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THE ANGLICAN REACTION TO
THE SECULAR CLAUSE OF THE
1877 EDUCATION ACT.

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of M.A.
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ABSTRACT

Part I of the thesis gives the general background to the issue of secular education in New Zealand through the various situations in each Province. Although the Provincial Councils were independent from one another they each experienced considerable difficulties with the problems of religious instruction. The Roman Catholics and Anglicans desired their own schools and grants-in-aid, while the non-conformists wanted a state system which was secular. Part I concludes with a brief view of the sectarian divisions and the 1877 Education Bill.

Part II deals with Anglican reaction prior to 1877. It became clear in the Anglican Synodical proceedings, and in local debate reported in newspapers, that the Church of England was ambivalent in its attitudes. Episcopal leaders, such as Octavius Hadfield, sought a similar position to the Roman Catholics in demanding a Church school system supported by grants-in-aid. Other Anglicans did not feel so strongly and subsequently secular education became a national measure.

Part III considers the situation after 1877 through the synodical proceedings; the 1883 Petitions Committee (which considered the complaints about the secular clause); and the 1895 Committee which discussed the proposed Irish text book scheme. The Anglican response remained ambivalent, and even those who bitterly opposed the secular clause could not persuade Church members to respond in a decisive way.

PREFACE

Having spent many years teaching Religious studies as an academic subject in the United Kingdom, I was surprised to find secular education in New Zealand. As an Anglican priest, and a member of various synods I became curious as to why the situation arose, and, more to the point, how the Anglican Church reacted to the secular clause.

While in pursuit of this research, I have had good reason to be grateful to Dr. P. Linebam of Massey University History Department, who has assisted and guided me. At all times he has exhibited a degree of patience far more than I deserved.

I am also indebted to Massey University's interloan service; to the Turnbull Library for access to their documents and space to work in; and to the library of Wanganui Collegiate School.

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List of Abbreviations.

- AJHR Appendices to the Journals of House of Representatives, Government Printer, Wellington.
- BPP British Parliamentary Papers relative to New Zealand.
- BRD. Breward.I, Godless Schools, A Study of Protestant Reactions to Secular Education in New Zealand, Presbyterian Bookroom, Christchurch, 1967.
- DNZB Scholefield, G.H,(ed),Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, 2 Vols,Whitcombe and Tombs Ltd, Wellington, 1940.
- JEPC Joint Education Petitions Committee, in AJHR, 1883,I-11.
- Mac Mackey.J, The Making of a State Education System, The Passing of the New Zealand Education Act,1877, Geoffrey Chapman, London, 1967.
- OHNZ Oliver.W.H, with Williams.B.R, (eds.), The Oxford History of New Zealand, Oxford University Press, Wellington, 1981.
- PD New Zealand Parliamentary Debates, Wellington, Government Printer.

A NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY

Since many Anglicans during the 19th Century clearly regarded themselves as Church of England I have used this title interchangeably with Anglican. The title Non-Conformist seemed less clumsy than Non-Episcopal Protestants, the only alternative. Unless otherwise specified I intend Non-Conformist simply to mean all other main line Christian denominations outside the traditions of Anglicanism, with the exception of Roman Catholics who are mentioned specifically. The Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church (ed. E.A. Livingston, 2 edn, 1977) writes that the word is now "applied generally to all dissenters from the Church of England especially those of Protestant sympathy." There is no justification for this in New Zealand except from the point of convenience.

INTRODUCTION

When New Zealand was populated by the first Europeans the various Christian denominations were similar to those existing in the mother country, as would be quite natural. Canterbury was mainly Church of England while Otago fell more naturally to the Presbyterians. The Roman Catholics could not be said to have particular claim in any one area, although Irish Roman Catholics in Auckland were strong in number, and just prior to 1858 numbered 60.91% of all Roman Catholics in New Zealand. (1) The Presbyterian fathers of Otago watched with many misgivings the sudden influx of Irish Roman Catholics when gold was first discovered. The denominational differences experienced in Europe were transported directly to the new colony.

The Protestants would certainly hold certain fears regarding the Roman Catholics, and the non-conformist Protestants would feel a common sentiment with the Roman Catholics that the Anglican Church should not become the established Church. The Anglican Church felt strongly for its traditions and yet had its theological extremes which felt happy to co-habit with either the Wesleyans or, on the other hand, the Roman Catholics. It was these sectarian divides which added to the ferment of national discussion in the question of the 1877 Education Act. The secular clause caused considerable opposition from the Roman Catholics and the Anglicans, and this thesis proposes to explore the reaction of the Anglican Church to the proposal of the clause and its efforts to alter the Act after 1877.

(1) A.G. Butchers, Young New Zealand, Coulls, Somerville, Wilkie Ltd, Dunedin, 1929, p.104.

GENERAL BACKGROUND

The New Zealand pakeha population was obviously British in background, the 1874 census indicates that the European population was 299,514 of which as much as 95.56% was British (2). The new colony was not a faithful reflection of the motherland; Britain was seeking methods of political reform in the midst of an Industrial Revolution, which development gave some impetus to colonisation) while the colony was more concerned with self-government and a sense of unity. The Provincial Councils were responsible for education and their respective systems tended to reflect the character of the Province, especially if that character were of a denominational flavour.

In 1870 the Colonial Treasurer, Vogel, borrowed eight and a half million pounds sterling on the London market and received little support from the Provincial Councils. Because of this and other factors the government made a successful appeal to the country to abolish the Provinces (3). The legal foundations of the educational system disappeared and made national legislation imperative; it also became a testing ground for national unity.

Early educational efforts had been mainly concerned with the instruction of the Maori, and Hobson had believed that the best way of encouraging this was through extensive land endowment. The first Educational Ordinance of 1844 was simply entitled: "An Ordinance for appointing a Board of Trustees for the Management of Property to be set apart for the Education and Advancement of the Native Race." (4). Indicative of that day and age the trustees were to be the Governor-General, the Lord Bishop of New Zealand, the Attorney General, and William Spain (Commissioner for lands). The whole reason for the endowment was to establish and maintain schools for the Maori population in terms of English culture and morality. It was a simple document reflecting a simple but typically Colonial attitude.

(2) Statistics for the Colony of New Zealand, 1874, pp.9,15.

(3) C.G.F. Simkin, The Instability of a Dependent Economy, Economic Fluctuation in New Zealand. 1840-1914, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1951, pp. 145-8.

(4) BPP, Education Ordinance, 29 June, 1844, quoted by Mac, p.28.

W.H. Oliver wrote about the first ideals. "They began to civilise manners and to reconstruct society as a necessary accompaniment, even a prelude, to conversion:" (5) Even at this very early age the religious problem started to emerge; the Legislative Council's three appointments were Charles Clifford (English Roman Catholic), William Brown and Samuel McDonald Martin, both Scottish and undoubtedly Presbyterian, all of whom protested at the possible election of Selwyn the first Anglican Primate. Their reasons could only have been a genuine fear of the establishment of the Church of England as the official Church of the State.

In 1847 Grey and his legislative Council passed an Ordinance which proposed to spend one twentieth of the national income on education. Again the religious question was fermenting slowly in the background. The Roman Catholics had requested special aid and protests against this had been rejected by Grey, and he wrote; "the interests of Protestants here, indeed of the whole colony, required that a considerable portion of the native children of these islands should not be condemned to a hopeless state of Barbarism, and its attendant vices, simply because their parents had embraced the Roman Catholic faith." (6)

As already mentioned there was a considerable anxiety about the presence of the Roman Catholics, and probably felt more keenly in Britain when it was heard that the first influx of priests had been French. Although this particular ordinance had been specifically designed to assist the Maori population it raised the issues which were to revolve around the 1877 Education Act, namely the question of aid to Roman Catholic and Anglican schools. In many ways the ordinance was very close to the British system in so far it offered financial aid to different religious denominations and demanded the right of the state to inspect the schools.

The Provincial Councils prior to their abolition controlled all education within their respective areas. Three attitudes towards the teaching of religion were beginning to emerge; that of the Protestant, the Roman Catholic, and that which has been broadly called the secularist. Only the Roman Catholic stand was clear and uncluttered in its demands.

(5)W.H. Oliver, The Story of New Zealand, Faber & Faber, London, 1960, p.45.

(6)BPP, Sir George Grey to Earl Grey, Despatch 130, 9 Dec. 1847, quoted by Mac, p.38.

The Protestants held different viewpoints amongst themselves, not least because the Church of England could not claim total uniformity of thought. The secularists were not just agnostics and rationalists, but clergy of many protestant denominations, as well as Jews.

Before these questions are explored in detail it is first essential to examine, however briefly, what was happening in each Province in regard to its educational policy. Then to examine the role of the General Assembly, and so leave the ground hopefully cleared for an exploration and understanding of the Anglican reaction to the secular clause of the 1877 Education Act.

AUCKLAND PROVINCE

In a reaction to Grey's 1847 'Education Ordinance' the Auckland Southern Cross wrote:

We have no schools, and our Youth are left to grow up in ignorance. It is the government alone who are to blame, as they have the funds and do not apply them....and however desirous parents may be to obtain instruction for their children, they cannot create the necessary schools for the purpose," and, "nor ought we to forget that our best settlers no sooner find themselves in independent circumstances than they consider it necessary to leave the colony for the sole purpose of obtaining that education for their children which the government, now possessing the means, ought to provide for them here. (7)

Now while it is true that the Auckland Southern Cross spent much of its news space in opposition to the government, one should take into account the unimportance of newspaper opinion, but nevertheless it would seem that Auckland's population of some six thousand were very poorly equipped with educational facilities.

Bishop Selwyn (on his arrival in Auckland) had established as early as 1842 the College of St John's, which, although a theological college, had attached to it a school for both races. The intention was to establish Church schools where possible and link them with the college. The first specifically Anglican school in Auckland was opened by the Reverend J.F. Churton and attached to Old St.Paul's church in September 1842, with an average attendance of seventy pupils. (8). Other denominations were not far behind in their efforts and the first Wesleyan school opened in 1845 under the supervision of the Rev.W.Lawry. It was, however, the Roman Catholics who founded the first English School in Auckland in 1841, inspired by the "Vicar-General of Southern Oceania" Bishop Jean Baptiste Pompallier, who was concerned for the religious instruction of Irish Catholic families. The Presbyterians founded their first school in January 1856 and a girls school a few years later.

(7) Southern Cross, 19 Jan. 1855, quoted by Mac, p.53.

(8) Auckland Times, 22 Dec. 1842.

The situation was typical of the rest of the country. A few denominational schools appeared, their strength dependent upon the vision or zeal of the local clergy. It is clear however that while each denomination reacted in terms of clearly defined boundaries, this was patchy and hardly comprehensive. One of the main problems was financial and another was the lack of schoolteachers. In a desperate effort to overcome this a special clause was inserted into the 1857 Waste Land Act, offering potential teachers eighty acres of land in exchange for five year's service. Moreover the effectiveness of the various schools was marred by the sectarianism; when for example the Auckland Provincial Council offered a grant of some five hundred pounds to aid denominational schools (9) there was an immediate protest from three clergy, one Baptist and two Congregationalists (10), who finding others of a like mind formed a group called the "Freedom of Religion Society". Their aim was to stop all patronage and control by the state (11). It is of great interest to note that in the Auckland Province the first protests against denominational schools did not come from so called rationalists, and that these "secularists" were not agnostics but clergy, with a fear of Roman Catholicism and Anglicanism.

The first statement of education in Auckland came in a pamphlet entitled "A Proposed Scheme of Education for the Province of Auckland" (12) which was signed by thirteen citizens. Their views were reflective of the community in so far that there was considerable difficulty in reaching agreed solutions. Most but not all of the thirteen agreed that education should be voluntary, and they rejected total control by the state on the grounds it was too close to despotism. They recognised that state resources were essential and they looked towards a partnership which they believed was the case in England. On the religious question they experienced more strife which was prophetic for the future. Their first conclusion was to adopt secular education in its entirety, but eventually rejected this on the grounds that such a stand would be inconsistent with a Christian country.

(9) Auckland Provincial Council Journal, 16 Jan. 1855, National Archives, Wellington.

(10) Southern Cross, 19 Jan. 1855.

(11) *ibid*, 23 Dec. 1856.

(12) A Proposed Scheme of Education for the Province of Auckland, n.pl., n.d, Auckland Museum Library.

The second possibility they considered was to provide religious instruction with a formula agreeable to all denominations. Even with the ecumenical strides of the twentieth century this would prove difficult, but in the middle of the last century men of common sense knew that it was an impossible task. Their third possibility was to agree on a common creed, but once again this suggested ideal was too impractical. There was only one solution acceptable to all thirteen signatories, and that was simply to leave it to the discretion of the local school councils. They were still wary of the danger that if the state were to supply or support one or more denominations then the state would be in danger of propagating errors, since errors there must be somewhere in the mesh of sectarian disagreement. Their agonising over this problem underlined the difficulty which lay ahead for the whole country; unanimous agreement was beginning to appear a mere wish or fantasy. Sweeping statements about common creeds and religious formulae could be easily made, but the historical prejudices between various denominations were not going to be solved by educationalists.

In the end the Auckland Council (Educational Act 1857) (13) decided to give aid to voluntary schools, not on any form of denominational basis; it so happened that most of the schools were of a church foundation. The financial aid was hardly sufficient since it only covered half of the teacher's salary, and many went half paid or unpaid to such an extent that they had to seek augmentive employment. The whole question of religion was left entirely to local managers and the Act was sadly deficient in its

financial clauses. The Act brought a very sharp protest from the Roman Catholics who stated through their Vicar-General, the Reverend J. McDonald that the only measures acceptable to the Roman Catholic were those which allowed the Catholics to have complete control of teachers, text books, inspection and management. (14.) This was an extreme statement and not all Auckland Roman Catholics subscribed to it. A Roman Catholic teacher appeared before the

(13) Education Act 1857, in Ordinances of the Province of Auckland.

(14) Auckland Provincial Council Journals, 1868-1869, Appendix 2, p.9.

same committee and disagreed with his Vicar-General (15). This again was indicative for the future.

The 1869 Common Schools Act repealed all former Acts and made it theoretically possible to establish Public Schools, but unfortunately made no serious provision for financial resources to make this a sensible reality. The Act proclaimed new education districts and the committees were to be financial and secular. This Act was repealed in 1872 in an effort to give the Boards greater power, and to legalise a capitation on pupils between the ages of seven and twelve; the Board also made education compulsory for half a year at the request of the ratepayers. While this Act and further efforts in 1874 showed an improvement the problems were still waiting a solution. It was becoming clear that education had to be free and compulsory, but while some measure of agreement could be reached on these two issues, it was proving more difficult on the issue of religious instruction and so there was a growing demand for secular education. Despite these efforts the statistics of March 31, 1877 clearly indicate that a mere 39% of the children population were regular attenders in the various schools (16). Ian Breward in his book "Godless Schools" points out that by the 1870s Auckland had spent only 1% of its revenue on education compared to Nelson's 8.2% and that Auckland depended heavily upon its Church Schools (17). Just prior to the abolition of the Provincial Councils the situation in Auckland had improved but the vexed question of secular education had not been resolved. The Roman Catholics and most Anglicans were firmly convinced of their respective rights to control the education of the young, while the Presbyterians were holding to the opinion that secular education was to be preferred to any sectarian advantage. In 1874 in the Auckland debate on education the main controversy significantly dwelt upon the secular nature of future education.

(15) *ibid*, p.11.

(16) PD, 1877, Vol 24, p.31.

(17) BRD, p.11.

WELLINGTON

The denominational schools of Wellington were few in number. The first Wesleyan school was opened in March of 1842, in December 1847 the Roman Catholics opened a school in Boulcott Street, but it was not until January of 1852 that the first Church of England school came into existence (St. Paul's), with a second in 1854 (St. Peter's, Te Aro). Sir George Grey gave an equal grant to each of these denominations, but despite the various denominational efforts it soon became clear that state aid was essential if schools were to function properly.

William Fox wrote the fullest account of education for an 1854 Commission of education in which he made two things absolutely clear; the first was the imperative need to educate the masses and the second was that this had to be accomplished by the state. Like many others during this period he saw education as a major means for helping to cut back on the crime rate, and he used Prussia and France as illustrations of the virtue of a centralised education system. It follows naturally that he saw no place for religious instruction within such a proposed state system, and he therefore criticised both Otago and Canterbury for introducing religion into their schools. This controversy was to be a major hallmark for the Wellington Province, and was to lead to many debates and at times ungentlemanly exchanges in the local press.(18) He completely dismissed any form of denominational system although he was to change his mind in the 1870s. As a result of this debate the question of religious instruction, as John Mackey wrote:

...was treated simply as a conflict regarding the political status of social institutions. In defending the right of the state to institute secular schools as the sole beneficiaries of public funds, secularists were convinced that they were defending the rights, first, of the individual, and secondly, of the state, from unjust privilege. (19)

(18) New Zealand Spectator & Cook's Straits Guardian, 24 Jan. 1855.

(19) Mac, p.71.

One of the most popular statements made in the press was to the effect that no state could authorise any form of religious instruction without violating religious equalities (20). The reasons for the strong reactions of the 'secularists' will be explored later, but in the meanwhile it is true to say that Fox's views reflected the minds of many opposed to the denominational system. Fox was not so much opposed to religious instruction but was convinced that it ought not to be given at the public expense. The appendix to the report deals with the reaction of the churches to the proposals, they were mainly in favour until the question of religious instruction was raised. The Church of England sought the English system of denomination aid, and a Roman Catholic priest, the Rev. J. J. O'Reilly, supported the denominational scheme. Non-conformist protestants tended to favour the state system of secular education none more fervently than the Reverend J. Moir, who said at a public meeting, "the liberty of the denominational system ... was that of the stork who invited the fox to dinner, when the food could only be got at by the stork thrusting his long bill into the bottle that contained it, the poor fox looked very foolish and only had the pleasure of licking the outside of the bottle." (21). This statement, made at a meeting which became very heated, clearly indicated the fear of many non-conformists that the Church of England was about to 'take all' and once again see itself as the established church.

Eventually in 1855 the Common Schools Act tried to establish a secular education system; the main problems were more basic than the Social and Theological ones propounded at public meetings, namely finance. The bill was strongly secular and this is not surprising since it was passed under the chairmanship of Fox himself. The debate raged in the papers, and mainly in support:

Its effect, if carried out will originate in this colony all the evils and the religious animosities attendant on the now exploded system of Church rates in the mother country; escape from which and similar hereditary inflictions has been commonly regarded as a compensation for the trials of colonial life. (22)

(20) Dunedin Evening Star, Editorial, 23 May. 1871.

(21) New Zealand Spectator & Cook's Straits Guardian, 13 Jan. 1855.

(22) *ibid*, 20 Feb. 1857.

The Act was clear, there was to be no religious instruction and no ministers allowed in the schools. But there was little money and two years later, in 1857, the Ordinance was changed: private schools were given a subsidy (which was to end in 1871), and teachers were allowed to teach the Bible but without doctrine or notes. (23)

Wellington's next Act was in 1871, and established ten education districts, provided for school committees and an Education Board, and intended to raise funds by capitation levies on children aged five to fourteen years, with a 5d. rate on the pound on all rateable property. Religious instruction of a non-controversial type could be given, and some funds were made available for private schools. An amendment in 1874 dropped the levy tax because it proved too difficult to collect. As in the case of Auckland the Wellington Act was far too permissive in its financial clauses, and subsequently weak. As J. Graham, in her article of Settler Society wrote; "by contrast, (to Nelson) Wellington Provincial Councillors voted in May 1874 for schools fees of 5 shillings per child up to three per family to be paid on the first day of every quarter, but many parents could not or would not afford the fees." (24)

Nevertheless, as in Auckland, educational facilities started to improve, and statistics indicate a growth in attendance at public schools; in 1872 an estimated attendance of 400 with a population of 24,001 (1871 census) compared to an attendance of 5,240 to a population of 51,069 in the 1878 census..(25)

As in Auckland the religious question was not solved; the debate continued with the stern Anglican leadership of Bishop Hadfield and the Roman Catholics. The latter fiercely raised the issue of the difficulty of Roman Catholic teachers applying for positions which went against their conscience, and of Roman Catholic parents having to pay towards a system they could not support. They demanded aid for Roman Catholic schools. When the education issue became truly national these arguments became central.

(23) Wellington Ordinance Amendment. 20 Feb 1857, cited by Butchers, p.240.

(24) OHN2, J. Graham, "The Settler Society", p.137.

(25) Butchers, p.242.

NELSON

The Nelson Province had the honour of having the only educational system nearly acceptable to the Roman Catholics. Bishop Moran, in reply to the Honourable Mr. Barnicoat, during the 1883 Joint Education Petitions Committee, replied concerning the Nelson system that: "...it was partially satisfactory, because an effort was made to do them justice, but it was not full, because they did not get equal treatment with other denominations." (26) The Roman Catholic protest was very strong elsewhere, and this praise however weak is a positive indication of the efforts made by the Nelson Province to overcome the denominational problems. In the same Petitions Committee the Rev Bavin, the Chief Minister for the Wesleyan-Methodist Church in Wellington, also pointed to the Nelson Province as a place where there was equality afforded. (27) It was in fact the Nelson system which Bowen was to use in 1877 as the model for the proposed national scheme.

From the very beginning the Nelson Province was deeply concerned with the question of education, "within a few weeks of the arrival of the first ships. Under the terms of purchase one sixth of the amount paid for land in the settlement was to be held by the Company in trust for rendering it "attractive", of which 30% was to go to the churches, 30% to the schools and 40% to provide a steamer for the port." (28) As time progressed and the reality of opening up a new land dawned upon the settlers these plans had to be modified; nevertheless they are indicative of the ideals of this Province. The Nelson School Society started with the opening of its first school in 1842, and followed this with formidable efforts in the following years: 1844, Nelson School, Wakefield; 1845, Stoke; 1846, Waimea; 1847, Nelson Infants, Spring Grove; 1848, Richmond, Waimea East, Riwaka. (29) The public school system in this Province was so strong that denominational schools were much fewer in number compared to other Provinces. The Wesleyans had three but only one was to survive in Nelson, and the Church of England had four which in turn gave way to the public school system. The first Roman Catholic

(26) AJHR, JEPC, 1883, question 361, p.23.

(27) *ibid*, question 537, p.31.

(28) Butchers, p.138.

(29) *ibid*, p.141.

school appeared in 1851, and that, with a convent, was to remain their only institution for some time. During this period the Roman Catholic population never exceeded more than 6.3% of the total population. (30).

There was never any lengthy report from this Province, but it is easy to gain the impression upon reading the history of Nelson that actions seemed to count more than the theory. The first Superintendent, Edward Stafford, praised the denominational system, (31) but nevertheless a select Committee criticised Grey's gift of land to Selwyn, but this was probably more personal than policy, since Selwyn was not popular in that Province.

In 1856 the Nelson Provincial Council passed an Act which attempted to establish a genuine public schools system within their Province. All settlers were to pay their share and it was therefore, to be secular. The Superintendent was empowered to set up educational districts and a Central Board of Education which was given the power to levy an annual rate of a pound per householder, plus a capitation fee of 5/- for each child aged between five and fourteen years of age. The appointment of teachers was to be carried out by a local committee. As might be expected with the benefit of hindsight the Roman Catholics protested at this particular Act. It was stated that Religious Instruction must be free from controversy, and that a conscience clause should enable children to withdraw.

Nevertheless the Nelson Provincial Council had a clearer understanding for the problems of its minorities, far more, it would appear than any other Council of the day. Nelson allowed within its system the existence of private schools which were known as 'separated schools', and of course the Roman Catholics took full advantage of this system and it worked well; the observation ought to be made that the Roman Catholics did find the capital for their enterprises. The Nelson Council were also well known for their experiment with compulsory education and with their bold measures in taxation; it cost Nelson five shillings and seven pence per head compared to Auckland spending three

(30) Statistics of New Zealand, 1858.

(31) Nelson Provincial Council Votes and Proceedings, 11 Feb. 1855.

shillings and five pence (32) ... or to use another statistic Nelson spent 8.2% of its revenue on education compared to Auckland's 1%.

The 1856 Act was greatly influenced by the thinking of such men as Alfred Domett (Editor of the Nelson Examiner) William Fox and Thomas Arnold. One of the important arguments was that since education must be compulsory it must not therefore conflict with the religious scruples of the population, and must, therefore, of necessity be non-denominational: "...by placing the mighty machinery of education in the hands of ecclesiastics, it affords opportunities, whether likely to be laid out or not, for the exercise of priestcraft and the gradual renewal of the subjection of the human mind, to its influence" (33). To the modern mind this may appear a somewhat drastic criticism of the Church, but a reading of the 19th Century writer, Anthony Trollope's novels of Barchester Towers, a novel which seems to reflect the attitudes of the Established Church, underlines the dangers which Domett undoubtedly felt.

But the Nelson Council never took a totally strict line, and the 1856 Act was modified in 1858 to allow both denominational and interdenominational schools within its system. Roman Catholic pressure upon the council led to a further modification in 1867 in which they were granted Aid. The Nelson System was at least a workable system and in 1864 could boast that 70% were in fact attending school. (34) The success of the system was not repeated elsewhere in the country, and it is not surprising to find much of the Nelson system being used as a basis for the national 1877 Act.

(32) A. Saunders, History of New Zealand, 2 Vols. Whitcombe and Tombs Ltd, Christchurch, 1899, Vol 2, p.272.

(33) Records of the Provincial Council of New Munster, 1849.

(34) F.Durning. "Education in Nelson. 1850-80". Unpublished M.A.Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1941.

CANTERBURY

Only three years before the granting of Constitutional government the Anglican settlement of Canterbury was established. The ideals were high, as Purchas wrote: "As there were a million acres for sale, a million pounds would thus be raised for the endowment of a Bishopric, for the building of churches and parsonages, for the erection and equipment of a university, and for an ample supply of schools and schoolmasters. (35). He "that aims at the stars hits the top of the barn door" is an adage which did not fit the experience of the Canterbury Province. They were sadly lacking financial resources from the very start, and the fact that the question of the Bishopric was not settled until 1857 left this Province in a very difficult situation. Most of the early schools were due to the private efforts of the settlers (36), and the first Church of England schools were not established until the mid 1850s. The Wesleyans were vigorous in their approach and established schools both in Canterbury and Lyttelton by 1853. The Presbyterians established their first schools in 1857-8, but the Roman Catholics who had no resident authority did not begin their efforts until as late as 1864 (St Joseph's Canterbury). By 1863 there were some 37 schools receiving state aid, of which 21 were Church of England, 9 Presbyterian and 7 Wesleyan.

The first superintendent of the Province was James Fitzgerald, who, concerned with the Anglican nature of the Foundation, wondered how neutral the Province could be towards other denominations: "Whatever our predilections on the subject may be, however much we may wish that circumstances would admit of a different conclusion, I know not how we can accommodate to our existing political and social circumstances any other opinion than this - that the state should stand in an attitude of absolute indifference to all religious communities." (37).

(35) H.T. Purchas, Bishop Harper and the Canterbury Settlement, Whitcombe and Tombs Ltd, Christchurch, 1903, p.32.

(36) Butchers, p.157.

(37) Canterbury Provincial Council Journal, 27 Sept. 1853.

Because of the ever present financial problems it was clear to Fitzgerald that however appropriate a state system was, the grant of aid to denominational schools was totally unavoidable. Even here in the Anglican Foundation of Canterbury the religious problem came to the forefront of all educational considerations. Various suggestions were made to solve the financial situation, including a fixed percentage from the public revenue, school fees and an annual grant from the Provincial Council.

The 1857 Canterbury Education Ordinance debate was opened with an address by Fitzgerald:

I am deeply impressed with the necessity of averting evils, which I foresee are otherwise inevitable, by the introduction into this province of a general system of education on a scale commensurate with the wants of the Province; but when I enquire into the means of accomplishing this great end, I am met at once by the conviction that there are no funds whatsoever at our command which can be applied to such a purpose. (38)

Despite Fitzgerald's appeals, which were many, the funds were not forthcoming, and the Province was forced to exist by making grants to the denominational schools as and when necessary. As an English settlement it is not surprising that the English system of an almost casual grant in aid came into being almost without notice, and religion was taught in the schools with little objection. Anglican control during this period (pre-1863) remained dominant, and the Roman Catholics had no great presence with which to challenge.

In 1862 the Provincial Council set up a Commission to report on the state of education; the report was in two parts, the first dealing with the facts and the second with conclusions. The situation, according to the report was far from satisfactory; only approximately one third of the potential school population attending with any regularity; it cost seven pounds thirteen shillings to educate a child. (39) The Commission suggested a revenue system similar to that found in Nelson. It also agreed that while the

(38) Canterbury Education Ordinance, cited by Butchers, p.170.

(39) "Report of Education Commission in Canterbury", Canterbury Provincial Council Journals, 1864, p.45.

denominational system was of no practical use in a large rural area, it also rejected the idea of a secular education. The hope was expressed that religious instruction could be given with non-denominational bias. The practical suggestion was made that schools should open with prayers and some Bible reading, and that the inspector should inspect the work in religious instruction as he would in any other subject. The Anglican Bishop, Harper, was offended by some of the report and following his criticisms some of the harsher words were removed. (40) Despite such ecclesiastical objections the report was well received, especially by the press, and an Educational Board was established and the control of education was thus removed from the hands of denominationalism. The Commission did recommend a conscience clause for religious instruction but not for the plain reading of scriptures. More to the point for general education some attention was at last given to the financial problems with the result that some progress was made, although it was still slow in the rural areas. This financial responsibility, which had been the hallmark of Canterbury's problems was further reviewed in 1871 in which the Board now took a firmer hand. In 1873 a new Act was passed in which the Province adopted in principle a free and secular education, and, because of the sectarian rivalry, grants to denominational schools were stopped. By 1875 the Province had its own Department of Education. The religious problem had not been solved by principle, but by the more pragmatic question of money, and Bishop Harper complained of the appointment of Presbyterian teachers to hitherto Anglican schools. The Anglicans and Roman Catholics in particular felt that the Council had sidestepped the issue and would not let the matter rest for many years.

(40) Purchas, p. 169.

OTAGO

This Provincial Council was founded by the Free Church of Scotland and guided by Presbyterian traditions. There was a lack of liberal attitude in the Otago Province which was anachronistic in the new colony. In this Province it was the turn of the Anglicans to be the minority, and even before the first election for seats the Reverend John Fenton (Church of England) wrote asking assurances from the candidates that there would be equity in education. (41). Feelings ran high in Otago, and when in 1856 a meeting was held to discuss the proposal that only the Presbyterian Shorter Catechism should be taught, an Anglican, William Young, protested at the inequality; but even he was prepared to forgo this if the same conditions were to be presented to the Roman Catholics. (42) William Young like many other Anglicans still believed that the new colony was to be a protestant state as if by right. There is no doubt that prejudice between denominations was rife, but in Otago it became a characteristic. Despite the protestations the Free Church remained strong, and established its first school even before the first settlers arrived in the colony. According to Butchers (43) a schoolteacher called James Blackie started the school while still on board the vessel.

The first Educational Ordinance to be passed was in 1856, and was an effort by the Provincial Council to find adequate financial support, but in so doing had the effect of undermining the dominance of the Presbyterians. The Act sought a situation where secular education should be made available, but in recognition of public opinion it was held that Religious Instruction and Bible readings should take place. The Act also established a form of revenue based on an annual poll tax of one pound per

(41) Otago Witness, 3 Sept. 1853.

(42) Mac, p.86.

(43) Butchers, p.149.

male adult. As the Canterbury Province tended to be like England so Otago leaned towards Scotland and characteristically established High Schools as part of the Common School system. The Church of England was small in numbers and was experiencing various problems. The most difficult being the Presbyterian qualification on teachers (who had to teach the Shorter Catechism), but this was dropped in a new ordinance of 1862, when the poll tax was exchanged in favour for an ordinary rate. In 1864 yet more comprehensive measures were adopted, and in the following year an amendment allowed the Board to pay one hundred pounds towards teachers' salaries. Despite this the system still relied heavily upon school fees and the school population remained low. In time the sale of wasteland and the discovery of gold was to eradicate the financial problem, and indeed to make Otago pre-eminent amongst the Provincial Councils. The gold brought other problems with the influx of Irish (mainly Roman Catholics) immigrants in search of a gold fortune, which increased the demands of the Roman Catholics. This led to yet further religious strife, as John Mackey writes:

Otago is interesting because there, in a starkness not so evident in other Provinces, the clash between the Protestant view of life and the Catholic, exacerbated by profound socio-economic differences, came into open conflict ... in other Provinces the clash of Catholic and Protestant was obscured as liberal ideas, and Anglican Churchmanship, if the term may be used, occupied a middle area and sought a rational compromise to all. (44)

This was not to be the case in Otago, and the conflict between Catholic and Protestant, as represented by the Presbyterians, remained sharp and at times unpleasant. Bishop Moran's three main complaints were the proposed religious tests upon teachers, the text books were frequently biased against Roman Catholics, and finally, the conscience clause was obviously violated. (45)

(44) Mac, p.127.

(45) Otago Provincial Council Votes and Proceedings, Session 29, 1871, Appendix, p.80.

The Roman Catholic Bishop held very strong views even by the standards of his own denomination, and his uncompromising stand made an even stronger contrast when seen in the background of the Presbyterian stronghold of Otago; he objected to Protestant education and equally objected to the state having anything to do with education; "I think the state is going beyond its function as a school master." (46). Bishop Moran in fact started the Roman Catholic publication called the Tablet to give the Roman Catholics a platform for their views. In 1871 a survey of Otago schools indicated that where Roman Catholics were strong there was no religious observance, but 24 out of 90 still used the Presbyterian Shorter Catechism (47). In 1872 the Council did take the step of removing the objectionable text books. Dr. James Copland, editor of the Presbyterian paper the 'Evangelist' went so far as to say: "...rather than forfeit advantages of a truly national system, we would be prepared to go further, and exclude Bible reading altogether, thus making it purely secular, if only Dr. Moran and his coreligionists would heartily co-operate." (48)

The early history of Otago was not dissimilar to Canterbury in so far that their intentions had been to devote $\frac{1}{8}$ th of their land sales for religious and educational purposes; like Canterbury the problem of selling the land proved impossible. When, finally, the financial problems of Otago were removed they had an educational system which was nearly as good as Nelson but did not share the same liberality. This lack of liberality was to appear again in 1877 when members from Otago made it clear they did not wish to share their wealth with other Provinces. (49)

(46) AJHR, JEPC, 1883, question 324, p.22.

(47) BRD, p.13.

(48) Evangelist, 1872, p.70.

(49) Mac, p.150.

The above summary of the Provincial Councils' effort to establish education systems, indicates that although they had to tackle different problems at different times with different emphases, there were, nevertheless common currents of opinion. By the middle of the 19th Century it was clear that education for the masses was becoming important and the state was going to have to play a central role. It was equally clear, for a multitudinous number of reasons, that the education of the population could not be left to voluntary effort. The main problems with which the Provincial Councils had to deal were money, control, and religion. Many believed that control should stay in the local community, and if the masses were to be educated free and on a compulsory basis, then the revenue would be found via state levies. State finances further sharpened the question of religious education; many thought that it should be given but all disagreed on how. These problems and other political stresses gave rise to an uneasy relationship between the General Assembly and the Provincial Councils. It was generally felt that state intervention was required, but the religious question made the whole situation very delicate. John Mackey (50) sees the publication of two documents as being highly indicative of the day. The first (1868) was written by a Thomas Bowden, a Church of England cleric and teacher; he argued for national education as a public utility, and suggested that New Zealand look towards America as an ideal. In 1869 the members of the General Assembly were prepared to discuss the matter, but in fact took it no further than discussion. This debate revealed that there was an expenditure of some £88,544 spent on gaols while only £33,670 was spent on education.(51). The second document was published by William Taylor in Auckland and brought to light the question of the relationship between education and the General Assembly. William Taylor was Anglican and agreed

(50) *ibid*, p.132-3.

(51) PD, 1 Sept.1869, Vol 6, p.897.

with Thomas Ball (a Congregationalist) and John Hislop (a Presbyterian) on the question of religious instruction which he saw must be unsectarian in nature. He also wanted the General Assembly to involve itself in Auckland where teachers were left unpaid, because it was becoming clear to him that the Provincial Councils were not going to survive. There was at this time a movement in the General Assembly led by James Crowe Richmond (member for Taranaki) that education should be compulsory, that denominational aid should be maintained, and that the Provincial Council administration should be kept intact. It was this debate which enabled Prime Minister Fox to introduce a Bill envisaging a scheme for national education in 1871; it was doomed to failure so long as the provinces had control of education. It is worth noting that Fox (himself an Anglican) favoured secular education, but sought aid to denominational schools; in short he was defeated by those concerned about the Anglican Church becoming established on the one hand, and by those concerned about the Roman Catholic faith on the other..

The Bill focused on the problems; the relationship between the General Assembly and the Provincial Councils, the matter of finances, compulsion, but most of all the necessity of having to cope with the religious question. The problems were all related; especially compulsion which would make some form of conscience clause absolutely essential. John Mackey (52) also indicates that the debate touched upon the problems Christianity was experiencing in terms of the recently-arrived Biblical criticism. The new Prime Minister Vogel tried once again in 1872, but his measures were too permissive and they floundered on this rock. The abolition of the Provincial Councils in 1876 brought a new era into being.

(52) Mac, p.147.

THE SECTARIAN DIVISIONS

The Roman Catholic Bishop of Dunedin declared: "In Otago it is Presbyterian Protestantism; in Canterbury it is Anglican Protestantism, and in Wellington Protestantism of any and every kind." (53) There is no doubt that Sectarian strife of one form or another was the root cause of the problem of religious instruction in education. New Zealand was a new country, and the settlers who considered the matters of religion brought with them the various prejudices from their country of origin, the British Isles plus the additional complication that many did not want the English system of a powerful Established Church. The Anglican Church in England was involved at all levels of public life, from the coronation of the monarch down to the right of the freehold of Church of England clergy. Most of the influential people tended to belong to the established Church and it was well known that Anglican Bishops walked the corridors of political power, not only in the second chamber but in all levels of English life. No doubt there was a great deal of ignorance about the real power of the Established Church, as there is today, and it seemed to most that the established Church was just another branch of the government.

Bishop Selwyn, the first Anglican Bishop of New Zealand was enthusiastic in seeking an independent Constitution for the Church: he wrote the following to Gladstone: "...what we want is not a connexion with the state or much support from it....but the power of organising our own bodies without continuous checks....though all sects are said to be equal, and the Church of England one of many sects, we are supposed to be the only religious body without a conscience and are therefore called upon to marry bury or baptise whether we approve or not." (54) Octavius Hadfield was, even more desirous that the Anglican Church should not simply be an appendage to the English Established Church, he said "...we cannot, we may not, abandon a sacred trust, and relapse into lifeless helplessness and ignorance and say we will follow blindfold the leading of the Church of England in whatsoever direction

(53) Patrick Moran, Lenten Pastoral, 13 Jan. 1873, quoted in OHNZ, J. Graham, "The Settler Society", p.127.

(54) W.P. Morrell, The Anglican Church in New Zealand; Anglican Church of New Zealand, Dunedin, 1973, p.49.

pressure from popery on the one side, or rationalism on the other may from time to time propel her." (55). At the third General Synod of 1865 it had been made clear within the New Zealand Anglican Constitution that while there was to be full communion with the Church of England the See of Canterbury had no authority over the New Zealand Church. While it is true that Governor Grey frequently consulted with Hadfield (56), while the latter was Archdeacon, Hadfield actively opposed the government in its policy during the Maori Wars. It has been said that "...during the period of July 1861 and May 1863 was the last time the policy of the country was modified by the voice of the Church of England." (57). Although described as the last of the 'political parsons' Hadfield never saw the Anglican Church as Established. He and Selwyn were, as might be expected, jealous for their denomination; their very background and breeding would encourage this. From the very beginning there was acrimony over the missionary work of the various sects and suspicions of the Anglicans always ran high; in a letter to Hadfield from Selwyn mention is made of the fact that the Wesleyans had accused Hadfield's teachers of moving into their area. (58).

Despite the honourable intentions of the Anglican hierarchy and their ecclesiastical statesmanship, it was difficult for them and their clergy not to view themselves as the major Church. The Church of England population of New Zealand was estimated at some 42.46% of the population in 1874. (59). Many people regarded New Zealand as a British Colony, and further made the assumption that the Church of England would be prominent. While those of the Anglican faith may have been tempted to think along these lines it was almost certain that non-conformists, protestant and Roman Catholic, would have been very aware of such a 'Potential

(55) Wellington Synod Proceedings, 1872, Presidential Address, p.20-21.

(56) DNZB, Vol I, "Octavius Hadfield", p.340.

(57) A.H. McLintock, (Ed), An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, Government Printer, Wellington, 1966, article by W.L. Renwick, "Octavius Hadfield", Vol.I, p.340.

(58) H.W. Tucker, Memoir of the Life and Episcopate of George Augustus Selwyn, D.D., Wells Gardner, Darton and Co, London, 1879, Vol I, p.156.

(59) Statistics of New Zealand, 1874, p.3.

danger'. The English background with its history of discrimination against non-conformists and Roman Catholics gave plenty of reason for others to fear the Anglican Church.

By the same token the arrival of Bishop Pompallier, (Roman Catholic and French) gave rise to a greater fear for all protestants. Roman Catholicism was to many British people foreign and the very word Popery was regarded as alien and potentially dangerous. The declaration of Papal infallibility (1870) and some of the sacramental doctrines and liturgies were viewed by protestants with active disdain. The Oxford Movement within the Church of England led to some Anglican clerics switching allegiance, and this was frequently viewed as if they had gone over to the other side. For many people of British origin it was felt that Roman Catholicism was an invidious organisation only too prepared to undermine the state for some foreign purpose.

The Non-conformist Protestants had more in common with the Church of England than the Roman Catholics; but despite this there were problems from the very beginning. Like some of the early Anglican missionaries we hear of Wesleyans being accused of purchasing land as prospectors (60) and with the Anglicans of dividing the country between them (61). Insights into the activities of the Christian sects will always be coloured by the personal affiliations of the writer, so it is that the early New Zealand colonist Charles Hursthouse favoured the Wesleyans (62) while E.J. Wakefield thought the Anglican missionary Octavius Hadfield to be the very best. (63). Although at times we hear of some co-operation between the various sects in the early days these are on the whole rare; more typical is the sort of complaint made by Selwyn in a letter to Hadfield (64) in which the Bishop advises Hadfield that the mere presence of a dissenting teacher

(60) E. J. Wakefield, Adventures in New Zealand, 1839-45, Two Vols. John Murray, London, 1845, Vol 1, p.63.

(61) *ibid*, p.358.

(62) C. Hursthouse, New Zealand The Britain of the South, Edward Stanford, London, 1862, p.179.

(63) Wakefield, Vol 2, pp.450-55.

(64) Tucker, p.34.

does not mean that Christianity is being taught.

In the South Island it is easy to gain the impression that the land was in fact divided on the grounds of sectarianism, since Canterbury was settled by Anglicans as an Anglican Foundation and Otago by the Presbyterians. Some early writers of New Zealand took a very pragmatic view of the work of the Churches, as simply being different civilising agents at work for the general colonist. Colonel Sir James E. Alexander wrote in 1863; "...if men of energy, daring and intelligence, like Bishop Selwyn, and many of his coadjutors, of various denominations of the Churches had not devoted themselves to the task of conversion, and traversed the land by foot years must have elapsed before our Colonists could have ventured to settle New Zealand..." (65). Others such as Sir William Fox were much more cynical: "...missionaries have done a little up to a certain point beneficial....beyond that injurious in a very high degree." (66).

It is clear that every man had his own opinion in matters religious; in the 19th Century it was difficult not to associate with a sect or to be known as a person in opposition to a sect or to the religion of Christianity itself. Denominational attitudes were deeply personal and built into an individual's personality; the whole country might agree in total unison about an invasion of the French or some other interested colonising power; they might debate financial problems and agree to abide by the vote of the majority; but in matters of religion it became a matter of conscience. For some sects their authority rested on hundreds of years of tradition; for others the necessity of reform was of paramount importance; and in New Zealand a significant number who wanted to be rid of the divisions of the past associated with the mother country.

The Roman Catholic Church placed its emphasis on the Church and the authority of the Church; doctrine was of paramount importance. For the so-called non-conformists the Bible's authority

(65) J.E. Alexander, Incidents of the Maori War, 1860-61, Richard Bentley, London, 1863, p.34.

(66) W. Fox, The Six Colonies of New Zealand, John W. Parker & Son, London, 1851, p.76.

came first and foremost. The Church of England was divided; on the one hand there was that element, frequently called the High Church Party, which tended more to the Roman Catholic view of church authority, and on the other hand that element which placed supreme authority in Holy Scriptures. Both extremes were suffering from various attacks upon their principles. For the former the question of where the Church's final authority lay was an increasing embarrassment. In 1860 following the publication called "Essays and Reviews" some theologians were dismissed by the ecclesiastical authorities only to have the decision reversed by the Civil Authority. Again in 1866 Bishop Colenso was sacked for questioning the authority of the Bible but was reinstated by the Civil authority. The power of the Church of England really did seem to reside in the government through the crown, and as such seriously undermined the power and the authority of the Bishops. For those who sought authority in the scriptures two great problems had arisen, namely the theory of Darwin's evolution and Biblical criticism. Both in that day and age seemed to destroy the validity of the Bible.

It is not surprising therefore that with the various jealousies of the Christian denominations, and their internal problems that the question of Religious Instruction was such a major issue in the educational debate, both in the Provinces and in the national debate of 1877.

THE EDUCATION BILL - 1877

The Minister of Justice, C.C. Bowen drew up the 1877 Education Bill for the first session following the abolition of the Provincial Councils. It was a testing ground for the new national government; for some time it had been recognised that the country needed a greater sense of unity and the education system was the obvious vehicle. In presenting the Bill he was aware of four main problems; the question of the administrative machinery and the fine balance which would be required between local and national machinery; secondly the ever present question of revenue resources; thirdly, the question of compulsion; and finally, the one which most would like to ignore but would do so at their peril the question of religious instruction. If any one of the Provinces was used as a model it was Nelson, being the one council which had seemed to cope fairly well with education. It was the question of compulsion which raised the three possibilities of 1) separate schools, 2) schools where the Bible is used in a non-sectarian fashion, and 3) the provision of a conscience clause. The first possibility which would have solved the problems for the Roman Catholics and the Church of England was not well received by the General Assembly. Bowen himself believed that the denominational system of education was both expensive and inefficient. His criticism was probably valid in the vast rural areas of New Zealand; only a slight perusal of the logistics would show the difficulty denominations with their limited resources would have trying to bring education to all parts of the new colony. Bowen was sure that the majority of people wanted their schools opened with the Lord's Prayer and Bible reading - all else must be secular. Such was the nature of framing this bill, as already experienced in the Provinces, that not only did the temperature rise in the debate, as can be seen by later correspondence between Bowen and Stout (67), but in order to make any progress at all Bowen had to accept compromise after compromise. (68)

(67) Mac, p.183.

(68) *ibid*, p.184.

The main argument was the need for a sense of economy and uniformity and yet, as John Mackey points out, these ideals were sacrificed elsewhere in the same Bill. The same historian also claims that only the Roman Catholics (69) made any active dissent. This does not seem totally true, as the final nature of this thesis will indicate; although it would be fair to admit that the Roman Catholics were probably the one denomination to be effective in their activity. In order to give the Bill any plausibility or hope of success Bowen had to attract votes from so many quarters that much of its originality vanished, and it turned out neither free, nor compulsory. Bowen steered it through the House of Representatives with serious amendments and it finally reached the Legislative Chamber just as the Government fell. Grey's Ministry had to continue with the Bill simply to survive, though there was no great hypocrisy in this since they had forced so many amendments and changes that it belonged to no one party.

The religious question remained the serious issue; the Bill was essentially Christian and Protestant and was therefore unacceptable to Jews, Roman Catholics and certain elements of the Church of England. The debate spread throughout the country and tempers rose. One of the most lively meetings was held in Dunedin, the Presbyterian stronghold where Jews and Roman Catholics were excluded from the meeting despite the protestations of some Church of England clergy. The Anglicans presented a motion to the effect that ministers of religion or approved persons be allowed to instruct in schools the children of their respective churches (70); it was dismissed. John Mackey quotes a comment from the Tuapeka Times which tended to reflect the feelings of many;

The Education Bill has created no little interest amongst the clergyman in Dunedin, and we were glad to see the very liberal views expressed by the large majority present at the meeting held in Knox Church on Monday afternoon. Denominations were chiefly represented by the Bishop and Archdeacon of the Church of England, and their demands although not acceded to by the majority, were so very moderate and reasonable that we think, for peace sake, they might well have been allowed. (71)

(69) *ibid*, p.136.

(70) *ibid*, p.196. citing Otago Daily Times, 31 July. 1877.

(71) *ibid*, p.196. citing Tuapeka Times, (Otago) 4 Aug. 1877.

Also interesting in this comment is the fact that at local level the Church of England clergy were fighting a battle alongside the Roman Catholics if at a slightly different level. A similar meeting was held in Auckland where once again the Roman Catholics were excluded (72). The Roman Catholics supported their views through their magazine the Tablet, and held a meeting in Wellington under the chairmanship of Bishop Redwood (73). Bowen was all too aware of the fact that any Bill with an aid clause attached was likely to fail. The Protestant flavour would carry most of the members and especially the more powerful Otago men.

The Bill was eventually presented on 24th July 1877 although the Otago members wanted it delayed yet further. The problems of the religious nature of the Bill occupied the minds of the members and caused many frustrations. Some (Curtis) wanted the Lord's Prayer and Bible readings left to the discretion of the local Committee; others (Barff) suggested aid as seen working in Nelson; while others (Gisborne) wanted the secular clause totally unviolated and therefore insisted the Lord's Prayer and the Bible reading should be dropped. The Roman Catholics were defended along the lines that they would be paying for a system they could not in all conscience take a part in (Wakefield); and Dr. J. Wallis strongly attacked the fanaticism of the secularists. Various alternatives were put forward such as the half-day in which ministers of religion would be allowed to come into the schools to give instruction. Bowen spoke last and attacked the Roman Catholics claiming that only a purely sectarian system would satisfy them; the Bill eventually went to its second reading with 45 votes for and 6 against. The Otago members persisted in attempting to drop the entire Bill, and the debate clearly showed that the Provinces were still effective. On the 17th September William Wood moved the amendment that "subsection 2 of clause 85 by which the words 'and that teaching shall be entirely of a secular character' should be inserted," and this was carried by 39 to 19. Curtis' amendment that Bible reading should be allowed at the discretion of the local committee was defeated by 35 to 19 and so the Bill became entirely secular.

(72) Evening Star, Auckland, 4 Aug. 1877 cited by Mac, p.197.

(73) Mac, p.200.

When the Bill arrived in the Legislative Council various alterations on the religious question were attempted. Menzies of Otago fought for religious instruction, while Colonel Whitmore wanted aid to denominational schools; Pollen closed the debate warning against the dangers of denominationalism. Buckley tried to 'water down' the secular nature of the Bill by introducing an amendment of one half-day a week for religious instruction, but was defeated by 12 votes to 11; it was clear that the religious part of the Bill would always cause a great deal of general uneasiness.

The Bill emerged entirely secular, hardly compulsory and not wholly free; the Bill was passed; had it failed the government would have fallen.

INTRODUCTION TO PART 2

Prior to 1877 the Anglican response to secular education varied little from Diocese to Diocese. Synodical reports reflect the localised problems in each Province, but as the possibility of a National Legislation grew so the Dioceses drew closed together as they reflected the General Synod's concern with the proposed Act. In part 2 of this work it will be necessary to take a brief look at other denominations and the general state of Anglicanism and then to examine the reactions in the Dioceses and the General Synod. For additional insight a newspaper report of a meeting held in 1855 will be examined, since this discloses the nature of the earlier debates, and also the report of a Board of Education Meeting in 1875 nearly twenty years later, and just prior to the passing of the Bill.

STATE OF ANGLICANISM & OTHER DENOMINATIONS

The Anglican Church found itself at variance with most of the non-conformist churches, and although the Anglicans held many views in common with the Roman Catholic Church there is no evidence of the two denominations presenting a united front. The Anglican Church had more members than the other denominations but they were not necessarily in attendance. Nevertheless they were the larger denomination, and there is little doubt that they frequently reflected upon their position in England where they would have been the most prominent and influential church. The recorded number of pupils in English schools in 1853 stood as follows:

Church of England schools	1,200,000
British and Foreign schools.....	280,000
Wesleyan schools.....	45,000
Congregational schools.....	6,839
Roman Catholic schools.....	34,750
Ragged schools.....	20,000 (74)

As such it must have seemed that the Church of England had done most in the cause of education, and ought to be listened to and its opinion regarded. What the Church of England failed to recognise were the changing times and the possibility that the Church could not always find the resources and personnel for maintaining its educational policy.

The Church of England in New Zealand depended mainly for its policy upon such forceful characters as Octavius Hadfield, and when they failed to come to grips with the issues then the Church of England also failed.

(74) New Zealand Spectator & Cook's Straits Guardian, 6 Jan. 1855, quoting statistical returns by Sir J.K., Shuttleworth.

The Non-Conformists were the "action" which caused the "reaction" of the Church of England as much as the secular educational policy itself. Locally, in Wellington, Octavius Hadfield and the Anglican Church had faced equal opposition in the Rev. Moir and his associates, but as the century progressed, so did the prominence of the Non-Conformist denominations. The Rev. Charles Fraser of the Canterbury Presbyterian Synod (June 1873) stated: "...it is, therefore, as against the denominational system, that I maintain that the General Government secular system affords better scope for the communication of religious truth to the young". (75). He went on to add what must have seemed a very practical thought, that the Churches would not have to spend money on teaching the three Rs but concentrate on the truth of Christianity," and to "... use Christian influence on School Boards to prevent "the infusion of infidel or other evil ideas." (76). On the other hand the Rev. A.R. Fitchett was "unable to discover any authority for transferring the care of religious education from the parents of the Church, its natural depositaries, to a body of Government functionaries, possibly ignorant of religion themselves." (77). There were divisions in both camps; Bishop Hobhouse of Nelson informed his 1859 Synod that education was best managed by the national government; (78) the Presbyterians of Auckland fluctuated wildly, but finally voted for secular instruction by 1872. (79) Nevertheless, as the century progressed opinion did start to polarise in the various camps; the Anglican Church and the Roman Catholics opposing most of the Non-Conformists; as John Mackey writes:

(75) BRD, p.12.

(76) *ibid*

(77) New Zealand Wesleyan, 2 June 1873, cited by BRD, p.14.

(78) Nelson Synod Proceedings, 1859, Presidential Address.

(79) BRD, p.12.

...this was the theological impasse, made even more blind by historical attitudes, which existed between Reform and Catholic traditions. Yet together these two religious communities represented only about 38% of the population ... In 1874 Presbyterians were 24% and Roman Catholics 13.48% respectively of the population. The Church of England outweighed each of them, being 42.46% of the population (although not in attendance). (Statistics of New Zealand 1874 p 3). The Anglican community held a dominating position in the colony by the weight of its numbers and by the fact that it probably had an even larger proportion of public figures and Parliamentarians from its ranks than was its proportional due. The theological climate of opinion in the Anglican Community concerning religious instruction in public education was thus crucial to the decisions to be made on this subject. (80)

Yet the Church of England proved incapable of influencing the movement towards secular education. There is no doubt that the established Church in England had more serious problems to contemplate, and these, naturally, were reflected in New Zealand. The Church of England was divided on several issues, not least the arrival of liberal theology and also the Oxford Movement. Failing to acclimatise to the new society of the Industrial Revolution, and leaving the growing mass of the working classes to the Non-Conformists, the Church of England tended to stay a rural church. Some of its clergy were departing for Rome while others simply led a pleasant pastoral life. Much of this ethos is captured by the Victorian novelist, Anthony Trollope in his Barchester Novels. The most intellectually gifted character (Dean Arabin) had nearly defected to Rome, but finally settled down to the petty intrigues of the Diocese and holidaying in Europe. The authority of the Church of England was in question for the first time, in particular the authority of the episcopacy in relation to the crown and Parliament. John Mackey refers to the Gorham case, (1850), the 1860 Essays and Reviews document, and the 1865 Colenso case (81) in which the whole question of ecclesiastical authority was seen to be highly

(80) Mac, p.162.

(81) Mac, p.167f.

ineffective. High and Low Church parties caused the reactionary growth of a third element, namely a middle of the road' party, and, to compound the problem there appeared on the scene the question of Darwinism and the new form of Biblical criticism which seemed, to so many Victorian Churchmen, to attack the very authority of the Bible itself. Under these multitudinous divisions and pressures it is not surprising that the Church could not act as a single undivided authoritative body.

New Zealand's first primate, Bishop Selwyn had concerned the Tractarians, and low church missionaries, and Octavius Hadfield, who once complained that the colonial Bishops had too much power (82) was himself to cause the same concerns when consecrated Bishop. In short the Church of England was divided and weakened (83) and its leaders could only issue hopeful warnings as they personally identified or interpreted the danger signs. Thus Octavius Hadfield warned his clergy that "we cannot, we may not, abandon a sacred trust, and relapse into lifeless helplessness and ignorance and say we will follow blindfold the leading of the Church of England in whatsoever direction pressure from either Popery on the one side or rationalism on the other may from time to time propel her." (84)

(82) Mac, p.172.

(83) H.T. Purchas, New Zealand Church History, Simpson and Williams Ltd, Christchurch, 1914, p.217.

(84) Wellington Synod Proceedings, 1872, Presidential Address.

From the earliest of days the debate regarding secular education was both sectarian and acrimonious. It was also localised. Those with foresight would have realised that the day would come when the issue would become national, but for most it was a matter of contesting the issue in their respective provinces. It was not, at this stage, an informed debate between the governing bodies of the respective churches and the Legislature, but rather skirmishes between one denomination and another as they sought to impress their views upon the Provincial Councils. Most of the non-conformists took the secular view, which was, for them, that there should be no doctrinal teaching and no grants-in-aid for denominational schools. The Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches took the opposite position but never united to allow a chance for success. A meeting held in Wellington (85) between various denominations gives many insights into the current thinking of the day, and also reveals the depth of bitter animosity rapidly developing between some of the denominations. In this Wellington meeting the non-conformists were led by the Presbyterian Minister, the Rev. J. Moir, who pointed out that the government would have to form as many schools as there were denominations.

The liberty of the denominational system, he is reported to have said, was that of the stork who invited the fox(!) to dinner, when the food could only be got at by the stork thrusting his long bill into the bottle that contained it; the poor fox looked very foolish and only had the pleasure of licking the outside of the bottle. (86)

This colourful and somewhat extended metaphor underlined a genuine fear expressed by many of the early Non-Conformist New Zealand colonists, that in the final analysis the Church of England would get all, and once more arrive at being the official church of the state. There was a belief, rightly or wrongly, that the new colony would become the slave of the denominational system, and many Non-Conformist Churchmen believed it their duty to stop such an outcome and to save the country from such a fate. At this meeting the most

(85) New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Straits Guardian, 6-13 Jan. 1855.

(86) *ibid*

prominent Church of England man was Octavius Hadfield who was to oppose secular education for the rest of his life. This future Bishop of Wellington, and later Archbishop, was not accustomed to such rowdy meetings, and, as the newspaper records:

Mr St Hill [a prominent Anglican and friend of Octavius Hadfield] rose to order, when a most extraordinary scene of disorder took place; the supporters of the government scheme were very noisy and violent, Mr Bevans being conspicuous for his violence and excited manner. Under these circumstances Octavius Hadfield and other members of the Church of England party prepared to leave the room when the Chairman taunted them with cowardice, and with being afraid to listen to discussion; they immediately resumed their seats. (87)

For the Church of England the Rev. R.S. Paul then spoke and immediately raised the denominational issue, Octavius Hadfield ensured he had the last word by claiming that the Church of England had been stigmatised. Thus an educational debate had rapidly degenerated into a denominational free-for-all. Octavius Hadfield became vociferous in the ensuing newspaper debate, lashing out at all who supported the secular system and accusing Fox of being a "very shallow and superficial statesman." (88) The issues at stake were blurred by personal animosity and distrust, and one may suspect that the very forceful personality of Octavius Hadfield helped antagonise certain elements of the press and the public against the Church of England. The question of personality was important, and cannot be ignored. Octavius Hadfield wrote a letter to the press which is worth quoting in full because it outlines his thinking which was to change little over the next forty years, and which would strongly guide the Church of England in this issue. He wrote:

The only object the state can have in giving education is to make good citizens. The state cannot be justified in spending the public money merely with the view of qualifying its members for their particular trades or callings; which all must agree ought to be left to individual exertion. Now, to make good citizens, moral education is requisite. And I think that no moral teaching will be efficacious for this end but that which is accompanied with religious teaching.

(87) *ibid*

(88) *ibid*, 17 Jan. 1855.

It is not the province of the government to interfere with religion, with respects to either children or adults. Its interference would not be tolerated. It should neither prescribe to any school what its religious teaching should be, nor prescribe any such teaching; it can have nothing whatever to do with the matter.

The only course a government can adopt is to take no cognizance whatever of the religion taught in schools it either aids or supports, but to act quite irrespectively of the religious doctrines inculcated; provided the standard of secular education given - in which of course I include some kind of moral teaching - satisfies the government inspectors.

It is said there are people who object to sending their children to schools in which any religion whatever is taught. I am very sorry that such should be the case...that the government should aid or support only such schools as exclude all religious teaching, what the Commissioners describe as the secular system - I consider unjust, tyrannical and absurd; and to this end I would never cease to offer the most determined and uncompromising opposition. (89)

Octavius Hadfield on behalf of the Church of England was to remain true to his word, and his opposition later, as Bishop and then Primate was to remain determined. His opinions expressed in this letter were hardly modified and he never really answered some of the problems raised by his equally determined opponents. Apart from the fact his views would clash with modern day attitudes towards education, he was already out of step even with those views of Nineteenth century educationalists, and he always refused to see that the state could demand a right in education if it were paying for it. Octavius Hadfield was an establishment figure through and through; there was a principle at stake, but he never came to terms with unravelling the practical difficulties of making that principle work. Also, in these early days he was equally sure that given the time the Anglican Church would build most of New Zealand's schools. In his early life as a church missionary (C.M.S.) he had established a successful school at Otaki, and could see few problems of the Church of England doing the same elsewhere until universal coverage was accomplished. He, like so many Anglicans in the early days, could not come to terms with the fact that the times were changing, and that the state would take the controlling hand in matters of education.

(89) *ibid*, 24 Jan. 1855.

The Wellington debate, although local, clearly indicated the various positions the denominations were about to adopt on a national front. The Meeting and the newspaper correspondence which followed also illustrates the passions involved. The Church of England adamantly believing in its right to direct education, and the non-conformists equally as opposed to the possibility that the Anglicans should be as powerful as the Established Church in England, on gaining certain rights because of the size of the communion. The debate during this period was essentially local, and relied upon prominent personalities. As the years progressed the debate became less local, but the prominent personalities were to become more and more important in terms of the Anglican reaction to secular education.

AT THE DIOCESAN LEVEL

In reacting to the secular clause the Anglican Church sought for a unified expression of its opinions through its various Dioceses. Clergy and different committees may have held varying opinions or arrived at different conclusions, but it was through the form of Synodical government that a consensus of opinion was attempted.

In the first Wellington Synod of 1859 Bishop Abraham requested in his Presidential Address that the Church of England should make efforts to join with other religious bodies in order that together they could all make application for financial support to the Provincial government. (90) This sentiment was certainly echoed by Bishop Hobhouse of Nelson in the 1859 Synod when he said that:

...as Christians we must humble ourselves with the reflection that our own negligences and weaknesses, and the sad divisions of Christianity, have contributed to this lacking, (of religious instruction). (91)

The need for unity was to be expressed time and time again throughout the debate. An article in the Auckland Church magazine expressed considerable depth of feeling at the problems created by lack of denominational union. The writer, signed simply as "W" wrote:

"Can we doubt for one moment, that if all the religious bodies in the country were to insist upon religious education and could agree about the nature of it, that they could compel any government to carry out their suggestions, if indeed government required any compulsion." (92). The writer then attempted to explain what the different denominations held in common. However, whether explained in magazines or held up as an ideal at synods such was not to be the case. The feelings of distrust between the various bodies of the Christian churches were to prove insurmountable.

In the same synod in which Abraham spoke of the need for unity the complaint was soon heard that "other religious bodies did not agree,

(90) Wellington Synod Proceedings, 1859.

(91) Nelson Synod Proceedings, 1859.

(92) Church Gazette. Jan. 1873, p.7.

and that the Church of England had been misunderstood." (93). The Bishop was seeking unity for two reasons; first to establish that there should be no interference by the state in the question of religious education; the second that there should be a granting of aid to schools according to the number of pupils and the quality of the teachers. It must have seemed to Bishop Abraham and the Anglican hierarchy a reasonable request, and seemingly harmless - if not generous. However the Anglican Church did not seem to have taken into account the fact that many Non-Conformists would disagree on the first principle, and that the second point, relating to the amount of aid, might be construed, rightly or wrongly, to be a bid by the Anglican Church for the lion's share - since it was generally recognised that the Church of England was still, nationally, the largest of the religious bodies. Equally, although the Bishop made special note of this in his presidential address, he was, as such, merely preaching to the converted. The more practical business of education arose later in the same Synod when Octavius Hadfield and Richard Taylor moved for a "committee to consider and report upon an offer made by Mr. Churton to assist in establishing and maintaining a school for native girls at Whanganui, and also to procure information in reference to existing native schools." (94). The more prominent churchmen such as Octavius Hadfield and Richard Taylor were putting their efforts at this time into their missionary work amongst the Maori population. One gains the impression that the question of secular education was a principle which could be dealt with in due course by bringing the weight of the Church of England to bear upon the Government as and when necessary. The Wellington Synod of 1860, 1861, and 1862 all record in detail the work being carried on in the native schools. Even here the Church of England was not as successful as it had originally anticipated, and in the 1862 Synod we hear of native schools losing their popularity because of the hard manual work demanded from their pupils. (95)

(93) Wellington Synod Proceedings, 1859.

(94) *ibid*

(95) Wellington Synod Proceedings, 1862, Education Report.

With secular education the Church of England was confused as to what practical steps it could take. The Diocese had contributed for example, considerable funds, to establishing a Church Grammar School at Kaiwarawara, (96) but could not do so in Wellington since Sir George Grey's government had granted valuable reserves for the establishment of a public school, which, to quote Bishop Abraham;

Could not be based on any religious principles ... and of course it would be impossible for an unendowed Grammar school, such as we might establish, to compete with an endowed one. Accordingly we have established our Grammar School beyond the precincts of the town, and should have to look mainly to the settlers in the country for support, if ever the public school were established in the town. (97).

The Church of England felt forced out of the City, and could only establish its principle of religious education in its own schools where there would be no competition from the public sector. Bishop Abraham was one of the Anglican Church's leading figures at this stage in the educational debate, but he could not find any way through the growing impasse. He diverted much of his intellectual attention in the direction of tertiary education where he hoped to remedy the evils of the secular clause. He proposed, (as he had done in Auckland in 1855). (98) the founding of a university which would teach all secular subjects, "eg. - of classics, or of mathematics, of modern languages and history, or of civil engineering etc." but, attached to this central body or university, "but in no ways supported by its funds, there would be affiliated colleges, denominational or otherwise, where the young men would live, and be educated generally; but they would be obliged to attend the public lectures of the professors, as one object of the University would be to promote emulation, and to bring together as much as possible all the youth of the community." (99). Bishop Abraham was seeking a compromise in allowing secular and denominational education to exist side by side. Yet it was a compromise based on desperation, since Abraham was personally convinced "that the English mind

(96) *ibid*, 1863, Education Report and Presidential Address

(97) *ibid*, p.12.

(98) *ibid*

(99) *ibid*

is entirely opposed to any idea of having a state system of education forced upon them which would necessarily exclude special creeds and forms of belief, and try to tie down all alike on one Procrustes' bed of instruction." (100) Even in the ideal hopes of that Synod it must have been realised by one and all that this great plan could only remain an ideal and that the issue of secular education for children was being obscured. The sheer practicalities of limited financial resources were only hinted at in this dialogue, the Synod being informed that the financial burdens of the Te Aro and Thorndon Schools were too much of a financial burden upon the respective parishes. (101) The Anglican Church of New Zealand did not have the central funds or reserves available to the established Church in England, and there was no large philanthropic class in New Zealand society which could save the Anglican Church from its problems. It was abundantly clear from the earliest synods that the Church of England wanted to establish its principle of non-secular education by founding its own schools, but financially could not achieve this on a national basis.

Bishop Hobhouse of Nelson seemed to have a more realistic appraisal of the situation. In his Diocesan Presidential Address of 1859 he admitted that if the state were to "abandon the field of education" the religious agencies would be too feeble to "occupy the field." In Nelson there was a great reliance upon the state schools, and it was immediately apparent that the only recourse for the continuation of religious instruction would be in the Sunday Schools. (102)

In Christchurch there were a greater number of schools; in 1861 Bishop Harper was able to refer to 14 schools in 9 parishes, and 5 in the Parochial Districts, making a total of 19. (103) These schools were entirely Church schools and did admit children from other denominations. The Christchurch statistics indicate that in 1871 the average attendance at church schools amounted to 1065 with 30 teachers. (104) Times were to alter these figures considerably and by 1887 the average attendance had dropped to 400 with only 13 teachers. (105)

(100) *ibid*

(101) *ibid*

(102) Nelson Synod Proceedings - Presidential Address, 1859.

(103) Christchurch Synod Proceedings, 1861, p.18.

(104) *ibid*, 1871, statistical tables.

(105) *ibid*, 1887.

Other Dioceses could not measure up to these figures, Auckland, for example had only 8 Day Schools in 1873 and 621 scholars, (106) and by 1875 this had dropped to 3 schools with 259 pupils. (107). Financially it was always improbable that without state aid the churches would ever establish a comprehensive school system. In fact the Church of England found it more and more difficult to maintain the schools it had initiated. In the Wellington Synod of 1864 the Education Report (108) points out that there are only two primary English Schools in the Diocese connected with the church, namely the two in Wellington, Te Aro and Thorndon. These two schools taught the Bible and the catechism, and, as usual, received no government aid, and the latter of the two schools was failing because it had been unable to maintain a schoolmistress. (109) Because of this the Bishop proposed the system adopted in Melbourne, "which is to give some aid to denominational schools that admit the government inspector to test the scholar's proficiency in secular subjects; as well as to establish in districts which are most sparsely peopled." (110) Bishop Suter of Nelson made a similar plea, requesting that the Board of Education remove its doubts by "declaring that an inspector is ready to examine the scholars as to their proficiency in this as in other branches of education." (111) In Auckland the situation was reversed in so far that it was proposed that the Church should provide an inspector to provide quarterly reports as to the progress of Anglican children in government schools.(112). Each Diocese at this stage was having to react to the slightly different educational systems emerging in their respective Provincial Councils. Compared to many other Dioceses Christchurch was relatively well off for its own schools, and the Bishop ruled supreme in matter of church education, claiming "that no one should be allowed to teach in them, but such as be allowed of the Bishop." (113)

(106) Auckland Synod Proceedings, 1873, pp.31-2.

(107) *ibid*, 1875.

(108) Wellington Synod Proceedings, 1864, p.12.

(109) *ibid*

(110) *ibid*

(111) Nelson Synod Proceedings, 1869, Presidential Report.

(112) Auckland Synod Proceedings, 1873.

(113) Christchurch Synod Proceedings, 1861, p.19.

This power was in turn placed in the hands of the Curate who had the power to endorse or deny the right of the committee to "appoint or remove" teachers. (114) By 1863 the first problems were beginning to emerge, and Christchurch found itself having to cope with the possibility that Government schools, growing in number, were heading towards secular education. The 1863 Synod records the anticipated uncertainties of the future, wondering under what conditions grants would or would not be given. (115) The Synod noted that the government was already purchasing sites for schools which would be built under their entire control. Bishop Harper noting that if the worst came to the worst then there would be a departure from the liberties enjoyed in England a departure from what he regarded as the Church's "lawful heritage." (116) The only way the Christchurch Synod could see for establishing a safe future for religious education was in the provision of day schools, noting the Sunday Schools "however useful, are not sufficient for this purpose." (117) Nevertheless Christchurch diocese was reasonably well off for schools, and in 1871, when the Bishop referred to the work of General Synod he was able to note the fact that scholars from Anglican church schools were doing very well in the government sponsored examinations. (118) Bishop Harper pointed out that out of a population of 46,801 more than half were members of the Anglican Communion and therefore the Synod could expect some kind of special recognition. (119) If it were not forthcoming there was, he argued, a real danger that the Church could not continue to build schools, and, what schools there were, would be reduced to the status of private schools. (120) In making this forecast he was in fact painting a realistic picture of the future. It was clear that the only hope was to continue building Church schools, but by 1874, besides the Grammar School of Christ's College there were only four schools existing in the Diocese. This compared to 92 government schools (121) and it was already proving impossible for the clergy to cover this number for the purpose of religious instruction. The 1874 Synod started to talk of the importance of Sunday Schools which was a very different statement made in the 1863 Synod when they were not seen as sufficient.

(114) *ibid*, 1862, p.55.
 (116) *ibid*
 (118) *ibid*, 1871, p.9.
 (120) *ibid*

(115) *ibid*, 1863, p.14.
 (117) *ibid*, p.15.
 (119) *ibid*, p.10.
 (121) *ibid*, p.11.

Auckland Diocese had to try and reason with its Provincial Government and in 1872 drew up a petition requesting that some provision should be made for religious instruction(122). A Select Committee having made the following points:

The attention of the Committee has been drawn to the fact that no hours have been appointed by the Board of Education during which instruction is to be given to schools.

The hours are fixed by the local committee, subject to the approval of the Board. It appears that there is nothing in the Act to prohibit the local committee from abridging the hours of secular instruction on certain days in order that religious instruction may be given.

Your committee are of opinion that advantages should be taken of this view of the Act, and that the clergy should be invited whenever practicable to obtain from the Local Committee a satisfactory arrangement of the school hours, and to associate with themselves such lay helpers as they may be able to obtain, for the purpose of giving religious instruction to the children of the church. (123)

Although a different and more equitable system existed in Nelson the Bishop could still claim in the Presidential Address of 1859 that "not one single child is under the daily teaching of the Church." (124) The situation was not so serious for the Anglican Church in the Nelson Diocese since they were, in the early stages, quite content with the Provincial system of education in their area. In the 1868 Synod the Standing Committee could report that "this Synod concurs in the view expressed in the report of the sub-committee, that the Act in question fairly admits of a greater amount of religious instruction being afforded to the children attending these schools than is usually given... and has no desire to disturb existing arrangements." (125) The denominational question was still strongly to the forefront, because in the same synod the Bishop spent some considerable time pointing out the differences in the catechism of various religious bodies, affirming that the Anglican system was by far the most superior and theologically correct. (126) A few years later Nelson too had its problems regarding secular education, and it proved necessary for the Ven. Archdeacon Butt to move "that the standing committee draw up a memorial

(122) Auckland Synod Proceedings, 1872, p.40.

(123) *ibid*, 1873, p.40.

(124) Nelson Synod Proceedings, 1859, p.12.

(125) *ibid*, 1863, p.23.

(126) *ibid*, p.16.

to the effect that the Synod being of opinion that all children should be instructed in the Holy Scriptures, earnestly and respectfully requests the Provincial Council to consider the propriety of allowing the Scriptures to be read in the Government schools in the Province." (127) .

Each Diocese differed from the next; Christchurch with a fair number of schools within its structure; Nelson reasonably content with the Provincial System, Auckland short of schools and Wellington very similar. As the 1870s approached it became more and more clear that the government was going to be responsible for the building and control of schools; and that religious instruction could well be excluded. Even the granting of aid was in question and the fear was, for many, that what schools the Anglican church already possessed would become private and possibly elitest. The realisation to Wellington and Auckland came a good deal sooner than it did for Nelson and Christchurch, but each Diocese, while facing different local problems, sooner or later had to come to terms with the national issue of secular education. The problem presented itself through the fear that religious education would be excluded from the normal curriculum and that grants-in-aid would be impossible to obtain. The issue was national and it was to be through the General Synod that the Dioceses would have to seek an expression of their opinions and reactions.

(127) *ibid*, 1869, p.67.

GENERAL SYNOD

The General Synod was the central body for Anglican government and debate. Chaired by the Primate, all Diocesan Bishops attended as did the leading clergy and lay people of each diocese. The main issues of the day, effecting the Church or Christians formed the essential bulk of the agenda. These issues were collated from the concerns of the dioceses or the Bishops, and frequently tended to reflect the debates which had already taken place at Diocesan level. The General Synod's purpose was to debate the issue in order to find the common mind and thus make a statement which reflected "Anglican thinking."

In terms of the educational debate relating to secular education there was considerable discussion over the precise terms required to encapsulate the Anglican position. In the 1871 General Synod Proceedings Archdeacon Harper moved:

... that in as much as it is understood that the subject of Public Elementary education is under the consideration of the general government, this Synod expresses its hope that any educational measure that may be introduced will include (a) Recognition and aid of denominational schools wherever they may be found to satisfy government requirements with regard to numbers, discipline and secular instruction; (b) recognition of the practise of reading Holy Scripture and of daily prayers in government schools. And, further, that it be an instruction to the Standing Commission of the General Synod to take the necessary steps for bringing the foregoing resolutions under the consideration of the General Assembly at its next session .
(129)

Archdeacon Maunsell then attempted to add an amendment to request that New Zealand measures be "assimilated to the measure lately adopted by the British Parliament." (129)

Even in the Church of England General Synod there were men who did not believe that because it happened in England it was of necessity right, and the amendment was lost.

(128) General Synod Proceedings, 1871, Educational Debate.

(129) *ibid*

Under the direction of Hadfield the second part of the resolution was amended to read; "Permission where Local Boards desire it, to have the reading of Holy Scripture and the use of daily prayer." (130) In this 1871 Synod the Anglicans seemed to be gathering a more realistic political viewpoint, and were trying to take into account how they might influence those in government. On the 16th February, 1871, a draft petition on the subject of education was sent to the House of Representatives. The Synod also took up Abraham's theme of trying to gain greater understanding with other religious bodies, and stated "that the synod recognises the restoration of the unity of the Christian Church as one principal object to which its efforts should be directed. That this synod requests the co-operation of the various Diocesan synods toward the above object." (131) The Synod had tried to react to the political situation with judicial sense, but the hope they could encourage other religious bodies to join them was still forelorn. The Anglican hierarchy seemed insensitive to the fears of the other religious bodies who remembered the established 'state' Church in England.

By 1871 the situation was becoming desperate, since most Church men realised that the secular education system was going to become a part of the New Zealand system. Despite the size of the Anglican population, (Bowen himself was a staunch Anglican) it was becoming more apparent that the Anglicans would not be able to change the course of events.

The Anglicans sought various ways of trying to 'soften' the harshness of the secularist education by attempting to initiate clauses which would allow religious instruction to survive, and to establish financial aid from the government for their own few schools. Subsequently in the 1874 General Synod Archdeacon Harper moved and it was agreed that:

(130) *ibid*

(131) *ibid*

this synod desires to express its sense of paramount importance of a system of education for the young, which includes religious instruction, and having this in view records its approbation of the efforts which have been made, with some success, to maintain and establish Church day schools in some of the Dioceses of the Province; and further more that this synod expresses its hope that the Bishops and the Synods of the various Dioceses will do all that may be expedient and possible to secure to the Parochial clergy and others acting under them the privilege of imparting religious instruction in the government day schools. (132)

The Church of England had made several efforts to establish its own schools, but even in this synodical motion they had to admit it was only with "some success" and it was only "in some of the Dioceses." The money was not available, and it was becoming essential that the Church of England tried to establish the principle of grant aid on the one hand, while on the other it continued to seek means and ways of keeping religious instruction in the government schools, even if it were just a request to allow the parish clergy in to teach.

Hadfield and many other prominent Anglican clergy were not going to give the cause up; but they did little of any realistic value to alter events as they saw them approaching. A petition to the government had to be followed by 'badgering' and pulling all 'available strings'. The Anglican hierarchy were not the sort of men accustomed to this political wrangling. Hadfield, once described as the political parson, had brought great fury upon himself for siding with the Maoris in the land wars, and had withdrawn himself from public debate outside the church. The Roman Catholics, Non-Conformists and Jews had their respective political lobbies; there is little evidence that the Anglicans relied on such methods, and General Synod was content to send in a petition as a regular event. The governing Anglican Synod put its protest into words but could do little else. The General Synod had no more money than the Dioceses and could only 'hope' that more church schools would be built, and that the government would provide grant-aid and permit religious instruction in government schools.

(132) General Synod Proceedings, 1874, p.58.

LATER CONTENTIONS - 1876

By the early 1870s the debate had become acrimonious and the denominational squabbling still persisted. The newspapers seized upon the issue again, but this time because it had become a national issue.

A brief examination of a Board of Education Meeting reported in the *New Zealand Mail* (133) reveals many of the tensions and viewpoints current in that period just prior to the Bill being formulated and debated in the Legislature. The Board received a deputation of Clergy men who claimed they did not represent any particular religious body; this group included the Rev. Moir and others of the non-conformist persuasion. The group was certainly not representative of all the Churches since there was no Church of England or Roman Catholic presence. They also came before the Board with the claim that they were "thoroughly conversant with the feelings and opinions of the Community generally" and that their "observations justified them in coming to the conclusion that the feelings and opinions of the community were against the perpetuation or introduction of denominational education". (134) It can be established that the Reverend Moir had held firm to his opinions for at least twenty one years, but he managed to gain access to the Board of Education on the grounds that he was able to represent the "community's feelings." It is also interesting to note that there has been a tendency amongst recent commentators to over-emphasise the 'secularists' in such a way as to suggest that in the 1870s in New Zealand there was a strong non-religious and rationalist group. Yet this group appearing before the Board as a public deputation was a group of clergy whom, no doubt with most genuine and sincere feelings, could in reality be viewed as an extension of the denominational bickering. They approached the political scene more astutely than the Church of England ever managed. The General Synod has sent a petition to the House of Representatives, but the non-conformist group gained plenty of newspaper coverage and public

(133) New Zealand Mail, 25 Feb. 1876, "Report of Education Board Meeting".

(134) *ibid*

attention. This group of clergy presented to the Board a series of resolutions with a preface that their way would be the way to avoid the 'evils'. The resolutions are interesting since they represent much of non-conformist thinking:

(1) ...we are of opinion that to subsidize denominational schools from rates levied upon the whole community will confer exceptional advantages on some to the disadvantages of others, be a violation of that principle of religious equality which is recognised in this colony, and introduce an element of irritation and dissension which is to be deprecated. (2) We believe that the prospect of securing government aid will issue here as elsewhere in the needless multiplication of schools, and will prevent such an amalgamation of existing schools as may be required in the interests of good education, and demanded by considerations of economy; (3) We desire that in the working of the educational system of this province no religious denomination be dealt with as such, and that the Board of Education do not interfere with the question of religious instruction, either in the way of prohibiting it or prescribing it, but that it be relegated to the decisions of the local committees. (4) We hope that before long the Legislature will determine upon a system of education for New Zealand, and we respectfully urge that the Board of Education will not come to any decision on this question which might be an obstruction to such a system being realised here. (135)

The fact that these resolutions were presented by non-conformist clergy clearly underlined the deep gulf between their respective religious bodies and the Church of England and the Roman Catholics. The Reverend W.H. West who presented the resolutions admitted that at first sight, asking Roman Catholics and others to pay rates towards schools they could not by conscience allow their children to attend may seem to some unreasonable, but then his main point, which would be the mainstay of their argument, namely that exceptions could not be made, otherwise all sects would claim the same right of exclusion. The argument was politically and economically sound for many; if too many opted out for the sake of religious conscience then there would hardly be sufficient funds for a state system.

Unsaid, but implied, government aid to such denominations as the Church of England and the Roman Catholics would enhance these denominations. One of the interesting features in this denominational debate was that it tended to focus upon the Roman Catholics and the Church of

England appeared to be taking a back seat. This was probably because the Roman Catholics, though smaller in number, were raising the necessary funds to establish their own schools all around the Province. The Church of England, as can be seen from the Synodical Proceedings were not nation wide in their coverage of the school population, and had tended to opt only for the rural areas, and even there were experiencing considerable difficulty in maintaining their establishments. At times the Church of England was almost forgotten: West claimed that "Protestants of various Denominations were prepared to sink their peculiar differences in order to secure a universal system of education, why should their Roman Catholic brethren, with equal generosity, be prepared to look at the matter in the same light..." (136) This particular group of clergy, as did many later in the 1877 debate, forget that the Church of England was essentially protestant. However, the Church of England brought much of this criticism upon itself by, on the one hand, being divided on what may be called Catholic and protestant traditions and liturgy; and, on the other, being divided on the question of secular education. The Episcopal hierarchy and their synods were opposed, but they had failed to mobilize the full opinion of their communion. It was, therefore, the Roman Catholics who suddenly became the centre of the contention.

Their second resolution underlined the fear that if aid were granted there would be such a growth of different schools the situation would become ludicrous. Bishop Abraham had, as the Anglican leader, certainly conceded this point at the Synod of 1863 when he stated that the Church of England would not build another Grammar school in Wellington where the Grey Administration had left land for a public school. This concession by Abraham would not suit the Roman Catholics, their opinions seemed much much stronger; they would not, and did not, fail to build their own schools. Again the Church of England took a back seat because they were, compared to the Roman Catholics, seemingly lukewarm. On reading of Hadfield's attacks on the secular system this may seem strange, but there is no doubt that the Bishop did not find the same clerical and lay support as did his Roman Catholic counterparts.

The Reverend Moir made the pertinent point that in Scotland, in a small village of eight hundred, with which he had been acquainted, there had been five schools because of the Denominational system and because of the subsequent lack of funds they had not been able to maintain one decent teacher between them. (137) Such arguments must have seemed rational and plausible. The irony of the situation was, and possibly unknown to the deputation of clergy at that time, that the minute they withdrew, the next item of business on the Board's agenda was to receive complaints about the appalling conditions existent in their public school in Hutt. (138)

The opinions in the press tended to support the secular system. The Board of Education meeting had three major tasks; the first was headlined "Deputations", already looked at; the second had no headline and dealt with the Hutt school problem, but the third was a letter from the Roman Catholic Committee for Education and was boldly entitled "THE DENOMINATIONAL QUESTION". Although the Non-Conformist deputation had not mentioned the Church of England, the Roman Catholic letter started: "We, as well as the Church of England, are threatened..." (139). It is easy to gain the view that in this much publicised meeting the Church of England had become a pawn to be used or ignored. The Church of England did not send a petition, deputation, nor indeed raise their voice at all, and yet, indisputably they were the single largest denomination.

The Board considered at length the claims of the Roman Catholics but from the very first sentence of the report it was clear that they would not be listened to sympathetically. One Board member, was a Non-Conformist, and he managed to make the meeting acrimonious. The reported discussion also made it clear that there were insufficient financial resources for the country districts, and concluded with the interesting remark that "the people in the country districts took very little interest in the matter, and from the manner in which the discussion had taken place, it had not seemed as if the question of Denominationalism versus secularism had been at all involved in the matter. (140)

(137) *ibid*

(138) *ibid*

(139) *ibid*

(140) *ibid*

This statement suggests the distinct possibility that the debate, although now national, was a city and town debate. The clergy and their respective denominations still carried much educational responsibility in the rural areas. Equally interesting is the presence of a clerical Board member, there can be little doubt that many of the Board members were Church of England, but they certainly did not carry the banner of their church's official viewpoint, or reflect the very strong sentiments of their Bishop, Octavius Hadfield. Convincing the communicant lay members of the Church of England that their synods and Bishops were right in their demands was a very real problem for the Anglicans. The Roman Catholics seemed to have a stronger hold over the loyalty of their members, as did many of the Non-Conformist bodies. It is possible to argue that the authority and discipline of the Roman Catholics ensured uniformity of opinion, or even that the Roman Catholics and Non-Conformists by being minority groups had more reason to maintain their identity. More to the point the Anglicans who were considerably larger in number, were now accustomed to Synodical government which allowed clerical and lay debate, and the historical fact that even in 1876 the Church of England was a wide-all-embracing umbrella allowing men of very different view points to worship under the same roof. The Church of England did not have an office of imprimatur, and would accept the new breed of Biblical criticism scholars and Darwinists within its shelter; Octavius Hadfield warned against such heresies but he never threatened excommunication. Politically most Anglican congregations contained men and women of all colours of the political arena. Many Anglican members, as today, are Anglicans much by accident of birth, and felt no strong obligation towards Episcopal pronouncements. It was therefore understandable that many Board Members could be loyal members of the Church of England and yet never feel obliged to support their official denominational line. For men such as Abraham and Octavius Hadfield this must have been a deep cause of frustration, but they could do nothing about it, and, typical of the Anglican ethos would probably not try.

There is even the possibility that the news reporters were themselves Anglicans, but they certainly supported secular education. In the New Zealand Mail's leader the editor wrote that if there had been any lingering doubt about secular education then the "very able and temperate statement by the clergymen of various Protestant denominations at the meeting on Wednesday, must have removed it," and later,

"we altogether dissent from the position taken by Bishop Redwood, on behalf of the Roman Catholic Committee of Education ... never was a cry of persecution raised with less cause for it. What public pretence in fact is there for the imputation in Bishop Redwood's letter? ... the crown of martyrdom will never be won in New Zealand." (141) The Church of England is not mentioned once, the Denominational debate at this time had polarised, in the public eye, between the Non-Conformists and the Roman Catholics. To read the article with no background knowledge it would appear that the Church of England had no interest in the matter at all. Some of the press had made its position clear, boldly stating "on this question we are in favour of a national and undenominational system of education, and none other." (142) Certainly, as the press pointed out, the Roman Catholics had made political friends for themselves with the 'Provincialist' party. (143) The editor of the New Zealand Mail was not slow to indicate the rumour that although "the education matter was not generally raised at the elections, the Roman Catholic vote, north and south, was cast for the Provincialist candidate on the understanding that he would support Denominational education when the question came before the house." (144) The editor in this edition made a vicious attack upon the Denominational system claiming that if the "church and its ministers will embark in politics, it is unfair to complain if the torturous course of politics strands them on the sand bank of insincerity." (145) The attack, although seemingly aimed at the whole Church was obviously fired directly at the Roman Catholics. It may well have been the case that the Church of England, again not mentioned, had decided that 'newspaper politics' was distasteful and had withdrawn from this localised fracas. Octavius Hadfield as Bishop, was the leading Anglican figure in Wellington, and his early political clashes in 1855, mentioned earlier, also his opposition to the Maori land wars, had led him into such unpleasant situations

(141) New Zealand Mail, 26 Feb. 1876, Leader.

(142) *ibid*, 29 Jan, 1876.

(143) *ibid*

(144) *ibid*

(145) *ibid*

that in later years he withdrew from the local and national political debate; in the words of his family biographer, "he did keep clear of politics," and "all his life Octavius Hadfield shunned publicity." (146) In fact his personal concern about his public life was so acute he destroyed the bulk of his journal papers and letters by fire when he retired. (147) There is no doubt that this personal idiosyncrasy of Octavius Hadfield had an effect upon the Church of England's response to education. Leading clergy, (unlike the bulk of the Anglican communion) would have taken a lead from the Bishop and he tended to level his attacks upon secular education from the safety of the synod where he was either preaching to the converted or the obedient.

Anglican reaction to the education debate was, even as late as 1876, left in the hands of their Church leaders. They took a strong line personally, and through General Synod drafted a petition to the Legislature, but compared to the Roman Catholics and the Non-Conformists they were lukewarm. Hampered by financial problems, divided on questions of authority, weakened by the new intellectual movements, and essentially broad to encompass men of all inclinations, the Church of England proved unable to take any effective step towards stopping secular education developing in New Zealand.

(146) B. MacMorran, Octavius Hadfield, David F. Jones, Wellington, 1969, p.129.

(147) *ibid*, p.131.

INTRODUCTION PART 3

While the Roman Catholic response to the Act remained unaltered the Non-Conformists sought means and ways of introducing Religious Instruction into government schools. Part 3 will examine the Anglican response through the Diocesan Synods, with particular reference to Wellington and Christchurch and the General Synod. Some elements in the Church of England agreed with the Non-Conformists, others with the Roman Catholics. The submissions given to the Petitions Committee of 1863 will be examined in detail since it provides some remarkable insights into the dilemmas of this issue. Finally a study of Anglican reaction to the Irish Text Book movement, seen by many as the final resort, will be outlined.

POST 1877 - GENERAL BACKGROUND REFERENCE OTHER DENOMINATIONS

As might be expected, reactions differed widely amongst the various denominations concerning the success of the 1877 Education Act, in particular the acceptance by the Legislature of the secular clause. These opinions were never final, and individuals and their respective religious bodies changed their minds frequently. For example the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church welcomed the solution provided by the Education Act (1877), yet by 1878 the Assembly reflected their Education Committee's efforts to restore the Bible and Lord's prayer to the public schools. The fact of secular education was highlighted for the Presbyterian Church when they realised that religion had been excluded, effectively, from the schools totally. And the Act was effective, because figures presented to Parliament in 1893, seventeen years after the Education Act (1877) indicated there were only ninety-six schools with any sort of religious instruction, which was, to quote Breward, "scarcely an impressive contribution to the national system if religion was believed to be so fundamental to true education." (148) The 1879 Presbyterian Synod of Otago, convened by Dr. Copland, raised the issue again. Dr. Copland introduced another argument to the debate, one of great relevance (but rarely used), namely the difficulty of understanding literature and history without some Biblical knowledge. Subsequently the Otago Education Board was persuaded to vote six to one that "in the opinion of this Board it is very desirable that the Education Act to be amended with the view of allowing Bible reading in the Public Schools." (149) Various committees were formed in Dunedin and eventually in the 1880s many Presbyterians and other Non-Conformist bodies were presenting petitions to the Legislature in a hope of revising the secular clause of the Education Act (1877). The Presbyterian Church investigated the ecumenical line proposed by Abraham in the 1860s, and their 1883 Synod examined the possibility of inter-denominational Biblical instructors in state schools, but, like the Anglicans, they found the potential costs to be prohibitive. It is worth noting that the Nelson Anglicans, in the same year, (1883), unsuccessfully petitioned General Synod to request the same plan. In 1891 the Wesleyan Conference set up a committee to confer with other denominations of Bibles in Schools, while Bishop Julius of Christchurch,

(148) AJHR, 1893, E-JF, quoted by BRD, p.23.

(149) BRD, p.26.

in his 1892 Synod, established a Commission of religion to co-operate with other Denomination. (150) There was still a considerable degree of distrust between the various religious sects but co-operation was at least attempted. It was far too late for their hopes to be realised, for the Education Act (1877) had been passed and it was going to prove difficult to modify it to the extent desired by most of the religious bodies. In 1895, 15,498 people signed a petition for selected text books to be introduced into the curriculum, but their opponents attacked them on educational and theological grounds; these books (to be examined later) were the Irish Scripture text books (151). There is no doubt that most of the religious bodies were possibly preoccupied with the non-attendance of the New Zealand population in their respective churches, since the 1881 census revealed that more than 70% of the population did not attend Church. (152) The Roman Catholics, who did so much to establish their own schools throughout this period, were only a small part of the population: - 14%, although they often constituted around 20% of the population in the poorer suburbs and as much as 30% on the West Coast. (153) The Roman Catholic Church attacked the Education Act (1877) with energy, especially under the leadership of such men as Moran, Redwood and Luck. Bishop Redwood held a widely publicised meeting of August 25th 1877, and made quite clear via the newspaper coverage, the Roman Catholic position. The Roman Catholic church was never worried about underlining the nature of its faith;

we hold as certain and undeniable," Bishop Redwood said, "that two orders of things actually exist in the world - the natural and the supernatural ... we believe that it is necessary especially at the present day to Christianize our youth, particularly during school hours ... not a moment of the school hours should be without some religious influence ... weekday Bible reading and Sunday schools are only a poor man's soothing plaster ... in a word, the principle of secular education is despotism; it is the outcome of revolutionary socialism, as history is there to prove. (154).

These were very strongly expressed sentiments, and the sneer at weekly Bible readings and Sunday Schools was not calculated to endear the

(150) Christchurch Synod Proceedings, 1891.

(151) AJHR, 1895, 1-2A.

(152) OHNZ, E. Olssen, "Towards a New Society", p.263.

(153) *ibid*, p.264.

(154) New Zealand Mail, 25 Aug.1877, "Report of Roman Catholic Education Committee".

Roman Catholics to the Non-Conformists and some elements of the Church of England.

In the years following 1877 the Non-Conformist Churches felt obliged to review their situation, since the Act had resulted in an educational system which virtually outlawed Christian teaching; the Roman Catholics had no need to review their stand and simply continued to find the finances to build their own schools.

REACTION AT DIOCESAN LEVEL

Compared to the publicity other denominations found for their views the Church of England was quite mild in its expressions. Amongst the best newspaper coverage gained was a sermon by the Venerable R.J. Thorpe delivered at St. Pauls, Thorndon. For most of this sermon he attempted to illustrate that Religious Instruction brought out the noble aspect of humanity and did not produce mere calculating machines as did secular education. "It has been again and again asserted", he wrote, "by the organs of the Roman Catholic Church that they will only be satisfied with a Denominational system of education; nor do I see how they can consistently take up any other position, holding as they do all knowledge is evil unless it is filtered through the channel of their Church." (155) The Roman Catholics for their part believed that Protestant education was secular. It is not surprising that those politicians who held little or no religious faith supported secular education as they saw it, if only to avoid the acrimonious bickering of the various bodies.

Many Anglicans continued to look for leadership to Octavius Hadfield the Bishop of Wellington; not only because he was a leading Bishop, not only because he had been involved in the debate from the day of its inception, but because he was obviously a very strong character living in Wellington the site of the legislature.

In the Synod of 1877 he stated that "Sunday schools must be used to combat the Education Act (1877) ..." (156) He expressed considerable alarm at the Act and made it clear that his opinions on education had not changed since his letter to the press in 1855. He further added "...there are two words constantly in use in every discussion on public education - words absolutely without meaning in the controversy, and therefore misleading - I allude to the words secular and denominational. The word secular, I presume, applies to all that concerns a man in this life. Is not religion a matter which influences man's conduct here? Or rather, is not religion the most potent principle of action in the human heart?" (157)

(155) New Zealand Mail, 1 Feb. 1879, p.5.

(156) Wellington Synod Proceedings, 1877, Presidential Address.

(157) *ibid*

The whole address was basically a philosophical discussion in which he avoided all the practical issues of how to cope with secular education. The suggestion regarding Sunday schools was, as the Roman Catholic Bishop Redwood claimed, a weak solution for the great issues at stake. He also looked at the denominational system and declared his sympathy for the Roman Catholic situation. He then accused the members of the Church of not giving the issue enough thought; as he wrote this part of his speech he must have been grappling with the problem of persuading the large number of New Zealand Anglicans to agree with his, the official policy. He claimed that "the majority of New Zealanders, if he understood them will not be happy that their children are doomed to an education in Godless schools." (158). The phrase 'Godless schools' was in due course to be widely used by men of all denominations and was to prove a great irritation to the 1895 Committee which examined the petitions regarding the Irish scripture text books.

By the 1878 Synod Octavius Hadfield felt even more keenly the Roman Catholic situation, seeing it as a total injustice that they should pay rates yet be excluded by their religious conscience from attending the public schools. (159) The Roman Catholics had taken the kind of stand that Octavius Hadfield would have wished for his own communion. He raised the issue of the future, as to whether the government would force parents to send their children to public schools (having acknowledged the fact of compulsory education) if they start to object to the nature of the schools. He could see the time coming when the dangers of "Darwinism" as seen in England and Germany, would arrive in New Zealand. He pleaded with the Synod that the Church of England should not leave the Roman Catholics to be the sole protestors: (160) but that was the true situation at that time; the Roman Catholics were the only body which was actually doing something about the situation. Again the Anglican solution was weak and ineffective. He could merely suggest that Sunday schools had to be better organised and led, and he moderated this mild suggestion by admitting that this would be difficult for country clergy, and therefore laity ought to help.

(158) *ibid*

(159) *ibid*, 1878, p.13.

(160) *ibid*

Progress was simply absent even in his own Diocese of Wellington, Breward points out that he did nothing to "found Church schools in his own Diocese, and attendance at Sunday Schools was poor and many parishes lacked even the rudimentary aid to religious education." (161) He managed to keep the Wanganui Collegiate School (founded by Selwyn) alive but achieved little else in the practical sense. As mentioned earlier, as a young missionary he had established a couple of native schools, but as a Bishop and leading Churchman his energies were spread far too widely with a multitudinous number of concerns: the Diocese was very large and communications difficult, and although he pleaded for better Sunday Schools their attendance was poor, and no day schools were established in his time. The situation was not vastly different in the other Dioceses. Bishop Harper of Christchurch announced to his Synod that financial restrictions limited the possibility of Church Schools and that "in the meanwhile let us endeavour to perfect our Sunday school teaching." (162) and so the Diocesan Synod passed a resolution to this effect. (163) The Christchurch Diocese has been described as "unique on account of its large land endowments." (164) it has also been pointed out that "denominational schools were abandoned largely for practical reasons. They were unable to cope satisfactorily with the needs of a rapidly growing population." (165) Although the Anglican population of Canterbury since 1870 had represented 40% of the people and was twice as large as that of the next largest denomination, surprisingly little had been accomplished apart from Christ's College." (166) As in Wellington so in the Christchurch Diocesan Synods there was a growing recognition that if the Church were to continue a policy of Christian education for all children then it could only be through the Sunday Schools. Bishop Suter of Nelson addressed himself to the subject

(161) BRD, p.30.

(162) Christchurch Synod Proceedings, 1877, p.14.

(163) *ibid*, p.69.

(164) B.R. Carrell, "The Endowments of the Church of England in Canterbury 1850-1954", M.A. Thesis, University of Canterbury, 1952, p.84.

(165) C.Whitehead, "The Denominational Question in Canterbury Education, 1871-4", Dip.Ed.Thesis, University of Canterbury, p.44.

(166) M.S. Betteridge, "The Church of England in Canterbury", M.A.Thesis, University of Canterbury, 1848, p.2.

pointing out that "we have heard much about these institutions, and the mind of our Church has evidently undergone a great change regarding them." (167) The "great change" seemed to many in the Anglican Dioceses the only way of coping with the problem. Christchurch Diocese made strenuous efforts to build up a Sunday School system, and in 1881 the Bishop appointed an Inspector to check the worth of the Diocesan schools. (168) In that year the Inspector reported on 50 out of the 70 Sunday Schools. By 1887 the numbers in the Sunday Schools had only risen to 8,337, yet only four years later four-fifths of the colony's 167,000 were receiving elementary education (169).

The 1901 (170) census however clearly indicated a rise in Sunday School attendance over the period of 1871-1901. A steady increase from 28,601 in 1871 to 118,410 in 1901 illustrates the strength of Sunday Schools, but they were never a reliable replacement for regular religious instruction in normal day schools. (This census does not reveal how many were Anglicans, but it is interesting to note that in the much later census of 1926 148,772 Sunday School attenders, 40,700 were Presbyterians with 4,300 schools, and 40,100 Anglicans in 3,400 schools - but only 11,000 Roman Catholic children attended.) It is not surprising therefore to find Bishop Harper concerned that the only way for the Church to come to grips with the educational problem was by seeking entry into the government schools. (171) A change of Bishop saw a slight change in Anglican reaction in Christchurch. Bishop Julius could say that "I have no quarrel with the Education Act, except upon this one point. I do not desire grants in aid of denominational schools ... but I do ask for such solid religious education as is given for instance under the London School Board." (172) The leadership by the Bishops was important; Bishop Julius sought the same as Octavius Hadfield of Wellington, but sought means to work within the Act as far as possible.

(167) Nelson Synod Proceedings, 1880, p.11.

(168) Christchurch Synod Proceedings, 1881, p.20-21.

(169) OHNZ, J. Graham, "The Settler Society", p.132.

(170) Census of New Zealand, 1901, p.287.

(171) Christchurch Synod Proceedings, 1886, p.18.

(172) *ibid*, 1891, p.23.

On September 28th, 1893, a conference was convened by the Bishop of Christchurch with a view to introducing religious teaching into state schools. Agreement was reached that a return to denominational schools was unsatisfactory, but they passed a resolution "that in the opinion of this meeting it is desirable that a Textbook consisting of selected portions of Scripture should be introduced into the curriculum of the state schools of the Colony." (173) The Anglican synodical Dioceses were realizing that Sunday Schools were only a small part of the solution and were now seeking an inter-denominational agreement in order to persuade the state that religious instruction should be introduced into the government schools.

The various dioceses of the Anglican Communion were generally heading in the same direction in so far that circumstances obliged them so. The Roman Catholics and the Non-Conformists still held their different views, and the Church of England, at Diocesan level, had, in its different elements, some sympathy with both.

The Church of England, unlike the Roman Catholic church, did not build a great number of schools. It tended to seek a solution for educating the youth in religious instruction through the Sunday School system. The major schools with an Anglican foundation tended to become elitest and national. In the South Island Christ's College was not a local school, but catered for the better off from all over the country. As early as 1862 the school had 82 pupils on the books of whom 31 were boarders drawn from as far away as Auckland, (174) becoming more elitist as time progressed.

In very much the same way the Wanganui Collegiate School was developing away from its foundations as an Industrial School for the poor, and the school magazine in 1882 could boast that the school was the best in the country. (175) The state established a school system which attempted to give national coverage; the Roman Catholics equally attempted to provide an alternative schooling. The Anglicans provided a few schools, but the survivors from their system were to become the few private schools for the wealthy.

(173) Nelson Synod Proceedings, 1893, p.38.

(174) Betteridge, p.123.

(175) Collegian, 1883, p.2. Wanganui Collegiate School Archives.

The Anglican Dioceses were failing to establish an alternative school system, and the Sunday Schools did not give the sort of effective coverage desired. The only alternative was to petition the Legislature and try and effect a change in the 1877 Act itself.

GENERAL SYNOD'S PETITION TO THE 1883 PETITIONS COMMITTEE

The Diocesan Synods were beginning to realize that Sunday Schools would have to become more important in religious education. The General Synod reflected this emerging trend, but the General Synod also made an effort to change the Act by petitioning the Legislature. The Bishop of Wellington represented that element of the Church which demanded an all out attack upon the educational system as provided for in 1877, while Archdeacon Harper of Christchurch tended to represent that body of opinion which was prepared to petition and sought means to work within the boundaries of the Act.

In 1883 Archdeacon Harper presented a motion to General Synod, which only Octavius Hadfield and five laity voted against (176); as a result of these deliberations the following petition was presented to the Legislature that year, and every subsequent year:-

(1) That your petitioners are convinced that any fully satisfactory measure for education by the state should contain a promise for grants in aid being made to schools set on foot by any religious denomination, provided that the attendance and secular instruction in such schools shall come up to the required standards, and satisfy the government inspectors.

(2) Your petitioners are further of the opinion that the Education Act should be so amended that provision may be made for the communication of religious instruction in the public schools by ministers of religion or persons duly authorised by them, to the children belonging to their respective communions within school hours.

(3) Your petitioners are also of opinion that local committees should be empowered to direct that specified portions of Holy Scripture be subject of instruction in the schools under their control, the rights of conscience being preserved. (177)

To those politicians who wished to avoid denominational bickering this Church of England petition did not provide the solution. For them grant aid would mean an extensive multiplying of schools of varying standards, while the right of ministers of all denominations to enter schools could cause total chaos. If a Roman Catholic, Anglican,

(176) General Synod Proceedings, 1883, p.34.

(177) ibid, p.227.

Methodist, Congregationalist, Baptist, Presbyterian, and Jew and others were to gain entry each week the rest of the school curriculum would suffer. Regarding the third point the question of denominationalism would inevitably arise over the selecting of "specified portions of the Holy Scripture."

Octavius Hadfield himself was unhappy with the petition and complained to his own synod that on appearing before the 'Joint Parliamentary Committee', "... my greatest difficulty arose from being unable to account for the ambiguous language of the petition sanctioned by Synod," and, "in consequence of this I found myself precluded from taking any active part in obtaining signatures to it" (178). Octavius Hadfield was not slow to denounce a fellow Anglican cleric, Archdeacon Mules, for adding the third part of the petition which Octavius Hadfield considered "to be suicidal." (179) Octavius Hadfield objected to the petition on the grounds that portions of the scripture could be dangerous in the hands of the wrong teachers, and frequently claimed that a secular system pure and simple would be better than one which allowed any schoolmaster merely to comment on Holy Scripture. His objection to the petition was not one of political pragmatism but doctrinal, and his sympathies lay close to those of the Roman Catholic Church.

The Church of England even in General Synod found it difficult to reach a unanimous agreement, and though the petition was eventually forwarded to the Legislature it did not carry a great number of signatures. In the Synod there was still a great deal of uncertainty. For most members the petition seemed the most reasonable step to take, otherwise it would not have been passed. There was opposition from those men such as Octavius Hadfield who wanted to take a stronger line. It would be unreasonable to suggest there were different parties, or identifiable factions. Hadfield wanted to demand the total reversal of the 1877 Education Act in so far that grant-in-aid and the right to teach religious instruction in state schools were only

(178) Wellington Synod Proceedings, 1883, p.12.

(179) ibid.

part of his vision: like the Roman Catholics he did not trust the selection of scriptural texts and their teaching by teachers who could not be trusted to impart doctrine as understood by traditional Anglicans such as Hadfield himself.

Moderation prevailed in so far that General Synod decided to allow part 3 of the Petition to go forward allowing local school committees to direct that specified portions of Scripture be allowed in schools. Hadfield may have seen this as the abrogation of Church rights, but Synod as a whole undoubtedly saw this as a sign of their moderation in the hope that the Legislature might return concessions.

THE 1883 PETITIONS COMMITTEE

The irony was that when the Legislature gave the protestors the opportunity to discuss the Act (The Joint Education Petitions Committee of 1883) Octavius Hadfield, the one Bishop who disagreed with the petition was the main representative for the Anglicans.

This Petitions Committee is deserving of close scrutiny since it gives a valuable insight into the various stands taken by the different religious bodies, in particular the Church of England.

The Petitions Committee was faced with three petitions. The first from the Roman Catholics with 16,587 signatures; the second from the Church of England with 3,746 signatures, and, "from inhabitants of New Zealand, in favour of the present system" 4,727 signatures. The Church of England was the largest proportion of the population in terms of religious bodies, as the statistics at the end of the Petitions Committee indicate:- (180)

	<u>Persons</u>	<u>Proportion %</u>
Anglicans ...	203,333	41.50
Presbyterians ...	113,108	23.08
Methodists ...	46,657	9.53
Other Protestants ...	30,873	6.30
Roman Catholics ...	69,039	14.09
Latter Day Saints ...	271	.06
Jews ...	1,536	.31
Islam ...	7	
Pagans ...	4,936	1.01
Others ...	237	.05
Of no denomination, unspecified or objected to state	19,936	4.07
Total population ...	489,933	100.00

Statistics clearly indicate the Church of England could not mobilize its members. The Roman Catholics managed to get 24% of their adherents to sign their petition whereas the Anglicans managed only 1.8%.

As with today there is a great discrepancy between the number of people who would call themselves Church of England compared to the number of people who are actually committed. In this sense the statistics do not tell the whole truth, yet 1.8% is still appallingly low when compared to the Roman Catholic figure. The Anglican Synod as referred to earlier, had not been unanimous, but more to the point the ecclesiastical hierarchy had not persuaded its members. The Petitions Committee was probably not impressed by the few signatories, and may well have been sceptical about the existence of an official Anglican view. Even today, whereas the Roman Catholic Church tends to make authoritative statements on such matters as abortion, contraception and so forth, the Church of England seldom has an 'official line' since its own episcopal leadership frequently has differing views.

The Petitions Committee met over a period of days in July of 1883 and questioned three Roman Catholic Bishops, Redwood, Moran and Luck, with a total of some 447 questions. The Church of England received 245 questions directed at Bishop Octavius Hadfield and a local Wellington clergyman the Rev. R. Coffey. One Wesleyan, the Rev Davis was asked 143 questions, and a Jewish representative, Mr. Shrimski 37 questions. In total the non-Roman Catholic questions amounted to 425 (of Roman Catholic questions of 447). There was, seemingly, no doubt in the mind of the Petitions Committee that the Roman Catholics were the main body to be heard and it is worthy of note that they in their turn sent three Bishops to the Petitions Committee. The Church of England used two local men; one the Bishop of Wellington, whom, it has already been noted, had some disagreement in General Synod over the petition, and a local clergyman. Compared to the Church of England the Roman Catholics had not only worked harder for their signatures, but they sent to the Petitions Committee three of their leading men.

Before examining the Church of England reaction it is interesting to note the manner in which the Roman Catholics dealt with the Petitions Committee.

The leading representative for the Roman Catholic Church was Bishop Moran. An extraordinarily strong minded Irishman who believed in the authority of his Church and was opposed to the state having too

much control over the lives of its citizens. It has been said that "the urgency with which Moran viewed the increasing power of the secular state derived less from its philosophical implications than from his belief in the existence of a great, unified, world-wide conspiracy of anti-Catholicism and irreligion ... and against which it was his duty to hold the line in New Zealand." (181). Moran and his co-Bishops were fierce in their opposition, more to the point, well prepared. Redwood answered the arithmetical questions without hesitation; when the Petitions Committee's chairman asked him how many children of both sexes were being educated in Roman Catholic schools he received the answer of 4,563. (182) The sheer preciseness of this answer clearly indicates that the Bishop was prepared. He knew he had 57 schools in his Diocese with an expenditure of £84,466 for buildings, and £12,473 for land, and that the Roman Catholics had been mulcted to the extent of £305,449. (183) He was able to compare the situation in detail with what was happening to the Roman Catholics in Canada. (184) Bishop Moran and Luck gave precise and detailed answers to the questions they were asked. There was little doubt that the Roman Catholic representatives had prepared themselves for the questions. They also knew precisely what their demands were.

One of the points of interest for the Petitions Committee was the connexion between the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church, and each candidate was asked for his considerations of the Church of England petition. Bishop Redwood "thoroughly endorsed" (185) the Anglican request for grants in aid, but could not agree with the Church of England's demand that religious instruction be imparted in public schools by the ministers of religion on the grounds that "religion would be made part of secondary consideration in the eyes of the children, who would have constantly before them the differences of religion, which would certainly lead to harm, and would bring

- (181) H.M. Laracy, "Paranoid Popery: Bishop Moran and Catholic Education in New Zealand", New Zealand Journal of History, Vol 10, No.1, April 1976, p.57.
- (182) AJHR, JEPC, 1883, p.7.
- (183) *ibid*, p.8.
- (184) *ibid*, p.7.
- (185) *ibid*, p.9.

religion into contempt in their minds." (186) Bishop Moran, described as "an effective public speaker and a ready and incisive debater" (187) was particularly outspoken in his opinions on education, and while giving the same answer to this question, (188) he took the question of Anglican response further, and when asked if the Anglicans represented as large a denomination as the Roman Catholics, he replied "... that the answer is this: they have not erected their own schools. We have, and by doing so show that we are in earnest, and express and emphasis our dissatisfaction; and as long as the other cannot do something similar, I do not think there is much in the expression of their dissatisfaction." (189) Bishop Moran in his characteristic fashion told the truth of the matter, but underlined the denominational acrimony.

In general the Roman Catholic Bishops, in particular, Bishop Moran, were always direct and very strong minded in their opinions and reactions. The Petitions Committee was never in any doubt as to what the Roman Catholics demanded and felt. They made it quite clear that they had the total backing of the Roman Catholic population, not only by the massive petitions, but also by the fact they had been able to raise the necessary capital for the building of their schools which they were doing on a national basis.

The Non-Conformist element was represented by the Reverend Rainsford Bavin, the superintendent minister to the Wesleyan-Methodist Church in the City of Wellington. This religious body had 40,000 adherents, and only one infant school in the entire colony. (190) It is not surprising that some of the smaller denominations were worried by the sheer size of the Church of England and the authority of the Roman Catholic Body. With adherents of 40,000 it was logical that the Wesleyan-Methodists would opt for the public school system, since there could be no alternative for them, with the arrival of the so-called denominational system Wesleyan-Methodists would find themselves being educated in Roman Catholic or Church of England schools. It was natural enough,

(186) *ibid*

(187) DNZB, vol 2, "Patrick Moran", p.99.

(188) AJHR, JEPC, p.20.

(189) *ibid*, p.23.

(190) *ibid*, p.27.

therefore, when the Reverend Bavin was asked what he thought of the secular system he answered: ..."speaking as pastor to my own members, I encourage them to attend. I think it is a very admirable system." (191) Many of the Methodists and Presbyterians were now seeking some modification of the Act; seeking at the bare minimum Bible reading and the Lord's Prayer in the Public schools. The Reverend Bavin admitted later that "I am quite aware, both as regards Ministers and people, we are divided on the question." (192)

One of the Petitions Committee's members, Mr. Swanson, cast aspersions upon the Anglican and Roman Catholic leadership. This particular MP has been described as a man "singulary bold, clear-sighted and courageous, but painfully conscious of his own educational deficiencies" and a "firm supporter of secular education." (193) He asked Mr. Bavin if the "clergy of these two denominations were to be trusted as representing the people." (194) It is not surprising that questions of this nature exposed the acrimonious feelings of one denomination for another. Mr. Bavin answered that if Bible reading were permitted in school most Anglicans would accept the national system. (195) Mr. Swanson's question and the received answer did underline one of the greatest problems for the Anglicans, the demands of the Episcopate while in fact they failed to carry their committed lay people. It was through the views expressed by Octavius Hadfield and Mr. Coffey, and in the way they were expressed that the reaction of the Anglicans throughout this debate on secular education can be seen as uninformed, ill-prepared and confused.

Throughout the transcript of the meeting with Octavius Hadfield it is clear that the Petitions Committee were aggressive towards the Anglican Bishop. Whether this was because they were confronted by a man they found it difficult to cope with, or because they were

(191) *ibid*

(192) *ibid*

(193) DNZB, Vol 2, "William Swanson", p.354.

(194) AJHR, 1883, p.29.

(195) *ibid*, p.31.

trying to underline the fact that the Church of England was only one other Religious Body and not established, it is impossible to know. Certainly Octavius Hadfield was exceedingly evasive in some of his replies to the Petitions Committee, and was poorly prepared, unlike the Roman Catholic Bishops, and this may have caused some irritation.

When asked how many state schools were in his Diocese, and how many Roman Catholic schools he simply replied "I don't know". (196) This from a man who was generally well known for his factual information, who was soon to appear in a famous London trial over the publication of a detailed history book. (197) Whether he genuinely did not know, or whether he did not care to answer what he may have considered to be irrelevant questions must have left a very poor impression upon the Petitions Committee. He admitted that the Church of England had no daily schools in his Diocese (there were two higher ones, in Wanganui and Wellington). In so doing he reflected the paucity of effort made by the Church of England to do something practical against secular education by failing to establish some of their own schools. Such an answer must have stood in stark contrast to the efforts shown on behalf of the Roman Catholics by Bishop Redwood, in the interviews of three days previous. Yet, as in Synod, he expressed very strong feelings against the state system, that if he had children to be educated he would not send them to a state school whatever the legal penalties might be:

I feel strongly convinced that a system of secular education is absolutely mischievous. I conceive the only object the state can have in educating its citizens is to make them good citizens, and as it appears to me that mere secular instruction, such as physical science, can have no tendency to make people better citizens. As far as my acquaintance with history goes, there has never been a system of education in any civilised country where there was not some training with the view of teaching children that there was some Divine power to whom they were responsible, and to enforce moral laws. I therefore think that a system of secular education is absolutely mischievous. (198).

(196) *ibid*, p.11.

(197) MacMorran, p.127, The libel case was between Bryce (Minister of Maori Affairs 1879-84) and Rusden (author of "History of New Zealand") and was heard in 1884.

(198) AJHR, JEPC, 1883, p.11.

Octavius Hadfield took a stand close to the Roman Catholics viewpoint whereby he wanted the Bible studied in schools but not by any "irreligious teacher". (199) This was of course a different viewpoint to that frequently expressed by his fellow churchmen, although later in the examination he admitted the Church of England's basic problem, their ambivalent attitude whereby even in Synod they could not achieve any uniformity of opinion. What further exacerbated the problem was the fact that Octavius Hadfield, as the Church of England representative, did not appear well versed in matters of education. When asked about education in England, and other areas on the theory of education, he could only answer that "I have not sufficiently thought it out to give a distinct answer." (200). His vagueness and general uncertainty revealed the problems of the leadership of the Church of England. The Bishops were too frequently regarded as omniscient and expected to answer on subjects so far ranging that it was not unnatural that they failed in those areas in which there should have been a greater reliance in those who had made the problems of education their study. Octavius Hadfield's answers revealed a naivety and, lack of realism. So, for example, when asked "if the conscientious convictions of every person were respected in education, have you any idea of the increased cost that would be entailed upon the colony?" He replied "I think it would be lessened and would be so "by calling out voluntary efforts for schools in which people would take an interest." (201) He was prepared to give this answer although he had just stated that in his Diocese the Anglicans had not provided a single day school. He was not convinced that he had the support of Anglicans, for in answer to the question as to whether Churchmen in general were opposed to secular education he replied "I think the bulk are, but I am not quite certain." (202) There was a considerable lack of realism in these answers in so far that Hadfield was uncertain of general support yet suggested voluntary labour as a solution.

(199) *ibid*, p.12.

(200) *ibid*

(201) *ibid*, p.13.

(202) *ibid*

The Petitions Committee gave the impression of becoming frustrated with Hadfield, and their questions became more and more aggressive. Mr. Fergus, one of the Petitions Committee Members, (MP 1881-1893 and Member of Otago Education Board. (203) eventually demanded: "Have you had any experience in the managements of schools to enable you to judge the comparative results of religious and absolutely secular schools, or is it merely theory?" (204). Hadfield was reactionary and out of date with the progress of his times; he opposed the notion of free education and spoke freely against many of the interests of educationalists. When the importance of progress in education was beginning to be realised, the opinions expressed on behalf of the Church of England were liable to give the impression that the ex-established Church was still for keeping the 'rich man in his castle and the poor man at his gate'. Such sentiments would not have been received well in a colony many of whose pakeha inhabitants had left Europe in the hope of seeking a more egalitarian society. If the Church of England blundered on its understanding of education's necessary progress, their views on secular education would hardly have been treated seriously.

The Petitions Committee eventually asked Octavius Hadfield whether the Church of England had in fact tried to take any steps and to ascertain how the actual Anglican laity felt. All the Bishop could reply was: "that in my own travels through my own Diocese, and I go through it twice a year, I have heard constant complaints.. but they (the laity) have never taken any combined action as a Church. There have been at different times petitions about it. I have rather discouraged petitions" (205) With the forceful character of Octavius Hadfield it would be difficult to imagine many members of his flock raising the so-called secular issue favourably in his presence. Octavius Hadfield was asked whether he was aware that the "laity of the Church of England are totally at variance with their religious pastors?" (206)

(203) DNZB, Vol 1, "Thomas Fergus", p.247.

(204) AJHR, JEPC, 1883, p.14.

(205) *ibid*, p.15.

(206) *ibid*

He was not aware of this but had to agree that nine tenths of the Church of England parents sent their children, without protest to secular schools. (207) The situation for the Anglican representatives before the Petitions Committee was becoming more and more embarrassing, and Octavius Hadfield further compounded the lack of reality when he suggested that the Church of England members would subscribe money on a voluntary basis for their schools, pointing out that in England (with its patronage and philanthropic classes) that "£750,000 is subscribed by Church people." (208)

By the time the examination of the Church of England representative was drawing to a close the questions were becoming extremely aggressive, Mr. Swanson asking "I want to know what would satisfy you?" and "What I want to know" and "And what would become of the children in the country?" (209) Thus the Church of England, as represented by one of its leading Bishops, (later to be the Primate) emerged from the Petitions Committee's examination very poorly. It was clear that the Church of England did not have the support of its lay members, and that the leaders themselves were not well versed in the problems or practicalities of education. The Church of England's performance before the Petitions Committee could not be taken seriously.

Octavius Hadfield himself realised the whole interview had gone very badly, and on the 8th August, 1883, wrote to the Petitions Committee complaining "that some questions were put to me which seem to imply doubt as to my qualifications for giving an opinion of the value of purely secular education." (210) This surprised him and he also expressed annoyance that he had been asked financial questions, and then admitted he made no claim to special knowledge. In comparison the Roman Catholic Bishops had

(207) *ibid*

(208) *ibid*, p.16.

(209) *ibid*, p.17.

(210) *ibid*, p.43.

answered fully and without apparent hesitation on all questions. The Reverend Coffey, the other Church of England representative before the Petitions Committee, did no better. When asked for his objections to the secular clause he gave a lengthy and prepared answer ranging in its contents from free trade to patriotism, it was full of assumptions and the same vagueness and lack of detailed knowledge as exhibited by Octavius Hadfield (211) He tried to avoid the question of the laity not supporting their Bishops by claiming that if "you want a sound and wise opinion" you go to the people who are able to give it, ie; the Church leaders, and that it was "not customary for the laity to teach their clergy." (212) Time and time again Mr. Coffey found himself unable to answer the questions, and once again endorsed the opinion that the Church of England objected to secular education, but could not find nor offer any form of practical solution, especially since they had failed to carry the bulk of their own people or even mobilize those who did agree. The Petitions Committee had made it abundantly clear that the Act was to stay, and that the possibility of modification was very remote. Octavius Hadfield suggested to his synod a method of political change, which, had he had the total support of his entire communion could have been most effective; "I venture to express my opinion that the only possibility of obtaining a reconsideration of this whole question is to organise before the next general election, and endeavour by combination to support only those candidates who will deal fairly with this matter." (213) If united, and if mobilised the political weight of the Church of England could be critical in any election. But Octavius Hadfield only mentioned it once in his own Diocesan Synod and it was only hinted at in the General Synod. (ie; 1886 General Synod, "urges upon Church members to use all legal influences." (214)) It was quite clear that the Church of England was not united, and despite its size its members did not have that total sense of commitment

(211) *ibid*, p.43.

(212) *ibid*, p.45.

(213) Wellington Synod Proceedings, 1883, p.13.

(214) General Synod Proceedings, 1886, p.19.

to those principles uttered in places as remote as Synod.

ANGLICAN REACTION 1863 - 1895

After the 1863 Petitions Committee the reality of the commitment of the 1877 Education Act was clear. The Roman Catholics did not change their position nor their challenge by continuing to establish their own educational system. Protestants outside the Church of England varied; most had been very much for the Act prior to 1877, but as the dangers of the possible superiority of the Church of England receded, most of these denominations tried to revise the Act to the extent of introducing some form of religious instruction into the public schools.

The Anglican Church wanted a revision but with varying strengths of opinion. There were those, like Hadfield, who objected to the entire Act. They sought some form of modification and devised a petition which was presented every three years until the 1890s:

Your petitioners are convinced that any fully satisfactory measure for education by the state should contain a provision for grants-in-aid ... providing standards satisfy the government inspectors ... also for the communication of religious instruction ... within school hours." (215)

There was no sense of urgency, the Committee appointed at the previous Synod session, which had the brief to "watch all matters relating to public education" had failed to find an opportunity even to meet. (216) Another, but not opposed body of opinion, desired to see how the work of religious instruction could be done within the terms of the Act, and persuaded General Synod "to incorporate, triennially, in their statistical returns to General Synod a statement bearing upon the work carried on by the Church in the Government District Schools." (217) It is interesting to note again the reactionary efforts of Octavius Hadfield during this particular debate; he failed to change the motion from "government schools" to "by the Church in 'its Schools'." He had reached such a point of frustration that he wanted nothing to do with the state schools whatsoever. The several bodies of opinion, which were not mutually exclusive, must have felt a division amongst themselves

(215) General Synod Proceedings, 1886, p.32.

(216) *ibid*, p.45.

(217) *ibid*, p.52.

at this stage. One of the motions to be carried by the 1886 General Synod, which was to have some effect in the 1890s was "that the Primate be requested to confer with the heads of the other religious bodies in New Zealand with a view of ascertaining the best means of promoting religious education in the colony, and of organising concerted action on the subject." (218) When the question of the Irish Scripture Text books was placed before the Education Department in 1895, there was a little more agreement between the various Churches. It was also decided that various lectures, sermons and pamphlets should be devoted to the advocacy of religious instruction in state schools. (219) Had the Church of England made efforts earlier to convince its members of the justice of their view there may well have been a less ambivalent attitude amongst Anglicans in general, and it may well also have had the effect of mobilising the opinions of many more who had, in reality, laid dormant regarding the issues at stake.

In terms of the Church of England's reaction, it is of considerable interest to note the findings of the Report of the Select Committee (1886) called to investigate religious instruction in government schools. From the various returns it was discovered that in the Diocese of Christchurch and Waiapu some efforts had been made with reasonable success; that the Dioceses of Auckland and Dunedin had gone into the possibilities systematically, but had by 1886 ceased altogether; that in Nelson there had been no systematic effort; but in Wellington, there had been no effort whatsoever. (220).

One of the obvious problems the Committee had discovered was that religious instruction before and after school hours was not conducive to good attendance, though the report noted that in Napier, "and this is especially noteworthy, the children are assembled, by the ringing of a bell, half an hour after they have been dismissed for the day by their secular teachers, with the result that an exceptionally large attendance has been gained." (221)

(218) *ibid*, p.54.

(219) *ibid*, p.65.

(220) *ibid*, p.201.

(221) *ibid*, p.202.

The Committee also noted that the giving of prizes was an excellent form of encouragement. This certainly underlined the problems of the system, especially when what is virtually 'trickery and Carrots' seemed to be the only way to encourage children to attend. It was also noted, with some sense of satisfaction, that in Napier "no less than thirteen children in the senior Bible Class attended without a single failure." (222) The numbers indicate that the system was not being used by the clergy of the day.

In 1893 a return was laid on the table of the House of Representatives showing the number of clergy of all denominations who attended to give instruction in the schools amounted to be a mere 7% (223). In the 1895 Public Petitions Committee many of those opposed to the introduction of the Irish Scripture Text Book System complained that the clergy did not take advantage of the 1877 Education Act's provisions. Mr. W.T. Grundy, Headmaster of Clyde Quay State School, and secretary to the New Zealand Education Institute, claimed the clergy never took advantage of it. (224) The same complaint came from Mr. C. Watson, Headmaster of Te Aro School and himself an Anglican (225). The Reverend W. Baumber (Wesleyan Church) however, told the M-Z Petitions Committee (1895) that it was a difficult task because it was voluntary; Major-General Schaw (Secretary to the Wellington Text Book Committee) claimed the clergy did not have sufficient leisure time for this activity, (226) while the new Bishop of Wellington, the Right Reverend Dr. Wallis, pointed out the clergy were frequently hampered by discipline problems because they had not been trained as schoolteachers. (227)

There were no doubt a multitudinous number of reasons why religious instruction was not going to work on this voluntary basis. Sometimes the clergyman may not have felt welcome into the school;

(222) *ibid*

(223) AJHR, Public Petitions M-Z Committee, I-2a 1895, p.15.

(224) *ibid*, p.7.

(225) *ibid*, p.11.

(226) *ibid*, p.22.

(227) *ibid*, p.32.

sometimes they were untrained; and undoubtedly at times reluctant to commit themselves, especially when their own focus was upon the Church centred buildings. Whatever the reasons the Church of England must have given the appearance of luke-warmness. They had failed to obtain signatures for the petitions, failed to raise money and establish day schools, and failed to take advantage of the one clause which would enable them at least to be seen making an effort to teach religious instruction. Furthermore, nowhere was this failure on the part of the Church of England more complete than in the Wellington Diocese itself which was under the very nose of the Legislature.

Octavius Hadfield, in line with many of the Church of England leaders, was not slow to blame the people of their Church for the failure. He complained in his 1885 Wellington Synod that he could only invite General Synod to take further action "if Church people would express a strong opinion." (228) He felt that Synod's resolutions were a useless task unless there were determined efforts elsewhere, none of which were apparent in his Diocese.

A sense of bitter recrimination now showed itself in the failure of the Anglican reaction to modify the Act. Octavius Hadfield claimed that the expected system of secular education was not an act of benevolence on the part of the Legislature out of their concern for the welfare of the poorer classes, but was intended for purely political purposes of a very radical character. (229) His broadsides, delivered in the safety of his own Synod became stronger even though he admitted "that not anything I can say will produce any immediate effect." (230) He accused the New Zealand education system of being "an offence against Almighty God and utterly discreditable" (231) and claimed there was a "listless indifference in reference to the absence of religious teaching in schools." (232) He even turned on the General Synod of

(228) Wellington Synod Proceedings, 1885, p.16.

(229) *ibid*

(230) *ibid*, 1887, p.14.

(231) *ibid*

(232) *ibid*

his own Church claiming that at the last session a "debate took place upon it (secular education) which at one time appeared to raise a hope that it would be dealt with seriously." (233) He attacked those men who were attempting to find a solution within the terms of the 1877 Act. His objections, shared by some others at General Synod, was that it exhibited an agreement with the Education Act. By trying to make use of the classrooms outside school hours there was, it was argued, a tacit approval of the Act. (234) For others Sunday Schools were still seen as the only viable solution. The Reverend De Berdt Hovell moved in the 1895 General Synod "that a graduated course of instruction be adopted in the Sunday Schools of the Dioceses, where, at present, such a system has not obtained." (235) It is interesting to note that it was also agreed that the triennial reports should detail the numbers of day schools and teachers employed by the Church of England; this was a poor reflection when compared to the Roman Catholics in the 1883 Petitions Committee who had all the facts and figures at their finger tips. A characteristic of the Church of England was its muddled administration. The motion to make a return regarding the number of Bible classes in the several dioceses was lost, and although the reasons for not passing such a simple motion are not available it certainly puts a question mark over the Church of England's administration efforts. The usual petition for religious education inside school hours and grants-in-aid, was once more agreed upon and sent to the Legislature. The petitions of course, were proving futile, and this was recognisable to everyone, but the Church of England persisted on the grounds that "they wanted to place on record the Synod's continual protest against the present system." (236)

General Synod passed several resolutions that they should provide their own schools as indeed the Roman Catholics had done. With a few exceptions this policy failed. Octavius Hadfield him-

(233) *ibid*, p.15.

(234) *ibid*, p.15.

(235) General Synod Proceedings, 1889, p.38.

(236) *ibid*, 1892, p.13.

self wrote, "the value attached by the more thoughtful of religious instruction and superintendence is evident from the Collegiate School at Whanganui and the Roman Catholic College of St. Patrick in Wellington." (237) There were few schools to name, and even in this Synodical Presidential Address only one of the Bishop's two examples was Church of England. While the Wellington Synods continued to have broadsides fired by Octavius Hadfield, the General Synod continued to send more and more petitions. It is easy to gain the impression that by the 1890s the Synod was simply 'going through the process', there were certainly no signs of progress, and at times it appeared they were only pulling the wool over their own eyes. In 1892 it was noted "that ... the fact that in certain places considerable success has attended the efforts made by the clergy and others in the direction of giving religious instruction in government buildings outside of school hours". This statement undoubtedly referred to the emergence of the so-called "Nelson System" but was made a year before the facts were laid before the House of Representatives that only 7% of the clergy had made any effort in this direction, and this was further endorsed in 1895 by the candidates interviewed by the Petitions Committee (1895). Nor did the Church of England Dioceses respond to the request to send in returns to Synod regarding the number of day schools. A select committee however worked out that there were, in the Provinces, eleven primary schools and ten secondary with a combined total of a mere 1,272 pupils.

(237) *ibid*, 1891.

THE 1895 PETITIONS COMMITTEE

In fact the situation had become stymied, and the last real effort to do something about the Education Act (1877), in the immediate years following its enactment, was the joint effort by many Churches to introduce the Irish Scripture Text Books. These text books, it was claimed, could simply be read as a text book, and so long as there was a conscience clause, it was claimed by the petitioners that the majority of the population would be happy with this modification of the Education Act (1877).

The Church of England General Synod of 1895 agreed that such a policy seemed the right way forward, and this time had the agreement of many of the Non-Conformist bodies: but not all, the Primitive Methodists and the Congregational Union objected on the grounds that it was the thin end of the wedge of introducing denomination-ism into the Education System. The Presbyterian Church, the Wesleyans, and the Church of England supported the introduction of the Irish Scripture text books. The Petitions Committee (1895) interviewed two Headmasters, a Mr. Grundy (Headmaster of Clyde Quay Public School) and Mr. Clement Watson (Headmaster of Te Aro Public School) both also officially representing the New Zealand Educational Institute. They both claimed that the conscience clause would cause invidious difficulties for those teachers who could not, for the conscience reason teach the subject. (238) They both pointed out the fact that the Churches could use the non-school hours as provided by the Education Act (1877), but that the Clergy had failed to take advantage of such a possibility. (239) They also indicated what was the main problem for the Church of England and other churches, namely it was too late to change events. By 1895 the Education Act (1877) was a fact of history and was well established, Mr. Grundy saying "to my mind, this will disturb the harmony which at present exists in the schools," and Mr. Clement Watson saying "I have to express my fears as to the danger of meddling at all with our present education system, which I think all will admit is doing admirable work." (240)

(238) AJHR, Public Petitions M-2 Committee, 1-2a, 1895, p.7.

(239) *ibid*

(240) *ibid*, p.9.

The irony of the situation was that Mr. Clement Watson admitted to the Petitions Committee (1895) that he was, by denomination, Church of England. The ambivalent attitude of the Church of England was clear; while the Synod requested the Irish Scripture Text Books system, a Church of England Headmaster opposed it, not considering himself bound by the decisions of his own denomination in the same way Roman Catholics probably felt bound. The Church of England Headmaster went further and added that "I think the clergy look on it as a means to obtain the control of the school; it is not long since Mr. Coffey (of the 1883 Petitions Committee) said he would not accept reading without comment (Doctrine); he must have dogmatic teaching." (241) Both Headmasters, recognised by the Petitions Committee (1895) as experts in education, criticised the Irish Scripture Text Books, pointing out that since they had experienced considerable difficulty on obtaining copies of the books it seemed unlikely that the majority of the petitioners had actually managed to read them for themselves." (242)

The Jewish faith was represented by the Reverend H. Van Staveen who indicated that Jewish children would withdraw from the public system if it were introduced, also pointing out that the protestant teachers in the Hebrew school, employed to teach secular education objected strongly to the concept of the Irish Scripture Text Books.

The Roman Catholics treated the attempt with the utmost contempt; Archbishop Redwood was quoted as saying: "...as the claims of the Roman Catholics of the colony are a matter of public notoriety, and in view of the scant courtesy with which Catholic sentiment has been treated by the Petitions Committee, there is a strong feeling that the tendering of further evidence is useless." (243)

This was finally confirmed by the Archbishop's telegram: "Catholic sentiment opposed to plan re Bible-readings as a solution of educational difficulty." (244).

(241) *ibid*, pp. 10-11.

(242) *ibid*, p. 11.

(243) *ibid*, p. 34.

(244) *ibid*

Once again it was clear where the Roman Catholics stood, and although it was shown that a few Roman Catholic lay people had in fact signed the petition, it was only a few, and no one questioned the leadership of the Roman Catholic Church.

The Petitions Committee were particularly interested in establishing that the educational system was not "Godless" and several times tried to discover the true nature of the Church of England demands. The Reverend Paterson of the Presbyterian Church was read an extract from the Bishop of Wellington's address, in which the Bishop had said: "We are giving up nothing that we have or hope to have", (245) the implication being that the Church of England was using the Irish Scripture Text Book System as a cunning means of introducing the denominational system. The Petitions Committee (1895) had a slight sense of frustration with the Church of England since the Bishop, as at that time, "had been given every opportunity to appear before this committee, but so far has not indicated his intention to appear before the committee, either personally or by representative." (246) Major-General Schaw, Secretary to the Wellington Scripture Text Book Committee (himself Church of England) was forced to admit that the Church of England, although mainly for the Irish Scripture Text Books system was once again not unanimously agreed, since the Bishop of Dunedin still wanted "what the rest (Church of England) had given up" (247) namely, denominational teaching.

Eventually the Petitions Committee (1895) were able to question the new Bishop of Wellington, the Right Reverend Dr. Wallis. He differed from his predecessor Octavius Hadfield, agreeing that it was a good thing to have the children of all denominations attending public schools on the same grounds (248) but, as he admitted, he was a newcomer to New Zealand, and not yet familiar with the total background. However, carrying the mandate of the General Synod he agreed that the Church of England would like to see the Irish Scripture Text Books introduced (249)

(245) *ibid*, p.20.

(246) *ibid*, p.21.

(247) *ibid*, p.22.

(248) *ibid*, p.31.

(249) *ibid*, p.30.

and that such a move would be a "real solution of the difficulty."
(250)

The petitions changed nothing, there were still divisions between the Church; the Roman Catholics and the Jews expressing themselves very firmly, and the Church of England, gave a very luke-warm appearance: the result was that the "committee has no recommendation to make." (251) Bishop Wallis was to find the same problem as Octavius Hadfield, the ambivalent attitude of his own Church of England, and the general inability of Church of England leadership to mobilise its own laity. In 1898 the Anglican Episcopacy issued a pastoral letter suggesting that schools be opened with the Lord's Prayer, and that one hour's worth of lessons be given in the first three Gospels, but eventually Bishop Wallis had cause to complain that the pastoral letter had been "silently ignored by the mass of the Church People in the Colony." (252).

(250) *ibid*, p.31.

(251) *ibid*, p.1.

(252) Wellington Synod Proceedings, 1898. Bishop's Address, cited by Morrell, p.132.

FINAL OBSERVATIONS

The Education Act (1877) was not a National measure in the full sense of the word since it totally ignored the conscience of a significant minority of the population. Unfortunately the nature of religious instruction in the nineteenth century was purely doctrinal, it has been said that "it is unlikely that 'religion' to the colonial child differed greatly from what it meant to W.G. Wells' Mr. Polly: ... the recital of more or less incomprehensible words that were hard to remember, and of the Divinity as of a limitless Being having the nature of a schoolmaster and making infinite rules, known and unknown, rules that were always ruthlessly enforced, and with an infinite capacity for punishment, and, most horrible of all to think of, limitless powers of espial." (253) In legislating against doctrinal religious instruction, the academic subject of Religious Studies, the study of the phenomenon of religion, never, as yet, materialised on a national level in Secondary School education in New Zealand. There is no doubt that the debate over the secular clause of the Education act (1877) concerned the leaders of the various religious bodies and a few political leaders did not affect the vast majority of settlers. Probably, if they had their opinion it was a fierce distrust of anything which appeared to foster the denominational differences they had hoped to leave in Europe. Cumming writes that "It must be emphasised that the vast majority of parents and guardians were not waiting with bated breath to take advantage of these concessions to conscience and keep their children away from religious instruction in the public or common schools. What may have been a display of tolerance by the law-makers was met usually by indifference on the part of the parents." (254) Yet the Act and its secular clause has caused reactions to the present day. As recently as 1962 complaints were received about the lack of moral and religious education and the Johnson Report was concerned about the absence of teaching in morality and certain aspects of religious philosophy. New Zealand adopted the unitary state system for the sake of homogeneity, its justification being that no offence was offered. Indeed the Act was intended to bring reconciliation; it has been said that the schools "were expected to be agents of social harmony and egalitarianism, homogenisers, solvents

(253) Ian Cumming, and Alan Cumming, History of State Education in New Zealand 1840-1975, Pitman Pacific Books, Wellington, 1978, p.48.

(254) *ibid*, p.35.

of the class distinction that many of the settlers deplored in England." (255)

It was not because of some bold rationalist movement which may be argued in the case of France. Stout, one of the leading protagonists, was in fact a self-claimed agnostic, but that was probably unique within the House. (256). E. Olssen writes that "The country had its share of atheists and agnostics, yet the weight of the evidence suggests that the majority of immigrants came with the sense that their God was coming with them. Census returns in the last three decades of the century indicate that consistently less than 5% of the European population declared that they had no religious affiliation, or objected to stating their views." (257) Charles Bowen who presented the Bill was in fact a staunch Anglican and received a good deal of support from the laity of his Church if not the clergy. The 1880 census (258) records that there were only 807 so-called secularists and yet 325,088 protestants. Supporters of the secular clause were also dubbed with the name of secularist and were often protestant clergy themselves. The Reverend A. Reid, a Wesleyan, preaching in Manners Street, Wellington, said the secular clause was "not due to irreligious statesmen but to unbrotherly and unpatriotic Christians." (259) As has already been noted the fear of Roman Catholicism and Anglican Establishment had led many leading protestant clergy into a paradoxical situation whereby they called themselves 'secularists.' The Reverend Charles Fraser of the Canterbury Presbyterian Synod (June 1873) said that "it is, therefore, as against the denominational system, that I maintain that the general government affords better scope for the communication of religious truth the the young." (260) In the 1885 Wesleyan Conference the Rev. J. Rishworth objected to the placing of the Bible in schools on the

(255) Laracy, p.55.

(256) Mackay, p. 275.

(257) OHNZ, E. Olssen, "Toward a New Society", p.264,

(258) BRD, p.27.

(259) New Zealand Wesleyan, 1 Sept. 1877, quoted by BRD, p.18.

(260) BRD, p.12.

grounds, that "he had no fear of freethought, so called, but he had a great horror of popery ... he longed very much that the children should be religiously trained, but rather than see any encouragement given to the claims of popery he would object to the Bible in schools." (261) There was also a fear of the Church of England; while many Non-Conformists were concerned about 'popery' others were equally concerned about the possibility of the Anglican Church becoming established. The very fact that the Bishops of the Church of England were still addressed as 'My Lord' seemed to many a dangerous anachronism in a new colony.

This form of address must have concerned those non-conformist and Roman Catholic colonists who believed that status was gained by achievement and not by inheritance. The Episcopal leadership of the Church of England did little in this period to allay such fears; despite the efforts of Bishop Abraham, mentioned earlier, any ecumenical efforts were only verbiage at synods, and the distrust of the Church of England remained a factor throughout this period.

Only the Roman Catholics and the Jews remained firm before and after 1877; they knew clearly what they wanted and hardly changed their points of view. The non-conformists wavered, first one way and then another; on the whole they were the so-called secularists prior to 1877; but following the establishment of the act and the brutal realisation of the truly secular nature of education many of the non-conformist bodies started to make efforts to modify the secular clause. The Church of England was in an area all of its own; lukewarm, divided, ambivalent, it was the one denomination which could have changed the course of events. There were considerably more of the population in the Church of England than any other denomination, and had they all voted in favour of dismissing the Act the politicians could not have ignored such numbers. There is no doubt that the leaders of the Church of England, the Bishops, were staunchly opposed to the secular clause, and yet they failed.

(261) New Zealand Methodist, 14 Feb. 1885, quoted by BRD, p.27.

The Church of England was both ambivalent and luke-warm in its reactions towards the secular clause of the Education Act. Prior to 1877 the Provincial Educational Boards had sounded many warnings that secular education was surely on the horizon, and yet the Anglicans built few schools, and those which they did establish could not withstand the competition of free state education; the surviving schools became élitest, and similar to the English Public Schools. The financial restrictions of the Church of England were prohibitive. Following 1877 the Diocesan Synods were content to support the notion of Sunday Schools, and General Synod to send a yearly petition to the Legislature. The 1883 Petitions Committee recognised the fact that it was the Roman Catholics who felt the more passionately, and this was confirmed by the statistics given to the 1895 Committee illustrating that very few clergy took advantage of the possibility of working within the provisions of the Act.

The very nature of the Anglican Communion gave rise to many of the problems it encountered in trying to give voice to its reactions. Synodical government gave a measure of democracy, but the powerful leadership of Bishops frequently meant that several voices were heard. Hadfield, Bishop of Wellington, took a strong reactionary line similar to the Roman Catholics, and at times strongly disagreed with fellow Bishops. As stated earlier the situation occurred when he represented the Church of England at the 1883 Petitions Committee where in fact he was probably as much at variance with fellow Anglicans as he was with the Act. The Anglicans neither had true democracy nor a Papal voice of final authority. Also, although statistically the greater proportion of the population, many Anglicans were just nominal and not Church attenders. Those who were "committed" Anglicans would not feel bound by Synodical or Episcopal proclamation, especially when faced with the possibility of free education. The colonist of all people probably felt the right to make his own decisions, the right and the price of a Church democracy. When Bishop Wallis wrote in his pastoral letter that the issues of education had been "silently ignored by the mass of the Church" (262) he was giving voice to a complaint which had been the continual problem for the Church of England during the entire debate.

(262) Wellington Synod Proceedings, 1898, Bishop's Address, quoted by Morrell, p.132.

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