

**'In quietness and in confidence
shall be your strength':
Vicesimus Lush and his Journals,
1850-1882.**



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Cover photograph from the collection of Ewelme Cottage © New Zealand Historic Places Trust Pouhere Taonga.

Abstract

From his arrival in New Zealand in 1850 until his death in 1882 Reverend Vicesimus Lush kept a regular journal to send to family back “home” in England. These journals chronicle the life of an ordinary priest and settler in the Auckland region, his work, relationships and observations. This thesis examines the journals as texts: their role in correspondence and maintaining connections with family. Using Lush’s record of day-to-day experiences, the thesis deals with his emotional attachment towards various expressions of “home” (immediate and extended family, houses, relationship with English land and customs) and explores his associated sense of belonging.

Lush’s role as a priest within the New Zealand Anglican Church also informed his writing. Witnessing and participating in the “building” of the Anglican Church in New Zealand, Lush provided a record of parochial, diocesan and countrywide problems. Lush’s journals track the Anglican Church’s financial struggles, from providing stable salaries to financing church buildings. “Building” the Church required constructing churches and building congregations, adapting liturgical traditions and encouraging the development of a uniquely Māori church.

This thesis also uses the journals to explore Lush as a social commentator. As a witness to the settling and building of the colony, Lush observed the Taranaki and Waikato Wars, the Waikato Immigration Scheme and the Thames Gold Rush, and their impact on the development of settler living. In addition, the final chapter deals with Lush’s changing perceptions of Māori, particularly during the Waikato wars compared with while he lived in Thames.

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Contents

Abstract	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
List of Abbreviations	vi
Introduction	1
Chapter One: Writing “Home”	17
Chapter Two: Building the Church	52
Chapter Three: Lush as Social Commentator	87
Conclusion	123
Appendix: Timeline of Vicesimus Lush’s Life	128
Bibliography	129

List of Abbreviations

ATL	Alexander Turnbull Library
AADA	Auckland Anglican Diocesan Archives
AML	Auckland War Memorial Museum Library
KL	Kinder Library (St. John's College)

Introduction

I beheld [New Zealand] under favourable circumstances and accompanied with what I took as a happy omen: the mornng. sun was shining brightly upon the steep rugged cliffs and an exceeding brilliant rainbow arched the canopy of heaven & embraced the Island in its gigantic arc.¹

With these words the Reverend Vicesimus Lush described his first view of New Zealand and began a record of his life in the colony that spans thirty-two years. Lush had left England with his wife Blanche, four children, a maid, various chattels and his journal. Throughout his life in New Zealand Lush diligently kept his journal, sending it to family and friends in England to maintain connections and foster relationships. Writing until just before his death in 1882, Lush left his family and historians a vivid record of his experiences as an English settler – a record that has yet to be significantly utilized by scholars.

The Lushes arrived in New Zealand at a time when the colony was undergoing dramatic change. The decade before 1850 had seen the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi and a steady population growth. Auckland stood poised on the brink of rapid economic, social and political development. Lush saw Auckland blossom from a small collection of villages into a city. He also witnessed the formal establishment of the New Zealand Anglican Church and observed events pivotal to New Zealand's history (particularly the Taranaki and Waikato Wars). His journals record his involvement in New Zealand's history, while also chronicling the mental and emotional changes he went through, leaving his home in England for the unknown of New Zealand and establishing a new life. By itself Lush's work is a fascinating record of one man's life and family. As a document within New Zealand history it becomes part of settlers'

¹ Vicesimus Lush, 6 October 1850, 'Lush Rev. V., Diary 1850,' MS568, Auckland War Memorial Museum Library (hereinafter AML).

writing, joining the archival collections used by historians to better examine life in mid-nineteenth-century New Zealand.

When John Webster called Lush 'A Suitable Clergyman' he encapsulated the essence of Lush's normality and his importance.² He was 'suitable': the right man for the position, diligent and capable. Lush's value as a commentator lies in this very normality. He was an ordinary priest and settler, dealing with daily problems and recording his experiences in detail. Church historians have used his work for supplementary evidence but otherwise scholars have largely overlooked him. Scholars often use the journals as supplementary evidence for the history of the Auckland Diocese: Warren Limbrick's chapter 'Diocesan Genesis: Bishop and Settler Church, 1842-70' in the recently published *Living Legacy* uses his journals extensively.³ Lush's contribution to New Zealand's history, in particular the Auckland Diocese, lies in his detailed observations.

Most scholars referencing Lush's journals take their text from the 1971, 1975 and 1982 editions compiled by Alison Drummond.⁴ Her work has ensured scholars' inclusion of Lush's journals in the histories of Auckland and its surrounds, and succeeded in placing them on New Zealand bookshelves. Her introduction to each journal is comprehensive and successfully situates the journals within Lush's life and New Zealand's history. However, the Drummond editions are severely edited and give no indication of where the editor cut material. Large portions of the manuscript text do not appear in Drummond's

² John Webster, *A Suitable Clergyman: The Life of Vicesimus Lush 1865 to 1882* (Auckland: Ewelme Cottage Management Committee, 2002).

³ Warren Limbrick, 'Diocesan Genesis: Bishop and Settler Church, 1842-70,' in Allan K. Davidson (ed.), *Living Legacy: A History of the Anglican Diocese of Auckland* (Auckland: Anglican Diocese of Auckland, 2011) pp.54, 65, 72, 76.

⁴ Alison Drummond (ed.), *The Auckland Journals of Vicesimus Lush 1850-1863* (Christchurch: Pegasus, 1971); Alison Drummond (ed.), *The Thames Journals of Vicesimus Lush 1868-1882* (Christchurch: Pegasus, 1975); Alison Drummond (ed.), *The Waikato Journals of Vicesimus Lush 1864-8, 1881-2* (Christchurch: Pegasus, 1982).

work; she often omitted weeks of material. In addition, incorrect dates and inaccurate transcriptions make the editions difficult to use. Despite these problems, Drummond's work has made Lush far more accessible to scholars and the general public, providing a useful starting point for any potential research.

Existing scholarship about Lush is limited. Beyond the church histories of Auckland (which use Lush's journals only for evidence) a few secular histories draw on the journals: Alan La Roche's *Grey's Folly* and earlier *The History of Howick*.⁵ The foremost Lush scholar is John Webster, curator of Ewelme Cottage for many years. His publications, though well researched, are brief and written from a purely biographical point of view. Three lectures were given at Ewelme Cottage by Webster and La Roche from 1999 to 2002 and have subsequently been published as pamphlets.⁶ The brevity of the lecture format limited content and the authors deliberately wrote biographically. Webster commented: 'Although the journals have been published ... there is no single volume of biography available. Therefore publishing the three lectures makes an important contribution towards the attainment of such a necessary reference.'⁷ This thesis intends to add to the biographical studies of Lush while also addressing the lack of scholarly examinations of the journals. Focusing on the journals construction and content, this work considers Lush's portrayal of his life within various historiographical traditions: travel literature, understanding "home" within the

⁵ Alan La Roche, *Grey's Folly: a history of Howick, Pakuranga, Bucklands-Eastern Beaches, East Tamaki, Whitford, Beachlands and Maraetai* (Auckland: Tui Vale Publications, 2011); Alan La Roche, *The History of Howick and Pakuranga: Whitford, Bucklands and Eastern Beaches and Surrounding Districts* (Auckland: Howick & Districts Historical Society, 1991).

⁶ Alan La Roche, *So Delightful a Parish: The Revd Vicesimus Lush at Howick, 1850-1865* (Auckland: Ewelme Cottage Management Committee, 1999); Webster, *A Suitable Clergyman*; John Webster, *Looking for the Headlands of New Zealand* (Auckland: Ewelme Cottage Management Committee, 2001).

⁷ Webster, *A Suitable Clergyman*, p.3.

British empire, the history of the Anglican Church and social commentaries on key historical events.

Biographical Outline

Vicesimus Lush was born on August 27 1817 in London, the twenty-second child of Charles Lush and third of Charlotte Amos. Charles and Charlotte chose Vicesimus' unusual name (Latin for "twentieth") because he was his father's twentieth surviving child. Little is known about Vicesimus' early life until he married Blanche Hawkins, a distant cousin on his mother's side on May 5, 1842 in Ewelme village church. Blanche's early life is also obscure. Born on May 15, 1819 to parents of independent means, Blanche presumably spent her early life with them in Oxford. By her seventeenth birthday both parents had died and Blanche moved to Ewelme in Oxfordshire to live with her widowed aunt, Lady Taunton.⁸

Vicesimus graduated with a Bachelor of Arts from Corpus Christi College, Cambridge and, as a deacon, became the curate at Over Darwen parish, Lancashire in late 1842. He underwent further ordination training within the Church of England before being priested in February 1843.⁹ Blanche Hawkins (Blannie) was born the same year and the family moved to the parish of Farringdon, in what was then Berkshire, where Vicesimus was again curate. They remained there until 1849, during which time Vicesimus graduated from Cambridge with a Master of Arts (in 1847) and three more children were born: Charlotte Sarah in 1844, Mary Eliza in 1847 and Charles Hawkins in 1849.

⁸ For more details on Vicesimus and Blanche's early lives in England see; Webster, *Looking for the Headlands*; Blanche Lush, 'Diaries of Blanche Lush', MS780-Box5-Folder60, AML; 'Ordination certificates relating to Vicesimus Lush', MS780-Box3-Folder35, AML.

⁹ Alfred Lush, 27 May 1874, 'LUSH Family Papers', MS780-Box4-Folder47, AML.

Vicesimus left Farringdon in 1849, apparently instructed to leave when the vicar died. Many had expected Lush to be appointed the new vicar but he explained in a letter to Bishop George Selwyn: 'My present charge... I am obliged to vacate in consequence of the death of my vicar.'¹⁰ It seems that Farringdon's patrons, the Simeon Trustees, did not want Lush as vicar and rejected all entreaties made by parishioners and clergy on his behalf.¹¹ Vicesimus wrote to Selwyn in April 1849. Selwyn replied in April 1850, offering him a parish in Auckland. Vicesimus wasted no time in accepting the offer. On May 13 1850, the Lushes sailed from London on the *Barbara Gordon*.

Selwyn was in Sydney when the family arrived in Auckland in October 1850. While waiting for his return the Lush family resided at St. John's College, where Vicesimus acquired a working knowledge of the college and diocese, practiced his Māori and became familiar with colonial life. When Selwyn returned in December 1850, he granted Lush the parish of Howick and surrounding areas.¹² While at Howick, Blanche gave birth to five more children. Alfred was born in 1852 but a scarlet fever epidemic in 1854 took Alfred, Charlotte and Mary. John Martin Hawkins was born six days before his three older siblings died. Anne (Annette) joined the family in 1857 and Margaret Edith in 1859. Finally, William Edward arrived in 1862.

In 1865, Vicesimus accepted the position of itinerant clergyman to the Waikato and Blanche moved with the children to Ewelme Cottage, in Parnell. Lush travelled throughout the 'Inner Waikato' (as he called it – from Pukekohe to the Queen's Redoubt at Pokeno and up the Waikato River) while living at the Bishop's cottage for travelling clergy in Drury. He returned regularly to Parnell

¹⁰ Vicesimus Lush to George Selwyn, 14 April 1849, in Webster, *Looking for the Headlands*, p.8.

¹¹ Vicesimus Lush to George Selwyn, 14 April 1849, in Webster, *Looking for the Headlands*, p.9.

¹² Vicesimus Lush, 14 December 1850, 'LUSH Family Papers', MS780-Box3-Folder1, AML.

to rest and see his family. Much of Lush's work was among settlers: farmers who had witnessed and taken part in the Waikato Wars. He also devoted time and personal resources to building the small church of St. Peter's in the Forest at Bombay.

In 1868 Lush left the Waikato for the newly formed parish at Thames, again leaving his family in Parnell. Blanche and the children joined Vicesimus at Thames in 1871. The following decade saw a rapid growth in the gold mining town and was a period of great struggles but also great rewards for Lush in his work. He oversaw the building St. George's Church and built a large family home. Tragedy again struck the family when Edith died, also of scarlet fever, in 1876. After her death the aging Lush never fully rallied.

Vicesimus and his family left Thames in November 1881 for Hamilton, where he had been appointed Archdeacon of the Waikato. Already unwell, his health quickly failed and he moved to Parnell to be near his doctor. On 11 July 1882 Bishop William Cowie visited Vicesimus to pray with him and shortly after, surrounded by his family, Vicesimus died. A eulogy encapsulated the esteem he had earned throughout the Auckland Diocese: 'Few of the clergy of the Diocese were better known to our people generally than the Archdeacon, and none were more universally respected.'¹³ A loving father, caring husband and highly regarded priest, Vicesimus was remembered for his hard work and devotion. He left a physical legacy in the churches and houses he built and the copious journals he wrote.

¹³ 'Vicesimus Lush, M.A.' *Church Gazette, for the Dioceses of Auckland and Melanesia from July 1881 to June 1884* (Auckland, 01 August 1882) pp.74-5, Auckland Anglican Diocesan Archives (hereinafter AADA).

Historiography

Lush's writing exhibits traits typical of travel writing, although he was technically an immigrant not a traveller. He wrote for an audience in England, with the specific purpose of reproducing New Zealand for them. His position as a priest allowed him access to a wide range of experiences and filtered his interpretations. The growing scholarship in Victorian travel literature predominantly uses the writing of the educated middle and upper classes. Travel writing in its purest sense – the constructed texts of those who travelled widely for pleasure – tends to come from the wealthy. However, recent work on Victorian travellers' writing has extended the definition of travel literature. Mary Louise Pratt's seminal work *Imperial Eyes* asks questions of travel writing such as how did travellers' and explorers' texts "produce" the world for readers in Europe?¹⁴ Historians such as Lydia Wevers and David Fitzpatrick have extended this question to examine how travellers constructed culture (both European and indigenous) and their idolization of the distant Europe.¹⁵ Wevers argues that travellers' writings projected the environment they experienced and the 'cultural tension and anxiety' inherent in their works.¹⁶ This thesis adds to current scholarship on travel writing through its consideration of Lush as an occasional travel writer (he travelled within his work and wrote explicitly for those not present), particularly in his depictions of Māori culture and society.

Lush's journals offer both explicit and implicit insights into how he identified as an Englishman within the British Empire. Catherine Hall has

¹⁴ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992) p.5.

¹⁵ David Fitzpatrick, "'That Beloved Country, That No Place Else Resembles': Connotations of Irishness in Irish-Australian Letters, 1841-1915,' *Irish Historical Studies*, Vol. 27, no. 108, 1991, pp. 324-51; Lydia Wevers, *Country of Writing: Travel Writing and New Zealand 1809-1900* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2002).

¹⁶ Wevers, p.1.

argued that, while it is difficult to find evidence of the Empire's role in the lives of those who lived within it, looking at private letters and journals can give some indication of how people identified themselves.¹⁷ Hall furthermore explores how Britons 'lived the empire' – a term she uses to encapsulate the presence of empire for those who never left Britain and those travelling throughout the British Empire. Hall's use of *Vanity Fair* to explore how empire was depicted through writing, even in fiction, highlights the extent to which empire and imperial discourse had permeated British thought and culture.¹⁸ Writers like Lush contributed to this process, crafting works that described the far reaches of empire for those back "home". Exploring how Lush's relationship with England as "home" developed, Chapter One considers Lush as a writer of New Zealand and empire. His journals allowed family and friends to 'live the empire' as it appeared to Lush in New Zealand.

The journals also chronicle the process of moving across the world and the gradual changes in Lush's perception of "home". Consequently, any evaluation of them draws on the literature concerned with the colonial romanticization of England and "home". Lush was initially typical of the nineteenth-century immigrants who, David Gerber argues, believed their separation from friends and family was temporary and therefore maintained regular and extensive communication with "home".¹⁹ Lush's view changed as he realized he was unlikely to return to England but his correspondence remained important. David Fitzpatrick has explored adaptations to immigrants' cultural and ethnic identification. Looking at Irish immigrants to Australia, he has examined

¹⁷ Catherine Hall, 'Culture and Identity in Imperial Britain,' in Sarah Stockwell (ed.), *The British Empire: Themes and Perspectives* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2008) p.205.

¹⁸ Hall, p.215.

¹⁹ David A. Gerber, *Authors of Their Lives: The Personal Correspondence of British Immigrants to North America in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: New York University Press, 2006) p.92.

evidence of their “Irishness” and continual reliance on their identification as “Irish” to provide stability, security and community in Australia.²⁰ Irish immigrants’ perception of their ethnicity slowly adapted until the distinction between being “Irish” or “Australian” blurred and many identified as a mixture of the two.²¹ The same integration of ethnic and cultural identity occurred with English immigrants in New Zealand.

By the nineteenth century the practice of journal writing assumed the self-conscious and purpose-driven aspects of autobiography. The British public’s increasing consumption of diaries and journals as works of literature meant that writers positioned themselves within the published tradition.²² Even if not intended for publication, many writers constructed their lives within journals and diaries to fit within the autobiography genre. Martin Hewitt argues that through the nineteenth century the diaries of many became consciously autobiographical; diaries no longer merely provided the material for a later autobiography, they were an autobiography.²³ Hewitt’s classification of diary keeping as autobiography can be applied to Lush’s journals. Lush published no autobiography yet his journals, written for an audience and with the clear purpose of recounting his life experiences, demonstrate the self-consciousness of the genre and a constant chronological awareness. ‘Life Writing’ is the term used by David Amigoni to encapsulate all aspects of Victorian literature focused on recording an individual’s life.²⁴ Journals and diaries, even if not intentionally

²⁰ Fitzpatrick.

²¹ Fitzpatrick, p.327.

²² Martin Hewitt, ‘Diary, Autobiography and the Practice of Life History,’ in David Amigoni (ed.), *Life Writing and Victorian Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006) p.25.

²³ Hewitt, p.21.

²⁴ David Amigoni, ‘Introduction: Victorian Life Writing: Genres, Print, Constituencies,’ in David Amigoni (ed.), *Life Writing and Victorian Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006) pp.1-20.

autobiographical, are a form of 'Life Writing' and as such record the author's life for posterity.

Lush's clearly defined motivation for keeping his journal was similar to that of Jack McCullough in early twentieth-century New Zealand. Newly appointed as the Worker's Representative on the Arbitration Court, McCullough wrote 'to record these events and my impressions on them, as lucidly, concisely & above all honestly; as they appeared to me upon their occurrence.'²⁵ Melanie Nolan argues that few diarists explain their motivations for writing from the outset and that he did so set McCullough apart.²⁶ Although Lush took longer before explicitly outlining his purpose in writing, he reiterated why he wrote throughout his journals (see Chapter One). Nolan also argues that the value of McCullough's diary largely lies in its documentation of the formation of class in New Zealand and as a record of the Arbitration Court.²⁷ As with McCullough's diaries, the value of Lush's journals to New Zealand history transcends their role as a record of his life. They document the changes in the family's (and other settlers') perceptions of "home" as British subjects, record the Auckland Diocese's early years and provide a commentary on the development of Auckland and Thames societies.

The history of the New Zealand Anglican Church falls within the history of religion in New Zealand and is a relatively narrow field. In popular understanding, men such as Henry and William Williams or Selwyn dominate the nineteenth-century Church: men involved in the early years of contact with Māori or those leading dramatic changes in the Church. When compared with

²⁵ Jack McCullough, 27 January 1908, in Melanie Nolan (ed.), *War & Class: The Diary of Jack McCullough* (Wellington: Dunmore Publishing, 2009) p.33.

²⁶ Nolan, p.30.

²⁷ Nolan, p.32.

the Anglican clergy who are included in the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, the reasons for Lush's absence from this keystone work in New Zealand History are clear: he was not in New Zealand through its missionary period, he was not a Bishop, he died undramatically and he did not distinguish himself in a different pursuit (such as painting, ethnography or photography).²⁸ This thesis aims to add to existing biographies of notable figures in New Zealand's Church history. There is a large collection of biographical writing, of varying levels of scholarship, focusing on those involved in missionary work through the nineteenth century: Jessie Munro's biography of Suzanne Aubert, Allan K. Davidson's edited collection of essays on Selwyn, Barbara Macmorran on Octavius Hadfield and Sybil Woods' biography of Samuel Williams, to name a few.²⁹ Parochial clergy have received less attention. This thesis intends to partially address the imbalance. Lush was not a missionary (though he worked for mission societies in the Waikato) but was an active spectator and participant in the establishment of the settler Anglican Church around Auckland.

Scholars have used two distinct approaches to the history of the Anglican Church in New Zealand. Older works tend to take a pious approach to the Church. Men such as John Evans, W.P. Morrell and Warren Limbrick (his early work) approached their writing from a position of validating the Anglican Church and its role in forming New Zealand.³⁰ These works draw on other,

²⁸ *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1m29/1>, accessed 23 January 2011.

²⁹ Allan K. Davidson (ed.), *A Controversial Churchman: Essays on George Selwyn, Bishop of New Zealand and Lichfield, and Sarah Selwyn* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2011); Barbara Macmorran, *Octavius Hadfield* (Wellington: The Author, 1969); Jessie Munro, *The Story of Suzanne Aubert* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1996); Sybil M. Woods, *Samuel Williams of Te Aute* (Christchurch: Pegasus, 1981).

³⁰ John H. Evans, *Southern See: The Anglican Diocese of Dunedin* (Dunedin: Standing Committee of the Diocese of Dunedin, 1968); W.P. Morrell, *The Anglican Church in New Zealand* (Dunedin: Anglican Province of New Zealand, 1873); Warren Limbrick (ed.), *Bishop Selwyn in New Zealand, 1841-68* (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1983).

similar, literature for their sources and exist as a discipline separate from academic scholarship. More recently (it is difficult to give an exact date but roughly the last twenty years) scholars have approached the Church's history more academically. Davidson, John Stenhouse and Noel Cox are among those writing the history of the Church within the context of New Zealand's history, critiquing and criticizing where necessary.³¹ These modern scholars are reinvigorating the study of the Anglican Church in New Zealand and making it increasingly relevant to today's scholarship.

Scholarly interpretation of the impact of the Church in New Zealand's history is constantly evolving. In his 2004 article 'God's own silence,' John Stenhouse argues that New Zealand historians need to study the country's religious past and devote more attention to its positive consequences: 'Christian tradition ... has been a largely unheralded success in New Zealand. Its main architects were all those quiet, unglamorous religious believers ... working hard, without much praise or recognition, day in and day out.'³² The last decade has seen scholars engage with Stenhouse's challenge.³³ The recent publication of *Living Legacy* adds a much needed history of the Anglican Diocese of Auckland to the existing diocesan histories of Dunedin, Nelson and Waiapu.³⁴ Christchurch has been partially covered in a history of Bishop Harper but needs further attention, while the histories of Hamilton and Wellington dioceses remain glaring

³¹ Noel Cox, *Church and State in the Post-Colonial Era: The Anglican Church and the Constitution in New Zealand* (Auckland: Polygraphia, 2008); Allan K. Davidson, *Christianity in Aotearoa: A History of Church and State in New Zealand* (Wellington: Education for Ministry, 2004); John Stenhouse, 'God's Own Silence: Secular Nationalism, Christianity and the Writing of New Zealand History', *New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol. 38, no. 1, 2004.

³² Stenhouse, p.67.

³³ In particular, publications such as; Geoffrey Troughton and Hugh Morrison (eds.), *The Spirit of the Past: Essays on Christianity in New Zealand History* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2011).

³⁴ R. Bester (ed.), *Harvest of Grace: Essays in Celebration of 150 years of Mission in the Anglican Diocese of Nelson* (Nelson: Standing Committee of the Diocese of Nelson, 2010); John Bluck (ed.), *The Gift Endures: a new history of the Waiapu Diocese* (Napier: Diocese of Waiapu, 2009); Davidson (ed.), *Living Legacy*; Evans.

omissions.³⁵ This thesis adds to the growing body of work on the history of the Anglican Church in New Zealand. Through an examination of Lush's journals and his experiences, it explores how the work of men like Bishops Selwyn and Cowie were perceived by their subordinates and the implementation of decisions made by the governing body.

Sources and Methodology

This thesis uses the manuscript collection of Lush's journals as its primary source. The Auckland War Memorial Museum Library holds thirteen boxes of Lush family archives, dating from before the family's arrival in New Zealand to the sale of Ewelme Cottage to the Auckland City Council in 1968. Within these, the twenty-eight folders of Lush's journals document the life and experiences of this ordinary man. The manuscripts are predominantly in good condition, though some pages are inaccessible to the researcher (photocopies replace the original manuscripts). Unfortunately, there are many gaps within the photocopied pages, resulting in days and sometimes weeks missing from the available manuscripts. In addition to the manuscripts, Alison Drummond's edited versions of the journals (published in 1971, 1975 and 1982) have been used where pages are missing from the photocopied manuscript folders, as they appear in Drummond's editions.³⁶ These have been used sparingly however as Drummond's editing was frequently not true to the original. This thesis also uses other collections from the Lush family archive: Alfred Lush's letters to Vicesimus, the journals of Charles, Blannie and Annette, Blanche's pocket books, family

³⁵ Colin Brown, Maire Peters and Jane Teal (eds), *Shaping a Colonial Church: Bishop Harper and the Anglican Diocese of Christchurch* (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 2006).

³⁶ Drummond (ed.), *Auckland Journals*; Drummond (ed.), *Thames Journals*; Drummond (ed.), *Waikato Journals*.

wills, Vicesimus' ordination documents and sympathy letters following Vicesimus' death.

The aim of this thesis is to use a variety of approaches to examine the Lush journals. The themes used were selected because they occur throughout the journals (not limited to particular years) and they appeared naturally during preliminary readings of the journals: 'Writing "Home",' 'Building the Church' and 'Lush as Social Commentator' (as the chapters are titled). Other themes were considered such as the people of Auckland, Waikato and Thames, the children as depicted by Lush or the journals' connection to Ewelme Cottage. The chosen themes best fitted the scope of this study, providing an overview of Lush's working and private life while establishing him within New Zealand's history. The limits of this work meant that much had to be set aside through the research process. With over 2,400 pages of journal manuscripts, limiting the research focus was necessary. This thesis does not provide a biographical account of Lush, though it contributes to the brief biographical material that already exists. Rather, it deliberately considers Lush's writing critically, looking at what the journals can tell of Lush's interpretation of his experiences and thoughts instead of using it provide an overview of his life.

Working with journals as a primary source is not without its limitations. The text is one-sided, presenting only Lush's observations. This thesis accepts the confines of using one person's journal as its focus was to examine Lush's writing. At times, however, it was necessary to draw back from the text and explore the broader context – using secondary material and supplementary manuscripts (predominantly from the wider Lush archive) helped with this. Using a journal that was written in lieu of letters also presented limitations because it was deliberately edited by Lush as he wrote to inform and entertain

his readers. For the historian, Lush's journals create frustrations as he did not always provide details or follow through on the progression of events. As a record of daily experiences, the journals provide insight into the busy life of a nineteenth-century priest in colonial New Zealand and their strengths balance their limitations. The deliberate purpose with which Lush wrote provides consistency to the text over thirty years, which allows for analysis of writing style, his inclusion of information and change over time.

Chapter Outline

This thesis begins by exploring Lush's journals as a means of maintaining relationships and expressing increasing familiarity with New Zealand. Lush's concept of "home" was key to his work, informing both his purpose and content. Chapter One explores how Lush's understanding of "home" changed: from England, to the family home and eventually Ewelme Cottage. By exploring his record of day-to-day experiences, this chapter examines his emotional attachment towards each expression of "home" and the associated sense of belonging. Lush's experience was common: settlers adapted their "home" customs to suit their colonial environment. This allowed them to embrace their new situation while still maintaining a sense of physical and emotional connection with the old country. The chapter ends by using the family's Christmas celebrations to track their adaptations of the festival as an indication of how settlers used their previous reality to make the new familiar.

Chapter Two examines the process of "building" the New Zealand Anglican Church. As a priest in the Auckland Diocese Lush experienced many of the challenges that faced the early New Zealand Church. Financial troubles overarched all attempts at church building throughout New Zealand. Lush's

journals track the church's financial struggles at all levels, from providing stable stipends to financing church buildings. "Building" the Church included adapting liturgical practices and Lush recorded how colonial living drove changes within the New Zealand Church. In conjunction with establishing the settler Church, the New Zealand Anglican Church also worked towards defining the place of Māori and "building" a Māori Church. The chapter looks at these aspects of Church "building", using Lush's journals to highlight the initial challenges and explore some of the solutions. Lush's writing shows the problems faced parochially and those tackled at the diocesan and countrywide levels.

The final chapter considers Lush's role as a social commentator in his colonial setting. Lush's writing on the New Zealand Wars, particularly the Taranaki and Waikato conflicts, shows his reactions (as well as those of the communities he worked in) to the fighting and disruption to daily life. Lush's record of his experiences in the Waikato shows the struggles of newly arrived migrants brought to New Zealand in the Waikato Immigration Scheme in addition to the impact of war on settler living. This chapter also considers Lush's commentary on the emerging community of Thames, around the goldfields. His interactions with Ngāti Maru (particularly following his Waikato experiences) provide insight into ongoing Pākehā/Māori relations, while he simultaneously wrote about the expansion of Thames as a town and community. Using Lush's work, the chapter focuses on the development of life for settlers in New Zealand through war, poverty and gold mining.

Chapter One: Writing “Home”

Lush began writing his journal on January 1 1850 while still at “home” in England. Over the next thirty-two years, as Lush’s understanding of “home” changed, so did the focus of his writing and the journals’ importance in fostering relationships. Nineteenth-century settlers placed great emphasis on maintaining connections across the globe. Communication took many forms: official correspondence, personal letters, boxes of presents and newspapers. Family letters have often survived better than other forms of communication. Sue Middleton argues that letters “home” were as important to the barely literate as they were to the highly educated. Letter writing was a means of maintaining identity in a new situation while simultaneously adapting to life as an immigrant and settler in New Zealand.¹ The content of such letters allows historians a window into life in Britain’s antipodean colonies. They also, as Catherine Hall suggests, contribute to discourses that ‘play a part in the construction of identities’ – in this case, Lush’s identity within the British Empire, as an Englishman or a New Zealander.² Letters hint at settlers’ trials and triumphs and the constant acknowledgment of the distance between family members.

Lush’s journals form a small portion of New Zealand’s extant nineteenth-century correspondence. Angela McCarthy has challenged historians to engage with migrants’ letters. Lush’s journals, demonstrating one settler’s response to the New Zealand environment, exemplify the area that McCarthy claims needs further study: engagement with the letters of settlers to examine New Zealand’s

¹ Sue Middleton, ‘The Seven Servants of Ham: Labourers’ Letters from Wellington in the *New Zealand Journal*, 1840-1845,’ *New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol. 44, no. 1, 2010, p.69.

² Catherine Hall, ‘Culture and Identity in Imperial Britain’, in Sarah Stockwell (ed.), *The British Empire: Themes and Perspectives* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2008) p.203.

social history.³ Lush wrote the journals to avoid the need to repeat himself in individual correspondence and to encourage the dissemination of information amongst family and friends. As such, this analysis of the journals contributes to the growing body of historical studies analysing the value of New Zealand settlers' letters and personal testaments.

Over thirty-two years Lush's journals maintained a physical connection with extended family in England. This chapter examines Lush's relationship with his family and how he used the journals to maintain and build relationships. As a constant throughout the journals, Lush wrote about, and drew strength from, his immediate family in New Zealand. Their needs informed many of his professional and personal decisions. His family relationships alleviated the displacement of living so far from England and gave him a focus around which he could build a new life. Building this new life and home initially included recreating or transferring aspects of England: changing the landscape, introducing English flora and fauna, and adapting loved traditions to suit the new location. This chapter considers both the information (and observations) contained within the journals and the act of writing as a means of preserving family connections. It does this by examining Lush's emotional connection to his changing understanding of "home". The chapter ends by looking at the Lush family's Christmas traditions as an example of how settlers adapted customs to their new environment to inform a new cultural identity.

Writing to Connect

Lush's journals sustained a prolonged relationship with his immediate and extended families across time and space. He began writing in England as he

³ Angela McCarthy, "'A Good Idea of Colonial Life': Personal Letters and Irish Migration to New Zealand," *New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol. 35, no. 1, 2001, p.17.

waited for a reply from Selwyn to his letter requesting an appointment in New Zealand. Lush wrote briefly but diligently through his final months in England and while on the *Barbara Gordon*, then adopted a more descriptive writing style upon arrival in the colony. By the end of 1850, the journals had already become, for Lush, a means of sustaining relationships with those in England. They maintained this importance for him until his death. Lush frequently wrote directly to his siblings in England, thanking them for presents received or apologising for a lack of communication. His awareness of audience permeates his writing: Lush's long descriptions of scenery and family events are for his sisters, while the explanations of ecclesiastical undertakings are for his brother Alfred. For the modern historian, Lush's descriptive writing provides a sustained insight into a dramatic period of our country's development and illustrates adaptations made by settlers in their efforts to translate their "home" culture.

As explanations of his new life, Lush's journals were the keystone of his correspondence with England. His letters to individual family members (most of which have not survived), mentioned in the journals, were supplementary. The journals allowed Lush to have an essentially day-by-day account of events without needing to recall specific details from previous weeks or months for a letter. Accounts of day-to-day life were conveniently collected together and every few months could be posted to England and shared between extended family and friends. Like most settlers writing home, Lush assumed that the journal would be read by many people, although he did name his siblings Eliza, Anne and Alfred as specific recipients. This communal sharing of the journals was important to Vicesimus at times of significant personal crises as it meant he did not have to write multiple accounts. For example, when his favourite

daughter Edith died in 1876 he wrote: 'My dear Brother & Sisters, You must accept my journals in lieu of letters to you separately.'⁴ Such direct sentiment, combined with Lush's occasional specific references to his siblings, gives a personal quality to the journals. Treading a fine line between being a public document and a personal record, Lush's journals helped to maintain relationships with family back "home".

Lush's intentional use of the journal to maintain relationships is evident in his entry of May 1861 (after nearly a month without any journal entries). While still intended for public circulation, he wrote directly to his sister Eliza:

if I defer writing a letter ... till the time the Mail leaves I am liable not to write at all – so I have determined to fall back again – once more! – to my original plan of a diary – as by this plan I am pretty sure of having something to send both you & Anne once a month.⁵

Such entries show both that Lush wrote letters and that from the outset he wrote the journal to inform his readers of New Zealand life. In an entry nearly eight years earlier, he wrote that keeping a journal was at times a chore but he persevered because 'friends may deem me unmindful of their oft-expressed wishes if I wholly neglect keeping a journal.'⁶ Both of these entries illustrate the importance that Lush attributed to maintaining connections with his English audience.

The journals allowed Lush's siblings to engage with his life in New Zealand. There is little evidence in his sibling's own hand but a small collection demonstrates that Alfred copied journal entries and took notes on them.⁷ The

⁴ Vicesimus Lush, 22 April 1876, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder26, AML.

⁵ Vicesimus Lush, 10 May 1861, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder6, AML.

⁶ Vicesimus Lush, 24 November 1853, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder3, AML.

⁷ Although a small extant collection of Alfred's letters remains he did not engage with Vicesimus' writing but rather gave news from England.

excerpts come from across the thirty-two years of journals. They have been categorized (presumably by Alfred) and titled: 'English Birds,' 'Horse's instruct,' 'Mosquitos,' 'Beelzebub,' 'Food,' 'A short cut,' 'Skulls' and 'Native Ministry.'⁸ Individually these titles are descriptions of the attached excerpt but as a collection they show a little of what interested Alfred. A page of comments in the same hand notes that ministers newly arrived from England needed support and Vicesimus' children did not see snow until they were about 12 years old. It also has musings about Māori (total numbers, number ordained, their bravery) and other comments – predominantly the cost of food. This collection demonstrates Alfred's ongoing active engagement with his brother's experiences and descriptions of life in New Zealand.

Lush's use of description not only engaged his readers but also helped him to identify with his new country. By describing what he saw, he claimed his place as a resident and gave familiarity to the unfamiliar (both for himself and his audience). In their ornate descriptions these passages at times take on qualities usually associated with nineteenth-century travel literature, particularly when writing about scenery:

The Horizon opposite was bounded by lofty hills, most striking and picturesque in their strange and fantastic shapes, clearly showing that a considerable volcanic activity was at one time in existence throughout the whole neighbourhood: at the base of this range of hills was the great Estuary of Manukau, whose waters glittered in the setting sun.⁹

Lush's attention to the imagery of landscape indicates first that he personally found landscapes interesting and enjoyed the challenge of capturing a vista through words, and second, that he knew his family and friends in England

⁸ Vicesimus Lush, Excerpts, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder30, AML.

⁹ Vicesimus Lush, 26 November 1850, 'Lush Rev. V., Diary 1850,' MS586, AML.

would want detailed accounts of New Zealand's scenery and society. Certainly, Lush afforded more attention to new experiences and sights than to anything else. In doing so, he joined the category of travel writers that Lydia Wevers terms 'travellers who write' – he particularly illustrates their 'sense of personal and cultural duty to share the sights and experiences of abroad ... with people not present.'¹⁰ Although Lush's journals were not published as travel literature they were written to enable those not present to share in his New Zealand experiences.

The journals were more than simply a record of experiences and events. The importance of the family connection, sustained by Vicesimus, was illustrated when, thirteen days after her father died, Lush's daughter Annette took it upon herself to continue his legacy: 'Knowing how sadly you all will miss the interesting journals of Dear Father I think it is a duty he would like me to perform to let you know a little of what we, his family, are doing.'¹¹ Although Annette had never seen England, or met her family there, this note exemplifies the importance settlers placed on maintaining "home" ties through frequent letters, journals and boxes. Annette had previously written letters to England but by explicitly continuing her father's journal writing she engaged with the 'duty' of using it to maintain connections with England as "home," as begun by Vicesimus.

Duty and intention did not necessarily translate into frequent correspondence and Lush would berate himself for missing weeks or months from his journals. Most gaps have no explanation but occasionally he apologized for a silence. In a rather personal entry Lush declared himself a 'naughty boy' for

¹⁰ Lydia Wevers, *Country of Writing: Travel Writing and New Zealand 1809-1900* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2002) p.159.

¹¹ Annette Lush, 24 July 1882, 'Papers relating to the Lush family,' MS1424, AML.

not keeping his diary, refusing to give an excuse for the silence other than his own neglect.¹² On another occasion, he wrote apologising that he was 'ending the year very badly, as regards keeping up my diary for my sisters.'¹³ It was fairly common for settlers writing letters to open with an apology for not writing sooner, or more fully. Women in particular used a formulaic format in their letters, opening with a greeting or an apology before continuing with their news.¹⁴ However, if the women's apologies in their letters follow a pattern, Lush's journal entries do not. Instead his writing reflects a genuine embarrassment and self-effacement for not finding the time to write. While the reasons he gave were often the same as those given by others his playful tone as he laughed at his inability to write regularly sets his apologies apart.

When he had a reason for his silence Lush made sure to inform his recipients. He twice blamed long silences on a lack of foreign letter paper. The paper that the journal is written on is thin and waxy, suitable for lengthy travel. In March 1864 he wrote: 'Through being without any Foreign Post Paper I have neglected my diary.'¹⁵ The same lack of paper occurred the following October, again causing a gap in the journal. Though Lush did not record the reason he ran out of paper (a hitherto unmentioned occurrence) both instances happened in a year during which he travelled extensively through remote areas. Whereas before (and after) his years as an itinerant priest Lush was close to town and presumably had easy access to letter paper, while travelling such items were difficult to come by.

¹² Vicesimus Lush, 13 February 1870, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder21, AML.

¹³ Vicesimus Lush, 30 December 1880, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder17, AML.

¹⁴ Middleton, p.58; Frances Porter and Charlotte Macdonald (eds), *My Hand Will Write What My Heart Dictates* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1996) p.14.

¹⁵ Vicesimus Lush, 10 March 1864, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder9, AML.

Lush's embarrassment at gaps within his journals points to the importance he placed on maintaining connections with his extended family. His own anticipation of receiving correspondence from "home" underlines this. Settlers throughout the British colonies eagerly awaited the arrival of letters. A ship arriving with letters from England was an event of great excitement for the Lushes and everyone hoped for news from loved ones. The signal booming across the harbour to herald a mail ship was eagerly anticipated, whatever time it sounded.¹⁶ Letters were especially important to Blanche and Vicesimus when they first arrived in New Zealand. However, by the 1870s in Thames, the promise and arrival of boxes had replaced letters. 'Had letters from England ... from Aunt Anne to Anne causing great excitement by telling her of an intended box – which is always a great event.'¹⁷ The disappointment if no letters came balanced the excitement of their arrival. 'I asked eagerly for letters, but to my sorrow found there were only Papers.'¹⁸ Letters provided a vital link between New Zealand and England. Sent by ship, the arrival of news was inconsistent and months could pass without word. It is fitting here to note that Lush's final journal entry before his death recorded that a parcel of letters had arrived from England, including the journal of his son Edward (at Cambridge University).¹⁹ This continued exchange of information helped the Lushes in New Zealand to remain an integral part of their extended family in England.

The Lushes' sense of English identity was also perpetuated by the exchange of published documents. Newspapers communicated information across the world and settlers anticipated their arrival almost as much as letters. On

¹⁶ Vicesimus Lush, 22 May 1866, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder11, AML.

¹⁷ Vicesimus Lush, 11 December 1874, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder25, AML.

¹⁸ Vicesimus Lush, 29 November 1850, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder1, AML.

¹⁹ Vicesimus Lush, 31 May 1882, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder19, AML.

November 29 1850, when the lack of letters had disappointed Lush, a large newspaper collection provided much enjoyment. The papers were 'a great treat & I ran home to Blanche with my bundle.'²⁰ Although a treat, in 1850 the English papers that New Zealand received were very out of date.²¹ As the decades passed and technology advanced, New Zealanders received more up-to-date information. By 1872 Lush recorded significant improvements to the speed of receiving news. Cables installed from London to Melbourne meant that the local papers could include news from England sent only days before: 'This morning's paper gives us English news of Octo. 21st only 10 days ago!! When once the ocean between Melbourne and Auckland is traversed by the "cable" we shall have news from london [sic] of 48 hours – or less.'²² The increased rapidity of information transfer made global communication more efficient, allowing New Zealand settlers to keep connected with family, social and political affairs in England.

Before the telegraph network, any news that did make it to or from England was months out of date. This at times caused much distress for recipients, especially when family died: 'Alas my poor Mother! how little have I dreamt that she was no longer in the land of the living – and she, dead & buried four months ago.'²³ The shock of believing his mother alive only to find her long dead caused Lush to record his grief and despair at the distance between him and England: 'I never have felt so deeply my separation from England & my

²⁰ Vicesimus Lush, 29 November 1850, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder1, AML.

²¹ Settlers shared English newspapers, allowing everyone access to news from home. Lush wrote about lending *The Times* for 1850 to his Howick neighbour, Captain McDonald. Vicesimus Lush, 26 July 1851, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder1, AML.

²² Vicesimus Lush, 30 October 1872, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder23, AML. Original emphasis.

²³ Vicesimus Lush, 9 April 1852, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder2, AML.

family.’²⁴ Many settlers encountered this overwhelming sense of distance and time. In 1840, Reverend Octavius Hadfield, while writing to his brother, had exclaimed in horror: ‘Three days ago I supposed that dear Georgina was alive ... & then suddenly learned that she had been taken from this world ... for more than eight months.’²⁵ Similar experiences occur throughout the writings of New Zealand settlers. Discussing mourning practices in New Zealand, Debra Powell argues that an integral part of the mourning process was the transfer of condolence letters, sent in both directions between New Zealand and, in this case, Scotland.²⁶ While the exchange of condolence cards helped the grieving process, they also drew attention to the distance in time and space between the two countries and it was at times of grief that the separation was most keenly felt.

From the outset Lush used his journal for immediate personal reference as well as to maintain connections across time and space. These two strands were evident within his first days in New Zealand. The *Barbara Gordon* landed in Auckland on October 10 1850 and four days later Lush first wrote from the new country: ‘Blanche wrote to my mother & I wrote to Alfred.’²⁷ This brief entry, typical of Lush’s personal use of his journal, simply recorded the date and recipients of letters for future reference. By contrast, the following day he wrote a detailed account, noting everything from getting the laundry done to first meeting a Māori. In the lengthy entry Lush compared New Zealand favourably with England, outlined his first impressions of Māori education and culture, described central Auckland and wrote about the generosity of those he met.

²⁴ Vicesimus Lush, 9 April 1852, ‘LUSH Family Papers,’ MS780-Box3-Folder2, AML.

²⁵ Octavius Hadfield, to Lieut. C.J. Hadfield, 28 April 1840, Micro-MS-0202 reel 2, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington (hereinafter ATL). Original emphasis.

²⁶ Debra Powell, ‘“It Was Hard to Die Frae Hame”: Death, Grief and Mourning among Scottish Migrants to New Zealand, 1840-1890,’ Master of Arts thesis, University of Waikato, 2007, p.87.

²⁷ Vicesimus Lush, 14 October 1850, ‘Lush Rev. V., Diary 1850,’ MS586, AML.

These themes recur throughout the journals allowing his overseas audience to appreciate his new environment. As shall be seen in Chapter Three, the journals also provide an insight for historians into what Auckland and its surrounding areas were like.

When he first arrived in New Zealand Lush was simply an observer, a traveller recording his experiences for his extended family in the journals. Over the following years Lush's understanding of family and home underwent a subtle change, reflected in his sense of belonging. This manifested itself in the importance he placed on his immediate family and their "home": initially in England but ultimately in Ewelme Cottage.

Belonging

While maintaining connections was essential to Lush, a sense of belonging to New Zealand became increasingly important. Lush's nuclear family was central to his understanding of "home." His life centred around family; when with them he reveled in their company and when away from home he pined for them. During the long months living alone in the Waikato or at Thames, nothing lifted Lush's spirits like a visit from his children. He had a unique relationship with each person, all shown clearly in his writing. The difference between his relationships with his sons and daughters is particularly clear. Following social expectations, each gender had a specific path in life, paths that Lush, as father, encouraged and facilitated as best he could. His role as husband and father defined his place in the family. Consequently, the journals can be read as a family story, written from Lush's point of view for family and friends not present.

First among his familial relationships was his wife Blanche. Born into a family of university scholars, Blanche grew up in an environment surrounded by

education.²⁸ The importance of education was something that both Lush and Blanche stressed throughout their lives in New Zealand and worked together to achieve (Lush teaching the boys and Blanche the girls). Married in 1842, Blanche and Lush embarked on a forty year marriage grounded in friendship and cemented through adversity such as the early deaths of four children. Lush presented Blanche's role within the journal as a close companion and loving mother but he rarely wrote about her with emotion or expressed his feelings for her. In private letters to Blanche, Lush opened by calling her "My dearest" and signed off with "Your affec Husband," so it cannot be assumed this lack of emotion in the journals was due to an inability to express his feelings.²⁹ Rather, it is likely that Lush believed his feelings towards Blanche were private and not to be written about in public journals.

Blanche's fondness and respect for Lush is evident. She also did not write overtly about their relationship but her affectionate vocabulary indicates a genuine and unforced affection for her husband. Writing to her son Edward after Lush's death, Blanche described her husband's life as 'blameless, holy and self denying.'³⁰ This is no eulogy but evidence of her affection. More than this, it shows that she respected his work and believed he lived his life in the best possible way. Similarly, when Blanche took over writing the journal after Lush became ill in 1882, she referred to him constantly as 'dear Vi' or 'my dear invalid.' Again, Blanche was writing at a time of stress, an aberration from normality, yet the tenderness she expressed points to a long standing love and mutual respect between the two.

²⁸ John Webster, *Looking for the Headlands of New Zealand* (Auckland: Ewelme Cottage Management Committee, 2001) p.3.

²⁹ Vicesimus Lush, 23 November 1880, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder36, AML.

³⁰ Blanche Lush, 1883, 'Papers relating to the Lush family, MS1424, AML.

The children formed another important facet of Lush's home life. Over twenty years, Blanche gave birth to nine children (six of whom died before she did, four before their twentieth birthday). With five girls and four boys Lush could indulge both genders equally. His writing shows that the boys brought particular joy to Lush's life. He was fiercely proud of their accomplishments and delighted in watching them grow up. For example, Lush described Charles' first sight of someone not European: '[Sappandoolo] nursed little Charlie ... Charlie seemed more than half afraid of the "black man" at first, but soon he looked up in his countenance and smiled.'³¹ As they grew older, the boys became Lush's equals, steered towards education and finding a steady career. Martin and Edward, the only two to remain healthy into adulthood, became a banker and priest respectively. His boys were Lush's release from the stress of work and leading them on adventures brought him great enjoyment. When Martin accidentally shot himself (a minor wound) Lush's retelling of the incident pointed to his relief at the outcome as well as his amusement at his son's escapade. 'The great event of today was Martin shooting himself ... for a moment he did not know he was hurt, but his sister Blannie perceived his sleeve on fire.'³² By retelling the "adventure" for the extended family, Martin's accident became part of the family story.

Lush was no less devoted to his daughters. As the oldest child (and the only one born in England to remain healthy) Blannie became a vital asset to his work. She provided Lush with the (informal and unpaid) support of a 'good and efficient "Deaconess".'³³ Blannie's education allowed Lush to indulge in many of

³¹ Sappandoolo was one of three Melanesian men whom Selwyn brought to New Zealand to study at St. John's College. Vicesimus Lush, 8 January 1852, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder2, AML.

³² Vicesimus Lush, 2 May 1867, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder13, AML.

³³ Vicesimus Lush, 9 December 1874, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder25, AML.

his passions – he justified taking her to the Opera or theatre when they arrived in Auckland as “culturing” Blannie. Lush doted on the other girls too, boasting of their accomplishments. Anecdotes adding to the family story appear throughout the journals as one of the girls did something to make her father proud; one night Annette was ‘decidedly the Belle of the evening ... the nicest looking girl present. She is not by any means “beautiful” – but ... no one can fail of being struck with her bright expressive expression.’³⁴ Lush gives no indication that the nineteen year old Annette ever read this journal entry. The girls’ adult lives clearly showed their father’s influence. The only two to survive, Blannie and Annette both devoted themselves to the Church and helping people. Blannie never married but lived with her mother at Ewelme Cottage, involved in parish activities and community projects throughout her life. Annette married David Ruddock, a missionary to Melanesia whom she met in Norfolk Island in 1881 and actively supported her husband’s work throughout her life.

As much joy as his children brought, their untimely deaths shook the foundations of Lush’s life and faith. Unfortunately, the journals surrounding the deaths of Charlotte, Mary and Alfred within ten days of each other from scarlet fever in 1854 were lost at sea. Despite the absence of those journal entries, Lush’s obvious grief appears clearly at later dates. Returning to Howick in 1871 Lush visited his children’s graves and was touched to see them well cared for.³⁵ Poignantly, in 1869 Lush took out some old journals to read to Annette and Edith, and his writing connected them with their dead siblings. The girls were fascinated to hear about Charlotte and Mary, who had died before they were born.³⁶ The death that is recorded in the surviving journals is that of sixteen year

³⁴ Vicesimus Lush, 22 July 1878, ‘LUSH Family Papers,’ MS780-Box3-Folder28, AML.

³⁵ Vicesimus Lush, 10 March 1871, ‘LUSH Family Papers,’ MS780-Box3-Folder22, AML.

³⁶ Vicesimus Lush, 23 September 1869, ‘LUSH Family Papers,’ MS780-Box3-Folder20, AML.

old Edith, also of scarlet fever, in 1876. Lush wrote openly of his grief as he struggled to come to terms with the loss. ““The child is not dead but sleepeth” This has been the burden of my thought ever since 9 oclock when my dear dear dearest Edith Fell asleep.’³⁷ While clinging to his faith, Vicesimus used the journal as a means of communicating news of the tragedies thus obviating any need for individual letters. The act of writing a description of Edith’s last days into his journal helped Lush through her death, while also strengthening the connection with family in England. Through his journals Lush preserved a memory of Edith (as he had Charlotte, Mary and Alfred) not only to allow family to know of her final hours but also to provide a record of her life for subsequent generations (and scholars).

If his family were the emotional centre of Lush’s concept of “home,” then Ewelme Cottage was his physical investment in New Zealand as “home.” Away from England and the friends they had looked to there for support, he and Blanche had to rely more heavily on each other as they found their place in New Zealand. An important part of cementing their lives in New Zealand was building their own house as a place of belonging for their new family life. The journals document this process of physical home building, providing a link between the house and Lush’s changing concept of “home.”

England lost some of its importance as “home” when Lush’s immediate family took up residence of Ewelme Cottage in Parnell, Auckland. Today, Ewelme Cottage remains filled with the family’s possessions. A collection of 2000 books line the walls, the family’s everyday items fill the shelves and the cottage itself has remained virtually unaltered since the 1880s. It reflects the personalities of the inhabitants, their passions, obsessions and lives. A house is where family

³⁷ Vicesimus Lush, 22 April 1876, ‘LUSH Family Papers,’ MS780-Box3-Folder26, AML.

memories are formed and remembered; it is a place of financial and emotional security. Ewelme Cottage symbolized the Lushes' acceptance of New Zealand as home. The house also represented Lush's emotional investment and sense of belonging in New Zealand not only because he invested financially and emotionally in the building but, more importantly, because his immediate family lived there for long periods while he worked elsewhere. Consequently, England lost some of its importance as "home," replaced by Ewelme as the location of immediate family and belonging.

Owning property is a symbol of belonging. A priest's remuneration in the nineteenth century provided stipend and house. By providing a house the Anglican Church could offer a lower stipend than they might otherwise and ensured that the cleric lived close to the church. Even today, full-time clergy contracts include the provision of accommodation, either a house provided or rent covered. Through the priest's working life the assurance of a house was a blessing, allowing them to spend their minimal funds on other necessities. However, clergy had to prepare for their retirement and the need to provide housing for themselves. Consequently, Anglican priests often lived in the house provided but owned other property. For Vicesimus, the need to own his own house was both in preparation for retirement and a means of additional income. Over the thirty-two years he lived in New Zealand Lush built three houses for his family: a cottage at Cockle Bay (where they never lived), Ewelme Cottage in Parnell and a rather grander house next to St. George's Church in Thames. By building these houses in New Zealand Lush built an asset base which his family could rely upon.

When he bought land, Lush invested in New Zealand both financially and emotionally, strengthening this investment when he began to build houses on the

land. Settlers arrived in New Zealand with a dream to own land – something they could not do in England due to lack of land and high prices. By contrast, New Zealand was marketed as a place with land for the taking. This marketing strategy had just enough truth for it to be highly successful.³⁸ New Zealand in 1850, though well on the path towards being “civilized”, in the minds of its European settlers, was still a country of small towns, reliant on people making their own essential supplies. Lush’s position at the Howick settlement came with 10 acres which he quickly utilized. Throughout the 1850s Lush bought land around Howick, in total well over 800 acres.³⁹ Lush probably used his inheritance to buy the land as his erratic stipend as a priest was not sufficient. In his will, Charles Lush (Vicesimus’ father) left £27,900 to be divided among his five trustees. As a trustee Vicesimus would have inherited about £5,500 when Charles died in 1851.⁴⁰ The journals show that Lush looked carefully at the land owned by other settlers. He exhibited a fascination with the land’s potential to yield returns. Purchasing land practically and financially claimed the family’s legitimacy as New Zealand residents and ensured comfortable living.

The Lushes further connected themselves with settler New Zealand when they decided to build a house of their own, providing security and independence from the Church. Lush had brought plans for a small cottage with him from England.⁴¹ He combined these with the Howick parsonage’s layout when drawing up the plans, in September 1863, for a small house in Parnell: Ewelme

³⁸ Paul Hudson, ‘English Emigration to New Zealand, 1839-1850: Information Diffusion and marketing a New World,’ *The Economic Review*, Vol. 54, no. 4, 2001, p.693.

³⁹ For a list of Lush’s properties see; Alan La Roche, *So Delightful a Parish: The Revd Vicesimus Lush at Howick, 1850-1865* (Auckland: Ewelme Cottage Management Committee, 1999) p.24.

⁴⁰ Roughly equivalent to \$600,000 New Zealand Dollars today. Charles Lush, ‘LUSH Family Papers,’ MS780-Box4-Folder50, AML.

⁴¹ Lush recorded commissioning the plans on April 5, 1850: ‘arranged the style & size of the cottage the working drawings of which [Mr Edmonston] is to prepare for me, to take to New Zealand.’ Vicesimus Lush, 5 April 1850, ‘Lush, Rev. V., Diary 1850, MS586, AML.

Cottage. Having house plans drawn up as part of his preparations to leave England indicates that Lush anticipated success in his New Zealand venture and wanted to provide himself with a constant reminder of the home he was leaving. He chose the site for Ewelme Cottage for its proximity to the school that fourteen year old Charles and nine year old Martin attended, giving them a place to stay during the term. Lush wrote with excitement to overseas family as he explained the benefits of the selected site: 'the Domain is a beautiful place, well wooded with many shady walks & many extensive & beautiful views; fortunately for us, it is within five minutes walk from our house.'⁴² Building Ewelme Cottage symbolized Lush's investment in New Zealand and a place where the family could establish their own identity, combining their life before and after emigration.

The name "Ewelme" strengthened the link between the old and new. Although at first "Ewelme" was a jesting reference to the village where Blanche grew up and where they were married, in time the name and the house became synonymous. The naming of places, streets and buildings was important in nineteenth-century New Zealand. Names do more than simply provide identification. They contain emotive and connotative importance to those who chose them. English names were also, as Peter Gibbons explores, a means of making the unfamiliar familiar; replacing the unknown Māori names with beloved English names helped to make New Zealand more like "home" for first generation settlers.⁴³ The name "Ewelme" therefore was more than simply a title and the connection with the English Ewelme was extended as the family changed and remodeled both house and garden. For example, a croquet lawn reminded

⁴² Vicesimus Lush, 29 January 1867, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder13, AML.

⁴³ Peter Gibbons, 'Cultural Colonization and National Identity,' *New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol. 36, no. 1, 2002, p.8.

Lush of Ewelme village's terraces. Despite extended absences, Ewelme Cottage became Lush's new "home" because his wife and children lived there.

While the family lived in the Howick parsonage they used Ewelme only as an Auckland base. When they did move into Ewelme it was because Lush had taken up the position as an itinerant priest in the Waikato – a position with no official residence. Lush returned to Ewelme for a few weeks every quarter to see his family. It was through his Waikato years that Lush began to equate Ewelme with the concept of "home". 'Then, for home, dear home ... I counted the milestones ... as eagerly as any schoolboy ever did returning home from school.'⁴⁴ By becoming his desired destination Ewelme Cottage replaced England in Lush's rhetoric as "home," the place to which he belonged.

Living away from Blanche and the children caused Lush's focus in his writing to shift from family in England to family in Parnell. Small details about his daily routines were included for his immediate family. Correspondence also became more important to Vicesimus through this time. Letters from Blanche added interest to otherwise long and lonely evenings spent at Drury, especially when they gave 'upon the whole, a fair account of them all at home.'⁴⁵ Letters also comforted Lush that his children, though they seldom saw their father, knew him. When his daughter Edith wrote him a letter, declaring it the first she had written to a 'real person' Lush reflected: 'I have the gratification of knowing that I am to her a "real person" & not a myth.'⁴⁶ Ewelme Cottage was a place where he could be a real person for his children, not just an absent father. It was where he belonged, his desired "home".

⁴⁴ Vicesimus Lush, 24 September 1865, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder10, AML.

⁴⁵ Vicesimus Lush, 12 February 1867, in Alison Drummond (ed.), *The Waikato Journals of Vicesimus Lush 1864-8, 1881-2*, Christchurch, 1982, p.107.

⁴⁶ Vicesimus Lush, 14 May 1867, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder13, AML.

When he accepted the position as priest to Thames in 1868 the family again remained in Ewelme Cottage. Although the Thames parish had a residence, it was very small. It took some time before Lush could start to build a house at Thames suitable for the family. Building a larger church for the congregation took priority and Lush needed to save enough money to pay for a private house. In this situation his reasons for building were very different to those motivating him to build Ewelme Cottage. The Thames house was built out of necessity rather than desire; Ewelme remained the family home while the Thames house was a temporary residence that the family never named.

The Thames house did, however, represent a significant chapter in Lush's life and work. In size and facilities alone the house demonstrates a period of relative wealth for the family. Lush wrote of holding parties and dances because they had the most space in the town and the house became a rallying point for the community as much as for the family. Ultimately however, it was a financial asset rather than a "home". In 1881, moving to Hamilton to become Archdeacon of the Waikato, Lush sold it to Mr. Louis Ehrenfried for £600 (£400 less than he had hoped). Although less than it was worth, £600 was an amount Lush was pleased with as all Thames property was devaluing: 'If the place goes down for the next 2 or 3 years as it has for the last 2 or 3 I might not have got £400.'⁴⁷ Ehrenfried did not own the house in Thames for long, selling in 1882. The house in Thames was an investment and filled an immediate need but the family formed no lasting attachments to it.

When Lush died in 1882, Blanche, Blannie and Annette returned to Ewelme Cottage. For them it was the home that they knew best. The house was where they belonged. It was the legacy that Lush had left them, a place connected with

⁴⁷ Vicesimus Lush, 14 October 1881, in Alison Drummond (ed.), *The Thames Journals of Vicesimus Lush 1868-1882* (Christchurch: Pegasus, 1975) p.247.

England and with their much missed husband and father. By building Ewelme, Lush had accepted his place in New Zealand. It was a reality in which he could invest and that he could manipulate to create the life he desired. With his death, Ewelme Cottage became a link with that which was lost, both England and Vicesimus. It represented the Lushes' investment in New Zealand life, both financial and emotional. Its emotional importance came from the many associations and memories contained deep within its walls. The family occupied Ewelme Cottage until the death of Mary Ruddock, Annette's youngest daughter, in 1968.

Recreating the Familiar

Lush's journals are evidence of settlers' desire to recreate the familiar in unfamiliar surroundings. Settlers introduced animals and birds that they were familiar with, they worked the land as they had in England and extensively adapted the landscape. For some, this drive to recreate the familiar was unconscious, for others it was necessary to spread civilization and Christianity. The Lush family, in creating a new "home" drew on their experience of "home" in England. While constantly aware of the differences between the old and new environments, belonging meant adapting to the influence of their new environment and by introducing elements of the old.

When the family first arrived, Lush frequently compared New Zealand with England. His comparisons covered everything from the size of radishes in their garden, to the colour of clothes worn to a funeral.⁴⁸ Familiarity and belonging grew from finding points of reference in New Zealand. This was a process that all new arrivals went through, though whether they drew favourable

⁴⁸ Vicesimus Lush, 9, 12 November 1850, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder1, AML.

or disparaging comparisons varied greatly. Lush initially wrote with wide-eyed amazement about New Zealand, particularly when they first arrived in Auckland. Vegetables were larger and tastier than in England, the scenery was stunning and the indigenous people (expected to behave as savages or barbarians) appeared more civilized than most Englishmen. Lush may have seen what he expected to see: New Zealand was promoted as the ideal society for European settlers and a land of natural abundance. Popular rhetoric described New Zealand as 'the land of milk and honey', 'God's Own Country' or 'an earthly paradise'. These arcadian images, Miles Fairburn has argued, defined New Zealand society before the 1890s and fostered a belief that New Zealand would not develop Old World problems.⁴⁹ Even though this romanticized view of New Zealand did not last, Lush never lost his initial love of the country.

As time passed and Lush's sense of belonging in New Zealand developed, his need to frequently compare his two "homes" diminished. Later comparisons were usually prompted by a special occasion or abnormal occurrence. In 1866 the installation of a new Church bell at Mauku in the Waikato brought back memories of England; those who heard it 'expressed themselves very pleased one saying "it reminded him of home"'.⁵⁰ Two years later Lush again wrote comparing England and New Zealand as frost covered the ground: 'the whitest I have seen since I left England ... the whole scene reminded me of the old country.'⁵¹ These connections would have helped the family in England to imagine in familiar terms an environment that they knew only through Lush's descriptions.

⁴⁹ Miles Fairburn, *The Ideal Society and its Enemies: The Foundations of Modern New Zealand Society 1850-1900* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1989) pp.24-7.

⁵⁰ Vicesimus Lush, 5 August 1866, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder1, AML.

⁵¹ Vicesimus Lush, 7 June 1868, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder1, AML.

Despite his constant references to England as “home,” Lush exhibited little desire to leave. When he mentioned a desire to return “home” it was for a holiday to see family, always at an unspecified time. The one clear exception to this was in 1852 when gold fever had taken hold around Howick, driving up the cost of food and making life very difficult. Lush recorded Blanche’s observation: ‘it had been far better if we had never left England or, coming here, if Gold had never been found.’⁵² Despite this outburst, on the whole Lush’s writing indicates that he and Blanche successfully transferred their “home” culture to New Zealand.

Another brief expression of displacement occurred when friends began returning to England to retire. Selwyn left first in 1868. 1870 saw a number of their long standing friends return to England. In a moment of melancholy Lush wrote: ‘I fear it will never be my good fortune to follow their example & do likewise.’⁵³ Many of these departing friends had arrived with, or shortly after, the Lushes and their departure felt like an abandonment. This mood appears to have passed fairly quickly for Lush as he did not again mention a desire to return to England.⁵⁴ It was not uncommon for immigrants to arrive in New Zealand and want to return to England. The return passage, though expensive, was within the means of most who earned a steady wage. Charlotte Macdonald has asserted that women who migrated to work as domestic servants, if thrifty, could save enough for the passage home within a few years, though she argues that not enough is known about patterns of reverse migration to make any definitive

⁵² Vicesimus Lush, 6 November 1852, ‘LUSH Family Papers,’ MS780-Box3-Folder2, AML.

⁵³ Vicesimus Lush, 23 February 1870, ‘LUSH Family Papers,’ MS780-Box3-Folder21, AML.

⁵⁴ In 1880 when Sub-Inspector Kenny was sent back to England due to changes in the New Zealand Constabulary, Lush recorded a comment from Blannie that ‘there will soon be no one left but the labouring class.’ Lush agreed with her. Vicesimus Lush, 6 October 1880, ‘LUSH Family Papers,’ MS780-Box3-Folder17, AML.

assertions.⁵⁵ For Lush any desire he expressed to return to England was only to visit family and friends, not to permanently return.

With little intention of returning to England, the Lushes joined the majority of New Zealand settlers in adapting their environment to better resemble the familiar. British settlers, whether consciously or not, aimed to make New Zealand an extension of England: in social structures, technology, landscape and government. Government, settlers and overseers in England assumed that the British way of life was superior. Officials established governance under the British monarch. Those overseeing New Zealand's colonization from Britain (especially the New Zealand Company) saw New Zealand as a way to alleviate the pressures of population expansion in England – a chance to form a society superior to England but still intimately connected. Settlers transferred and adapted traditions and culture. Irish immigrants brought with them their way of life and understanding of the world, as did the Scottish and all other Europeans to travel to New Zealand. The familiar was transported to provide comfort and reassurance in the face of the unknown.

Settlers also yearned to recreate physical aspects of England. Thomas Dunlop, discussing settlers' rapid destruction of native ecosystems, argues that settlers transformed the countryside to make new lands (such as New Zealand) resemble "home", to recreate the familiar.⁵⁶ Lush exhibited his desire to physically link his new "home" with his old through a love for gardens. His journals are peppered with descriptions of the exemplary gardens he came across, paying particular attention to those that most closely resembled their English counterparts. He particularly liked Mr Urquhart's property, near Mauku

⁵⁵ Charlotte Macdonald, *A Woman of Good Character: Single Women as Immigrant Settlers in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand* (Wellington: Allen & Unwin, 1990) p.127.

⁵⁶ Thomas R. Dunlop, *Nature and the English Diaspora* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) p.18.

in the Waikato, where Lush 'was most agreeably surprised to find, in the far wilderness you might call it, such a thorough English Gentlemans residence and grounds – beautiful gardens.'⁵⁷ Likewise, in 1851 Lush wrote proudly of his and Blanche's work on their new garden at Howick, which he wished his mother and sisters could see. He bemoaned the distance between them as his family were 'unable to drop in & congratulate us on the truly English look of our grounds & abode.'⁵⁸ The recreated English garden incorporated familiar flowers and plants, landscaping and birds, which flourished in New Zealand. While describing the garden's Englishness Lush's descriptions reinforce the depiction of New Zealand as a fertile landscape. As in the letters written by Irish settlers, Lush wrote of the land's natural abundance through initial impressions and change over time.⁵⁹ The land's fertility combined with settlers' desire to recreate England facilitated the creation of gardens to mimic those of "home".

Recreating a familiar English environment extended beyond merely planting flowers. In 1866, after family in England sent a croquet set, Vicesimus decided to build a croquet lawn outside Ewelme Cottage. Building the lawn required significant re-landscaping of the garden and expense. Lush justified it because a flat lawn was needed for croquet and because the resulting terraces would remind the family of Ewelme village.⁶⁰ Changes such as landscaping were, Lush indicated in the same entry, worth the cost because they introduced the familiar into their new "home". The ability to play croquet in the midst of an "English" garden was a luxury that few expected to enjoy in New Zealand.

⁵⁷ Vicesimus Lush, 5 February 1866, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder11, AML.

⁵⁸ Vicesimus Lush, 10 January 1851, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder1, AML.

⁵⁹ McCarthy, p.9.

⁶⁰ Vicesimus Lush, 28 July 1866, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder12, AML.

Landscapes and gardens were not enough for Lush. He longed also for English fauna. Through Lush's journals it is possible to see both the love that he had for English birds and an indication of when they arrived in Auckland. When Lush came across a bird that he had not seen since leaving the "Old Country" it was a cause for comment. 'On Wednesday I had the very great pleasure of seeing a sparrow hopping about the road not far from my house ... after 20 years of hoping & waiting for the same.'⁶¹ In this entry Lush showed one of the key factors of settlers' nostalgia for England: they missed the common, familiar things.⁶² Pheasants were also introduced by the English, as a hunting bird. Five years before seeing the sparrow, Lush had found five pheasants living in the glebe between Howick Church and the parsonage. His record shows how rare it was to see pheasants: 'As I was crossing the glebe to go, from the Church, to the Parsonage, I startled no less than five Pheasants. This was before Church: after Church I flushed two more.'⁶³ Seeing the pheasants provided a pleasurable connection with "home" and is evidence of the importance of the familiar in building a sense of "home".

Despite his interest in English birds, Lush never commented on the presence of farm animals, except in a utilitarian context. The British had brought cows, sheep, donkeys and horses to New Zealand before Lush arrived. Samuel Marsden is credited with first introducing shorthorn cattle to New Zealand around 1830 and by 1840 a small dairy industry had begun to develop.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Vicesimus Lush, 1 December 1870, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder21, AML.

⁶² In 1922 Herbert Guthrie-Smith recorded the arrival of a sparrow at his farm Tutira. Guthrie-Smith's reserved anticipation of the arrival of a sparrow echoes Lush's earlier excitement, demonstrating the importance of familiar birds to settlers. Herbert Guthrie-Smith, *Tutira: The Story of a New Zealand Sheep Station*, Fifth edition (Auckland: Godwit, 1999) p.353.

⁶³ Vicesimus Lush, 21 May 1865, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder10, AML.

⁶⁴ Horace Belshaw, 'Dairying Industry of New Zealand,' *Economic Geography*, Vol. 3, no. 3, 1927, pp.281-2.

Domestic animals formed a vital part of British Imperial thought and colonization. Carolyn Mincham argues that domestic animals both evoked memories of pastoral England and provided a claim of ownership on the land.⁶⁵ Lush's journals show clearly that the family's farm animals (and vegetable garden) allowed them to survive times of food shortages in relative comfort and reduced their food costs considerably but he never missed their presence as their introduction preceded his arrival.

Cultural activities contributed to building familiarity as much as did the physical environment. Performances of the great choral works and opportunities to see the Opera brought more of England into New Zealand for Lush. Music was particularly important to Lush as it allowed him to reminisce about England. After attending a concert given by the Auckland Choral Society, he wrote fondly of their renditions of songs such as 'Come Bounteous May,' 'Mary of Argyle' and 'The Vesper Hymn.'⁶⁶ Coupled with a rendition of the *William Tell* overture, these songs reminded Lush of a similar excursion in England and allowed his children to experience the music of "home". More than this, concerts and gatherings were social occasions when settlers could immerse themselves in the familiar society and culture of England. Most prominent of these musical extravaganzas was the long-standing tradition of hearing Handel's *Messiah* performed in the days before Christmas. While the Lushes had to forego this tradition most of their time in New Zealand, in 1867 Lush wrote excitedly of hearing the famous oratorio.⁶⁷ Through music and tradition (such as those surrounding Christmas), adapted to

⁶⁵ Carolyn Jean Mincham, 'A Social and Cultural History of the New Zealand Horse,' PhD thesis, Massey University, 2008, p.39.

⁶⁶ Vicesimus Lush, 22 July 1856, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder14, AML.

⁶⁷ Lush took Martin and Blannie to hear *Messiah*. His description of the event shows his enjoyment in hearing the oratorio and sharply satirical wit: 'that very beautiful Oratorio was given with the largest & most efficient muster of amateurs that had ever assembled in Auckland.' Vicesimus Lush, 9 January 1868, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder15, AML.

the New Zealand reality, the Lush family could connect with their past while building an adapted culture that was both familiar and relevant.

The importance of adapting the familiar to a new situation is clearly shown through Lush's Christmas journal entries. The importance of Christmas as a family celebration meant that settlers translated and adapted the Northern Hemisphere tradition for New Zealand. Settlers needed to amalgamate winter traditions with summer pursuits, both religious and secular.⁶⁸ In her landmark book on holidays and celebrations in New Zealand, Alison Clarke argues that by the nineteenth century's end New Zealand Christmas celebrations had assumed the trappings associated with the festival today: Santa Claus, Christmas trees and greeting cards.⁶⁹ Tracing the development of Christmas celebrations through the century, Clarke successfully shows that religious disapproval towards seasonal frivolities had relaxed as old religious traditions blended with new secular celebrations. Lush's journals exhibit this trend. His accounts of Christmas do not mention all the traditions that Clarke discussed. However, they clearly illustrate a shift in perception of Christmas as a winter observance to a summer celebration, reinforcing a sense of belonging and the importance of family, the familiar and "home".

New Zealand settlers had to adapt Christmas traditions, such as the Christmas tree, to suit the available resources. Although Lush only occasionally recorded having a family Christmas tree, two mentions warrant attention. In 1865, for the first time since arriving in New Zealand fifteen years earlier, the family had a Christmas tree: 'Charlie & Martin accompanied [Lush] to the beach

⁶⁸ Alison Clarke, *Holiday Seasons: Christmas, New Year and Easter in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2007) pp.46-9.

⁶⁹ Clarke, pp.70-2.

for Pohutukawa (our Xmas tree – our substitute for holly).⁷⁰ It is difficult to discern whether Lush called the Pohutukawa a Christmas tree because they replaced the fir trees used in Germany and England or because the Pohutukawa blooms in December. The latter is more likely as Lush equated the native tree with holly (the English Christmas-bloomer) rather than a fir tree; Pohutukawa was a New Zealand favourite for decorating churches and public spaces.⁷¹ Three years later Lush again wrote about their Christmas tree, this time overtly partaking in European tradition: 'I cut down a young pine & Martin & I fitted up a Xmas tree, – to the great delight of all. The Tree was loaded with gifts from "every one to every one" – so we were all happy.'⁷² The tree itself provided a background and frame for hanging gifts with branches lit by candles or Chinese lanterns.⁷³ The family's 'delight' indicates the importance of introducing this tradition to their New Zealand celebrations.

When Lush began his New Zealand journal in 1850 the Christmas tree was a relatively new phenomenon in England but already an established Christmas tradition. Germans had long decorated fir trees in their Christmas celebrations but it was not until the early nineteenth century that the tradition reached England.⁷⁴ Decorated trees quickly became widely popular. Historians often include the Christmas tree in lists of nineteenth-century introductions surrounding English Christmases (along with large family feasts and gift

⁷⁰ Vicesimus Lush, 24 December 1864, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder9, AML.

⁷¹ In December 1881 the *Auckland Star* published an article detailing the decorations erected down Queens Street and inside Churches. Decorations were made from 'tree fern and nikau and the bright red flowers of the Christmas tree.' 'Christmas Decorations', *Auckland Star*, 24 December 1881, p.2.

⁷² Vicesimus Lush, 9 January 1868, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder15, AML.

⁷³ Clarke, p.36.

⁷⁴ The introduction of the Christmas tree is generally attributed to Prince Albert around 1840, though some scholars have argued that Queen Charlotte had brought it with her from Germany as early as 1789. J.A.R. Pimlott, *The Englishman's Christmas: A Social History* (Hassocks: Harvester Press, 1978) p.98.

giving).⁷⁵ Although new to England, the tradition was already important to English settlers such as Lush.

Decorating churches with greenery was a dying tradition in England by the mid-nineteenth century but one that Lush in New Zealand still enjoyed. Throughout the nineteenth century the English stopped using natural decorations, investing instead in commercial products. In New Zealand the change from natural to commercial decorations took longer.⁷⁶ Pohutukawa replaced holly sprigs in pew corners and elaborate decorations, constructed by Lush's family, took hours to erect. Lush's writing indicates a dual importance for the decorations: to act as a visible sign of the season and to instill parochial pride. In the English midwinter Christmas, evergreen decorations provided a colourful reminder that spring was near and alleviated winter's monotonous colours. Lush's journals capture his pride in church trimmings. He wrote appreciatively of his own, and his children's, efforts: 'Went over to the Church to decorate with sprigs of Ngaio & flowers: wound some wreaths round the Chancel pillars – the effect was very pretty.'⁷⁷ By contrast, the only description he gave of church decorations done by others is disparaging: 'St Mary's Church ... was decorated but not very prettily.'⁷⁸ Throughout New Zealand churches were decorated with greenery in, as Alison Clarke calls it, a 'labour of love.'⁷⁹ Despite this attempt to replace old English favourites with local greenery, indigenous decorations could not immediately erase fond memories of English plants. In their second New

⁷⁵ Neil Armstrong, 'Review Essay: Christmas in Nineteenth-Century Britain and America: A Historiographical Overview,' *Cultural and Social History*, Vol. 1, no. 1, 2004, p.119.

⁷⁶ Pimlott, p.139.

⁷⁷ Vicesimus Lush, 25 December 1853, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder3, AML.

⁷⁸ Vicesimus Lush, 9 January 1868, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder15, AML.

⁷⁹ Clarke, p.36

Zealand Christmas, Charlotte expressed a common complaint when she announced to her father that holly would look nicer than Pohutukawa.⁸⁰

Another area of enforced adaptation was the Christmas dinner. Lush often wrote about food at Christmas time where the difference between England and New Zealand was most apparent, a comparison that was possibly illuminating to his audience. Settlers tried to mimic the familiar English Christmas feast. Roast beef formed the staple of Christmas meals throughout New Zealand (when possible), supplemented with, or replaced by, fowl. Pudding was also a necessity, whether boiled or steamed.⁸¹ The first Christmas Lush recorded (1850) he was greatly disappointed that there was no Christmas pudding, only plum cake. The following year he wrote with amazement that their dinner included both new potatoes and peas 'the first time I have partaken of them on a Xmas Day.'⁸² This comment illustrates clearly the changes that seasonal differences between the hemispheres caused. Along with the vegetables, that year they also enjoyed beef, two fowls, a ham, apple tart, custard and plum pudding.⁸³ This was no extravagant spend on Lush's part though, for most of the meal came from their own land. Apart from a few lean years, this meal epitomized the Lush family's usual feast. The journals show Lush's awareness of the changes New Zealand brought to Christmas dinners: 'had our usual orthodox dinner, "roast beef & plum pudding" and, our New Zealand addition cherry pie & custards.'⁸⁴ The Lushes were not unusual in their Christmas feasts – they used seasonal

⁸⁰ Vicesimus Lush, 24 December 1851, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder1, AML.

⁸¹ Clarke, pp.46-9.

⁸² Vicesimus Lush, 25 December 1851, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder1, AML.

⁸³ Blanche made the plum pudding from her Great Grandmother's recipe written out by her Grandmother. Lush remarked: 'The good old ladies never dreamt of their puddings & cakes being made a 100 years after at the antipodes.' Vicesimus Lush, 25 December 1852, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder2, AML.

⁸⁴ Vicesimus Lush, 26 December 1873, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder24, AML.

ingredients, readily available throughout most of New Zealand to those with a moderate income.

As well as food, Lush often discussed Christmas weather. The most jarring difference between Christmas in England and New Zealand was the midsummer weather. Settlers found the different seasons troublesome for a variety of reasons (predominantly because harvest occurs in midsummer, meaning people could not take time off over Christmas) but for Lush the difference in weather provided a point of interest.⁸⁵ In 1851, still newly arrived Lush directly compared the weather with that in England: 'I have had great difficulty in realizing that today is the one preceding Christmas Day. So fine – so bright – so hot – like a day in July in England.'⁸⁶ While that was the only time that Lush overtly linked his comments on the weather at Christmas time with England, there is a constant tension between the hot days he described and the Christmas season.

Over time the occasional bad weather became a point of interest for the increasingly acclimatized Lush. He vividly described Christmas 1861 when inclement weather occurred: 'Our festival began happily in the house, but outside the weather was very stormy.'⁸⁷ The drama of the weather was heightened when 'Mr Melrose came to the vestry to inform me that Eliza was dead.'⁸⁸ Lush continues that the sun came out and 'the dear children ... wished there were two or three Christmas days every year.'⁸⁹ The second mention of foul weather on Christmas Day came at the end of Lush's life. After thirty-one years, New Zealand's fine weather at Christmas time had become the norm for Lush.

⁸⁵ Clarke, p.17.

⁸⁶ Vicesimus Lush, 24 December 1851, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder1, AML.

⁸⁷ Vicesimus Lush, 25 December 1861, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder6, AML.

⁸⁸ Vicesimus Lush, 25 December 1861, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder6, AML.

⁸⁹ Vicesimus Lush, 25 December 1861, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder6, AML.

When 1881 brought severe storms (and even snow in parts of Auckland) Lush appeared affronted as ‘the weather was very bad & several of our plans for picnics, excursions & visits came to grief.’⁹⁰ His adaption and acclimatization are evident in the fact that the cold weather he had so greatly desired when first in New Zealand proved frustrating and surprising when it did eventually arrive for his final Christmas.

The changes that took place across thirty-two years to the way the Lush family celebrated Christmas indicate the settlers’ adaptations of British traditions and cultures to New Zealand. Lush’s records of his Christmas days show how he valued and maintained traditions while adapting them to the new environment. Families enjoyed seasonal decorations and large meals. Journals such as Lush’s record personal celebrations over many years and are invaluable in showing how settlers developed a sense of belonging in their new “home” through important family celebrations, using his descriptions to share the events with extended family abroad. Lush’s descriptions of Christmas days over thirty-two years show a development in both his views of the holiday and the changing methods of celebrating the day throughout the country.

Conclusion

Lush’s journals provide insight into how settlers preserved and adapted the traditions and lifestyle of “home,” easing the transition from the old world to the new. They primarily maintained connections with family abroad. Writing about fashioning his garden to resemble the terraces of Ewelme village or enjoying the introduction of English birds to New Zealand gave Lush a tangible connection with the land of his birth and heightened his developing sense of belonging to

⁹⁰ Vicesimus Lush, 1 January 1881, ‘LUSH Family Papers,’ MS780-Box3-Folder18, AML.

New Zealand. Comparisons with, and a desire to return to, England slowly disappeared from Lush's journals, increasingly replaced by descriptions of life in New Zealand as "home". England was still the Lushes' point of reference, the land from which they came and where most of their family still lived. Lush's life centred around his family, both immediate and distant: they provided stability through turbulent years. By focusing on his immediate family (a link that he shared with those in England) and his work, he was able to maintain family connections while recording his family's story. For Lush, communication across the globe provided a means of continuing and fostering relationships as well as maintaining his identity as an Englishman.

For immigrants like the Lushes, moving across the world required more than simply leaving behind familiar landscapes and acquaintances. Lush and Blanche did not expect to return to England quickly, if indeed ever. One vital tie did remain however; correspondence allowed the family to both maintain relationships and continue presenting themselves as British subjects. Indeed, moving to New Zealand in 1850 did not mean a removal of British identity, merely a relocation of place within the Empire. As the years passed he began to associate "home" with his immediate family (predominantly at Ewelme Cottage) rather than with England. As settlers increasingly adapted New Zealand to resemble aspects of British society and landscape, the country took on a distinctly colonial characteristic that was neither British nor Māori.

Lush's purpose in writing the journal was always to maintain connections with England but over time it is possible to discern a subtle shift that took place in Lush's perception of "home". He wrote his first entries from a purely English perspective, as an observer of a new and foreign environment. Over time he became an active participant as the family made a "home" for themselves and

became increasingly familiar with New Zealand. There was nothing exceptional in this process. Settlers' memories of England, expressed in their letters, journals and other writings, became an abstract concept; as Felicity Barnes has argued, "home" and the "mother country" had become a 'cultural production in the present' rather than a continued reality.⁹¹ By his death New Zealand had fully become Lush's reality – where he belonged as a priest, family man and settler.

⁹¹ Felicity Barnes, 'New Zealand's London: The Metropolis and New Zealand's Culture, 1890-1940,' PhD thesis, University of Auckland, 2008, p.5.

Chapter Two: Building the Church

Building the Anglican Church in nineteenth-century New Zealand was a difficult task. Church practices had to adapt to the challenges of colonial life: from amalgamating traditionally opposing factions to making liturgical concessions. Through the nineteenth century, priests and congregations left behind the strict practices of the “Mother Church” as they created a vibrant new establishment in colonies such as New Zealand. Building churches was a significant part of this, as the need for more church buildings drove innovation in overcoming financial obstacles and caused denominations and sectarian factions to come together in worship. The colonial situation also made necessary the continual adaptation of liturgical practices and organizational structures. This chapter considers some of the challenges that priests faced in “building” the Church, as shown by Lush, and explores how he overcame them.

As a respected member of the Auckland diocesan clergy and a parish priest, Lush experienced the process of “building” the Church from both a diocesan and personal perspective. His interpretation of the difficulties that faced the fledgling Church and how he worked to overcome them provides an insight into the everyday workings of the Anglican community in New Zealand between 1850 and 1882. This chapter uses the personal insight that Lush’s journals provide to examine how clergy handled problems caused by insufficient finances and infrastructure. In addition, the more personal (and often temperamental) side of ministry is dealt with: looking at congregational expectations and the need to adapt traditional practices and beliefs. An educated, High Church man, Lush sometimes struggled to make concessions around sacramental practices and to satisfy all factions within congregations. As a friend of Selwyn and a priest, Lush

saw firsthand the successes and failures of attempts to create an official Māori Church. The result of these perspectives combining in Lush's writing is that he provided a commentary on the parochial Anglican Church rather than a commentary on the broader development of the Church (such as the 1857 Constitution).

Lush's thirty-two years of detailed records give good reason for him to have become a frequently quoted source for histories of the Anglican Church in Auckland. Since Alison Drummond's heavily edited version of the Lush manuscripts was published between 1971 and 1982 it has become almost expected for Church historians to quote his writing. W.P. Morrell, Warren E. Limbrick and Allan K. Davidson are but some of the scholars who have used the journals.¹ While Lush is seldom prominent in these works, appearing perhaps two or three times within a book, he is nonetheless present. However, all of these scholars use Lush's words as supporting evidence. Scholars have not, however, usually looked at Lush's journals for what they can offer Church history as a complete manuscript of the life and observations of an unexceptional, but well respected, clergyman.

The Church of the Province of New Zealand

The history of the Church of the Province of New Zealand (the Anglican Church) informs Lush's experiences as a priest in the colony. When Lush arrived in New Zealand in 1850 there had been Anglicans in the country for thirty-six years, both as missionaries and as settlers. Anglican Missionaries first arrived in New Zealand in March 1814. Samuel Marsden, agent for the Church Missionary

¹ Allan K. Davidson, *Selwyn's Legacy: The College of St. John the Evangelist, Te Waimate and Auckland, 1843-1992: A History* (Auckland: The College, 1993); Warren Limbrick, 'Diocesan Genesis: Bishop and Settler Church, 1842-70,' in Allan K. Davidson (ed.), *Living Legacy: A History of the Anglican Diocese of Auckland* (Auckland: Anglican Diocese of Auckland, 2011), pp.50-82; W.P. Morrell, *The Anglican Church in New Zealand* (Dunedin: Anglican Province of New Zealand, 1973).

Society in New South Wales, negotiated with chief Ruatara for three missionaries to have the chief's protection to establish a mission base at Oihi in the Bay of Islands.² Marsden had two goals for the mission and Māori. First, civilization, the accoutrements of British Society and technologies had to be introduced to the indigenous populations. Following the successful introduction of civilization, the mission would teach Māori about Christianity.³ The mission initially struggled to have any sustained impact beyond the small missionary community; only with the 1823 arrival of Henry Williams as head of the Church Missionary Society in New Zealand did significant progress occur. Williams stressed Christianity over civilization and focused on educating Māori.⁴ In July 1827 Henry and his brother William published the first Māori language Bible. Whether it was the word of God that captivated Māori or the promise of literacy, once the Bible permeated Māori society it spread with a rapidity that shocked and excited the Anglican Missionaries. Numbers of Māori converts to Christianity, and specifically Anglicanism, quickly spread throughout New Zealand, with demand for missionaries far exceeding supply.

As European settlers began to arrive in New Zealand the focus of the Anglican community shifted. Missions to Māori took second place to establishing a formal Anglican Church in the colonial situation. Selwyn was sent from England in 1841 as the Bishop of New Zealand in the United Church of England and Ireland. Tensions between Selwyn's High Church position and the Low Church missionaries caused friction throughout his time as Bishop. Despite

² Angela Middleton, 'Silent Voices, Hidden Lives: Archaeology, Class and Gender in the CMS Missions, Bay of Islands, New Zealand, 1814-1845', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, Vol. 11, no. 1, 2007, p.5.

³ Robin Fisher, 'Henry Williams' Leadership of the CMS Mission to New Zealand', *New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol. 9, no. 2, 1975, p.144.

⁴ Fisher, p.144.

these underlying problems, Selwyn worked to define the New Zealand Church as an entity separate from the restrictive Church of England. The Bishop did not forget the work of the missionaries or the need to continue evangelization and teaching among Māori. In conjunction with working to formalize church governance, Selwyn set up St. John's College as an education facility for Māori.

Forming a constitution for the New Zealand Church dominated Selwyn's first fifteen years as Bishop. The need for formalized governance increased as more European settlers arrived and the Anglican community in New Zealand grew. Lush wrote that he wished for the long talked about Constitution so that priests had an 'authority to appeal to in support of any exercise of wholesome discipline it may be necessary to have.'⁵ The need for formalized church governance and authority dominated the conversations of the 1850 meeting of Australasian Bishops in Sydney that Selwyn attended. Debates at the meeting centred around the extent to which the Queen's Supremacy and British Ecclesiastical law operated in Australasia.⁶ William Grant Broughton, Bishop of Sydney and Metropolitan, came to the conference with concerns about the authority and legal institution in colonial church governance; church governance was an important issue for the Bishops and one they debated at length, focusing particularly on Royal Supremacy. The Bishops unanimously agreed that Australasian churches could not adapt the thirty-nine articles, Book of Common Prayer or the authorized version of scripture.⁷ Much of the 1857 Constitution is based upon the agreements reached at this meeting.

⁵ Vicesimus Lush, 9 September 1851, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder1, AML.

⁶ Bruce Kaye, 'The Strange Birth of Anglican Synods in Australia and the 1850 Bishops' Conference,' *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 27, no. 2, 2003, pp.181-2.

⁷ 'The Church of England in Australasia,' *New Zealander*, 28 December 1850, p.3.

The 1857 Constitution gave New Zealand's Anglican Church a degree of autonomy but restricted doctrinal changes. The Constitution aimed to allow the Church in New Zealand to be self-governing, while maintaining the Queen's Supremacy and unity within the Church. Selwyn envisaged a synodical form of government, with three houses – bishops, clergy and laity.⁸ The prohibition of changes to doctrine and sacramental observance proved frustrating for clergy trying to adapt the prayer book (in particular) to make it specific to New Zealand. Twenty years after the Constitution's signing, Bishop Harper wrote in annoyance that 'the Church in New Zealand has no power to make changes in the Authorised Version of the Holy Scriptures, or in the formularies of the Church.'⁹ By structuring the Constitution thus, those who met on June 13 1857 formed the basis of the New Zealand Church under (as Noel Cox phrased it) 'consensual compact rather than legislative enactment.'¹⁰ A further clause was added to this that General Synod could not 'alter, revoke, add to or diminish' the above declaration. Lush did not overtly write about the Constitution's signing or aftermath. His silence on matters pertaining to the Constitution indicates that he had no problems with it – Lush did not shy away from writing critically when unhappy. Instead, he focused on matters of more immediate concern to his ministry, such as financial difficulties.

Financial concerns have plagued the New Zealand Anglican Church from its conception. Settlers expected a financially secure Church when they arrived through the mid-nineteenth century and most struggled to accept that

⁸ Noel Cox, 'An exploration of the basis of legal authority in the Anglican Church in New Zealand,' MA thesis, The Archbishops Examination in Theology, 2004, pp.108-9.

⁹ Henry W. Harper, 'To St. John, Hokitika, July 2nd 1874,' in *Letters from New Zealand 1857-1911: Being Some Account of Life and Work in the Province of Canterbury, South Island* (London: Hugh Rees, 1914) p.179.

¹⁰ Noel Cox, *Church and State in the Post-Colonial Era: The Anglican Church and the Constitution in New Zealand* (Auckland: Polygraphia, 2008) p.97.

endowments, usual in England, were not yet established in New Zealand and varied between dioceses when they were. Struggling to make their way in a new country most Anglicans did not contribute regularly towards clergy stipends. In a letter to Lush before he left England, Selwyn carefully emphasized:

our Laity are by no means rich; nor are they very willing to give even in proportion to their means; and I have no other resources to provide for the augmentation of the income of the clergy but the slow growth of Endowment Funds and the uncertain amount of Contributions in England.¹¹

Selwyn worked with his bishops to establish and build a secure financial base for the fledgling Church. The difficulty in securing sufficient funds worried both bishops and priests as promises of a modest stipend did not guarantee payment.

As the New Zealand Anglican Church looked to establish sustainable funding, the Church in England was confronting the same problem. The Church had long relied on patronage and its established position to finance all aspects of the institution. These endowments (providing at least stipends, living costs and accommodation) were usually linked to a specific location and could not legally be transferred to another locality.¹² However, by the mid-nineteenth century rapid urbanization had caused the redistribution of parishes and an increasing population upset the long established patronage and cathedral focused establishment.¹³ English solutions to funding issues varied; the 1835 Ecclesiastical Commission allowed for the redistribution of funds from Cathedral Chapters to newly established parishes and voluntarism (essentially fund-raising among parishes) supplemented incomes but the Church still relied heavily on

¹¹ George Selwyn, 20 December 1849, 'Selwyn, George Augustus,' MS273-Box3-Folder17, AML.

¹² Trevor Beeson, *The Church of England in Crisis* (London: Davis-Poynter, 1973) p.57.

¹³ Brian Gobbett, 'The Response of the Church of England to Economic and Demographic Change: The Diocese of Chester, 1818-1851,' *Past Imperfect*, Vol. 3, 1994, pp.1-2.

patronage.¹⁴ In New Zealand, Selwyn envisaged a Church free from the excesses of the “Mother Church”: the abuse of private patronage, the sale of spiritual offices and income inequalities.¹⁵ Instead, endowment funds and voluntary contributions would (ideally) provide equal and stable incomes for every parish and diocese.

The New Zealand Anglican Church’s initial lack of parochial endowments presented multiple problems. Most obviously, dioceses could not provide regular salaries without secure investments and income. More worrying, and less predictable, was parishioners’ lack of contribution to their parish’s financial well-being. A “Voluntary Plan” relied on parishioners giving freely to the Church for both tangible and intangible services. The weekly tithe was part of this, as were regular, spontaneous, donations. However, settlers expected trusts to provide clergy, as in England, and did not relish the Church constantly asking them to pay a tithe to cover their clergyman’s salary.

The stability of stipends relied on establishing endowments. At the First General Synod of the Church of the Province of New Zealand (1859) Selwyn outlined four fundamental principles necessary to assure clergy stipends. The most important principle, Selwyn stated, was that endowment funds and voluntary donations should finance clergy stipends.¹⁶ With clear guidance, financial stability slowly increased. Even so, in 1866 at the Province of New

¹⁴ Arthur Burns, *The Diocesan Revival in the Church of England C.1800-1870* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) pp.133, 202.

¹⁵ President’s Address, Wednesday 8 March 1859, ‘First General Synod of the Branch of the United Church of England and Ireland in New Zealand,’ *Reports of General Synod, New Zealand, 1859-1874* (Wellington, 1859) p.8, Kinder Library (St. John’s College), Auckland (hereinafter KL).

¹⁶ Selwyn’s fundamental principles contained four points: 1. Endowments and voluntary contributions paid for clergy maintenance. 2. Clergy incomes were regulated and equitable. 3. If a clergyman received his full income he would give his undivided attention to his appointed work. 4. If a parish did not provide their share of financial support, a clergyman would no longer work exclusively for them. President’s Address, Wednesday 8 March 1859, ‘First General Synod,’ p.11, KL.

Zealand's fifth Synod, Selwyn worried that the Bishopric Endowment Fund remained insufficient to sustain his successors, though the sum raised so far 'judiciously invested in the purchase of land, may form a good beginning of an endowment fund; but it can scarcely be considered a sufficient provision.'¹⁷ These funds were at a diocesan or national, rather than parochial, level so through the 1860s they did little to help the average clergyman's maintenance.

Central to a settlement's establishment were tangible symbols of occupation such as churches, railway stations and schools.¹⁸ For a parish, regular income meant little without the corresponding infrastructure. In small villages or farming communities, churches became a gathering point for families living miles apart, their importance extending beyond simply providing a worship venue. David Hamer credits church spires with guiding visitors towards a town, while simultaneously providing visible evidence of the successful transition of Old World social structures into new situations.¹⁹ Missionaries built churches as visual symbols of Christianity while settlers built churches to also depict their community aspirations. Churches, schools and vicarages were financial burdens on communities but the buildings themselves showed the settlement's wealth. Davidson and Peter J. Lineham have argued that Anglicans (in particular) believed that ornate, well constructed new churches attracted larger congregations and were therefore worthy of large investment.²⁰ These

¹⁷ George Selwyn, 'New Zealand Diocesan Synod,' *Daily Southern Cross*, 19 September 1866, p.3.

¹⁸ David Hamer, 'Towns in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand,' *New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol. 13, no. 1, 1979, p.8.

¹⁹ David Hamer, *New Towns in the New World: Images and Perceptions of the Nineteenth-Century Urban Frontier* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990) pp.190-1,206.

²⁰ Allan K. Davidson and Peter J. Lineham (eds.), *Transplanted Christianity: Documents Illustrating Aspects of New Zealand Church History* (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1989) pp.188-9.

impressive structures provided a constant visual reminder of the community's ambitions: their sense of belonging in New Zealand and their place in its future.

New Zealand's nineteenth-century communities centred around buildings such as churches. Jeanine Graham has argued that even without denominational accord, a strong religious presence shaped communities. Graham points particularly to the goldfields and country communities for their inclusiveness and freedom of worship, asserting that throughout New Zealand settlers worked continually to erect suitable church buildings.²¹ Having a church building was central to clerical ministry, meaning that clergy were also actively involved in building churches. Octavius Hadfield in the 1840s wrote often of building projects. For him, as a missionary, raising churches and school buildings was a vital step towards establishing Christian communities among Māori. Hadfield wrote with pleasure in 1841 that, upon visiting a Māori settlement at Rangitoto, he found 'they had built a new place of worship according to my instructions.'²² Similarly, in 1872 William Pascoe, a young deacon appointed mission curate of Waimate's Anglican parish, wrote with disappointment that no church building existed, a situation that he swiftly remedied.²³ Lush joined with these men in his drive to erect churches in the Waikato and at Thames.

The Anglican Church's physical presence demonstrated the denomination's growth throughout New Zealand. Discussing the New Zealand settler church's

²¹ Jeanine Graham, 'Settler Society', in Geoffrey W. Rice (ed.), *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, 2nd edition (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1992) p.128.

²² Hadfield believed that having a church encouraged Māori to 'have all their thoughts set upon spiritual & heavenly things.' Octavius Hadfield to Miss M. Hadfield, 28 July, 1841, Micro-MS-0202 reel 2, ATL.

²³ Ordained in January 1871, Pascoe had plans to erect a church on Augustine Street in Waimate by June. Funds came slowly but by August 1872 the foundation stone was laid and construction begun. Bishop Harper consecrated St. Augustine's on May 4 1873. W.A. Pascoe, 'Ashburton, August 22, 1872,' in *Mission Life; or Home and foreign church work*, Vol. III, 1877, p. 107.; Rev. L.E. Cartridge and Ll. D. Kenyon, *The Anglican Church in Waimate, 1844-1972* (Waimate: St. Augustine's Centennial Committee, 1972) pp.9-10.

expansion and identity, Noel Derbyshire has described church buildings using sacramental terminology: an 'outward and visible sign' of Anglican presence in the community.²⁴ By doing so, Derbyshire has highlighted the importance of church buildings to nineteenth-century settlers and the Anglican Church. The rapid growth in the number of Anglican churches also demonstrates their importance: from 51 in 1860 to 319 by 1891.²⁵ The Province of New Zealand believed that the first step in forming a parish was 'to erect a Church, and to contribute to the support of a Clergyman.'²⁶ While Lush's journals do not clearly show whether he subscribed to this view, his active involvement in building churches was likely in fulfillment of an unspoken obligation to build successful parishes and ensure the 'outward and visible' presence of the Church.

Lush's journals also provide observations and records of the strengthening of the emerging Māori Church, as distinct from the settler Church. In particular, Lush recorded Selwyn's activities. Selwyn was well known for his work among indigenous peoples. He first opened St. John's College in Auckland as an educational facility for ministry in both the settler and Māori churches, preparing men for ordination. Selwyn's own background at Eton and Cambridge caused him to believe that only men with a university education should be considered for ordination. Recognising that such an education was beyond the reach of many deserving but poor men, Selwyn envisaged the establishment of cathedral schools that would recruit from the poor classes (including Māori).²⁷ St. John's College was an amalgam of this dream and Selwyn's conviction that the Church

²⁴ Noel William Derbyshire, *"The English Church" Revisited, Issues of Expansion and Identity in a Settler Church: The Anglican Church in New Zealand, 1891-1945*, MA thesis, Massey University, 2006, p.46.

²⁵ Derbyshire, p.11.

²⁶ Statute for Regulating the Formation of Parishes and Defining Duties of Parish Officers, 'First General Synod,' p.86, KL.

²⁷ Davidson, *Selwyn's Legacy*, p.12.

existed to guard 'the morale, education and morals of the country'; education was key, especially for Māori.²⁸ He firmly believed that a Church with educated native clergy was paramount for New Zealand. As a respected member of the Auckland Diocese, Lush recorded many of the events surrounding the establishment of a Māori Church, particularly those instigated by Selwyn.

Funding and Building a Parish

Financial instability perpetually challenged the Church and therefore Lush. Selwyn put many measures in place to improve the New Zealand Anglican Church's financial situation but these took time to have much effect within parishes. Although Lush had personal investments that assured his family did not starve, he still relied on receiving his promised income to live comfortably. The instability of his salary and the problems this caused him, both personally and within his parishes, appear constantly throughout his journals. As part of church "building," establishing a stable financial base was paramount to success and one of the more difficult challenges to overcome. Lush arrived at Howick in the initial years of the Anglican Church's official establishment in New Zealand and he witnessed the struggles that parishioners and clergy alike faced to adapt to the need for congregational donations to supplement Church finances. The unreliability of vestries' paying of salaries was more problematical in Lush's early years in New Zealand than once he had arrived at Thames.

Lush's Auckland journals show that parishioners struggled to adjust to their financial obligations. Selwyn expected the Howick parish to contribute £70 through voluntary donations towards Lush's £170 annual salary. In 1857 Lush still hoped his parishioners would 'get better accustomed to the Voluntary Plan &

²⁸ K.N. Booth, 'The Founding of St. John's College,' in Warren Limbrick (ed.), *Bishop Selwyn in New Zealand, 1841-68* (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1983) p.58.

pay their subscriptions as a matter of course – as a duty: few I fear will pay as a privilege.’²⁹ When Howick failed to pay for Lush, Selwyn instructed him (in accordance with his fourth principle of clergy maintenance) to attend two other parishes once a month instead of Howick. Parishioners, Lush wrote, ‘seemed surprised but as they dont or wont pay anything to the Clergyman they must not grumble if he occasionally goes elsewhere.’³⁰ In Howick, as elsewhere, parishioners accustomed to the English patronage system disliked the Voluntary Plan. Colin Brown has argued that in the Christchurch Diocese colonists resented paying for church buildings and stipends as they expected them to be provided.³¹ Christchurch Anglicans had some justification for their expectations as Christchurch had been conceived as a church based settlement. Auckland (and Howick) were not, so residents there had less cause for indignation at the lack of Church infrastructure.

Although he often complained about money matters, there were issues of far greater importance to Lush. He put moral and ethical beliefs before pleasing the local parishioners who contributed towards his salary, thereby making things more difficult for himself. The resident magistrate, Captain C.H.M. Smith, paid a substantial part of Lush’s stipend. Without the Captain’s £50 annual contribution Howick parish could not afford a full time priest. Despite this, Lush was not afraid to incur Smith’s wrath for the good of other parishioners. A large portion of the Howick congregation were military pensioners, known as the “fencibles”,

²⁹ Vicesimus Lush, 20 July 1857, ‘LUSH Family Papers,’ MS780-Box3-Folder5, AML. Original emphasis.

³⁰ Vicesimus Lush, 11 April 1859, ‘LUSH Family Papers,’ MS780-Box3-Folder5, AML.

³¹ Colin Brown, ““We Should Settle in New Zealand”: H.J.C. Harper, Colonist and Bishop,’ in Brown, Peters and Teal (eds.), p.62.

for whom the settlement was first established.³² The fencibles exhibited a penchant for alcohol and drunkenness – which Alan La Roche blames for their own financial struggles.³³ Lush disapproved of both alehouses and “wasting” money. In 1853 he fought to stop the opening of a second public house in Howick village. He particularly hoped that Captain Smith ‘as resident Magistrate, would oppose the opening of another Public House.’³⁴ However, Smith supported the proposal. While Lush recorded no negative response from Smith on this occasion, the previous year Smith had threatened to withdraw his financial support of the vicar’s salary after Lush reappointed a schoolmaster whom Smith had rejected.³⁵ Considering the parish’s frequent inability to meet Lush’s salary, it was a testament to his character that he opposed Smith this second time.

The irregular payment of his salary became more problematic for Lush in the later Howick years. Gold finds, on top of poor harvests and labour shortages, increased staple food prices, endangering the wealth of all – priests included. The Lushes survived lean years by relying on their land for food and minimal revenue. Not everyone had their independent means. In 1858 a colleague, Arthur Guyon Purchas, informed Lush he would leave New Zealand if his parish

³² Selection criteria for the fencibles was very strict: men had to be under 45 years old, have served at least 15 years in the British military forces and be over 5ft 5inches tall. Fencibles received free passage (family included) to New Zealand and an advance on their pension before departure. In New Zealand they received paid work for a year and a two room cottage with an acre of land, which they owned after seven years of service. In return, the men formed a home guard (as a defense against potential Māori unrest). Ruth Alexander, ‘Who Were the Fencibles?’, *The Royal New Zealand Fencibles, 1847-1852* (Auckland: New Zealand Fencible Society, 1997) pp.7-9.

³³ Alan La Roche, ‘Howick,’ *The Royal New Zealand Fencibles* (Auckland: New Zealand Fencible Society, 1997) p.67.

³⁴ Vicesimus Lush, 10 April, 1853, ‘LUSH Family Papers,’ MS780-Box3-Folder3, AML.

³⁵ Vicesimus Lush, 3 April 1852, ‘LUSH Family Papers,’ MS780-Box3-Folder2, AML.

could not pay him as he could no longer survive without an income.³⁶ Meanwhile, Lush's salary remained elusive: 'Here is just the end of March and no sign of any salary from my people. What a state I should be in were I wholly dependent on them!'³⁷ Lush's wry sense of humour gave way to frustration over time: 'the deficiency in my salary ... has just been paid into Archdeaconry fund. (5 months! after the time).'³⁸ Despite his private holdings the need for a stable salary caused Lush to leave Howick for the (supposedly) guaranteed financial stability of the Waikato.

Howick was not the only parish reluctant to pay its priest. The 1868 General Synod passed a motion to amend the statute for the 'Formation of Parishes and Defining the Duties of Parish Officers,' adding a clause for the 'Disestablishment of Parishes.'³⁹ This clause stated that if a parish had not paid their minister's salary for two years and the vestry reported to the Diocesan Synod that the salary could not be paid, then that parish would be disestablished and become a subsidiary of another that could provide for a clergyman. The statute for the Formation of Parishes' tenth clause illustrates that inconsistent clergy salaries were problematic throughout New Zealand.

Lush moved parishes in search of a stable stipend. In 1864 he recorded that Howick had failed to pay £44.5.11 of his salary – no insignificant sum when his annual income was £170.⁴⁰ In reaction, he accepted the position of itinerant priest

³⁶ Purchas did not act on his assertion that he would have to leave; he remained at St. Peter's, Onehunga, until 1875 when, lacking an adequate stipend, he returned to the medical field as a general practitioner. Vicesimus Lush, 7 April 1858, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder5, AML; Limbrick, 'Diocesan Genesis,' p.61.

³⁷ Vicesimus Lush, 27 March 1858, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder5, AML.

³⁸ Vicesimus Lush, 24 November 1864, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder9, AML.

³⁹ Tuesday 6 October 1868, 'Proceedings of the Fourth General Synod of the Branch of the United Church of England and Ireland in New Zealand,' *Reports of General Synod, New Zealand, 1859-74* (Auckland, 1868), pp.18-19, KL.

⁴⁰ According to church policy by 1864 Lush could have claimed up to £300 per annum. Vicesimus Lush, 24 November 1864, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder9, AML.

in the Waikato. The post guaranteed £200 paid by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Home Missions Fund.⁴¹ In 1868, when the two missionary societies withdrew their financial support, Lush again moved, looking for security, this time to the new parish at Thames.⁴² The position meant less travel and an income of £250 per annum but also required leaving his family in Parnell.

Colonial clergy were often required to work in isolated and poorly equipped positions. Lush found himself in just such a situation while in the Waikato. Although he accepted the position for the guaranteed stipend, the living and working conditions in which he found himself were, in his opinion, barely adequate. Away from his family in Parnell for three of every four weeks, Lush based his travels around the Bishop's small residence in Drury. The house provided the essentials, giving little comfort to the lonely and often exhausted priest. 'Dreary Drury' Lush called the town, and with an ironic affection he named his house 'the hermitage.' Frequently travelling for many days Lush relied on settlers' hospitality which, though willingly offered, was not always conveniently situated. Lush regularly found himself travelling for hours through pouring rain, going hungry, or sleeping on a hard wood floor; all for a stable income.

To combat perpetual financial instability many clergy had personal investments. The Lushes relied heavily on the land they purchased, particularly while at Howick. A combination of inheritance from his father and borrowed money enabled Vicesimus to purchase a farm of 500 acres.⁴³ In addition to the

⁴¹ Vicesimus Lush, 1 November 1868, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder16, AML.

⁴² The new position still did not provide the financial stability Lush desired and on 1 July 1870 he despaired as he 'Went as usual to the Treasurer of the Church to get a cheque from him for my last months services – but there were "no funds" – I am literally without a penny.' Vicesimus Lush, 1 July 1870, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder21, AML.

⁴³ Vicesimus Lush, 19 May 1853, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder3, AML.

land the Lushes possessed, once the Thames gold rush took hold they purchased mine shares. Before moving to Thames Lush had bought shares in the Freeman's Bay Company and the Caledonian, borrowing £100 to do so. He purchased the shares because he was 'anxious to try a venture in the Thames gold field and purpose buying shares in two Companies.'⁴⁴ Blanche also owned shares – in the (Thames) Shotover Mine and another, unspecified, claim.⁴⁵ Lush's mining investments proved profitable, paying dividends enough to build a family house and to pay for Edward to attend the Church of England Grammar School in Auckland, then Cambridge University in England.⁴⁶ Lush's stipend by 1870 was fairly stable but the Thames parish did not provide accommodation suitable for a family so in May 1871 Lush used mine dividends to buy three allotments near the church site for a family house. By the 1870s the Anglican Church's financial position had improved but not sufficiently to fully provide for all clergy and their families.

One way that the New Zealand Church attempted to provide financial security for clergy was by establishing a Clerical Pension Fund. Clergy contributed £2 per annum and the fund provided for retired or invalid priests and clergy widows and orphans.⁴⁷ Although Selwyn officially commenced the fund at Synod in 1861, Lush first became aware of the possibility of an insurance scheme in 1862 when 'Mr Heywood ... showed me a plan that the Bishop had just matured for establishing a Church Insurance company.'⁴⁸ In the General Synod

⁴⁴ Vicesimus Lush, 11 August 1868, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder16, AML.

⁴⁵ Vicesimus Lush, 6 June 1870, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder21, AML.

⁴⁶ Lush's most profitable investment, the Caledonian Company, cost him £50 for 8 shares (£8.6.8 per share) on August 31 1868. By March 1871 he had made £355 (the majority of that since the previous December). Vicesimus Lush, 31 August 1868, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder16, AML

⁴⁷ Limbrick, 'Diocesan Genesis,' p.60.

⁴⁸ Vicesimus Lush, 21 November 1862, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder6, AML.

of 1868 (which Lush attended) the pension fund's success was noted, in particular the fire and life insurance policies.⁴⁹ However, in 1882 Annette Lush was not convinced that the pension dividends were worth what Lush had invested: 'Got a letter from Mr Cockrane secretary to the Diocese, containing an application for the pension fund to be filled up by Mother. It will be only 15£ this year. Papa subscribed to it for a long time.'⁵⁰ While Annette did not overtly criticize the promised amount, this concise account is noticeably different from her usual ebullient style. The Clerical Pension Fund had limited success in providing financial security for priests but parishioners slowly grew accustomed to supporting clergy themselves rather than relying on the diocese.

Funding a priest was not the only challenge that parishes faced and throughout New Zealand settlers and priests strove to build congregations and churches. Lush was very involved in church construction and usually had a project underway. He showed more motivation in fundraising for building projects than for his salary and successfully managed to overcome all hurdles and see to completion two beautiful wooden churches.

Building a church took more than just a physical construction, however. Building the church community was as important to Lush as building the church. Without people a church building is useless. Settlers commonly formed stable communities before constructing a house of worship. A completed church building did not mean that the job was finished. Shortly after arriving in Howick in 1848 Reverend F. Fisher (Howick's first Anglican vicar) wrote that, while the church building met the small settlement's current needs, he hoped 'the numbers be increased manifold, until the recent building ... is much too small for the

⁴⁹ President's Address, Monday 5 October 1868, 'Fourth General Synod,' p.10, KL.

⁵⁰ Annette Lush, 16 August 1882, 'Papers relating to the Lush family,' MS1424, AML.

congregation.⁵¹ The congregation – a church's most important component – did outgrow the original building.

Church attendance was a constant topic in Lush's Auckland journals. More than purely numbers, congregational attendance symbolized Lush's ability as a priest: his success in growing the church and bringing together disparate groups of Christians thrown together by circumstance rather than choosing. When congregation numbers declined Lush grew despondent. Later he would seem hopeful that they were rising again. These fluctuations aside, by 1861 plans existed to extend the small church:

The font will be removed from the east end to the west: a south aisle will be added to the nave & continued along the south side of the chancel, which portion of the aisle will form a vestry, and a clergyman's family seat: where the font now stands a lectern will be placed.⁵²

Under Lush's care and tireless work Fisher's earlier hope was realized.

One of the most troublesome challenges Lush faced was to reconcile the various factions within his congregations. Conflict between exponents of High and Low Church Anglicanism frequently caused problems within congregations. In New Zealand's early settler Anglican Church those who embraced High Anglicanism's trappings were constantly at odds with Low Church settlers for whom ornamentation and ritual resembled Catholicism's ornate traditions. Scholars differ over the origins of the New Zealand Church's Low Church preference. Davidson attributes it to an extension of long-standing tensions

⁵¹ Fisher continued: 'A small church overflowing with people who feel the need of greater church accommodation ... is far better than the largest and most splendid cathedral not half filled.' Reverend F. Fisher, *Colonial Church Chronicles and Missionary Journal*, Vol.4, July 1848 – June 1849, p.183, in Alan La Roche, *The History of Howick and Pakuranga: Whitford, Bucklands and Eastern Beaches and Surrounding Districts* (Auckland: Howick & Districts Historical Society, 1991) p.80.

⁵² Vicesimus Lush, 9 January 1861, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder36 AML.

between Protestants and Roman Catholics in Britain.⁵³ In New Zealand, many clergy and congregations fostered suspicions towards High Church Anglicanism and the Oxford Movement.⁵⁴ Contrastingly, Donald Akenson has argued that New Zealand's disposition towards Low Church Anglicanism came from the 'evangelically oriented, liturgically sombre' Protestant Irish.⁵⁵ Lush's journals tend to support Akenson's argument as he frequently discussed the tensions caused by Irish congregants.

Lush was a supporter of Selwyn and both men encountered criticism for their High Church tendencies, Selwyn far more than Lush. It is unclear how much Lush adhered to the Oxford Movement but he certainly supported some of their milder policies – he demonstrated a distinct penchant for ornamentation. Members of Selwyn's clergy often criticized the Bishop's love of ritual and use of "papist" symbology. Frequently accused of "Puseyism," Selwyn upset Evangelicals by introducing candles and crosses on the altar.⁵⁶ However, he denied any tendency towards Puseyism or sympathies with the Tractarian movement saying 'I have no other desire in my heart. than ... to follow the example of my Saviour & Master in the path in which I believe the Church of England teaches us to follow him.'⁵⁷ Selwyn also suffered criticism from the

⁵³ Allan K. Davidson, *Christianity in Aotearoa: A History of Church and State in New Zealand* (Wellington: Education for Ministry, 2004) p.85.

⁵⁴ The Oxford, or Tractarian, Movement emerged in the 1830s. Led by John Newman, Hurrell Froude, John Keble and Edward Pusey, the movement helped to define High-Church Anglicanism as a separate entity from Low-Church, particularly in the Anglo-Catholic hagiography. For more information see: Josef L. Altholz, 'The Tractarian Moment: The Incidental Origins of the Oxford Movement,' *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, Vol. 26, no. 2, 1994, pp.273-88; C. Brad Faught, *The Oxford Movement: A Thematic History of the Tractarians and Their Times* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003).

⁵⁵ Donald Harman Akenson, *Irish Diaspora: A Primer* (Toronto: P.D. Meany Co., 1993) p.148.

⁵⁶ Puseyism referred to Edward Bouverie Pusey, one of the leaders of the Oxford Movement. Puseyism and Tractarian are essentially synonymous.

⁵⁷ George Selwyn to A.N. Brown, 6 February 1847, p.2, MS756, ATL, in Davidson and Lineham (eds.), *Transplanted Christianity*, p.110.

Anglican missionaries who were predominantly Low Church and railed against Selwyn's High Anglican theology. Lush's alliance to Selwyn and High Church tendencies made some of his congregations wary of his theology, challenging his attempts to build parish communities.

Lush's Thames congregation provided the greatest challenge to reconciling High and Low Church opinions. The large numbers of Protestant (Anglican) Irish proved themselves a vocal and demanding group. They made their presence felt in both church and community as their enmity was shaped around Irish nationalism as much as religion. Twice Lush recorded problems raised by Fenian and Orange factions meeting. First, in November 1869 'the Roman Catholic Bishop of Melbourne came in the Steamer this afternoon & there was a fight between the Orangemen & the Fenians.'⁵⁸ The following year when Bishop Cowie visited Thames, Lush 'feared lest there should be raised by some "fenian" some remark disparaging to our Bp. or Church when I knew there were "Orange men" present who would resent it at once.'⁵⁹ These two entries show that friction between High and Low Church (especially in the Irish factions) caused problems within the community at large, as did denominational discord. Though both instances were sparked by a Bishop's visit, their (potential) impact was a secular one. As a local priest, Lush could minimize friction by compromising, though he himself was also always in danger of criticism or having his actions cause a schism.

Despite their vocal presence it was not the Irish Protestants who first complained about liturgy. Shortly after Lush arrived in Thames an unnamed man approached him to complain that services were unattractive. Though Lush

⁵⁸ Vicesimus Lush, 12 November 1869, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder20, AML.

⁵⁹ Vicesimus Lush, 16 March 1870, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder21, AML.

did not use the phrase “High Church” this man clearly desired a more Anglo-Catholic feel to services at St George’s: ‘he wanted to see the choir in surplices – to have candles on the Altar – and to have the prayers intoned.’⁶⁰ Lush responded that to do so would instantly form a schism as the Irish would not stand the presence of candles, let alone intoning of the liturgy. Lush was right to hesitate about using more High Church practices. In 1869 the Dunedin Diocese rejected H.L. Jenner as Bishop because they feared his Anglo-Catholic sympathies.⁶¹ Similarly, in 1876 H.E. Carlyon was charged for introducing ritualistic practices into the liturgy in opposition to the New Zealand Church’s position. He was accused of idolatry – a charge against which Bishop H.J.C. Harper defended him.⁶² It is intriguing, considering the very real actions that were taken against clergy who tended too far towards Anglo-Catholicism, that Lush was requested to increase the ceremony and trappings in his church. This one event was, however, the only time Lush recorded being asked for more rather than for less.

As a clergyman and well known community figure, Lush faced the difficulty of trying to please the majority of his parishioners most of the time. The diversity of his parish meant that pleasing all was not possible. Lush presumably displeased members of his congregations often but two instances captured his imagination as worth retelling. The first shows Lush’s desire to keep potential schisms at bay rather than an actual occurrence. In 1871 the original, small church of St. George received a new chair and bench. Lush commented to his family that he hoped all admired the additions ‘though there is

⁶⁰ Vicesimus Lush, 6 February 1869, ‘LUSH Family Papers,’ MS780-Box3-Folder20, AML.

⁶¹ Davidson, *Christianity in Aotearoa*, p.92.

⁶² H.J.C. Harper, *A letter from the Bishop of Christchurch to the Church Wardens and Vestrymen of the Parish of Kaiapoi*, Christchurch, 1876, pp.3-4, in Davidson and Lineham (eds.), pp.194-5.

no calculating on the caprices of the Low Church Irish party.’⁶³ In this rather worried comment, Lush succinctly summarized the ongoing problem that the Thames parish faced: there was no telling when the Low Church Irish would object to an intended improvement to furnishings or liturgy. Then, in 1880 Lush described with amusement and indignation a letter he received:

On the 18 April I preached a sermon, not longer than 20 minutes and on the next day received by post the following “ ... Please cut your ebullitions of oratory (?) short in future. You talk such twaddle the less we have of it the better. Vox Populi.”⁶⁴

In the face of such exacting and diverse desires from his congregations, Lush had little choice but try to avoid upsetting any one faction too much and hope for the best. He was not the first clergyman to find himself in such a situation, nor would he be the last.

While dealing with congregational factions and building community, Lush also invested time and money into building new churches. In the Waikato, Lush was involved with building St. Peter’s in the Forest at Bombay (near Pukekohe). He gave no indication of when or why he embarked on the project. The motivation behind St. Peter’s possibly came from Lush’s experiences as an itinerant priest, seeing the diversity of people in the Waikato and the relative poverty of most. The small settlements could neither support a permanent priest nor afford to build churches. Instead, settlers travelled many miles through difficult situations to attend a church the one day a month Lush was present. One mother, wanting her child baptized, had ‘walked 6 miles through the forest in order to meet me this Sunday morning: she heard it was my day to be at Mauku ... she had been several times up to her knees in water while traversing

⁶³ Vicesimus Lush, 11 April 1871, ‘LUSH Family Papers,’ MS780-Box3-Folder22, AML.

⁶⁴ Vicesimus Lush, 20 May 1880, ‘LUSH Family Papers,’ MS780-Box3-Folder17, AML.

the forest.’⁶⁵ By building St. Peter’s Lush helped diminish the distance country settlers travelled to worship.

Raising sufficient funds to construct and furnish St. Peter’s proved difficult. Funding predominantly came from individual donations and bequests, though Lush recorded spending time in Auckland ‘on a begging tour ... but had very poor success, netting only £2.11.0.’⁶⁶ With parishioners unable to afford the building themselves, Lush undertook much of the financial burden. He did not record exactly how much he paid but at the very least he contributed a reading desk and Communion table.⁶⁷ St. Peter’s was so important to Lush that he personally invested in it, even stating that if his goldmine shares proved lucrative he would ‘finish building St Peters in the Forest – endow it with 200£ a year & then return to England for a season.’⁶⁸ Despite difficulties involved with building a church without an established parish, Lush completed St. Peter’s by late 1867, finishing construction with an outstanding debt of only £33.⁶⁹ The church still stands today, a visible testament to Lush’s contribution to New Zealand.

Lush’s second large building project also still stands and houses a thriving congregation. St. George’s in Thames is perhaps Lush’s finest legacy. The beautiful Gothic-style building has survived Thames’ changes over nearly 150 years, as has the Lushes’ house across the road. When building St. George’s, Vicesimus followed church building patterns seen throughout New Zealand. A

⁶⁵ Vicesimus Lush, 7 July 1867, ‘LUSH Family Papers,’ MS780-Box3-Folder13, AML.

⁶⁶ Vicesimus Lush, 26 September 1867, ‘LUSH Family Papers,’ MS780-Box3-Folder14, AML.

⁶⁷ Vicesimus Lush, 27 July 1867, ‘LUSH Family Papers,’ MS780-Box3-Folder14, AML.

⁶⁸ Lush wrote this after hearing that the Goodalls (Thames parishioners) received £8000 per annum in dividends for their Gold Crown shares. Vicesimus Lush, 28 November 1868, ‘LUSH Family Papers,’ MS780-Box3-Folder20, AML. Original emphasis.

⁶⁹ Only £13 was urgently owed as Lush had secured a one year £20 loan from a Mr Kempthorne. Vicesimus Lush, 21 November 1867, ‘LUSH Family Papers,’ MS780-Box3-Folder14, AML.

small, essentially temporary structure was initially erected for the newly formed mining settlements at Thames in 1865. When Lush arrived three years later the church was too small for the parish's needs so plans were drawn for a larger building. It took two attempts but Lush successfully oversaw the project's completion.⁷⁰

When writing about St. George's construction, Lush continually referred to financial difficulties. Although there were regular patrons (one of the most reliable was the local chief, Wiroke Hotereni Taipari, who gave £5 twice a year)⁷¹ their donations barely covered regular running costs, let alone financing a new building. The new church cost a projected £1,100 so raising money permeated the activities of the whole Lush family for some time.⁷² As bequests were largely unforthcoming the community had to fundraise. The parish held concerts, threw parties, and made constant patronage requests. In particular, a soirée held in April 1871 raised nearly £125 in a single evening.⁷³ Funds accumulated slowly, helped by a few large donations (including £50 from Lush to begin the fundraising).⁷⁴ Raising funds, especially asking for specific donations, brought to light parishioners' personalities and factions – particularly, one couple's fickle desire to live close to the church. Lush bitterly recounted that: 'Mrs [Goodall] said they would give £1 (!!!) towards the Church: if, she added, the site had been where Mr G. wished, our gift would have been £50 – "If" indeed!'⁷⁵ Offsetting

⁷⁰ A violent storm blew down the new church on March 24 1871. This severely set back the project as a new site and more money were needed before construction began again. Vicesimus Lush, 24 March 1871, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder22, AML.

⁷¹ Vicesimus Lush, 17 June 1869, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder20, AML.

⁷² After receiving nine tenders to construct the new church (ranging from £2465.0.0 to £979.0.0) the bid of a Mr Cole was chosen. Vicesimus Lush, 14, 19 August 1871, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder22, AML.

⁷³ Vicesimus Lush, 18 April 1871, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder22, AML.

⁷⁴ Vicesimus Lush, 18 April 1871, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder22, AML.

⁷⁵ Vicesimus Lush, 1 May 1871, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder22, AML.

Mrs Goodall's niggardly declaration Lush recorded unexpected generosity from those least able, such as an anonymous envelope that arrived containing a £1 donation 'to be devoted towards the building of the new English Church, as a small thank offering to a kind Providence for having given me steady work.'⁷⁶ St. George's was finally opened in 1872 and Lush's last large-scale building project was completed.

By constructing churches and building congregation numbers, Lush adhered to the Anglican Diocesan policy of his day. For a parish to be granted a full-time clergyman they needed to have a 'suitable church, a vicarage or residence for the vicar, and a stipend of not less than £250 per annum.'⁷⁷ Building churches had more meaning than simply providing a place of worship for the congregation. While never easy, fundraising for church buildings tended to be more successful than trying to raise a clergy stipend – possibly because erecting a church produced tangible results for a community. More than this, they represented a cause for which disparate groups might come together. High and Low Church Anglicans found themselves worshipping under one roof, albeit with frequent aversion to each other.

Adapting to “Build”

The absence of churches and the challenges of colonial living caused Lush and his contemporaries to adapt liturgical practice. Clergymen such as Lush were not the first to be creative with liturgical traditions in New Zealand. In the 1830s Henry Williams and other Anglican missionaries found themselves under pressure from England to increase Māori convert numbers. James Belich

⁷⁶ Vicesimus Lush, 10 November 1869, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder20, AML.

⁷⁷ W.N. de L. Willis (ed.), *A Digest of Ecclesiastical Law, Etc.: In Force in the Diocese of Auckland* (Auckland: Wilson & Horton, 1908) p.263.

attributed a sudden leap in numbers of Māori converts partly to this pressure: missionaries relaxed their standards of required theological knowledge to allow more baptisms.⁷⁸ Baptism among European settlers also required adaptation; Lush's journals demonstrate how the absence of suitable churches led to uncanonical practices such as open air baptisms. He only mentioned such sacramental compromises while in the Waikato where there were few established settler communities, supporting the suggestion that in Anglican settler communities a lack of church buildings, rather than inclination, caused adaptations in sacramental practices.

Lush frequently wrote about the difficulties he faced in building and sustaining communities. He seldom wrote down his thoughts on theological matters, instead using his journal to record events of anecdotal significance. Lush looked to his brother Alfred, also a priest, for sympathy when he had to make liturgical compromises. 'Had my usual 3 full services yesterday: with a marriage after a fashion that Alfred would no doubt deem highly irregular.'⁷⁹ The ceremony was a departure from tradition for the conservative clergyman – it was held in a raupo hut, with no banns or license, and Lush without his cassock or surplice. Alfred was (as Lush feared) 'shocked at [Vicesimus'] irregularities' such as holding a wedding at 'the uncanonical hour of one o'clock,' though he did not blame Lush so much as the New Zealand situation.⁸⁰ When facing a sacramental mistake made by a colleague in England, Alfred reflected that the Church was changing:

⁷⁸ Belich places more emphasis on the death of Hongi Hika and subsequent spread of the Christian message by Māori themselves than the European missionaries' change in attitude. However, Anglican missionaries did relax the required education level and baptized uneducated Māori. James Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders: From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century* (North Shore: Penguin, 2007) p.167.

⁷⁹ Vicesimus Lush, 21 May 1866, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder11, AML.

⁸⁰ Vicesimus Lush, 12 October 1867, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder14, AML.

Time was ... that we were found fault with for insisting on Baptisms after the second lesson. And I should fancy that you in New Zealand have not been very strict in obeying rubricks. Do you not indulge your people to be frequently marrying them at uncanonical hours? & not between 8 & 12 as ordered by our Canon I.XII?⁸¹

Alfred showed sympathy with Lush for the necessary adaptation of sacraments but also dismay that the Canon should be ignored when difficulties arose. Lush was of course not the only priest to act outside canonical traditions when performing the sacraments. Even Selwyn frequently married couples without banns or outside the canonical hours as their colonial situation forced (or perhaps allowed) all priests to make adaptations.

Baptism, as a sacramental entry into the Church, was an essential element in Church “building”. Lush more frequently recorded unusual baptisms than marriages. He met many un-baptized babies as he travelled throughout the Waikato and the urgency of baptism kept it foremost in his mind. The need to baptize before children died propelled Lush to perform the sacrament in unconventional situations:

[At Maketu] went in a half finished School-room and there met a small party who had brought three infants to be baptized: after the Service I walked about two miles to a cottage, where in the open air but under the shadow of some *nikaus*, I baptized two more infants. On returning to the half-finished School-house I found another party waiting for me with two more infants.⁸²

Despite his initial wariness of unconventional baptisms Lush quickly adapted to the impromptu ceremonies. By the following year baptisms were merely part of a day’s work: ‘had dinner & then baptized a baby.’⁸³ The contrast between these

⁸¹ Alfred Lush, 2 January 1878, ‘LUSH Family Papers,’ MS780-Box4-Folder47, AML.

⁸² Vicesimus Lush, 9 March 1866, in Alison Drummond (ed.), *The Waikato Journals of Vicesimus Lush 1864-8, 1881-2* (Christchurch: Pegasus, 1982) p.68. Original emphasis.

⁸³ Vicesimus Lush, 15 March 1867, ‘LUSH Family Papers,’ MS780-Box3-Folder13, AML.

two examples shows a definite shift within Lush's approach to baptism. He recognized the need for baptism in the Waikato's frontier situation and accepted that performing the sacrament was more important than the location or time in which it occurred.

Adapting the sacraments challenged settler clergy but much larger changes were needed to form the Anglican Church in New Zealand. From their arrival, missionaries had been challenged to leave behind their preconceptions of liturgy, doctrine and Church structure when bringing the Gospel to Māori.⁸⁴ They had worked to amalgamate sacramental and Gospel traditions with Māori customs.⁸⁵ As the settler Church was established, the need for a Māori Church became more necessary. Māori education and ordination were highly contentious issues. With increasing numbers of indigenous ordinands under the Church Missionary Society in Africa and India, New Zealand (and Selwyn) was criticized for the small number of ordained Māori ministers by the late 1860s.⁸⁶ Selwyn's strict education policy was partially blamed, as was a general lack of training for potential ordinands. When he first arrived in New Zealand, Lush was cynical about the chances of Māori survival in the face of European immigration but by the 1870s he believed that 'a native ministry is beyond all doubt the right thing to establish in all these islands, as quickly as practicable: it is the secret of the

⁸⁴ New Zealand was not alone in challenging clergy to leave behind their preconceptions and adapt to the situation at hand. Missionaries in Kwazulu-Natal adapted their theology in Biblical and liturgical translations to engage with Zulu worship. Similarly, Jesuit missionaries in the Rocky Mountains made theological adaptations to facilitate learning and conversion. Norman Etherington, 'Outward and Visible Signs of Conversion in Nineteenth-Century Kwazulu-Natal,' *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 32, 4, 2002, pp.422-93; Gerald McKevitt, 'The Art of Conversion: Jesuits and Flatheads in Nineteenth-Century Montana,' *U.S. Catholic Historian*, 12, 4, 1994, pp.49-64; Charles W. Forman, 'The South Pacific Style in the Christian Ministry,' *Missiology: An International Review*, Vol. 2, no. 4, 1974, pp.421-35.

⁸⁵ One of the most vivid examples of this was when Bishop Pompallier amalgamated the legendary Māori character Maui with Christian mythology when he supposedly told members of Ngai Tahu that Maui's wife was the Virgin Mary. Belich, *Making Peoples*, p.219.

⁸⁶ Raeburn Lange, 'Ordained Ministry in Maori Christianity, 1853-1900,' *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 27, no. 1, 2003, p.58.

marked success which is attending the Melanesian mission.⁸⁷ The establishment of an Anglican Māori ministry, with Māori ordinands, occurred slowly but compared to other denominations (especially Roman Catholic) took place swiftly and efficiently.⁸⁸

Lush frequently wrote about Māori education and ordination within the Church as a witness rather than a participant. In particular, his journals record St. John's College as a resource for Māori students and its reinvention 'after the English model.'⁸⁹ Established by Selwyn in 1842 as a Māori education facility at Te Waimate, St. John's College moved to its current site in Auckland in 1844. However, by 1853, with failing enrollment, the college was struggling and its closure no surprise to Lush: 'I had long suspected, that St. John's College was going to be broken up! it has for some time past struck me as a failure.'⁹⁰ Lush's comment on Selwyn's reaction demonstrates the high regard he had for the Bishop, while also indicating that he thought Selwyn naïve: 'What a blow! to the poor Bishop whose pet the College has been for so many years past.'⁹¹ The use of the word 'pet' to describe Selwyn's attachment to the College sums up the views of many of his clergy towards the Bishop's schemes. It was something they supported for the Bishop, not for themselves. As a training facility for Māori

⁸⁷ Vicesimus Lush, 16 August 1873, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder24, AML.

⁸⁸ The first (Marist) Catholic Māori priest was Wiremu Te Awhitu, ordained in 1944. Timu Teoke was the first Māori Presbyterian minister, ordained 1931. Ian Breward, *History of the Churches in Australasia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) p.262; Allan K. Davidson, '1931-1960: Depression, War, New Life,' in Dennis McDowd (ed.), *Presbyterians in Aotearoa* (Wellington: Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, 1990) p.114.

⁸⁹ St. John's College was remodeled as an 'English Collegiate Institution,' providing advanced education as well as preparing students for ordination. Vicesimus Lush, 12 February 1854, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder4, AML; Davidson, *Selwyn's Legacy*, pp.80-4.

⁹⁰ Vicesimus Lush, 11 April 1853, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder3, AML. Original emphasis.

⁹¹ Vicesimus Lush, 11 April 1853, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder3, AML. Original emphasis.

priests St. John's failed but within two years the College was remodeled and opened to male European students as well as Māori.⁹²

Lush displayed an awed respect for Selwyn in his description of Selwyn's last day in New Zealand. He recorded that 'the very last person to whom the Bishop gave the Bread & Wine was the old Māori: so his last ministerial act, was so to say, to a native: the venerable old man with his white beard, who wept like a child at parting with him.'⁹³ By ending his description of Selwyn's last day in New Zealand with this anecdote, Lush made it the most memorable part of the lengthy description. The anecdote consequently emphasizes Selwyn's choice to honour a Māori chief with his final communion; it shows that Lush thought it important to stress that Selwyn placed such value in the chief's status. On Selwyn's part, the act demonstrates his dedication to building a Māori Church and recognising their place within the Anglican Communion.

In his early journals, Lush was skeptical of Selwyn's chances of success despite his respect for the Bishop. His reasons went beyond simply fears for Church membership:

I greatly fear the Bishop will reap nothing but disappointment in all his kind well intentioned plans for the improvement in the native race: those who live in their ancient rude way with many wives, lose their children in a fearful manner those who live by the Bishop's persuasion in the Parkehar fashion with but one wife & in a civilized manner seem utterly unable to rear their children – the rising generation is being cut off in a very mysterious manner; so that our grandchildren are like to know the natives only as a matter of history – or perchance there may be here & there a half caste man or woman but beyond some

⁹² For more information on the history of St. John's College see; Davidson, *Selwyn's Legacy*.

⁹³ This 'venerable old man' was the chief Eruera Maiki Patuone, who had supposedly witnessed the arrival of Captain Cook. Vicesimus Lush, 20 October 1868, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder16, AML; Drummond (ed.), *Waikato Journals*, p.156.

such slight relicts of the present Maories I fear no vestiges of this fine race of Natives will exist.⁹⁴

Lush was not the first to predict the disappearance of Māori, nor would he be the last, but what he adds is the link with Selwyn's work. From his (relatively) newly arrived point of view, Lush worried that Selwyn's "improvements" merely contributed to the disappearance of Māori, not to their conversion and civilization.

Lush next mentioned Māori ministry eighteen months later in May 1853 when he wrote with excitement about attending the ordination of the first Māori admitted to Deacon's Orders. The 'ordination of no ordinary interest' stands out within Lush's journal and within New Zealand Anglican history.⁹⁵ From Lush's perspective, it was the culmination of Selwyn's work and therefore important. The ordination showed that Māori were increasingly embracing Christianity and spreading the Word themselves without active support from the European Church. For New Zealand Anglican history, Rota Waitoa's ordination signified the first step towards formalized recognition of Māori equality in Christ and the Church. Davidson, while focusing on the implications of Waitoa's ordination on St. John's College, has noted that Selwyn and Bishop Abraham both saw it as a promising success.⁹⁶ Davidson uses the long period before Waitoa was priested to argue that Selwyn's goals for Māori ordination training were unrealistically high. Lush would have agreed with Davidson's assessment, though probably believed it was because Māori were not capable of reaching the required standard at that time.

⁹⁴ Vicesimus Lush, 28 October 1851, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder1, AML. Original emphasis.

⁹⁵ Vicesimus Lush, 22 May 1853, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder3, AML.

⁹⁶ Davidson, *Selwyn's Legacy*, p.79.

Lush's description of Waitoa on the day of his ordination reflected the priest's pessimism about the future of the Māori people and their faith. Despite being a landmark point in New Zealand church history, according to Lush the ordination did not offer the promise of Māori independence in ministry that Selwyn desired. '[Waitoa] is a heavy inactive man and I fear is not one to maintain much influence over a Native Mission Station – especially if left to himself – without the Countenance & support of an English clergyman.'⁹⁷ Lush did not give many reasons behind his assessment of Waitoa's inadequacy. It was not until the next Māori ordination that Lush explained why Waitoa would not command respect: he was formerly a slave.⁹⁸ Without sufficient standing within the Māori community, Lush believed Waitoa would have little success spreading the Gospel.

Lush placed more hope in the second Māori ordinand. Riwai Te Ahu had been the first Ngāti Awa to embrace Christianity fifteen years earlier (Hadfield baptized Te Ahu at Waikanae) and had since worked to achieve the necessary qualifications to become a deacon. As Lush noted: 'being by birth a Rangatira (a chief) [Te Ahu] has far far more influence among his countrymen than Rota has, who formally was but a slave.'⁹⁹ Despite Lush's misgivings about Waitoa's potential, Māori and Pākehā regarded both deacons as successful. As the first ordinand, Waitoa's new ecclesiastical and pastoral role validated his work.¹⁰⁰ Similarly, Te Ahu was known for his 'faith, and love, and earnestness, and zeal' gaining respect from Māori regardless of their tribal affiliations and well

⁹⁷ Vicesimus Lush, 22 May 1853, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder3, AML.

⁹⁸ Vicesimus Lush, 23 September 1855, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder4, AML.

⁹⁹ Vicesimus Lush, 23 September 1855, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder4, AML.

¹⁰⁰ Lange, p.52.

regarded by Pākehā.¹⁰¹ Although Waitoa and Te Ahu were the first, they represent the beginning of a 'Native Ministry' that continued to grow throughout the nineteenth century. In 1860 another four Māori deacons were ordained and increasingly the ordained Māori assumed the responsibilities of ministering to other Māori Anglicans.¹⁰² It would be a long time until a Māori bishop was enthroned (Frederick Augustus Bennett was consecrated suffragan Bishop of Waiapu in 1929) but these two men began the process.

Lush recorded nothing more to do with Māori ministry until nearly twenty years later at Thames. He attended the 1872 Native Synod, one of few European men present.¹⁰³ The following year he exclaimed 'it is surprising what a revival of religious feeling had taken place among the Maories here since Wiremu [Turipona] was ordained deacon at St George's Church' and mused that a Māori ministry needed to be established quickly.¹⁰⁴ Initially so skeptical of Selwyn's plans for Māori (both as a people and within the Anglican Church) after twenty years in New Zealand and seeing the response of Māori to the 'Native Ministry' Lush had changed his mind. It appears he had realized either that Māori would not disappear as easily as he had initially believed or that they needed their own branch of the Anglican Church (or at least their own clergy).

¹⁰¹ Octavius Hadfield, *Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East* (1856-7), p.187, in Lange, p.53.

¹⁰² Lange, p.54.

¹⁰³ A 'Native Synod' had been formed and tested in the Diocese of Waiapu under the guidance of Bishop Williams in 1863. It was predominantly comprised of Māori deacons and lay representatives. The Synod gave Māori within the Anglican Church an opportunity to have their voices heard and to (in theory) contribute towards the running of the Church. D. Katterns and W.G. Lewis (eds.), 'The Missionary Herald: Independent Native Churches,' *The Baptist Magazine for 1863* (London: Pewtress Brothers, 1863) p.117.

¹⁰⁴ Lush echoed Hadfield's comment about Riwai Te Ahu's successful ministry: 'I have come to the conclusion that a native ministry is essential in all missions, and that to obtain such a ministry ought to be the ultimate aim of all missionary efforts.' Vicesimus Lush, 16 August 1873, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder24, AML; Octavius Hadfield, *Maoris of by-Gone Days* (Gisborne, Te Rau Press, 1902) p.18.

Conclusion

The work of early Bishops and priests was dominated by overcoming the obstacles to establishing a successful Church in the antipodean colony, especially one that incorporated both settler and Māori interests. The role of Māori within the emerging Church was only one of many challenges that faced the New Zealand Anglican Church between 1850 and 1882 (and more specifically the Diocese of Auckland). From searching for ways in which to progress the Māori Church and adapting liturgical practices, to seeking financial stability, the mid-nineteenth-century New Zealand Anglican Church was in a process of constant flux. Building the Church took the time and energy of all and consequently appears prominently in journals such as Lush's. In Lush's journals, the changes that took place over thirty-two years are shown through the challenges with which he struggled: financial instability, dealing with factions within parishes, insufficient infrastructure, an inability to strictly follow canonical law and the emergence of a Māori branch of the Church. Although Lush did not experience every problem faced by those above him, his experiences offer a broad cross-section of those faced by priests working in a parish environment.

Lush wrote about the challenges he faced only as he dealt with them. The immediacy of his writing, and habit of not reflecting on past events, means that when addressing the development of the Anglican Church in New Zealand Lush's writing only provides insight into the short-term trials and his solutions to them. The clearest example of this is that Lush wrote at length while in the Waikato about the adaptations he had to make to canonical practices surrounding the sacraments but did not mention them again once he had moved to Thames. Other challenges recurred throughout Lush's life in New Zealand, reflecting the ongoing struggle of the New Zealand Church (as a whole). In particular,

financial concerns never left Lush's mind and even his final move to Hamilton, shortly before his death, was in reaction to the Thames parish's inability to pay his salary. 'The long looked for blow has come at last. The Church Warden has sent me a cheque for £15 (instead of £25). To lose £120 a year, is a rather serious matter.'¹⁰⁵ Although the lack of financial security from his salary troubled Lush to his death bed and he constantly had to deal with dissension within his parish, the other challenges discussed in this chapter are distinctly missing from his later years. Lush's silence on the outcomes of the trials he had overcome, and the state of the Church by 1882, does not indicate that matters had necessarily significantly improved but merely that they no longer directly troubled him.

Silences can speak as loud as words. Lush anticipated the Constitution but after its signing wrote nothing about the foundational document. Though this may seem incongruous, his silence on the matter speaks volumes. It suggests that although the Constitution led to the definition of the dioceses and provided a formal structure to the Church, it did not have an obvious direct effect on the daily lives of the clergy. Similarly, Lush's absence of regular reports on the state of the native church (his silences on the topic extend for years at a time) indicates that he seldom thought about Māori ministry. He had his own problems and concerns without surmising upon the state of Selwyn's dream. Although Lush was largely silent on some of the main issues surrounding his life, his journals are still an important source for the Anglican Church in early New Zealand. The length of time over which he wrote coupled with his penchant for small details make Lush's journals an invaluable source for understanding the Anglican Church in Auckland and the daily life of one typical, 'suitable clergyman.'¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ Vicesimus Lush, 5 January 1881, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder18, AML.

¹⁰⁶ John Webster, *A Suitable Clergyman: The Life of Vicesimus Lush 1865 to 1882* (Auckland: Ewelme Cottage Management Committee, 2002).

Chapter Three: Lush as Social Commentator

In 1850, when the Lush family stepped off the *Barbara Gordon*, Auckland was little more than a collection of shops and houses dotted along dirt roads. Transport was slow and travel laborious. Over the following thirty-two years New Zealand experienced rapid development and by Vicesimus' death in 1882 Auckland had taken on the appearance of a city through population expansion and urban development. Roads were paved, trees and bush cleared to allow ease of access between ever expanding settlements and railways connected Auckland with other towns.

As an interested observer, Lush recorded these changes and New Zealand's development as a British colony. Key events in the histories of Auckland, Waikato and Thames also captured Lush's attention. This chapter examines his responses to three central events in the upper North Island: the Taranaki and Waikato Wars, the Waikato Immigration Scheme and the Coromandel Gold Rush. As a clergyman, Lush observed many facets of society, both Māori and settler. He witnessed New Zealand's rapid social and economic development, what Belich has called "explosive colonization," as settlers looked to build a new country to rival Britain.¹ Although ultimately always writing as a middle-class English clergyman, Lush interacted with a range of people beyond the confines of his own social background. His education enabled him to write informatively about his experiences, while his work provided him with a plethora of opportunities to observe. As a result, Lush recorded events central to New Zealand's history, showing many aspects of an increasingly diverse society.

¹ James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) p.179.

This chapter identifies Lush's records of these events through his position as a social commentator, recording New Zealand's social development, specifically around Auckland. Increasing social mobility created a society in constant evolution. Jim McAloon has argued that the New Zealand upper and middle-classes exhibited an ethic of self-improvement consistent with that of the British middle-class.² This ethic encouraged the economic development of both the individual and the colony. Phenomena such as gold rushes caused swift adaptation of New Zealand's social structure as thousands flocked to new mining sites, towns appeared overnight and social hierarchies grew from success.³ A great deal of Lush's writing details changes to New Zealand society. He recorded the lives of men key to New Zealand's history and of those who never achieved anything of historical note. As such the journals at times traverse class and racial divides.

Aspects of Lush's social commentary are reminiscent of the literature produced by nineteenth-century travel writers. Like them, Lush presented Māori as an exotic "other". This perception changed through the New Zealand Wars as Māori stopped playing the role they were "meant" to. Lush's view of Māori became less romanticized as they openly rebelled against British law. When Lush arrived in 1850 travellers came with preconceived notions of Māori. New Zealand Company propaganda told them of a rich and fertile land with amenable indigenous people.⁴ On the other hand, the published travel writing

² Jim McAloon, 'Class in Colonial New Zealand: Towards a Historiographical Rehabilitation,' *New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol.38, no.1, 2004, p.13.

³ Paul Monin, *Hauraki Contested* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2006) pp.213-4.

⁴ Edward J. Wakefield's publication *The British Colonization of New Zealand* mentions New Zealand's fertility fifteen times, arguing that it was a land barely used by the indigenous people and waiting for British colonization. Edward Jerningham Wakefield, *The British Colonization of New Zealand; Being and Account of the Principles, Objects, and Land of the New Zealand Association*, (London: John W. Parker, 1837); Rebecca Durrer, 'Propagating the New Zealand Ideal,' *The Social Science Journal*, Vol. 43, 2006, p.176.

and stories from New Zealand such as the attack on the *Boyd* had portrayed New Zealand as a land filled with a hostile, warlike people ready at any moment to indulge in cannibalism.⁵ Increased contact with Māori through the century, especially the conflicts of the New Zealand Wars and assimilation of Māori into Pākehā society, produced a more realistic adaptation of Europeans' views of Māori "otherness".

A constant tension existed between Lush's expectations and experiences as a social commentator, investing in New Zealand's future. Nineteenth-century relations between Māori and Pākehā were predominantly driven by the European belief that Māori were a dying race, devastated by fatal impact.⁶ Upon arriving in New Zealand Lush wrote with surprise of the civilization and refinement of those with whom he came in contact. Lush's limited fluency in Māori hindered his ability to communicate directly but his attempts to master the language helped him to partially transcend racial barriers.⁷ Despite this, Lush grieved for the (assumed) demise of Māori after European arrival and believed those he met exhibited the best of their race. However, with the Taranaki Wars, Lush's attitudes towards Māori suddenly changed as his writing largely stopped expressing sympathy towards them. His journals also show a juxtaposition between his personal views, as a priest and a settler, and society's expectations. By 1860, the Government was heavily invested in leasing and purchasing Māori land, while settlers expected to witness the amalgamation of Māori into their

⁵ Lydia Wevers, *Country of Writing: Travel Writing and New Zealand 1809-1900* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2002) p.24.

⁶ James Belich, *The New Zealand Wars and the Interpretation of Victorian Racial Conflict* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1986) p.299.

⁷ Lush received some rudimentary training in Māori while travelling to New Zealand and upon arrival. He seldom wrote about speaking Māori, though he once recorded practicing the language with his neighbour, Mohi, while walking together: 'whenever I spoke incorrectly he set me right.' Although he did not often write of using the language, Lush used Māori terms in his journals (for example, *whare*, *korero*, *tangi*). Vicesimus Lush, 24 November 1850, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder1, AML.

society.⁸ The outbreak of war in 1860 interrupted both the Government's plans and the predicted Māori amalgamation.

Lush's War

Lush's New Zealand War experiences can be divided into rumour, firsthand experience and aftermath. Throughout 1860 and 1861 Lush frequently referred to the state of the First Taranaki War and connected conflicts. These comments were almost all based on rumour, report or unaccounted-for surmise not personal observations. From July 1863 when the conflicts moved closer to Auckland and Howick felt threatened, the war became more real for Lush and he moved from abstract reports to personal recounts. While travelling extensively from Howick, then while working in the Waikato, Lush encountered the aftermath of the conflicts. His understanding of the war developed as he observed the postwar reality of settler life and he became increasingly hostile towards Māori. Lush's experiences, and therefore opinions, were strongly Eurocentric, largely because the people with whom he most closely lived and worked were European settlers.

Lush first heard of the Taranaki conflict from his Howick neighbours Mr and Mrs Mason on 28 February 1860. All they knew was that the 'Natives were all but at war with the Europeans at Taranaki!'⁹ With this report, Lush's accounts of the New Zealand Wars opened with information that was essentially rumour – he had no evidence or details about the supposed conflict. The following day confirmation came through the newspapers. 'The "New Zealander" gave us more details of the disturbance – it is of sufficient importance to have caused the

⁸ M.P.K. Sorrenson, 'Māori and Pākehā,' in Geoffrey W. Rice (ed.), *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, 2nd edition (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1992) p.157.

⁹ Vicesimus Lush, 28 February 1860, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder6, AML.

Commander in Chief – the Governor – and almost all the soldiers to hasten immediately to Taranaki.¹⁰ These entries demonstrate that rumours of the imminent conflict had reached Auckland before the newspapers reported it. This example follows a style typical in Lush's work: he recorded a rumour, then "validated" it through newspaper reports.

The impending conflict was over the Waitara purchase. Teira, an Atiawa chief ranked below Wiremu Kingi, had offered the Government 600 acres at Waitara. Belich has argued that Governor Thomas Gore-Browne believed that rejecting Teira's offer would tacitly recognize Kingi's authority as a tribal chief, undermining British sovereignty.¹¹ When Gore-Browne sent surveyors to Waitara to mark out the land purchased from Teira, the Atiawa who opposed the sale peacefully prevented any work. Māori resistance was considered by settlers and government as an attempt to dispute British authority and in the first days of March 1860 British military arrived in the area.

Lush's fragmented reports on the Taranaki conflict fail to mention the war's first two substantial battles. Before fighting started Lush wrote: 'the soldiers have marched against the natives but no collision has as yet taken place' but his journals then become silent on anything pertaining to the conflicts.¹² Through March 1860 while the battles at Te Kohia and Waireka were fought, Lush wrote to his family about immigrants arriving from London with smallpox and the first publication of the St. John's College Magazine. Not until April 20 did Lush again mention Taranaki, this time writing that there was 'report of considerable reinforcements having reached Taranaki from Sydney: also ugly rumours of what the natives are proposing: I do hope we shall receive 2 or 3 regiments from India

¹⁰ Vicesimus Lush, 29 February 1860, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder6, AML.

¹¹ Belich, *New Zealand Wars*, p.79.

¹² Vicesimus Lush, 14 March 1860, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder6, AML.

before the present differences increase to positive warfare.’¹³ Lush’s journals indicate that he believed fighting was yet to begin. In fact, Colonel Charles Emilius Gold, leader of the 65th Regiment, had already attacked the recently fortified pā at Te Kohia. By March 27, Māori had killed six settlers in separate incidents and unrest had spread outwards from Waitara.¹⁴ The British quickly retaliated and on March 28 Captain Charles Brown led troops to Waireka for open battle – the first in Taranaki between Māori and the Crown. Though the British won at Waireka, Māori were not defeated.

The third major conflict of the first Taranaki War did make it into Lush’s journals. The battle of Puketakauere saw the first British defeat. Historians attribute the defeat to a variety of reasons: traditionally strength in Māori numbers and difficult terrain have been blamed, but more recently Belich has argued that Māori strategic ability was superior.¹⁵ Directly after the battle Major Thomas Nelson (in charge of the colonial forces) promulgated the myth of an indecisive outcome. The newspapers reported that the British had retreated in the face of superior Māori numbers but that the battle was ‘bloody and inconclusive.’¹⁶ However, Lush’s writing clearly shows that settlers knew the English had lost; ‘The English have been thoroughly beaten by the Maories in a pitched battle close to Taranaki. The Natives are exulting.’¹⁷ Though he did not record his information’s provenance, Lush’s note that the ‘Natives are exulting’

¹³ Vicesimus Lush, 20 April 1860, ‘LUSH Family Papers,’ MS780-Box3-Folder6, AML.

¹⁴ Peter Maxwell, *Frontier: The Battle for the North Island of New Zealand, 1860-1872* (Auckland: Celebrity Books for Waitekauri Publishing, 2000) p.27.

¹⁵ James Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars: A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period*, Vol. 1, reprint (Wellington: Government Printer, 1983) pp.187-8; Belich, *New Zealand Wars*, pp.94-5.

¹⁶ ‘The Fight at Waitara,’ *Taranaki Herald*, 30 June 1860, p.2.

¹⁷ Vicesimus Lush, 11 July 1860, ‘LUSH Family Papers,’ MS780-Box3-Folder6, AML.

makes it probable that the battle's result had spread by word of mouth rather than through the newspapers.

As a settler, Lush favoured the English forces and took pride in their successes. Even though he had no direct connections with the war, through 1860 and 1861 his writing demonstrates an emotional investment in the outcome. This pride is juxtaposed by sympathy for Māori and regret that a war was necessary. When the colonial forces were winning Lush wrote commiserating the fate of Māori: 'Poor Maories, what numbers will perish.'¹⁸ However, two months later when the English troops were defeated at Puketakauere Lush felt 'ashamed to look a Maori in the face.'¹⁹ Lush says nothing more about the defeat, his journal immediately returns to family life. In entries such as these Lush unconsciously demonstrated that even settlers sympathetic towards Māori were emotionally invested in their troops' success.

Lush demonstrated a high level of skepticism about reports on the strength of Māori forces. As the people of Howick began to fear that fighting would reach their village Lush's journals show that he tried to inform his family of events without worrying them. As 1861 progressed Lush increasingly reported local reactions to the war, and the resulting rumours. After the official ceasefire of March 18 1861, Howick and the surrounding areas remained alert for signs of Māori aggression. Arriving home one day to find Howick 'in a state of great excitement about the natives ... the immediate fear was from a report that upwards of 50 of them had encamped on the beach' Lush 'laughed at the report' as the supposed army was merely a fishing party.²⁰ Fueling such fears were reports of the Government gathering 2000 troops at Otahuhu to attack the

¹⁸ Vicesimus Lush, 5 May 1860, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder6, AML.

¹⁹ Vicesimus Lush, 11 July 1860, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder6, AML.

²⁰ Vicesimus Lush, 1 April 1861, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder6, AML.

Waikato, and rumours that Māori were selling everything they had to buy gunpowder and shot from the French and Americans. Lush wrote explicitly about these reports as rumours, without supporting evidence.

Lush carefully differentiated between “rumour,” “report” and “news” to validate information. Lush used the word “news” sparingly in relation to the conflicts, giving it more weight when present: ‘The great news of the week has been the announcement that Sir George Grey is coming to supersede Colonel Gore-Brown: the mere report produced a magical effect.’²¹ Lush here differentiated between “news” and “report”; he implies that the “news” confirmed the “report”. He was constantly aware of the unreliability of many of his sources and the ability for stories to grow and change in the telling, which constantly underlines his value as a social commentator, going beyond only factual recount.

The outbreak of the New Zealand Wars initially provoked intense opposition from Anglican Church leaders. Men such as Octavius Hadfield (Archdeacon of Kapiti) and Selwyn wrote and spoke effusively about the injustice of the Colonial War. Hadfield’s pamphlet ‘One of England’s Little Wars’ laid the blame for the war with the Governor and made Hadfield very unpopular throughout New Zealand.²² Selwyn also spoke out against the Governor’s treatment of Māori, and Lush captured his outrage; ‘[The Bishop] is very angry with the Governor for bringing about this native war.’²³ The Anglican Church, through Selwyn, championed the Māori cause against the government who (by inference from Lush’s comment) did not treat Māori correctly. When the British

²¹ Vicesimus Lush, 4 August 1861, ‘LUSH Family Papers,’ MS780-Box3-Folder6, AML.

²² John Stenhouse, ‘Churches, State and the New Zealand Wars,’ *Journal of Law and Religion*, Vol.13, no.2, 1998, p.491.

²³ Vicesimus Lush, 26 April 1860, ‘LUSH Family Papers,’ MS780-Box3-Folder6, AML.

invaded the Waikato under Sir George Grey, Selwyn and his supporters changed their allegiance. Kerry Howe argues this was because Selwyn had declared that Māori had provoked the Waikato War when they attacked Tataraimaka.²⁴ Lush did not mention this change.

In 1863, with the Second Taranaki War and the invasion of the Waikato, Lush's record became more immediate. Grey's appointment in 1861 as Governor to replace Gore-Browne promised the prospect of peace. However, Grey shattered all thought of peace when, in 1863, he entered Taranaki and took over the Tataraimaka block.²⁵ Although the actual reoccupation of Tataraimaka was peaceful, it marked the beginning of renewed conflict in Taranaki. As a result, the Waitara purchase was renounced on May 11 1863, then on July 11 Grey issued an ultimatum to Waikato chiefs to pledge allegiance to Queen Victoria, moving troops into the Waikato the following day²⁶ By April 1864 Grey and the Government had conquered nearly two-thirds of land from the Waikato tribes, friends and foe alike.²⁷ The Waikato War heralds the beginnings of Lush's personal experiences of conflict.

Between June and July 1863 the possibility of Māori attacking Howick changed from unsubstantiated rumour to a real threat in Lush's journal. Auckland (and Howick) was never under any real threat of invasion, Belich argues, rather Grey exaggerated the possibility of attack to attain 3,000 additional

²⁴ Kerry Howe, "'The Bishop Alien': Selwyn and the New Zealand Wars of the 1860s,' in Warren Limbrick (ed.), *Bishop Selwyn in New Zealand, 1841-68* (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1983) p. 109.

²⁵ Ngāti Ruanui had seized the Tataraimaka block in 1861 as hostage for Waitara, an act B.J. Dalton wrote was 'a fact little noted at the time' but which Belich asserted contributed to crippling the Taranaki settlers. Belich, *New Zealand Wars*, p.115; B.J. Dalton, *War and Politics in New Zealand, 1855-1870* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1967) p.126.

²⁶ Historians have criticized Grey for starting the Waikato War. Belich argues that Grey had planned it an advance, while Matthew Wright states that 'Grey had not only started a war; he had made his own opposition.' Belich, *New Zealand Wars*, pp.90, 124; Matthew Wright, *Two Peoples, One Land: The New Zealand Wars* (Auckland: Reed, 2006) p.118.

²⁷ Sinclair, p.20.

troops.²⁸ This coincided with the movement of Government troops into the Waikato under Grey's order. Although Lush did not link the two events, he wrote of the 'busiest, gloomiest most exciting fortnight I have ever passed: the war has suddenly left Taranaki & broken out here, close to us.'²⁹ The result, as Vicesimus tells it, was general panic in Howick. Women and children were sent to Auckland for safety, a stockade erected, patrols established and all men took up arms. Although he sent his family to Auckland, Lush continued to doubt that Māori would attack Howick: 'Reports are rife in the village about the Thames Natives, having at last moved – but whether hither as report says, or to Waikato, as I think, remains to be seen.'³⁰ Despite his skepticism, throughout 1863 the war became increasingly dominant in his journals as he began to directly encounter its physical and psychological effects. Although Howick was never attacked, or really under threat, the war had reached the village and fully enmeshed itself into Lush's life.

The war and its consequences became the main topic of Lush's writing through July 1863. His record of day-to-day experiences at Howick shows that the conflict touched everyone. Refugees fleeing the countryside for Howick seem to have gravitated to the parsonage: 'our house on several occasions ... has been very full towards evening, refugees from the country & neighbours whose husbands were from home flocking to us for mutual society & protection.'³¹ The parsonage represented both security and community. Throughout 1863 the strength of the Howick community permeated Lush's writing, as women and children came together for companionship and reassurance. He was relying on

²⁸ Belich, *New Zealand Wars*, pp.90, 124.

²⁹ Vicesimus Lush, 19 July 1863, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder7, AML.

³⁰ Vicesimus Lush, 20 August 1863, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder7, AML.

³¹ Vicesimus Lush, 19 July 1863, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder7, AML.

this community spirit when he wrote, cheerfully, that he had slept through the night 'as all my neighbours will watch I think I need not ... acting on this principle I have had but one bad night since the war commenced.'³² As the months passed the Howick community grew closer and the war took an ever more tangible place in Lush's writing.

Lush's work increasingly took him from Howick, travelling extensively between Auckland and Drury. From 1858 Lush led services at the 'upper Wairoa' (the exact location is unclear but Lush meant the Wairoa river) and to Turanga Creek.³³ The Waikato War, from July 12 1863 to the battle of Orakau in April 1864, coincided with this increase in Lush's monthly travel. Through the last months of 1863 Lush saw for himself war's reality and its detrimental impact on the environment; 'On my road to Otara I was struck with the complete absence of all life.'³⁴ He was alone on the roads and in the fields. Almost all farm owners had left their homesteads to seek refuge in a town. In the towns he found the women and children from the farms (men were conspicuously absent) crowded together trying to find space to live. Lush wrote more evocatively about the country's silence than the overcrowding of town however – possibly because he had already encountered refugees in Howick. 'It was very sad to see the country without an inhabitant, every house empty – not a dog to bark at one: not a soul to say "good day" to.'³⁵ Farmers partly abandoned the countryside due to Government orders and partly because it was no longer safe to be alone or

³² Vicesimus Lush, 6 August 1863, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder7, AML.

³³ Vicesimus Lush, 6 March 1858, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder5, AML.

³⁴ Vicesimus Lush, 7 August 1863, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder7, AML.

³⁵ The men, absent from the towns, had almost certainly joined the volunteer brigades and gone off to fight. Vicesimus Lush, 8 August 1863, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder7, AML.

unprepared. As a priest, Lush passed safely through the disputed land but others, also traveling alone, were attacked by Māori.³⁶

As he gained more first hand experience of the war Lush became increasingly critical of the reports he received. One of the strengths of Lush's writing is his self-awareness, as he reflected on his writing process and inclusion of information. This extended to his assessment of information's value and the form in which he received it, making his social commentary transparent. Nowhere is this clearer than in his reaction to the increasing vilification of Māori in the newspapers. Though he often wrote about (and included cuttings from) the newspapers, Lush appeared to be constantly aware of the problems with relying on popular reporting for information.

Lush recorded a vivid example of misreporting at Captain Calvert's house at Papakura. On July 24 1863 Sylvester Calvert was mortally wounded when a group of Māori entered the homestead. The following day the *Daily Southern Cross* soberly reported;

Yesterday the natives attacked Captain Calvert's house ... They fired into the house. Captain and Mrs. Calvert fled into the bedroom, it is stated, and Sylvester Calvert, aged 18 years, ... was shot while endeavouring to get into a place of hiding. Captain Calvert then came out armed and drove the natives away.³⁷

A report from the paper's Drury correspondent, published two days later, included that the Māori force was thirty or forty strong and that Sylvester was shot in the bedroom.³⁸ When he visited the Calverts in August, Lush discovered that there was more to the story, including a great deal of antagonism by the

³⁶ In one particular instance, Lush passed safely through a dangerous stretch of road, only to find out that a man riding through shortly after had been shot and wounded by Māori. Vicesimus Lush, 8 November 1863, 'LUSH Family Papers', MS780-Box3-Folder7, AML.

³⁷ 'Murders by Natives,' *Daily Southern Cross*, 25 July 1863, p.3.

³⁸ '(from our Drury Correspondent) Drury, July 25,' *Daily Southern Cross*, 27 July 1863, p.3.

Calverts in the days leading up to the attack, with Sylvester pillaging a nearby village. Upon hearing that the attack had been provoked, Lush wrote angrily that the whole story was 'suppressed by the newspapers and the Maories set down as a set of bloodthirsty savages, ready to kill the first white man they see.'³⁹ After discovering the inaccuracy of the newspaper's reporting of Sylvester Calvert's death, Lush wrote far more cynically and critically of the reports that he received both through hearsay and in published form.

Following the official end of the Waikato War in April 1864 Lush observed the emotional and physical scars it had left. His silence on the war between April and November 1864 is initially strange, especially as the country remained unsettled, but could be partially explained by large gaps in his journal-keeping in general. It was with the Calverts that Lush again picked up the story of the war, this time focusing on the aftermath of conflict across the Waikato. November 1864 saw Lush visit Captain and Mrs Calvert, shortly after they had returned to their homestead. Calvert showed Lush the bullet holes from the day his son died, he pointed out where Sylvester fell and demonstrated how he (Calvert) had rushed at Māori with a sword and driven them away. Lush pitied Calvert: 'Poor man: he seemed to take a morbid pleasure in dwelling upon all these sad details.'⁴⁰ Calvert's desire to show Lush the physical effects of the skirmish on his house revealed the emotional scars and trauma he had suffered. Visiting the Calverts was the first of many pastoral calls Lush made that day. He wrote that everywhere he went there was a consensus that, should they be driven from their homesteads again, the Waikato farmers would leave New Zealand for someplace more secure.⁴¹ The land's scars would heal with time but the emotional scars

³⁹ Vicesimus Lush, 8 August 1863, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder7, AML.

⁴⁰ Vicesimus Lush, 26 November 1864, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder9, AML.

⁴¹ Vicesimus Lush, 26 November 1864, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder9, AML.

caused some settlers to consider permanently leaving their homes and livelihoods, and Waikato Māori had lost their homes and land.

The physical aftermath of the Waikato War was obvious to both Lush and his readers. Lush was particularly distressed by the effect on church buildings. Damage was caused by preventive measures as much as by actual conflict – a sign that the threat of war can be as debilitating as war itself. At Mauku, the church had thick posts nailed across the outside to protect the Militia garrisoned inside from bullets. The church at Wairoa needed repairs as it had been ‘used & abused by the soldiers.’⁴² In Lush’s eyes, much of the physical damage to the landscape and buildings came not from the war but from the British soldiers. Even during the conflict he wrote about an officer who, when confronted about his soldiers stealing from a local farm, had merely said: ‘If the men had not taken the things the Maories would!’⁴³ Lush traveled extensively and was everywhere accosted by the visible reminder of the recent (and not yet fully resolved) conflict.

Despite the official ceasefire, unrest continued. British forces had not withdrawn with the ceasefire, they were garrisoned across the district in case of further conflict. A Mr King, who had grown up in New Zealand, told Lush that he believed Māori had not conceded defeat; if the troops were withdrawn, then the northern tribes would rise up.⁴⁴ According to Lush’s report, King said that ‘there must be a war of extermination for mere self preservation.’⁴⁵ Lush’s writing shows that settlers and church communities believed that peace was

⁴² Vicesimus Lush, 27 November 1864, ‘LUSH Family Papers,’ MS780-Box3-Folder9, AML.

⁴³ Vicesimus Lush, 11 November 1863, ‘LUSH Family Papers,’ MS780-Box3-Folder7, AML.

⁴⁴ Probably Philip Hanson King, son of John and Hannah King, missionaries at Te Puna mission station from 1832 to 1854.

⁴⁵ Vicesimus Lush, 21 August 1865, ‘LUSH Family Papers,’ MS780-Box3-Folder10, AML.

unlikely. Though one conflict had ended there was more to come and the threat alternated between northern tribes and those near Taranaki.

Conflict broke out again in 1868. Out of the Taranaki conflict a new Māori movement emerged: Pai Mārire or the Hauhau (taken from the war cry 'Hau! Hau!'). Pai Mārire was a religious movement, led by Te Ua Haumēne of Taranaki.⁴⁶ With the 1875 conversion of Matutaera Tāwhiao (Māori King from 1860 to 1894) Pai Mārire became influential the Waikato.⁴⁷ The movement's militarization caused widespread fear and unrest, particularly for isolated settler communities. In Taranaki, Ngāti Ruanui's chief, Riwha Titokowaru led a war against continuous land confiscation between June 1868 and March 1869.⁴⁸ Meanwhile, Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki (imprisoned on the Chatham Islands since the siege at Waerenga-a-Hika in 1865) escaped, landing near Poverty Bay on July 10 1867 where he raised a force and began a campaign against the British that lasted from July 1868 to mid 1872.⁴⁹ Despite ongoing fighting under Titokowaru in Taranaki and Te Kooti on the East Coast, all talk of conflict disappears from Lush's journal as he relocated to the Thames and immersed himself in the life and troubles of the gold mining town.

Lush's journals provide multiple perspectives on the New Zealand Wars. His limited direct involvement coupled with his interest in events meant that Lush's writing juxtaposes reliable information and hearsay. The closest Lush

⁴⁶ Lyndsay Head, 'Te Ua Haumene – Biography,' *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, 01 September 2010; <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t79/1>, accessed 25 October 2011.

⁴⁷ Belich, *New Zealand Wars*, p.205.

⁴⁸ For a detailed discussion of Titokowaru's war see; James Belich, *I Shall Not Die: Titokowaru's War, New Zealand 1868-9* (Wellington: Port Nicholson Press, 1989).

⁴⁹ Judith Binney's biography of Te Kooti is the definitive work on his life. For a more concise outline of Te Kooti's war, James Belich's *New Zealand Wars* suffices. Belich, *New Zealand Wars*, pp. 216-34; Judith Binney, *Redemption Songs: A Life of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1995).

came to the New Zealand Wars was through the paranoia of attack that gripped Auckland and Howick and witnessing the aftermath of fighting. His lack of direct exposure to conflict makes Lush's journals valuable as they show information transfer through settler communities and the changes in settler attitudes towards Māori. Although he wrote down information gathered from a multitude of sources of varying reliability, Lush did not rely on any one source for correct information. This was most clearly shown when in November 1863 news arrived from Auckland: 'Governor Sir Geo. Grey had been arrested(!!) for traitorously aiding & abetting the Maories!!'⁵⁰ Despite giving a detailed description of the supposed circumstances, Lush declared 'I don't believe a word of it.'⁵¹ His ability to doubt his sources, and write about doing so, as with his awareness of the sensationalist penchant of newspapers, was the result of an active and critical mind filtering information and experiences.

It is hard to define Lush's opinion about Māori through the wars as he was often simply recording others' opinions. Lush appears to have felt sorry for Māori and what he saw as their inevitable demise in the face of British expansion and aggression. Despite his admiration for individuals, Lush believed Māori were inferior to Europeans. When the British failed to quickly quell Māori rebellion, and even lost battles, Lush's attitude became more complex. His identity as a settler, influenced by other settlers, was exhibited when he was embarrassed to look a Māori in the face after they defeated the British at

⁵⁰ Vicesimus Lush, 11 November 1863, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder7, AML.

⁵¹ The report continued: 'When the soldiers took Mere Mere & found it vacated, some letters were discovered which the Natives had left behind them, & that the General had them & that several of them were from Sir Geo. Grey to the rebels informing them of the Generals movements & advising them to flee from Mere Mere & get to the Thames ... the General was almost frantic with rage & had the Governor arrested for High treason (!!!).' The rumour possibly began when Grey sent a civilian official with an ultimatum to Waikato chiefs in July 1863, forewarning them of General Campbell's impending invasion of the Waikato. Dalton, p.177; Vicesimus Lush, 11 November 1863, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder7, AML.

Puketakauere.⁵² Despite this, he maintained a commentator's distance: hearing reports that 12 'of our men,' killed while fleeing a surprise attack, had been 'stripped & their heads chopped off,' Lush bemoaned the continuation of the war, rather than showing anger or disgust at Māori actions.⁵³ When a rumour spread two days later that 'the dozen head have been dried in native ovens & sent up North to incite, if possible, the Bay of Islands Maories to join in the war,' Lush was again more factual than emotional, merely commenting: 'the soldiers will remember this when next they attack the Waikatoes & show less quarter than they have done of late.'⁵⁴ On these occasions Lush qualified his entry with 'there is a report' and 'there is a horrible rumour,' distancing himself from the news and its authenticity.

Lush adopted a more overt travel-writing style as he travelled throughout, and observed, the countryside south of Auckland and into the Waikato. Lydia Wevers has argued that the New Zealand Wars is a period in New Zealand's history without much literature written by travellers.⁵⁵ Certainly, through the war years tourism largely ceased and the onus for writing shifted from the casual traveller to military men. Lush, travelling with purpose, deliberately recording his observations and thoughts, bridged some of this gap. Although he did not consciously write to record his travel, but rather to record his life, Lush's final years travelling from Howick, then in the Waikato (more than any others) fit Wevers's definition of 'travellers who write' and those who 'travel with interest.'

As insightful and self-aware as Vicesimus' writing is, it is an incomplete record of the New Zealand Wars and even his own experiences. Particularly

⁵² Vicesimus Lush, 11 July 1860, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder6, AML.

⁵³ Vicesimus Lush, 14 April 1864, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder9, AML.

⁵⁴ Vicesimus Lush, 16 April 1864, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder9, AML.

⁵⁵ Wevers, p.9.

through 1864 and 1865 Lush's journal keeping was sporadic at best. When he wrote it was in detail but often weeks or months passed without substantial entry. This in itself illustrates both that the journal took second place to Lush's work and that keeping a journal through tumultuous times was difficult. As frustrating as long silences in journals are for the historian, there is a more troublesome gap in Lush's writing. He did not write about the causes or results of the New Zealand Wars. It is possible that he did not know the reasons behind the war but, considering his thirst for knowledge, it seems unlikely that he did not know about the Waikato land confiscations. This is especially pertinent to Lush as he worked with, and wrote about, new immigrants (especially those who arrived through 1865, almost all from Ireland) who were given land recently confiscated.

Waikato Immigration Scheme

In May 1865 Lush wrote that 'A hundred immigrants just landed have been sent here; the government find them lodgings and give them rations for a time: till they can be sent forth to their own grants of land.'⁵⁶ These immigrants almost certainly arrived on the *Dauntless* from Dublin as part of the Waikato Immigration Scheme. In total, thirteen ships landed in Auckland between October 1864 and June 1865. They came from South Africa, England, Scotland and Ireland.⁵⁷ Of these immigrants, about 1,500 were Irish Protestants from Ulster, their passage and settlement funded by the New Zealand Government to provide a buffer between Auckland and the Kingite Māori.⁵⁸ They arrived with

⁵⁶ Vicesimus Lush, 20 May 1865, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder6, AML.

⁵⁷ A large number of those from South Africa were originally from Ireland.

⁵⁸ Jock Phillips and Terry Hearn, *Settlers: New Zealand Immigrants from England, Ireland & Scotland, 1800-1945* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2008) p.61.

little to call their own, depending on Government promises of land and employment. Although they were given land, many of the Waikato immigrants struggled to find work.⁵⁹ Within two years, debates around these settlers filled newspapers: how to find them employment and the extent of their poverty. Lush, as itinerant priest in the Waikato, witnessed the arrival and initial struggles these immigrants faced. He formed close relationships with some settlements and attempted to aid their plight. Over two years, Lush's journals recorded his interactions with the Waikato immigrants. His social commentary involves his accounts of reading newspaper articles about potential moneymaking schemes and then passing the knowledge on to the immigrants.

The Waikato Immigration Scheme saw immigrants settling on land recently taken from local Māori in the Waikato War. Lush wrote about visiting settlements at Maketu, Patumahoe, Ramarama, Paparata and Tuhimata, all of which had been Māori land before the war. Lush seldom overtly linked the conflicts or their results with land. The closest he came was when writing about the Irish settlement at Maketu. He first introduced the village as 'formerly ... a Maori village & there are a great number of peach trees & fig trees still standing – all other indications of a Native settlement have disappeared.'⁶⁰ Returning to Maketu the following year Lush directly connected the land with the war declaring 'this place was, before the war a native village.'⁶¹ Despite linking

⁵⁹ Historians have largely overlooked the Waikato Immigration Scheme in their research. Those who have written (Cheryl Campbell, 1986 and Alasdair Galbraith, 2002) have provided only a brief overview of Government motivations for the scheme and immigrants experiences on arrival. The 1,500 Irish immigrants and few hundred from England and Scotland have passed into obscurity within New Zealand history despite their connections with the highly topical Waikato Wars and land confiscation. Cheryl Campbell, 'Ambition Without Substance: The Waikato Immigration Scheme,' *Archifacts*, Vol. 2, 1986, pp.54-9; Alasdair Galbraith, 'A Forgotten Plantation: The Irish in Pukekohe, 1865-1900,' in Brad Patterson (ed.), *The Irish in New Zealand: Historical Contexts & Perspectives* (Wellington: Stout Research Centre, 2002) pp.117-30.

⁶⁰ Vicesimus Lush, 18 June 1865, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder10, AML.

⁶¹ Vicesimus Lush, 7 February 1866, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder11, AML.

Maketu with the recent war, Lush makes no comment that the Government had confiscated the land they then gave the impoverished Waikato immigrants.

The cause of the Waikato immigrants' poverty was fiercely debated. Lacking financial resources and skills, immigrants could not fully utilise their land.⁶² Lush criticized the Government for the lack of employment opportunities – he accused them of being overstretched, having brought out more immigrants than they could support. Popular opinion disagreed with Lush. A scathing letter to the newspaper in April 1866 described the land provided to these settlers as 'fertile beyond most of the land round it ... in every way suited for their purpose, if only their purpose were the right one.'⁶³ The author blamed the immigrants for the work shortages; the immigrants had refused to accept work offered as it did not pay enough but 'if they cannot make wages at what other workmen do, that only shows that they are less, and not more valuable to the province.'⁶⁴ Others were more sympathetic. J. Crispe, in his own words an 'old settler,' offered support and reassurance to struggling immigrants pointing out that though they had struggled it would become easier as they grew used to the way of life for 'you must bear in mind that very many of you have harder struggles because you were not fitted for the work you have taken up.'⁶⁵ These writers represent the range of opinion among existing settlers towards the struggling Waikato immigrants. None denied their poverty but each laid blame for it on a different cause.

⁶² Campbell's research showed that land, no matter how fertile, was useless to immigrants without the necessary initial capital or employment. All immigrants in the scheme, regardless of their personal skills, were promised a small amount of land (which became theirs after 3 years habitation), employment and financial assistance. Campbell, p.56.

⁶³ 'Friday. April 13,' *Daily Southern Cross*, 13 April 1866, p.4.

⁶⁴ 'Friday. April 13,' *Daily Southern Cross*, 13 April 1866, p.4.

⁶⁵ 'Our Discontented Immigrants,' *Daily Southern Cross*, 3 April 1866, p.5.

Whatever the underlying reason for the immigrants' lack of work, a solution to their poverty was needed. Neither Auckland City nor the General Government was prepared to take responsibility for the poverty stricken settlers, and the settlements only became successful in the late 1860s after the flax industry and gold rush had commenced.⁶⁶ Throughout early 1866 the *Daily Southern Cross* published a series of articles from February to late April explaining how impoverished immigrants could make up to £20 per ton of prepared flax. 'The means of preparing a sample of New Zealand flax, fit for cordage, are within the reach of many of our settlers. The return is certain; the outlay comparatively trifling.'⁶⁷ According to the *Daily Southern Cross*, the price of cotton fabrics in California had risen causing wool to replace cotton. The paper argued that, linen being preferable to wool, flax was the ideal solution.⁶⁸ New Zealand could export flax prepared for cordage to Australia, India and the Americas, while also convincing British manufacturers to establish linen factories in the colony.

The technique for curing flax had been perfected by Finlay McMillan of the Waikato. McMillan wrote to the Superintendent on March 29 1866 offering to show him how to work flax so that the Superintendent could pass on the knowledge. The *Daily Southern Cross* published his letter on April 4, then two days later included detailed instructions for flax preparation, with a list of the necessary equipment: a pot, fuel and cow dung. The article targeted the Waikato immigrants as 'the means of earning a decent livelihood, and at the same time cultivating their small farms, are at their own disposal. The women and children may boil and wash the flax, and if it grows near their dwellings, cut it as well,

⁶⁶ Galbraith, p.118.

⁶⁷ Galbraith, p.118.

⁶⁸ 'Flax Cultivation and Preparation,' *Daily Southern Cross*, 27 February 1866, p.4.

whilst the men are working on their land, or for some of the settlers.'⁶⁹ The *Daily Southern Cross* publicized the preparation of flax as the answer to all the Waikato settlers' problems. Contrary to the views of those who wrote in about immigrants' unwillingness to work, the paper appeared to take the position that all the immigrants needed was suitable and profitable labour.

Lush took it upon himself to test the proposed flax preparation method, then travelled around the Waikato demonstrating and explaining it to all the immigrants he met. After detailing the process, Lush explained: 'This is a plan the newspapers have been urging the poor starving immigrants to adopt – the merchants in town having promised to give twopence a lb for flax thus prepared.'⁷⁰ This is the first time that Lush referred to the immigrants as starving or poor – previously he had only written about their arrival and land grants. This entry shows more of Lush's opinion of the immigrants. Not just that he went out of his way to teach them flax preparation, but also in his description of their reactions. He stressed that the Irish immigrants thought it a promising idea and 'all who saw it, seemed to me inclined to try their hands at it also ... [for they] were once accustomed to prepare flax from hemp in Ireland ... [and] all they wanted as they said were some large iron pots to boil the leaves in.'⁷¹ Lush's first hand knowledge of the immigrants' past skills and present situation allowed him to observe and record the practical implementation of the newspaper's plan.

The immigrants' poverty featured more often in Lush's writing than positive outcomes. He did not record any change in their situation after introducing flax preparation to the immigrants. Only by speculation can the historian make any judgement on the immigrants' adoption of the flax scheme

⁶⁹ 'Flax Preparation – Unemployed Labour, *Daily Southern Cross*, 6 April 1866, p.5.

⁷⁰ Vicesimus Lush, 10 April 1866, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder11, AML.

⁷¹ Vicesimus Lush, 10-11 April 1866, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder11, AML.

from Lush's work; he mentioned going to Patumahoe to demonstrate the flax procedure but then does not mention the settlement again in relation to poverty. This is at best a tenuous link to show that the flax industry made a difference because he continued to write about the other main settlements as being poverty-stricken. In fact, the introduction of the flax industry to the Waikato Immigrant Scheme settlers did mark the beginning of an improvement in their situation. In conjunction with the clearing of land, opening of trunk railways and proximity to Auckland markets, flax preparation gave settlers the income to develop their land into a productive and pioneering farming community.⁷² All this did not happen until the late 1860s by which time Lush had left the Waikato for Thames.

Although silent on the success of Government schemes to help immigrants, Lush's social commentary records their failures. Three times between June and October 1866 Lush wrote about the extreme difficulties faced by settlers, each time about a different settlement. At Tuakau Lush met with 'poor people [who] were worse off than any I have as yet seen. They are not yet on their own land ... and seem as a body very down-hearted.'⁷³ After visiting Tuhimata Lush expressed distress that there was 'little more than a cheering word or a little advice that I can give them.'⁷⁴ Similarly, at Maketu (Lush's favourite immigrant settlement) the situation was dire as there was no work available.⁷⁵ These entries are part of longer descriptions of Lush's Waikato travels and, more than the poverty of the immigrants, they show his personality and desire to help those in need. As a priest, Lush was able to visit and help people from all backgrounds and consequently provide for posterity a detailed, firsthand account of disparate

⁷² Galbraith, p.118.

⁷³ Vicesimus Lush, 16 June 1866, in Drummond, (ed.), *Waikato Journals*, p.87.

⁷⁴ Vicesimus Lush, 7 July 1866, in Drummond (ed.), *Waikato Journals*, p.88.

⁷⁵ Vicesimus Lush, 18 October 1866, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder12, AML.

aspects of New Zealand life, recorded only in the abstract by newspapers and similar mediums.

By contrast with his active concern for the Waikato immigrants, Lush wrote about a Māori village as an uneasy, yet interested observer. In a manner reminiscent of travel writers in the South Pacific (such as Herman Melville who strove to discover the true nature of “savages” in the Marquesas and the nature of the civilized “savage” in Tahiti) Lush wrote with an attention to detail intent on recording the “facts” of all he observed.⁷⁶ In March 1866 Lush visited Rangikaho, a Māori village about 15 miles north of Raglan. Easily reaching Rangikaho, Lush engaged a new guide to take him to another (unnamed) village. This guide did not know the way and after much hesitation and adventure they arrived in the evening in a decidedly wet state (thanks to flooded roads). Consequently, his overnight stay at a ‘Kainga’ began in discomfort. Lush described his fascination at seeing inside a ‘whare’ – he was particularly taken aback to see a crinoline hanging on the wall. Overall however, his description is negative: ‘all the dwellers of the village were assembled to see me off, most of them in sad déshabille – however I wished them adieu as politely as if they had been well-dressed ladies and gentlemen for they had done their best to shelter me and what could I expect more.’⁷⁷ His stay at the village was made uncomfortable by damp clothes, ‘spiders, fleas and endless chatting.’⁷⁸ He mentioned no desire to help his hosts’ obvious poverty and retrospectively recorded the visit in minute detail. In contrast to Lush’s expressed attempts to

⁷⁶ Neil Rennie, *Far-Fetched Facts: The Literature of Travel and the Idea of the South Seas* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995) pp.196, 201.

⁷⁷ Vicesimus Lush, 19 March 1866, in Drummond (ed.), *Waikato Journals*, p.76.

⁷⁸ Vicesimus Lush, 19 March 1866, in Drummond (ed.), *Waikato Journals*, p.76.

aid the Waikato immigrants, he observed the Māori village as an intensely interested, yet unconnected, traveller.

The discovery of gold on the Coromandel in August 1867 provided a partial solution to the Waikato immigrants' poverty. As early as October 1866 Lush wrote that if rumours of gold at Thames were true then only women and children would be left at Drury (and in the Waikato as a whole).⁷⁹ It was only three days walk from Drury to Thames – a manageable distance for those looking for work. When rumours of gold were substantiated, Lush recorded men leaving the Waikato in large numbers, seized by 'gold fever.' As a priest, diminishing congregations concerned Lush.⁸⁰ The gold mines did not guarantee lucrative work but they held more promise than the Waikato and the allure of gold was enough to entice many from their homes. The gold discovery at Thames and success of the mines appear to have nullified concern over immigrant poverty. Certainly, after August 1867 the *Daily Southern Cross* did not publish articles about the immigrants' situation. That is not to say that were no longer poor. Rather, it likely indicates that gold captured public, and therefore newspaper, interest. Equally, the attitude of men looking for work in the mines shifted from dependency on the Government to a sort of self-sufficiency. The focus of Lush's writing changed, especially when he was appointed to Thames and rapidly left behind the Waikato and all he had experienced there.

Lush's Waikato journals can be characterized by their blend of interested observational writing and emotive, personal descriptions, particularly in the differences between his approaches to the poor Māori village and the Waikato Immigration Scheme immigrants. Lush generally used his descriptive, travel

⁷⁹ Vicesimus Lush, 18 October 1866, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder12, AML.

⁸⁰ Vicesimus Lush, 17 May 1866, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder11, AML.

writing approach when recording first hand experiences with Māori, no matter what the context. This makes it hard to decipher his actual views and responses to his experiences. His thoughts about interactions with settlers and immigrants are much clearer. As with the newspapers, the issue of the Waikato Immigration Scheme settlers' poverty worried Lush for many months. His journals follow these migrants, from their arrival in New Zealand, through those initial difficult years in the Waikato and on to the Thames gold fields. Once there they drift into obscurity, becoming only numbers among the hundreds with whom Lush associated on the gold fields and around Thames.

Thames and the Gold Fields

Arriving at Thames from the Waikato in 1868 Lush observed the social results of the Coromandel peninsula gold rush. Auckland's unemployed joined men from the Waikato at the Thames goldfields, creating a large population of destitute and starving miners dependent on gold prospects for survival.⁸¹ Thrown together by circumstances, these men quickly established communities around their diggings and a town began to emerge. By late 1867 small settlements such as Shortland, Grahamstown and Tookey's Flat were centres of the mining industry along the Thames river, which in time combined under the name "Thames".⁸² These settlements quickly developed the amenities of any colonial town: pubs and hotels were plentiful, theatres and concert halls numerous and churches expected. When Lush arrived the Anglican, Scottish (Presbyterian) and Catholic Churches were all present and a relatively stable

⁸¹ Monin, *Hauraki Contested*, p.210.

⁸² By the time Lush's family joined him there in 1871 the settlements of Grahamstown, Shortland and Tookey's Flat were increasingly known as a collective ("Thames") though Lush typically wrote about living at Shortland rather than at Thames. The changing of names confused Alfred Lush as late as 1878 when trying to transfer money from England to New Zealand he asked 'Grahamstown is another name for the Thames, is it not?' Alfred Lush, 9 September 1878, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box4-Folder47, AML.

religious community established. Lush was eager to take up a position with less travel than his previous post and anticipated the challenges of a new congregation.

Lush's Thames congregation comprised disparate groups. Those with wealth tended to own mining shares. Other parishioners were the town's workforce: school teachers, doctors, shopkeepers, lawyers, bankers and so forth. The community included local Māori, under the leadership of Wirope Hotereni Taipari – chief of Ngāti Maru who owned land around Thames. The discovery of gold had brought these groups together. In the settlements at Thames, and within the Anglican Church in particular, multifarious communities were thrown together and, united or divided by their pursuit of wealth, managed to build a prosperous town.

Like many Thames residents, Lush had little practical engagement with mining beyond taking his children to see the machinery, investing in mine shares and observing the various "gold fevers" that gripped the community. Rather, his journals provide a social commentary on the community's evolution. His range of acquaintances and experiences allowed Lush to see Thames from various view points (always observed from his position as a priest and middle-class man). Lush's life at Thames was similar to his time at Howick or in the Waikato; he was still priest of a disparate and often poor congregation. He concentrated on building community and ministering to both the temporal and spiritual needs of his people. Beyond this, he was constantly plagued by the need to raise funds, he worried over religious factions within his community and always had to answer to the Auckland Diocese and Bishop. The main difference in the Thames journals compared to the Auckland and Waikato is not so much their content as the depth

they show of the Lush family's involvement in the Thames community and a social commentary on the developing town.

Māori appear more frequently in the Thames journals than previously. When writing about Māori at Thames, Lush predominantly fell into a travel literature style of writing: that of the interested and participating observer. Much of Lush's early interaction with Māori at Thames was as an observer to negotiations over land ownership and access rights for diggers. These land disagreements centred around the diggers' constant desire for greater access to land containing possible gold seams and the slow process of negotiating access and purchases from the various tribes across the Coromandel (particularly south of Thames into Ohinemuri).⁸³ Before mining commenced in earnest around Thames, the Crown had to negotiate to buy or lease land from Ngāti Maru.

James Mackay, as Assistant Native Commissioner, negotiated land purchases throughout New Zealand. Originally a farmer near Farewell Spit, Mackay's fluency in Māori meant he was often called upon to mediate disputes on the Collingwood goldfields. His illustrious career eventually took him to Auckland where, in 1865, he was appointed judge to both the Compensation Court and the Native Lands Act.⁸⁴ Mackay was particularly prominent around Thames, as a member of the community and Government representative at all land negotiations. He worked closely with Taipari and successfully acquired large tracts of land, especially in the hills surrounding Thames. Taipari and the Ngāti Maru, as the owners of the Karaka Block (through which the richest gold seam ran) were the main recipients of some £10,000 per year that hapu received

⁸³ Mackay had to carefully negotiate the opening of Ohinemuri for diggers as he needed to act swiftly to prevent diggers "rushing" the land, causing an inevitable conflict with the Kingites. Monin, *Hauraki Contested*, pp.217-8.

⁸⁴ Harry C. Evison, 'Mackay, James – Biography,' *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. *Te Ara the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1m29/1>, accessed 25 October 2011.

through sales, rents and miners fees.⁸⁵ Through much of 1868 and 1869 Mackay faced increasing pressure from miners and the Crown to secure more land for diggings. However, negotiations had stalled in December 1868 when Te Hira of Ohinemuri (a Kingite) refused to open his land for diggings.⁸⁶ Mackay felt trapped between the Crown's desire to find new gold and the need to protect Māori interests.

Lush met Taipari and Mackay within weeks of arriving at Thames; he attended a 'korero' held between various hapu and Mackay discussing whether Iwi would open the Upper Thames to diggers. Lush described with admiration the method of debate employed:

A Strong party was in favour ... and sat in booths & open tents on one side with Mr Mackay – the opponents ... sat at some distance opposite ... between them were placed a line of natives, uninterested in the dispute, to keep the peace between contending parties.⁸⁷

Vicesimus recorded that an agreement was reached when Mackay lost patience and declared that he would accept an earlier price of Ropata's land for £1000 as a partial payment. The offer, according to Lush, was speedily accepted and 'all Friday & Saturday Natives kept coming to Mr Mackay to sign the agreement about opening their land so that the greater portion of the district will be available for the diggers.'⁸⁸ This was, however, the negotiation of December 1868 that Te Hira stalled, so Lush's optimistic report was incorrect. Indeed, according to Paul Monin, Mackay withdrew from Ohinemuri fearing armed conflict –

⁸⁵ Paul Monin, 'The Maori Economy of Hauraki 1840-1880,' *New Zealand Journal of History*, 29, 2, 1995, p.205.

⁸⁶ Monin, *Hauraki Contested*, p.218.

⁸⁷ Vicesimus Lush, 16 December 1868, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder20, AML.

⁸⁸ Vicesimus Lush, 21 December 1868, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder20, AML.

something that Lush did not mention.⁸⁹ Observing the negotiations between Mackay (supported by Taipari) and Te Hira was the first of many days Lush spent observing and taking part in Māori/Pākehā discussions and gatherings.

A few days later, after a Christmas dinner hosted by Taipari and his father, Lush wrote with awe about the speech Taipari's father had given: 'he hoped the time was coming when ... [people] would forget they belonged to this hapu or that hapu but remembering they were all New Zealanders, love one another as Brethren & live together in harmony.'⁹⁰ Lush often encountered this generosity from Taipari and his family. The chief was one of the most munificent and reliable benefactors of St. George's Church and Lush often wrote about the "civilized" chief who ruled Thames. Ngāti Maru had not fought against the British in the Taranaki or Waikato Wars, instead embracing the appealing aspects of Pākehā society. In Taipari and the Ngāti Maru, Lush found an ethos with which he agreed and a Māori community that he could (at least partially) understand and respect.

Reverend George Maunsell (in charge of the mission station at Kauaeranga) more directly influenced Lush's contact with Māori than Mackay. Maunsell had introduced Lush to Mackay and invited Lush to accompany him as he travelled among Māori. As a priest and interested observer, Lush accompanied Mackay and Maunsell as they worked among Māori, often in negotiations over the sale or lease of land. Lush was on amiable terms with all the Maunsell family. He frequently visited them, even staying with the women when Maunsell was away as 'Mrs Maunsell is too timid to remain in the house without some gentleman under the roof with her.'⁹¹ As well as friendship, Maunsell provided Lush with

⁸⁹ Monin, *Hauraki Contested*, p.218.

⁹⁰ Vicesimus Lush, 25 December 1868, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder20, AML.

⁹¹ Vicesimus Lush, 5 February 1869, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder20, AML.

the opportunity to encounter and form relationships with local Māori – a new experience for Lush. Lush shared his newfound knowledge of Māori with his family, through commentary, descriptions and souvenirs. Lush wrote excitedly that, while dining with him, Maunsell received ‘a letter in Māori written on a flax leaf ... I had never seen such a letter before & asked Maunsell to give it to me which he readily did.’⁹² Lush’s friendship with Maunsell provided him with the opportunity to extend his social commentary to include observations of Māori. Through Mackay and Maunsell Lush witnessed Thames’ growth as a gold mining district and the transfer of land from Māori to Crown.

Lush wrote about Taipari more often than he mentioned or named other individual Māori. He shows that Taipari was very much in control through the early years of Pākehā settlement at Thames. When Lush wanted a bridge built over a flooding stream he declared ‘I must ask the “Lord of the Manner”: Mr Taipari to make a bridge over this creek.’⁹³ Naming Taipari ‘Lord of the Manner’ may be a facetious moniker but the title equates Taipari with the familiar, if archaic, English hierarchy. The term acknowledges that the land (in 1869) around Thames still belonged to Taipari and Ngāti Maru, even though they had opened it to the diggers and allowed settlements on the flats.

The social commentary in Lush’s Thames journals is more extensive than the Auckland and Waikato journals. Lush and his family had been in New Zealand for eighteen years when he moved to Thames. As Lush lived alone in Thames for the first three years, he carefully described the society and people there for his immediate family, living in Parnell. Many of the people of whom he wrote had been acquaintances since the family first arrived, so their names were

⁹² Vicesimus Lush, 21 July 1869, ‘LUSH Family Papers,’ MS780-Box3-Folder20, AML.

⁹³ Vicesimus Lush, 28 April 1869, ‘LUSH Family Papers,’ MS780-Box3-Folder20, AML.

also familiar to those in England. In addition, the children's ages meant they were more involved in community life (by 1868 Blannie was twenty-five and Edward, the youngest, was already six). When Blannie ran the church choir or Annette visited the hospital, Lush wrote about their work in the community: 'Blannie ... [has] been out a great deal: she visiting among the poor.'⁹⁴ In addition, as towns and cities were established, opportunities for entertainment increased. When they attended the Opera, a play, dances or a picnic, Lush wrote about the event – who was there and how successful it was.

Lush depicted life at Thames as a vibrant and exciting existence. The growing settler population brought many opportunities. Although the settler community was only founded in August 1867 following the official opening of the gold field, by 1870 it had been transformed. By 1868, 15,000 inhabitants had arrived and by 1871 Thames was the fifth largest town in New Zealand.⁹⁵ Lush wrote about the town's expansion through details his readers in England could relate to, rather than through demographics. 'There are two theatres, one music hall – one large dancing hall capable of accommodation 300 couples! – and one club assembly room – all more or less filled every night.'⁹⁶ Similarly, two years later when he took Edith and Annette out for the day they were able to visit the 'Elysium' tea gardens at Tararu and stroll through gardens while eating strawberries. They then attended a croquet party in the afternoon and went to the Theatre Royal in the evening.⁹⁷ For a very newly formed community, Thames was filled with cultural opportunities created by the population expansion and proximity to Auckland.

⁹⁴ Vicesimus Lush, 27 May 1871, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder22, AML.

⁹⁵ Monin, *Hauraki Contested*, p.214.

⁹⁶ Vicesimus Lush, 8 April 1870, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder21, AML.

⁹⁷ Vicesimus Lush, 6 November 1872, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder23, AML.

Rapid population expansion also had negative outcomes, particularly through the prevalence of diseases. As a priest, Lush had contact with the sick and he recorded the outbreak of many ailments. First whooping cough caused high mortality rates among babies; in February 1867 he wrote: 'the average [death rate] for the last few weeks is six a week.'⁹⁸ In 1872 a smallpox outbreak occurred, causing hundreds to rush for vaccination.⁹⁹ Three years later measles hit the Lushes particularly hard, causing Lush to exclaim; 'No one in England can have an idea of our present visitation ... in many cases all, but the Parents, have been prostrated and, for the last month past, I think not a single day has passed without a death.'¹⁰⁰ The measles outbreak coincided with the appearance of typhus. Most devastating for Lush and Blanche, in 1876 scarlet fever claimed the life of Edith Lush, among many others. Paul Monin has argued that the high levels of disease at Thames devastated Māori populations as well as European and was exacerbated by poor infrastructure: 'The open sewers and high-density living of the instant township were breeding grounds for disease, irrespective of race.'¹⁰¹ Lush did not mention the town's infrastructure but the mortality rate through his Thames journals supports Monin's assertions.

Another negative outcome of the town's growth and wealth (in Lush's view) was settlers' preference for entertainment over religion. Their unwillingness to financially participate in church matters was no different to Howick or the Waikato (see Chapter Two). Despite his own enjoyment of music halls and theatre, Lush wrote that it was difficult to endorse them when 'money

⁹⁸ Vicesimus Lush, 17 February 1869, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder20, AML.

⁹⁹ Vicesimus Lush, 6 July 1872, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder23, AML.

¹⁰⁰ Vicesimus Lush, 3 May 1875, 'LUSH Family Papers,' MS780-Box3-Folder25, AML. Original emphasis.

¹⁰¹ Monin, *Hauraki Contested*, p.223.

is found for pleasure but is very scarce for religion.’¹⁰² Theophilus Cooper, a digger in Thames before Lush arrived, had similarly observed in November 1867 that ‘there is very little respect paid here to the sanctity of the Sabbath, at least among the store-keepers and hotel-keepers.’¹⁰³ Lush never achieved the level of settler participation in Church affairs that he desired but as his years at Thames progressed other matters, such as the declining economy, became more important.

The mines and community wealth peaked in 1871. There is little hint of the subsequent decline in Lush’s journals until some time later when he wrote about the exodus from Thames back to Auckland: ‘In consequence of the Exodus which is constantly going on from the Thames, the Baptisms – the Burials and the Marriages have been considerably less this last year, than the year before.’¹⁰⁴ The following month he worried about the district’s increasing poverty as a concert was proposed to raise funds for a bridge: ‘What a poverty stricken Borough-Council we have, to be obliged to have recourse to a concert to raise the few pounds necessary to build the bridge.’¹⁰⁵ By 1880 the heyday of Thames mining was truly over and Lush’s commentary shows that the town was suffering, foreshadowing Lush’s own decline. The following year he left Thames to become Archdeacon of the Waikato at Hamilton and died shortly after.

¹⁰² Vicesimus Lush, 8 April 1870, ‘LUSH Family Papers,’ MS780-Box3-Folder21, AML. Original emphasis.

¹⁰³ Theophilus Cooper, *A Digger’s Diary at the Thames 1867* (Dunedin: Hocken Library, 1978) p.7.

¹⁰⁴ Vicesimus Lush, 31 January 1880, ‘LUSH Family Papers,’ MS780-Box3-Folder17, AML.

¹⁰⁵ Vicesimus Lush, 23 February 1880, ‘LUSH Family Papers,’ MS780-Box3-Folder17, AML.

Conclusion

As a social commentator Lush offered a unique perspective on Māori/Pākehā relationships and New Zealand's development. Through his accounts of the New Zealand Wars, immigration schemes and the gold rushes Lush's journals provide an insight into New Zealand's social development. There is much that could still be learned from Lush's journals, especially regarding the formation and growth of society at Thames. While travelling through the Waikato, his clerical collar allowed him entry into the houses of wealthy immigrants and Māori pā. He was able to engage with all those he met in New Zealand. Even through the Taranaki and Waikato Wars Lush still moved between settlers and Māori, rich and poor. As such, his journals, though necessarily Eurocentric, show a different aspect of the conflict to his contemporaries.

Lush's encounters with Māori went beyond his impressions of the New Zealand Wars. Once in Thames, removed from the immediacy of conflict and meeting Māori as part of everyday life, Lush's perceptions changed. Especially through his relationship with Taipari, Lush's writing shows a growing respect for Māori. He demonstrated little desire to personally help Māori, either in their poverty or their faith. His descriptions of meeting Māori were heavily influenced by his travel writing style as Lush described the novelty of his experiences for an English audience. For Lush the Māori remained an endangered people, with little hope for survival but whose exploits made interesting and entertaining reading.

Lush's New Zealand War entries show the actions and reactions of a settler not involved in the wars. Most of his information came from word of mouth or newspapers and only occasionally did Lush directly engage in the events.

Although his removal from the actual conflict makes Lush's accounts potentially unreliable, they are still valuable to a study of the New Zealand Wars. Lush was usually clear about his sources. In particular, his habit of pasting newspaper articles into his journals provides an alternative source of information. He also recorded from whom he received information, illustrating active passages of communication through the settler community. His social commentary describes the fear of an attack on Auckland and settlers' responses to the perceived threat. It also shows the extent to which the conflicts permeated society through the 1860s and illustrates Lush's awareness as a writer.

Lush's journals primarily document the experiences and reactions of an individual but, beyond this, they provide a commentary on many aspects of New Zealand society and its development. Whether recording his travels through the Waikato or ruminating on his position within Thames society, Lush documented his immediate perceptions. These combine over the thirty-two years of journals to provide a social commentary on the changes and challenges that settlers faced through the country's infrastructural, social and economic development. As an educated, middle-class man from a good family in England, Lush's perceptions were influenced by his background and expectations. His financial situation (especially his ability to buy land and mine shares) allowed him to experience life as a landed settler with additional income but equally meant that he could only observe and try to aid the struggles of the poor (he could not write about their lives from his own experiences). Similarly, though Lush worked with Māori and knew many personally, his interests and priorities lay predominantly within the settler communities. His place in society as a (predominantly) financially stable, landed, educated, middle-class priest provided Lush with the curiosity, time and inclination to observe and record his social commentary of New Zealand.

Conclusion

This thesis has considered the journals of Vicesimus Lush as a means of examining the life of an ordinary middle-class male settler in New Zealand: his place as a social commentator, his changing perceptions of “home” and his experiences in “building” the New Zealand Anglican Church. Lush’s journals contain within them a largely untapped wealth of information on New Zealand’s development, specifically the Auckland area, between 1850 and 1882. The journals are particularly helpful in aiding scholars’ understanding of the history of the New Zealand Anglican Church but should not be limited within this field. Although a priest, Lush also wrote extensively as a family man, settler, observer and Englishman. His writing is detailed, employing a quietly confident style and lively wit to entertain those for whom he wrote.

Lush’s journals record life in early Auckland and its surrounds. An immigrant and settler, coping with the distance from “home” (England) and family, his writing captured Lush’s change in perceptions of “home”. By writing consistently to a known audience he (probably unwittingly) demonstrated how, over time, settlers’ identification with Britain as “home” evolved to include an emotional connection with New Zealand. As one of many nineteenth-century settlers writing across the British Empire, Lush wrote about the emotional and physical changes that the family underwent to make New Zealand familiar and build their sense of belonging in a new land. Building a family home was particularly important for the Lushes in establishing New Zealand roots, as was adapting English customs for their new environment.

As a writer within the British Empire, whether a traveller or settler, Lush wrote his journals as part of maintaining his identity as an Englishman, while

simultaneously adapting his perceptions of “home” to identify with New Zealand. The constant presence of “building” is a clear example of Lush’s emotional, financial and familial investment as a settler. Whether he was literally building a house or church, contributing to settlers’ “building” of the land and society to resemble England or helping to build community, Lush was engaged in “building” New Zealand. Lush’s clearest contribution to “building” in New Zealand was within the Anglican Church and it is his record of his participation in the Church’s establishment that makes his writing so pivotal to Anglican history. However, his contributions to “building” went beyond the Church and (though this thesis has touched on them) there is much that could still be examined of how he wrote about constructing society, community and culture.

Part of belonging in New Zealand for Lush, as a priest, was helping to establish an autonomous Anglican Church, crafted for New Zealand’s specific circumstances. Lush helped build the New Zealand Church through his faithful work as a parish priest rather than through intense participation in ecclesiastical politics. Throughout his writing Lush captured the life of a parish priest in colonial New Zealand. For Lush being a priest meant more than merely taking Sunday services and preaching. As Bishop Cowie preached at Lush’s memorial service: ‘The motto of our Church was *his* motto in all such matters:— In quietness and confidence shall be your strength.’¹ The depth of Lush’s faith comes through in his journals in the work that he did and his devotion to the Church establishment. ‘It is no exaggeration to say that [Lush] was never happier than when ministering to God’s people, in God’s temple, which to his soul was truly lovely.’² More than this, by chronicling the growth of the New

¹ ‘Vicesimus Lush, M.A.’ *Church Gazette, for the Dioceses of Auckland and Melanesia from July 1881 to June 1884* (Auckland, 01 August 1882) p.75, AADA.

² ‘Vicesimus Lush, M.A.’ *Church Gazette*, p.75, AADA.

Zealand Anglican Church, his journals clearly link the building of the Church with the building of New Zealand as a colony. They show a working priest's experiences of how Bishop Selwyn, and others, worked to craft the institution for New Zealand while maintaining close links with England and the rich traditions of "home".

As an observer of the changes that took place in and around Auckland between 1850 and 1882 Lush proved himself astute. Although he did not write intending to leave a complete record of his life for posterity, he nonetheless provided New Zealand with a record of an ordinary man's observations through some of the country's most rapidly changing years. As a priest he travelled fairly extensively. He met people from all sectors of society and was involved in community life. His vocation coloured the record that he left: his particular experiences within the community were moulded by his position and expectations. This does not, however, negate the use of his writing as a source on New Zealand history. Rather, when studied with knowledge of Lush's background and character it adds a further dimension to the picture of colonial life provided by the text.

Scholars today are increasingly engaging with the journals and letters of British nineteenth-century emigrants. Those who wrote while travelling fulfilled an (often) unwritten obligation to communicate their experiences with their untravelled contemporaries back "home". Lush may not have been a traditional traveller but parts of his journal strongly resemble travel literature and can be analyzed as such. As a traveller, Lush recorded his initial impressions of New Zealand. He indulged in dramatic description and acted as the interested observer writing his observations for absent family. Some of Lush's most compelling passages are of his encounters with Māori: presenting Māori as an

exotic “other”, even after years of living in New Zealand. Lush applied his position as an interested, but detached, observer of Māori and Māori/Pākehā interactions to his writing and consequently the journals’ presentation of Māori never moves beyond presenting them in a travel writing format. Whether he was a “traveller” newly arrived from England or a short-term traveller moving through the Waikato, Lush wrote so that his family could better understand his experiences and observations.

The success of Lush’s text as a record of his life and work in colonial New Zealand depends on his skill as a social commentator. While his interest in Māori, landscape and other “exotic” aspects of New Zealand informed the travel writing aspects of his work, his keen observations of society and community dynamics provided Lush with the ability to write a social commentary. His commentary ranged from recording the settler relationships to capturing Auckland’s changes in infrastructure. Lush’s record is not complete – he did not travel everywhere, nor did he write about everything he did or observed – but it is an accomplished record of both how he perceived his environment and how he chose to record it. This unintentional record of how Lush, as a writer, constructed his text contributes to the material contained within the journals that inform any biographical work of Lush’s life.

The autobiographical nature of Lush’s journals provide an ideal framework for a biographical approach to the analysis of his writing. Consciously writing to inform those absent about his life, Lush wrote about everything from the mundane to the “exotic”. This diverse record encapsulates much of what the biographer looks for when compiling their text. The journals themselves do not form a complete autobiography, however. Their format, written almost as a collection of letters without the specific purpose of forming a complete life work,

meant that Lush wrote for the moment rather than for continuity across entries. This gives the journals an added depth, allowing the scholar to explore Lush's changes in interest or mood, but equally means there are frustrating gaps in the record. This thesis has explored some of Lush's character as depicted in his text, particularly with relation to his perceptions of "home". It contributes to the slowly growing literature around Lush and his family, introducing and suggesting areas for further research and the journals' importance to New Zealand history. A complete biography of Lush remains to be written that, if undertaken, will further elucidate the family's contribution to settler New Zealand and Lush's role in recording (and "building") the colony.

Lush's journals and the entire Lush family archive hold a wealth of information that this thesis has only touched on. The extent of Lush's writing and the limits of this work meant that many possible themes have not been examined: his depictions of, and relationships with, the people of Auckland (such as John Kinder, Arthur Purchas or Bishop Patterson), a more detailed look at his relationship with his family and their lives in New Zealand or a more in-depth examination of life in colonial Auckland (and surrounding districts). Within the wider Lush archive, two boxes of Vicesimus' sermons wait the willing scholar's attention, as do multiple boxes of family correspondence after the patriarch's death, including the papers of William Edward Lush from 1875-1941 and the World War One journals of Walter David Ruddick (Annette's son). There is also much work that could be undertaken using the manuscript archive in conjunction with the family's possessions at Ewelme Cottage. Each of these possibilities engages with a different aspect of, and approach to, New Zealand and colonial history, making the Lush collections a flexible and exciting archive for any scholar to explore.

Appendix: Timeline of Vicesimus Lush's Life

27 August	1817 - Vicesimus Lush born to Charles Lush and Charlotte Amos
5 May	1842 - Married Blanche Hawkins at Ewelme Village, Oxfordshire
	1842 - Graduated Bachelor of Arts, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge
	1842 - Ordained Deacon
	1842 - Appointed Curate of Over Darwen parish, Lancashire
February	1843 - Ordained Priest
	1843 - Appointed Curate of Farringdon parish, Berkshire
	1843 - Blanche (Blannie) Hawkins born
	1844 - Charlotte Sarah born
	1847 - Mary Eliza born
	1847 - Graduated Master of Arts, Cambridge
	1849 - Charles Hawkins born
	1849 - Leaves Farringdon
13 May	1850 - Family sails for New Zealand on the Barbara Gordon
December	1850 - Appointed priest in charge to All Saints, Howick
	1852 - Henry Alfred born
	1854 - John Martin born
	1854 - Henry Alfred, Charlotte Sarah and Mary Eliza died
	1857 - Anne (Annette) born
	1859 - Margaret Edith born
	1862 - William Edward born
	1865 - Appointed itinerant clergyman to the Waikato
	1868 - Appointed priest in charge to St. George's, Thames
	1871 - Family joins Vicesimus in Thames
	1876 - Margaret Edith died
	1881 - Visits Norfolk Island with Annette
	1881 - Appointed Archdeacon of the Waikato, family moves to Hamilton
	1882 - Moved to Parnell, Auckland to be close to doctor
11 July	1882 - Vicesimus Lush died

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