with the other New Zealand dioceses.

Hobhouse took his usual active part in the proceedings, which were concentrated this time on the problems of christian ministry. The great work of organisation had been completed in 1859, and despite the serious challenge intended by the absence of the Christchurch clergy and laity, it seemed that the synodical system would succeed in governing the New Zealand Church.

On the whole, the Church's future looked bright, but around Hobhouse were gathering clouds which portended a dismal future:

I am sorry to say that in spite of the abatement of work this week, Ed's head does not appear at all to improve - and I am much disappointed to see in comparing him with others how much more he suffers from the same amount of work. 17.

The Rev. C.L. McLean arrived in Nelson on 5 May. Despite the pressing need for clergy in rural districts, Hobhouse employed him as assistant minister at Christ Church and thus freed himself from all parochial ties.

It was a triumphant moment. He had guided the diocese through its first crisis, watching with true episcopal oversight the creation of the rules and institutions which would constitute the basic machinery of diocesan administration.

17. Mrs M.E. Hobhouse, Diary, 27 Feb. 1862.

Now, three years later, he had reached another milestone in his episcopate. Having served, since his arrival as Bishop of Nelson and officiating minister of Christ Church, he was finally free from the tyranny of parochial ministry; free to devote his energies wholly to that particular episcopal ministry laid down for Bishops in the ordinal; free, that is, as long as he heeded the warning symptoms already evident and did not let his delicate health suffer through strain and over-work.

CHAPTER II

THEOLOGY AND CHURCHMANSHIP

Nineteenth century Anglicanism was threatened by two rifts which widened the divisions among an already diverse group of men. The first of these arose from the Tracts for the Times which emanated from Oxford in the 1830s. The second grew from the new theories of curious scientists, and burst upon the academic world in 1859.

Hobhouse began his ministry against this background of theological diversity, dispute, dissension and turmoil, so from the beginning he had either to join a party or try to steer his way between the factions, ministering to any who found him helpful. The decision would be influenced by his personal theological principles, his concept of the Church, and his belief in the function of the priesthood.

From the beginning the Oxford Movement had two aims. On one level it was a protest against England's ecclesiastical polity which, through the granting of Catholic Emancipation in 1828, and the Reform Bill of 1832 was rapidly becoming more secular. Roman Catholics and Dissenters in parliament could legislate for a church of which they were not members, and when in 1833, parliament proposed to suppress eight Irish bishoprics, the protest burst forth in Keble's "Assize Sermon" and the Tracts for the Times.

Those Oxford men (called Tractarians) revived a doctrine which had in England been lost in three centuries of erastian compromises. They taught that the Church was a spiritual body (the Body of Christ) with its own legislature (convocation); its own hierarchy (the ministry), its own laws, discipline and administration. In their eyes the church derived her existence and her mission from Christ her founder, and there was no role for the State in her life. ¹.

The other focus was an attempt to raise the Church of England from slovenly ways to a new level of holiness. In the teaching of the Tractarians, piety replaced the eighteenth century emphasis upon common-sense morality as the great Christian pursuit. Once more the theology of the Fathers was read, once more Christian prayer and meditation were practised in the search for personal holiness, once more the sacramental means of grace were employed.

Hobhouse was an Oxford student and tutor throughout the early years of the movement, and one might expect it to have played an important part in the

1. Tracts for the Times, Tract 1.

formation of his theological views, especially since many of his friends were involved in it.

His theological views are, however, inexplicit. His three published works are Church history and his sermons, although sometimes pointing to a theological or devotional system, fail to spell it out. Though he was widely read in academic theology, it was not his greatest interest, and those views which he did express underwent no dramatic change during his lifetime.

A study of the books which he owned reveals the direction of his interest and suggests the scope of his reading and knowledge.² Among these were The Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology,³ the Library of the Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church (to both of which collections he was a subscriber, isolated works by Newman and Pusey, and works dealing with English Church history.

Another potential source of information about Hobhouse's theology is his sermons, of which twenty four survive in printed form.

On 14 February 1860 when he preached at Stoke Harvest Thanksgiving, Miss C.M. Durley (later Mrs Beatson) recorded a summary. He spoke of the "harvest" on two levels:- the crops for which the congregation had assembled to give thanks, and the spiritual harvest which we reap at Judgement. Just as physical toil (ploughing, sowing, pruning, weeding) precedes the agricultural harvest, so Christians should:

prepare their hearts for the spiritual seed, cleanse them of the weeds of sin, and plough up and keep open our hearts for its reception and labour prayerfully with God's assistance to tend it till it bring forth fruit meet to repentance.⁴

On 25 February she heard him preach again, this time on the seven Churches in the Revelation of St. John the Divine. She recorded his saying that men must work to prevent their faith growing dim and to avoid falling into the sin of lukewarmness. Her comment on this teaching was:

I like the Bishop as a man but I cannot like his doctrine. I fear he dwells too much on works. Oh! how powerless they are to save. Christ alone is the way.

Mr B^{eatson} read these notes of the sermon. Says it might have been preached by an R.C. Priest.⁵

She thought that his sermons did not "speak to the heart".⁶

2. Naturally any attempt to reconstruct the library of a century ago must fail, but the task is not entirely hopeless, for when he left New Zealand Hobhouse gave his entire collection to Nelson as a Diocesan library. The books have since found their way to the Victoria Library and are identifiable by his signature on the fly-leaves.
3. 88 vols., mostly reprints of the seventeenth century high-churchmen from Lancelot Andrewes and William Laud to the Non-Jurors.
4. C.A. Beatson (Durley) Diary, 14 Feb. 1860.
5. ibid., 25 Feb. 1860.
6. ibid.

In this she was right, for none of his sermons were emotional. They were logical arguments, and always stressed the importance of individual self discipline in holiness. This is a different position from both the Evangelical, who makes emotional pleas stressing God's gift of redemption to the penitent sinner, and from the Tractarian who emphasises devotion to the sacraments as the mainspring of a holy life.

Hobhouse's emphasis was upon practical Christianity. Whereas the Tractarians hoped, through prayer, fasting, confession and communion, to know God, Hobhouse hoped that his hearers would serve in a blameless life God. Above all he taught duty and virtue as the basis of holiness.

Despite the fact that both at St. Peters-in-the-East, and in Nelson, he departed from the early Victorian norm by offering weekly celebrations of Holy Communion, ⁷ and despite his son's assertion that:

He was earnest and constant in Private Prayer, and made the fullest use of the ordinances of the Church with deep conviction of the reality of Sacramental Grace. ⁸

his printed sermons rarely mention the sacraments.

In comparison with his contemporaries the weekly Holy Communion was a high church practice. The sacraments were important to him, but not in quite the same way as they were important to the Tractarians who believed them the mainspring of the Christian life and the centre of all piety. To Hobhouse they were not pious ends in themselves, but means of grace which the individual might employ in his struggle to live virtuously.

He also differed from the Tractarians in his concept of the ordained ministry. They restored a lost emphasis upon the ordained ministers of the Church, men set apart by God and the Church at ordination for the work of sacramental ministry, but Hobhouse's addresses to ordination candidates reveal none of this exalted doctrine of the priesthood. He stressed that ordained men should keep themselves holy, win the respect of their congregation, and lead them by example and precept to new heights of virtue. Always, his emphasis was upon the practical holiness of muscular christianity rather than upon Tractarian piety.

But the two crucial divisions between the Tractarians and other Anglicans came over their attitude to the Reformation, and the ceremonial with which they decorated their services.

In 1835, Newman's disciple, Hurrell Froude wrote:

Really I hate the Reformation and the Reformers more and more, and have about made up my mind that the rationalist spirit they set afloat is the *ψευδοπροφῆτης* [false prophet] of the Revelation. ⁹

7. Bishop Wilberforce's Visitation Returns for the Archdeaconry of Oxford 1854 pp.116-117; Nelson Synod Proceedings, Statistics, 1859-1865.
8. Hobhouse, Sermons, p.1xx.
9. Neill, Anglicanism, p.259.

Partly as a result of their devotion to things medieval, and partly because their exalted doctrine of the Church forced them to look critically upon the men and the movement which had divided Western Christendom, the Tractarians doubted the boons conferred upon the English Church by the Reformation.

Hobhouse expressed no such attitude. He was quite sure of the good fruits of the Reformation, and told his 1860 Synod that:

Believing, as we do, that by God's good hand guiding the course of the English Reformation to purge away the accretion of Romish error, without injuring the foundations of primitive faith and primitive order, there is committed to the Reformed Church of England the singular trust of offering to the world those two Blessings in combination, namely (1) the Faith as it was once delivered to the Saints, and (2) the Polity of the Church as it was established once and for all by the Apostles. 10.

This was reported in the Nelson Examiner, and led to a bitter newspaper correspondence between "Catholicus" (a Roman Catholic) and "Catholicus Anglicanus" (an Anglican, not Hobhouse). 11.

The two blessings which Hobhouse claimed to be the peculiar possession of the Church of England were, first "The Faith as it was once delivered to the saints" by which he meant the primitive Faith, without medieval and Roman accretions; and second, "The Polity of the Church as it was established once and for all by the Apostles," which referred to the apostolic three-fold ministry of Bishop, Priest and Deacon.

The two together form a Reformed, but not a Protestant, viewpoint. The English Church used the Reformation as a time to purge from its faith and practice unwarranted medieval additions, but nevertheless it preserved intact the historic ordained ministry and the system of Church order which dated back to the Apostles. By contrast, continental Protestants not only swept away additions to the Faith, but also reorganised the ministry so that each congregation chose from its number someone to serve as pastor.

Hobhouse's words summed up this unique English attitude, indeed they might have been penned by one of the high-church Divines of the seventeenth century who were anxious to defend Anglicanism against both Roman and Genevan claims.

The Tractarian attitude to the Reformation was, however an academic point and excited little comment outside university circles. It was the change in ceremonial instituted by the second generation of Tractarian clergy that really roused the Victorian public to rioting and persecution. In "advanced" churches, the established weekly service of Matins and sermon was replaced by Holy Communion, and this service was dressed up to look as much like the Roman Catholic Mass as possible by using candles, bells, vestments, incense,

10. Nelson Synod Proceedings, 1860, p.7

11. Nelson Examiner, 20 Sept. 1860 et. seq. to 20 Oct. 1860.

bowings, genuflections and latin words.

Hobhouse was not indifferent to the ritualist movement and refused to denounce it, for he knew its leaders to be earnest and devout men whose virtue he admired.

Speaking of the Papal Aggression Fury in 1850-51 he said:-

Those who like me could not see it to be their duty to attend public meetings and join in Invective against Popery (therein including all the newly revived obedience to Anglican ritual) were for the time much discredited.. 12.

The stress should be read on "Anglican" ritual, for this calls to mind the emphasis which elsewhere Hobhouse placed upon the Church of England possessing a tradition of its own - a tradition which, though modified, was unbroken since 597 when St. Augustine of Canterbury founded the Church of England - a tradition which was neither Roman Catholic nor Protestant, but English.

Although many English ritualists took over Roman Catholic devotional and liturgical practices, some scholars knew that neither this new latinism, nor the established Georgian and Regency style of conducting English public worship was in keeping with the intentions of the Book of Common Prayer. They believed that the Church of England had a liturgical tradition of her own, developed from the pre-Reformation Church but at the same time faithful to Reformation principles.

Hobhouse was among them. His library reveals an interest in the development of the English liturgy and ceremonial, for his books included the Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae (three volumes about the Old Sarum Rite), The Two Prayer Books of Edward VI, and a volume by Cardwell which traced later changes in the English Prayer Book. Then, in his retirement he indulged this interest by publishing under the aegis of the Somerset Record Society, three masterly studies of the late medieval English Church.

His interest, was, however, academic and seems not to have intruded into the ministry, for neither his sermons nor his letters refer much to ceremonial developments and his ritual escaped almost without comment in Nelson. Even Miss Durley, who was so critical of Hobhouse's doctrine, made no complaint about it. Practically the only complaint came early in 1863 when a visitor who had attended Christ Church, said:

Bishop Hobhouse performed service and preached. There was, I thought, too much of the sing-song in the one, and no great amount of matter in the other. 13.

The correspondent obviously disapproved of cathedral chanting, however the criticism evoked no reaction despite Nelson's pronounced low church sympathies.

12. Hobhouse Outline p.14. My emphasis.

13. Nelson Examiner, 2 May 1863.

Hobhouse seems to have adjusted his own actions to fit the local norm so as not to antagonise people needlessly, and so that he might get down to what he believed the real work of a priest - teaching the practical holiness of virtuous living. His wife spelled it out in the following story:-

But Moderation cannot be too strongly impressed on people I think in the ornaments they send here. There was a hubbub lately when two plain iron crosses intended to furnish the gables of the Church porches were put up outside - and in a few hours a petition sent to the Church Wardens to remove them. So you can judge of the anti-popery feeling of the place. Now as there is no principle at stake in these things it seems a pity to close peoples' hearts against Edmund's ministrations by running counter to their prejudices be they ever so narrow minded, for the sake of a gaily flowered altar-cloth or any other new-fashioned device .. There really is a very handsome plain altar cloth here given by Ld Powis of crimson velvet and IHS with a cross fleuree in gold embroidery on it - but I think if a green or a white one bedecked with many colours were to appear, nothing else would be talked of for weeks to come. 14.

In 1859 one man's theory became the talking point of the whole educated world. Whereas earlier speculation along similar lines had been dismissed as wild guesswork, ^{15.} this new work had assembled such a quantity of evidence to demand serious consideration. The man was Charles Darwin; the work, The Origin of Species.

Rather less dramatic but equally disquieting to the Victorians was the rise of rational biblical criticism, employing the new laws of science in scriptural interpretation.

In February 1860 natural science and biblical criticism, were brought together in a volume called Essays and Reviews.

The reaction was cataclysmic. Previously it had been sad to have men outside the Church inferring that the Bible could not be trusted as literal history, but when the challenge came from priests and scholars within the Church, many felt that it was time to root out the unbeliever. Sermons were preached, speeches made and petitions signed. Bishops met; the book and its teachings were condemned in Convocation, and two of its authors were convicted on charges of heresy. 16.

On a topic as lively as this it is surprising to find that Hobhouse expressed no opinion. His printed sermons touch upon none of the questions raised, and in none of his letters did he mention the problem. Since it is inconceivable that he was unaware of the heated debate, the only possible conclusion is that the subject held no interest for him. This is endorsed by his son:

He was quite untroubled in his own mind by any of the difficulties suggested by physical science or historical criticism, though he felt

14. Mrs M.E. Hobhouse, undated fragment.

15. Most notably, Lyell's Elements of Geology (1838) and the anonymous Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation (1844).

16. Later dismissed on Appeal.

the way in which they pressed on others. ¹⁷.

Whether untroubled because he stood with Disraeli "on the side of the angels," or because scientific evidence was not incompatible with his biblical interpretation, we shall never know. His interest in Natural Science ¹⁸. and his knowledgeable approval of Austrian geologist Dr. Hochstetter's 1859 lecture on Nelson's geology ¹⁹. do, however, suggest a mind seeking truth and not afraid to face apparent contradictions.

Any study of Bishop Hobhouse's theology must, however, conclude by pointing to the poverty of evidence, and to his refusal to be drawn into any controversy.

Pastoral ministry, not speculative theology, was his real interest in life. Not being much concerned with the philosophical side of religions, he wrote little about it, and left few indications of his views; and since he was always deeply involved in practical pastoral ministrations, he saw early in life, that making a dogmatic stand in the debates of the moment would prejudice his ministry with those whose opinions differed from his own. As he wrote of the secession of J.H. Newman to the Roman Catholic Church:

Having, through all my Oxford Life from matriculation kept clear of the flood of controversial literature and excitement that agitated the most earnest minds, I could be claimed by no party .. I went on in my usual course of teaching and action, and succeeded fully in securing the confidence of a flock, composed of every class of Thinkers. ²⁰.

Taking sides would have only prejudiced people against the ministry he offered, and divided his congregation.

17. Hobhouse, Sermons pp. 1xviii - lxix.

18. He had attended Natural Science lectures as an optional extra at Oxford in 1839-1839.

19. Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse 29 Aug. 1859.

20. Hobhouse, Outline, p.12.

CHAPTER III
PASTORAL MINISTRY

To many christian men the finest pursuit has been speculative or academic theology. Others have made their contribution to the Church through their devotion to organisation; yet Hobhouse's interest lay in neither of these fields, in fact he seldom spoke about organisation and left no theological works at all.

His sermons were not in essence theological, but sought first to show how the work of the Lord might be performed under actual circumstances, and then to move the hearer to do it. For instance, in 1860, during the first Taranaki war, he did not preach on the politics or morality of land acquisition, but on the moral dangers of a time of war,¹ taking as his text:

Wherefore my beloved brethren, let every man be swift to hear, slow to speak, slow to wrath, For the wrath of Man worketh not the Righteousness of God. 2.

He urged upon his congregation the Christian duty of avoiding all excitement and violent emotion because they undermine self control. If this should happen, order is reduced to chaos, and both life and civilisation are imperilled:

Count then, Brethren, among the dangers of a time of excitement, a craving for startling and over-drawn reports, a readiness to believe them without evidence, or to repeat them

And now we pass on to the more obvious danger of a time of conflict of arms. Anger, hatred, revenge are the most natural fruits of the conflict ... But the primary seeds must needs have been sown before the outbreak, and the combat itself is a first fruit of the sad harvest of savage passions

Anger, hatred and revenge, aye and a host of kindred evils, scorn, boastfulness, threatenings and revilings are then dangers that beset us at the moment; dangers far more threatening than any uplifted arm that can peril our peace and safety in this place. 3.

That personal tranquility and social peace were vital to the Christian life was a very important theme in his preaching.

Similarly, during the papal aggression fury in 1851 he had preached on religious divisions. Having said that heresy provided the real touch-stone by which men appreciate religious truth, and that divisions were the cause of evils like persecution, he went on to stress that although debating the merits of different religious systems was prejudicial to spiritual peace, a far more insidious enemy of Christianity lay in "Earthy things" such as Worldliness, self-seeking, pride, lukewarmness, slothfulness ..."

1. Hobhouse, Sermons, pp. 145-155; also separate printing (1860) on behalf of the Ladies Taranaki Aid Society.
2. Epistle of St. James: 1, xix.
3. Hobhouse, "Moral Dangers of a time of War," Sermons, pp. 145-155.

Then, he concluded by exhorting his congregation to remain calm in boisterous times, to shun all wild feelings and instead pursue personal virtue and the social peace which flows from it. ⁴.

Such an emphasis was typical of his preaching, revealing his profound concern for the moral and spiritual development of those committed to his charge.

However, pastoral concern is not limited to a preaching ministry, and long before his Nelson episcopate, Hobhouse had acquired a reputation as a good spiritual counsellor. E.A. Towle, in a biography of the Rev. A.H. Mackonachie who was vicar of St. Alban's, Holborn and one of those imprisoned for his ritualist principles, wrote:

The Rev. E. Hobhouse of Merton College, Oxford, was at this time [1856] his [Mackonachie's] Confessor. He had the greatest confidence in his judgment and some years after, in 1865, we find a letter commending a young man to his care that he might help him in any spiritual need, or name some one who will take the same office on his behalf, which you so kindly and forebearingly discharged for me some years ago. ⁵.

The word "Confessor" might seem to suggest a connection with the extreme Tractarians, however on this, as other topics, Hobhouse followed a distinctly Anglican tradition, believing "confession" to embrace all aspects of individual spiritual guidance. Sacramental confession as practised by Roman Catholics and Tractarians might have a place in this work, but it was only a tiny part of the "ghostly counsel and advice" enjoined on all priests by the Book of Common Prayer. ⁶.

This pastoral ministry, both from the pulpit to an entire congregation, and working privately with the secret troubles of individual Christian souls was the vocation to which Hobhouse devoted his sacerdotal energies, both in Oxford and in Nelson New Zealand.

Although Hobhouse's letters from New Zealand never discussed the disputes of theologians, and only occasionally broached the fine points of ecclesiastical organisation, hardly one passed without some reference to the myriad details of pastoral ministry.

He began by describing the physical aspect of his diocese, relating it to the problems of rugged terrain, isolation, apathy and poverty which impeded effective ministry:

4. Hobhouse, "Moral Purpose of Religious Divisions" and "Dangers of Religious Divisions", Sermons, pp. 99-122.
5. E.F. Russell (ed.), Alexander Heriot Mackonachie : A Memoir by E.A. Towle, pp. 41-42.
6. Hobhouse, "Addresses to Ordination Candidates", Sermons, pp. 180-191.

How such Districts are ever to be supplied with spiritual Ministrations is a sorrowful Mystery, especially if every third runholder be, as now, a Dissident from the Church or Negligent of all Religion. Even if Stipends can be found it will be difficult for the Minister to gather his congregation, divided by so many long miles of roadless sheepwalks, from each other. We must wait and see what solution will offer itself. 7.

These problems were inherent in the region and its inhabitants at that time, challenging Hobhouse as they did other bishops in other dioceses. There was clearly no simple solution, but although combatting the problems would require persistent hard work, a very good beginning was possible if one had the backing of a few energetic and earnest clergymen.

Sadly, however, neither Hobhouse nor his wife were much impressed with the seven clergymen who greeted them in Nelson, for Archdeacon Paul, whom Mrs. Hobhouse thought "an excellent man of the old-fashioned dry-orthodox school", 8. was a pious man but had been a dilatory ruler:

His Administration has, I fully expect to find, been a beneficial one to the Diocese from the Kindness of his Bearing and the Reverence of His character, tho' it has not been a vigorous Rule. For the last two years the Policy seems to have been to let everything stand 'till the Bishop comes'. 9.

The clergy under him were a very mixed group, few of whom were the sort to labour alone, unaided and undirected, for long. The Wairau was being served by the Rev. H.F. Butt who had come out with Selwyn in 1841. Mrs. Hobhouse dismissed him as a "high Calvinist and bad man of business" 10. but despite these shortcomings he was a tireless worker. He was aided by the Rev. S. Poole who was, from all accounts, a remarkably weak man. The Awatere had the ministrations of the Rev. W. Bird who was tutor and chaplain to a runholder named Tetly: "Very good, very deaf, very dull" 11. quipped Mrs. Hobhouse, and in addition his mental balance was uncertain. There was a deacon, the Rev. T.L. Tudor, ministering at Motueka. Finally, there were two clergymen holding no ecclesiastical posts. The Rev. J.C. Bagshaw, and the Rev. T.A. Bowden who had taken up farming after suffering financial embarrassment when the people of Brightwater failed to pay him the promised stipend of £200 in 1856-1857.

Though these clergymen were sincere individuals, they were not a strong or impressive band with whom to tackle the ministry to indifferent people in a hostile environment.

7. Hobhouse, Diary, Nov. 1859.

8. Mrs. M.E. Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse, 2 May 1859.

9. Hobhouse, Diary, 20 Feb. 1859.

10. Mrs. M.E. Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse, 8 Jan. 1861.

11. ibid.

Administrative order was one prerequisite for a satisfactory ministry throughout the diocese, so Hobhouse soon began to redeploy his active clergy, and tried to convince those who had under-taken secular employment to renounce it in favour of the full time ministry. Tudor became Chaplain to the Natives and was replaced by Bagshaw at Motueka. Hobhouse took upon himself the cure of Christ Church Nelson assisted by Pritt (the chaplain who had accompanied him from England) and Archdeacon Paul.

Despite these efforts there were too few clergy for the diocese's large area and in an attempt to mitigate the problem, Hobhouse licensed a number of laymen to serve as lay-readers in areas infrequently visited by clergymen. While he thoroughly understood the inadequacy of the ministry which laymen could provide,¹² Hobhouse saw it as a useful stopgap and worked hard to establish it, for though not a sacramental ministry, the lay-reader system did at least establish regular services in remote areas; and in his eyes regularity was a vital aspect of any ministry. By freeing people from uncertainty it encouraged virtues such as trust and constancy which are the basis of a harmonious, peaceful society.

Hobhouse's Nelson contemporaries spoke very highly of the pioneer clergy and lay-readers, and historians have paid tribute to the valuable work which both groups put into building the Church in a strange new land,¹³ however, while Hobhouse was grateful for their work, he also complained about his "weak-throated presbyters."¹⁴

These different assessments show the unswerving loftiness of his principles. While historians have been impressed by the heroic struggle of clergymen in difficult conditions, Hobhouse and his wife judged by more severe standards which reflected their affluent upper class background. Having never felt poverty they had difficulty understanding why Bowden had left Brightwater when his stipend was not paid. In their eyes he had deserted his post, and they branded it as weakness. Similarly, they expected sermons to offer sound learning delivered with the polished rhetoric of university oratory. Again, it was an expectation which originated from their upper class experience - and which they seldom heard realised in the wilds of New Zealand.

Until 1861 Hobhouse portrayed the scarcity of clergymen as just one of many difficulties hindering colonial ministry, ranking it beside the "scattered flock" and the "isolation from congenial society", however from that year his emphasis changed and he began increasingly to impress upon his family and friends in England the necessity of recruiting clergymen for colonial service, seeking their assistance with interviewing, assessing character and helping

12. See above, p. 5.

13. Ault, The Nelson Narrative, pp. 18-23, 49-54; Sherrard, Kaikoura, A History, pp. 285-288.

14. Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse, 8 May, 1861.

candidates prepare for colonial life.

He was not alone in this. Selwyn had repeatedly expressed his dire need of fellow-labourers ¹⁵. as had Harper, ¹⁶. however these other Bishops seem to have had more success in recruiting clergy. By 1865 Harper had 31 clergy ¹⁷. whereas Hobhouse, who had begun his episcopate with seven had procured a net gain of only two active clergymen by 1861. In 1862 the number fell back to eight, leaving Hobhouse worse off than ever because the population had risen considerably since 1859.

This was bad, but in fact not quite as tragic as Hobhouse made out. In 1861 the ratio of European Anglican laymen to Anglican clergymen in Nelson diocese was 690 to one. Wellington, by comparison, had 570 to one, but with a Maori population ten times Nelson's the overall demand upon the clergy was greater; while in Christchurch diocese the population influx caused by the Otago gold rush strained resources to a ratio of 885 Anglican laymen to each clergyman. In parts of England the situation was worse still, for the Church had not kept pace with the demographic changes of the Industrial Revolution, and by the 1850s it was common for slum parishes to have thirty or forty thousand people under the care of two or three very poor clergymen.

Certainly Nelson's area was large and the terrain rugged. More clergymen would have undoubtedly improved the ministry throughout the diocese, but there were other areas in still greater need.

While the fashionable or well endowed English parishes continued to absorb many of the newly ordained into luxurious and idle curacies, the slums and the colonies would be forced to subsist mainly on the left-overs. Mrs. Hobhouse very soon noted that:

The Colonial Clergy are not the flower of the Clerical body as you may suppose... I am afraid, like other settlers a good many have come out because they cannot get on at home... ¹⁸.

One possible solution was for the bishops to ordain New Zealanders to the priesthood. Selwyn certainly hoped that the New Zealand Church would become self sufficient ¹⁹. and to this end he founded St. John's College in 1843; yet partly because he demanded unrealistic academic standards, and partly because settlers could ill afford to maintain a son through the long education, its contribution to the New Zealand priesthood was slight and throughout the colonial period the bishops relied chiefly on immigrant clergymen.

15. Tucker, The Life and Episcopate of G.A. Selwyn, pp.146; 160.

16. Purchas, Bishop Harper and the Canterbury Settlement, pp.86-88.

17. See Appendix II.

18. Mrs. M.E. Hobhouse to Harriet Brodrick, 31 May 1859.

19. Tucker, op.cit., p. 119.

When Harper became Bishop of Christchurch he decided to lower the academic standards which he demanded of ordinands, hoping to recruit settlers as teachers and clergymen.²⁰

Hobhouse hoped to establish a theological college in Nelson one day, and during his episcopate always welcomed into his home men who aspired to a teaching or clerical vocation. Two such men, Harris and Phillpot, served the diocese as teachers, but he trained no-one for the priesthood during his episcopate.

Hobhouse could never have followed Harper's precedent. His standards were high, and he was of too unswerving a nature to temper his demands according to circumstances.

It was chiefly through pastoral work that Hobhouse fulfilled his priestly vocation, so it was natural that he should see clearest of all the deficiencies in the ministry offered to Nelson settlers, however there is really nothing of great moment in his problem. All the New Zealand bishops experienced it, but for Hobhouse who had such high expectations it was a relentless worry. He had churches and promises of stipend, but in using these material blessings to provide an effective edifying ministry, he was hindered on the one hand by physical factors such as New Zealand's rugged terrain and the scattered, sparse pattern of settlement, and on the other by human weakness in the refusal of men to forsake the comfort of an English parsonage or university for a life of colonial isolation.

20. Purchas, op.cit., pp. 86-87.

CHAPTER IV

F I N A N C E

During the nineteenth century the creation of a new diocese and the consecration of its bishop imposed a heavy financial burden, for English bishops were considered Peers of the Realm, to be maintained in a style befitting this rank. In England episcopal incomes were derived from ancient endowments, but a new diocese had no such resources and its creation rested upon a suitable income being guaranteed to the bishop.

Hence when it was decided to divide the Diocese of New Zealand into four new dioceses ¹, there were financial as well as constitutional problems. Incomes had to be guaranteed to the intended bishops before the Colonial Office would agree to the Letters Patent being drawn up.

Since, by the fixed scale then in operation in the Diocese of New Zealand, the stipend of a bishop was limited to £500, Selwyn was of the opinion that a Bishopric Endowment Fund of £5,000 invested at ten per cent (the current rate of interest in the 1850s) and netting £500 ought to suffice as a guarantee of a bishop's income. ²

In Nelson's case he suggested to Hobhouse:

Now as to ways and means. The Province of Nelson has an endowment of £10,000 in English Funds available for Bishop and Clergy. This is to be reinvested in the Colony and will produce from £800 to £1,000 per annum. I shall propose to the people to consent to settle £2,000 on the Bishopric and £1,000 on the Archdeaconary. I will augment the Bishopric Fund if necessary with £1,000 out of money lately left to me by my dear Father; upon condition that the further sum which the government may require to be paid up as the endowment of the See may be raised by subscription in the Colony or elsewhere. Under the circumstances I do not think the Government ought to require more than £5,000 which at colonial interest would produce £500 per annum, the present income for a Bishop according to the Diocesan Scale. ³

1. New Zealand (Auckland), Wellington, Waiapu and Nelson. Christchurch had been divided from the Diocese of New Zealand in 1852 and Bishop Harper consecrated in 1854.
2. Morrell, The Anglican Church in New Zealand, pp. 27-28. Selwyn had definite views on Church finance and, finding no system established in New Zealand, he devised one to eliminate the evils of private patronage and unequal clerical incomes which stood at the heart of Church administration in England. All stipends were subject to a fixed scale and paid from parishioners' voluntary contributions supplemented by income from endowments administered by the diocese. He gave his own £1200 from the Church Missionary Society to this general fund and received instead the £500 allowed by the fixed scale.
3. Selwyn to Hobhouse, 21 Nov. 1856, Diocese of Nelson, History of Trusts, pp. 593-594. This £10,000 provincial endowment, called the Church Endowment Fund, consisted of £5,000 contributed by the New Zealand Company and £5,000 contributed by the Church of England (mainly the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts) and was administered by the Archdeaconary Board of Nelson.

The Archdeaconary Board of Nelson accepted this idea, but instead of drawing £2,000 for the Bishopric and £1,000 for the Archdeaconary, proposed to appropriate the entire £3,000 to the Bishopric Endowment Fund. The S.P.G. who were trustees of the Church Endowment Fund approved this on 15 May 1857.⁴

So far all seemed well. £1,000 more to be contributed by the people of Nelson and £1,000 from Selwyn would see the whole sum raised; but unfortunately, since Nelson laymen were reluctant to pay until they saw "Mr Hobhouse gazetted as Bishop of Nelson"⁵ only £740 was paid up in Nelson by the final date for the agreement. Guarantees were made of the remaining £260, but as these did not satisfy Selwyn, his conditional offer of £1,000 was forfeited.

A vicious circle now obtained. The people of Nelson would not pay until their Bishop was appointed, and the Colonial Office would not appoint until an income was guaranteed.

Seeking a speedy solution, on 28 December 1857 the Archdeaconary Board decided to deposit all donations and subscriptions for the Bishopric Endowment Fund in the Church Endowment Fund, and to make the Bishop's stipend a fixed charge upon this fund's income so that payment could commence immediately.

According to this new arrangement, the planned Bishopric Endowment Fund would never exist as a separate endowment, however the Archdeaconary Board still intended to raise the money, and members now set about collecting the promised subscriptions. They regarded the £1,000 which Selwyn had once, upon certain conditions, offered to the Bishopric Endowment Fund as one such "promised subscription", and were genuinely aggrieved that he should think the offer to have become void after their failing to meet his conditions by the given date. Over the next few years considerable energy was spent trying to wring it from him.

At the 1859 Nelson Synod, J.D. Greenwood moved a resolution requiring the Standing Committee to take steps to clarify the issue,⁶ whereupon the Standing Committee appointed Archdeacon Paul and Major Richmond as a subcommittee to draw up a statement to Selwyn with reference to the endowment of the Nelson Bishopric.⁷

4. ibid., pp. 594-595.

5. ibid., p. 604.

6. Nelson Synod Proceedings, 1859, p. 33.

7. Minutes of Nelson Diocesan Standing Committee, 8 Sept. 1859. The letter was sent after the meeting of 2 Nov. 1859.

Selwyn was chaffed by this attempt to resurrect an agreement which he regarded as two years out of date, and superseded by different arrangements which made its substance unnecessary. On 22 December 1859 he wrote a crushing reply to Bagshaw, the secretary of the Standing Committee, in which he outlined the history of the offer and absolved himself from any obligation to pay.

There was an additional complication in that after the early negotiations about financing the Nelson Bishopric came to their unfruitful close, Selwyn had sent Hobhouse £1,000 out of a legacy to the Church, to assist him with outfit and passage, or for any other use he might choose. He had then told Archdeacon Paul:

I have given authority for the payment of £1,000 in England, and therefore I cannot authorise the trustees to draw for it in New Zealand. The Bishop of Nelson may have already invested it, or remitted it for investment to you. 8.

In this way two separate transactions, a public offer to an official Church body, and a gift to a friend, had become confused one with the other so that no-one, least of all members of the Nelson Synod, knew quite what had been offered, or what had been paid, to whom. Mrs Hobhouse was absolutely right in blaming the muddle on Selwyn's "offhand way of doing business." 9.

Hobhouse was caught in the crossfire between Selwyn and the Nelson Synod. His position as Bishop of Nelson and friend of Selwyn was invidious, so when the dispute flared up he followed his usual practise in painful or controversial matters by keeping silent and declining to participate in an unseemly quarrel. He reasoned that although his office, the Bishopric of Nelson, was at the centre of the problem, he was not personally involved in the feud, having from the beginning declined any involvement in the financial negotiations which preceded the creation of the diocese:

I am anxious, however, to say ... in reference to [Archdeacon Paul's] proposal that I should invest the £3,000 now in S.P.G. hands according to my judgement that I must decline having any responsibility in the investment of any portion of the Endowment Funds. I am not concerned in the founding of the Bishopric. That is something undertaken by other parties 10.

As a token of his silence he vacated the chair when Synod debated the topic, delegating the chairmanship to his commissary the Rev. H.M. Turton 11. and thus dissociating himself from Synod's actions.

8. Selwyn to Paul, Sept. 1858. Nelson Examiner, 15 Sept. 1860.
9. Mrs M.E. Hobhouse, Diary, 21 Feb. 1862.
10. Hobhouse to Selwyn, 12 Sept. 1857, History of Trusts, p. 596.
11. Nelson Synod Proceedings, 1860, pp. 27-29; 1862, p. 17.

However, when the Standing Committee wrote to Selwyn in quest of the £1,000, absolute silence was no longer possible. Hobhouse was driven to act, at least in his official capacity, so he wrote what Patteson called:

A kind of patronising letter ... seeking as it were to excuse and palliate what is assumed to be an error on the part of our Bishop. 12.

Patteson had jumped to the conclusion that Hobhouse was working hand in glove with the greedy diocesan officials. He thought that when the subject was first mentioned in 1859, Hobhouse should have rebuked his synod for soliciting money to which they had no claim, ^{13.} however he completely misunderstood Hobhouse's reasons for remaining silent, and judged him with wicked severity.

It was a very delicate situation for Hobhouse. Silence led directly to misunderstandings which deepened the muddle and prolonged the dispute. On the other hand, while speaking out might have brought the matter to an early close, it would also have bitterly antagonised Nelson Anglicans against his administration. This he dared not risk.

Hobhouse was not in collusion with his diocesan officials. Rather it seems that his letter to Selwyn somewhat unwillingly expressed Nelson Synod's official position while at the same time trying to explain how matters stood in Nelson, to maintain his old friendship and secure peace.

His foremost thought was to get the matter settled. Controversies of any sort were abhorrent to him because of the savage passions they aroused, however this virulent dispute dragged on until 1862 when, at the meeting of General Synod, the relevant documents were brought forward for arbitration and immediately referred to a committee consisting of Bishop Abraham and Mr Stokes. Their decision that the subject should not be discussed marked the final defeat of the Nelson agitators. ^{14.}

In accepting this decision, the 1862 Nelson Synod was more constructive when, at Bagshaw's instigation, it resolved:

That it is necessary that the Endowment Fund of this Diocese be largely increased so as to provide for the establishment of new cures. 15.

12. J.C. Patteson to Sir John Patteson, 23 Jan. 1860. Appendix III.

13. ibid.

14. General Synod Proceedings, 1862; 21, 22 Feb.

15. Nelson Synod Proceedings, 1862, pp. 17, 26.

When Hobhouse arrived in Nelson, the Diocese's finances had been placed under a heavy strain by the Archdeaconary Board's decision to pay from it his entire stipend of £500 per annum. This left a balance of £500 for all the other work of Church expansion, and since Nelson was a young diocese there were many demands upon this small sum for aid with church and parsonage building, and for assistance in paying ministers' stipends. Addressing his 1859 Synod Hobhouse outlined the seriousness of the problem:

At present we have no fund's free for the extension of the Church's action. The present income from the Endowment Fund is only £1,000 a year ... and upon this sum a Bishop and five clergy have to depend for their only certified subsistence, the remainder (about £360) being made up from local sources With this fund we are able to do no more than maintain the existing body of clergy. 16.

On both the diocesan and parish level Church finance was distinctly unsatisfactory, and although the difficulties were not of his making, Hobhouse found that Nelson churchmen looked to him for a solution. It was incumbent upon him to give a lead in relieving pressure on the tiny Church Endowment Fund and in opening up new sources of revenue.

Before he left England, Hobhouse had arranged that a group of his Oxford friends and his old parishoners should support his Nelson work by making the diocese's needs widely known, by subscribing financial contributions, and by praying regularly. The group, called the "Oxford Nelson Association", met annually on All Saints' Day (1 November) when members joined in a celebration of Holy Communion, heard a sermon, then met to learn something about Nelson, and the work which their money supported. The membership of 180 included two bishops and prominent figures from university and ecclesiastical circles.

The Association provided Hobhouse with considerable support, and the whole idea was praised by those of his fellow bishops who had not been so astute in looking to the future. It moved Mrs Abraham to comment:

I hear of Edmund's band of friends and relatives not with envy but with longing. Of course his position at Oxford gives him facilities in this way wh. have passed away from my Husband before he was in a position to use them. 17.

The extent of the purely financial aid may be gauged from the statement of accounts in the Association's 1861 annual report: 18.

16. Nelson Synod Proceedings, 1859, pp. 7-8.

17. Mrs C.H. Abraham to Miss E. Hobhouse, 26 Jan. 1860.

18. Report of The Oxford Nelson Association, 1861.

The 9d. error in the addition of the Expenditure account appears to have passed unchallenged.

<u>Received</u>		<u>Paid</u>	
	£ s d		£ s d
By Treasurer	361- 6-0	Expenses of the Oxford Meeting	1- 5-9
By Messrs Child & Co.	266- 4-0	Printing, Postage	6-12-0
By other friends	243- 7-0	To the Bishop of Nelson's Account	863- 0-0
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	£870-17-0	[sic]	£870-17-0

The money was deposited to Hobhouse's English bank account from which he drew funds when necessary. Many of the donations were for special purposes such as an episcopal residence, but the balance of the fund Hobhouse used to provide passages and outfits for clergy emigrating to Nelson. ¹⁹.

Originally, he made no official mention in Nelson of this aid from Oxford, for he was afraid that Nelson Synod would presume it to be a normal part of the diocese's income. ²⁰. However at the 1862 Oxford meeting one of Hobhouse's private letters describing Nelson was accidentally read and reported. Its contents were not flattering, and when the report reached Nelson there was an outcry. (See below p.). Hobhouse, as usual shunning popular wrangling, lamented the fury caused by the report and asked that the Association be disbanded.

He told the whole story to his 1863 Synod and concluded:

As I have found that the amount of this past aid has been very much overrated, I will now state that its real amount during the years 1860, 1861 and 1862 has been £768, including many special donations to an official house and to other objects. ²¹.

The discrepancy between these accounts is confusing. In 1861 the financial statement of the Oxford Nelson Association showed a total of £863 paid to Hobhouse's account. At 10 February 1862 Hobhouse's building fund (derived from Oxford contributions) stood at £1,700. ²². Then in 1863 he declared that the real amount of the aid in the years 1860, 1861 and 1862, had been £768. His statement to Synod was ambiguous, however it would seem that the aid from the Association amounted to an average of £768 for each of the three years.

19. Nelson Synod Proceedings, 1863, p. 6.

20. ibid., pp. 5-6.

21. Nelson Synod Proceedings, 1863, p. 6.

22. Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse, 10 Feb. 1862.

Addressing his 1859 Synod Hobhouse, acting upon resolutions of General Synod, and himself anxious to collect funds upon which the Church could draw for Church extension, and missionary work, urged the creation of a General Fund for Church Purposes.²³ Hitherto the laity had given money only to support their local clergyman, ignoring completely the needs of other localities both inside and outside the Diocese. Hobhouse thought that the only answer was for "each of our own members to give 'as God has prospered him,'" and he promised to communicate with "all non-resident proprietors of our Communion" whose addresses he could obtain. A year later (September 1860) £110-9-5 had been collected of which £60 was later invested in the Nelson Savings Bank.²⁴ Reserves of this order were not much use to a diocese not only struggling to exist but also faced with the mammoth duty of extending the Church into new and growing rural areas. An indication of the Fund's insufficiency is provided by the denial of a most deserving and reasonable request:

Mr Bird has applied for aid in the purchase of a horse for his gratuitous Missionary Duties in the Awatere, asking a loan of £30 and a donation of £10. The Bishop was well aware of the Inability of the Committee to grant his petition, but desired to have it entered on the Minutes that it might stand as proof of our General Church Fund.²⁵

In 1859 a Pension Board was created with the specific aim of providing some maintenance for retired clergy.²⁶ It too struggled to gather useful funds together and in fact it was not until 1862 when Bishop Hobhouse announced a gift from Miss Treacher of 50 acres of land in Moutere that the Pension Fund was really launched.

Finance from overseas, partly from the missionary societies who bore so much of the burden of colonial Church work in this period, continued vital to the Diocese's work. In 1860 £400 was received from the S.P.C.K. for the building of Churches and Parsonage Houses²⁷ followed in 1861 by a further £300.²⁸ This money was administered by the Standing Committee, who made grants (usually of £50) or loans to areas seeking help in erecting a church or parsonage. There was often considerable difficulty in meeting the loan repayments on time.

23. Usually, and hereafter, called the General Church Fund.

24. Nelson Synod Proceedings, 1861, p. 9.

25. Minutes of Nelson Diocesan Standing Committee, April 1861.

26. Nelson Synod Proceedings, 1859, pp. 11-12.

27. Nelson Synod Proceedings, 1860, pp. 3-4.

28. Minutes of Nelson Diocesan Standing Committee, 31 Dec. 1861.

In addition Selwyn gave the Diocese £100 per annum from the interest on capital given by the S.P.G. It was used to pay half of the stipend of the missionary clergyman in Golden Bay. Then, in 1863 a friend offered to lend Hobhouse £500 as the basis of a Diocesan Loan Fund.

Matters began to look up as the years brought these occasional acts of generosity. Hobhouse was perhaps apt to forget, as indeed were his fellow bishops and his own clergy, that the munificent endowments of the English Church were the result of slow accumulation over fifteen hundred years.

Selwyn had formulated hopes for the New Zealand Church to be self-supporting at an early date, but they were clearly not to be realised for some time. The accumulation of large capital reserves is a slow process, and in Nelson as in the rest of New Zealand, it was hindered both by poverty and the unwillingness of settlers to contribute to the Church.

Mrs Hobhouse noted the effects of Nelson's poverty:

What of Money - A very difficult question to answer. There is not a working man who could not very well afford £1 a year to a Ch. fund - but who will? and there are very few rich people in the whole province. There are a good many sheep owners making annually large incomes on small capitals but I think I am right in saying that there are not a dozen who could retire from their trade and live in the most moderate comfort on their fortunes - so compared with home they are certainly not rich. There is no Want - and no affluence. And if all did their duty there would be no need to beg, but as they do not there is the greatest difficulty (in many cases an impossibility) of raising £200 in country districts for the maintenance of a clergyman.

We were grossly misled by the statements of the N.Z. people we saw before leaving home - & where they declared that £200 could easily be raised, Edmund finds he cannot skrew out £80! Some of those who talked most confidently being the stingiest contributors. 29.

However reluctance to contribute was a more serious problem than poverty. Since voluntary contributions were an essential part of parish finances, the laity realised that they had only to refuse their contributions and the administration collapsed. It was blackmail. It mocked the Anglican belief that a bishop embodies all authority throughout his diocese, but this did not worry the laity, who rejoiced in their new-found power.

In Nelson the most blatant example occurred in 1862 when the city was divided into two parishes; one (the eastern) being centred at Christ Church, and the other (the western) on the Odd Fellows Hall. In guaranteeing a stipend for the officiating minister, the inhabitants of the western parish went so far as naming the Rev. C.L. McLean for the cure. This was contrary to the Statute governing the appointment of pastors to parishes, and when Hobhouse asked the subscribers if they would offer the same amount to "any duly licensed clergyman", he was promised a grand £15-10-6 in place of the £300! Thus, the Nomination Board could not be

convened, and a deadlock was created which remained unresolved until the appointment of the Rev. R.J. Thorpe in November 1867. Clearly the laity were trying to challenge the whole system of ecclesiastical authority.

Financially, Nelson Diocese would have had a grim life without Hobhouse's generosity. Throughout his episcopate he maintained a native chaplain, paying him a stipend of £200 per annum plus travelling expenses. When local promises for stipends did not come up to total, he often paid the balance. During 1860 repairs totalling £54-13-5 were effected to the Nelson parsonage at Hobhouse's expense.³⁰ Late in 1861 he gave £100 to the General Fund for Church Purposes.³¹ From 1864 to 1870 he paid 100 guineas to St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, toward the maintenance of three theological students, of whom one each year would emigrate to serve in New Zealand.

Yet these gifts were tiny compared to his generosity at the end of his episcopate. Knowing the enormous restrictions which financial burdens imposed on the Church's ministry, he made several bountiful gifts to the Diocese.

He augmented the Pension Fund with a flock of 640 sheep deliverable on 1 April 1867 and providing an income of £64 per annum.³²

At his departure in 1866 he transferred capital of £3,000 (invested in Mortgages) to Selwyn, Patteson and Sir William Martin as trustees to begin a Clergy Replenishment Fund.³³

However his greatest gift to the Diocese was the Bishopdale Estate. It was first mentioned at the 1862 session of Synod when he announced that he had spent over half his building fund on land to the south of the city.³⁴ Four years later, on 5 June 1866, the 158 acres were transferred in trust to Selwyn, Patteson and Martin to provide a homestead for the Bishop of Nelson, and land and money for Church purposes.³⁵

30. Vestry Minutes of Christ Church Nelson, 16 Aug. 1860.

31. Minutes of the Nelson Diocesan Standing Committee, 31 Dec. 1861.

32. Nelson Synod Proceedings, 1864, p. 5.

33. History of Trusts, pp. 236 ff.

34. Proceedings of Nelson Synod, 1862, pp. 5-6.

35. History of Trusts, pp. 62-91; Trusts Register, pp. 27-41.

This generosity gave the finances of Nelson Diocese a wonderful boost, and although the Diocese was still not rich, none of Hobhouse's successors were constrained to finance so much essential Church-work from their own purses.

CHAPTER VCOLONIAL SOCIETY

At the 1862 meeting of the Oxford Nelson Association, extracts were read from Hobhouse's descriptions of the people committed to his charge, who presented four distinct characters of people:

1. The sheep-feeder;
2. The city inhabitant;
3. The gold-digger;
4. The native. 1.

His attitudes towards each of the three classes of immigrant were conditioned by his background, and in turn they influenced the efforts which as Bishop he made on the colonists' behalf.

CHAPTER V

PART I

"THE SHEEP-FEEDER" : RURAL SOCIETY

Hobhouse's first letter from New Zealand rightly assessed that one of his greatest problems would be providing the Church's ministry for those who lived scattered on sheep stations. Accordingly, after his enthronement he began reconnoitring the reaches of his far-flung diocese and meeting the people under his spiritual charge.

Despite early visits to Motueka and Collingwood, it was not until he ventured into the southern reaches of his diocese that he came fully into contact with rural New Zealand. On 3 November 1859 he left Nelson, destined for Christchurch. On this journey he stayed with Mr Keene at "Swyncombe", inland from the Kaikoura Peninsular. While later in the century the Keenes were to observe the formalities appropriate to English landed gentry,¹ this was hardly possible at that time. Life in the rural wilds remained a primitive matter of survival.

I am now visiting the 'sheepy' part of my Diocese ... [he wrote].

My host is Mr Keene, son of the Swyncombe Parson Squire, formerly sub-dean of Wells. He has rescued from the sole domain of the wild pig a tract of 83,000 acres and is peopling it with sheep. His sole dwelling-room is his store, containing everything for the service of a station from a horse-shoe to a bushman's monkey-jacket; and here we have lived fireless three days, the cooking being done in the workman's Hut.

His father is sending him a house [sic], but meanwhile he is worse off than the nearest of his men. He is a most estimable person, one of the choicest members of the Diocese. His brother is to be his chum as soon as he returns from England whither he has gone, it is said, to look for a wife. I shall be glad indeed to see the Shepherd Kings furnishing themselves with Queens. Nothing will more surely tend towards the moral improvement of the sheep-district; but I cannot wish Mrs Keene to appear on the stage until more has been done to rescue the place from wild Nature.²

The early 1860s were years of transition for the runholders. Hitherto all control of livestock had been administered by boundary shepherds who lived a wretched solitary life similar to Robert Palmer's:

A Gentilman asked me if i would go to live in this place and i told him i would for good wages so he offered me £100 per year and rations. So i started with 1600 sheep from the Wairau on the 22nd of the same month I had five men went with me to help me drive the sheep and horses as i had to take Flour, Tea and Sugar enough to last me six months. They staid with me 5 days to help me build a hut with long grass and then when that was done they bid me goodby, to, and left me to my fate for the winter and i never saw anyone untill the gop now, it was when I was all alone in the long winter days that i used to think of old

1. J.M. Sherrard, op. cit., pp. 125-126.

2. Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse, Nov. 1859.

Cramford and every one that i knew there i staid in the place for 3 years ... [sic].

I had to live all alone and my work was to range about over the mountains with my dog and gun. 3.

With the increased security offered by Governor Grey's 1853 Land Regulations, squatters took the opportunity of securing freeholding land which they had either rented illegally from Maori owners or held by Depasturage Licences. 4. Having thus secured the tenure of the land upon which they were squatting, they set about improving it. By 1859 they were talking of fencing. Hobhouse rejoiced at the Prospect of releasing Boundary Shepherds from their wretched and perilous Isolation which few mental constitutions can endure with much Dislocation. 5.

These Visitations became annual events, always taking place in late spring. In 1860 he found that although a few areas had moved into a more civilized era, in most places dirt, squalor, poverty and isolation remained untempered by any advances:

The Station itself is miserably squalid and disappointing seeing it is the Headquarters of a vast concern which Embraces Mr Elliott's own Run, Mr Otterson's, Mr MacShames, Dr Mullers', and others in the Waihopai, the Head of which Tributary to the Wairau is not far distant, though divided by a walk so precipitous as to forbid all Passage except to Sheep and a Driver as nimble as his four footed Charge

The Squalor of the Place is very much owing to this Fact, for as Mr Greenlaw observed in answer to my Remark on the increased cost of Living beyond the reach of Dray-road, 'The Cost of Packing (i.e. conveying by Pack-Bullock) is balanced by the cheapness of Going Without!'

Going Without is indeed the marked feature of every Station beyond that Range. All furniture is such as can be made on the spot of the Scantiest Materials. Beds disappear, and Mother Earth, with all her Unevenness is the only floor.

Rudeness is indeed quite excuseable in a Region wh. bars out all works of civilized man and also the Workman and Tools. But Dirt and Disorder to the extent they reign here are by no means needful or excuseable for, to a great degree they may be corrected by the Application of the spare labour which at certain dull Periods is running to waste of every Station.

Here there is no garden or Enclosure of any kind but a Stockyard. The House (or Hovel) is surrounded by the Debris of Slaughtered Beasts, of half gnawed Bones, old shoes, Bottles, just as if our good Predecessor Mr Robinson had been the ruling Spirit.

From the Poles which form the roof-Beams over my Head hang Stalactites of Bridles, Cruppers, Holsters, and other Horse-gear and Man-gear. The Store-room is equally filthy and disorderly.

3. Sherrard, op. cit., pp. 157-158.
4. Governor Grey was an opponent of the New Zealand Company's high land price policy. His 1853 Regulations offered the opportunity of freeholding land for five to ten shillings an acre.
5. Hobhouse, "From the Wilds", Nov. - Dec. 1859.

Beyond the range of Dray-carriage it is rare to find any Married Hands i.e. no Women whatever find their way into this Region. The 'Cook' is the Officer who represents Valet, Housemaid, Parlour maid & Laundry-maid as well as Cook, and the Person who fills this manifold office here is a youth of 19, 'Jack' by name (all surnames are discharged among 'Hands'). 6.

Life under these conditions was little different from animal subsistence. Yet, "dirt", "squalor", and "rudeness" were not themselves the problem. Rather they bore witness to deeper problems consequent upon the undirected, uncontrolled growth of the runs. Hobhouse knew the basic problem to be transience, for there was no bond of affection between runholders and hands, nor any permanent attachment of people to one locality. Instead, the hands, who were all single men, were hired afresh each year. Then, the failure to build any deep or permanent human relationships was made worse by the inhabitants lack of culture. Owners and managers had seldom been bred to the refinements of civilisation, and their behaviour was often as uncouth as that of their hired hands. Their sole topic of conversation was sheep, and there was little religious influence to raise people's thoughts above the commonplace activities of the run or remind them of the spiritual dimension in their lives. 7.

On this tour, Hobhouse recorded his impressions of the runholders and managers in the Awatere Valley. Having described the haphazard history of runholding as a form of agriculture, he continued:

You will easily see what kind of a Community is formed by such Processes, and you will not be surprized when I recount the Histories of the Inhabitants as they are found from the Mouth to the Source.

1. Redwood - small Yorkshire Farmer, Tenant of the Stourton Family and through them a zealous Roman, quite illiterate - very wealthy. Sons on the Turf, carry Racehorses to Australia.
2. Atkinson - Westmoreland Peasant with German Wife - has been a most industrious Labourer. Member of Ch. of E. & sincere.
3. Newcome - Son of an Archdeacon - lives in Nelson but owing to Mesalliance keeps out of Society. Ch. of E. Resident Manager do.
4. Captain Fearon - lives in Blind Bay - an ex-mercantile captain, honest, religious, sensible but quite uneducated. Manager Presbyterian.
5. Dr. Renwick - Scotch M.D. practising in Nelson - began with nothing - acquired money by a very discreditable Alliance disfranchising Him from Society, now wealthy. Manager & all the Hands Presbyterian - but quite ready to attend Ch. of E., tho' contributing to their own Minister.
6. Macrae - Highlander once penniless, now enjoying large Income. Presb.

6. Bishop Hobhouse, Diary, 9 Nov. 1860.

7. Hobhouse, "From the Wilds", Nov. - Dec. 1859.

7. Major Richmond - my Chief Layman in Nelson, saved Money in civil Appointments, multiplied it in Sheep - lets the Run to Mr Tetley for £2000 p. annum. Mr T. living 40 miles off and managing by a resident overseer formerly a Labourer at Powys Castle. Has given 100 acres of good but wild land to the Church.
8. Stafford - a wild Irishman living in Nelson, careless of Religion. Manager Scotch, - Presb.
9. Mowatt - Scotch Cottier - married Macrae's sister Cross. Wesleyan - Pilot of Nelson Harbour.
10. Tinline - Small Scotch Official. Presb. lets the Run to Williams (Ch. of E.) (Brother of our Nelson Apothecary) who has just married the Scotch Meenister's daughter.
11. Godfrey - Son of Oxford Apothecary - sound member of Ch. of E. but lives in Wairau, lets Run to T. Williams, bro' of last. Manager, son of late Vicar of Woolwich.
A shearing Reserve of 12,000 here intervenes [sic] to make the Desolation more desolate
12. Bursill - A man of labouring Class - acting Partner of Howard son of Manks Clergyman, but quite neglectful of Religion - living in Blind Bay.
13. The Remainder of the Valley some 30 miles is occupied by 5 Runs but they have all been kept in one Hand by subletting; viz Mr Elliott's - owner of the Nelson Examiner, once a working Printer....

Besides the Stations and the Hutts of the Boundary Shepherds (all single men) there are not and probably never will be 4 Houses in the whole of 90 miles. You see then what the Prospect is of ever getting anything like an united spiritual Community together, or even of shedding any spiritual Influences amongst a Population so circumstanced. 8.

Of the thirteen runholders, eight were absentee owners. Their class backgrounds were lowly: four were of the labouring class, three began penniless, another three had trading origins, while the last three were from tenant-farming, Church, and sea-faring backgrounds. Not one of them was of the gentry, representatives of whom Wakefield had hoped would emigrate to form the backbone of a colonial society modelled upon England's deferential County structure. Instead, these were men who had raised themselves from humble birth to positions of wealth and power in the colonial hierarchy by astute financial dealing and considerable luck.

Even before he left England, Hobhouse had expected that New Zealand would not furnish the "congenial society" to which he was accustomed, so he was not much surprised at what he found, and set about thinking how the lives of all might be improved.

Central to his design for the future was the hope that the owners would take up residence on their land, exercising the privileges and duties of the English squire, instead of living in town and "drawing off the chief part of the Revenue".⁹ Managers might be excellent caretaker farmers, but without money and direction from the owner they were powerless to improve the land, and they were inadequate as leaders of the employed hands. The direction which the owners could provide by taking up residence was not solely material. Hobhouse hoped that they would marry and establish real family life on their isolated runs, for he believed that the presence of women would exert a powerful civilizing influence.

On a broader scale he looked forward to the emergence of stable communities dominated by a squirearchy, the labourers and their families being settled on land nearby to create rural villages whose life would radiate from the home of the principal family as in an English county. He conceived that, as in England, the squire should have a lasting responsibility for those who served him, that he would provide a lead in politics, religion and local affairs, and that his opinions would be deferred to by his social inferiors.

Since deference to the squire's opinion was so basic a part of this social structure, it was imperative that the young be educated to exercise this leadership, for only an accomplished gentleman would be adequately fitted to discharge it responsibly. Therefore, Hobhouse was particularly disturbed when he found the country children being brought up as common stockmen:

A short days journey [he wrote] to make my Lair with the Bridegroom Harry Williams and his Baby Bride She certainly has skipped over Girlhood remarkably fast. It seems but a few months since she used to come to Chapel in Mr S's Retinue as a Child

Tomorrow I hope to reach C. Elliotts. There I shall find another child suddenly elevated into a Post of Command. Only last Winter I saw Him playing Marbles, knuckles down on Church Hill. He is now a Shepherd King with no moderate slice of Tussockdom under His Charge.¹⁰

He had confirmed this lad the previous Easter, and had:

Good Hope of His Steadfastness if He is not cast out of the Reach of improving Influences too early I fear [he] may be entirely given up to Horsedealing and Station-life.¹¹

The social structure which Hobhouse hoped to see established in rural New Zealand was identical to that in which he had been raised, so his personal experience must be counted as an important influence in forming his hopes for Nelson's development. It does not, however, explain them fully, for Selwyn had the same family and social background yet his ideals were substantially

9. Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse, 25 Feb. 1859.

10. Hobhouse, Diary, 7 Nov. 1860.

11. Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse, 10 Nov. 1860.

different. His vision was fixed not on fine houses, gentlemen and dynastic county society, but on cottages where "plenty is written on the rosy cheeks of the children and stalactites of ham and bacon hang from the roof" and settlers who "limit their desires to the real necessities and comforts of life".¹² Consistent with this dream, the education provided at his "industrial" school, St. John's College, was designed specifically to "keep out the 'Gentleman Heresy' from among us".¹³ Nor did Harper want to recreate England's social structure. He recorded dates, weather, road conditions, people met, services and sermons when he travelled, but never a word about the class origins of those he met or about the society emerging on the runs.¹⁴ If he did mention social eccentricities or shortcomings it was always to show how the resourceful inhabitants were slowly tackling the problems of settling a new land.

At that time several other influences helped mould people's thinking about colonial society. Colonisation was a popular subject, and inevitably theories were developed and treatises written. On the one hand there was Edward Gibbon Wakefield's theory that by controlling the price of land, England's hierarchical social structure could be exported intact to the colonies. On the other, this was balanced by John Sidney's hope that the English yeomen displaced by the Industrial Revolution would emigrate to form an egalitarian, pastoral society in the colonies. Wakefield's was a dream of a colonial civilisation centred on towns; Sidney's of rustic cottages in an English pastoral tradition. Hobhouse's hopes concurred very much with Wakefield's vision, though of course it would be wrong to postulate any formal connection between them. Neither could imagine any merit in a society without culture, and so were in direct opposition to Sidney's romantic dream.

It is difficult to judge what part this literature may have played in forming Hobhouse's attitudes. He was an avid reader, but his taste was confined mainly to theology, history and biography. In fiction he admired Sir Walter Scott but tended to shun more modern writers,¹⁵ so it is doubtful whether he was familiar with Charles Dickens' use of Sidney's romantic colonial dream in David Copperfield. Equally, there is no way of knowing how far he was acquainted with Wakefield's work. Considering, however, his longstanding friendship with Selwyn, and his interest in New Zealand, it seems likely that he might have studied some of the literature concerning colonisation.

12. Miller, op. cit., p. 127.

13. Tucker, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 147.

14. Purchas, op. cit., pp. 111-115.

15. Hobhouse, Sermons, p. 1xvii.

If this is so, Wakefield's projected colonial civilisation would have impressed him, because civilisation implied permanence and permanence was essential to the Christian life. On this subject, the shaping of colonial society, as on any other, the deepest source of Hobhouse's philosophy was his personal faith and the spiritual obligations which this imposed upon him as leader of the Church in Nelson.

The problem of supplying remote areas with regular ministry was uppermost in his thoughts:

How such districts are ever to be supplied with spiritual Ministrations is a sorrowful Mystery, especially if every third Runholder be, as now, a Dissident from the Church or Negligent of all Religion. Even if Stipends can be found it will be difficult for the Minister to gather His congregation, divided by so many long miles of roadless sheepwalk from each other. 16.

He was well aware, too of the spiritual dangers to which the inhabitants' isolation exposed them, for, being deprived of all religious rites they grew negligent of their own spiritual life, and could easily fall victim to the emotional whims of a local "prophet". At one stage a revivalist preacher, Captain Deck, encouraged settlers of all persuasions in the Moutere to renounce their infant baptism and be re-baptised at his hands:

I watch his proceedings with much and of course with Painful Interest because I regard His case as a sample case of what must frequently recur in these young countries where the ministrations of the Church must be unevenly distributed - and the Gaps must invite unauthorised Attempts to supply spiritual Cravings. Such cases are continually occurring in the United States of America, and the same causes must engender them here I never omit an opportunity of celebrating Divine Service, even in a wayside Public House, if I can gather Half a Dozen fellow worshippers of whatever name and religious bias. 17.

The trouble with this sort of religious expression was its dependance upon temporary emotional excitement. It had no solid foundation of disciplined daily prayer and constant moral vigilance. Only in a permanent settled community with a regular ministry did Hobhouse believe that a Christian could live peacefully, shielded from any excitement, anxiety and dissension which might divert him from the pursuit of Christian virtue.

It is easy to see, therefore, why he hoped for the growth of stable communities around the residences of the runholders. The English county structure was not important for its hierarchy or deference per se, but for the stability which these engendered. His primary aim was to create the sort of settlements which he thought necessary for the better practise of the Christian faith. Given this permanence, he was confident that in time the influence of the Church's ministry would promote a higher quality of life.

16. Hobhouse, "From the Wilds", Nov. - Dec. 1859.

17. Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse, 5 May 1862.

Under the leadership of a holy and educated pastor the purely economic relationship between men would give way to human affection, Christian virtues would be practised, the tone of the conversation would rise above "the axis of sheep", and the all-pervading dirt and squalor would be replaced by cleanliness inside the house and bright cultivated gardens outside.

Hobhouse's 1861 visitation enabled him to see rural society progressing according to his hopes:

The Troloves are creating a charming Place on the N. side of the River It is pleasant to see Fencing going on so large a scale. These great Sheep Lords talk of Fencing by the Mile. Mr Tetley's success with His Lambs & His Wool in consequence of his complete Paddock system will I suppose convince the most skeptical and most niggardly of the wisdom of the outlay. Mr T. has had 100 pr. cent of Lambs and an immense increase in Wool besides Improvement of Quality.

I called on all the Villagers! (Mr Tetley's) of Kekerengu this morning & found them delighted with the School - but alas this pleasant Picture of a united Xtian Community in full enjoyment of Pastoral care and Means of Grace and Education is all to be broken up by Mr Bird's (Rev. W. Bird whom I have mentioned) sudden withdrawal. 18.

Clearly he thought that Bird's ministry had played an important role in the transformation of the village into a united Christian community, and he feared the effect his departure might have upon its stability.

From Keene's "Swyncombe", which two years earlier he had found barren and nasty, he wrote:

The two brothers and wife of this Household I found in Readiness to give me a kind Reception - The Place much advanced and advancing - garden, Shrubberies - large paddocks equal to containing 8,000 Sheep and a new house, not yet finished. It is very pleasant on these yearly visits to trace the Progress of Places from their Babihood [sic] to such rapid & vigorous Manhood, especially when one can see the signs of moral growth and the pledges of future growth in the increase of married life. 19.

and from Hawksworth, Amuri:

I am glad to see here as elsewhere the will to welcome married men and make villages. This, with the advance of Enclosure, and increase of Labour abt. the Station will tend to bring Population to Centres & create both demand & supply of means of Grace - & Education. 20.

18. Hobhouse, Diary, 6 Dec. 1861.

19. ibid., 8 Dec. 1861.

20. ibid., 11 Dec. 1861.

Rural society was slowly becoming more settled as existence became less perilous and owners were liberated from constant physical toil, giving them leisure to learn and practice the refinements of civilisation. Whereas Selwyn had hoped to "keep out the 'Gentleman Heresy'", Hobhouse approved of these latest trends and hoped that the owners would also develop a sense of responsibility consistent with their newly acquired rank.

Hobhouse was an educated man who, like Wakefield, appreciated the depth and beauty of European culture. Neither could imagine any merit in an egalitarian society where everyone, like Sidney's pastoral cottager, was working hard to provide life's necessities. Wakefield formulated a systematic plan to export civilisation to New Zealand by keeping the price of land high. Hobhouse, as a devout Christian, thought that the zealous ministry of cultured priests would civilise New Zealand's rural wilds by inculcating strong bonds of brotherly affection and thus creating stable Christian communities. Both were essentially conservative, looking back to an established social phenomenon, the gentleman of leisure, as the linch pin of his scheme.

CHAPTER V
PART 2
"THE GOLD-DIGGER"

A visit to Collingwood and the Aorere Goldfields was one of Hobhouse's priorities. He made the trip in June 1859 and was much disappointed with what he found. The little township of Collingwood (Population 700) had grown up unplanned and undirected in order to supply the trading, administrative and recreational needs of the goldfield.

This field, the first extensive gold discovery in New Zealand, had been opened in the mid 1850s and by 1859 the area was wealthy by colonial standards, having exported some £150,000 worth of Gold.¹ Yet despite the reports which had reached Nelson of the lawlessness and moral laxity consequent upon this prosperity, the Archdeaconary Board, which had administered the Church in Nelson Province since 1855, had made no effort to provide Christian ministry there. Hobhouse was sad to find hotels rather than churches and publicans rather than priests:

Not a breath of United Prayer or Praise [he wrote], ever rises from the lips of Christian Men, most of whom have till recently been trained in the ordinances of Religion.²

His first action was to perform the services of the Church and, despite the apparent indifference to religion, he was able to record full, attentive congregations. He also visited the diggings to hold services and baptise. The services were followed by a meeting of churchpeople at which he discussed the ministry to the Golden Bay settlers and the diggers. He offered to find a minister for Collingwood if the local residents raised half of the £200 stipend, the balance to be provided from Diocesan funds. The residents further agreed to arrange regular services conducted by a lay reader until the minister should come.

A year later Hobhouse appointed his old friend, his curate from St. Peters-in-the-East, the Rev. R.H. Codrington, to the post of missionary clergyman in Golden Bay. He was to minister to two quite distinct groups of people - the town community of Collingwood and the Diggers who lived and worked far from any civilizing influences. Codrington came to be well respected among both for:

The Elasticity of His Temper & the strength of his Principles
 [shown during] the Miseries of His first sojourn in a public House during 3 weeks of ceaseless rain.³

1. F. von Hochstetter, The Geology of New Zealand, p. 91.
2. Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse, 21 June 1859.
3. Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse, 26 June 1860.

He left Collingwood the following January to become assistant minister in the Waimea, from where he could assist the Bishop with diocesan administration.⁴ His place was taken by the Rev. C.H.J. Halcombe who took up residence at Collingwood with his wife on 20 April 1861.

When Hobhouse returned to Collingwood in 1861 he rejoiced at the changes he found. Gold was now to be found only in fine particles unevenly distributed, with the result that "The Gambling nugget-hunters have all fled ... [and] there is no reward but for patience and industry."⁵

Only the more sober-minded men remained, working for a company and receiving wages of 10s. per day. Because of weather conditions and the necessity of procuring supplies, Diggers could not work every day, so the average overall wage worked out at 5/11d per day (£110 per year) which approximated to that of a boundary shepherd or any other labourer. On it people might be reasonably comfortable, but never well off, so it was not surprising that the more adventurous left to seek the wealth of a possible strike elsewhere.⁶

Those who remained at Collingwood were men of more settled disposition and were thus more amenable to the strict rule being administered by the recently appointed Warden of the Goldfields. By 1861 these quieter labourers were getting married and introducing the amenities of family life,⁷ and the community was becoming altogether more civilized. At last Hobhouse saw some evidence of the stability and calm upon which he believed the Christian Life to rest. He could thus hope:

I do not see any reason why the Community should not form as good a Church body as any wide-spread Eng. Parish I have great hope, therefore, that Mr Halcombe will have a fair Field and he permitted to see a fine Fruit.⁸

So far the settling and civilizing influence of the Church's ministry had been aided by three external social changes: the departure of the most high-spirited men, the lightening of legal controls and the marriages of many of the diggers. Collingwood might be safe, but in other areas there was no Christian peace. New goldfields were opening on the West Coast, and there, far from the forces of law, the ministry of the Church and the influence of women, went the wildest of the diggers. With no clergyman available to accompany them, their life promised to be one of unlimited boozing and brutality, however an interim solution was achieved by Bishop

4. He was Secretary to Synod 1861, 1862, 1863; a member of the Standing Committee 1861; and of the Pension Board 1862, 1863.

5. Hobhouse to R. Hobhouse, 4 July 1861.

6. Gabriel Read made his Otago discovery in 1861, and other fields on the West Coast were opened during the decade.

7. Hobhouse to R. Hobhouse, 4 July 1861.

8. ibid.

Harper of Christchurch sending his son Henry to minister on the West Coast. 9.

There are few records concerning Hobhouse's attitude to the diggers, but one can see the same basic thoughts as when he first encountered the rudeness of the sheep-runs. To him it was tragic that so many people should be deprived of the Church's ministry. He believed that the example of a minister's life, and by instruction through sermons, Christian ministry could bring mankind a greater depth of humanity and virtue, turning people's minds to work rather than idling, to piety rather than drinking and to constancy rather than violent excitement. Life would be raised from merely animal subsistence, acquiring a new dimension as men realised "that the love of God towards us has made us debtors beyond all we can know or think, beyond all that we can requite through all the ages of eternity For us the Son of God lived in the flesh a pattern life, died on the Cross an atoning death." 10.

In his dealings with the diggers one might compare Hobhouse with Harper of Christchurch. In 1866 Harper made a three month visit to the goldfields of Westland, spending much time in the company of the diggers and often relying upon their hospitality as he travelled. In this he differed from Hobhouse who used the magistrate's home as a base when he visited the Collingwood diggers, thereby identifying himself with the judicial system.

Harper liked the real diggers for their honesty and freedom from all class pretension. 11. He accepted them as the adventurers they were, trying to share their fun and at the same time teach them some aspect of spiritual truth or practical morality. Hobhouse had not this common touch. He thought that their high-spirits endangered the settled calm on which the Christian life is based, and so set out first to quell them. Despite the sincerity of his efforts, it seems he was never quite at ease in the diggers' company.

9. Nelson Synod Proceedings, 1866, p. 8; Purchas, op. cit., pp. 130 ff.

10. Hobhouse, Sermons, pp. 56-57.

11. Purchas, op. cit., p. 130.

CHAPTER V

PART 3

"THE CITY DWELLER" : URBAN SOCIETY

Hobhouse's references to urban society were few, although as Bishop of Nelson he took an active, if perhaps superficial, part in civic affairs by reading prayers at the laying of the foundation stones of the Council Chamber ¹. and Nelson College, ². by presiding or speaking at public meetings, and by presenting prizes at the College prize-giving. ³. He once gave an Egyptian mummy's cloth and some antique seals to help establish Nelson's museum, and in the hope of encouraging further benefactors. ⁴.

He took an active part, too, in the cultural life of the city, and sang at the Nelson Harmonic Society's concerts. ⁵.

Hobhouse's comments upon city dwellers and urban life were confined almost exclusively to ecclesiastical matters, but he did not really consider towns to be problem areas:

I have good Hope of Strength and Union in the Town, but in the Country we shall need great Patience before we can adequately provide the Church's Ministrations. There are few centres of Population. ⁶.

Unlike many of his contemporaries who were under the influence of the Romantic movement, he did not despise towns as places of iniquity while extolling the countryside as a haven of natural purity.

Archdeacon Ault has said of Hobhouse that:

He, like John Masefield, felt the warmth of the rain and the homely smell of the earth - a joy past power of words. He loved the book of nature - the book 'Which heav'nly truth imparts, And all the lore its scholars need Pure eyes and Christian hearts' ⁷.

but this is true only in a very limited sense. He did enjoy a pleasant sunset or the sight of snow-topped ranges, and recorded these beauties in his diary, but he was not the Romantic which Ault would have us believe. He did not believe that Nature uplifted men to new religious experiences or that it opened the way to Redemption. In his eyes New Zealand's "book of

1. Nelson Examiner, 27 Aug. 1859.

2. ibid., 10 Dec. 1859.

3. ibid., 21 Dec. 1859.

4. ibid., 19 July 1862.

5. C.A. Durley (Beatson), Diary, 26 July 1860. The Nelson Examiner reported the concerts faithfully but never included performers' names.

6. Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse, 25 Feb. 1859.

7. Ault, op. cit., p. 41.

Nature" (brown tussock, rugged hills and stony rivers) did not "impart heav'nly truth", but isolated inhabitants from normal daily intercourse with other members of a community, and most important, from the real source of "heav'nly truth" - the Church.

Far from being places of iniquity, Hobhouse expected towns to be places where people lived together as a community focussing their lives on the Church and its spiritual goals. He anticipated, for instance, that centres such as Collingwood would quickly form strong Christian communities, and that from these the Church would radiate into the surrounding dark countryside. Towns were viewed to his hopes for Nelson. Disease & spiritual growth, but the inhabitants' Christianity was often sadly weak, subordinated to materialism and worldliness.

Mrs Hobhouse wrote at more length about urban society in Nelson. Although many of her letters deal with the day to day problems of housekeeping and finding servants in the colonies, she also commented in more depth upon the people and the general tone of life. Soon after her arrival she wrote:

There are not 4 families in the whole place that one would probably have ever made acquaintance with if they had been one's neighbours in England, (except as a clergyman) - but the great majority are Attorneys, medical men, offshoots of merchants houses & retired army and navy officers of very small means - the class of people who live in the neat houses of country villages at home. 8.

Clearly her opinions of the colonists' social background differed little from the Bishop's. None the less, she seems at first to have been pleased with the enforced simplicity of manners:

There are really no luxuries and few comforts, ... nothing is done for show and there are no artificial habits It is wonderful how all the paint and varnish seems to drop off life It strikes me that one has thrown away so much time and thought and money on things that are only made needful by everyone else having them and doing them - and that have no value in themselves One feels here as if one had got completely out of reach of the pomps and vanities of the world. 9.

She was delighted that the children ran free, and were useful in common tasks:

One of the little girls about 10 years old has been my constant companion since Ed. went away - & I cannot but marvel at her perfect good breeding & at her being like any Gentleman's child except that she can boil potatoes & wash her socks - & pelts the cattle that seem inclined to dispute the road with one, instead of running away. I really believe that children here do not know what fear is 10.

8. Mrs M.E. Hobhouse to Miss H. Brodrick, 31 May 1859.

9. ibid.

10. Mrs M.E. Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse, 12 Sept. 1859.

However she soon found that the life-style which had appeared delightful in its pure simplicity was in fact plain and ugly. Homesickness evoked the following lament:

Oh dear, how I should like to have been with you at Fortnum and Mason's before Xmas! All the artificialities of life to which one attaches so little value when one is in the midst of them, change at this distance into blissful and almost poetic visions - if I were to suddenly see a footman with a powdered head, I think I should embrace him! 11.

Just as the Bishop found the runholders to have very little conversation, Mrs Hobhouse found that even the best of her Nelson neighbours prattled on ceaselessly about washing, cooking and babies. Among the visiting Taranaki refugees, the Browne girls, were:

Such nice intelligent creatures that it is very vexatious to find that the whole conversation & observation at home turns upon their neighbours children and the shipping. 12.

Two other young guests completed her disillusionment:

We have now as visitors in the house 2 of the roughest specimens of Colonial growth that I have seen - this poor girl Miss Gibbs is one - a certain Horace Jennings ... is the other and really it makes one sad to see what a gentleman's son can come to out here. The boy is 16 - sharp and useful in all matters of common life, & well meaning, but as thorough a clown as ever walked by a plough - He Does not know how to sit or how to eat or how to talk & seems not to have an interest or an idea beyond the things & people he has last seen in the street. There is not a sentence he utters that would not come as naturally from a common labourer, except that in accent & grammar he Does show some symptom of better Descent - & in that respect he differs from Miss Gibbs I tried at first to cure her of saying "I see 'im come 'ome long 'go he 'ad fell down & hurt 'isself dreadful" &c., but I found it was quite useless, for the superficial vulgarity is but an index of what is within. "Mrs 'Obhouse are you fond on conversation lollies?" was a question with which she mystified me one day. I got an explanation but will not forward it to you as you are not likely to be examined on the subject.

.... Truly I often think of the proverb that "Misfortune brings us acquainted with strange bedfellows." 13.

The same Miss Gibbs was:

A young lady whose thought and mode of expression is what I shd not have imagined but for the help of Dickens and my slight acquaintance with him. I often wonder as I hear her speak, just as one does in Dickens, how she can have thought of such ingeniously vulgar things as she says. But so prolonged a visit from Mrs Quilp or Mrs Gamp is rather wearisome 14.

11. Mrs M.E. Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse, 27 Feb. 1860.
12. Mrs M.E. Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse, 4 April 1861.
13. Mrs M.E. Hobhouse, Fragment entitled "Vicissitudes of colonial Life", Aug. 1862.
14. Mrs M.E. Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse, 30 Aug. 1862.

Before she came to Nelson, Mrs Hobhouse had encountered only flattering accounts of colonial life from people such as Bishop Selwyn, or Mrs M.A. Martin, wife of the New Zealand Chief Justice, who visited her in England in 1858. Mrs Martin, though from the Hobhouses' own background, was quite contented in Auckland's more refined environment, devoting much of her time to hospital work and teaching, and was enchanted to find herself playing a useful role in the founding of a colony. ¹⁵.

From her reading, Mrs Hobhouse was acquainted with John Sidney's myth of colonial arcady, popularised by Charles Dickens in David Copperfield where he wrote of Wilkins Micawber's redemption in Port Middlebay, Australia. In its most advanced form this myth taught the southern colonies were havens where the reprobate were purified by the beauty of unbridled Nature, where life was pleasingly simple and manners unaffected, where wants were supplied in plenty but superfluous luxury was eschewed.

Her willingness to believe the restorative powers of Nature had been heightened by her devotion to John Ruskin's nature-worshipping Romanticism. However after a short period of enchantment she realised the truth - there was nothing uplifting in rustic simplicity. Rather, it overthrew all the dignity of civilised life. The Church, not wild nature, was the sole source of redemption, and it was culture and education that moved men to great deeds or raised them to the pursuit of eternal truth.

Mrs Hobhouse's picture of Nelson may seem ungenerous, but it helps to explain the gulf that separated her and the Bishop from the colonists. Having been raised in England's upper class where they shared the intellectual life of Oxford circles, the art and culture of Europe and the refinement of elegant drawing rooms, it was not easy for them to meet ignorant labourers or adventurers on terms of perfect intimacy. Yet they were certainly not snobs. Both tried hard to share the interests, the disappointments and the enthusiasms of the colonists, but they found it hard to forsake their background. They had the means to avoid the worst drudgery of household management and this gave them leisure to devote to intellectual and cultural attainments. They were well educated, their manners were refined, their conversation was serious and elevated. Tragically, although in Nelson they were surrounded by people, in a deeper sense they were alone in a foreign land.

Despite their opinions of the manners and conversation of the colonists, the Hobhouses always maintained an open house, generously dispensing hospitality to anyone who seemed to be in want of food and a bed. The Rev. T.L. Tudor used their house as a base for his work as Maori Chaplain. Schoolmasters, refugees, confirmation candidates, a mentally deranged woman, children whose parents were ill, and many others were all taken in and

15. A. and L.R. Drummond, At Home in New Zealand, pp. 144-145.

lovingly cared for. Their home was a refuge for anyone who "crept under Edmund's wing." 16.

And they made a further contribution to Nelson. Servants of any type were hard to find in New Zealand and good servants practically impossible. Mrs Hobhouse had brought one maidservant, Deborah Hill, with her from England, and she soon became a mainstay of their Nelson household while others came and went:

An extraordinary misconception seems still to prevail with regard to Colonial households. I really must endeavour to give you a sketch of ours during the last 15 months Well, our staff composed of Hill and two girls has always been the normal condition of things in the house - but girls cannot be had, even in the rawest state, at a moment's notice. The first, who came as footman, was a very nice creature of 14, who tho' she appeared first in netted red sleeves and wide gilt bracelets, addressed me as Mrs Hobhouse, and volunteered a good deal of conversation, soon dropped these practices, partly by being so desired, and partly by instinct. Next we secured a young land as housemaid ... she soon captivated the soft-hearted Mr Philpotts (who had an undying attachment to a girl in Oxford) ... and consoled himself by making love to Elizabeth, so they were engaged I found thereupon a little girl of 15 who came a year ago

.... Do let me tell you the costume in which my strong kitchen maid appeared, as I found her the day after her arrival standing at the sink - it will give you an idea of what people allow their servants to wear here: faded and washed out skirt of a non-washing material over a large hoop. Loose jacket of another material and tawny hue, and black velvet and large spangles on her head, and in her ears large gold (?) drop earrings! She also has a flowered muslin, and bonnet richly trimmed with white jessamine. I have given the girl no peace until this attire is in the process of reformation 17.

With untrained servants continually coming and going, Mrs Hobhouse found she was called upon to direct and discipline their work. "It is a fact", she wrote, "that I must always consider our household a training school." 18. She insisted on a high standard of discipline and cleanliness in opposition to the prevailing chaos and dirt, even going to the trouble of having uniforms sent from England, 19. so that the girls received a thorough education in domestic science.

Although Hobhouse and his wife did not notice many obvious fruits of their "open house" policy, others were quick to admire their limitless zeal on behalf of the colonists. Mrs Abraham, wife of the Bishop of Wellington, wrote when she visited Nelson during 1862: "I think their house is doing a very good work socially and morally in the place." 20.

16. Mrs M.E. Hobhouse to Miss Fanny Brodrick, 30 Nov. 1859.

17. Mrs M.E. Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse, 18 April 1861.

18. Mrs M.E. Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse, 4 Aug. 1860.

19. Mrs M.E. Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse, 2 May 1859.

20. Mrs C.H. Abraham to Miss E. Hobhouse, 6 March 1862.

From the beginning of his Nelson episcopate Hobhouse used his household as a channel through which his pastoral ministry could be exercised and the tone of Nelson society elevated:

I think it essential [he wrote] to live near the Church, to be near the centre of Things, to be accessible at all Times to all Persons, to bring as much influence to bear on this young Community as possible, and as to internals I think a Bishop's House should have the means of giving accomodation, however homely ... to his clergy and others engaged in Church Business. 21.

The decision was deliberately made. It resulted from his concern for the people under his spiritual care and was a fulfilment of the responsibility which consecration to the episcopate imposed upon him. Both he and Mrs Hobhouse were motivated by a strong humanitarianism which flowed from their Christian faith. They found much to criticize in the people of Nelson, but despite this they genuinely loved them and gave them all the succour they could.

CHAPTER VI
THE MAORIS
PART 1
MINISTRY AND EDUCATION

I must say that I believe in the extinction of races. It is a painful thing but here, with all the care, the absence of war (formerly so constant), the race certainly decreases. It seems to be in the order of God's Providence that it should be so. 1.

A barbarous and coloured race must inevitably die out by mere contact with the civilized white; our business, therefore, and all we can do, is to smooth the pillow of the dying Maori race. 2.

So wrote two people prominent in New Zealand affairs in the decade preceeding the arrival of Bishop and Mrs Hobhouse in Nelson - one the wife of an attorney-general, the other a leading politician.

The inevitable demise of the Maori was an accepted dogma of the time. It was prominent in the many books being written about New Zealand for the English market, so that F.E. Maning was able to say in Old New Zealand that the Maori was dying of the slow poison of civilization, and Dieffenbach that:

The number of aborigines in New Zealand rapidly decreases - a strange and melancholy, but undeniable fact! It may be one of Nature's eternal laws that some races of men, like the different kinds of organic beings, plants, and animals, stand in opposition to each other, that is to say, where one race begins to spread and increase, the other, which is perhaps less vigorous and durable, dies off. 3.

"God's Providence", "inevitable" extinction, and "Nature's eternal law": such were the views upon which the Hobhouses had been reared in England, so they were surprised to find that Nelson diocese had 948 Maoris ⁴ - 16 per cent of its total Anglican population.

I daresay you remember that we thought we should have little or nothing to do with natives & that it was not worth while to learn their language. We can easily see how it was that people gave this impression to Ed. & maintain now that there are not enough in this Island to be worth considering, for it is the fashion here to ignore their claims, spiritual and temporal - & to excuse all carelessness about them by bringing forward the undoubted fact that in spite of all that is done to improve their condition they are rapidly diminishing One way or another, the natives tho' they are tolerated are not the fashion with the Colonists generally. But there they are, in greater numbers and requiring far more to be done for them than we had any idea of - & Ed. wishes, of course, occasionally to visit all their settlements himself. 5.

1. Mary Swainson, 1853; quoted Miller, op. cit., p. 104.
2. Dr Featherston, 1856; quoted Miller, op. cit., p. 104.
3. Dieffenbach, Travels in New Zealand, V. II, pp. 14-15.
4. Nelson Synod Proceedings, 1860, p. 52.
5. Mrs M.E. Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse, 12 Sept. 1859.

Hobhouse was alarmed at the work which Maori missions would add, unexpectedly, to his episcopate, for although most clergymen had occasionally visited Maori settlements in their locality, no provision had yet been made for systematic ministry to the Maoris, despite their very recent conversion to Christianity.

Hobhouse was not prepared to tolerate such haphazard provision for their spiritual welfare. As a first step he appointed the Rev. T.L. Tudor as itinerant native chaplain, conveniently sidestepping the financial burden created by the appointment by paying the £200 stipend himself. Tudor's duties were to visit all the settlements in turn, leading the worship, teaching the faith, administering the sacraments and seeking young Maoris to be trained for the office of teacher.

The Nelson Maoris seem to have been thankful for the interest which he showed in them. One chief received the announcement of Tudor's appointment "with tears in his eyes", and said "Now we have got a Father indeed".⁶

With thirteen or more Maori communities scattered in all parts of the diocese, Tudor's visits to each were necessarily few, and were special occasions, so in Nelson as in other dioceses most of the routine work of Maori ministry fell to the native teacher. This office had been introduced by the C.M.S. missionaries and was equivalent to that of lay reader. It had been perpetuated since Selwyn's arrival because of the vigorous standards he imposed upon all ordination candidates, insisting that no-one be ordained priest until he was, among other things, proficient in reading the Greek New Testament, thus effectively debarring Maoris. By 1859 Selwyn had ordained two Maori deacons, the Rev. Rota Waitoa and the Rev. Riwai Te Ahu. Bishop Williams, who was consecrated to the See of Waiapu in 1859, was less inclined to insist upon academic qualifications and admitted Rota Waitoa to priest's Orders as well as ordaining six more Maori deacons. These were exceptions, however, and most of the Maori ministry still rested upon the teachers.

Like his fellow bishops, Hobhouse was eager to have teachers in the Maori settlements. In 1859 Nelson had eight⁷ and by 1861 there were twelve,⁸ stationed so as to neglect only the West Coast Maoris.

This modest ministry consisted of regular non-sacramental worship, burial of the dead and instruction in the Faith.

The teacher's position within the Church was anomalous, for he was unpaid and held no official parish post. The Maori settlements with their teachers and one itinerant chaplain were outside the Church's parochial

6. Hobhouse, Diary, 18 June 1859.

7. Nelson Synod Proceedings, 1860, p. 52

8. ibid., 1862; p. 43.

structure, and, since synod elections were conducted on a parish basis, Maoris were not elected. The native chaplain, as a clergyman engaged in active ministry, had a seat in synod ex officio, but no Maori voice, teacher or tribesman, was heard.

Small though this Maori Ministry was, it was broken off in December 1861 when Tudor left for England. As there was no clergyman available to fill the gap, Hobhouse appointed H. Harris as a visiting catechist. Although he could offer no sacramental ministry to the Maoris whom he visited, he could at least help with the teaching work. Moreover, by being in contact with the Church outside the Maori settlement, he was able to combat any notion that the Maoris were forgotten by the Church.

In addition some of the diocesan clergy did what they could to rectify the deficiency. The Rev. H.F. Butt in the Wairua and the Rev. C.J. Halcombe at Golden Bay ministered regularly to Maoris within their cures; ⁹ and statistically at least these efforts seem to have been well rewarded, even if Hobhouse did think them inadequate. In February 1862, when General Synod met in Nelson, the northern bishops, Selwyn and Williams, provided services for the Nelson Maoris and confirmed forty who had been prepared by Harris. Hobhouse confirmed another eleven later in the year, and admitted all the newly confirmed to Holy Communion. Compared with the six confirmations in 1861, this was a tremendous increase; but Hobhouse's addresses to synod continued to lament the lack of an ordained man whose sole pastoral duty was to the Maori people.

Parallel with his hopes to provide the Maoris with an adequate ministry, Hobhouse wanted to provide them with education. For once there was official help with the expenses, consisting of an estate of 1100 acres taken by Sir George Grey in 1853 out of land reserved for the benefit of the natives and conveyed to the bishop in trust for native education. On part of this land a seven-roomed house, called "The College of Motueka", had been built, but until Hobhouse's arrival in 1859 there had been no teacher or pupils, and the house appears to have been used as a parsonage for Motueka's officiating minister. Hobhouse was anxious that the Trust should be used for its allotted purpose, and was able to report to the diocesan synod in 1860:

9. Nelson Synod Proceedings, 1862, p. 4.

All I have been able to accomplish is the maintenance of an European teacher [H. Harris] at Motueka for the daily instruction of the few Native adults and children who are willing to receive it, and here I gratefully record that in consequence of his self-denying devotion, I am able to offer this boon at no greater cost than that of his food, raiment and lodging. I have sent for another schoolmaster from England, who, after acquiring the tongue will devote himself to the care of some of the small schools in other Maori settlements.

This mode of teaching is a very inadequate fulfilment of a Trust which contemplated the domiciling of native boys under European masters (and if possible with European fellow-pupils) and training them in European industry, and religious habits; but the experience of this past year has taught me that what I now offer to the Maori parents of this Province is as much as they are willing to receive, and that no disposition exists to commit their boys to the discipline of a Boarding-school and of an industrial system

Meanwhile, I have applied the income of the estate to its self-improvement to which a large portion of the present balance stands pledged. 10.

Not until 1862 was he able to let all the land, nor was any progress made in interesting the Maoris in the education offered. On 5 May, while visiting Wakarewa to "glean up Pupils", he found considerable resistance:

The fickleness of the Native Mind compels us to speak thus doubtingly and act thus cautiously in all Plans for their Benefit - especially in the Matter of Education. Not that they are willing to remain in a state of Ignorance. They are far more keen than any of the British peoples except the Scotch for the acquirement of the rudiments of Knowledge. It is very rare to find a young Maori who cannot read; there are few who cannot write and sum ... but they pick up these elements so readily among themselves ... that they are loth to enter a school and make a labour of Learning.

The entire absence of Parental Control is another besetting Evil, always weakening the teacher's Hands and marring his work

I set about this branch of my work with full Foretaste of Disappointment, and preparedness for barren results. 11.

The gleaning was only marginally successful. On 30 September 1862 he reported to synod that he now had one pupil under Harris, and five others desiring to come. 12. The following year this rose to eight steady boarders, 13. and although this was but a tiny proportion of the diocese's male Maori population, Hobhouse seems to have regarded the figure as a big advance.

10. Nelson Synod Proceedings, 1860, pp. 4-5. Eventually the Native Department made a grant of £200 for the extensions to the buildings, and agreed to subsidise boarding pupils at the rate of £10 each per annum. See Nelson Synod Proceedings, 1863; pp. 4-5.

11. Hobhouse, Diary, 5 May 1862.

12. Nelson Synod Proceedings, 1862, p. 5.

13. ibid., 1863; p. 4.

For the girls, Hobhouse hoped to open a school under his wife:

He (Ed) has brought me the pleasing news that I am to have a school for Maori girls. I can only shrug up my shoulders for I confess I never felt any vocation for black children myself, however glad I may be when other people have it. 14.

He now thinks to having a Maori girls school attached to our house. It is of all kinds of undertaking what is least congenial to me, and what I feel myself least qualified for. But I am afraid it is our duty to see to the training of these children. 15.

I cannot yet see my way to having girls in our house to train, for without a matron it is impossible & I do not see where she is to come from on this side of the Equator

Whenever we are able to take them I should wish to receive only those who belong to families which are so far civilised & decent in their mode of life to allow the girls the possibility of keeping up the habits they have learnt. It seems to be mere waste of time and labour to teach children order, industry and cleanliness, & then to send them back to live in a dirty Cowshed where they soon resume their taste for Squatting on the Ground & doing nothing.

H. Harris is very fond of the Natives and has no objection to living among those who have decent huts. I only wish we could turn him into a middle aged woman, and then we should have a Matron at once. 16.

By February 1860 a Matron had been found. She was to run a dame's house for country boys attending school in Nelson, and it was hoped that she would also take charge of the Maori girls whom Mrs Hobhouse would teach. However, by August, the Matron, Mrs Hope, had proved herself to be "a goose of the first department", ¹⁷ and the Maori girls' school was abandoned altogether.

The residential character of both these schools which Hobhouse planned for the benefit of the Nelson Maoris was vital to their function. They were to remove the children, temporarily at least, from the squalor and filth of pa life and facilitate their acquiring "European industry and religious habits". Education was aimed at banishing from the child's personality those cultural norms into which he had been socialised, and replacing them with the values of European civilization.

14. Mrs Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse, 2 May 1859.

15. ibid., 2 July 1859.

16. ibid., 12 Sept. 1859.

17. Mrs Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse, 4 Aug. 1860.

Such an expectation was typical of English dealings with all native cultures during the nineteenth century. In New Zealand, as elsewhere, Victorian missionaries and churchmen made no attempt to relate the dictates of the Gospel to the indigenous native culture. They regarded any suggestion that values might be relative or that morality might be a product of cultural environment, as blatant heresy, for they believed values and morality to be absolutes revealed to man by Christ. In their scheme, conversion to Christianity involved both a change of faith and the deliberate renunciation of pagan culture in favour of European civilization. Salvation and civilization were seen as different aspects of the one blessing.

Humanists like Selwyn, Sir W. Martin, Governor Fitzroy and Governor Grey who were kind and generous in their treatment of the Maori and who saw New Zealand's future being that of a Christian Maori nation shared this belief that the Maoris should abandon their primitive culture in favour on European civilization; but it was equally strong in the philosophy of E.G. Wakefield and the New Zealand Company who saw New Zealand as a white man's land, yet planned that Maori chiefs would take their rightful place among the tail-coated, claret-sipping landed gentry.

Hobhouse was very much a child of his age. He was kind to the Nelson Maoris and worked hard on their behalf; but his assumption that their best interests lay in acquiring the rudiments, then the details, of the superior European culture, matched the views of his contemporaries. In common with them he strove to promote the Maoris' welfare as he saw it, yet met with only moderate success.

Secure in their knowledge of European cultural superiority and British might, the whole generation failed to comprehend the tenacity with which any culture, however primitive, binds those who have been socialised into it.

CHAPTER VI

PART 2

W A R

In February 1860 martial law was declared in New Zealand, and soon afterwards the first Taranaki refugees arrived in Nelson from the ravaged province. Even at this early stage Hobhouse was worried about the future of the young colony, for feelings were running very high, and it seemed to him that the war was serious enough to be regarded as general, likely to break out anywhere where the Maoris were strong enough. ¹.

He felt inclined to accept Premier Stafford's view that the war was the last struggle of a very able race to establish a national unity and independence within the confines of the property which still remained theirs, leaving the British untouched within the lines of the territory already sold to the pakeha, however, he suspected that inferior motives might actuate other tribes, and was highly critical of the role played by many of the settlers:

Grievous to say there are vagabond English always stirring up disaffection among the Maoris, misconstruing English proceedings and cherishing mistrust of all our assurances of Peace and Concord. The enrolment of Rifle-Corps in the alarm of a French War, has been represented to our brown Brethren as a sham, covering the real intent of arming for an attack on them. The undisguised lust for their Land in the N. Island prepares them continually with 'evil Surmisings' as to the Means which may be taken to obtain it. There is also no doubt that the introduction of representative Government has been a great weakening of their respect for the Queen's Authority. They hear of the farmers and store-keepers of their neighbourhood going to Auckland to make laws to control the Governor himself and they cannot understand where the supreme authority lies, or to whom they can look as representing it. They cannot realise any other idea of power than a personal embodiment in a Chief. ².

The Maoris, he felt, had genuine grievances:

I trust that the Chiefs will be united enough to make a temperate Representation of their real Grievances - which are such as these:-
 I. The Patriarchal Power, on the Strength of which rested the whole System of Order and Morality (such as it was) in the pure tribal Condition, is weakened by the Overtopping of the new Sovereign - Power of England - & by Intercourse with the Pakehas. II. No code of Laws exists for the Govt. of the native Race, nor any one Judicature for its Administration. III. In the Constitution given to the Country by the British Crown, the native Race has a nominally equal Share - i.e. it has the same Right of voting and being elected in the Assembly as the White Settlers - but no Native will avail Himself of these Privileges. He will not vote for a White Representative who tramples on his Interests, and none of His Blood will serve in an Assembly where He must feel, & be made to feel, an utter alien. The Constitution has therefore shut them out from all its intended

1. Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse, 13 April 1860.

2. ibid.

Benefits The Maoris know that the Assembly is composed of Yeomen Storekeepers and such base material, on whom Chiefs and Sovereigns and Governors ought in their View to trample. Representative Govt. in fact perplexes them 3.

Although these grievances could be solved "by giving the Maori a share in Constitutional Government", ⁴ the Land Question remained:

Of this I can see and hear no Solution, except the violent one which Settlers are not slow to preach, of seizing the unoccupied Lands and by virtue of a Right, which civilized Nations somehow acquire in dealing with uncivilized, apportioning it to the use of the Race wh. knows how to apply it to the Benefit of Mankind. This is a Doctrine wh. will undoubtedly find Advocates in the coming Assembly. Indeed some men who pass for good Christians are not afraid to express their hope that all the Maori Race will be goaded into Rebellion, that all their lands may be confiscated, except such small Reserves as might suffice for Tillage for the penitent Remnant who might be spared from Extinction. 5.

In Hobhouse's opinion, land, not the constitutional grievances, was the basic cause of the war. However, unlike Archdeacon Hadfield, to whom the land issue was also central, but who blamed the war directly on the Waitara purchase and the offended pride of Governor Gore Browne, ⁶ Hobhouse was reluctant to ascribe blame to people. He never discussed the rights and wrongs of the Waitara purchase in his letters, for he thought that, fundamentally, the conflict arose from the lack of understanding which is inevitable when two completely different cultures meet. In New Zealand these cultural differences revolved around attitudes to the land:

The Natives cannot distinguish between the Possession of the Fee-simple of the Land and the sovereign Power over the persons inhabiting the Territory. In their common-Law, which, remember, knew no such thing as a central sovereign Power, both the Freehold and the sovereignty were centred in one person under the Name of 'Mana' - a Term as difficult to expound to an European as a 'Manor' and its Rights would be to make clear to a Maori. 7.

Yet the differences between Hobhouse's opinions and Hadfield's went further than this. Whereas Hadfield, together with Selwyn and Abraham, sought a truce followed by an investigation of the Waitara title, hoping thus to gain peace and establish better regulations to govern the sale of land, Hobhouse thought that everybody's interests would best be served by a speedy victory for the Government soldiers:

As far as I know the Maori Race, if a decisive blow can be struck now they will live far more contentedly under British power. They have great respect for prowess and boldness, and if they once find that they are overpowered by an opponent worthy of their respect they will I hope submit with a good grace. 8.

3. Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse, 26 June 1860.

4. ibid.

5. ibid.

6. Hadfield, A Sequel to One of England's Little Wars, 1861.

7. Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse, 26 June 1860.

8. Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse, 13 April 1860.

He thought that War had a bad effect on the stability and morality which the Maoris were slowly learning:

Whatever may be the Issue of the Crisis, there is no doubt of its baneful Effect of the present Unsettledness [sic] upon religious Progress. The Maori is an exciteable Being. He is easily drawn off from the stedfast [sic] Pursuit of Things that are tangibly gainful. The sound of war, the appeal to His national Feelings, and too innate Love of Venture, and His unquestioned Bravery, will be very fatal to His Spiritual Growth. Moreover, there will be a Breach, already begun, between Him and His English Teacher, which will deprive Him of the Ministrations of the Church. 9.

In seeking independence from the pakeha administration, they were chasing an impossible dream:

I cannot see now how anyone can say that the Maori King Movement was not essentially a Rebellion, calling on the Governors strong Arm as soon as it was strong enough, to crush it. I humbly hope that it is now strong enough and that its strength may be both wisely and mercifully wielded. One smart Blow would I conceive be the greatest Blessing to the Maori People. This Dream of an impossible Independence is withdrawing Them from the steady pursuit of Industry, by which they were raising their social Condition. They are now spending their Time in Koreros (Colloquies) and Feastings, & their Money in buying Munitions of War and in making provision for the regal Estate of their Monarch. 10.

After this, Hobhouse made no further comment on the wars, but it was obvious that over both the cause and the best remedy, he differed from Selwyn and Hadfield who led the pro-Maori party in the Church.

In the eyes of the pro-Maori party, which also included Bishop Abraham, Bishop Williams, most of the North Island clergy, Sir William Martin and William Swainson, the Maoris were innocent victims, suffering at the hands of land hungry settlers and an inept government. However Hobhouse's sympathies lay elsewhere. To him the real sufferers of the war were not the Maoris, whom he believed to be rebels,¹¹ but the Taranaki refugees, "the plundered victims of violence and wrong",¹² who were forced from their homes by the fighting and sought temporary shelter in Nelson.

The differences of opinion between Hobhouse and his North Island brethren were great, and seem to have given rise to some bitterness. In July 1861 Hobhouse wrote:

Your Report of Dear Caroline Abraham's Letters upon Maori Matters does not surprize [sic] me. On the Maori Subject she gets her Husband's Views, which in Him are not duly restrained by His Office and Position or by His own good sense, and of course in her are unchecked by any such modifying Causes. I never mention the Subject to any of my Brethren [i.e. the other Bishops] and avoid it with most Persons. 13.

9. Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse, 26 June 1860.
10. Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse, 4 July 1861.
11. Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse, 26 June 1860.
12. "Moral Dangers of a Time of War", Hobhouse, Sermons, p. 154.
13. Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse, 4 July 1861.

A partial explanation of these differences lies in Hobhouse being a South Island bishop, remote from the fighting. Opinions in the south were greatly influenced by the newspapers, and as these were all partisan supporters of the settlers, many people heard only one side of the debate throughout the war. In Nelson, for instance, the Nelson Examiner declared:

We trust the opportunity will not be lost of reading to these misguided men a sharp but necessary lesson; one the significance of which may be felt and understood by the whole Native Population. Not if it can be avoided, by hostile operations, ... but first by hemming them in so completely that they shall have no means of escape, no alternative between destruction and entire submission. 14.

Moreover, the South Island settlers were more decidedly aggressive to the Maoris, for, because they seldom saw a Maori, their desire to defend British honour was too little tempered by any understanding of the problems and dangers which the northerners faced.

It would be wrong, however, to dwell much upon the apparent similarity between Hobhouse's hopes, and those of the settlers. Certainly both hoped for a quick victory to the British, but their reasons were very different. To the settlers, a quick victory was a sure means of obtaining more land; but Hobhouse, on the other hand, thought that, since cultural differences had made war inevitable, a speedy British victory would produce least disruption to the routine of life and the progress of religious training throughout New Zealand.

Throughout these distressing times, the Nelson Maoris remained calm and loyal, partly, perhaps, because of their numbers, for the settlers outnumbered them everywhere, but also because of the Church's influence over them. Hobhouse had confidence in his Maoris, whom he said were "far too right-minded ever to attempt any violence", ¹⁵ and the motto which his favourite chief adopted reflects Hobhouse's influence:

My best chief William Cotton and his son-in-law Martin ... are gone to Auckland to urge Counsels of Peace. 'Pakeha and Maori to be all one' is their motto. 16.

It was a firm statement of Hobhouse's hopes for New Zealand's future - a future which he saw being rapidly eroded by the unsettling effect of the war.

14. Nelson Examiner, 7 March 1860.

15. Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse, 13 April 1860.

16. Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse, 26 June 1860.

For the 900 Nelson Maoris, life went on fairly much as usual. At a time when people were saying that the northern Maoris "had apostosized to a man", ¹⁷ Hobhouse offered tangible proof of how little unsettled the southerners really were:

W. Cotton is building a Chapel of the Pentecost under my Direction. We chose this Dedication because the Resolution to build dates from Whit. tuesday when the Maoris communicated in my Chapel One pretty chapel in a Maori Pah will quickly beget many. The other Chiefs will not be content to be behind in anything. They are continually visiting one another, and are perfectly acquainted with all that goes on in any of their Kaingas (Settlements). ¹⁸

Nevertheless, he was most worried that the departure of Tudor, his native chaplain, in December 1861, might lead to a decline in the peaceful influence of the Church over the Nelson Maoris:

I should deplore this cessation of clerical services at any time, but at the present moment I regret it the more, because:-

1. The Natives, not being able to understand the real cause may attribute it to imaginary causes, e.g. change of mind towards them.
2. They are in greater need than ever of all the sobering and hallowing influences which their English fellow-subjects can give them. ¹⁹

Much to Hobhouse's disappointment, no ordained replacement was found for Tudor, but the work of Maori ministry staggered on. Like all Church work it was hampered by lack of money and people, though not, as elsewhere, much impeded by the war.

Yet Hobhouse's pastoral concern was not limited to the effect of war upon the Maori. He told Nelsonians that God had assigned to them:

The happy and blessed office of giving shelter to the homeless, safety, peace and comfort to the plundered victims of Violence and wrong. ²⁰

On a practical level he worked to turn Nelson into a haven for refugees. He took ten people into his home and also established a school for refugee infants there. ²¹

And just as he feared the unsettling effect of the war on Maori Christianity, he was also worried that it would divert the pakeha from the peaceful pursuit of things holy and eternal.

On 5 May 1860, the third Sunday after Easter, Hobhouse preached a sermon entitled "Moral Dangers of a Time of War" in which he bypassed all the questions of current debate and went to what he believed to be the real centre of the matter, - the moral dangers engendered by war. From the text:

17. Morrell, op. cit., p. 5.

18. Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse, 26 July 1860.

19. Nelson Synod Proceedings, 1860; p. 5.

20. "Moral Dangers of a Time of War", Hobhouse, Sermons, p. 154.

21. Nelson Examiner, 28 April 1860.

Wherefore my beloved Brethren, let every man be swift to hear, slow to speak, slow to wrath, for the wrath of Man worketh not the righteousness of God. 22.

he developed the theme that any excitement reduces one's self control and thus detracts from the peaceful, ordered routine of the Christian life:

Anger, hatred, revenge, aye and a host of kindred evils - scorn, boastfulness - are then dangers that beset us at this moment, dangers far more threatening than any uplifted arm that can imperil our peace and safety in this place. I called these natural fruits of strife, and natural they are, just as the weed is the natural growth of untilled soil Fill the soil with the seed of something more profitable, and you may keep the weed from returning after you have once cleared it.

Here, then, we come in sight of our duties in such a season as this. They are not far to seek. The dangers we have to shun are moral dangers. Moral dangers assail us within, in the heart. There we must watch them. There it is we must post our sentry and keep faithful word. 23.

This heartfelt concern for the spiritual welfare of all his flock, Maori and pakeha, was absolutely characteristic of Hobhouse. As one who saw himself above all else as a minister of Christ, his first thoughts were not for the preservation of the Maoris' rights to their land, but for the preservation of peace throughout society so that the quiet constancy of Christian life could be pursued in regular worship and instruction. By peace he did not mean an uneasy military truce, but the true Christian peace of people dwelling together in deepest harmony and fellowship.

22. Epistle of St. James; I; 10, 20.

23. "Moral Dangers of a Time of War", Hobhouse, Sermons, pp. 152-153.

CHAPTER VII
EDUCATION

During his years at St. Peters-in-the-East, Hobhouse was an active member of that earnest group of Victorians who were promoting grand reforms in every aspect of English education from the élite public schools down to the dames' schools of the poor. As a member of the diocesan Board of Education, and secretary from 1847-1850, he took a leading part in planning and implementing some of these educational advances, most notably by inaugurating the systematic training of schoolmasters.

During three months leave in 1850 he worked on a different level by organising a small yeoman school in his native town of Hadspen. Through his father's liberal help, he was thus able to educate the rising generation of tenant farmers.^{1.}

However, if the quality of education was steadily improving in England, in New Zealand, because of the colony's youth, the necessary institutions were still in the process of creation.

Education in Nelson had begun in 1842 with the founding of the Nelson School Society to give primary schooling, based on the Bible taught without denominational tenets, to all classes of children. In 1843 Selwyn had opened the Bishop's School, an Anglican grammar and commercial school under the Rev. H.F. Butt, and had begun planning the "College of Motueka" which was to be an industrial school on the plan of St. John's College. All these schools were subsidised by the provincial council, however in 1856 Alfred Domett persuaded Nelson to reform its education system according to the principle that, as every settler was called upon to support it financially whatever his religious opinions, then the basis of the system must in equity be secular.^{2.} Accordingly, all subsidies to existing schools were abolished, though a modification in 1858 allowed certain denominational schools to be paid "head money".^{3.} The Nelson School Society's buildings were taken over for use as government schools.^{4.}

1. Hobhouse, Outline, p. 13.
2. L. Broad, The Jubilee History of Nelson, p. 156.
3. ibid., p. 157.
4. Nelson Examiner, 4 May 1859.

With the abolition of subsidies, the Bishop's school was forced to close for the financial burden was too great to be borne solely by parents and the Church Endowment Fund.

Thus, despite Selwyn's good intentions, Hobhouse found something of an educational wilderness when he reached Nelson:

I cannot but deeply deplore [he said] the sad picture which this Diocese presents of the state of Christian Education.

The fact that weighs most heavily upon my mind in all my review of the present and future of the Diocese is, that not one single child is under the daily teaching of the Church.

This, as long as it lasts, will be to me a matter of unceasing regret. To remedy it will be, I trust, if God grant me life and health and a steadfast will, an object of unceasing effort. 5.

He objected to the secular education given in the government schools because he found it to be "wanting in that very point which a Christian most values. The State has to do with men, as the children of this world and not as heirs of a better kingdom". 6. To him education consisted of two essential components: the academic teaching together with the moral and spiritual training, neither of which could be neglected if the tuition was to retain the name "education". Criticising the secular programme of the government schools, he said:

I do not hesitate to call such instruction defective. It is fitter surely to limit it to the name of instruction, than to call it education. For what can be justly called education, but that training which educes, or brings out, all the powers and faculties of the man, and fits him for all the forms and stages of his earthly probation, and for all the purposes that he is designed to fulfil, both in this world of time and the world of eternity? Instruct his intellect, sharpen its machinery to its utmost capacity; practise his memory, store it with every kind of knowledge of created things; you have still left untrained the will, the affections, the conscience, the whole moral and spiritual man. If you have fitted him for one world, you have done nothing for the other. You have not touched his nobler part; you have not supplied him with the motives of action, the lofty aims, the buoyant hopes, the sobering fears, which alone can spring from the love of the redeemed child of God, continually drawn out by Christian training towards his Father in Heaven.

All that calls itself education must be defective, just so far as it falls short of giving this, the most important part of bringing out, "educing", the nobler part of the child's being.

Just so far as our common schools fall short of giving this teaching, is their instruction defective. 7.

Naturally the Church was the only institution properly equipped to educate people:

The full remedy is the union of secular and religious teaching under one agency (that, of necessity a religious one). This is happily the

5. Nelson Synod Proceedings, 1859, p. 12.

6. ibid.

7. ibid., p. 13.

prevalent system in our Mother Country and most manifest are its fruits. 8.

However it was impossible for education in New Zealand to be taken over by religious bodies:

This cannot be the system here. Were the State to offer tomorrow to abandon the field of education, the religious agencies, the religious zeal of the country ... would be all too feeble to occupy the field. 9.

The New Zealand Church was too weak to overthrow the established provincial system, nor did Hobhouse believe this necessary. Although convinced of its deficiency, he felt that as long as the instruction it offered remained secular and did not become "obstructive to religious education", it could not be justly branded as "godless" education. 10. Nor need the "most earnest Churchman shrink in conscience from taking part in the promotion of its purely secular instruction". 11.

Nevertheless, it was important that everyone remain vigilantly aware of its deficiency and attempt to supply what was lacking. Thus he urged his synodsmen to gird themselves like men, to the task of striving to supply what was lacking:

The Church must try to supply, by multiplied Sunday schools and evening schools, the needed instruction in the grounds of our Holy Faith. Parents and god-parents must fulfil, to the letter, the charge given them at the end of the baptismal service.

Parents of all ranks will, I trust present their children to their pastor to be catechised at periodical visits, either at their own houses or in a neighbour's house, or, if feasible, in a church. The clergy I will urge to make needful arrangements for such visits.

The instruction for confirmation must be greatly prolonged, and we must get a supply of good catechetical books. With these remedies, we shall be no worse off than England a hundred years ago, unless it be that the intellectual progress of our age has made children less submissive to home teaching, or less keen about the things of God.

I think we may try to get something more done by the help of external agency. We may ask that regular hours, for religious teaching, be marked upon the time-table, and that the clergyman be allowed at such hours to teach the children of his flock. 12.

Since education was likely to continue to be organised by the state, he also suggested that it might better be administered by the central government so that national uniformity and stability could obtain:

Would not the whole cause of education be the gainer, if its management, especially the appointment of teachers, rested in the General [sic]

8. ibid.

9. ibid.

10. ibid. The title "Godless Schools" had been invented in the 1850s and was popularly used to describe the secular institutions. It enjoyed considerable vogue for many years, especially after the 1877 Education Act had provided universal secular education.

11. ibid.

12. ibid., p. 14.

Government? Is there any other hope of attaining uniformity of system throughout the colony? or of giving stability to any one system? Is not that stability very much needed to encourage competent men to undertake and to retain the office, and generally to improve the quality of the whole machinery of education? 13.

By this Hobhouse did not mean that, "education was best managed by the national government". 14. The Church was the best manager of education for she alone could offer her pupils the concurrent religious and academic teaching which constituted true education. His suggestion that central government should take over the administration of education was simply a realistic response to the Church's weakness. Being well aware that the Church could not supply the nation's education, he hoped to provide the secular system with stability - the social basis of Christian life.

Hobhouse's fellow bishops expressed a similar philosophy. Like him they had all participated in the English educational reforms, Selwyn as a private tutor at Eton from 1831 to 1841, Harper as an Eton tutor in 1829 and chaplain from 1831 to 1840, and Abraham as an Eton Master from 1839 to 1850. Because of this background they were firmly convinced of the importance of education incorporating a full religious training.

During his early years in New Zealand, Selwyn centred his work on St. John's College which he opened in January 1843 and which he wanted to base upon "the plan (*Mutatis mutandis*) of Eton". 15. The College was to provide education for all classes and especially for ordinands, a temporary hostelry for new settlers and hospital care for the sick, aged and poor. 16. Working upon the industrial system, students were expected to break the routine of academic work to perform necessary manual labour, a discipline which was held also to benefit their moral development.

Abraham, who came to New Zealand in 1850 to be head of St. John's College, worked hard as Bishop of Wellington to establish a diocesan grammar and commercial school with masters appointed by the Church. 17.

Similarly Harper, as Bishop of Christchurch, worked hard to promote education and by 1863 there were twenty-four schools in his diocese. 18.

13. ibid.

14. c.f. I. Breward, Godless Schools, p. 11.

15. J. Evans, Churchman Militant, p. 99.

16. ibid., p. 101.

17. Wellington Synod Proceedings, 1859, p. 18; 1862, p. 17.

18. Christchurch Synod Proceedings, 1863, p. 13.

To his 1861 synod he stated the following educational principles:

If our Schools are to continue, as, I trust they always will be, religious institutions, I mean institutions in which we shall not only do our utmost to give the highest amount of secular instruction which we are capable of giving and the children of receiving; but in which we shall steadily keep in view that our main business is to educate them in the faith and fear of God, then it must be evident that our Teachers should be, not only well informed and able to teach in secular learning, but even as our Church expresses it in her Canon on this subject, - 'Of sober and honest conversation and with a right understanding of God's true religion', - men who will not only advance the children in those branches of knowledge which may fit them for the state of life to which they may be called but will remind them continually by the teaching of their lips and the still more powerful teaching of their lives, that all their knowledge will be of little avail if they do not both in School and in their after life set God always before them

A Teacher in our Schools, though he be not admitted into Holy Orders, is in them a Minister of religion. The opportunities which he has of influencing the Children for good or evil are unquestionably next to those for which their parents are responsible; their whole future life as Members of Christ's Church may depend upon him. 19.

So alike were the attitudes of all the ^Etonian bishops that the speaker could equally have been Selwyn, Abraham or Hobhouse. All of them believed that education was as much a part of the Church's ministry as baptising the young, celebrating Holy Communion, comforting the sorrowful, or burying the dead. They hoped that in New Zealand, as in England, a strong alliance of school with Church would create a system in which children were initiated simultaneously into the Christian faith and the life of the community. Education was but one aspect of the ministry imposed upon them by their consecration to the episcopate.

In England this aim and its spiritual motivation would have been commonplace. However, although many New Zealanders did support the bishops, the prevalent spirit in the colony was secular, and the vision won little support at government level. The bishops' thinking had perhaps been too much conditioned by English developments which were taking place under the leadership of a strong established Church.

In Nelson, Hobhouse planned to offer a religious alternative to the secular instruction of the government schools. After an unsuccessful appeal for funds he spent his own money on repairs and extensions to the original

brick building, and in September 1860 the Bishop's School was successfully re-opened under the Headmaster-ship of the Rev. T.A. Bowden to provide a "sound English and Commercial education".²⁰ The curriculum covered latin, mathematics, french, history, english language, geography, scripture, and religious training which was limited to Biblical knowledge and doctrine common to Protestants.²¹ The school was attended by children of all classes,²² and all denominations.²³

A large number of children remained, however, at government schools. For them, the only chance of receiving Christian instruction was in the Sunday schools which Hobhouse supported enthusiastically:

Our Sunday School too flourishes greatly both as to Teachers & children, but we sadly want funds for it - or rather want funds to enable us to establish one or more offshoots in the outlying districts.²⁴

When, in 1860, Marlborough became a separate province, one of the first acts of its Provincial Council was to repeal Nelson's "religionless Education-system" and declare its intention of subsidising private or denominational efforts. This, Hobhouse commented, "opens a Door for the Church which we are intently eager to walk in at, & shall certainly enter should the cost be not too great".²⁵

No Church school comparable in scale or style with the Bishop's School was founded in Marlborough, though less ambitious projects were undertaken. A Schoolmaster's house was built on the Churchland at Picton and a school opened under Mr Philpotts giving religious instruction in conformity with the formularies of the Church. Any children were admitted whose parents consented to their being instructed in the Creed, Lords Prayer and Ten Commandments, and to their partaking in the daily devotions. The school promised to be self-supporting but meanwhile the schoolmaster was guaranteed by a local committee a sufficient sum to entitle him to a subsidy from the provincial government.²⁶

These schools educated both town children and children whose parents could afford, and were willing, to board them at school, but boarding schools seem to have been of little interest to most rural dwellers, and Hobhouse

20. Prospectus of the Bishop's School.

21. ibid. There were daily prayers and Bible readings.

22. The Rollbook shows fathers' occupations which include "tinsmith", "runholder" and "gentleman".

23. As well as Anglicans, who made up the majority of the students, the Rollbook shows Congregationalist, Presbyterian, Baptist and Exclusive Brethren pupils.

24. Mrs M.E. Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse, 4 April 1861.

25. Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse, 26 June 1860.

26. Nelson Synod Proceedings, 1861, p. 4.

was worried that many children were still entirely without systematic teaching. As an interim measure he acquired suitable books and pictures from England for teaching the children he encountered on his annual visitations. Other visiting clergymen also offered spasmodic teaching:

Mr B. [ird] is working (as far as his own limited Time and the Difficulties of Country admit), on the same plan as Henry Harper, eldest Son of the Bp. of Ch.Ch. ... teaching the Children at the Stations in secular Things, setting them a Course of Lessons to be done by His next visit and giving little Reward books and lending others. 27.

With the growth of villages on the English pattern and an increase in the numbers of clergymen he anticipated that rural clergymen would organise schools for children who were not sent to board in town. However, he found that rural parents did not always share his belief in the importance of education:

I am puffing Mr & Mrs White's Blenheim Boarding School amongst the young people of this Valley, and shall probably fill the two rooms which the Committee is on the Point of adding to their House by deducting from the over-large schoolroom.

One honest Sheepowner declined on the score that his Mrs preferred having a bit-governess-like at Home as soon as he could add a Room to the House.

The Mrs in explaining her views let out that the Governess-like person was also to be Servant-like and Dressmaker-like - generally useful or not acceptable.

They will probably get a young girl who for the sake of being called a Governess will come for a Twelvemonth and do some dressmaking & teach a little Needlework & 'Rithmetic. 28.

To this indifference there was no apparent solution, but it reinforced Hobhouse's personal belief that education was essential if the children of land-owners were to become New Zealand's gentry and take a leading part in political and ecclesiastical affairs.

Despite the shortage of clergymen to act as teachers, Hobhouse's educational principles achieved some practical success. Anglican schools provided a Christian alternative to Nelson's government schools, and one village school was opened for eighteen months at Kekerengu under the Rev. W. Bird. 29.

However, Church schools were never a serious challenge to the secular schools in Nelson, for as Hobhouse had foreseen, the Church was financially and numerically too weak. While he believed that the English relationship between Church and School provided the best education, he knew that it was impossible for this to become the colonial norm. The dream came closest to

27. Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse, 10 Nov. 1860.

28. Hobhouse to Mrs M.E. Hobhouse, 6 Nov. 1860, Hobhouse Papers, Folder 9.

29. Hobhouse, Diary, 6 Dec. 1861.

fulfillment in Christchurch which was a Church of England Settlement and where Anglicans had complete control of education until 1863, but even there, by 1871, Harper found that Church schools were financially impossible outside large towns.^{30.}

Thus Hobhouse laboured to overcome the worst deficiencies in the secular teaching offered by the government schools. By providing, in the Bishop's School, a private alternative, and by emphasising the ministry exercised through Sunday schools, he set a pattern which a century later still characterised education in New Zealand.

30. Breward, op. cit., p. 5.

CHAPTER VIIIFACT ION

In England clerical independence was a hall-mark of the established Church, and the laity were debarred from any participation in ecclesiastical government. In New Zealand, however, where ministers' stipends depended upon congregational offerings, the laity were quick to see the power that was potentially theirs.

Attempts were soon made to grasp this power, and in Nelson, these attempts assumed a new virulence when the parochial district of Christ Church was divided into two parishes.

Since the departure of Archdeacon Paul in January 1860, Hobhouse had been doing the work of the officiating minister of Christ Church as well as performing his episcopal duties, but on 6 November 1861 he announced to the churchwardens his intention of resigning the cure of Christ Church Nelson. At a vestry meeting of the parochial district, on 21 November 1861, his resignation was made official and the vestry was requested to nominate a clergyman and present him to the bishop to be licensed as officiating minister. The vestry selected Hobhouse's cousin, the Rev. H.M. Turton, and after negotiations about his stipend and duties, Hobhouse licensed him as officiating minister on 31 December 1861.

The vestry wondered whether to take the re-organisation one stage further and, on 5 August, created a sub-committee to assess the wisdom of forming the parochial district into a parish. Nelson city had long been a secure cell of the New Zealand Church with a solid church building, regular worshippers, sufficient income and an able governing body, the vestry. Thus it was understandable that the parochial officers should seek the prestige and benefits of parish status. At a vestry meeting, on 2 September, with no churchwarden and only four lay members of the vestry present,¹ the churchwardens were directed to write to the bishop asking him to take the necessary steps for having the district made a parish.

The churchwardens and other absent vestrymen had ideas of their own, however. On 25 September, a special vestry meeting took place with the Rev. H.M. Turton, all three churchwardens and nine vestrymen present, at which the following proposal was moved by Messrs Antill and Ashcroft:

1. That the Churchwardens and Vestry having taken into consideration the advisability and expediency of applying to Synod to have the whole of this City formed into one Parish ... are of the opinion... that should that take place it would be impossible for the

1. Technically, just a quorum.

incumbent to undertake the Pastoral Duties without the assistance of at least two Deacons; the Vestry therefore now wish to state their conviction that the pastoral visitation of Deacons would not be generally acceptable to the Parishioners, a fuller development of that duty being desired by Church members in Nelson. The Vestry, therefore, express this belief that the interests of the Church demand that this city should ... be divided into two parishes, each having a duly nominated Incumbent or Parish Pastor.

2. That the Vestry are of the opinion that the suburbs, which have hitherto been served by the officiating minister of Nelson, should not come under the ministrations of the Incumbent of the Parish; but ... wishing to see those districts provided for ... express their willingness, should this city be divided into two parishes, to make over the entire grant from the Endowment Fund of £100 per annum, for four years, to the Bishop, to assist him in procuring the necessary church services required by those districts; feeling sure that the withdrawalment [sic] of the above amount ... will not affect the provision of the stipend of £300 per annum, for the Incumbent of each parish.
3. Carrying on the Principles in the foregoing clauses the Vestry desire the Churchwardens to Petition the Diocesan Synod to constitute this city into two Parishes ...
4. That this vestry have cause to believe that the appointment of the Rev. H.M. Turton and the Rev. C.L. McLean to the proposed new Parishes, the former to the Christ Church half of the city and the latter to the remaining half, would give general satisfaction 2.

Turton, who as officiating minister was ex officio chairman of the meeting, explained his opposition to the move then withdrew. The four resolutions were then carried, along with a fifth:

That foreseeing from the remarks of the Rev. H.M. Turton that misconception might arise as to the motives by which the formation of new parishes are advocated, this vestry wish to record their high appreciation of the good heart and zeal of their present Incumbent, and to assure him that the present movement originated in a wish to lighten his duties and strengthen his hands. 3.

There were in fact grounds for the division of the district. While the Taranaki refugees were in Nelson, Hobhouse had held services in the Oddfellows' Hall as well as in Christ Church, and had continued them after the departure of the refugees, hoping that the absence of seat-rents in the hall might bring the labouring classes into Church. 4.

However most of the vestry resolutions concerning the division were pious humbug. The mover and seconder were motivated not so much by a desire to improve the quality of the Christian ministry in Nelson or to assist Turton, as to retain McLean who was threatening to leave Nelson because of inadequate stipend. 5.

2. Minutes of the special meeting of the vestry of the parochial district of Christ Church Nelson, 25 Sept. 1862.
3. ibid.
4. Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse, 8 May 1861.
5. "A Churchman and a Communicant" to the Editor, Nelson Examiner, 22 Oct. 1862. The exact amount of the "inadequate" stipend is not known.

Yet their ambition did not end here. Had their concern been only to retain McLean, a simple solution was to raise his stipend by vestry resolution, but instead the churchwardens and fifteen laymen from Christ Church petitioned the diocesan synod to form a portion of the city into a separate parish for him, and promised to pay him the stipend of £300.⁶ Their over-riding aim was to establish a separate church where McLean could minister exactly as he chose. They disliked Turton because he was considered, by the standards of the time, to be high church.⁷

Turton saw the plans to create a second parish as an attack upon himself - a symbol of the struggle of the low church party against the high church party,⁸ and this is exactly what it was. In purporting to furnish evidence that an adequate stipend was available for the second minister the petitioners attached the condition that McLean should be appointed, in direct contradiction of the canon law as contained in the Statute for the Appointment of Pastors to Parishes.⁹ In spite of this irregularity, Nelson synod resolved to divide the parochial district of Nelson, leaving all details to be worked out by the Standing Committee.¹⁰

When Standing Committee met, on 25 November 1862, it received guarantees of stipend from McLean's friends, therefore the western district, intended for McLean, was officially constituted as a parish. There was a fault, however. The guarantee was conditional upon the appointment of McLean as officiating minister, so parishioners were asked to guarantee the same stipend to any duly nominated clergyman.

The reaction was instantaneous. Before convening the Nomination Board, Hobhouse approached the guarantors of the stipend from whom he received a total offer of £15-10-6! Furthermore, he was told that there was no money for the erection of a Church. The Nomination Board did not meet and the parish, legally constituted, remained without church or minister, and with unemployed parish officers.¹¹

Synod, Standing Committee and the bishop, who had all acted in good faith toward the petitioners found that they had been tricked. The petitioners had their parish, and were ready to erect a church and pay the incumbent's stipend as soon as McLean was inducted.

The goal of this deception was not only to secure the appointment of McLean, whom the Nomination Board would almost certainly have chosen if the

6. It will be noted that the churchwardens were not present at the vestry meeting of 2 Sept. which requested the formation of one parish.
7. e.g. Miss C.A. Durley, Diary, 5 July 1861; 1 Aug. 1861.
8. "A Churchman and a Communicant" to the Editor, Nelson Examiner, 22 Oct. 1862.
9. General Synod Proceedings, 1859, p. 88.
10. Nelson Synod Proceedings, 7 Oct. 1862.
11. Nelson Synod Proceedings, 1863, p. 2.

petitioners had followed the rules, but to establish the right of the congregation to select its own ministers, independent of the bishop's authority or the diocese's wider interests. It was a precedent which neither bishop nor synod would concede, for it sought to annihilate the episcopal authority upon which catholic order is based, and it challenged the synodical government of the New Zealand Church.

On 20 January 1863, McLean became second master at Nelson College, but the parish officers remained dogmatic in wanting more lay control over the appointment of their minister. In pursuit of this power they further complicated the diocese's administration by persuading Nelson laymen to refuse money for the passage and outfit of an unknown clergyman emigrating to Nelson. Since this involved considerable expense, the refusal nullified Hobhouse's many attempts to recruit English clergymen for colonial service.

So far, the conflict was not a personal attack upon Hobhouse, though it was a challenge to the apostolic authority which he embodied within the diocese, and it produced the sort of disorder which he thought dangerous to Christian peace and harmony. Characteristically, he remained aloof trusting that the calm dignity of his bearing would ultimately encourage holier conduct. Nevertheless, the whole disturbance was a source of considerable worry for him.

As Nelson's inhabitants began to tire of the dispute and it faded from everyone's thought, a solution might have been reached; but this was not to be. On 21 March the Nelson Examiner launched a new, bitter, and this time personal attack on Hobhouse by printing an extract from one of his private letters which had been read at the 1862 meeting of the Oxford Nelson Association when the correspondence intended for the meeting had failed to arrive. Subsequently the letter had been reported in the Oxford University Herald:

An attempt which I made in March last to remonstrate against the appointment of an infant-schoolmistress in this place - a person stained with the crime of incest - drew me into many conversations which revealed great unsoundness of principle, and that, too, in men who have kept their name unstained, and have honoured the nuptial bond in practice if not in theory. I found the whole authority of the Divine Law even to the prohibition of polygamy questioned - the clearest precepts of the Divine Law-giver confounded with the glosses of human interpreters, and with the encroachments of the medieval courts so that to call anyone incestuous seemed to be little better than the hateful slander of a bigot. 12.

The "incest" in question was the lady's marriage with her deceased husband's brother, a union forbidden by the Mosaic Law^{13.} and upon this authority prohibited by the Church.^{14.} None the less, by the 1860s, Hobhouse's traditional view of the relationship was far from universally held. Under the influence of liberal biblical exegesis, many people had come to believe that Christians were free from the minutiae of the Mosaic Law, a change which in England showed itself after 1855 in a series of Bills to legalise marriage with a deceased wife's sister.

In New Zealand, because most of the influential immigrants were adventurous members of the educated middle class inspired by a vision of building a redeemed and perfected society, the intellectual and social climate was more liberal. Consequently, Hobhouse's objections to the school-mistress's marriage were seen by most people as illogical and harsh - an undesirable carry over from the Old World. This was typified by the Nelson Examiner's editorial accompanying the report from the Oxford University Herald:

We present our readers with a curious portrait of Nelson Society, done by strangers, after an artist near at hand, whose character does not qualify him for this particular class of portrait. It is a clumsy wood-cut of a man of the common world, from a drawing by a painter whose sympathies are with hermits in their temptations and saints in their martyrdom. Bishop Hobhouse is not the man to take a true view of everyday life. He is, one would imagine, a sort of Caravaggio, whose pictures consist of a very dark background, with a few painful faces peering out of the gloom - saints or murderers, sheep or goats. He has not conveyed a true impression of society here to his friends at Oxford

The sin under discussion is a sin against an external law. It is not repugnant to human feelings, it is not a shameful horrible sin, not a malum in se, or only doubtfully so, but a malum prohibitum. An English Parliament trembles on the balance respecting the law as it exists, the bench of Bishops being practically its chief props. And what is even more to the purpose, minds as pure as, we will not say purer, than Bishop Hobhouse, see no moral, no spiritual sin in the act which his words band with infamy ... Well then it is a course of great headiness, of great bigotry, we think, to speak as the Bishop has done ...

Bishop Hobhouse is respected everywhere for earnestness and self denial, but he runs a great risk of losing all the personal influence for good which his high station affords him, from the priestly sin of dogmatism.^{15.}

Everywhere the same condemnation was registered. J.C. Richmond spoke for the enlightened architects of the new society:

You will see in the Exr. how foolishly the Bishop has been writing about an affair here, the appointing of a woman who married her late husband's brother to charge of one of the schools. It grieves me to think of so much goodness and self devotion wasting itself as it seems by alliance with such narrow and indiscriminating views ... It is natural to be full

13. Leviticus, Chapter 12.

14. "Table of Kindred and Affinity", Book of Common Prayer.

15. Nelson Examiner, 21 March 1863.

of regret and pain at having your tendencies to venerate and sympathise with a man like Bishop Hobhouse so frequently chilled, if not quenched, by his narrowness. 16.

Beneath the widespread accusation of bigotry ran a strong feeling that Hobhouse was wrong to criticise Nelson people in so secretive a manner. Thus he was doubly condemned.

This was exactly the kind of incident which Hobhouse most disliked. It excited the savage passions of his congregation, interrupting the ordered calm of their lives and exposing them to a host of moral dangers. Moreover, it exposed him, a representative of the apostles, to public criticism and thus invited insult to the Church. His distress was shown by the harsh tone in which he forbade his sister ever to publish any of his letters. He was, he wrote, already a subject of discussion in three church newspapers, and feared further extracts being spread abroad. 17. Yet he did nothing to vindicate himself, trusting once again that his example of a godly life would ultimately win people from their anger.

With the shouts of his critics still sounding in his ears, Hobhouse was hurled into still more strife. Only sixteen months after being licensed as officiating minister of Christ Church, Turton was suspended.

Rumours about Turton's conduct grew into accusations and he fled from the city. Arrest followed and he was brought back to Nelson where, on 29 May 1863, he was tried by Special Jury on a charge of sodomy. 18. This crime, which still carried the death penalty, was particularly offensive to Victorian minds, so that although Turton was acquitted, 19. it was plain he could no longer minister in Nelson and, on 26 May, a general meeting of Christ Church parishioners ended his connection with the Parish by resolving that, regardless of the verdict, the nominators should proceed to nominate a clergyman to the cure of the parish.

Turton had not been popular in Nelson because of his allegedly high church teaching, but his loss under such tragic circumstances was a shock to

16. J.C. Richmond to Mary Richmond, 1 April 1863, The Richmond Atkinson Papers, V. II, p. 34.

17. Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse, 8 April 1863.

18. Contemporary correspondents and later historians have alike found the crime too shocking to name. The account of the trial in the Nelson Examiner, 23 May 1863, is the only source of accurate or detailed information.

19. Nelson Examiner, 13 June 1863.

the diocese of Nelson and in particular to Hobhouse. With his rigid moral code based so firmly upon the plain words of scripture, he must have been grievously hurt by this scandal which brought the whole Church even further into disrepute and had an unsettling, titillating effect upon the peaceful lives of his flock. The fact that Turton was his cousin can only have heightened Hobhouse's suffering.

Hobhouse accepted Turton's resignation on 10 June and again took upon himself the parish ministry of Christ Church, despite the emotional strain and physical overwork to which the succession of disputes had already exposed him. Although aided on Sundays by the Rev. T.A. Bowden and the Rev. C.L. McLean, the increase in work was considerable. Moreover the departure of the Rev. R.H. Codrington on a visit to the Melanesian Mission had deprived bishop, standing committee and synod of their secretary, whose work was also transferred to Hobhouse. After Codrington had returned to his secretarial work he also assumed the cure of Christ Church for a short time during 1863. However as he believed his true vocation to lie in serving the Mission, his return was temporary.

Even before the extra burden of parish ministry fell to him, Hobhouse had lamented the effects of the strain: "My brain wants rest and I have to rouse it beyond its powers to think or write continuously on any subject".²⁰ His wife elaborated the symptoms: "The state of his head produced pains in the spine which is always a serious thing".²¹ Despite the strain, work went on, though much administrative detail fell into arrears.

The laity of the diocese were neither helpful nor sympathetic. Mr Ashcroft, who was a vestryman of Christ Church, an opponent of Turton and one of the instigators of the plan to provide a separate parish for McLean had, in November 1862, started disturbing Hobhouse's services in Christ Church by talking during the prayers and leaving when the bishop began his sermon. Later he was joined in this by Mr Walcott, and on Sunday, 19 July 1863, when perhaps the disturbance was more blatant than before, Hobhouse requested some guarantee of order in the church. The churchwardens, Messrs Cloete and Cusack, wrote to the offenders complaining of the "offence against God's House and God's assembled people", requesting an apology and threatening that if they appeared in Church again before apologising they would be dealt with as

20. Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse, 8 April 1863.

21. Mrs M.E. Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse, 13 April 1863.

trespassers and publicly admonished by the officiating minister. Walcott complied, but when asked to make the apology public, he retracted. Ashcroft refused to apologise and was warned not to present himself at Church until he had made such reparation to the congregation as the churchwardens deemed sufficient. In retaliation to these demands the offenders sent the correspondence to the Nelson Examiner, who printed it on Tuesday, 21 July 1863.²² At the vestry meeting on 24 July, the offenders' response was discussed and the publication of private correspondence was declared "highly censurable and ... calculated to bring much discredit on the Church".²³

Ashcroft and Walcott remained steadfast in their refusal to apologise and continued their discourtesy despite Hobhouse suspending the service during their presence.²⁴ Hence, on 4 August, the vestry of Christ Church were confronted with a letter in which Hobhouse demanded a guarantee that the services of the Church would be allowed to proceed without interruption, and suggested that if no guarantee could be given, he would cease to use the building and instead minister privately to small groups.

The vestry met with the seat-holders of the parish, and decided that Messrs Greenwood and Monroe should wait upon Ashcroft and Walcott to discuss the matter with them. The result was a letter from each man apologising for any offence "unintentionally" caused by their actions. These letters were read at another meeting of seat-holders and vestrymen on 12 August 1863, and were copied into the minutes.²⁵ The disturbances ceased and an uneasy peace at last settled on Nelson, but Hobhouse was already too tired to appreciate it. Because he was harried by factious opponents, worried about the shortage of clergy and worn down by over-work, diocesan administration had come to a standstill, and his health had broken down.

22. This account is drawn from the Nelson Examiner printed correspondence augmented by the vestry minutes of Christ Church Nelson. All this action in two days is a tribute to the speed with which Victorian gentlemen acted on important matters. Presumably the letters were delivered by hand.

23. Vestry Minutes, Christ Church Nelson, 24 July 1863.

24. Nelson Examiner, 4 Aug. 1863.

25. Vestry Minutes, Christ Church Nelson, July-Aug. 1863.

CHAPTER IX
RESIGNATION

In Nelson the Anglican Church remained the object of considerable ill feeling. The annual Diocesan Synod met on 29 September, and predictably, much of Hobhouse's address was concerned with the clergy shortage. Within the city of Nelson the ordinances of religion had been supplied by his own efforts, but the rural areas had not fared so well. Bagshaw had left Motueka, and Codrington had been only temporarily replaced in the Waimea, for Bird would not remain there after Easter 1864. Hobhouse introduced a touch of optimism by announcing Tudor's expected return, and the arrival of Rev. F. Tripp to serve in the Amuri.

There were signs of hope, too, in the building of small churches in the Suburban North and Suburban South districts and at Picton, but Hobhouse knew that Church buildings, important though they were as a meeting place for the faithful, were peripheral to an earnest and dedicated Christian life. The heart of Christianity was prayer, worship and morality, and these things depended upon an earnest preaching ministry, the very ministry that he had failed to gather about him in Nelson. People were showing an interest in spiritual matters by building churches, yet the Diocese was unable to provide clergymen to minister in them. Worse still, some headstrong men, seeking to increase the power of the laity in Church administration, had decreed that they would provide no money for the passage of an English clergyman unless he was known and approved by them.¹ Thus there was little immediate likelihood that the supply of clergymen would improve. The countryside was slowly becoming dotted with small wooden churches whose emptiness demonstrated the Diocese's failure to provide for the spiritual needs of its residents. Hobhouse imagined that the problem was his responsibility, but his efforts in England were hampered by the lack of money for passage or outfit as well as a general reluctance to emigrate, and they met usually with indifference or outright refusal. Worry and a sense of failure, in addition to sustained overwork, began to undermine his confidence.

A short visit to Selwyn in Auckland in October 1863 gave Hobhouse a rest from his Diocese, but it was imperative that he work at a lower level and that he find secretarial assistance. On his return to Nelson he left the Christ Church parish ministry in Codrington's hands and retired with his family to the parsonage at Spring Grove. In January 1864 he finally obtained the secretarial services of J.D. Greenwood, but even with his work thus lightened, the worries of finding sufficient clergymen and catching up administrative arrears remained to plague him.

1. "Circular to the Bishops", 28 Jan. 1864. Private papers lent by Miss D. Hobhouse.

Despite his burly appearance, Hobhouse had never been strong. Bishop Wilberforce had questioned the adequacy of his health when colonial work was first suggested,² and now it seemed as if his fears had been well founded, for Hobhouse's health deteriorated under the strain:

It is curious that Selwyns and Abrahams seem all to have forgotten that there was any question of his health allowing him to come out - I have reminded Mrs Selwyn that what has happened is only what you all predicted - what I myself have always suspected sooner or later since I have seen that it was not in Edmund's nature to take any thorough relaxation.³

Others who had known him in England lamented that he had ever gone to New Zealand:

I hope that before many months have passed, circumstances may have brought Edmund to resolve upon coming home ... Oh if only he had but been advised by those who knew him and foresaw how little he was fitted for the untried post he was undertaking.⁴

Finally, on 28 January 1864 Hobhouse sent the other New Zealand Bishops a circular in which he drew a grim picture of the Church in Nelson, for he thought it expedient to make known to them the conditions and prospects of his Diocese, and his own intentions regarding it:

The Revd. R.H. Codrington is about to leave this Diocese and from the day that he ceases to minister, this City with country District 16 miles long and the usual Provincial Institutions, Hospital, Gaol etc. will be deprived of all Clerical ministrations but such Sunday Services as the Revd. Mr McLean ... can afford.

I shall be engaged in the care of a vacant district of the Waimea and resident 16 miles from Nelson. There will be no Members of Standing Committee with leisure sufficient to undertake the office of Secretary; the Clerical Side will be filled only by putting in the names of the distant Clergy who can very rarely attend.

Every branch of Diocesan work is in arrear owing to my constant preoccupation in parochial work since April last, there is no Archdeacon or any other Officer Assistant to the Bishop, nor will there be any Commissary after Mr Codrington's departure.

There is no near prospect of obtaining a Curate for Nelson in consequence of the refusal of the people to raise a Fund for the passage and Outfit of any Clergyman whom they do not know and approve.

There is a general spirit of discontent which makes the Members of the Church very ill disposed to co-operate in any way, especially by contribution.

2. Wilberforce to Lord Lyttleton, 10 Jan. 1856.
3. Mrs M.E. Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse, 10 June 1864.
4. A. Cloete to Mary Richmond, 26 Jan. 1865; Richmond Atkinson Papers, Vol. II, p. 148.

No-one but a man in possession of the fullest vigour of mind and body can carry on this Diocese. My own health is in such low condition that I cannot discharge adequately any one branch of my duties and I am continually running the risk of being suddenly and altogether disabled as I was in the years 1850 and 1853. But however desirable rest may be, you will see that under the circumstances, entire rest either of mind or body is quite impossible.

To obtain a partial rest I have resolved to go into the Country and take the vacant cure of the Waimea.

If at the end of June I do not find myself materially better I propose convening the Synod and informing them of my intention to resign my Office at such time as shall after consultation appear the most convenient. 5.

The reaction was not immediately sympathetic. From Abraham, Williams and Harper there was no response, and from Selwyn there came a rather casual letter quoting the problems and privations of his seventeen solitary years as Bishop of New Zealand, and counselling patience and hope.⁶ It was altogether too cavalier, however it is probable that, being still deeply emeshed in the Maori Wars, Selwyn had just not realised how gravely ill Hobhouse was.

By the time Selwyn's letter reached Nelson, the dreaded climax had occurred. On Ash Wednesday and the Wednesday following (3 and 19 March 1864) Hobhouse was prostrated by a recurrence of the same severe headaches which had forced his removal from Eton in 1830, and interrupted his ministry at St Peters-in-the-East in 1859 and 1853.

When he was first afflicted with the headaches in 1830, Hobhouse's doctors had prescribed complete rest, blood letting, and "applications to the shaved head."⁷ Thirty-four years later medicine offered no new insight into the ailment and treatment still centred upon common sense remedies such as rest and balanced diet which, although they promoted general physical health, had no curative properties and did nothing to relieve the pain. It now appears that the affliction was hereditary migraine, a form of violent headache caused by the spasm of a blood vessel in the brain, but apart from a vague awareness that the headaches were associated with the supply of blood to the head (hence the blood letting), Victorian medicine could provide no information about them, thus giving rise to much needless anxiety.

From a private note made at the time it appears that Bishop Hobhouse believed his reason to be threatened, and the same sentiment was echoed by his Nelson contemporaries:

5. ibid.

6. Selwyn to Hobhouse, 8 April 1864.

7. Hobhouse, Outline, pp. 2-6.

He suffers from some disorder of the head which sometimes takes the power of thinking from him. 8.

By June there was no perceptible improvement in his health, and Mrs Hobhouse sent the following bleak account to the family in England:

I cannot give you any improved report of his head and his power of work. He gets a great deal of rest for him and does very little business - only what is barely necessary - but even that quite disables him. If he goes into Nelson from this [Spring Grove Parsonage] and reaches it after a couple of hours air and exercise at 10 o'clock, by 4 or 5 he is quite spent, looks haggard and pale, and is obliged to strike work. It is quite clear that he cannot keep the work of the Diocese on now. If he is ever to be fit for it, it must be by 3 or 4 years of complete rest from business and official anxiety, not by a year's holiday I suppose it will end in resignation. 9.

Hobhouse announced his resignation to Synod's Standing Committee in June 1864, and in July he finally received the long delayed comfort of his fellow bishops when Abraham came over from Wellington to visit.

In August he told his Synod that the sole cause of his retirement was "an affection of the head provoked by severe over study at Eton 34 years ago", ¹⁰. but, historians of the Anglican Church in New Zealand have been reluctant to accept this statement at its face value, ascribing a variety of other reasons for his resignation. Writing in 1914, Canon H.T. Purchas put the blame entirely upon Nelson's unco-operative laity, ¹¹. however in 1973, W.P. Morrell thought that the laity had nothing to do with it, blaming instead the long-standing weakness in Hobhouse's health, aggravated by overwork after the mental breakdown of one of his clergy. ¹².

The truth, of course, involves all these aspects. The immediate cause of his resignation was as he said, the return of his migraine, however migraine seldom strikes in isolation. Attacks usually occur when a sufferer is run down or under strain, and in Hobhouse's case the return of the migraine may be attributed to the long succession of problems and squabbles

8. Maria Richmond to Emily E. Richmond, 21 Oct. 1864. Richmond Atkinson Papers, Vol. I, p. 129.

9. Mrs M.E. Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse, 10 June 1864.

10. Nelson Synod Proceedings, 1864, p. 2.

11. Purchas, The English Church in New Zealand, p. 211.

12. Morrell, op. cit., p. 79.

which had whittled away at his already weak constitution: the Oxford University Herald reprint, the factious opposition over the creation of parishes and the appointment of ministers, Turton's sodomy trial, disturbances to the services at Christ Church, and the clergy shortage.

Had he been less conscientious he might have survived these storms, but his personal zeal led him to try to do the work of bishop, secretary and parish minister. Among others, Abraham advised him to delegate more, work less himself, and if necessary, leave work undone.¹³ While there was work to be done, however, he would not rest, and so his body finally rebelled against the strain which, with the purest of intentions, he had imposed upon it.

Considering all these factors, the main reason for Hobhouse's collapse of health and subsequent resignation was the conscientious fervour of his character which, disdaining rest, led him to try almost single handed to remedy the problems of the New Zealand Church as he found them in his Diocese.

13. Mrs C.H. Abraham to Miss E. Hobhouse, 6 March 1862. Mrs M.A. Martin made the same suggestion to Miss E. Hobhouse, 1 Sept. 1864. Hobhouse Papers, Folder 3.

CHAPTER X
AFTERMATH

Although Hobhouse's resignation was made public in New Zealand in mid 1864, the Letters Patent under which he had been appointed required that he tender his resignation to the Archbishop of Canterbury, so it did not become official until December, 1865 when it was recorded at Lambeth. This together with the delay while a new Bishop was selected and consecrated meant many months wait before a new Bishop could be enthroned in Nelson.

To overcome the evils of a vacancy, Hobhouse told his 1864 Synod that he would remain in Nelson to administer the diocese as best he could until his successor's arrival - a truly selfless offer after the ill-usage he had suffered from one faction of ambitious laymen. This offer was accepted thankfully, but his long term plans met less approval from his friends. He spoke of remaining permanently in New Zealand and either taking charge of a rural parish or assisting the new Bishop as a second in command and confidential adviser.

His health provided further reason for remaining in New Zealand:

This country and its modes of Life especially where most contrasted with English domestic Life, are very favourable to my present state of Health. I know nothing that I could do in England that would not confine me to a small sphere of action, and much indoors and drawing-room Life. Until I am much recruited this would be ruinous to me, so also would be the excitement of seeing old Faces and old Places.... As a remedial Measure Return to England cannot be thought of for some Time. It may come about in the Turn of the Wheel, as a Duty - but I forbear from anticipating. 1.

However it was above all a strong sense of duty which kept him at his post in New Zealand:

Until it is clear that my stay here is of little service to the Episcopate - or until I am formally called elsewhere, I shall consider that my work lies here and that I cannot expect much Blessing upon any self-chosen work elsewhere.... If my conscience did not fully approve my course I should not enjoy any happiness on either side of the Globe or in the most longed for Society. 2.

"... but I forbear from anticipating"; "... the most longed for Society;" Poor man! His protestations betray the true state of his mind. After what he had suffered, all his thoughts of happiness centred on returning to England. Mrs Hobhouse confided her hopes and fears to Abraham during his visit:

1. Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse, 11 Aug. 1864.
2. Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse, July 1864.

About going home she said to Charles [Bishop Abraham] that she never could say a word for she dared not trust herself to think of it, and should fear so much to be self-deceived if she admitted that it was right to go. 3.

The hope of returning to England, though barely acknowledged, was very much in both their minds. Their friends all advised them to hasten home, for they saw, as Hobhouse did not, that his continued presence in Nelson was unnecessary and must eventually lead to friction with his successor, yet he persisted with his plans for permanent residence in New Zealand.

It is a prime example of the devotion to duty which motivated the early Victorians. Hobhouse and his contemporaries, born when the extravagance and dissipation of the Regency were rapidly losing their appeal, were serious, even zealous of mind. Each saw Life as a network of responsibilities which must be fulfilled as best one was able. The first - obviously - was to Christ and His Church, and subordinate to this duty were those one had to one's family, class and friends. All decisions and actions were a working-out of these obligations.

In 1864, Hobhouse believed it to be his Duty to remain in the colony to which Christ had called him in 1858. His personal hopes and the entreaties of his friends were of no account when compared with his duty to Christ. It was a heroic but joyless philosophy of life.

With the worry of making decisions banished by his resignation, and with his future settled, Hobhouse's health began to mend. There was even some cause for rejoicing since his wife was with child once more. However, on 10 October 1864, she gave birth to a still-born child. Two days later she suffered what Nelson Examiner called a "suffocating spasm" and died. 4. The laments were universal. The Examiner called her "the perfect Christian lady ..., a precious image that time can never efface." 5.

Maria Richmond wrote:

Mary and Annie are looking poorly - the death of Mrs Hobhouse has affected them much. They have seen a great deal of her lately and the more they saw, the more they admired and valued her. She seems indeed to have been one of the excellent of the earth, ready to every good work. She is universally lamented ... He [Hobhouse] is a sad and lonely man from his shy and reserved habits ... His good wife was his right hand ... 6.

Even the parishioners of Christ Church, who had recently been so antagonistic to episcopal authority, presented an address of condolence containing much praise:

3. Mrs C.H. Abraham to Miss E. Hobhouse, 6 Aug. 1864.
4. Nelson Examiner, 13 Oct. 1864. In modern terms the "spasm" was probably a pulmonary embolism.
5. ibid.
6. Maria Richmond to Emily E. Richmond, 24 Oct. 1864. Richmond Atkinson Papers, Vol. 2, p. 129.

The younger members of her own sex ... gathered to her instinctively as a pattern of what a Christian woman should be - full of pity and humility, earnest in the path of duty, self denying yet free from that asceticism of manner which repells the young by seeming to rebuke their enjoyments. 7.

She must have been careful in guarding her severer criticisms of colonial ways to have ranked so highly in the esteem of people whom she often found tediously unrefined.

Her funeral took place on 15 October at Spring Grove where they had been living. At 2.00 p.m. Hobhouse celebrated Holy Communion, then at 3.30 the Rev. F. Tripp and the Rev. G.H. Johnstone officiated at the burial service, Hobhouse pronouncing the final blessing. 8. As a memorial of his wife, Hobhouse donated the porch which still stands as the entrance of St. Paul's Church Spring Grove.

His loss, preceded by three years of official strife and personal sorrow, was tragic. Hobhouse was a broken, lonely man. By way of offering a change of scene which might ease his sorrow and recruit his strength, Selwyn proposed that Hobhouse should visit him in Auckland, and accompany him through the war-ravaged Waikato, and in November Hobhouse fell in with these suggestions. 9.

In Nelson, 1865 came and went with no episcopal leadership, and without any administrative strife. Hobhouse confined himself to the parish work at Spring Grove, and the agencies of diocesan administration seem to have succumbed to a sort of indolent paralysis as soon as Hobhouse's resignation deprived them of the strong impetus which he had once imparted to all aspects of Church life.

It must have become increasingly clear to Hobhouse during this time that, having resigned the leadership of the diocese, his continued presence was superfluous. Above all, the death of his wife had left him entirely alone in the colony, and England with family and friends must have seemed more dear to him than ever. As 1865 progressed, he became less and less sure that duty did require him to remain in New Zealand. Finally, on 12 June 1866, Hobhouse and his two sons left Nelson for England via Wellington and Panama. Even in their farewell notice, the Nelson Examiner perpetuated their antipathy to the just exercise of ecclesiastical authority:

7. Nelson Examiner, 11 Nov. 1864.

8. A full account of the funeral was given in the Nelson Examiner, 18 Oct. 1864.

9. G.H. Curteis, Bishop Selwyn of New Zealand and Lichfield, pp. 172-175.

Although not universally popular as a Bishop, Dr Hobhouse was most highly esteemed for his benevolence of character, and his presence will be missed by many who have experienced his unvarying kindness. 10.

By that time Hobhouse's successor (the Rev. Andrew Burn Suter) had been chosen, but because of the continuing debate on the importance of Letters Patent for colonial bishops, had not been consecrated. Not until St. Bartholomew's day (24 August) 1866 was this rite performed, and another thirteen months elapsed before Nelson's second Bishop arrived in his Diocese (26 September 1867). Thus, in spite of Hobhouse's earlier opposition to a vacancy, Nelson was without a resident bishop for fifteen months.

After his return to England, Hobhouse accepted the parish of Beech-Hill, a few miles from Reading. In 1868 he married Anne Marie Williams, the youngest daughter of the Warden of New College Oxford who was an old family friend.

In 1869 Hobhouse went to Lichfield to help his old friend Selwyn (translated in 1868) as Assistant Bishop and Diocesan Chancellor, though the second of these posts proved an excessive demand upon his health and he held it for little more than a year. He retired to Batcombe in his native county (Somerset) in 1881, and devoted much time to historical research. Under the auspices of the Somerset Record Society he published a precis of Bishop Drokensford's Register, 1309-1329 (1887) and a volume of Churchwardens' Accounts (1890) the preface of which was a well researched study of the English Church on the eve of the Reformation.

In 1885 he had moved into Wells and took a house close to the cathedral. His sight slowly faded, finally forcing him to lay aside the medieval research which he loved, and as he became weaker he took to an open carriage or a bath chair for his excursions. As long as he was able he attended the daily Matins and Evensong in the cathedral, and went to Holy Communion at St. Cuthbert's on Sundays and saints' days.

Early in April 1904 he took ill, and on 20 April his life, which had always been devoted to the service of Christ and His Church, came to a peaceful end. On St. Mark's day (25 April) the Bishop of Bath and Wells laid his body to rest in the churchyard of Pitcombe, the parish in which his old family home, Hadspen is situated.

10. Nelson Examiner, 12 June 1866.

EVALUATION

Hobhouse returned to England sad, ill and broken in spirit; convinced that he had failed in his Nelson ministry. It was in despondent frame of mind that he wrote to members of Nelson's 1865 Synod:

The seven years' episcopate which I am now closing have been the most barren of my whole official life; Barren I mean of visible fruit to the Church, and our parting must be in sorrow.

I should be ungrateful to my gracious Master if I did not acknowledge his blessed support which has upheld me through long hours of Isolation and gainsaying; of Calumny and desertion.... But whatever blessing to myself I humbly acknowledge, outwardly I have to behold the failure of almost everything that I have planned and cherished. The School which my predecessor founded and I revived is the one exception.

I have failed most especially in that which was nearest to my heart and most constant in my prayers. I have failed in my endeavours to strengthen and tighten our bonds of Christian Brotherhood and to rouse a spirit of vigorous action. In these respects I see no progress. 1.

He was much too harsh in his self-criticism. Although his diocesan administration had reached an impasse and his health had broken down under the increased strain, he had played a decisive role in the development of the infant diocese. It is significant that when his resignation was announced and he departed from Nelson, it was not the successful revival of the Bishop's School but his personal qualities which everyone praised.

Though Hobhouse's rule met with consistent opposition from people who believed his Anglicanism too exclusive for the Church as it was emerging in New Zealand, his personal zeal and piety won him universal high regard. If it appears strange that after such virulent opposition to his episcopal rule, the same people could wax so lyrical in his praise, it is merely that they always differentiated between the man and his office.

The distrust of his administration points to the differences in class and education which separated Hobhouse from the settlers. It exemplifies the clash of the colonial frame of mind with the more traditional English approach to life. To the colonist faced with vast practical problems of land clearance, building, fencing and roading, the precise formulation of a church law seemed a trivial exercise in academic sophistry, and refusal to minister to a non-churchmember savoured of the snobbish narrowness best restricted to the old country.

1. Letter in lieu of Address to the members of Nelson Synod, 1865.
Hobhouse Papers, Folder 3.

Colonists are practical people who delight in hard work and physical prowess. They tend to be distrustful, almost resentful of theories and systems, yet in Nelson, as in Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch, their bishops were men reared in country houses, public schools and university common-rooms. Potentially they were the antithesis of colonial manhood. Their success depended upon how well they adapted to their new environment.

Selwyn and Harper quickly came to terms with their new country. Both of them seem to have thoroughly enjoyed the arduous physical side of their colonial work, they admired the settlers' ingenuity in mastering their practical problems and were delighted to play their part in carving a new country from the *primaeval* forest. They had the temperament to be good colonists themselves, and so they enjoyed the company of those around them. Above all they understood the needs of the emerging church and in their different ways coped with its problems.

About Abraham less is known, though Monaghan suggests that he lacked initiative and was dependant on Selwyn's lead:

The great bishop [Selwyn] was undoubtedly the stronger man, and it was evident that he nursed his friend through all his career, and when Selwyn accepted the See of Lichfield, Abraham at once resigned from Wellington to be an assistant in the Home diocese. We may therefore expect to find that during his episcopate as Bishop of Wellington he served mainly as a deputy for George Augustus New Zealand. 2.

Hobhouse, however, did not adapt easily to New Zealand. He had a personal aloofness not detectable in either Selwyn or Harper:

I fear that my surliness and Reserve must often look like Ingratitude and Coldness, very ill-beseeming a loving Husband in Return for the Affection of a very loving and love-worthy wife. 3.

When added to this shyness, his very high standards made him appear a paragon to be emulated rather than a fellow colonist, so that although his house was always open to visitors, neither he nor his wife formed deep or lasting friendships among the Nelson colonists. Because of these characteristics, he seldom discussed his ideas with those best able to advise him, tending instead to issue instructions rather than coax people round to his own viewpoint. This made him seem a far more forbidding and authoritarian figure than he really was.

Such a portrait would be very harsh, were it not tempered by the reverence of the settlers for his person. The key to this aspect of his episcopate is his piety - piety evident to all who met him, and manifested above all in his sermons and his devotion to pastoral ministry.

2. H.W. Monaghan, From Age to Age, pp. 73-74.

3. Hobhouse to Mrs E. Hobhouse, 15 Feb. 1859.

Even the Nelson Examiner, one of his severest critics, bore witness to it when, commenting upon his resignation:

However much some of us may dissent from the views entertained by Bishop Hobhouse with reference to Church Government, &c., all will learn with deep sympathy and regret that the resignation of his episcopal charge has been rendered imperatively necessary by illness.... We can ill spare from amongst us the presence of men of intellect and single-hearted purpose; Bishop Hobhouse's departure... will also deprive us of the wholesome example of a courteous Christian gentleman, pious and self-devoted, who acted in strict accordance with the rigid line of duty which seemed to be prescribed by his priestly and episcopal vows in the midst of social difficulties of no ordinary magnitude. 4.

Two ladies wrote somewhat more simply at the same time:

The Churchmen of Nelson will be very sorry to lose such a Bishop.... His unworldliness & his loving xian spirit must and will tell upon the stirring, money-getting men among whom he has dwelt. 5.

and:

They will perhaps be concious that a Prophet has been among them. 6.

Even the more successful Selwyn and Harper had serious clashes with their laymen - Selwyn during the Maori Wars, and Harper in the early 1860s over the transfer of the Christchurch Trust money to General Synod. However, as a group the Etonian bishops gave to the Church in New Zealand two things which could have been offered by no other class of men.

The first was able and intelligent leadership. Selwyn's constitutional proposals for the New Zealand Church led the way in emancipating colonial Anglicanism from the shackles of the English parliament. His proposals were avante garde at the time. They were not fully understood and even less liked by most colonists, so that it was largely due to the hard work and wisdom of the bishops that the early synods governed the Church so effectively.

4. Nelson Examiner, 12 July 1864.

5. Mrs M.A. Martin to Miss E. Hobhouse, 1 Sept. 1864.

6. Mrs S.H. Selwyn to Miss E. Hobhouse, 31 Aug. 1864.

Their second contribution was a degree of financial assistance which no other group could have afforded. Hobhouse was generous to Nelson. He treated his own stipend as a Diocesan Fund ⁷ and beyond this gave most liberally to help establish the diocese's finances on a sound basis. His greatest benevolence was his gift of the Bishopdale Estate; however in addition he created a fund for the replenishment of the ministry and substantially augmented the Pension Fund from his private resources. However, generous as these gifts were, they were not atypical. Selwyn and Abraham were both liberal benefactors of their dioceses and even Harper who had a large family and was not wealthy, provided money for work in Christchurch.

Despite their differences from the settlers, the Etonian bishops were men who, being possessed of the right educational standard and class background, had the personal authority necessary to establish the organisational foundations of the church in New Zealand. This is certainly true of Hobhouse's work in Nelson. The years 1859 to 1865 brought a great many positive steps in the creation of a workable church administration, however he perhaps lacked the temperament necessary to manage folk as independant as the settlers, and to face with tranquility the many setbacks which beset the building up of the church in New Zealand's early years.

Colonial ministry was a demanding task, and great though Hobhouse's problems were, they were not unusual in early New Zealand. Many strong men were forced to own themselves beaten by the rigours of colonial ministry. In 1859, during Hobhouse's first year in Nelson, a Roman Catholic priest (M. Pons) was forced to leave, admitting as he went that he had presumed too much upon his strength in coming to the colonies. ⁸ The Synod Proceedings of the other dioceses, and especially the bishops' reports which they contain, show that the church in other areas of New Zealand was experiencing the same problems as Nelson:- finance, supply of clergymen, lack of support from the laity. Not until the 1870s did a wave of general prosperity lift from the bishops' shoulders the awful strain which they had so bravely borne while the church's administrative foundations were being laid - the strain which had ruined Hobhouse's health and forced his resignation.

Quite how his fellow bishops withstood the strain is hard to establish. Perhaps they did not judge by such high standards. Perhaps they were content to leave some of the work undone. Perhaps they were of a more easy-going temperament and so less prone to worry. Perhaps they were physically stronger to begin with. Perhaps.... The point is that we do

7. Nelson Synod Proceedings, 1864, p.4.

8. Nelson Examiner, 12 Oct. 1859.

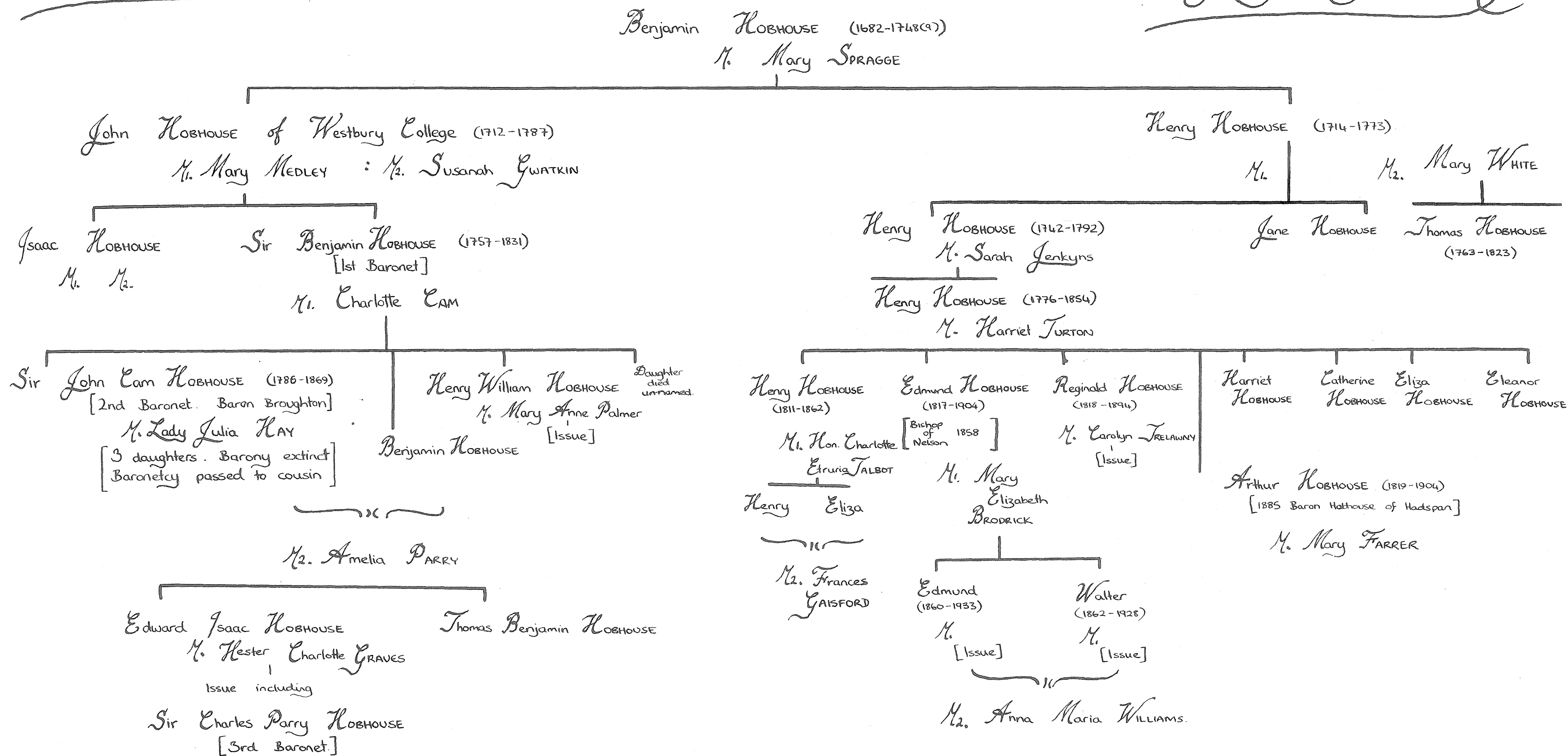
not know, for the comparison of Hobhouse with the other Etonian bishops has been hampered by lack of adequate information.

Selwyn has been the subject of several biographies, most of which laud every aspect of his episcopate, making few attempts to evaluate his contribution to colonial New Zealand. Two simple narratives of Harper's episcopate have been written, but Abraham's lacks even this cursory treatment. The primary sources exist for all, but much research has yet to be done before the episcopates of the Etonian bishops have been adequately evaluated. It is research which must be undertaken if we are to understand the role of the bishops in shaping the colonial church and the role of the church in shaping colonial society.

The Older Branch

Appendix I Family Tree of Edmund Hobhouse.

The Younger Branch



APPENDIX II

TABLE SHOWING NUMERICAL RELATIONSHIP OF ANGLICAN CLERGYMEN TO POPULATION IN THE DIOCESES OF WELLINGTON, NELSON AND CHRISTCHURCH, 1861 AND 1864.^{1.}

- 1861 -

	<u>Wellington</u>	<u>Nelson</u>	<u>Christchurch</u>
Approx. total of European population.	14,600	12,250	45,020 ^{2.}
Europeans describing themselves as Anglicans.	6,880	6,200	18,610
Europeans of unknown or no Church adherence	1,610	1,707	5,388 ^{3.}
Maori population ^{4.}	11,114	1,120	1,163
Clergymen on Synod Roll.	12	9 ^{5.}	21
Ratio of European Anglican laymen to one Anglican clergyman.	570 : 1	690 : 1	885 : 1
Ratio of uncommitted persons, Maoris and Anglican laymen to one Anglican clergyman	1,630 : 1	1,000 : 1	1,200 : 1

1. These figures are based on those reported in Statistics for New Zealand 1861 and 1864 where the population was analysed by provinces; however because provincial and diocesan boundaries were seldom identical, this table is a close approximation only. The figures for Wellington Diocese are a conflation of those for Wellington and Taranaki Provinces; Nelson Diocese those for Nelson and Marlborough Provinces, and Christchurch Diocese those for Canterbury, Otago and Southland Provinces.
2. Plus an estimated 3,000 miners in the remote valleys of Central Otago.
3. This very high figure reveals the religious apathy among gold miners. In the 1861 census Otago recorded 1,943 as "Protestant, not described", and 3,251 with no religious affiliation at all. In addition there were some 3,000 miners too remote to question.
4. No Maori Census in 1861. These are the figures obtained in the 1857-58 Census of the Native Population. No alteration has been made to compensate for the demographic changes in the interval between 1858 and 1861.
5. There were 11 on the roll, but the Rev. L. Pritt was absent on leave, and the Rev. E.C. Wyvell seems to have had no active ministry in Nelson.

- 1864 -

	<u>Wellington</u>	<u>Nelson</u>	<u>Christchurch</u>
Approx. total of European population	19,360	17,430	89,380
Europeans describing themselves as Anglicans	9,215	7,633	33,926
Europeans of unknown or no Church adherence	1,555	2,102	5,314
Maori population ^{6.}	10,000	1,000	1,000
Clergymen on Synod roll	12	8	26 ^{7.}
Ratio of European Anglican laymen to one Anglican clergyman	768 : 1	954 : 1	1,305 : 1
Ratio of uncommitted persons, Maoris and Anglican laymen to one Anglican clergyman	1,730 : 1	1,354 : 1	1,550 : 1

6. There was no Maori census between 1858 and 1864, so that there is no accurate record of their numbers in these years. It is known, however, that the Maori population declined, so the 1864 figures are an estimate based on a 10% reduction in Maori population.
7. 1863. Christchurch Synod did not meet in 1864, thus no figures are available for that year. In 1865 there were 31 clergymen in the diocese.

APPENDIX IIITHE REV. J.C. PATTESON TO SIR JOHN PATTESON, 23 JANUARY 1860. (EXTRACT)

"I have had to write a very unpleasant letter to Bp. Hobhouse. Some time ago the Bp. of N.Z. offered to meet the Nelson people with a gift of £500 if they would subscribe £1,000 for the general purposes of the Church at Nelson.¹ Subsequently he said he would make his £500 a £1,000 on the same conditions. They were so long in making up their money, and showed so great a want of proper feeling and interest in the matter that he named a certain day when the money was to be paid and when if the money was not paid the agreement would be cancelled. On that day he stood at the door of the Bank at Nelson with a cheque for £1,000; no-one came to meet him with a £1,000 on the part of the Nelson churchmen, and the matter was absolutely and finally closed, as was notorious to all parties.

"Subsequently however Mr Crawley has £20,000 of Mrs Jones money to dispose of and £1,000 he gives unconditionally to the Bp. of N.Z.

"The Bp. seeing that Hobhouse did not come out, and receiving a very hard unpleasant letter in which he refuses to stir until all is made smooth². - our dear Bp. having moved at once with everything exceedingly otherwise than smooth - sends word to Chas. Selwyn to pay £1,000 to Hobhouse's account, which was done. £800 of this Hobhouse used for his outfit, the remaining £200 stands still to his credit.

"The Bp. in his letter to Hobhouse and also in conversation with Major Richmond, a magnate of Nelson, at Auckland used an expression implying that if the money thus remitted was not used for outfit it might be invested.

"Now the Nelson Synod, Bishop present,³ write to the Bp. of N.Z. saying that as they have heard of £1,000 to be invested and yet see nothing of any £1,000 invested by or on behalf of the Bp. of N.Z. for the Diocese of Nelson, they imagine that he must have forgotten (!) or made some mistake (!) and beg to ask where the £1,000 is.

"It is very awkward because you see that the Bp. Hobhouse [sic] ought at once to have said - 'You had no claim on a farthing; you failed to keep your engagement and yet the Bp. of N.Z. has in spite of that helped the Diocese to the extent of £1,000, which he might have applied in any other way, and which money might have been invested by me (for I had absolute control over it) but

1. This is misleading. The offer was definitely tied to the Bishopric Endowment Fund.
2. Hobhouse merely said: "I find I cannot stir without some remittance. I dare not forestall my interests by borrowing." Hobhouse to Selwyn, 12 Sept. 1857; History of Trusts, pp. 597-602. The statement was perfectly just for the Archdeaconary Board of Nelson had sent him nothing for outfit or passage.
3. In fact, the Diocesan Standing Committee acting under Synod's instructions

which to the extent of £800 I chose to use for the purpose of defraying the expenses of my outfit.'

"This he did not say, but let the Synod suppose that there was still £1,000 which the Bp. of N.Z. might be induced to give, and he never said a word about the Bp.'s gift of £1,000 nor of the very large - strangely large - sum of £800 which he had taken for his own private expenditure.

"Then comes with the letter of a Committee of the Synod, which is very objectionable, a kind of patronizing letter from Bp. Hobhouse seeking as it were to excuse and palliate what is assumed to be an error on the part of the Bishop; as if he were repudiating a just claim that Nelson really has upon him; when they have actually only paid £740 even now of the sum which they covenanted to produce years ago as an equivalent to the Bp.'s £1,000; and when it is well known that any agreement has long ceased to exist."

APPENDIX IV

AN EPISCOPAL RESIDENCE

One of Hobhouse's first worries in Nelson was to find a suitable residence for his family, and this proved difficult. He decided fairly quickly that he would have to build if he were to obtain the sort of house he desired, but meanwhile he was forced to rent.

In July 1859 Bishop and Mrs. Hobhouse moved from Shipley's lodgings to a house in Bridge St., rented from Dr. Richardson for £80 per annum. This was one of Nelson's finer houses despite Mrs. Hobhouse's claim that she had never been established in anything smaller ¹ and it remained their residence until they retired to Spring Grove Parsonage in November 1863.

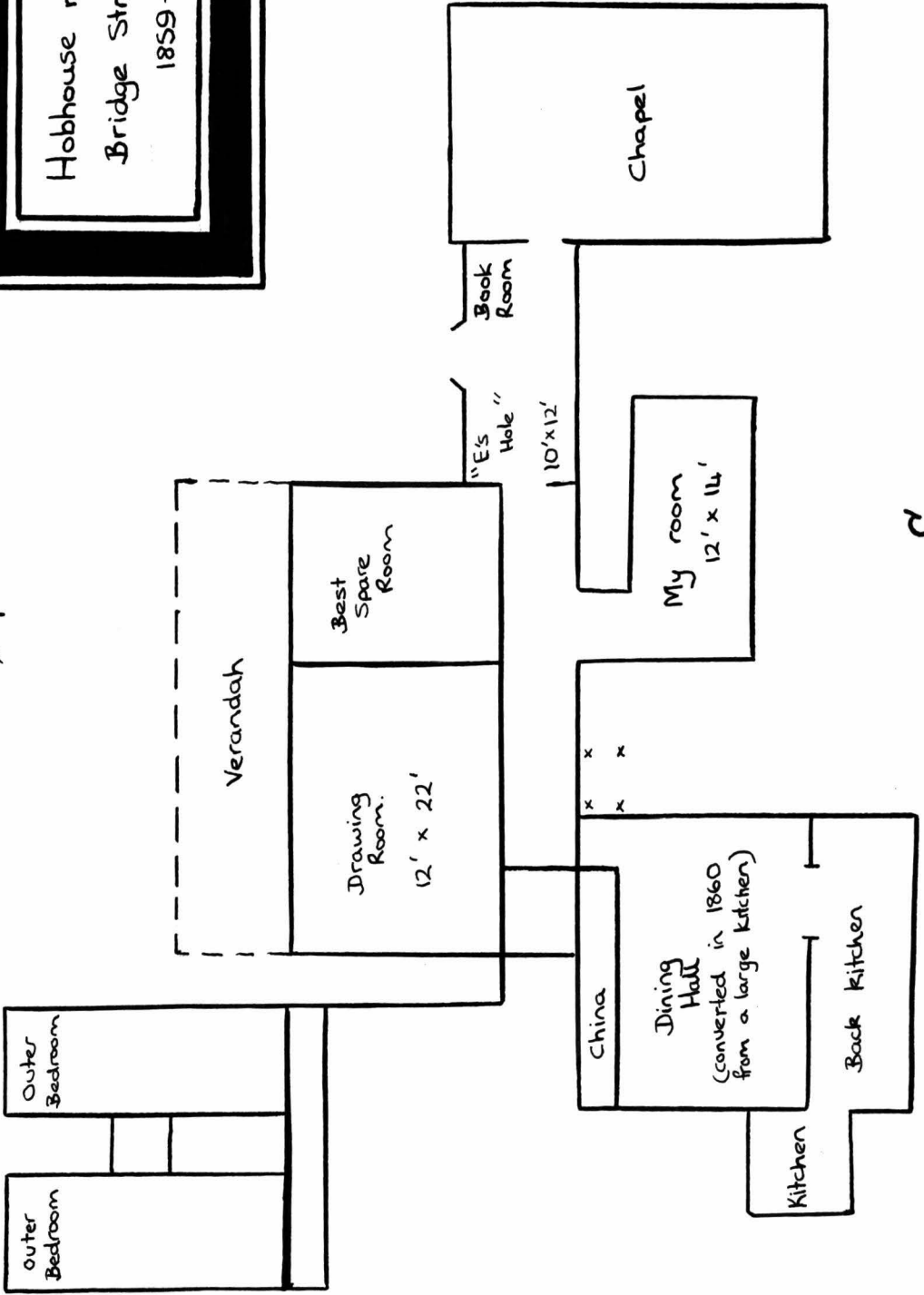
The following is a plan of the house after alterations early in 1860 which turned the large kitchen into a "Dining room for all orders and degrees of men, after ancient manorial fashion, the back-kitchen doing the cookery." ²

Upstairs there was a large attic for the maids and a small one for a stray visitor. ³

Unfortunately Hobhouse's Nelson Episcopate terminated before he could enjoy the house which he erected on the Bishopdale Estate, however his generosity in giving estate and house to Nelson diocese provided a suitable residence for his successors.

1. Mrs. M.E. Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse, 1 Nov. 1859.
2. Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse, 13 April 1860
3. Mrs. M.E. Hobhouse to Miss E. Hobhouse, 3 Sept. 1859: A description of the house before the alterations; 2 June 1860: A description of the interior and its furnishings which Mrs. Hobhouse thought shabby, but which were very fine by colonial standards.

Hobhouse residence in
Bridge Street, Nelson -
1859 - 1863



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