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# **FREE METHODISTS IN COLONIAL CHRISTCHURCH**

The Church, Community and Commercial Lives  
of some Immigrants from Sunderland

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of  
Master of Arts in History at Massey University.

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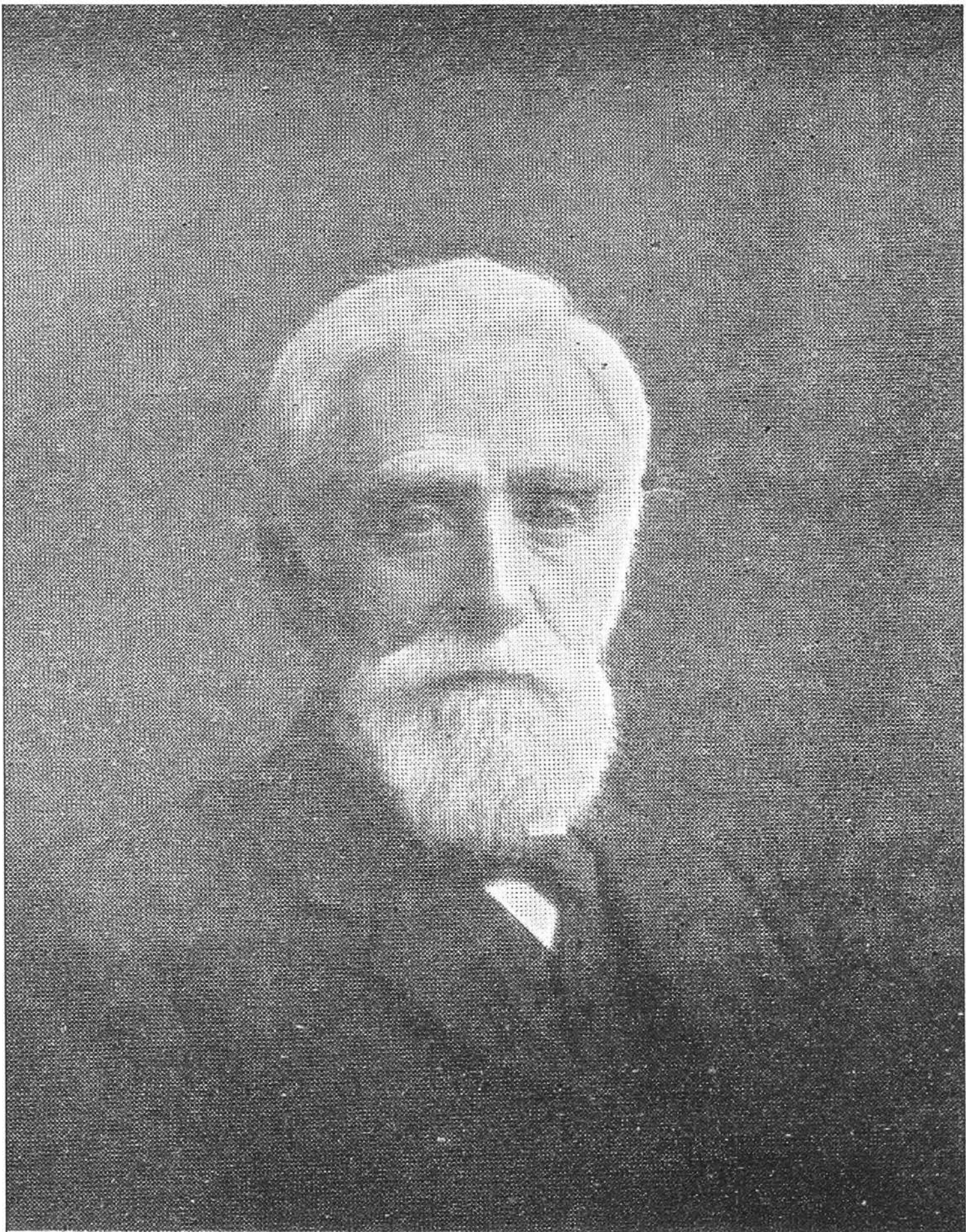
The writing of social history relies heavily on the availability of and access to primary sources. Fred and Marcia Baker, Frank Paine and Rae Wilson of the Methodist Archives at Christchurch were always supportive and friendly – the research support they unstintingly gave was a major contribution to this thesis. Thanks also to Richard Greenaway and Enid Ellis of the Resource Development Team of the Christchurch Central Library, the staff of the National Archives Christchurch Office, the Canterbury Museum Library and the Alexander Turnbull Library. Special thanks to staff of the Massey Library at the Wellington Campus.

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The photographs of John Brown, Margaret Brown and the Addington Church on the following pages were copied from the *Souvenir Booklet of the Jubilee of the Addington Methodist Church and Sunday School, 1864-1914*, published by the Church Committee at Christchurch in 1914.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge those of my extended family who encouraged me to undertake this project and to hope that they find the family aspects of this study, as well as its context, a useful insight into our common history.





MR. J. T. BROWN.

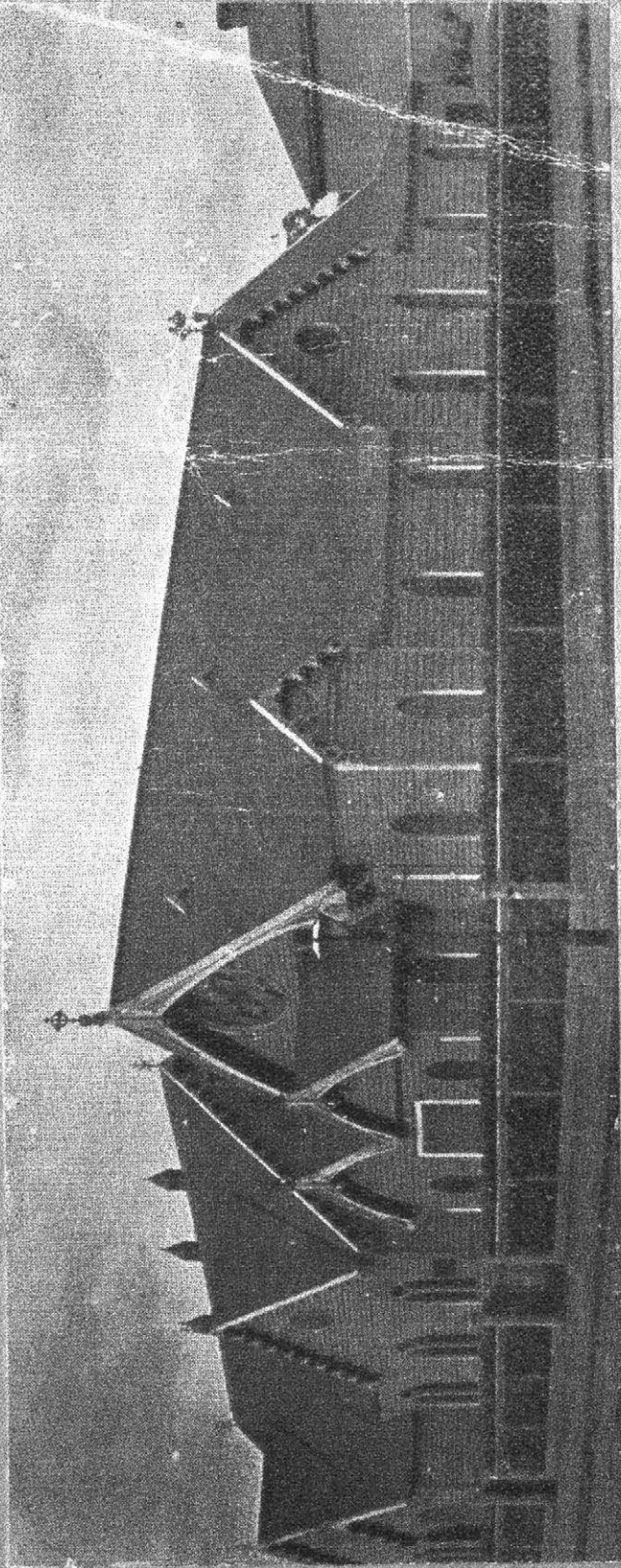


MRS. J. T. BROWN.



Of the . . .

# Addington Methodist Church And Sunday School



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# INTRODUCTION

This thesis tells the story of a small group of immigrants to Canterbury from Sunderland, England in 1858 and follows their lives and the events in their community up to the time of the First World War. John Thompson Brown and his fellow-settlers belonged to an off-shoot of the Wesleyan Methodist Church – the Free Methodists. Their commitment to this denomination and its ethos and the influence of religion on their lives is a central theme in their story.

Life in pioneer society was hard. The environment made it so as much as anything and there were many privations. The sacrifices made by the early settlers and the generation of colonials that followed them were invariably perceived from the perspective of both material conditions and social values. A new community cannot be built without a vision of what that community should be like. This blend of the visionary and the pragmatic co-existed in the beliefs and actions of the early settlers and the colonials, and probably to the generations beyond. The values of the Free Methodists emphasised self-improvement and self-reliance and were supportive of the development of New Zealand as a Christian community. As with other denominations their church was a central part of their community which they fostered both spiritually and materially - a considerable commitment of heart and mind in the demanding colonial environment.

This thesis links church involvement to community and business activities, through the experiences of J. T. Brown and several of his friends. Brown was very active in all three spheres and the linkages between them reveal patterns of behaviour that illustrate the relationship of the spiritual and physical worlds and illuminate many aspects of colonial life. At the end some assessment of the influence on colonial society of these linkages and patterns will be attempted.

While religious beliefs and values are slow to change, the church as an institution in a developing colonial environment had to keep pace with societal changes if it

was to retain its relevance for members of that society. How the Free Methodists met this challenge is a central theme of this study. This includes an analysis of relations with the other Methodist denominations and a discussion of the growth of secularism and the Freethought movement, both pertinent to the changes required of the Free Methodist Church. The numerical growth and spread of Methodism are examined, but as a subsidiary to the main themes of this thesis. The raw data is contained in Appendix One, but extensive quantitative analysis has not been applied, as this is more a study of patterns of conduct than it is of statistical trends.

The number of churches built and maintained by the Methodist denominations, the number of ministers employed and the resources put into mission and pastoral services demonstrate a very considerable commitment by the members and the churches to which they belonged. This was valid and appropriate in a society that accepted Christian values as its spiritual and moral basis. The greater diversity of twentieth and twenty-first century philosophies and values and the exposure of Christian theology to scientific questioning can inhibit an analysis of the historical importance of religion and the church in colonial New Zealand. At one extreme it can start from an agnostic position, move to the viewpoint that religion is humbug and hypocrisy and end with the conclusion that Victorian society was a vast web of cant and megalomania in which respectability screened the abuse of political and economic power. At another it can assume that Christianity was the sole repository of social values, religion the main civilising influence on colonial society and the churches the bastion of good against evil. The reality is somewhere in the balance of conflicting perspectives.

This thesis is primarily a social history, initiated by an interest in the lives of my forebears and driven by a fascination with the pioneer setting that demanded so much of them and the ways they found to deal with the challenges confronting them.

In working on this thesis I have found the following observation from Rollo Arnold's essay *The Patterns of Denominationalism in Later Victorian New Zealand* a useful starting point:

While I believe that if we social historians are ever to get a worthwhile grip of our complex and diffuse subject, we must be continually sensitive to the presence of meaningful patterns, and find imaginative ways of explaining them in reporting our findings, we should, I think, always take our proposed patterns with a grain of salt. For social realities are perennially enigmatic, paradoxical, contradictory.<sup>1</sup>



## Chapter One

### AN INFORMED DECISION

John Thompson Brown was born in June 1831 in the parish of Monkwearmouth on the northern bank of the River Wear in the County of Durham, on the north-east coast of England. He was the eldest child of William Armstrong Brown (1804-1877) a mariner, and Isabella Brown, nee Stoddart, (1797-1879). The name Thompson was William's mother's family name. This provides a likely connection to other Thompsons who lived at Monkwearmouth, for example Thomas Thompson (1823-1899), son of a Captain Thompson, who emigrated to New Zealand with the Browns. There was also Robert Thompson (1797-1860), son of another Captain Thompson founder of a large shipbuilding firm.<sup>2</sup> The Brown and Thompson families were Free Methodists and carried out their shipbuilding businesses at or near to North Sands at Monkwearmouth.<sup>3</sup> Tenuous though these connections may be they point to at least a community of interest if not direct family ties. On 23 September 1835 William and Isabella's second son, and only other surviving child, Matthew Stoddart Brown was born. Little is known of the living conditions of the Brown family in the years before the emigration of John and Matthew to New Zealand in 1858. It must therefore be presumed that they lived in very much the same circumstances as their contemporaries.

In 1801 Monkwearmouth was a largely rural parish of 5,180 acres with a population of 6,293, most of whom lived in the Monkwearmouth Shore Township. Across the river was the township of Sunderland with a population of 12,412, surrounded by the Bishopwearmouth rural parish of 9,225 acres and 7,806 souls. In 1835 parts of the Monkwearmouth and Bishopwearmouth parishes were incorporated with Sunderland township into the Sunderland Municipal Borough, which now had a total population of over 40,000.<sup>4</sup> By the time of the 1851 Census the population had grown to 64,000, showing the impact of industrialisation and



growth continued through the century. A significant factor was that in 1851 71% of the population was under the age of 30.<sup>5</sup>

As a mariner William Brown was in an occupation that in the early 1800s was one of the most hazardous in Sunderland. Increased trade in those years had actually worsened the working and living conditions of the ordinary seafarer, and cargo and animals suffered from the wet and miserable conditions. Many unscrupulous owners seeking high profits overloaded vessels that were often not maintained in a seaworthy condition and the death rate of mariners was higher than in the worst Victorian city. Throughout the early 1800s the number of ships lost at sea increased year by year. Between 1827 and 1829 107 ships from Sunderland were lost at sea and between 1833 and 1835 124 went down.<sup>6</sup> Presumably William had first-hand experience of these hazards.

Gradual improvements at the river mouth stimulated the export of coal from the extending Durham coalfields and the construction of railways and docks and shipbuilding yards. In 1831 Sunderland was the fourth busiest port in the United Kingdom, clearing 170 ships weekly.<sup>7</sup> Reaching safe harbour remained hazardous as shown by the records of 1854-5 when 134 ships were grounded at the harbour entrance. However, by 1856 port development had enclosed 66 acres of water and greatly reduced this hazard.<sup>8</sup>

‘Coal was the most important factor in the development of the Port of Sunderland and the railway network of the area.’<sup>9</sup> As new pits opened in the Durham coalfields in the 1830s and 1840s the railway lines from the coalfields to the Sunderland docks were developed. Rail and maritime transport and the development of the port were the most important industries of the town.

Seafaring was the largest employment in Sunderland until 1871 but the shipbuilding industry was also a significant employer.<sup>10</sup> This industry grew by leaps and bounds during the industrial revolution, but in the first half of the century this prodigious growth was not matched by developments in marine engineering, and Sunderland was late to move from wood to iron and steel construction. Ships were built predominantly of wood, with iron hulls still in the development phase.

Even so, in the middle of the nineteenth century Sunderland shipyards produced a greater tonnage than any other area of Britain. However, the industry suffered from cycles of boom and recession, and the lack of capital investment meant that shipyards went in and out of business in synchronisation with trends in supply and demand, even though in some years the output was tremendous and the profits substantial. At the height of the boom in 1853 the value of shipbuilding output was at least one million pounds, equal to about 110 pounds per annum to each household in the Borough. But it was by no means a secure business or occupation for those involved.<sup>11</sup> The early eighteen-forties had seen a severe recession in Sunderland. Some ship-builders went out of business and 133 shops stood empty in 1843, 13 of them on High Street.<sup>12</sup>

The Census of 1841 showed that 968 men over 20 and 509 boys under 20 were employed in the industry, indicative of the youthfulness of the workforce and the basic nature of many of the tasks involved in it.

Ships were built by men "barely above the position of artisans", according to Tyneside businessman Thomas Brown in 1833, and so prices were lower than if they "had been capitalists". Nor had the situation changed by 1850 when a Sunderland shipowner stated "a great many of our Shipbuilders are Workingmen". These vigorous young shipwrights may be identified as the driving force in the expansion of the industry.<sup>13</sup>

Both John and Matthew learnt the shipbuilding trade as young men. Perhaps they were apprenticed to one of the established builders or maybe they belonged to a family business. In *Where Ships Are Born* Smith and Holden outline the history of the firm of Robert Thompson which began building wooden ships at North Sands with the *Pearl*, a brig of 240 tons, in 1846. From this they grew to be one of the major companies of the Sunderland yards.<sup>14</sup> It is not too much to speculate that John and Matthew got their start in Thompson's yard. They could also have worked with or for George Booth, another Monkwearmouth Free Methodist. George Booth was foreman at Thompson's and managed his own yard at Dame Dolly Rocks, North Sands.<sup>15</sup> Whatever the case their experiences in this industry in these years must have given them a good grounding not only in the skills of boat building but also in how to make a living in a risky trading environment. This does not however provide a clue as to the motivation of John and Matthew to emigrate.

Some explanation may lie in the personal circumstances of the Browns and the economic conditions of Sunderland.

On 28 November 1852 John married Margaret Ann Towle, daughter of John Towle, mariner, and Jane Towle, nee Garry, both of Sunderland. Several years later Matthew married Margaret Ann Ridley. By 1858 John and Margaret had two children, John and William. Matthew and Margaret had one son, William.<sup>16</sup> It is a stage in life when parents look to the future for opportunities for their family.

The business environment of mid-nineteenth century Sunderland was typical of a growing industrial city of the times. A contemporary (1855) description of Sunderland captures the atmosphere:

For all practical purposes, Sunderland is as new as an Australian or Yankee settlement - We like the fresh-coloured vigour that characterises everything in Sunderland. There is no dreamy, stupid, aristocratic indolence about the place. They are perfectly fierce in their money-making. They teem with self-reliance; and they love and hate with a terrible impetuosity - They like their politics, but they relish cash still more.<sup>17</sup>

Ancillary industries such as engineering, rope and sail-making grew up around shipbuilding and transportation. Limestone, glass, pottery and bottle-making also became local industries, making significant earnings from export. Housing construction also became a large local industry as Sunderland continued to expand.

This economic development was not immediately matched by improvements in standards of living for the working classes, which included those who had moved to the towns as a result of the enclosures. In fact by 1851 working class Sunderland had '...reached its lowest point in terms of quality of life...'<sup>18</sup> As more people poured into the borough, housing, health and education suffered. At the same time the middle classes were prospering and building in the newer suburbs in Bishopwearmouth south of the river and outer Monkwearmouth to the north.

Thus it was that the formative years of John T Brown were spent in a climate of economic and social change characterised by rapid economic growth based on variable trade movements, leading over the longer term to steady progress in living conditions for those who could take advantage of business opportunities. In this climate emigration to a land of opportunity in the colonies could seem an attractive proposition.

The decision to emigrate was never taken lightly, although it was usually accompanied by a high level of optimism. The ethos of commercial growth and the youthful predominance of the population of Sunderland was probably conducive to optimism. But money was also needed to make the journey to New Zealand and set the family up in the new colony. The journey to North America was cheaper and shorter and attracted most migrants, which raises questions as to why the Browns chose Canterbury. A tentative indication can be found in the actions and needs of the Canterbury Provincial Government.

The Canterbury Association and the Provincial Government which followed it in 1853 had, because of a shortage of labour and capital in the settlement, appointed agents in Britain to attract appropriate settlers to Canterbury. Greatly influenced by the philosophies of Edward Gibbon Wakefield (1796-1862) the Provincial Government wanted settlers with either desirable occupational skills or enough capital to establish small businesses or farms. But the costs of getting to the colony were considerable and the Government therefore subsidised the fares of certain desirable immigrants known as "assisted immigrants".<sup>19</sup> The degree of assistance and the criteria for receiving it were regular subjects of debate in the Provincial Council, but in 1857 half the fare was offered, with provision for the remaining half to be borrowed on reasonable terms of repayment.<sup>20</sup>

The Browns obtained assistance, paid their half fare, and John then aged 28, Margaret, 25, and their children John, aged 4 and William 1, were given berths on the *Indiana* sailing from the East India Docks, London in August 1858. Altogether the family paid twenty-one pounds, five shillings.<sup>21</sup> Travelling with them, also as assisted immigrants, were John's brother Matthew and family and Margaret's sister or cousin Elizabeth Towle and they were part of a contingent of 93 emigrant settlers from Sunderland.<sup>22</sup> Most of the men were skilled artisans or 'mechanics' in shipbuilding and associated trades, ie the vigorous young shipwrights, sawyers and carpenters of the growing industry. Probably all were Methodists and many were Free Methodists.<sup>23</sup> This synchronous emigration of twenty-one families with similar backgrounds implies joint consideration and certainly indicates that the selection of Canterbury as a destination was an informed decision, most likely

based on information provided by of the Canterbury Province's agents who had been engaged to travel around England encouraging desirable immigrants.

The *Indiana* was a ship of 852 tons and sailed from London for New Zealand on 5 August with a total of 319 immigrants. J.E. Fitzgerald, the Canterbury Immigration Agent in the United Kingdom, writing about the immigrants on the *Indiana* to the Provincial Secretary on August 3 noted that they were 'generally in large batches of friends especially of shipwrights and sawyers from Sunderland a most useful lot.'<sup>24</sup> As Provincial Superintendent a few years earlier Fitzgerald was keenly appreciative of the importance of coastal and river transportation to the settlements at Christchurch and on Banks Peninsular.

The cost of the fare, expenses on the journey and the capital needed to get established, all added up to a substantial investment for each family. They had assessed the potential returns and the future possibilities of economic and social advantage in a developing colony. There were opportunities and materials for shipbuilding and coastal trading and the export of primary products was growing. The gold-rushes that were occurring in New Zealand and Australia at this time might have added a more speculative option. Perhaps the island nature of New Zealand was attractive to people with a long maritime history and tradition.

It was not the first party of Sunderlanders to venture 'down under' and success stories from earlier groups probably gave encouragement.<sup>25</sup> The party would have travelled by boat from Sunderland to embark on the *Indiana* at Gravesend. Many family and friends would have seen them off from the Sunderland docks for the first part of their long adventurous journey - young families full of vitality and hope that they were on their way to a land of opportunity and promise.

## Chapter Two

# THE EMERGENCE OF FREE METHODISM

When they set out from Sunderland John and Margaret Brown were convinced and committed Methodists. As teenagers both had become members of the Wesleyan Methodist Connexion by the process known as conversion. The occasion of John's conversion as the age of fifteen was the visit to Sunderland in August 1846 of Rev. James Caughey, the famous American Methodist evangelist.<sup>26</sup> Margaret's conversion took place two years later when she was also fifteen.<sup>27</sup>

James Caughey was one of a number of evangelists travelling around Britain in the first half of the nineteenth century, whose main purpose was to invigorate Christianity through local evangelistic revivals.<sup>28</sup> In his travels in England, mainly in the north, between 1841 and 1846 Caughey '...could claim to have been instrumental in over twenty thousand conversions and to have brought nine thousand to "entire sanctification."'<sup>29</sup>

Caughey's manner of preaching was very direct. He was a powerful orator with a commanding presence and fixed his eyes on members of the audience during his sermons. During prayer meetings he used what was called the 'American device' of walking from pew to pew exhorting people to go forward to the communion rail and find their salvation. He was given to shouting such things as: "Come out, man! and save your soul now."<sup>30</sup> On occasion the huge emotional pressure he created would run out of control into mass hysteria, but this was the stuff of revivalism and gave many who experienced it one of life's most intense and compelling moments.

He was too successful for a section of the Wesleyan Church leadership which believed that revivals conducted by independent travelling preachers were detrimental to local and national church organisation and stability. In 1847 this group persuaded the Conference to resolve to close the pulpits to Caughey and his



like. Caughey refused to stir things up and bade farewell to England in a forgiving and peaceful manner.<sup>31</sup> However, his expulsion ‘...was both prophetic of and contributory to the great upheaval in Wesleyanism...’ which was just around the corner.<sup>32</sup> After 1847 the Wesleyan Conference tried to control local revivals, as part of a wider struggle for power within the Church, but it was difficult for a central authority to manage or limit such a personal and emotional process.

Caughey’s revival in August 1846 was a momentous one for John - he saw it that way at the time and fifty years later he still saw it that way. Following his conversion he ‘...was soon engaged in aggressive Christian work...’<sup>33</sup> As well as finding a cause and a faith through his conversion he also accepted evangelism and the need for religious revivals as a primary means of saving souls. In this he was following the footsteps of the greatest Methodist evangelist of all - John Wesley.

Born at Epworth in England in 1703 John Wesley was one of nineteen children of an Anglican clergyman and an intelligent, pious woman with a strong character. She was the main guiding influence in the family, on John and his brother Charles, in particular.<sup>34</sup> By 1738 John Wesley was an Oxford don, an ordained Anglican minister and a deeply religious man with a full understanding of Christian theology. He was a member of a small group of “people called methodists”, mostly students, who observed religious practices and devotions in a pious, regular and methodical way.<sup>35</sup> On 24 May 1738 he underwent a profound spiritual experience - his conversion - which was subsequently the precedent and example for many millions of his followers.<sup>36</sup> This conversion was from the intellectual exclusiveness of the High Church to a belief that salvation and Christian life was attainable by any person through faith in God and that they could experience personal assurance from God that they had become his children. The doctrinal basis of this belief was ‘Arminianism’, which taught that all humanity was born into a state of sin, but could be saved by committing themselves to Christianity through Christ and aspiring to a state of holiness and Christian perfection.<sup>37</sup> This doctrine was the powerful message of the Methodist Movement and was the thematic heart and soul of the religious revival led by Wesley during the remainder of the eighteenth

century.<sup>38</sup> It was the basis of the faith to which John and Margaret Brown committed themselves over one hundred years after Wesley's conversion.

The regeneration of religious life and institutions which commenced in England under the leadership of the Methodists after 1738 and which was epitomised by wave after wave of evangelical revivals and many thousands of individual conversions, is a matter of general historical interest. According to Alan Gilbert: 'The religious situation in England in 1740 is important historically because it represents English Christianity on the eve of its greatest crisis...the Church of England, still powerful, was inflexible and ill-prepared for change...'<sup>39</sup> He argues that in the early eighteenth century the Church of England was suffering from inertia, having been gradually undermined by the political strategies of Whig governments since the late seventeenth century. By 1740 the Church '...was beginning to experience, on a significant scale, the problem of being a religious Establishment in a society no longer constrained to accept its leadership.'<sup>40</sup>

The generally held view is that the great evangelical revival was causally linked to the incapacity of the Established and Dissenting Churches to provide spiritual sustenance to the majority of the population. The authoritative Methodist histories of 1909 and 1965 support this view.<sup>41</sup> William Morley (a New Zealand Methodist leader) and J R Green (a leading Anglican historian), both writing at the end of the nineteenth century, agree.<sup>42</sup>

Robert Wearmouth provides a perspective from the widespread distress of the working classes in the 1740s and 1750s and the ruthless repression of their feeble efforts to improve their conditions.<sup>43</sup> In some instances the clergy joined the local authorities in the ferocious treatment meted out even to the young, the old and the innocent who were harshly punished for trivial offences or for presuming to oppose the status quo. Hanging, hard labour and transportation were commonplace penalties which bore down so heavily on the working classes. The parson and the squire were often united on the local magistrates bench.

These cruelties roused the consciences of the Wesleys and turned Methodism into 'the religion of the common people.'<sup>44</sup> Wearmouth argues that: 'Methodism was



the greatest friend the working masses had in the eighteenth century.’<sup>45</sup> The conclusion of this argument is that for reasons of social justice, religious institutions and behaviour desperately needed to change for the better. Clyde Binfield comments that: ‘Methodism was the key factor in revival’s first outworking, religion’s popular response to the tensions of the eighteenth century.’<sup>46</sup> In Morley’s words, ‘An Evangelical Revival was evidently needed.’<sup>47</sup>

Gilbert also notes two new attitudinal factors in religious life: voluntarism, the concept of religious observance as a matter of individual choice; and pluralism, the situation in which a plurality of cultural systems and social groupings co-exist within a single society.<sup>48</sup> During the first century of Methodism the statutes limiting religious establishments were gradually relaxed allowing these two factors to come into ever-greater effect. To this can be added the following observation of Binfield, which touches neatly on the multi-dimensional nature of Methodism:

The impulse was Methodist, but it was not *essentially* Methodist, neither was it all revival and no reason. Indeed, the closeness of Methodist organization added a fresh dimension of reason to the existing disciplines of evangelical living. The Methodist belonged to God, and was therefore worlds away. He was also God’s instrument, and therefore here, now, and active.<sup>49</sup>

Until his death in 1791 John Wesley led the growing Methodist movement. He was a preacher with a simple but powerful message, speaking in rooms, halls and the open air, often to huge gatherings, in all parts of England. In his lifetime he is said to have travelled 250,000 miles, mostly on horseback, and given 40,000 sermons. His personal qualities were a major influence of the development of the movement. Green described him as a man with:

...an indefatigable industry, a cool judgement, a command over others, a faculty of organisation, a singular union of patience and moderation with an imperious ambition, which marked him as a ruler of men....He lived in a world of wonders and divine interpositions [but with a mind that] was essentially practical, orderly and conservative. No man ever stood at the head of a great revolution whose temper was so anti-revolutionary.<sup>50</sup>

John Wesley, his brother Charles, and a growing group of preachers and followers spread the Methodist message throughout England. Opposition from the majority of Anglican clergy and the social and political establishment of the day marked the first decades. Preachers often faced violent mobs stirred up by local gentry and there are many stories of the persecution and ordeals faced by the early evangelists.

Arduous travel in all weathers and through dangerous countryside created many difficulties and required a strong commitment and a robust constitution.<sup>51</sup>

Whatever the causes, the great evangelical regeneration, with the Methodists at the forefront, was a large and significant event. Binfield summarises its effect on the religious establishment:

The undenominational religious outpouring of the later eighteenth century caught the aspirations of the mobile classes of a new society. Its natural tendency was towards Dissent, since its values could not be established values as traditionally interpreted. Its inevitable conclusion, therefore, was a renewed denominationalism, at once deplorable and necessary. It turned Dissent into Nonconformity; *movements* became *churches*; Nonconformists turned at last into Free *Churchmen*.<sup>52</sup>

In addition the rapid increase in the number of followers and converts created a need for order and organisation. Between 1738 and 1744 Wesley developed a structure and a set of rules which established an organisation for followers and new converts to join and gave them specific roles and responsibilities. Members were gathered into local societies, which were said to meet in connexion with John Wesley. The societies together were grouped into what was termed the United Societies, with Wesley as the acknowledged head. (The Glossary of Names and Terms, p.96, contains specific details.)

Initially, Wesley followed the principles and ordinances of Anglicanism very closely. However, the continued preaching to large crowds in the open air in parishes ministered to by Anglican parsons, the organisation of a national network of United Societies and the emphasis on Arminian evangelism raised tension with the parent Church. Wesley did not want a separate Methodist Church; rather for the United Societies to remain within Anglicanism, and for the parent to come close to the child so to speak. The inertia of the Anglican Church and its opposition to the 'enthusiasm' of and for evangelism determined otherwise, and the awakening of the social conscience of the parent church was not to take place until the nineteenth century.

The growth of Methodism membership was prodigious. By 1791 there were 56,605 members in the United Societies of England and a further 15,771 in Wales, Scotland and Ireland.<sup>53</sup> There were perhaps another 50,000 in America. In

addition there were many thousands more who were supporters and adherents of the Movement and who attended services without taking up active membership.

One consequence of joining a society was that a member was encouraged to become well read in biblical and theological matters. It followed from the Arminian belief in a direct relationship with the Almighty that an understanding of the word of God as written in the Bible was important, and literacy was the first step to attaining this. Wesley also wrote extensively as a means of communicating with his followers. His *Works* alone comprise thirteen volumes, including a journal of his travels and the other main events in his life, tracts, sermons, instructions to members, records of meetings and correspondence. He established and contributed to the monthly 'Arminian Magazine' and edited a body of Divinity, filling more than thirty volumes, called 'The Christian Library', and made these and other publications available to members.<sup>54</sup> Literacy reinforced the ability of lay officers and members to understand and execute the rules established for the efficient running of the local societies.

Music was established early as an integral part of Methodist worship. Hymns, initially sung with the help of a band of one or two stringed or wind instruments, were part of all services, as well as prayer meetings, love feasts and other such occasions. Later, but not without an accompaniment of organisational disharmony, organs replaced the bands. Charles Wesley was said to have written 6,000 hymns, many of which are in 'A Collection of Psalms and Hymns'. The Collection was started in 1737, was first printed in 1741 and, through various reprints, remained the standard for use by Wesleyan congregations.<sup>55</sup> Thus, the doctrine, the literature, the music, the structure and the rules of Methodism were founded in the first decade after Wesley's conversion. They lasted to the twentieth century with few significant changes.

Wesley was a frequent visitor to the northeast of England. His first visit to Sunderland was in the summer of 1743 when '...he preached to a turbulent crowd in the High Street...and was...pelted with mud and rotten eggs...'<sup>56</sup> Nevertheless a society was formed and Wesley visited and preached in the town every two or three

years over the next half-century. In 1748 the Sunderland society was included in the Newcastle Circuit.<sup>57</sup> During a visit in June 1757 he tackled the problem of smuggling by members and purged the society of those who would not follow the law.<sup>58</sup> This was one of many instances of Wesley maintaining the rectitude of Methodism by purging the societies of wrongdoers. By 1782 the membership had grown sufficiently for a separate Sunderland Circuit to be formed.<sup>59</sup> His thirty-second and final visit to Sunderland was in 1790 and, after preaching to several large groups, he recorded: 'Here it is plain that our labour has not been in vain.'<sup>60</sup> This is borne out by the fact that in 1791 the Sunderland Circuit covered all the northeast part of County Durham, including Durham City, and part of Northumberland, with 1301 members spread over 36 places. The Monkwearmouth society numbered 135 members.<sup>61</sup>

The growth and strength of the societies in Sunderland continued into the nineteenth century and it is evident that the community into which John and Margaret were born in the 1830s had a strong and deep Methodist tradition. However, between the death of Wesley and the departure of John and Margaret from Sunderland in 1858 momentous changes occurred, affecting English Methodism in general, John and Margaret in particular, and leading to the emergence of Free Methodism as a separate denomination.

Wesley's two most important bequests to Methodism were its doctrinal Arminian basis and the rules and structure of the United Societies. Taken together these constituted '...a new model of the Christian life in an eighteenth century culture...'<sup>62</sup> The former is his abiding contribution, lasting virtually unchanged to modern times.<sup>63</sup> The latter came under pressure very soon after his demise. There are two important reasons; firstly the death of Wesley left the movement without his cohesive and strong leadership, including his capacity to maintain the unity of the United Societies in a period of rapid and growth and change. The second reason was that the organisation comprised structural elements that were in themselves causative of internal conflict. Had the movement remained static these issues might not have been so important, but rapid growth and evangelical drive were factors of change which gave no time for the comfortable establishment of new structures.

Added to this was the inclusion in the ranks of many men and women of strong convictions and passionate beliefs – far removed from the picture of a flock of peaceable parishioners guided by a benevolent parson.<sup>64</sup> Debate and dissension were inevitable.

Wesley issued instructions for the government of the United Societies after his departure. These were contained in a Deed of Declaration under which the societies became the Connexion under the governance of an Annual Conference of one hundred senior preachers - analogous with but not akin to a synod of bishops or (heaven forbid!) a college of cardinals. At the end of the nineteenth century the Conference still consisted of ‘...the LEGAL HUNDRED, together with those senior ministers who are permitted to deliberate with them. The Conference decides all questions of the ministry and spiritual matters.’<sup>65</sup> The Conference therefore, was and remained the supreme authority.

According to the rules and organisation of Methodism (outlined above and described in detail in the Glossary) Members were gathered into Classes, Classes grouped into Societies, Societies located in Circuits, and all of these made subject to the governance of the Annual Conference. The Rules gave the lay officers of a society the key responsibilities for the normal business of that society, under the oversight of the itinerant preacher or minister assigned to the society by the Conference. The Class Leaders organised the devotional meetings of the membership, the Trustees were responsible for the ownership and management of society property and the Stewards collected and disbursed the moneys of the society. These officers were generally highly respected members of their church community who took their duties very seriously. Often they would have acquired literacy from Methodism and the society duties they took up gave them exceedingly valuable management experience within the society as well as in relation to their work lives. For tradesmen and artisans who had learned the values of self-betterment from Methodist doctrine this experience was invaluable if they had commercial or business aspirations.<sup>66</sup> It also provided the Connexion with a body of committed local workers, who gave time, effort and money, all the more if they prospered in business.

Thus the societies were largely self-sufficient in the operations of their own business, under the supervision of an itinerant minister, or 'branch manager' and the general direction of a Circuit Superintendent, or 'area manager'. The distinction between the laity and the ministry was reinforced by the exclusion (until 1878) of lay members from participation in the Annual Conference and from eligibility for important national Connexional positions. They were thus debarred from national decision-making processes. It was around this matter of polity - the relative decision-making powers of the laity and the clergy in the Methodist constitution, that forthcoming developments and conflicts centred.

The Itineracy which effectively relocated the 'branch' and 'regional managers' at least every three years diluted the capacity of the ministry to control local officials. In any case they '...were too thin on the ground to cultivate close contacts with a rapidly growing membership and thus to secure full recognition of their undivided pastoral authority.'<sup>67</sup> Furthermore, independent and responsible lay officers were not disposed to meekly accept either the authority or the dictates of the national organisation or its representatives without question, '...and the ties between laymen could be far stronger than the bonds between ministers and people...[Their exclusion] blocked the institutional means for the expression of grievances, thereby intensifying the opposition...'<sup>68</sup> This meant that inherently serious conflicts which could not be resolved within a society or a circuit would be escalated into the national arena where there was the potential to cause major divisions in the Connexion as a whole.

With the death of Wesley the scene was set for a struggle between those who wanted more participation and power for the laity and those who favoured the status quo. In every decade between 1791 and 1850 reformers were pitted against conservatives causing major convulsions in the Church and the expulsion or withdrawal of many thousands of members. It ended with a Methodist family of distinctive denominations each with their own organisation, but all committed to the doctrines of John Wesley. These were times when reform, emancipation and revolution were active forces across all of Europe and to some extent the conflicts



in Methodism reflected these broader social and political struggles, but with no less vehemence and passion than those happening on other battlefields.<sup>69</sup>

In this time five new Methodist denominations, whose influence reached beyond a small local followings, were formed. They were the Methodist New Connexion, the Independent Methodist Churches, the Primitive Methodist Church, the Bible Christian Church and the United Methodist Free Churches. Brief summaries of the emergence of the first four are contained in the Glossary. An important development associated with the formation of the Methodist New Connexion was the adoption of a Plan of Pacification by the Conference in 1795 that effectively allowed societies to partake of the sacraments through their own preachers and to hold services at times suitable to themselves, as distinct from Anglican Church service times. This was the commencement of the Connexion as a separate church and it therefore seems appropriate to refer to it as the Wesleyan Methodist Church from this point on, although it was only by stages over the next three or four decades that all formal ties were cut to the parent Church.

The Methodist New Connexion and the Independent Methodist Churches were, in effect, breakaway groups from the mainstream Wesleyan Church. The Primitive Methodists and the Bible Christians are more correctly described as the formation of separate denominations outside the Church, which shared the Arminian doctrine, but not organisational values with the Wesleys. Some of them also professed a stronger, more charismatic, commitment to evangelical revivals. Of these four, Primitive Methodism and the Independent Methodists gained a lasting and substantial following in Sunderland.<sup>70</sup>

Matters came to head in the most disruptive convulsion of all - a series of paroxysms stretching over thirty years in which the reform movement tested conservative resistance to the limit, which resulted in the loss of over one hundred thousand members of the Wesleyan Church and culminated in the formation of the United Methodist Free Churches (UMFC). A distinctive feature was the development of alliances: between conservative ministry and laity on the one hand and between reform-minded ministry and laity on the other.<sup>71</sup> The first clash was

caused when the Conference agreed to the installation of an organ in the Brunswick chapel, in Leeds against the wishes of the local majority of members, but in support of the Circuit Superintendent and a group of prosperous laymen. This dispute lost either by expulsion or secession about a thousand members, and led to the formation of the Protestant Methodists in 1827.

The second clash originated in a Conference proposal in 1833 to establish a Theological Institution for the training of young preachers for the Itineracy. This revived the question of the proper constitutional means for expelling members, ie whether it was in the power of Circuit Superintendent or the Leaders' Meeting, and the polity issue overtook the question of a Theological Institute in importance. The conservative forces again triumphed, but at the cost of further expulsions and secessions of almost 8,000 members and the formation in 1835 of the Wesleyan Methodist Association. Another outcome was a revision of the rules strengthening the alliance between laymen from the upper social strata of the societies and the circuit superintendents (the conservatives) and giving little to the class leaders and local preachers.<sup>72</sup>

The final battle for power took place in the eighteen-forties and became known throughout Methodism as the 'Disruption'. The Rev. James Everett (who had entered the ministry in Sunderland in 1806) produced a series of anonymous publications, starting with *The Disputants*, on the agitation over the Theological Institute, '...in which the Conference party were made to shine anything but brilliantly...'<sup>73</sup> This was followed by a series of pamphlets entitled *Wesleyan Takings* - literary portraits of the conservative ministers which '...were not entirely complimentary and excited great wrath amongst the brethren.'<sup>74</sup> Then came the *Fly Sheets* which attacked the Church leadership, Dr Jabez Bunting, the foremost Wesleyan, in particular.<sup>75</sup> 'Charged with the basest of motives Bunting and his lieutenants were held responsible for the construction of a London-based bureaucracy that was riddled with exclusiveness, favouritism and selfishness...'<sup>76</sup>

A witch-hunt ensued, but Everett refused to confess, or even discuss the matter unless formal charges were laid and evidence brought against him. This was



enough for Dr Bunting and his supporters to expel Everett and two others in 1849. However the *Fly Sheets* had struck a chord with many members and fired up a vociferous demand for reform. This led to many further expulsions and secessions, such that: 'In five years the parent Church lost 100,000 members, many of who were lost to Methodism - even to the Christian Church - altogether.'<sup>77</sup> These members and their ministers established the Reform Movement, which after a period of reconstruction and negotiation merged, in 1857, with the Protestant Methodists, the Wesleyan Methodist Association and a number of smaller reform-minded groups to form the UMFC.

The polity issue was thereby resolved for the Wesleyan Church which had rid itself of the bulk of the reformers. While liberal opinion was on the side of the reformers, the conservatives had the numbers, the material resources and theological arguments that enabled them to win the battle, even at a cost of one third of their membership.<sup>78</sup> And the polity issue was resolved for the reformers who now had their own denomination and who constructed the rules of the UMFC to specifically exclude special rights or greater authority for the ministers. Beckerlegge comments that: 'It was no doubt, in part, the memory of the high-handedness of Conference, and particularly of Bunting, that kindled that positive passion for the rights of minorities and for an impartial chair that characterized the best and most typical members of the UMFC.'<sup>79</sup>

During the first decades of the nineteenth century Wesleyan Methodism in the Sunderland Circuit continued to increase in numbers, adherents and Sunday scholars, to build chapels and halls and to gain a strong following particularly in the rapidly growing Sunderland and Monkwearmouth townships, which together had 1,446 of the 2,855 of the total members in the Circuit in 1826.<sup>80</sup> The Circuit subdivided itself several times in these years, but in the thirties and forties membership declined as the internal struggles took their effect locally and as breakaway groups attracted their own members and adherents. Rev James Everett had grown up and worked as an apprentice in Sunderland before becoming a preacher on trial in the Circuit in 1804.<sup>81</sup> He was 'held in reverent affection by all Methodists in the [Sunderland and Newcastle] neighbourhood' and worked in that

region during the Disruption.<sup>82</sup> Some time after the formation of the UMFC he retired to Sunderland, and was eventually buried in the Ryhope Road Cemetery.<sup>83</sup> During the Disruption this region was a strong base of support for the reformers and for the spirit of reform.<sup>84</sup> It played an important part in the consolidation of Free Methodism between 1849 and 1857.<sup>85</sup> In this time George Booth, the Monkwearmouth shipbuilder was one of the Sunderland representatives on the Newcastle Free Methodist Circuit.<sup>86</sup>

In 1852 the membership of this Circuit was 2,950, compared with Wesleyan membership in the same area of 5,924. Comparable figures in Sunderland were 629 and 851.<sup>87</sup> Figures of attendances at worship in Sunderland contained in the Census of March 1851 show that the Church of England had 9,158 attendances, compared with a total Methodist attendance of 11,998, broken down as follows:

Wesleyan	3854
New Connexion	780
Primitive Methodist	3590
Free Methodists	3774 <sup>88</sup>

By 1858, the first full year of the UMFC, membership of the denomination in England was 41,443, compared with 255,173 in the Wesleyan Church and 110,840 Primitive Methodists.<sup>89</sup> There were 127 UMFC ministers, 1212 Wesleyan ministers and 549 Primitive Methodist ministers.<sup>90</sup>

No sooner, then, had John and Margaret made their personal commitment to God than they became involved in the intellectual and emotional turmoil of the reform movement, the Disruption and the formation of the UMFC. If John's conversion was a profound and defining moment in his religious life, in the years 1846 to 1857 he must have examined, analysed and defined his faith in relation to broad social, political and economic principles, especially those to do with freedom and emancipation. This surely would have convinced him of the validity of the close linkage of spiritual and temporal life inherent in Wesley's interpretation of Arminianism. Such events in our lives mould deep and lasting practices and provide a basis by which we will judge ourselves, may accept the judgements of our fellows and ultimately are answerable to universal authority, whether expressed as individual conscience or an almighty God.

John had already begun 'aggressive Christian work' when he and Margaret set out for New Zealand.<sup>91</sup> This included helping establish 'Ebenezer church and schools in the Sunderland Circuit.'<sup>92</sup> Clearly he assumed church leadership responsibilities from that time.

The voyage of the *Indiana* was similar to many others of the time - hazardous, uncomfortable, cold, wet, crowded and monotonous. Though quite long by current standards the voyage was relatively uneventful, marked by six births and seven deaths but otherwise by long periods of monotony interspersed with cold, wet bursts of discomfort and danger. The diary of James Goss, a carpenter of London who paid his own passage, contains references to his fellow-passengers from Sunderland.<sup>93</sup>

Thursday August 5<sup>th</sup>: The principal part of the passengers are North of England and Scotch people which are nearly as bad as foreigners to us as far as their dialect is concerned.

Monday August 9<sup>th</sup>: There are about 70 people from Sunderland, most of whom are Wesleyans, and very united in their way, but have a great deal too much self-righteousness.

Sunday August 15<sup>th</sup>: There is very little difference here between Sunday and week-days except the reading of the Church prayers in the morning and sometimes a Wesleyan meeting in the evening, but it is a poor set out.

Sunday August 22<sup>nd</sup>: Another dull Sunday for us. Instead of quiet breakfast as we used to have at home, and the pleasing prospect of spending a few hours in the House of God, all now is noise and turmoil. On one part there will be a small knot gathered round the schoolmaster, going their regular rounds gabbling over the Church prayers. Then on the fore-castle there is generally another gathering, the principal of which are sailors. Then there is the beautiful harmony of a knot of harum scarum children racing about the deck like march hares or pigs in a wood, so that amongst the lot we are puzzled to find a quiet corner.

The *Indiana* arrived at Lyttelton at about 2 o'clock on 23 November 1858, 109 days out from Gravesend, with 342 passengers for Canterbury, of which 315 were assisted immigrants. On arrival, signed testimonials were read and presented to Captain McKirdy and Dr Turnbull, the ship's doctor, thanking them for their consideration and care. William Ness, a Sunderland immigrant read the testimonial to the captain.<sup>94</sup>

## Chapter Three

# GETTING ESTABLISHED

The Lyttelton and Christchurch Barracks which provided overnight accommodation for new arrivals were not comfortable places to stay for any length of time and the first task of an immigrant was to establish himself and family in a place to live and paid employment. Soon after they arrived in Lyttelton John and Matthew acquired boat-building premises at Port Levy, Banks Peninsular, in all likelihood from Robert and Magnus Small who had set up a slipway there in 1851.<sup>95</sup> Their land was a part rural leasehold section between no 244 and the Government Reserve and the families would also have lived on this land, though the accommodation must have been basic wooden buildings with few amenities.<sup>96</sup> There was access to timber, which they selected, cut and seasoned as part of the business, preferring matai for the hulls and totara for the bulwarks and decks. They did virtually all the construction and commissioning of their boats themselves. The ironwork for their vessels was made at Duvauchelle's Bay by John Reed a blacksmith who had worked with them in a Sunderland shipyard and immigrated with them on the *Indiana*.<sup>97</sup> The partnership built both for their own trading operations and for other owners. As well they would in all probability have undertaken repairs and maintenance for larger ocean-going ships calling at Lyttelton.<sup>98</sup>

Their first boat was *Industry*, a ketch of 15 tons, launched before October 1859, for trading on the Canterbury coast and over the Sumner bar and up the Heathcote River. After that Brown Brothers built a new vessel almost every year until 1867 and introduced the Sunderland style to Banks Peninsular - a beamy vessel with a good hold in the water, reflecting: 'the Sunderland origin and training of their builders'.<sup>99</sup>

The ketches *Ebenezer*, 10 tons, *Annie*, 15 tons, and *Linnet*, 16 tons, were built and trading by 1863. All the above four could navigate the Sumner Bar, negotiate the shoals and bars of the Heathcote River and turn in the Heathcote without running ashore. Thus they were ideal for trade and the transportation of goods around Banks Peninsular and between Lyttelton and Christchurch. Firewood, for example could be bought for a pound for four cords at Port Levy and sold for two pounds at Lyttelton and was in great demand in Christchurch. In the early 1850s the charge for freight was 2 pounds per ton delivered in Christchurch. Small steam vessels entered the trade in 1858 and by 1860 the charge had reduced to one pound five shillings per ton delivered. (At the same time the whole freight from England to the settlement was about one pound ten shillings per ton.) A sailing vessel could make two trips a week carrying say 40 to 65 tons and a steamer could shift 80 to 100 tons per week if kept in full employment so the competition for available cargo was fairly fierce. The main problem however was the uncertainty of crossing the Sumner Bar, which could cause delays of up to three weeks for steamers and six weeks for sailing vessels.<sup>100</sup>

*Ebenezer*, (a name much-used in Methodist circles, meaning a memorial, and sometimes a chapel or meeting-house) was employed by the Browns in coastal trading. Captain Whitby, who worked this trade with them tells the story:

Then Mr J. T. Brown built a beautiful little ketch called the *Ebenezer*, and after a while he said to me, "William, will you take the *Ebenezer*?" I felt about sixteen feet high on receiving such an appointment as master. The *Ebenezer* could carry about six cords of firewood, and we did do well with her. It was not long after that that John Brown and his brother Matthew went to the Dunstan diggings. Just about this time the ketch *Flirt* had been lost on the Kaiapoi bar, and as there was no boat to take that place I took up the trade with the *Ebenezer*, running from Lyttelton to Kaiapoi and sometimes to Saltwater Creek. I had two-thirds for sailing the *Ebenezer*, one-third going to the owners. The Messrs Brown did not do well at the diggings, and when they came back they were highly delighted to find that on the ship they did not owe anything the trading having been successful.<sup>101</sup>

In 1860 William and Isabella came to Canterbury, probably settling with their sons at the yard at Port Levy, William helping with the boat-building as well as sailing their vessels and watching over the business while the brothers tried their luck on the Otago goldfields. Captain Whitby continues his narrative:

Their next enterprise was the building of another little vessel, the *Annie*, twenty tons, with a capacity of twenty-four tons of cargo against the *Ebenezer*'s eleven. While in the *Ebenezer* I

took a load of coal from Aikman's wharf in the Heathcote up to Ward's brewery. When the *Annie* was built I took a third share, John Brown a third and Matthew a third. The rigging of the ship I did myself. I was for three years the master of the *Annie*, and then Mr Brown commenced the *Emerald*, forty tons. About this time Captain Hobbs, who had formerly been in the Kaiapoi trading, came back, and, as there was not enough for the two of us, I went on trading to Nelson, Blenheim, Wellington with the *Annie*. One time from Wellington I brought down Teddy Wakefield's furniture. I recollect one winter-time taking a cargo of oats to Wanganui. The hatches had not been taken off when I was offered double freight to take the cargo round to Waitotara. It was a rum place off Waitotara. On returning to Wanganui I received a letter from Mr J. T. Brown to make for home as soon as possible as the *Emerald* was ready for rigging. This work was done by me in Port Levy and I can tell you she was properly rigged too. I launched the *Emerald* on August 5 1865, and many were the experiences that I had in that staunch little ship.<sup>102</sup>

While there was a steady demand for wood and coal in Lyttelton and Christchurch, in the early sixties the brothers saw opportunities for larger vessels to trade further afield. In particular the gold-rushes in Otago and the West Coast increased the demand for larger tonnages. Their next vessels were the ketches *Pearl*, 28 tons, built in 1864, *Emerald*, 40 tons in 1865, the schooner *Volunteer*, 22 tons, built in Corsair bar, Lyttelton in 1866 and the schooner *Mary Ann Christina*, 41 tons, recovered from Rakaia mouth and rebuilt in 1867.

Shortage of suitable timber in Port Levy caused the Browns to shift their operations to Corsair Bay, Lyttelton in 1865, and further changes in maritime transport in the next few years led them to rethink their business position. So far they had done well in a highly speculative and risky business climate, though *Industry* went down with a load of coal at Sumner in 1863 and *Annie* was wrecked on the rocks at Erskine Bay, Lyttelton in a fierce storm in June 1866.<sup>103</sup> However, they were entrepreneurs who were not afraid of taking risks to maximise their opportunities, even to the extent of taking a get-rich-quick trip to the Dunstan goldfields. But they were also realists and by 1867 two main events caused them to relinquish the boat-building business; the opening of the Christchurch-Lyttelton railway tunnel and the expansion of steam-driven vessels in the trade. Sail had no chance of competing profitably with the railway and the Browns did not have sufficient capital to either commence building steam vessels for other owner-operators or build up their own fleet of steam-driven vessels. Jacobson tells that on a single day - 23 July 1865 - eleven vessels arrived at the upper Heathcote wharves and a further seven at the Railway wharf Ferrymead; eighteen vessels in all carrying coal, timber



and general cargo while in the whole of 1869, (by which time the tunnel was in full operation) there were only thirty calls by twelve vessels, carrying mostly timber, at Heathcote wharf, which by then was the only wharf in operation.<sup>104</sup> Interestingly, *Linnet*, with a load of timber made four of the 1869 calls and *Volunteer* two, bringing 36 tons of limestone from Amuri.

For a while the Browns diversified into bridge-building, and continued their trading operations, but in 1868 John and Matthew went their separate ways - John to Christchurch, Matthew remaining in Lyttelton. Matthew became a foreman for Hawkins and Martindale, contractors, and superintended the building of the Gladstone Pier, the western breakwater and most of the wharves. He was dock foreman on the day of his death in 1905 when he died of heart failure while preparing the patent slip to receive the *Cygnets*.<sup>105</sup>

The boats built by Brown Brothers continued to ply the coastal trade. *Industry* was the first vessel to navigate Saltwater Creek, Ashley River Estuary and traded until she sank in 1863. *Emerald* remained under Captain Whitby for a time and was a regular entry in the Lyttelton Regatta, with a number of second places, but to Captain Whitby's disappointment never a first.<sup>106</sup> She then went to Captain Christian of *Rifleman* fame and eventually was lost, driven ashore at Palliser Bay in 1883.<sup>107</sup> *Pearl* was driven on to the Greymouth Bar and sank with the loss of a crew of three in 1869.<sup>108</sup> *Mary Ann Christina*, after a time on the Auckland-Fiji trade was lost in the Manning River, New South Wales, in 1874.<sup>109</sup> In 1873 *Volunteer* was sold to James Goss (who kept the diary on the *Indiana* referred to in Chapter Two) and also took part in the Lyttelton Regatta, gaining a creditable third place in 1875. For most of her working life she carried mainly coal and timber round the Canterbury coast. In 1886 she hit Beacon Rock, Sumner and was wrecked, ending up in the quicksands around Cave Rock. From time to time ship's timbers surface in this area, perhaps being the last remains of the good old *Volunteer*.<sup>110</sup> *Linnet* carried on until 1906, ending her days with a bang at the Lyttelton Regatta of that year, being blown up as a spectacle - a regular feature of the Regatta in those years.<sup>111</sup>

These sturdy workhorses of the Canterbury coastal trade made a very real contribution to the development of Lyttelton and Christchurch in the quarter century of their existence - a time when Canterbury itself was growing and prospering at a remarkable rate. Brown Brothers played a significant role in the maritime industry for the decade in which they built and sailed their vessels. Their boat-building and trading skills, together with the enterprising spirit, typical of aspiring and hard-working Methodists, brought them the reward of good returns on their capital. If their priority was prosperity through the steady accumulation of capital, their first decade in the colony was a success.

In September 1865 John purchased from J Dransfield a quarter-acre section with a nine-roomed house, at 47 Voelas Road, Lyttelton, for 150 pounds. This was paid by 10 pounds cash, two 20 pound promissory notes payable after three and four months respectively and a mortgage of 100 pounds payable after one year at 13% interest (not a high rate by then current standards). In August 1867 Matthew bought a section at 40 Voelas Road for 70 pounds. A year later he raised a mortgage of 75 pounds at 12% pa on this property, presumably for the cost of building the house, and which he subsequently discharged in 1872.<sup>112</sup>

It seems most likely that the whole family, William and Isabella included, lived in the house at Voelas Road until 1867, in what were by today's standards, quite primitive conditions, but no doubt an improvement on Port Levy. Three children were born to John and Margaret at Port Levy - George in 1860, Robert in 1863 and Thomas in 1865. The next two were born in Lyttelton - Ernest in 1866 and Ann in 1868. Matthew and Mary had Jane in 1860 and Matthew in 1863. In 1867 the family therefore comprised six adults and nine children, stretching even a substantial nine-roomed house to its limits.

During these years John's church activities took on a missionary flavour. His obituary states that while at Port Levy he '...started services, and learned Maori, that he might preach the Gospel to the natives...'<sup>113</sup> As the UMFC was not established in Banks Peninsula in the 1850s and 60s the Brown families therefore attended the Lyttelton Wesleyan Church. It was not unusual for the early settlers,



forced as they were by the circumstance of a scarcity of co-denominationalists in the population, to join with fellow Methodists in worship and other religious devotions. John, a strong a Free Methodist by conviction, was thus associated with the Wesleyans during his first years in Canterbury, at both the chapel at Port Levy and the Lyttelton church.

The first full-time minister for the Christchurch-Lyttelton Circuit, the Rev. J Aldred arrived in 1853. A small Wesleyan chapel was built in St David St, Lyttelton, in 1855, at a cost of 334 pounds, at which time the population of the town was about 400.<sup>114</sup> By 1860 the population of Lyttelton was about 1,800 and Christchurch about 2,300 the strength of the Circuit was: Chapels 2; other Preaching Places 5; Native 5; Missionaries and Assistant Missionaries 2; Day School Teachers 3; Sunday School Teachers 43; Local Preachers 9; Native 6; Class Leaders 10; Full and Accredited Members 122; On Trial 4; Number of Sunday Schools 5; Number of Sunday Scholars 109; Number of Hearers 700; Native 150.<sup>115</sup>

John and Margaret Brown and their children moved to Christchurch in 1868. In that same year female twins, Ann and Eleanor, were born bringing the number of children to eight. The rest of the family, including William and Isabella, stayed in Lyttelton and remained members of the Wesleyan Church. Matthew's children, were married in that church and two of his daughters were still members at the time of the centenary of the church in 1950.<sup>116</sup>

John set up his timber business and bought some land in Sydenham, at that time a small but growing suburb outside the Christchurch town boundary, administered by the local Roads Boards – Heathcote and Spreydon. An important part of getting established in a new colony was the formation of friendships and alliances with neighbours and business colleagues. The shift to Sydenham for the Browns meant the renewal of two important relationships. The first was with a UMFC church that had been built at Addington in 1865, which had recruited '...several members hitherto meeting with the Wesleyan Methodist Church [who] had preferred joining the "Methodist Free Church", which had been organised in Christchurch...' <sup>117</sup> Among the congregation was Thomas Thompson, his old friend from

Monkwearmouth. The second, and no less important, was with the leader of the Free Methodists in Sydenham, George Booth, the Sunderland shipbuilder, Methodist reformer and friend of the Brown family.<sup>118</sup>

George Booth started farming at Rangiora where, together with fellow Sunderland immigrants, John Cumberworth, a school teacher who was also a capable local preacher, and Thomas Sharplin, a local sawmiller, he started a Methodist Society class and Sunday School, which they conducted in a lean-to cottage.<sup>119</sup> This is said to be the founding Free Methodist church in New Zealand. In the early sixties George moved to Christchurch, where he established a business in importing agricultural machinery and became a leader in the UMFC at Sydenham. John Brown's arrival in Sydenham both renewed their friendship and commenced a life-long partnership in church and community affairs.

From 1850 to 1853 the province was administered by the Canterbury Association. From 1853-1875 the Canterbury Provincial Council, under the general direction of the New Zealand General Assembly was the governing body. Provincial government was abolished in 1876, the General Assembly taking over all legislative power. Christchurch and Lyttelton were established as municipalities in 1862, and Christchurch was declared a borough in 1868. Until the abolition of the Provincial Government, city government was minimal, for example the first Town Hall was built in 1857 at the suggestion of the Provincial Superintendent and was subsidised by the Provincial Council.<sup>120</sup>

Although the Canterbury Association hoped to establish the province as a Church of England settlement the outcome was very different. Christchurch became the predominant centre from the sixties and geographical limitations on the municipality allowed the outer suburbs to develop along their own particular lines making any central direction or influence difficult, particularly when the population dramatically increased in the 1860s and 1870s. The boundaries of the town were the original North, South, East and West Belts (now generally Fitzgerald, Moorhouse, Bealey and Deans Avenues) but that did not inhibit the Council from

attempting to extend its coverage over the fast-growing outer areas. The citizens of the outer areas, such as Sydenham, did not in general welcome these intentions.

The abolition of the provinces in 1876 left room for the formation and expansion of local authorities as provided for in the new Municipal Corporations Act. The story of the incorporation and history of the Borough of Sydenham is told with some feeling in a small booklet published by Ernest E Wright, Printer and Publisher of Colombo Street, Sydenham in 1904.<sup>121</sup> J P Morrison summarises the political issues that led up to the incorporation:

As the numbers of the suburban population rose steadily with the developments in industry and commerce the question of municipal government in Sydenham became increasingly important. This area where so many people were congregating to work in the railway yards or in the factories and warehouses near by was under the divided control of two Road Boards, bodies which had originally been established to serve the needs of a rural community. The main central road through Sydenham was the boundary line for the Spreydon Road District in the West and the Heathcote Road District in the East. Yet the residents of Newtown and Addington under the Spreydon Road Board and the residents of Sydenham and Waltham under the Heathcote Road Board formed one natural community with interests very different from those of the farmers who sat on the Road Boards. The Road District franchise was according to the rateable value of property, so...it was improbable that, therefore, that the votes of the few propertied workers in Addington or Waltham, for instance, could directly influence the result of the road board elections. Though Sydenham residents might have numbers on their side they did not have the votes.<sup>122</sup>

‘If roads were few and bad, drainage was even worse...’ and the efforts of the road boards to deal with this problem were not successful.<sup>123</sup> These were pressing issues and in 1876 a series of meetings were held at which strong local support for borough status was voiced. A campaign led by Charles Allison, a local resident and Christchurch poundkeeper, to obtain legal incorporation got under way. After some legal setbacks, and despite considerable resistance from the road boards and the Borough of Christchurch (which pressed its own territorial ambitions) and the opposition of the local newspapers, the Incorporation of the Borough was finally gazetted on 20 September 1877.<sup>124</sup>

By the end of October the first Council had been elected with George Booth (unopposed) as Mayor and John Thompson Brown as the highest polling Councillor. George had become known as a prominent businessman and leading citizen, and would shortly to be appointed to the Hospital and Charitable Aid Board and a number of other local authorities.<sup>125</sup> He had been a town councillor in

Sunderland and in his two years as Mayor of Sydenham stamped his mark on the borough ‘...and was largely responsible for its being considered a model borough.’<sup>126</sup>

As might be expected of such committed Methodists education was an area in which Booth and Brown were prominent and both were very active in the church Sunday School. From 1853 the Provincial Council accepted the responsibility of partially funding day school education - as distinct from Sunday School attendance - to be provided by the Christian denominations.<sup>127</sup> The Province gave a third of the establishment cost and an annual operating grant to those who met the standard required.<sup>128</sup> The Wesleyan Methodist Church had their first day school in 1853 and for the next 20 years provided elementary education, basically reading, writing, arithmetic and religious studies and some history and geography to thousands of children. Day schools were also established by the Anglicans, Presbyterians and Roman Catholics.<sup>129</sup>

The Free Methodists could not hope to find the funds to establish their own schools but when the provincial Education Board began to establish its own District Schools in the eighteen sixties John Brown and George Booth took an interest in state education. Both were elected inaugural members of the West Christchurch School Committee in 1873, George as chairman and member for the rest of his life.<sup>130</sup> He was also a member and Chairman of the North Canterbury Education Board for a time.<sup>131</sup> As the number of district schools increased the Board withdrew its grants from the denominational schools and by 1873, when they numbered 71, grants were withdrawn altogether and denominational education virtually collapsed, all but a few of the schools either being taken over by the Board or going out of existence. The Education Act of 1877, which established primary education as free, compulsory and secular completed this process, but did not halt the participation of John and George who continued giving this voluntary community service.

In 1879, when ill health compelled George to give up his mayoral duties, John stood and was duly elected Mayor of Sydenham. His opponent was W. W.

Charters, the manager of the Christchurch, Sydenham and Suburban Building Society (precursor of the Sydenham Money Club) and the campaign was well-reported in the local papers. Charters held many of his meetings in local hotels, whereas John who would not have been seen dead on licensed premises used the popular Colombo Road Schoolroom.<sup>132</sup> John was elected by a large majority.<sup>133</sup> By this time Charles Allison had become the Town Clerk, a position he held until 1903.<sup>134</sup> John stood for the mayoralty again in 1880 and was elected for another year, explaining, for no obvious reason, ‘...I came forward to keep out William Charters.’<sup>135</sup> John did not stand the following year and was fulsomely thanked by the council at the end of his term.<sup>136</sup> He could not have overlooked the extensive reporting in the local press at this time of the trial of W.W. Charters for embezzling 920 pounds from the Building Society.<sup>137</sup>

He was however, re-elected to the Council in 1881 and elected to the Hospital and Charitable Aid Board in 1880.<sup>138</sup> He was appointed a Justice of the Peace by the Council in 1882, and continued as a member until 1884.<sup>139</sup>

Three more children were added to the Brown family in the 1870s; Fred in 1872, Marshall in 1873 and Rose, the youngest child in 1876. This completed the family, thirteen children in all. In July 1876 John and Margaret’s third son George died of epilepsy aged sixteen, no doubt a hard blow for the family to bear. In 1877 and 1879 John’s parents died at Lyttelton, William aged 73 and Isabella 83.

Twenty years after their arrival the Browns were well-established in Christchurch. John had made a place for himself in his church, in his community and in business. Overall the 1870s had been kind to him. He reckoned himself worth 20,000 pounds in 1879, had a successful business and had been Mayor of Sydenham. As he moved into his fifties he could well thought that the move to New Zealand was the best decision he had ever made, and it would not have been surprising to hear him express it in those enthusiastic terms. He had much to thank his God for, but then he had given much to his God.

## Chapter Four

# DOING WELL AND DOING GOOD

While John was making a success of getting established, how well was Methodism doing in Canterbury and the growing urban area of Christchurch? Information from the New Zealand Census Reports and statistics kept by the Church itself enable some analysis of this question. This information is tabulated in Appendix One and reveals several interesting findings. It shows that between 1858 and 1881: Colonial Christchurch had a higher proportion of Methodists and Anglicans than the Province of Canterbury and New Zealand as a whole, but a lower proportion of Presbyterians and Catholics.

In the 20 years to 1881 the numbers of Methodists grew at a faster rate than Anglicans in Christchurch, in the Province of Canterbury and New Zealand as a whole. The proportion of Methodists in the population grew while the proportion of Anglicans declined.

In terms of membership of the Wesleyan Church and the UMFC, Canterbury had more members than any other district in New Zealand.

The following snippet from *The New Zealand Wesleyan* of 1871 contains further useful information:

At a recent meeting of one of the Episcopal congregations in Christchurch, it was stated by the incumbent that the church accommodation provided by the denomination in the city was as follows: - St. Michael's 371; St. John's, 490; St. Luke's, 465; Avonside, 250; in all 1576, or, adding Merrivale and Addington, a total of 1826. The Wesleyan list adds up well by the side of this: - Durham-street, 1200; St. James', 250; Waltham, 100; St. Albans, 300; Knightstown, 100; total 1950. The United Methodist Free Churches may be reckoned at 600 more. It is somewhat remarkable that in the chief town of a Church of England settlement the English Church should have been outstripped by another denomination in providing church accommodation. Yet a writer in a local paper reminds us - *apropos* of this same question - that one of the objects upon which the Church of England has set her heart is "the bringing back of the Wesleyans to the church of their forefathers!" The Church of Rome cherishes a similar hope with reference to the Church of England. <sup>140</sup>



The census figures gave Anglicans generally as about half the population of Christchurch, Methodists about one-sixth, Presbyterians about one-eighth and Catholics about a tenth. The membership figures produced at the Wesleyan Annual Conferences showed that over half the members of the Church were in the South Island up to the end of the nineteenth century with Canterbury as the predominant district. The statistical information overall shows Christchurch, not as an Anglican centre, but as centre in which the four main Christian churches shared about ninety percent of the population.

The growth of the Methodist denominations was both in absolute numbers, and as a proportion of the total population. They attracted more than their share of new members and followers in the Province of Canterbury over a sustained period of colonial development in New Zealand's history. There were three main causes: evangelical vitality; the structure and organisation of the church itself; and the religious affiliations of the immigrants.

There was almost universal acceptance that the values of the new colony would be Christian values and that the churches were essential to ensuring this outcome. The original evangelical drive of Methodism and its doctrinal impetus was strong in mid-century New Zealand. Its first priority was salvation, in accordance with the rule laid down by Wesley:

You have nothing to do but save souls. Therefore spend and be spent in this work...It is not your business to preach so many times, and to take care of this or that society; but to save as many souls as you can; to bring as many sinners as you possibly can to repentance, and with all your power to build them up in that holiness without which they cannot see the Lord.<sup>141</sup>

The itinerant ministers brought their evangelical fervour to the colony, revivals were stimulated by the periodic visits of international evangelists and lay members, especially the local preachers and class leaders, gave strong leadership. These combined with an utter determination to create a better society, made Methodism a powerful force for the furtherance of the Christian message in settler society.

Although the rules developed by John Wesley emphasised the evangelical duty of the good Methodist member, they did not ignore social duty and from the beginning of the movement social considerations were part of the whole package.

In *The Character of a Methodist* John Wesley set out the 'distinguishing marks of a Methodist'. A feature of this is a person who:

As he has time, he "does good unto all men;" unto neighbours and strangers, friends and enemies: And that in every possible kind; not only to their bodies, by "feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, visiting those that are sick or in prison;" but much more does he labour to do good to their souls, as of the ability which God giveth; to awaken those that sleep in death; to bring those that are awakened to the atoning blood, that, "being justified by faith, they may have peace with God;" and to provoke those who have peace with God to abound more in love and in good works. And he is willing to "spend and be spent herein," even "to be offered up on the sacrifice and service of their faith," so they may "all come unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ."<sup>142</sup>

Doing good to one's fellows therefore flowed inseparably from personal salvation and true holiness. Wesley considered that as more people attained Christian holiness so would society itself become more truly Christian. This conceptual interweaving of personal salvation with social good was a persuasive theme in its time - attractive to those seeking self-betterment as well as material and social improvements in society at large - which Wearmouth's comments quoted in Chapter 2 indicate that many people were crying out for. This doctrinal basis of societal improvement was one of the elements that gave Methodism a social conscience and is at the foundation of the desire to do good for humanity that has always marked this church as a progressive institution. It was the inspiration of Wesley's passionate support for the anti-slavery movement, his ministering in the prisons and his support of the old and sick. In the eighteenth century reformist tendencies were leavened by a generally loyalist support of king and country and an acceptance of established structures, but in the nineteenth century the Methodist social conscience found expression in the broad social, political and economic reforms of the time. In Christchurch some of the more specific social concerns of the Free Methodists, as reported in minutes of meetings and conferences, were Temperance, Sunday Observance (also known as Sabbath Desecration), Gambling, Pugilism and the Contagious Diseases Act.

The link between the spiritual and humanitarian was the source of Methodism's social doctrine, which remained very strongly Christian-based and did not extend to any form of socialism. Perhaps Wesley's statement that '...the tree is known by its fruits...' is the simplest explanation of his view that social good is simply the

unvarying result of wholehearted commitment to God and the natural outcome of a soul which has found salvation.<sup>143</sup>

Evangelical zeal, organisational structures and the training and experience given to office-holders, enabled local societies of settlers to establish themselves in New Zealand with minimum support from the mother church in England. Methodism was a pragmatic faith, very relevant to the daily work and life of its members. Its beliefs and values were readily applicable to social structures and relationships. Its organisation knitted the individual member into a local Society in which each could contribute to the common well being, but in which the whole was definitely greater than the sum of its parts. While the capacity to maintain a church organisation once established was a different matter, the Methodists certainly had an inbuilt advantage in the earliest days of the colony. Gillian Watkin summarises one of the organisational strengths – the role of lay members:

The willingness of lay people to participate, in fact to see this as part of their Christian responsibility, meant that the churches and preaching places were established. There came to be a strong Connexional feeling and spirit of unity in a country where there were strong parochial feelings. Some class meetings were established and local preachers at hand long before a minister appeared. The power of the laity was zealously guarded.<sup>144</sup>

The influence of the early missionaries was important. In *Our Yesteryears* Wesley Chambers says that the Maori settlement at Port Levy received their first knowledge of Christ from a ‘... Wesleyan Native Christian called Taawao...’ about 1839 or 1840.<sup>145</sup> In 1840 the Rev James Watkin, a Wesleyan missionary set up station at Waikouaiti, Otago, under the aegis of legendary whaler and trader John Jones. Watkin had been in the South Pacific, mostly at Tonga and Fiji, since 1831, and came from Sydney where he had been recovering his health. Initially his mission covered the whole South Island but in 1841 the Rev Samuel Ironside set up a mission in Cloudy Bay, Nelson to cover the area from Cook Strait to the Waitaki River. In the early forties competition appeared in the form of Bishop Selwyn, New Zealand’s first Anglican bishop, who ‘...came down himself and in a dramatic sweep sailed right round the southern coast, presenting his church and faith with vigour and persuasion.’<sup>146</sup>

Native Teachers from both early missions travelled throughout the South Island during the early 40s, often calling at the Maori communities on Banks Peninsula. Port Levy was the largest of these with a population of about 300, out of a total of 638 in the whole of the Canterbury area. By 1844 Port Levy was a strong centre of Wesleyan Methodism, thanks to the efforts of the Native Teachers Taawao and Hoepa.<sup>147</sup> Missionary visits were few and far between, the Rev Charles Creed calling several times in the mid-forties and James Watkin (who had been transferred to Wellington) for about three weeks in 1851. A chapel was established at Rapaki, on the Peninsula in 1861 and the Rev Te Kote Ratou was appointed as minister to the Maori people of Canterbury and Otago, a post he held with distinction from 1865 to 1892.<sup>148</sup>

As well as having been the first to bring the Christian message to Canterbury, Wesleyan Methodism can also claim the first European service in the Province when Mr I W Philpott gathered his family together for a thanksgiving service on the night of the arrival of the "Cressy" in 1850.<sup>149</sup> The First Four Ships contained a number of Methodists, who quickly commenced regular preaching and worship in both Lyttelton and Christchurch, almost entirely through the efforts of the membership and with only occasional visits from travelling ministers. Thus, from the earliest days of settlement committed Methodists arrived to carry on the work of the missionaries. The continuing relevance and acceptance of Wesley's teachings through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries meant that evangelistic values were brought to New Zealand by the missionaries and settlers who both used them as a guide to life in the new colony and saw them as the proper ideals of the society they were in the process of building. However, rigid denominational distinctions were difficult to maintain in a pioneer society where baptism, marriage and burial services were thought highly desirable, the settlers preferring to be "churched" outside their own denominations rather than not to be "churched" at all. Nevertheless the Methodists, having raised their own evangelical banner and declared their independence from the Established Church in the home country were not about to backslide into Anglican dominance.

The other factor in the dramatic increase in Methodism in the eighteen seventies was in the affiliation of the immigrants themselves, in which there was a large proportion of Methodists. In *The Farthest Promised Land* Rollo Arnold analyses the backgrounds of the immigrants and describes the conditions in England that contributed to the inundation of settlers in the seventies. Wages of farm workers in parts of the Midlands and southern counties were declining, leading to widespread rural dissent and strikes, known as the 'revolt of the field', in many villages. Unions were organised and encouraged emigration with the objectives of shortening the supply of labour, reducing unemployment and increasing wages. The leadership of these union organisations not only encouraged, but also assisted groups of members to obtain places in immigrant ships and worked with the New Zealand agents to provide information and advice on conditions in the colony. The founder of the main union, Joseph Arch, was a Methodist lay preacher. 'Both Arch's union and the New Zealand immigration drive drew heavily on the lay leadership skills of village Methodism.'<sup>150</sup> In 1874, one of these leaders, Christopher Holloway, a Methodist lay preacher from Oxfordshire brought a group of immigrants to the colony, toured New Zealand as the government's guest and returned to England to commend the colony to members of the union.<sup>151</sup> 'While in Christchurch (in May) he twice preached in St James Wesleyan Church, and records that on the second occasion the church was crowded, and some turned away.'<sup>152</sup>

Thus it was that many of the passengers arriving by the shipload at Lyttelton came as members of a Methodist denomination, with Methodist convictions, and settled in Canterbury and Christchurch, including Sydenham, in no small numbers. While these were predominantly Wesleyan Methodists, there were also Free Methodists, Bible Christians and Primitive Methodists many of whom helped in the establishment of their denomination – to the extent that Christchurch was either the New Zealand headquarters or a major centre of all four denominations.

A remarkable example of the strength of these convictions occurred during the Superintendency of the Rev James Buller of the Christchurch Wesleyan Circuit between 1860 and 1865 when the membership grew from 122 to 588 with 75 'on

trial' and during which time the Durham Street Church was planned.<sup>153</sup> Many would have joined as the result of the visit in 1865 of William 'California' Taylor, the international evangelist, which initiated a major revival. The Durham Street Church was opened on Christmas Day 1865, for a total cost of '...about 12,000 pounds and the debt (which was not to be cleared entirely for 40 years) was 3,000 pounds, interest being reckoned at 15 per cent, the current rate.'<sup>154</sup> This from a Circuit with a membership of 588!

The UMFC was very much a minor player both in Christchurch and on the national scene, a junior partner to the Wesleyans, along with the Bible Christians and the Primitive Methodists. Although some Free Methodists joined the Wesleyans in these early years, others remained loyal to the principles of the reform movement and in 1859 a request was sent to the UMFC in England for a missionary.<sup>155</sup> In 1863 John Tyerman opened a mission in Christchurch, but remained only two years because, "Unfortunately his character did not bear the strain of popularity, and after a few months he was called upon to retire, which was a great blow to the members."<sup>156</sup>

In May 1864 George Booth shifted to Addington, where he was instrumental in the building of the small wooden chapel on the corner of Harman and Selwyn Streets, with seating for about 100, which was opened in November 1864, the Rev W J Habens, a Congregational minister officiating.<sup>157</sup> A week after the opening, the Sunday school commenced with 25 scholars and 7 teachers. In 1872 the site on the opposite corner was acquired and a new church erected for about 1,000 pounds and three years later the Sunday school was built for about the same amount. By 1880 a parsonage was erected on the west side of the church and in 1888 the church was enlarged to accommodate 350 worshippers.<sup>158</sup> This church was for many years the hub of the UMFC in New Zealand.

George Booth was acknowledged as the '...the father of the Church...A man of ample means and great business ability, he was not only diligent in business, but also fervent in spirit, living very near to God, and having deep experience of Divine



grace.’<sup>159</sup> He was connected with Sunday school work for 38 years and was the first chairman of the Sunday School Union in 1875.

On shifting to Sydenham in 1868 the Brown family renewed membership of the UMFC and John began a close and long-lasting association with George Booth. It is fortunate that the Minute Books of the Addington Church of the UMFC between 1871 and 1904 have been preserved in the Methodist Archives for they provide evidence of the dedication of Brown, Booth and others, including Thomas Thompson, and their families, to this now largely-forgotten branch of Methodism. The Minute Books are not recommended light reading, nor is it possible to provide a few brief quotations to dramatically illuminate the activities of the church or to illustrate the contribution of John Brown and George Booth. However, over a thirty-year period they give a picture of these laymen as totally dedicated to their church.

John carried out all the lay duties of a church officer. At one time or another he was Class Leader, Sunday School Superintendent, Trustee, Circuit Steward, Society and Poor Steward, delegate to UMFC New Zealand District Meetings and (after union in 1896) to the Methodist Conference.<sup>160</sup> He was a regular speaker at Church and public meetings. His role as Class Leader between July 1869 and 1903, requiring him to lead a group of usually over twenty members in a weekly meeting regarding their spiritual life. This role was fundamental to the Arminian doctrines of salvation and Christian holiness. He would recommend the acceptance of new members, discuss problems with those who wanted to withdraw from membership and examine those who were “backsliding” or were thought to be behaving in a way not befitting members. As Sunday School Superintendent he organised the regular instruction of several hundreds of Sunday Scholars, ensuring that teachers were appropriately knowledgeable and equipped. As a member of the Church committee he contributed to the general management of the Addington Church and for most of the period was also a national official of the New Zealand District.

In 1868 the Rev Matthew Baxter, a former President of the Wesleyan Methodist Association and secretary of the UMFC in England, arrived in Christchurch and

took charge of the circuit until 1874, when his retirement was forced by ill health.<sup>161</sup> Rev. Samuel MacFarlane who was Superintendent of the Christchurch circuit for six years followed him. Following the constitution of the New Zealand UMFC as a separate District in 1875, Rev. MacFarlane was elected Chairman of the District for the next six years and was Connexional representative until 1898.

<sup>162</sup> In 1875 Christchurch held the first New Zealand District meeting of the UMFC, with delegates present from Auckland, Charleston, Christchurch (including J T Brown and George Booth), Napier, Oxford, Reefton, Waipawa and Westport. The UMFC remained scattered in much the same areas for the next twenty years – strong in its membership support and with a good proportion of local work done by lay officers in accordance with the constitution of the church. It can be argued that without the efforts of members like John Brown and George Booth the influence and extent of Free Methodism in Christchurch and New Zealand would have been very much more limited than it was.

The extent to which Christchurch was the most important UMFC centre is shown in the following statistics from 1881:

Of the Methodist affiliations throughout New Zealand in 1881 the Wesleyans claimed 84.75%, the Primitive Methodists 9.95%, the UMFC 4.31%, the Bible Christians 0.8% and “other” 4.76%. In Canterbury and Christchurch the numbers were much more favourable to the minor denominations. In the Borough of Sydenham they were - Wesleyans 73.76%, Primitive Methodists 2.64%, UMFC 20.21%, Bible Christians 3.08% and “others” 0.31%. (see Appendix One.)

There were two additional factors that stimulated the growth both of Methodism and of all the Christian churches: government support and inter-church co-operation. Colonial New Zealand was far too thinly populated and lacking in resources for the community of Christian denominations to maintain the hostilities of the home country and remain aloof from each other. While there were doctrinal and organisational differences between the denominations, the limitations of pioneer society forced co-operation upon them and prompted the provincial governments to provide financial support.

In his sermon at the commencement of the Canterbury Provincial Council in 1853 the Rev. R B Paul MA, Commissary of the Bishop of New Zealand, made his views clear:

The question now arises whether it is possible for those who have succeeded to the functions of the Canterbury Association to carry out their plan [to establish Canterbury as exclusively Church of England] in all its integrity, as regards the religious and educational objects which formed its basis...in a new country where no one denomination of religionists enjoys any political privileges which are not possessed by all, it would be neither just nor expedient to introduce a new principle of ecclesiastical polity.

You must either afford state assistance to all religious denominations alike, or you must leave them all to the operation of the voluntary system.<sup>163</sup>

Co-operation and state support were reflected in various ways throughout the colony and had a bearing on the development of religion and thus on the development of New Zealand itself. A pertinent example of co-operation is that of the Rev Te Kote at Rapaki and the Rev James Stack a few hundred yards away at St Stephens Anglican Church, both officiating at each other's churches as occasional absences on pastoral duties required.<sup>164</sup>

Co-operation between the Methodist denominations was the norm, though sometimes local personalities might cause problems. In Sydenham relations were generally good. J T Brown supplied the building materials for the construction of the Addington Bible Christian church built in 1878 that still stands in Selwyn Street and South Crescent and he was recorded as a founding trustee of the Church.<sup>165</sup> A small church of about sixty members, and said to be the first Bible Christian church in New Zealand they and the Free Methodists, further up Selwyn Street maintained a friendly relationship. This extended to sharing meetings as indicated in the following resolution - moved by John Brown - from the Addington Free Methodist minutes of the Quarterly Church meeting of 20 December 1883: 'That a Watchnight service be held on New Years Eve to commence at 10.45 p.m. and that the Bible Christians be invited to join in with us.'

An example of mutual supportiveness within the UMFC is to be found in the Minutes of a meeting of the Trustees of the Upper Spreydon Chapel, held in J T Brown's office in Tuam Street on 23 October 1873, with George Booth in the chair and Messrs Brown, Carr, Caygill, Clarkson, Marcroft and Milner in attendance.

This society had been formed in May 1873 and by October had incurred a debt of 55 pounds. The Trustees meeting duly authorised a loan of this amount (at 8 percent), thus “bailing out” the newly-established society and enabling the continuation of what was to become the Lincoln Road Methodist Church.

Brown and Booth took their provincial and national responsibilities seriously – both were long-serving members of the New Zealand District Committee, which managed national business between annual conferences, and various Christchurch circuit committees. They were often called on to officiate at anniversaries and special gatherings of churches in the Christchurch area. For example In *Light in the Clearing*, which outlines the history of Free Methodism in Rangiora it is noted that George Booth presided at the opening of the new church in 1875, supported by John Brown and others from Christchurch, and that John and George attended or presided at several meetings in subsequent years.<sup>166</sup>

In the middle of the century the church was seen as a central part of society and Christian beliefs as the fundamental values of the New Zealand community. The commitment of Brown and Booth to their religion and to the causes of Free Methodism reflect the values of a church which sought to be a major influence in the creation of a better world for all who lived in it.

## Chapter Five

# ANGELS AND DEMONS

John Wesley had much to say of the evils of alcohol and the ruination caused by drunkenness in the eighteenth century. From its early days Wesleyan Methodism advocated moderation, but by the beginning of the nineteenth century total abstinence, while not new to Methodism, was still very much a minority cause among the Christian churches. In the western world the nineteenth century was a prolonged period of social and political reform against a background of the vast industrialisation and urbanisation of those countries. As the spirit of reform took hold in the eighteen-thirties, the aspirations of the middle classes and the drive for material improvement increased, finding fruitful spiritual and intellectual support in the values and beliefs of non-conforming denominations of Christianity, particularly Methodism.

Throughout the western world opposition to the manufacture, sale and consumption of alcohol gathered momentum and by the eighteen-eighties had reached the stage where the supporters of prohibition were starting to exert some political and economic influence. While the churches tended to provide leadership for the growing temperance movement, there was also support from secular and rationalist associations, which were themselves growing in intellectual significance. A variety of organisations were formed around the range of views and attitudes embodied in the international temperance movement and the churches reflected this by taking and revising their own positions from time to time. Unless otherwise stated in this chapter, the term “temperance” will be used to cover the whole range of positions, including, “prohibition”, “total abstinence”, “teetotalism” and “no-license” and the name “Temperance Movement” will encompass all the kindred organisations aiming for the elimination or reduction of alcoholic drink. Their opponents, those

involved in the manufacture, sale and public consumption of alcohol, will be collectively known as “the trade”.

The purpose of this chapter is to look at the development of the temperance movement in Christchurch between 1880 and 1914, discussing the influence of the Methodists in general and the UMFC in particular, and, in that denomination, the roles of J T Brown and George Booth. The actions of the Methodist churches were significant in two main areas: the formation of public opinion and the pursuit of legal remedies against the trade. The No-Licence Campaign in the Borough of Sydenham which became, in the 1890s, of national importance, will also be examined. Contrary to ill-informed opinion the temperance movement was not the ideological obsession of a few extreme do-gooders and wowsers, but rather, was based on the widespread popular support of a multiplicity of groups and individuals, at the core of which was a genuine desire to create a better New Zealand society - surely a universal desire of humankind.

The temperance movement was one of the major tributaries in the current of social, political and economic reform that characterised western society in the nineteenth century. But in its Prohibition form, which it took towards the end of this period, it was also one of the great lost causes and reasons for its failure to achieve its objectives therefore need also to be examined.

The organisation of the temperance movement in the late nineteenth century in New Zealand was affected by several factors: firstly it was part of an international movement with close and mutually supportive links between the Christian churches. Secondly, the world depression of the eighteen-eighties brought home to the Colony the social effects of excessive alcoholic consumption, when combined with widespread unemployment. This had particular impact in Christchurch where many of the recent influx of immigrants were unable to find jobs; and a goodly proportion of these were to be found in Sydenham, where relatively cheap housing was available. Christchurch had by now passed through the rough pioneer stage in which every ounce of labour was needed just to provide the rudiments of a settler community, even that of the wives and daughters of well-off early settlers.<sup>167</sup> The



colonial community of the eighties was more comfortable and more interested in improving health and education and the basic roads, drainage and the material standards of living, which they saw as the proper fruits of progress.

It is said that the first Total Abstinence Society was formed in England in 1832 by the 'Seven Men of Preston' who pledged: 'We agree to abstain from all intoxicating liquors except for medicinal purposes and for religious ordinances.'<sup>168</sup>

The notion of making a public affirmation as a group gained a wide following in England and came to New Zealand with the missionaries and early settlers. The missionaries were vehemently opposed to the introduction of alcohol to Maori and have left accounts of the destruction of local communities caused by the hard spirits such as rum and whisky brought by the whalers to the coastal areas. The first teetotal society in New Zealand was said to have been founded at the prompting of Mrs William White, the wife of a Methodist missionary, at a special service in 1842 at the Mangungu Mission Station on the Hokianga River. Mrs W Gittos, the young daughter of Rev. Hobbs, was present and recalls that the missionaries, staff and children all signed the Pledge book, despite her father's scruples as to their youth and '...felt that we belonged to something very good for the rest of our lives.'<sup>169</sup> The scene described by Mrs Gittos predates the creation of the Band of Hope and the WCTU, but points ahead to the part that women and children would later play in the temperance movement through those two organisations.

From the earliest days of European settlement, even before the Colonial era, the limitation or prohibition of alcohol was taken up as a major issue by the churches, and as the missionaries were the main source of the literacy and education of Maori, their influence was significant. As settlement increased total abstinence societies sprang up throughout the Colony, often started and always supported by the Methodist denominations. For example George Booth was chosen as secretary of the Christchurch society in 1864 and was a long-standing member, as, no doubt, was his friend, John Brown.<sup>170</sup>

An important international movement began in Hillsborough, USA, when a group of about one hundred women assembled in a Presbyterian church and then went

and prayed in front of taverns and drinking saloons. This was known as the Women's Crusade and '...out of this sprang the glorious Blue Ribbon Movement on 17 Sept. 1873...' <sup>171</sup> Richard T Booth, an American evangelist, was said to be the founder of the movement which spread throughout the USA as the Blue Ribbon Gospel Temperance Mission, and which he took to England and Europe on an evangelical mission in 1880. <sup>172</sup> The three planks of its platform were: Christianity, temperance and charity. <sup>173</sup>

By the early 1880s it had reached New Zealand with *The New Zealand Wesleyan* reporting:

At length the "Gospel Temperance Mission," commonly known as the "Blue Ribbon Army", has commenced operations in New Zealand. In different parts of the colony its brave soldiers, led by skilful generals, have opened fire on the enemy's ranks, with pleasing results. Large numbers of half-starved men have been taken captive and not a few trophies won for "the Captain of our Salvation."

In Auckland the movement is in full swing. A large committee, consisting of all the ministers in practical sympathy with the movement and fifteen lay gentlemen, has been formed, the Rev S. Macfarlane being elected President. <sup>174</sup>

In May 1883, most of the Protestant denominations in Christchurch (Wesleyans, the UMFC, Anglicans, Presbyterians, Baptists, Congregationalists and the Church of Christ) inaugurated the Blue Ribbon Movement in a series of six public meetings held over a week with chairmen and speakers from the different denominations, both ministers and laymen. The fourth meeting, on 18 May, was chaired by John Brown, (himself a wearer of the blue ribbon) and was attended by about 700 people. In his opening remarks John said that:

...hitherto the curse of strong drink had been found too much to cope with. It needed to be attacked by organisations such as that which they were now seeking to establish in Canterbury....It was a good thing that Christianity and temperance had at last met together to oppose the demon drink. <sup>175</sup>

Other speakers referred to the social evils of alcohol, illustrating their comments with graphic and frightening descriptions of the evils of drunkenness. The speeches were interspersed with hymns and prayers and the meeting closed with the benediction. 175 persons took the pledge.

Several nights later a special meeting of the Sydenham Women's Temperance Union was held in the Oddfellows Hall, Sydenham, chaired by George Booth, who stated that:

The object of the meeting was so to form public opinion as to convince people that hotels were an unnecessary evil. Seeing that the Licensing Bench would soon be holding its annual meeting, it was a fitting thing for the women of Sydenham to petition against any increase of public-houses in the Borough. (Applause)<sup>176</sup>

The next day the *Lyttelton Times* carried an editorial supporting the petition to the Licensing Bench being sent by the union, comment that Sydenham womanhood;

...declares its conviction, based on experience, that any further increases of public houses in the Borough will bring distress upon women and children, the weak and the helpless. On one side the claims of business, pushing a trade that is not particularly wanted, except by one or two pockets. On the other, womanhood, which is a thing for all men to reverence. The Committee ought to have no difficulty in making a choice.<sup>177</sup>

All meetings were extensively reported by the local papers, the *Lyttelton Times* carrying reports from between 500 and 2,000 words per meeting. These reports show that the halls were well-filled, with about five thousand people attending overall, indicating widespread interest in and support for the Mission. One of the chairmen, the Rev Slocombe, depicted it as a revival and the *Lyttelton Times* reported that 809 people had taken the pledge and joined the Blue Ribbon army during the series of meetings.<sup>178</sup> An interdenominational committee, including Free Methodists John Brown, George Booth and Rev. R Taylor, was appointed to carry on the work of the mission.

This was the beginning of the formal organisation of the churches of Christchurch around the temperance movement. At this stage the movement still had a strong evangelical revivalist flavour and was virtually presented as the crusade of the forces of social responsibility against the forces of social evil. Although the meetings were overwhelmingly religious in nature and content, they also had important political connotations to do with influencing public opinion and effecting political action against the trade.

By this time the Band of Hope was an established feature of the Methodist landscape in Christchurch, there being bands in all four denominations. Each band was based on a local church and the norm was for a special book to be kept in

which the children signed the pledge. The Minute Book of the Oxford District of the UMFC Band of Hope, 1891-1895, contains the following Pledge:

I do pledge my Word and Honour God helping me to abstain from all Intoxicating Liquors as a beverage, wine, beer and cider included, and that I will by all honourable means encourage others to abstain.

The Minute Book records meetings of the Band of Hope, which were mainly recitations, musical performances and humorous items by the children, plus of course the usual religious devotions, uplifting speeches and general business.

The Presbyterian, Congregational, and Salvation Army churches also had their own bands and they were all part of the Canterbury Band of Hope Union, which had twenty-six bands with about 5,000 members in the eighteen eighties.<sup>179</sup> The Union organised the annual Easter Monday demonstration for Bands of Hope and Temperance Societies. This was a grand affair that started with a procession – on one occasion said to be a mile long - with banners and brass bands marching from Latimer Square to Hagley Park in the morning and continuing throughout the day with amusements, games and the inevitable addresses on temperance subjects.<sup>180</sup> In the eighties and nineties between 2000 and 3000 children attended these occasions.

In 1885 the Blue Ribbon Movement gained further momentum from the visit of three overseas evangelists; Mary Leavitt from the USA, Matthew Burnett from England and Richard Booth also from America. Mrs Mary Clement Leavitt visited New Zealand in early 1885 as a 'missionary' for the world Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU).<sup>181</sup> Lecturing on the political and social responsibilities of women in relation to the liquor traffic, and on their political freedoms and rights, as well as organising the foundation of WCTU branches throughout the Colony she:

...left a far deeper and more lasting impression than any who preceded her. In inaugurating the New Zealand branch of the World's Women's Christian Temperance Union she made one of the biggest contributions that have yet been made to rid New Zealand of the blight of the liquor traffic.<sup>182</sup>

The mission of Richard Booth also had a big impact in Christchurch. Arriving in early April, he was impressed by the Easter Monday Band of Hope demonstration.<sup>183</sup> He commenced of a campaign that took the churches of the city

by storm. During nearly three weeks in April 1885 he addressed over fourteen public meetings, drawing about 3,000 to each, filling the Tuam Street hall to capacity, turning away hundreds more and creating an major evangelical revival. Supported by the local protestant churches the Gospel Temperance Blue Ribbon Mission, as it was now called, gained considerable commitment for the temperance cause, persuading 3072 people to sign the pledge and 5286 to wear the blue ribbon.

During this period the *Lyttelton Times* reported on the visit of a deputation of Blue Ribbon ladies who waited on Sir Julius Vogel, member for Christchurch North: ‘...to request his aid in procuring the extension of the local option franchise to women....’ Mrs Ward, wife of Judge Ward, and the leader of the deputation presented a petition, pointed out that women were the greatest sufferers from the drink traffic and expostulated: ‘...that the women were prepared to put the drink down.’ Vogel undertook to support the general franchise for women but that local option required the vote of ratepayers and he could not agree to support the general franchise for women on the local option issue when the men voted only as ratepayers.<sup>184</sup>

From all these public events - the turnout at the Monday Temperance Demonstration, the attendance at Richard Booth’s mission meetings, the visit of Mary Leavitt and the formation of the WCTU, the approach to an important political personage like Vogel and the very full newspaper coverage of temperance - it would seem that there was considerable public support for the movement. The Local Option poll being conducted in some of the suburbs of Christchurch at this very time might be expected to reflect this interest. However, the poll showed a very indifferent turnout, although the results generally favoured the temperance interest.<sup>185</sup>

This showed a clear lack of political support for the movement at the polls and it is necessary to look for an explanation of this. One apparent reason is that in 1885 temperance was still primarily church-based and had not yet generated effective political organisation. The title of ‘Gospel Temperance Blue Ribbon Mission’ accurately reflected its church basis. With one exception - Mrs Ward - Richard

Booth's meetings were chaired by ministers or prominent church laymen and the meetings opened with devotional exercises and closed with the benediction. The Blue Ribbon missions of 1883 and 1885 were more like evangelical revivals than political meetings. Richard Booth confirmed this:

...the mission was not his, but was the mission of the various Christian churches and temperance Societies of this city, and if the mission was to be a success, it must be by the blessing of God aiding the efforts of these churches and societies.<sup>186</sup>

Booth's solution to the drink problem was for individuals to realise what was in the best interests of themselves, their family and society and to abstain. Some rhetorical vitriol was directed at the Trade and the laws that allowed it to exist, but it was the call to salvation which was at the heart of his speeches, and which harked back to Wesley himself and was in the tradition of the American evangelists of the nineteenth century.

The conclusion is that the churches had a major and leading influence in the formation and organisation of the temperance societies, but that these societies had minimal political influence. In fact there was to be little political influence until the movement became less church-based and more overtly political. This was accompanied by the decline of evangelism in Methodism, which is a subject of its own and will be discussed in a later chapter.

The gospel temperance missions did however demonstrate the effectiveness of co-ordination between the churches and encouraged the activists to extend this to other moral campaigns, such as Sunday Observance and opposition to the Contagious Diseases Act (which subjected women to demeaning medical examinations). The lessons - success in the meeting hall, but failure at the polling booth - were also not lost, for within a year two organisations were formed which were to have leading roles in the political stage in New Zealand for years to come: the New Zealand WCTU, (the Christchurch branch of which was founded in May 1885) and the New Zealand Alliance founded in February 1886. Both had specific political ends as their main purpose and both were national organisations with roots very largely in Christchurch. Soon after their formation they began to develop political alliances at the national level. Macleod suggests that:



After the visit of Richard Booth, founder of the Blue Ribbon Army, and of Mrs Leavitt, who in 1866 founded a branch of the Women's Christian Temperance Union in New Zealand, the organisation and methods of propaganda of the Americans prohibitionists were adopted.<sup>187</sup>

They continued to have a strong church support and there was an influential Methodist involvement in their leadership.<sup>188</sup> These two potent political organisations did not therefore spring suddenly into existence, but were the culmination of a number of forces building up over the preceding years, one of which was the Methodist value of self-betterment with its determination to improve the colonial environment and its disgust at the effects of drunkenness in a country enduring a deep and lasting economic depression, which of itself brought misery to many individuals.

There were, and still are very good moral, social and psychological reasons for opposing alcoholism, for the cost in human misery that it causes. The Prohibitionists believed that by removing access to alcohol the problem would be solved. It had yet to be proved by experience that this was not the solution and that other forms of treatment for dependency on alcohol and drugs had to be found if the problem was to be managed. The temperance movement was the nineteenth century response to a serious social problem of modern times and prohibition the solution. In any case the good Methodist citizen was not going to accept that bad social conditions should allow people to go to hell in their own way or that the church should be tolerant of such repugnant moral and social corruption.

Victorian prohibitionist propaganda was a powerful cocktail of medical science, psychological theory and statistical data leading to the conclusion that alcohol undermined physical health, drove the drinker mad, caused him to torment his wife and children, made a criminal or loafer of him and created a huge need for lunatic asylums and jails. Reputable medical opinion was marshalled, persuasive statistics produced and heart-rending stories told of the degradation and misery caused. Reformed drunkards told remorseful stories, which often reflected what the listeners had seen in their own communities and supported their own experiences. It was also linked to the Victorian concept of society as a 'body' which needed to be kept in 'good health'. This was not all hyperbole. Before the 1880s convictions per thousand of the population for drunkenness were over double what they were in

the early 20th century.<sup>189</sup> In the early days of the Colony and throughout the 19th century there was an imbalance between the numbers of males and females in the New Zealand population, particularly in the adult age groups.<sup>190</sup> One effect of this was that:

In general terms the prevalence of drunkenness can probably be best explained by the fact that, for a large part of the nineteenth century, New Zealand society was unstable. It was a society where the stabilising influences of home, family and close-knit community were at a minimum. This, of course, was inevitable in a colonial society...<sup>191</sup>

The rhetoric of the prohibitionists was extreme, but florid, long-winded and melodramatic language was acceptable in Victorian literature and platform speeches. A fine example is contained in Appendix Two - 'Rum and the Vicious Classes', by Bishop R. S. Foster, reprinted in *The New Zealand Methodist* in 1886. The author is perhaps American and the style is markedly evangelical, in the platform rhetoric mode, appealing to the emotions of the reader rather than the intellect. An example of the rational appeal to common sense and the intellect is 'The Liberty of the Subject' from the *No-Licence Handbook*, - a ready reference book of useful statistics and information - published by the New Zealand Alliance in 1908, also in Appendix Two.

The formation in 1886 of 'The New Zealand Alliance for the Suppression and Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic', the immediate aim of which was '...to secure for the people the direct power to veto the liquor traffic...', was therefore the start of a new phase of a dramatic campaign to attain prohibition through political action.<sup>192</sup> The separation of the movement from church control widened the potential membership base and leadership pool; diluting without removing church support and participation. These general developments throughout the colony were reflected and often intensified in Christchurch and on occasion in Sydenham itself and the strong Methodist contingent in those areas played a significant part in the campaign over the next twenty years and beyond. The Free Methodists of Sydenham and their allies were to be in the national limelight in a celebrated court action of the early nineties.

From 1886 the Alliance strove to achieve prohibition through the exercise of local vetos under the provisions of the Licensing Act 1881. This Act divided the country

into districts contiguous with the local authority boundaries and gave ratepayers the right to elect a Licensing Committee which then determined the number of licences in the district. The temperance supporters concentrated their efforts on attaining majorities on these local committees.

As the Superintendent of the Addington Sunday School John Brown would have had unruly scholars to deal with, often reluctant or boisterous youth, bored by bible stories or sanctimonious moralising. In 1874 an immigrant family, the Taylors, built a house in Harman Street, Addington, not far from the UMFC Church and twelve-year-old Tom joined the Free Methodist Band of Hope and the Sunday School. Tom was a spirited youth with a rebellious streak and a talent for debate, who was not averse to taking issue with his teachers on fundamentalist doctrine.

Yet with all this rebelliousness he was, by nature and conviction, deeply religious. "At fourteen," in the words of L.M. Isitt, "he passed through a religious crisis, and definitely decided to give his life and soul to God. Very shortly after this conversion he offered his services to the Sunday School superintendent, but that leader thought the boy too young. "Well," said Tom, "if I gather a class of my own, can I have a place to teach them in?" When permission was granted, he turned up with fourteen boys off the street.<sup>193</sup>

Tom's conversion took place during a sermon preached by the Rev. Lockwood, presumably in the Addington Free Methodist Church, when '...the light broke in upon him, a great change came over him, and he went out an altogether different man from what he was when he went in.'<sup>194</sup> At the age of sixteen Tom started a course of tuition to enter the ministry, but his argumentativeness put an end to this aspiration and to his membership of any religious denomination thereafter, though not to his religious convictions or his commitment to the Methodist church and its values.<sup>195</sup> For the rest of his life he devoted himself to the improvement of society through political means.

T E Taylor, generally known as Tommy, became an organisational genius and polemicist of the Alliance - a leading national prohibitionist, Member of Parliament and Mayor of Christchurch. Tommy Taylor developed his spiritual life in the Addington Church of the UMFC and served his political apprenticeship on the Sydenham Borough Council. Sheer force of character and depth of personal conviction, together with a respect for all his fellows and great oratorical ability made him one of the loved of his generation.<sup>196</sup> He had a flair for writing and

among other publications founded *The Prohibitionist* which became the national organ of the temperance movement.<sup>197</sup>

In 1888 Tommy Taylor ‘...entered upon municipal politics by writing and speaking against...’ the expenditure of council funds on a proposed cemetery in Sydenham.<sup>198</sup> He was elected to the Sydenham Borough Council in 1891 and 1892.<sup>199</sup> He was also secretary of the Sydenham Prohibition League.

The Rev. L.M. Isitt, a Wesleyan leader of the Alliance stationed in Sydenham and a co-founder of *The Prohibitionist*, tells the story of the Sydenham No-Licence Campaign of 1891-92, describing the organising, speaking and writing abilities of Tommy Taylor.<sup>200</sup> At the height of the 1891 campaign: ‘He had every street in Sydenham mapped out and a band of workers so organised that...we could print a circular in the morning, hoist our flag at the Sydenham schoolroom and...before nightfall, that circular would be in every house in the borough.’<sup>201</sup> Although the 1891 local option poll resulted in the return of the trade supporters to the Licensing Committee, Taylor and Isitt were undismayed and redoubled their efforts for the 1892 election. Isitt recalled that: ‘...by that time [*The Prohibitionist*] compassed a circulation of many thousands and reached every part of the Dominion...’and described the excitement of the 1892 poll, including the renewed effort in public speaking and publishing which resulted in victory for the prohibitionist ticket, led by Isitt himself.<sup>202</sup>

When the new Licensing Committee began closing down premises in Sydenham the trade was forced to take notice and a series of court actions, going as far as the Privy Council, followed which resulted in defeat for the Licensing Committee and, more significantly, exposed the Licensing Act as an inoperable instrument for achieving local prohibition. As long as prohibition was confined to the pulpit the trade was disposed to ridicule it, but the threat to the licences politicised the trade, which intensified its own political and public propaganda campaign.<sup>203</sup> This focussed the campaign on the legislation and the Alliance started to put pressure on the Liberal Party, which formed the Government and which had the electoral support of many voters who were also temperance supporters. The centre of

attention shifted from Sydenham to the national scene and in 1893 the new legislation, produced as a compromise by the Seddon Government, provided for Local Option to be voted on by the electors of Parliamentary constituencies on three issues: Continuance, Reduction or No-Licence within their electorate, with a three-fifths majority required. Conrad Bollinger suggests that:

It was from this point on that the Prohibition movement became a real force in the political life of the country, and liquor a political question dwarfing almost all others.<sup>204</sup>

The 1893 election resulted in one electorate – Clutha - voting in favour of Prohibition, followed in subsequent elections by another eleven, but not Sydenham. The requirement for a three-fifths majority proved an insuperable barrier in most parts of the Colony, attacked many times by the Alliance, but effectively inhibiting the spread of legal prohibitionism until the nineteen-twenties when the movement began to slide into terminal decline.

Tommy Taylor was elected to Parliament as an independent, left-wing liberal in 1896, but was defeated by the freethinker W.W. Collins in 1899. He was re-elected from 1902-1905 and 1908-1911. He was famous for his oratory and noted for his championship of social reforms. Never afraid to take up a good cause, whatever the risk, he had notable public disputes with three Prime Ministers of the day – Seddon, Ward and Massey.<sup>205</sup> He was elected Mayor of Christchurch in 1912, defeating Charles Allison of Sydenham, who had been mayor since 1909, and died after a short illness in August 1912. His links with Methodism remained strong to the end. A lengthy obituary in *The New Zealand Primitive Methodist* refers to his own conversion, his pleasure at his daughter's conversion in 1910 and his addresses in the Primitive Methodist Church and to other bodies up to a few months before his death.<sup>206</sup>

The Alliance is similar to two of the other organisations explored in this study - the UMFC and the Borough of Sydenham - in that it no longer exists. But whereas the UMFC lives on in the Methodist Church the Borough of Sydenham in the City of Christchurch, Prohibition seems to have no direct descendant. Temperance, as in moderation in the use of alcohol, is still an important health matter and in the modern context is often connected with spiritual or mental well-being. In this

sense therefore there are religious connotations. However, the licensing laws have now been so completely reformed and social mores are so changed that it is hard to see a role for a prohibition organisation in the twenty-first century.

Nevertheless temperance was perhaps the prime social cause of the late nineteenth century in Christchurch. It was certainly a cause that the two main personalities in this study, J T Brown and George Booth, fully supported and worked for through the Free Methodist Church. And this did not cease with their individual involvement as their sons John Brown and G T Booth carried on the crusade through the church and the Sydenham Borough Council and in support of Christchurch's famous social reformer, Tommy Taylor.



## Chapter Six

# MIXED FORTUNES

The night he was chairing the Blue Ribbon Meeting in May 1883, John Brown's sawmill at Addington burned down. This strange coincidence serves to introduce an analysis of the relationship between business and Methodism. The central feature of Arminianism, which was at the heart of Methodist doctrine was that a person could attain salvation by recognising the inherent sinfulness of humankind in themselves and seeking to be saved through God. There was a strong link between this spiritual and personal commitment to the Almighty and social behaviour. John Wesley considered that values should guide actions and that actions demonstrate a commitment to values. He taught that wherever there is a desire to be saved and it '...is really fixed in the soul, it will be shown by its fruits. It is expected therefore of all who continue [in a Methodist society] that they should continue to evidence their desire of salvation.'<sup>207</sup> Among the rules providing evidence of this desire are a number pertaining to the acquisition, use and disposal of money, goods and property.<sup>208</sup>

This link between the spiritual and material elements of Methodism was not solely the result of sinfulness being largely defined in terms of bad behaviour. There were two other main factors. Methodism encouraged its members to improve their material conditions and consequently attracted people who ran small businesses or had entrepreneurial aspirations. The question therefore arose as to the appropriate Christian behaviour relating to money, goods and property. Robert Wearmouth summarises it this way:

...Methodists in business were summoned to put enthusiasm into efforts to achieve financial success. According to John Wesley, it was the right and proper thing to do. It could even be regarded as a religious duty, carrying with it something of divine sanction. But, Wesley added, 'Having gained all you can by honest wisdom and unwearied diligence, the second rule of Christian prudence is, save all you can. Do not throw the precious talent into the sea.' Further,

'Having first gained all you can and, secondly, saved all you can, then give all you can.' That was the final justification for the pursuit of money.<sup>209</sup>

The second factor was that the Methodist societies were organised as units which managed their own financial affairs, but that those appointed to handle money and property often had little or no experience of doing so. There was therefore a need for rules to ensure probity and prudence in the handling of the societies' money and assets. Furthermore, a degree of central control, to standardise practice between societies and gain access to financial resources, required general guidelines that were in turn consistent with Christian doctrines and behaviour. Wesley created the position of steward, to be responsible within each society for financial and property management and set down 'The Business and Rules of the Stewards' for these important lay officials.<sup>210</sup> Wearmouth comments:

Officials in the Societies were expected to be exemplary; they were to set a standard in care and diligence; their influence would be considerable on others. The class leaders, for instance, learned much about the ministering and missionary value of the weekly pennies... Perhaps more than others among the Methodists, the stewards entered of necessity into knowledge and administration of affairs...it would have been impossible for them to fulfil their duties without engaging in economic exercises.<sup>211</sup>

Methodism in the eighteenth century was what would today be described as 'a growth industry', and the rules and guidelines drawn up by John Wesley were often the result of pressures arising out of the rapid development of the organisation of which he was the chief executive as well as spiritual leader. This is not to denigrate Wesley's position as a religious thinker and social reformer, but rather to emphasise the necessary link between structure and belief which forced Wesley to develop a coherent relationship between the organisation of Methodism and its religious values across all activities of the societies. The fact that these rules and guidelines remained broadly in effect for the following century and more is a tribute to his foresight and organisational genius. It also underlines the close and continuing linkage between the spiritual and material aspects of the Methodist doctrine over a long period of time.

This linkage can be clearly seen in the actions of people in the colonial business community of Christchurch, including John Brown and George Booth in Sydenham as well as other notable Methodist businessmen and for a common pattern of behaviour to be discerned.

At the time of his move to Christchurch John had sufficient capital resources or borrowing capacity to set up as a timber merchant; later he recalled that he was worth 15,000 pounds at this time. *The Christian Observer* of 1870 advertised him as offering:<sup>212</sup>

ON SALE by the undersigned, in great variety,

### **TIMBER AND BUILDING MATERIALS**

Of all kinds, Corrugated Iron, Ridging, Spouting,  
Doors, Sashes, Stone Piles, Firewood, Posts and Rails, &c.

BEST NEWCASTLE COALS

*Orders promptly attended to*

JOHN T BROWN,

TUAM STREET AND

RAILWAY STATION, CHRISTCHURCH

In July 1869, while still owning the property at Voelas Road, Lyttelton, John bought, for 209 pounds, two parcels of land in Windmill Road, later an extension of Antigua Street, outside the South Town Belt of Christchurch, in what was to become the Borough of Sydenham.<sup>213</sup> This would appear to be land for the family home. About this time he also acquired about 5 acres for a depot, sawmill and railway siding for his timber business by the railyards at Addington, also outside the South Belt.

The eighteen-seventies was a momentous decade of economic development and population growth both for New Zealand and for Canterbury. Canterbury was to benefit from the public works and immigration scheme, funded by a loan of ten million pounds, initiated by the New Zealand government of Fox and Vogel in 1870. This financed significant expansion of the railway network throughout the country, part of which was the establishment of the railway workshops at Addington at the north end of Sydenham. In addition the province gained, from a flood of land sales, some two millions pounds revenue in the years 1873-6 which

paid for improvements to Lyttelton harbour, road works and other public works schemes.<sup>214</sup> The new land brought into agricultural production further contributed to the prosperity of the province and also created a strong demand for immigrants, primarily as farm labourers, construction workers and domestic servants.

‘During the period from 1853 to 1876 nearly 60,000 people came from overseas to Canterbury and settled. Most were from Britain and Ireland...’<sup>215</sup> Between 1868 and 1876 the population of Canterbury doubled, due largely to the financial assistance of the immigrants by both national and provincial governments, but unassisted immigration and natural population also played a part. Immigration reached a peak in 1874, during the second half of which seventeen ships brought 7137 passengers.<sup>216</sup>

Railway expansion stimulated the growth of Sydenham promoting the construction of cheap housing for workers in the industries springing up around the railyards and workshops at Addington. In the early eighteen-seventies many of these workers were immigrants destined for agricultural work, but who instead opted for urban rather than rural living and took up the opportunities in the growing businesses of Sydenham.

Booming conditions were very suited to John’s business temperament for by the end of the eighteen-seventies he had expanded his property holdings considerably, extending the home property to five acres and purchasing a further eight acres near the Addington railway sidings. In 1877 he acquired over 1,000 acres of farmland in the Rakaia area as a government grant by purchase, and put his son William on this farm. Optimistic and self-confident by nature and experience he believed, apparently, that the economic opportunities were there to be taken advantage of. Yet, business did not consume all his interests and energies and he did not ignore John Wesley’s instruction to ‘give what you can’, being a substantial financial contributor to his church – and he was not the only one to do so.

By 1880 George Booth owned a flourishing agricultural implement importing business and in 1882 he went into manufacturing in partnership with his son George Thomas Booth. They built an implement and iron works on one and a half

acres of land in Carlyle Street immediately opposite the railway yard and goods shed. George retired from the partnership in 1884 after which G T Booth went into partnership with R M Macdonald, establishing the company Booth Macdonald & Company.<sup>217</sup> The partnership was dissolved in 1886, but the firm continued to prosper, both locally and, from 1877, as an exporter to Australia.<sup>218</sup> The company was one of the largest manufacturers of implements in the colony making ploughs, discs, harrows, grubbers, sowers, drills, chaff-cutters, drays wool-presses, windmills, pumps of all descriptions and other such appliances. It employed over a hundred hands at the turn of the century.<sup>219</sup>

Of the other Sunderlanders on the *Indiana*, a number did well for themselves. The Barkers started out boat-building and then settled in farming at Little Akaloa. William Ness went into the building trade and was secretary of the House Carpenters and Joiners Society (a precursor of the trade union). The Reeds began in boat-building and saw-milling and settled into farming in Little River. Thomas Sharplin owned and operated sawmills in both Rangiora and Kaiapoi. All were prominent in their church or community, to one extent or another, in the tradition of Methodism.<sup>220</sup>

There were a number of other successful Methodist businessmen in Sydenham and Christchurch. One such was John Down, a native of Devonshire who emigrated to New Zealand on the steamship *Norfolk* in 1879, settling in Sydenham where he set up as a builder and contractor, designing and building villas and dwelling houses, schools and commercial buildings. He was a member of the Bible Christian Church, filling the offices of steward, trustee, choirmaster, organist and Sunday School teacher. He was a Justice of the Peace and his community service, over many years, included Mayor of Spreydon, member of the Christchurch Drainage Board, chairman of the Spreydon Road Board, member of the Addington School Committee.<sup>221</sup> John B Aulsebrook, founder of the confectionary firm that carried his name, was a member of the Addington Free Methodist Church, getting married in the church in 1882. A baker by trade, he arrived on the *Zealandia* as an assisted immigrant in 1859. Over the next thirty years he had various ups and downs. After he shifted to Sydney in 1889 the firm eventually prospered under new

ownership.<sup>222</sup> John Hammett was another Sydenham building contractor, who was also a committee member of the Addington Free Methodist Church.<sup>223</sup> John Joyce, who followed J T Brown as Mayor of Sydenham, was a lawyer who grew up as a Primitive Methodist in Cornwall. He joined the Wesleyan Church when he came to Sydenham in 1879 and was Sunday school teacher and superintendent as well as church treasurer. He had a successful political career, holding numerous local body offices, and as Member of Parliament from 1887 to 1899.<sup>224</sup>

Another successful businessman was Alfred Rudkin who established, in Sydenham, the hosiery business that became Lane Walker Rudkin. He was a steward, trustee and Sunday school teacher at the Sydenham church and a generous contributor to missionary and other funds.<sup>225</sup> William Flesher was a founding Christchurch Free Methodist who had a commission agency in Cashel Street. As a prohibitionist he was elected to the Avon Licensing Committee and was also a member of the Christchurch Drainage Board and chairman of the Richmond School Committee.<sup>226</sup> George Gould was one of the wealthiest businessmen in the colony, a member and lay officer of the Christchurch Wesleyan Church and benefactor of all the Methodist denominations as well as other Protestant churches. He was a member of the first Christchurch town board, a commissioner of the domain board and the board of education and a governor of Canterbury College.<sup>227</sup> John Ballantyne, founder of Ballantynes department store, was a class leader, steward and trustee of the Durham Street Wesleyan Church as well as generous benefactor of the church.<sup>228</sup>

Commercial success required more than the application of the protestant work ethic and the additional advantages of Methodism - training in church organisation, the doctrinal support for commercial endeavour, the practical and pragmatic content of Wesley's rules, the enjoinder for church members to support each other in business, and not least, a prudent and non-indulgent lifestyle including the non-consumption of alcohol. An entrepreneurial impulsiveness was also well-suited to a rapidly developing and booming economy. John Brown's drive and energy found their outlet in a heavy load of church, community and business activities. In that week in May when he chaired the Blue Ribbon meeting and the sawmill burned



down he is recorded as also attending a meeting of the Sydenham Borough Council and would have held his weekly Class Meeting and attended Sunday church. The above examples show that he was not alone in his commitment. It might be said that anyone willing to work hard could have succeeded in those years, but that would belie the difficult challenges of colonial life. And Methodists were not the only ones to prosper - the Christian work ethic was also embraced by other denominations and each church had its share of wealthy patrons and supporters.

After the years of relative growth and prosperity in the seventies the New Zealand economy was about to enter a prolonged trade depression and when the price of wool fell from twenty-four pence a pound to four-pence a pound in 1879 Canterbury was bound to feel the impact.

New Zealand discovered in the 1880s the full disadvantage of being a 'dependent economy'. The slump which reached Canterbury in 1879 was part of a great fall in prices, interest rates and profits that affected the western business world from 1875 to 1895. It was, however, held off for some three years in Canterbury by the land boom.....From 1878 to 1881 Canterbury, in a desperate effort to keep solvent, added to its mortgage debt at a rate of £2,000,000 and more a year - a third of the New Zealand total - and at ruinous rates, for the banks were discouraging further borrowing.<sup>229</sup>

Things looked up a little in 1881 and 1882, but plunged again in 1883 and continued to rise and fall until sustained prosperity returned in 1895, coinciding with the commencement a long period of Liberal Government and the beginning of a more stable political organisation. But through the 1880s and early 1890s New Zealand's economic and political life stuttered and stumbled through crisis and difficulty. This placed considerable financial pressures on agricultural and business enterprises and caused considerable hardship to many workers and their families in town and country. The long depression did not bring to a halt the industrial development of Christchurch or Sydenham, but perhaps encouraged a more prudent approach and more economically sound business practices, in which '...there was a gradual transition from paid labour in small workplaces to the appearance of larger factories that boasted the latest in technology.'<sup>230</sup>

During this period Christchurch moved from being a market town towards an industrial city, and Sydenham continued to grow from an outlying suburb into a commercial and manufacturing centre. Scotter notes that 'By 1896 there were

13,500 people employed in industry in the provincial district and 17,300 in farming. Thus the rural bias of the first generation of settlement had been largely balanced by the developing industries of the 1880.<sup>231</sup> In such a period businesses were bound to fail and in fact the long depression was marked by a procession of bankruptcies and business failures. In Methodism bankruptcy was somewhat a matter of scandal and disgrace implying either incompetence or sharp practice. John Wesley dealt with this issue as follows:

Q. 22 What shall we do to prevent scandal, when any of our members become bankrupt?

A. Let the Assistant talk with him at large; and if he has not kept fair accounts, or has been concerned in that base practice of raising money by coining notes, (commonly called the bill-trade,) let him be expelled immediately.<sup>232</sup>

This rule was translated into *The Rules and Regulations of the UMFC* as:

In cases of insolvency and bankruptcy among our Members, the Leader's Meeting shall depute two or more of its Members, whom it judges most competent, to investigate such cases, in order that the good character of our upright, but unfortunate, Member may be established, and that those who are guilty of fraud may be expelled from among us.<sup>233</sup>

The Bankruptcy Act of 1883 set down the legal processes for dealing with bankruptcies, which were very public events, attracting much interest and gossip in the community. A perusal of the reports in *The Mercantile and Bankruptcy Gazette* shows a publication of the whole catalogue of human greed, need and misery, with the causes of bankruptcy being many and varied.

Denis Hampton outlines the development of bankruptcy legislation in New Zealand from 1862 including the processes for its management.<sup>234</sup> From 1862 the law was based on the principle of rehabilitation rather than punishment, and then in 1883 the new Act established a Government-appointed official, the Official Assignee, who was responsible for managing bankrupt estates and ensuring that legislative principles and procedures were followed. In particular, Official Assignees were required to report to the Supreme Court, where bankruptcy cases were adjudicated, as to the conduct of the bankrupt and as to the manner in which he kept his books of accounts. The 1883 Act also required the bankrupt to be publicly examined in the Court and for application to be made to the Court for discharge, although discharge was normally automatic on the third anniversary of adjudication. Hampton notes that: 'In 1884, 213 petitions for bankruptcy were filed in

Christchurch - ie a quarter of the national total...' showing that the depression hit Canterbury particularly hard at that time for reasons probably related to general economic trends taking place in the province.<sup>235</sup>

In 1883 A Aulsebrook a member of the Addington Free Methodist Church filed for insolvency. The Minutes of the Leaders' Meeting carried the following:

The name of A Aulsebrook was brought to the meeting, he having filed a declaration of Insolvency, after short discussion it was Resolved that the Chairman [Rev R Taylor] with Messrs Brown and Cutler wait upon the member for any explanation he may give in the matter and report in a fortnight.<sup>236</sup>

This was followed a month later by:

The case of Bro A Aulsebrook was brought before the meeting by the committee appointed to wait on the Brother. The Report not being satisfactory to the meeting it was Resolved to adjourn the matter to the next Quarterly Leaders Meeting, the Chairman to see the Brother again and report.<sup>237</sup>

In December the following was passed:

That Brother A Aulsebrook be suspended from membership.<sup>238</sup>

The next reference is March 1884:

That the names of ... Matilda Aulsebrook, Nellie Aulsebrook, ...be dropped they having moved from the district.<sup>239</sup>

Business probity was taken very seriously in the Methodist community. It must therefore have come as a considerable shock when J T Brown himself petitioned for bankruptcy on 30 September 1884. The news of this event and the disclosure of his financial affairs in the Christchurch papers would have been extremely humiliating to a person who saw himself as honest and prudent and who was respected by colleagues in his church and business circles for commercial acumen.

Reports in local newspapers and the *Mercantile & Bankruptcy Gazette* and the files of the Official Assignee give a clear picture of John Brown's business affairs, as helpful to the researcher as they would have been uncomfortable to the bankrupt. The *Gazette* notices and press reports are contained in Appendix Three. The list of 'Assets and Liabilities' published in the *Gazette* reveals the extent to which John had accumulated property - nearly 20 acres of land at Sydenham, 2 pieces of freehold land of 2597 and 1711 acres respectively, known as Rokeby Station, near Mitcham, the trading brigantine "Sea Bird", plus buildings, plant and equipment. His assets were worth over 43,000 pounds, but with debts and liabilities of over

Mitcham, the trading brigantine “Sea Bird”, plus buildings, plant and equipment. His assets were worth over 43,000 pounds, but with debts and liabilities of over 45,000 pounds he had perhaps reached the position where his creditors no longer felt confident of his financial capacity to meet his obligations to them.

While the above reports and give no indication as to how John weathered this ordeal, the records of the Official Assignee are more revealing. These contain minutes of meetings of creditors, written statements of John and his son William and Receipt and Expenditure Accounts for October of the business. John’s statements were as follows:

*I have been in business as a Timber Merchant in Christchurch nearly 16 years and I have also landed property 4308 acres in the Rakaia District. The mortgages are L6,000 to the Union Insurance Coy and L10,000 to the N Z Trust & Loan Coy besides other mortgages over the Sydenham properties. There is a Bill of Sale over the stock & Book Debt and working plant in Tuam Street & the South Belt and also one over the implements at the Farm also a mortgage of Stock over the sheep at same place.*

*When the Sea Bird was leaving for Rockhampton about 4 or 5 months ago I - at the request of Mr Cook representing the Grain Agency Coy - signed a Bill of Sale conveying the vessel absolutely to the Company.*

*When I went into business I was worth L15,000, 5 years since worth L20,000, but my losses from the past two harvests have been enormous.*

*The Planing Machine on my siding at Sydenham is the property of Brownlee Co - I hired it from them after my mill was burned down - 25/- per month was the rent.*

*In reference to my sons claims against the estate their accounts are not shown in my books. They left undrawn half the salaries that I had agreed to give them commencing from the 1st Jan'y 1878 - John Brown's salary was L300 a year and William Brown's L200 a year and found. They did not advance cash.<sup>240</sup>*

As had happened with Mr Aulsebrook, so did the UMFC Rules require John to be questioned by church leaders. When John petitioned for bankruptcy he had immediately resigned his offices in the Church. But at the October Leaders’ meeting it was reported:

The question of Bro Brown who had forwarded his resignation as a Member and Leader to the Chairman through having become a bankrupt, now asked to be allowed to withdraw his resignation which was granted and after a short discussion of a conversational character It was Resolved to refer the matter to a committee consisting of the Chairman [Rev R Taylor] and Messrs Booth and the Sec [Thomas Cutler] for investigation, the Committee to report as soon as possible.

Resolved That Mr Cutler be requested to take charge of Mr Brown’s class for the present.<sup>241</sup>

The Minutes of the next Quarterly Church meeting contained the following report and resolutions:

and report as follows. 1st. Mr Brown made a statement of the causes which led to his misfortune. 2nd. Several questions were then asked by members of the Committee to which Mr Brown gave replies without any reservation or hesitation. 3rd. The Committee are very pleased to say that Mr Brown volunteered the statement that he should always consider himself as debtor till 20/- in the L was paid and that he had intimated to each creditor privately his intention to pay the amount if ever he is able. 4th. This Committee is of opinion that Mr Brown's statement and replies to questions are entirely satisfactory. 5th. The Committee is further of opinion that while an over sanguine disposition may have contributed somewhat to Mr Brown's failure, the chief causes of that failure have been utterly beyond his control. Your Committee would therefore recommend the following Resolutions to the Leaders Meeting. 1st. That we express our very deep sympathy with Mr Brown in his trying circumstances and assure him of our continued confidence in his business integrity and Christian character. 2nd. That Mr Brown retain his Church membership as heretofore.

Resolved That the two last named resolutions be forwarded to Mr Brown.<sup>242</sup>

The fall in the price of wheat from six shillings a bushel to three shillings, which hit many Canterbury farmers hard and placed considerable pressure on the farm lending institutions seems to have been the main contributor to his downfall.<sup>243</sup> He paid five shillings and ten-pence farthing in the pound of his debts and was released from bankruptcy in 1887.<sup>244</sup> The farming and shipping interests went, but the timber business continued, changing its name to J.T Brown & Son in 1889, when he went into partnership with his eldest son John. John soon returned to his positions in the Addington Church and the Christchurch Circuit and his involvement with the New Zealand District committee paused only momentarily. Although he did not stand for the Sydenham Borough Council after 1884, his community service did not end there. In 1891 he was elected to the Cashmere Hills Domain Board and in 1895 to the Spreydon Road Board – that old adversary of Sydenham – and was chairman in 1896 and 1897.<sup>245</sup>

It seems that the same over sanguine disposition that had contributed to his business failure also enabled him to regain his public composure and continue with his life-long participation in church, community and commerce.

## Chapter Seven

# TURNING POINT

The politicisation of the temperance and women's suffrage movements in the eighties forced the Methodists to turn their eyes from the inner contemplation of personal salvation to the external vision of a better world to live in – from saving souls for God to building a better society for humankind. The trail-blazers slowly gave way to the map-makers and organisers.

Peter Lineham argues that involvement in the temperance movement was the turning point and comments that:

Gospel Temperance Missions must have been the most characteristic evangelism of the period, and Methodism had many preachers among the temperance campaigners...The moral campaigns called for commitment to a model of society, and to a form of social control and moral rectification by individual self-improvement...a deliberate redeployment of traditional evangelistic methods...campaign(ing) for positive community values instead of driving a wedge into society, as evangelistic missions did...In the long run gospel temperance therefore undermined the importance of the church by creating a tradition of self-justified morally secure New Zealanders on one side, and a consciously unacceptable group on the other.<sup>246</sup>

Events in Christchurch support this. Politicisation was particularly marked in boroughs and suburbs like Sydenham where temperance and suffrage were linked by church membership. Christchurch provided a large measure of national leadership through such dominant and charismatic personalities as Tommy Taylor, the Isitt brothers – Leonard and Frank - and Kate Sheppard of St Albans. In general it was the relatively recently settled outer suburbs of Christchurch, which had substantially grown with the influx of immigrants of the 1870s and had established their own distinctive boroughs, which were in the forefront of the new externally focussed and socially conscious edge of Methodism. This mirrored the changes taking place throughout the colony, as political, social and economic institutions coalesced around broad objectives and established themselves out of the unstructured pioneer society.



Within Methodism there was no great doctrinal debate about the new direction, and the central precepts of the Arminian doctrine were retained as the basis of the faith. Where major organisational changes were proposed they were claimed to be more efficient ways of attracting new members or meeting the spiritual needs of existing members - areas in which Methodists were exceedingly pragmatic and were inclined to discuss at length. As the number of church members and followers increased, the energy of the leadership - national and local - went into the building of more churches and to gaining the financial resources needed to sustain an established and effective church organisation. In the end however, a better-ordered church was attained at the expense of evangelical fervour and left the organisation with a reduced capacity to move the spirits of the unconverted.

There was some limited opposition to this new direction and voices were still heard calling for a return to fundamentals and, especially, the revivals of earlier years. Revivals did continue to take place, but in a somewhat more organised way and consequently evangelism did not entirely disappear from the scene; rather, it became a compartmentalised activity as distinct from the very reason for existence.<sup>247</sup> This did not suit everybody. The Rev Theodore Thomas, the husband of J T Brown's granddaughter and a Wesleyan minister from 1909 to 1912, resigned from the ministry and went to Otago Medical School becoming a general partitioner in Palmerston. Asked why he had done so he replied that he felt he could do more good as a country doctor.<sup>248</sup>

The years between 1885 and 1914 were therefore marked by a change of emphasis from the evangelical drive for personal salvation to institutional order and a concern for social reform. In *Out of the Common Way* Hames follows the shift from individual conversion and evangelism towards participation in public life and the 'emerging social concern' of the church.<sup>249</sup> He depicts it as an almost inevitable development in which the church strove to keep pace with the general social concerns and values at large in late Victorian New Zealand.

This change of direction was also dictated by the pressures of scientific discovery on Christian theology, including the doctrinal basis of Methodism and was

significant for all the Protestant churches, reflecting as it did intellectual developments within the whole of western society. The evolutionary theories of Darwin challenged the Biblical account of the creation, and made the Pentateuch a new area of controversy. The socialist theories of Marx and Engels forced a more egalitarian set of social concerns on those religions that claimed to do good for humanity. Rationalism and associated philosophical constructs cast a shadow on the spiritual nature of religion. The rise of secularism, which comprised elements of all these pressures, fostered the separation of church and state and was the most significant religious development in New Zealand's later colonial period. The establishment of free, compulsory and secular state system was a key element in this development.

The changes in Methodism were not sudden, but gradual and uneven, varying between denominations and moving alongside the attempts of the Protestant Churches in general to adapt to relevant changes in New Zealand society from the 1880s on. The connexional structure of Methodism meant that organisational changes were debated at length and that the process of change took account of a broad range of opinion and was usually free of large-scale internal dislocation.<sup>250</sup>

The emergence of socio-political activity and the compartmentalisation of evangelism had another important consequence: it contributed to the raising of awareness in society as a whole of the need for social reform and the consequent development of state social welfare systems and reforms which began in the 1890s. In the context of the dismal effects of the long depression up to 1895 on vulnerable sections of the population, the democratising influence of universal suffrage and the improving economy which made resources available for social welfare, the reform-minded churches found a worthwhile role to play.

In *A World Without Welfare* David Thomson describes nineteenth century New Zealand as a society in which there was little or no financial support for the aged outside the family.<sup>251</sup> He argues that this was the ideological consequence of a pioneering community desiring to free itself of the obnoxious practices of the poor laws and charitable institutions of the Home Country, particularly in relation to the

aged. In this picture there does not seem to be a part for the colonial churches in caring for those of its member thrown on hard times or too old to adequately care for themselves. There is therefore the inference that the church was an institution for the well-off and was indifferent to the sufferings of the poor and aged. If this is an accurate interpretation of Thomson's view, qualification is needed in relation to the activities of the Methodists in the last half of the century.

From its earliest days Methodism had undertaken charitable activities. Thanks to John Wesley's organisational genius an effective method had been developed of distributing money collected from the members of the societies, usually at the rate of a penny a week, to those in need. This was the creation of the position of the Poor Steward that had the responsibility for managing the poor funds and recommending disbursements.<sup>252</sup> This carried through to New Zealand where the Free Methodists assisted members who had landed in troubled circumstances and set up special appeals as thought necessary.<sup>253</sup> In addition prosperous members like John Brown and George Booth would put their hand in their pocket when they saw a special need. All four Methodist denominations accepted the responsibility to provide some assistance to poor or needy members and to do this without lowering the dignity of the recipient. Payments therefore were given little or no publicity. The other Christian denominations also had charitable aims and activities: for example the Salvation Army was well-known for its assistance towards those who might be regarded by 'respectable' citizens as the 'non-deserving poor'.

Through the long depression of the eighties and nineties church assistance was unable to provide for all classes and conditions and local communities struggled to meet local needs. In terms of the provision of welfare there is not a vast ideological gap between the church as a charitable institution, colonial communities as mutually supportive local groups and the state as a benevolent collectivity. When state social welfare systems were established in the eighteen-nineties the churches did not cease their own activities. Rather the state and the churches became partners, particularly in the provision of housing and other such services, in much the same way as they had in public education before the Education Act of 1877. In relation to payments of money, Thomson notes that eligibility for state pensions in

the 1890s was conditional on the recipient being '...of good moral character and sober habits'.<sup>254</sup> This is consistent with the approach of the churches to the 'deserving poor'. It also supports the suggestion that when the state moved into social welfare it took over the moral attitudes of the churches as well as some of their responsibilities. The good Methodists of Christchurch and elsewhere took the moral obligation to church and community most seriously, which leads to the conclusion that charity and philanthropy were appropriate forms of social responsibility in the colonial community. The changes in Methodism referred to at the beginning of this chapter which resulted in the more outward-looking approach of the church also fostered an acceptance of the conceptual bases of state welfare where it could be seen to be necessary.

Two other topics of discussion bearing on the new direction of Methodism were Church Membership and the Itineracy, both arising out of Wesley's dictums and with doctrinal connotations. The Australasian Wesleyan Conference of 1890 received a recommendation from South Australia that compulsory attendance at the class meeting continue to be the test of church membership. An amendment from the New Zealand Conference counter-proposed that members be strongly advised to meet in class. Discussion on this matter was spread over five days of the Conference (which lasted for thirteen days in total) and ranged across not a few theological and historical areas. The proponents argued that the class meeting was the very foundation of the spiritual life of the church and fostered quality of membership, as distinct from quantity. The opponents argued that class attendance should not stand on its own as a test of membership, and if enforced as compulsory would cut the membership in half, because about that number did not routinely attend classes. There was much disputation as to whether John Wesley had insisted on attendance at the class meeting as a test of membership. It was said that removing compulsion would destroy church discipline, have a bad effect on children and cause any number of disasters to befall the Church. On the other hand it was already voluntary in the other Methodist denominations and compulsion would cause many conscientious members to leave the Wesleyan Church. A committee was formed and a lengthy compromise report and recommendations

prepared which had the effect of broadening the means of maintaining church membership by adding to criteria and suggesting improvements to the class meeting itself. The writing was on the wall for the class meeting and the realists in the leadership, such as Morley, knew it. Hames comments:

The class meeting was in decline. For one thing it did not suit conditions in the scattered colonial communities; for another it asked a standard of leadership which the connexion was unable to sustain. The pattern had become very stereotyped in what was an era of change. Originally members were required to attend weekly unless they had a genuine reason for absence, but progressive relaxations were made, so that by the eighteen-eighties while one had to have one's name on a class book and have a leader, it was possible to get by with very few attendances.

The class leader might have become a permanent lay pastor with great profit, or something of an adult teaching class might have been salvaged; but the opportunity was lost in an argument between obstinate conservatives and impatient radicals. The church was moving inevitably towards a communicant membership test, and the class meeting hardly outlasted Victoria's reign.<sup>255</sup>

In effect this was a further withdrawal from the central importance of conversion and personal salvation that were the prime motivators of evangelical drive.

The Itineracy (ie the requirement for ministers to shift location every three years) was also a matter of contention at the 1890 Conference where the New Zealand delegation pressed for liberalisation and sought to relax the grip of the Conference Stationing Committee in the context of New Zealand separation from the Australasian Conference. This issue was widely discussed in New Zealand and the subject of frequent letters and articles in the Methodist press. There were considerable pressures from both societies and ministers themselves to liberalise the stationing rules. However the periodic disruption of local church relationships and family were not sufficiently disadvantageous to cause anything more than on-going debate and grumbling. In the event five years at a location was introduced as a maximum, but the independence movement would have to battle on for some years yet.

Scientific discovery stimulated other philosophical and intellectual developments affecting theology and religious beliefs and the late nineteenth century was a time when secular influences grew in strength in New Zealand. Lloyd Geering described the dominant trend to be observed in the religious character of New Zealand as '...the withdrawal of New Zealanders from active participation in any

clearly recognizable religious group or institution...'<sup>256</sup> This is the process of '...withdrawing from the traditional ecclesiastical institutions...[and]...increasingly disengaging...from the religious structures of the past...abandoning regular participation in ecclesiastical activities of all the major branches of the Christian Church - Sunday worship, the sacraments, and even marriages and funerals.'<sup>257</sup> Geering uses the term secular to mean a viewpoint which implies '...a conscientious concern with things that really matter...It fastens attention on this visible, tangible, physical, temporal world.'<sup>258</sup>

In fact the percentages and numbers of Methodist members and adherents grew at an even faster rate between 1881 and 1901 than had been the case between 1861 and 1881. Again the rate of growth was higher in Christchurch than in New Zealand as a whole. (see Appendix One) It is perhaps the case that non-religious ideas and secular viewpoints were developing in the later nineteenth century, but were not to replace established religious beliefs on a significant scale until well into the twentieth century. Such changes are usually slow-moving and long-lasting. In Christchurch they were accompanied by a considerable amount of intellectual ferment and debate, making the years between 1885 and 1914 a time of colourful personalities and impassioned public discussion.

At this time the freethought movement made its appearance on the New Zealand scene. Brought to wide public notice in England in 1880 by Charles Bradlaugh, a Member of Parliament who refused to swear the oath of loyalty on the Bible, it became an international movement of significance in the 1880s, attracting large followings in the British Empire and the USA.<sup>259</sup> It became a vehicle of protest over the inhibiting influence of established religious doctrine on the expansion of knowledge and the freedom of thought and expression. Robert Stout, a Premier of New Zealand and later the celebrated Chief Justice, and John Ballance, the first Liberal Prime Minister were New Zealand leaders of Freethought, which, by 1891 fifteen local associations and over four thousand subscribing members or adherents. (see Appendix One, Table 12,) In 1883 Ballance and his publishing partner Willis began *The Freethought Review* a monthly magazine containing international and local news and articles as well as regular reports from local freethought



associations.<sup>260</sup> It provided a draft constitution suitable for local associations, stating the 'Objects' as '...the attainment and promulgation of knowledge as the best means for promoting the welfare and happiness of mankind.'<sup>261</sup>

The Canterbury Freethought Association was formed in 1881. By 1883, it had its own location, the Freethought Hall, formerly the German Church.<sup>262</sup> The first president was William Pratt, a Christchurch businessman and City Councillor, originally from Durham, and the first secretary was F C Hall.<sup>263</sup> Hall was followed as secretary in 1885 by Sydney Day.<sup>264</sup> By 1891 freethinkers numbered 867 in Canterbury, 402 in Christchurch and 130 in Sydenham. (see Appendix One, Table 12.)

The reports of the Canterbury Freethought Association show the holding of regular Sunday night entertainment and lectures on such topics as European culture, scientific discoveries, the Bible in schools, musical recitals, lantern slide shows and readings from Shakespeare. A Sunday morning Lyceum, with instructive talks, marching, singing, reading and callisthenics was run for children and an average attendance of fifty-to-sixty was reported. There was close co-operation with kindred organisations such as the Canterbury Secular Debating Society, the Christchurch Working Men's Club and the Christchurch Elocution and Mutual Improvement Class.

To a considerable extent the freethought movement was in direct competition with the churches for the hearts and minds of the population, particularly the educated middle class. However, on the temperance issue and the belief that Christian values were good for society (as long as they permitted the free promulgation of knowledge) the freethought movement was not out of sympathy with liberal and broad church views. Stout was a national leader of both the temperance and freethought movements, and the following comment from *The Freethought Review* reveals Ballance's viewpoint:

The great apostle of Blue Ribbonism - Booth - has recently been lecturing in Auckland, and according to recent reports, he has made some goody goody speeches. In one speech he made the extraordinary statement that "the 500,000 annual drunkards in Great Britain were the result of the Freethought, Rationalistic and Utilitarian opinions that were rampant in the land." This is the way the temperance cause is damaged by those who desire to introduce religion into it.

Freethinkers are in the main teetotallers, and they would give assistance to the cause were religious ceremonies not introduced into it.<sup>265</sup>

Ballance was usually pleased to take a swipe at what he called the 'goody goody' approach, or 'outbreaks of religious hysteria called revivals' but on issues of social responsibility and the Christian values of the community there were often common objectives, but very different means for achieving them.<sup>266</sup> However, one issue that the freethinkers took great issue with was Sunday Observance - or as the more earnest Methodists called it - Sabbath Desecration. Ballance says:

So the question is simply narrowed down to the observance or non-observance of this dreary unintellectual New Zealand Sunday - whether we go to church or chapel to hear the dreary platitudes of a drowsy parson, the hell-fire denunciations of a perspiring ranter - both out of sympathy with progressive thought - or whether we recruit the body and mind with healthful recreation, or the full enjoyment of the glorious beauties of nature.<sup>267</sup>

On a Sunday in the nineties the good citizen of Christchurch might go to church in the morning, take the family for a picnic in the countryside, an afternoon at Sumner beach, or to a band concert in the gardens, hear W W Collins speaking in the Square on the way home and see Tommy Taylor haranguing the drinkers from the back of a dray in Colombo Street, before going out to a lecture on a scientific or moral topic or a lantern slide show in the evening.

The vulnerability of the churches on the Sabbath observance issue was shown in an incident in Christchurch in 1884. The police laid charges against Freethought Association secretary F C Hall: '...being the owner or having the control of the Freethought Hall, he had allowed the building to be used for the purposes of a public performance on the above date without being licensed by the City Council.'<sup>268</sup> The occasion was a Sunday night lecture by Charles Bright putting a freethought perspective on religious matters, for which a collection from those attending was sought but not compelled. The defence successfully argued that this was similar to what was done every Sunday night at church services and that the police might as well prosecute Christchurch Cathedral. The charges were dismissed. Similarly in 1885 when the Masterton police confiscated the takings from a freethought Sunday meeting, Robert Stout used his authority as Minister of Justice to have the case dropped and the money returned.<sup>269</sup> This put an end to the

‘persecution’ of freethought by the supporters of the church view on Sunday observance.

However, as an organised movement the Freethought Associations did not prosper. A high point of membership was reached in 1891 after which it drifted slowly into obscurity, with one notable exception. According to an editorial in *The New Zealand Methodist* in 1890 it was on its way out even then: ‘In 1883 there were from twelve to fifteen flourishing Freethought Societies in New Zealand; at the present time the society in Christchurch is the only one in existence.’ The writer denies the possibility that the societies have been persecuted out of existence and explains the decline in terms of ‘...the inherent weakness of the Freethought bond of association. It is impossible to secure anything like continued and effective cohesion on the strength of an agreement simply to deny, and that is the sole point of agreement, which as a rule, freethinkers can boast of.’<sup>270</sup> While there is logic in this assessment, partial though it is, the figures in Appendix One (Table 12) demonstrate that significant numbers of people continued to give their allegiance to freethought well into and through the twentieth century. It remained an interesting counterpoint to religiosity.

The exception of the Freethought Society in Christchurch noted in the *New Zealand Methodist* can only be attributed to local support, but in 1890 there arrived in Christchurch William Whitehouse Collins, a protégé of Charles Bradlaugh, who revived the languishing Canterbury Freethought Association, and, for the next three decades kept it alive through vigorous lecturing, debating and writing - the main theme of which was the debunking of Christian ‘myths’.<sup>271</sup> A noted orator and wit Collins’ lectures were well-attended and the prohibitionists were a particular target of his scorn. He was elected to Parliament as a left-wing Liberal in 1893, defeated in 1896 and elected again in 1899, this time defeating Tommy Taylor, who told a public meeting that: “Mr Collins owes his election to Parliament to the votes of publicans, larrikins and prostitutes of the city.”<sup>272</sup> This is not as sinister as it sounds and Stenhouse observed of Collins that: ‘No libertine, however, he was as morally earnest as the evangelical Christians he opposed.’<sup>273</sup>

Another left-wing intellectual who could fill a Christchurch hall was Professor A W Bickerton, Canterbury College physicist, who gave public lectures on scientific subjects. He had the gift of making science understandable to a lay audience and his lectures were very popular and well-attended during the eighteen-eighties and nineties.<sup>274</sup>

Public lectures and meetings were a mixture of education, entertainment and information that had the diversity and vitality of the mass media of a century later, although the content was very different. Religious values were a major subject of debate and the churches did not like the freethinkers and their like stealing the limelight. They preached their own messages, not only at Sunday services, but through revivals and meetings and often through speakers as compelling and interesting as Collins and Bickerton. One such was Rev Dr John Hosking, a Free Methodist who came to Christchurch in 1891, after being interviewed in Australia and reported favourably on by J.T. Brown.<sup>275</sup> Hosking took up the challenge of public debate and became a leading Methodist polemicist. In 1891 he and Collins engaged in a public debate on theological matters running over four nights, attracting large audiences.<sup>276</sup> In 1891 the Free Methodists also brought to Christchurch the English temperance orator Edward Tennyson Smith, who filled the Addington Church for four nights in a row and persuaded many to sign the pledge.<sup>277</sup> An interesting facet of Smith's repertoire was that he read the sermons and orations of other evangelists as well as used his own words. This was not unusual.

Perhaps the most colourful of all was Arthur B. Worthington, a purveyor of general religious concepts in a broad framework which he called the unit of truth which said that the laws governing the spiritual and natural worlds were identical, and at the centre of which were truth, justice and love. He set up an organisation – 'The Students of Truth' – which gained many adherents and enabled him to build an imposing Temple of Truth in the city. It is not surprising that an impassioned rendition of his theme had wide appeal, and it is even less surprising that it attracted the opprobrium of the established churches. Rev. John Hosking challenged Worthington to a public debate, which he cleverly avoided by offering

to discuss the issues in private. This must have infuriated Hosking who saw himself as a strong polemicist of Methodism. He investigated Worthington's past and discovered evidence of bigamy which he publicised. Worthington's partner 'Sister Magdala' – also known as Mrs Worthington – was much embarrassed and over the next few years Worthington's credibility declined, forcing him to eventually leave Christchurch in disgrace.<sup>278</sup>

While the eighties and nineties were times of economic depression, they were also years of intellectual ferment in which theories and ideas were discussed and debated in public, passionately and at great length. Although the freethought movement attacked the churches on such matters as Sunday observance, it supported Victorian ideals in respect of building a better society and was an ally against the abuse of alcohol. Its supporters were often as well-intentioned and socially concerned as their Christian counterparts and they brought a new and fresh perspective to the moral debates of the times. The churches could not remain aloof or unaffected by this and the response of Methodism to become more outward-looking and eventually more tolerant of ideas which had initially been rejected.

What did John Brown and his Free Methodist colleagues who had been reared in the evangelical tradition make of it all? There is no direct answer to this question but there is evidence of John's acceptance of change and reform in the events of his life. He remained a participating member of the church until almost the end of his life, both to the UMFC and after union to the united church. His was a commitment of heart and mind, but the events of his life show him to be also a realist and a pragmatist. He changed his vocation from boat-builder when it became financially necessary. His recovery from the setback of bankruptcy shows both resilience and integrity. This remark by Hames perhaps reveals what John, George Booth and their friends Thomas Thompson and Thomas Cutler really wanted:

At Addington (Selwyn Street North) the fathers of the congregation were reputed to arrange for a revival every October. It was the spring in their blood ..... and something more; though it is hardly Scriptural to set a timetable for the Holy Ghost. But they were right in their conviction that *something should happen* in church life. It is not good enough just to go on droning along.<sup>279</sup>

## Chapter Eight

### SEPARATION AND UNION

On 25 September 1895 Margaret Brown died aged 62, married for forty-three years, the constant friend and companion of John, and mother of thirteen children - eight boys and five girls. She had been ailing for some years with dropsy and heart disease. Three sons and a daughter predeceased her and three other sons, and a daughter had moved to Queensland, Australia. Her eldest son John was in partnership with his father and the second eldest, William, was farming in Rakaia. Three daughters, including Rose, the youngest child aged nineteen, lived at Christchurch. Characterised as a quiet unostentatious worker, she had been a Sunday school teacher and worker for the church since the family had moved to Addington nearly thirty years before.<sup>280</sup> Like most colonial wives with large families Margaret devoted her life to her husband and children. Without this John could not have made such a contribution to their church and community or been able to devote so much to his business affairs. It appears that Rose stayed at home and looked after John until she married in 1909, from which time he lived in the home of his eldest son, John.

The year 1896 saw the union of the UMFC with the Wesleyan Methodist Church and the Bible Christian Church. For over twenty years union had been a regular topic of discussion within and between the four Methodist denominations. The Free Methodist perspective was formulated in the following resolution passed at the Second Annual Meeting of the District in 1876:

That this meeting rejoices to know that in the Wesleyan Church of this Colony there are amongst its ministers and laymen, those who desire a union of the different branches of the Methodist family in the Colony: furthermore this meeting would heartily reciprocate such desire, and would gladly assist in maturing any scheme which would place all the Methodist Churches on a foundation which would effectually secure the rights of both Ministers and Laymen, and so advance the Kingdom of our common Lord and Master, and that the District



Committee be empowered to confer with any authorised deputation on the Subject, and report to the next District Meeting.<sup>281</sup>

This friendly-sounding resolution confirmed that there could be no union until the issue of polity, that is to say, the participation of lay officials in decision-making bodies and processes, had been satisfactorily resolved. Under the leadership and guidance of the Chairman of the District Rev Samuel Macfarlane, the Rev Matthew Baxter and leading laymen George Booth, John Brown and Thomas Thompson, all of whom had participated in the Disruption of the eighteen-forties and the formation of the UMFC in the home country, the polity issue was the prime and continuing obstacle to union in New Zealand. Handing the matter over to the District Committee for discussion with the Wesleyans put the matter into the safe hands of these leaders – they being members of the committee – for the foreseeable future.

The Wesleyan leadership appreciated the point. In 1876 Rev William Morley (then resident minister at Durham Street) sent letters to the Wesleyan and UMFC Magazines detailing the main differences between the denominations as:

...the greater power of the U.M.F. congregational meetings, the wider representation of U.M.F. Quarterly Meetings, the ability of U.M.F. laymen to chair church meetings, the Wesleyan insistence on parity between lay and clerical representation at Conference, and the Wesleyan reluctance to permit longer ministerial appointments than three years.<sup>282</sup>

Morley who was one of the most influential Methodists of his time was a strong advocate of union and at the 1877 Wesleyan Conference the Christchurch ministers, including Morley, and circuit stewards: ‘...were appointed to confer with U.M.F. and Primitive Methodist representatives on the prospect of eventual reunion.’<sup>283</sup> Christchurch thereby became the focus of on-going negotiations between the parties, but no real progress was made for the time being. Although union was often promoted as a desirable objective, by both the UMFC and the Wesleyans, the proviso of the Free Methodists was that the conditions would have to be right.<sup>284</sup>

After nearly twenty years of indeterminate discussion, prospects for reunion improved when the General Australasian Wesleyan Conference of 1894 approved a plan that included several modifications of church polity, among them being longer

ministerial appointments and the admittance of laymen to stationing committees.<sup>285</sup> It set up a standing committee on reunion, with Morley as chairman and a New Zealand Federal Council of Ministers, with Morley as convenor the aim of which was '...to promote union with the other Methodist denominations.'<sup>286</sup> By this time Morley was based in Christchurch as the General Secretary of the New Zealand Wesleyan Connexion and gave union his full attention and support.

This was a welcome development for the Free Methodists and so representatives of the UMFC joined the Federal Council with the Bible Christians and began to work out a practicable scheme for union. The Primitive Methodist Conference of 1894 decided that it was premature to consider the matter at present and declined to participate.<sup>287</sup> By this time there were fewer leading Free Methodists in New Zealand who had taken part in the Disruption of the 1840s in the mother country - George Booth had died in 1888 and Matthew Baxter in 1893.<sup>288</sup> Furthermore, the old enmities did not weigh so heavily against some of the more pressing considerations in favour of union

For the Wesleyans, union would increase the numerical strength of their denomination, over which they would retain control, and at the same time remove some of its evangelical competition. This would strengthen their hand in the more important issue, for them, of separation from the Australasian Conference. On the other hand, the UMFC who operated with the benevolent assistance of their Australian counterparts and were subject to a more distant direction from England consequently struggled rather harder, but retained a greater degree of independence.<sup>289</sup> Therefore, for the Wesleyans the separation from Australia was a more pressing issue, whereas for the UPMC and Bible Christians union was more important, bearing as it did on their very existence.

A contributing factor was that inter-denominational co-operation had been a way of life within the Methodist community from early settlement days through such bodies as local clergymen's committees, the Sunday School Union and by common cause in the Temperance Movement and other social issues such as Sunday Observance. Moreover, in 1891 the UMFC agreed to a proposal to set up a

Methodist Council in the Christchurch area of all the Methodist churches to facilitate understanding, take concerted action on common interests, consider methods of suppressing intemperance and cultivate fraternal feeling. John Brown and Thomas Thompson were appointed as Circuit representatives to the Council.<sup>290</sup>

It seems that organisational changes within Methodism together with developments in the intellectual character of late nineteenth century colonial society generated an ecumenical spirit in the community of Protestant churches and drew the Methodist denominations closer together. In turn these factors probably limited potential areas of denominational friction and made it harder for potential members to distinguish between them. Alternatively, if the churches did not come closer together, interdenominational competition for members had the potential to weaken the smaller churches.

However, from the Free Methodist perspective the driving force for union was in the operational difficulty of simply running a small denomination. The need to pay the salaries of ministers and build and maintain churches and chapels weighed heavily on financial resources.<sup>291</sup> Ministers came and went, some finding the challenges beyond their capacity, others not adapting to colonial ways, presenting continuing recruitment and retention problems.<sup>292</sup> Money for salaries was always tight. For example, one church historian tells of the Rev Hounsell, who, at the end of his ministry in 1897 surrendered his claim for overdue stipend, commenting that: 'He was one of many throughout the Dominion who did this with monotonous regularity every two or three years because they wished not to leave a large overdraft for the new incumbent.'<sup>293</sup>

There are many references in Circuit and District minutes to the supply of ministers to cover particular shortages, showing that ministerial resources were perpetually stretched. On one occasion the Auckland circuit even offered to manage without a minister for a year. Morley explains the difficulties thus:

Owing to the fewness of places there were great practical difficulties in the working of an itinerant ministry. Possibly owing to this, four ministers returned to England, and five more joined the ministry of other churches. This was a heavy drain, and although eleven others were received in the Colony, it was found difficult to supply the places. The heavy Trust debts incurred in some places also hindered progress.<sup>294</sup>

Membership of the UMFC reached a high point of 940 in 1886, but started to decline thereafter to be 915 in 1893. (See Appendix One, Table 10) Census returns also show that UMFC affiliations in New Zealand reached a peak of 2,193 in 1886, declining to 1,923 in 1891. (Appendix One, Table 2) Christchurch had a small increase in affiliations from 428 to 470 in the same period, (Appendix One, Table 6) but these figures would have caused grave disquiet to even the most sanguine supporter of Free Methodism, particularly in relation to the Wesleyan affiliations and membership numbers which were steadily rising. It is evident that by 1894 the pressures in favour of union far outweighed the disadvantages.

These pressures could not be ignored and the fathers of the church conferred and consulted with the membership who gave practically unanimous approval.<sup>295</sup> They then got approval from the mother church in England to go ahead on a basis acceptable to the New Zealand UFMFC.<sup>296</sup> The Federal Council of the leadership of the UMF, Wesleyan and Bible Christian churches drew up a plan for the structure and organisation of the united body which was debated and eventually accepted by the constituents. The 1896 Wesleyan Conference approved the plan and on 6 March the UMFC and Bible Christian delegates attended the Conference to complete formalities. Samuel Macfarlane spoke for the Free Methodists, recalling his participation in the disruption of the eighteen-forties, without regret, but expressing his strong support of the union that was occurring. Another Free Methodist delegate, Dr John Hosking said: 'He would go back to his people and state how cordially he had been met and treated, and that would bring about a real brotherhood and Union.'<sup>297</sup> The United Church formally came into being on Monday 13 April 1896 with minimum disagreement, a maximum of organisation and much speech-making – familiar characteristics of colonial Methodism.<sup>298</sup>

Four months after union John held a celebration.

Wednesday August 26th being left open to Mr Brown he invited the Church Congregation, Christian Endeavour and Mutual Improvement Society to a social held in the schoolroom, to celebrate the jubilee of his 50 years' service in God's work. There was a large attendance and all seemed to appreciate Mr Brown's remarks on his early experiences in church work.<sup>299</sup>

This was also reported in *The Advocate* of 12 September 1896:

**Addington.-** A very enjoyable evening was spent on August 26th in the Methodist Schoolroom, Selwyn Street, at the invitation of Mr J. T. Brown. About 200 friends met to celebrate his jubilee in Church work. Mr Brown gave an account of his conversion under the Rev. Jas. Caughey, in Sunderland, in August, 1846. He reviewed his life from that time, one special point being that a church that was started then by Mr Brown and a few others who were converted at the same period still existed as Ebenezer church and schools in the Sunderland circuit. Mr Brown has kept up correspondence with two of the original workers ever since. He read extracts from a letter just received from one of them, showing that they were just now celebrating their jubilee. Mr Thompson, who has known Mr Brown the whole of the 50 years, responded, also Mr Cutler, who has laboured with him 25 years. Refreshments were handed round, and musical items were given, and a very enjoyable evening was spent. The gist of Mr Brown's remarks went to show what may be done by youthful effort.<sup>300</sup>

While John had been a strong supporter of union, it is also natural that he should have such recollections of his own early years which were among the most significant in his life

At the beginning of 1898 the Rev Thomas Eggleston Thomas arrived with his wife Henrietta and six children, to take up a position in the Christchurch South Circuit. The exchange of ministers between New Zealand and Australia was intended to support New Zealand's continuing inclusion in the Australasian Conference.<sup>301</sup> T E Thomas had been a minister in South Australia for twenty-one years and was the first Wesleyan to be stationed at Addington. He was a classical scholar who had studied for an MA at Melbourne University in the classics, philosophy and Biblical criticism. He was editor of the *Methodist Journal and Christian Weekly* of South Australia and had evangelical leanings, having offered as a missionary to India in the eighteen-eighties. In May 1899 he wrote to *The Press* on the subject of Sabbath desecration, setting out the Methodist position clearly and concisely.<sup>302</sup> A debate commenced in the correspondence columns of *The Press*, continuing for a fortnight until the paper declined to allow any further space on the subject.<sup>303</sup> He became secretary of the Sunday School Union and an examiner of Sunday school teachers and attended the 1899 Annual Conference with J T Brown.<sup>304</sup>

In April 1899 Thomas Thompson, John's life-long friend and fellow Free Methodist died. He had been a trustee, a Sunday school teacher and superintendent at Addington for many years and was characterised as having a kindly and cheerful disposition.<sup>305</sup>

When the Rev T E Thomas removed to Balclutha in 1901 his eldest son, Thomas Theodore Thomas remained in Christchurch to finish his BA degree at Canterbury College. He had also determined to follow his father's vocation and at the Quarterly Christchurch South Circuit Meeting on 2 October was nominated for the ministry by J T Brown. Theodore graduated in 1902 and was stationed at Mount Eden Auckland from 1902 to 1904, after which he returned to Tai Tapu, Christchurch. In the meantime his father, after three years at Port Chalmers returned to Leeston, Christchurch. In 1906 Theodore and J T Brown's beautiful and accomplished granddaughter Maud were married at the Addington Church – the ceremony being performed by his father. John may or may not have reflected on the significance of this union between a Free Methodist and a Wesleyan family, but he would have taken great pleasure that Maud had married a young and promising Methodist minister and would thereby devote her life to the religion which had taken so much of his own.

In 1903 a union of a very different sort took place when the Borough of Sydenham became part of the City of Christchurch. The Borough of Sydenham was much like the UMFC in that both were nineteenth century phenomena and some intriguing comparisons may be made of them which illuminate the lives of John Brown and his associates. Both arose out of the discontent of local people with the way in which the larger organisation to which they belonged ignored their interests (the mainstream Methodist Church in the case of the UMFC and the Road Boards in the case of Sydenham). Their formation and therefore their structures centred around the exercise of local rights in a democratic manner. Both existed alongside, but independent of the larger organisations, and sometimes in conflict with them. Politically, they were both left of centre, jealous of their democratic structures and with a continual eye on what had to be done for the good of their fellow humans - within the parameters of responsible self-reliance. They were vulnerable to limited material resources which were constantly stretched and thus much of their effectiveness depended on the commitment of the membership and, in particular, the leadership. In the end they went out of existence within a few years of each other, absorbed into the larger organisation by the same means of their creation -



the free vote of their members. The practical limitations of independence in a period of consolidation seem to have outweighed the principle of local control that had inspired them for decades. Both were immensely important in the life of John Brown – along with that other great lost cause, Prohibition, - yet from what we know he did not fight to keep them alive when their time had come. Perhaps the answer is that his allegiance was to principles, rather than organisations. If so, he was not alone in this in his time and place. He certainly remained loyal to the fundamentals of Methodism, constant and supportive of the church and its twin aims of salvation and social concern.

John gave up his Class Leader role and Sunday school Superintendency in 1903, but not his participation in his church and he would have supported and followed with interest the New Zealand campaign for separation from the Australasian Conference. The Australian federation was formed in 1901 and the new country became a Dominion of the British Empire. New Zealand decided against joining the Australian federation and attained its own dominion status in 1908. Since 1890 the New Zealand Wesleyan Methodists had made no headway against the determined opposition of the Australian leadership to even moderate reforms and decided to press again for independence.<sup>306</sup> Strong opposition was expected and so, leading up to the 1910 Conference, lengthy debate was held within the New Zealand branch and the delegates went to Adelaide with an overwhelming majority for separation.<sup>307</sup> The delegation carried the vote, with the speech by Rev C. H. Laws gaining high praise:

You will do the right thing by giving us your blessing and letting us go... Refuse us now and we will ask again, again, and yet again. Refuse us and we will eventually accept without thanks what, had it been granted before, would have deepened our appreciation of your statesmanship and of the grace and dignity of Australian Methodism.<sup>308</sup>

There were still legislative and other matters to be worked out but on 1 January 1913 independence took effect – the culmination of a thirty-year struggle.<sup>309</sup>

In 1908 the Primitive Methodist Conference made an approach to the united Methodists in the hope of finding a suitable basis for union.<sup>310</sup> The Primitive Methodists were feeling the same pressures as the Free Methodists and Bible Christians had felt in the 1890s. The Primitive Methodists were asking for some

concessions that were outside the guidelines of the 1893 Conference, which the Wesleyans wanted to accept, and therefore the matter of New Zealand union became a decisive factor in the demand for separation.<sup>311</sup> When independence was achieved the way was clear and the union was consummated in February 1913.

Much as these events would have heartened the supporters of New Zealand Methodism, there was at this time a disturbing development which cast a shadow over the newly united independent body. Table 1 of Appendix One shows that from 1906 the percentage of Methodists in the total population was starting to decrease, and in some places the numbers of attendances at church actually decreased - see Table 8. These trends signalled some future challenges for the church. In his thesis *Methodism in New Zealand in the Late Nineteenth Century* D A Cowell provides a statistical analysis of membership from which he concludes that Methodism was in decline at this time.<sup>312</sup> The main reasons for this 'decline' are that people had less fear of hell and that Methodism was taken over by the respectable educated middle classes, thereby losing recruits from the working classes. This intriguing conjunction of incompatible hypotheses reveals a misunderstanding of the doctrinal basis of salvation in Methodism and a simplistic view of longer term trends around the philosophies of secularism and science in relation to religion. As has been indicated in this and the previous chapter Methodism was, before the First World War, adjusting itself to a changing world and adopting its own particular philosophies of social concern.

From 1909 John, then seventy-eight, lived with his eldest son, John, also staying from time to time with his daughter Rose in Palmerston North. The visits north would have been made all the more pleasant by the fact that his granddaughter Maud and her husband Theodore were stationed at the Cuba Street Church between 1909 and 1912 and had begun to start their own family. However John was in poor health, suffering from both Bright's disease and syncope.<sup>313</sup> He died in Christchurch on 3 March 1912, aged 82. For him, this final act of separation from worldly life was also his complete union with his God who had guided and led him throughout his life and to whom he had given so much.

## EPILOGUE: AN ASSESSMENT OF INFLUENCE

The Sydenham Cemetery in Selwyn Street is the last resting place of John Thompson Brown, George Booth, Samuel Macfarlane, Thomas Eggleston Thomas, Tommy Taylor, Kate Sheppard and many other fine Methodists and social reformers. They were driven by the burning desire to do well for themselves and good for their community, but what lasting influence did they have?

Many are the stories of how our forbears made and left their mark on colonial New Zealand and its original inhabitants. There are the physical, observable things. The Free Methodists of Sydenham were town-dwellers who left their mark in that suburb where some of their churches are still to be seen and where the basic work they did on the streets, the parks, the drainage and some of the old buildings still remains. Brown and Booth also left an influence on the generations that followed. J T Brown's eldest son John followed him in community service: several times Councillor 1888-1900 and Mayor of Sydenham in 1895-96, member and chairman of the Spreydon Road Board, member of the Lyttelton Harbour Board 1899-1907 and Mayor of Riccarton 1913-1919. George Booth's son George Thomas Booth was Councillor and Mayor of Sydenham in 1890-91. Both remained committed to Methodism, John as choirmaster of the Addington Church for many years and George as a lay official. Community Service continued beyond the second generation of the Browns - one of several examples was Theodore Thomas, who after he left the ministry and became a general practitioner was a town councillor of Palmerston for fourteen years and Mayor for nine. Several of his sons followed this course a more various context. The impression is that the duty of community service was so strongly engrained in family attitudes as to have become almost a matter of course, which in turn is indicative of the depth and intensity of the Wesleyan ethos.

Commerce being what it is their business interests were not quite as lasting. John carried on the timber business until the nineteen-thirties, when it was sold up. Under the direction of George T Booth, Booth Macdonald was a prominent business until the nineteen-fifties. George was president of the Canterbury Chamber of Commerce in 1893-94 and president of the New Zealand Employers' Federation in 1902-03.

While it can be argued that Methodist values had a strong influence in terms of family life it is less conclusive in a broader societal context. Nevertheless George Booth's comment to the Sydenham Women's Temperance meeting in 1883 to the effect that the objective of the meeting was to form public opinion does provide a pointer. In the areas of social concern which moved them Brown and Booth set out to mould society to the form they wanted, by membership of organisations which they saw as effective: the Total Abstinence Society and other prohibition entities, the education boards and committees and the Borough of Sydenham are good examples. Prohibition was a lost cause in the long-term, but a more lasting contribution was to the awakening of social concern in the nineteenth century followed by the gradual development of a social welfare system. Although political forces were prime drivers of this development, so too was the Christian community with the Methodists to the forefront.

From the perspective of 2000AD the Methodist Church is a long established feature of the religious landscape: sometimes conservative, but always well-intentioned and with a strong social conscience. This ethos takes practical effect in social services of a welfare nature from which many ordinary or needy citizens have benefited. It grew out of the works of John Wesley, was tested in the early settler society and found its place in the colonial community. This thesis reveals the contribution of the Free Methodists, with John Thompson Brown, George Booth and their fellows to the fore, to the blend of elements that comprise modern-day Methodism.

# GLOSSARY OF NAMES AND TERMS

## Including the Rules and Organisation of Methodism

### Arminianism

Jacobus Arminius (1560-1609) asserted that God bestows forgiveness and eternal life on all who repent of their sins and believe in Christ and that all who do so shall attain salvation. He rejected the doctrine of predestination which asserted that God had decreed who would be awakened to repentance and salvation. Wesley established the 'Arminian Magazine' to discuss doctrinal matters and to strengthen the doctrinal basis of preaching.

### Bible Christians

Founded in Devon out of the evangelistic endeavours of William O'Bryan who refused to be tied to a circuit. He was expelled by the Conference in 1810 and continued to operate outside the structures of the Wesleyan movement, preaching throughout the south west of England. The denomination was founded in 1815 and had gained a substantial following by 1820 in other parts of England.

### Circuit

Originally called a 'Round'. A number of societies within a given area, supervised by a Superintendent. Circuits covered large areas, and in 1750 there were seven in England and Wales - one of which was Newcastle. Each Circuit was given a Superintendent, a senior preacher answerable to Wesley for the general charge of the Circuit.

### Class

The smallest organised unit in the Methodist Movement. membership of a class was the test of church membership. A society would be divided into smaller companies, called classes, of about twelve persons, one of whom was styled the Leader.

### Class Leader

In 1743 in *The Nature, Design, and General Rules of the United Societies, in London, Bristol, Kingswood, Newcastle-Upon-Tyne &c.* (John Wesley, *Works*, vol.8, p270.) Wesley prescribed the business of the Class Leader as:

- (1) To see each person once a week at least, in order to enquire how their souls prosper; to advise, reprove, comfort, or exhort, as occasion may require; to receive what they are willing to give toward the relief of the poor.
- (2) To meet the Minister and the Stewards of the society once a week; in order to inform the Minister of any that are sick, or of any that walk disorderly, and will not be reprov'd; to pay to the Stewards what they have received of their several classes in the week preceding; and to show their account of what each person has contributed. (John Wesley, *Works*, vol. 8, p. 270.)

## **Class Leaders Meetings**

The forum for decision-making in the society particularly regarding membership.

## **Class Ticket**

Given to members of a class at regular intervals as evidence of continuing membership of the society.

## **Conference**

The governing body of the Connexion which met annually to determine the direction of the movement and resolve major issues. The first Conference was in 1744, comprising John and Charles Wesley four other clergymen and four lay preachers. The annual Conference was attended by itinerant preachers (ministers) only and the exclusion of lay officers or members led to problems in the Connexion in the nineteenth century.

## **Connexion**

The whole organisation of Wesleyan Methodism. The term originated in the societies which met 'in connexion' with the Rev. Mr. John Wesley.

## **Conversion**

Conversion was the means of escaping from the inherent sinfulness of humankind, through repentance. The process of conversion, which was the individual's acceptance of salvation through Christ, became the norm for new members and the young or adolescent children of existing members. In the early days of the Movement this often took place at an outdoor revival meeting and was an experience remembered with reverence and awe throughout life, akin to the famous conversion of Wesley himself.

## **Denomination**

A church that that accepts the existence of other churches, usually of the same or similar beliefs.

## **District**

A group of Circuits in a given area, supervised by a District Chairman, a minister from one of the circuits.

## **Entire Sanctification**

A state beyond conversion in which the individual attained holiness of heart, a sense of purification, greater mental equilibrium and a triumphant acceptance of death.

## **Episcopal**

Governance of a church by bishops.

## **Evangelism**

Evangelical Methodism preached that salvation is fully and freely available to those who demonstrate repentance to God and who have faith in Christ. Evangelical Revivals were surges in conversions and consequent increases in church membership, accompanied by



preaching campaigns organised mainly by the Nonconforming churches, with Methodists at the forefront.

### **Independent Methodist Churches**

Began as a small group in Warrington holding cottage meetings, which incurred the disfavour of the Methodist authorities. In 1796 their leader, Peter Phillips, became '...convinced by his study of the New Testament that a separated and salaried ministry was without scriptural foundation...' and began preaching that doctrine. Several churches (or societies) were formed and the first conference held in 1806. The constitution of the Independent Methodist Churches provided that each individual Church is a self-governing and self-reliant member of a deliberative Annual Assembly '...which cannot intervene in the affairs of any Church without its consent. There is no distinction between ministers and laity...' This structure had the effect of sustaining local commitment, but limiting growth. (John T. Wilkinson, 'The Rise of Other Methodist Traditions', in *A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain*, vol. 2, London: Epworth Press, pp. 323-6.)

### **Itineracy**

The rule whereby preachers were regularly relocated (by the Conference) between circuits in accordance with principles set down by John Wesley. The objective was to maintain the evangelical fire of the ministry and the spiritual intensity of the members. Wesley was firm in his view that interchange between societies would ensure consistency of teaching and freshness of preaching.

### **Love Feast**

The name given to evening meetings of societies to which all members were invited to partake of tea and light refreshments and to join discussions of mutual church interest.

### **Membership**

In 1743, in *The Nature, Design, and General Rules of the United Societies, in London, Bristol, Kingswood, Newcastle-Upon-Tyne &c.* (John Wesley, *Works*, vol.8, pp270-1) Wesley laid down the 'General Rules and Conditions of Membership of the Societies:

There is only one condition previously required in those who desire admission into those societies, - a desire to "flee from the wrath to come, to be saved from their sins." But, wherever this is really fixed in the soul, it will be shown by its fruits. It is therefore expected of all who continue therein, that they shall continue to evidence their desire of salvation,

First, by doing no harm, by avoiding evil in every kind; especially that which is most generally practised: Such is, the taking the name of God in vain; the profaning the day of the Lord, either by doing ordinary work thereon, or by buying or selling; drunkenness, buying or selling spirituous liquors, or drinking them, unless in cases of extreme necessity; fighting, quarrelling, brawling; brother going to law with brother; returning evil for evil or railing for railing; the using many words in buying or selling; the buying or selling uncustomed goods; the giving or taking things on usury, that is, unlawful interest; uncharitable or unprofitable conversation, particularly speaking evil of Magistrates or of Ministers; doing to others as we would not they should do unto us; doing what we know is not for the glory of God, as the "putting on of gold or costly apparel;" the taking such diversions as cannot be used in the name of the Lord Jesus; the singing those songs, and reading those books, which do not tend to the knowledge or love of God; softness and needless self-indulgence; laying up treasures upon earth; borrowing without a probability of paying; or taking up goods without a probability of paying for them.

It is expected of all who continue in these societies, that they should continue to evidence their desire of salvation,

Secondly, by doing good, by being, in every kind, merciful after their power; as they have opportunity, doing good of every possible sort, and as far as possible to all men; - to their bodies, of the ability which God giveth, by giving food to the hungry, by clothing the naked, by visiting or helping them that are sick, or in prison, - to their souls, by instructing, reproving, or exhorting all they have any intercourse with; trampling under foot that enthusiastic doctrine of devils, that "we are not to do good unless our heart be free to it:" By doing good especially to them that are of the household of faith, or groaning so to be; employing them preferably to others, buying one of the other; helping each other in business; and so much the more, because the world will love its own, and them only: By all possible diligence and frugality, that the gospel be not blamed: By running with patience the race that is set before them, "denying themselves, and taking up their cross daily;" submitting to bear the reproach of Christ, to be as the filth and offscouring of the world; and looking that men should "say all manner of evil of them falsely for the Lord's sake."

It is expected of all who desire to continue in these societies, that they should continue to evidence their desire of salvation,

Thirdly, by attending upon all the ordinances of God; the ministry of the word, either read or expounded; the supper of the Lord; family and private prayer; searching the Scriptures; and fasting, or abstinence.

### **Membership, Admission to**

The process by which people were to be admitted to membership, following conversion, was set out in *Minutes of Several Conversations between the Rev Mr Wesley and several others; from the year 1744 to the year 1789*. (John Wesley, *Works*, vol. 8, p307, 309.)

Q. 14. How shall we prevent improper persons from insinuating into the society?

A. (1) Give tickets to none till they are recommended by a Leader, with whom they have met at least two months on trial.

(2) Give notes to none but those who are recommended by one you know, or till they have met three or four times in a class.

(3) Give them the Rules the first time they meet. See that this never be neglected.

Q. 15 When shall we admit new members?

A. In large towns, admit them into the Bands at the quarterly love-feast following the visitation: Into the society, on the Sunday following the visitation. Then also read the names of them that are excluded.

Q. 22 What shall we do to prevent scandal, when any of our members become bankrupt?

A. Let the Assistant talk with him at large; and if he has not kept fair accounts, or has been concerned in that base practice of raising money by coining notes, (commonly called the bill-trade,) let him be expelled immediately.

### **Methodists, Origin of Name**

This is debatable. Wesley's explanation was:

The exact regularity of their lives, [Wesley and his fellows in the 1730s] as well as studies, occasioned a young gentleman of Christ Church to say, "Here is a new set of Methodists sprung up;" alluding to some ancient Physicians who were so called. The name was new and

quaint; so it took immediately, and the Methodists were known all over the University. (John Wesley, *Works*, vol. 8, p. 348.)

## Methodist New Connexion

In the early seventeen-nineties a grassroots movement of the laity, supported by a minority of preachers, began agitating for the sacraments to be given in their own chapels (as distinct from the Anglican churches) and for services be held when convenient for the local members, even when the service times conflicted with those held in Anglican churches. This created a controversy that lasted until the Plan of Pacification of 1795 gave approval to societies to determine the issue locally. The result was that Methodism effectively became a separate church; although it was only by stages over the next three or four decades that ties were cut to the parent Anglican Church, such as when the Conference authorised the prefix 'Reverend' in 1818. Another result of this conflict was the expulsion of Alexander Kilham and the resignation a small number of other preachers, for whom the Plan of Pacification did not go far enough. They took 5,000 members with them and formed the Methodist New Connexion. (Rev. J. Robinson Gregory and Rev. Arthur E. Gregory, 'Wesleyan Methodism – The Middle Period', in *A New History of Methodism*, vol. 1, Townsend, Workman & Eayrs, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1909. p. 386, p. 405.)

## Ordinances

Religious rites, such as baptism and marriage, which can only be carried out by those licensed to do so such as ordained ministers of a church.

## Preachers

The position of Lay Preacher grew out of the explosive growth of the Movement. They were not trained or ordained ministers, but were men (and occasionally women) with evangelical commitment and preaching ability, who were seen as 'helpers'. They were commissioned to preach by invitation of Wesley, who somewhat reluctantly accepted the need for the position, but drew up rules to govern their activities. In *Minutes of Several Conversations between the Rev Mr Wesley and several others; from the year 1744 to the year 1789*. (John Wesley, *Works*, vol.8, pp309-10.) the twelve 'Rules of a Helper' were laid down:

- 1 Be diligent. Never be unemployed a moment. Never be triflingly employed. Never waste away time; neither spend any more time at any place than is strictly necessary.
- 2 Be serious. Let your motto be, "Holiness to the Lord." Avoid all lightness, jesting, and foolish talking.
- 3 Converse sparingly and cautiously with women; particularly, with young women.
- 4 Take no step towards marriage, without first consulting with your brethren.
- 5 Believe evil of no one; unless you see it done, take heed how you credit it. Put the best construction on everything. You know the judge is always supposed to be on the prisoner's side.
- 6 Speak evil of no one; else your word especially would eat as doth a canker; keep your thoughts within your own breast, till you come to the person concerned.
- 7 Tell every one what you think wrong in him, lovingly and plainly, as soon as may be; else it will fester in your own heart. Make all haste to cast the fire out of your bosom.

- 8 Do not affect the gentleman. You have no more to do with this character than with that of the dancing master. A Preacher of the gospel is a servant of all.
- 9 Be ashamed of nothing but sin; Not of fetching wood (if time permit) or drawing water; not of cleaning your own shoes, or your neighbour's.
- 10 Be punctual. Do everything exactly at the time. And in general, do not mend our Rules, but keep them; not for wrath, but for conscience' sake.
- 11 You have nothing to do but save souls. Therefore spend and be spent in this work. And go always, not only to those who want you, but to those who want you most.

Observe: It is not your business to preach so many times, and to take care of this or that society; but to save as many souls as you can; to bring as many sinners as you possibly can to repentance, and with all your power to build them up in that holiness without which they cannot see the Lord. And remember! A Methodist Preacher is to mind every point, great and small, in the Methodist discipline! Therefore you will need all the sense you have, and to have all your wits about you!

- 12 Act in all things, not according to your own will, but as a son in the gospel. As such, it is your part to employ your time in the manner which we direct; partly, in preaching and visiting from house to house; partly, in reading, meditation and prayer. Above all, if you labour with us in our Lord's vineyard, it is needful that you should do that part of the work which we advise, at those times and places which we judge most for His glory.

The position of Lay Preacher led on to the development of the Itineracy, ie regular full-time preachers appointed by the Conference to a circuit for a specific term - initially for short periods of time, but later for up to three years. In the nineteenth century Itinerant Preachers became the Ministers of the Church.

The position of Local Preacher was also established. These were lay members, either men or women, who were licensed to preach in a specific Society or Circuit and who were valuable ancillaries to the Itinerants.

### **Primitive Methodism**

The Primitive Methodists originated in the efforts of Hugh Bourne and William Clowes, Staffordshire Methodists who began using the American invention of open-air Camp Meetings as a forceful evangelistic method in 1800. This caused them to be dismembered from the local Wesleyan society, but did not staunch their evangelism and in 1811 a conference of several groups committed to Camp Meetings was held at which the Primitive Methodist Church was founded. Growth was slow at first, but by the mid eighteenth-twenties membership was in the region of thirty thousand and the evangelistic spirit was well-established. As well as a commitment to revivals another important distinguishing feature of Primitive Methodism was the greater participation of the laity in the decision-making processes and governing structures of the denomination – in the ratio of two laymen to one minister. Camp meetings took place at Sunderland from the early eighteenth-twenties and the denomination gained a solid base of support in County Durham, including the villages and coal-mining communities.

### **Protestant Methodism**

A denomination formed in 1828 in Leeds as a result of disagreement between the Conference and a group church leaders in Leeds over the relative powers of the Conference and local Societies, emanating from the controversy over the purchase of an organ for the Brunswick chapel. Merged into the UMFC.

## **Quarterly Meeting**

The Quarterly Meeting managed a circuit under the supervision of a Superintendent and comprised the minister or ministers and other lay officials of the circuit.

## **Society**

In 1738 Wesley formulated the *Rules of the Band-Societies, Drawn up December 25 1738* (John Wesley, *Works*, vol.8, pp272-3.) Emphasising mainly prayer and religious discourse, these rules established the weekly meeting as the main activity of a local band or society, which was a group of people working towards their salvation. From 1739 groups of Methodists in various locations started to form societies, the first being in London and Bristol.

A local society would usually be formed out of a number of classes in a given area. Managed by the Class Leaders, together with an itinerant preacher, appointed by the Conference and elected lay officials (stewards and trustees), members would aim to further establish their society by building a chapel or church for worship.

## **Stewards**

Laymen appointed by the Leaders and Quarterly Meetings to administer the property and finances of the circuit. In 1748 Wesley described 'The Business and Rules of the Stewards' in *A Plain Account of The People Called Methodists* (John Wesley, *Works*, vol.8, p. 262.):

The business of these Stewards is,

To manage the temporal things of the society. To receive the subscriptions and contributions. To expend what is needful from time to time. To send relief to the poor. To keep an exact account of all receipts and expenses. To inform the Minister if any of the rules of the society are punctually observed. To tell the Preachers in love, if they think anything amiss, either in their doctrine or life.

The rules of the Stewards are,

(1) Be frugal. Save everything that can be saved honestly. (2) Spend no more than you receive. Contract no debts. (3) Have no long accounts. Pay everything within the week. (4) Give none that asks relief, either an ill word or an ill look. Do not hurt them if you cannot help. (5) Expect no thanks from man.

## **Superintendent**

Supervised a Circuit.

## **Trustees**

Responsible for the maintenance of chapels, servicing their debts and ensuring they were used in accordance with the Conference Deed.

## **United Methodist Free Churches (UMFC)**

The denomination formed in internal opposition to the Wesleyan Methodist Church in 1857 out of the union of the Protestant Methodists, the Wesleyan Methodist Association and the Wesleyan Reform Movement.

### **Wesleyan Methodist Association**

Formed in 1834 in South Lancashire out of discontent with how the Conference had handled the Leeds disagreement of 1828, which sought to limit the power of the Conference and extend the powers of local Societies and laymen within them and to gain admission of laymen to the Conference as spectators. Merged into the UMFC.

### **Wesleyan Reform Movement**

Formed in 1850 as a result of the power struggle between the Conference and local Societies, centring around the way in which the Conference used the ministers to control the Societies and the demands of the laity to be elect delegates to the Conference. Merged into the UMFC.



## Appendix One

# CHURCH AFFILIATION, MEMBERSHIP & ATTENDANCE

The information in this Appendix is intended to show the growth in Methodism in New Zealand, Canterbury and Christchurch from 1858 to 1916 in relation to the other main Christian denominations - Anglican, Presbyterian and Catholic - and the rise of the secular movement. It is in three sections:

**Section 1: Affiliations. Tables 1 - 7.** Data from New Zealand Census Reports showing the numbers of people who stated they were affiliated to either the Methodist, Anglican, Presbyterian or Catholic Churches. This is differentiated into New Zealand as a whole, the Province of Canterbury, the Borough of Christchurch and its satellite boroughs and the Borough of Sydenham. It is further differentiated into figures for each of the four Methodist denominations, ie Wesleyan Methodists, Primitive Methodists, the UMFC and Bible Christians, and "other". Both raw numbers and percentages are included to show their relative size and growth.

**Section 2: Membership and Attendance. Tables 8 - 11.** Data from the records of the Wesleyan Church showing the numbers of members and attendees at services. This is differentiated into New Zealand as a whole and the Church Districts, which were in general contiguous with the Provinces. Some fragmentary data of Primitive Methodist, UMFC and Bible Christian membership and attendances is also included.

**Section 3: Freethought Association. Tables 12 - .** Data from New Zealand Census Reports showing the numbers of people who stated they were Freethinkers or who held similar beliefs. It follows the differentiation in **Section 1**.

Explanatory notes are provided with the Tables and some conclusions are drawn in the text of Chapters 4,7 and 8. The reservations generally applicable to such statistics are also applicable here, and the least reliable figures are those pertaining to Christchurch, mainly because of geographical changes to the borough and its suburbs. Analysis of this data produces the following comments and conclusions.

### Religious Affiliation as a % of population

Affiliation to Methodism in New Zealand as a whole varied between 8% and 11% from 1858 to 1916.

Affiliation to Methodism solely in Canterbury varied between 10% and 14% from 1861 to 1916.

Affiliation to Methodism solely in Christchurch varied between 12% and 15% from 1874 to 1911.

Thus Christchurch had a higher Methodist affiliation than both Canterbury and New Zealand as a whole.

Affiliation to the Church of England in New Zealand as a whole varied between 39% and 44% from 1861 to 1916.

Affiliation to the Church of England solely in Canterbury varied between 45% and 52% from 1861 to 1916.

Affiliation to the Church of England solely in Christchurch varied between 46% and 53% from 1874 and 1911.

Thus Christchurch had a higher Anglican affiliation than both Canterbury and New Zealand as a whole.

Affiliation to the Presbyterian Church in New Zealand as a whole varied between 21% and 25% from 1861 to 1916.

Affiliation to the Presbyterian Church solely in Canterbury varied between 16% and 21% from 1861 to 1916.

Affiliation to the Presbyterian Church solely in Christchurch varied between 11% and 13% from 1874 to 1911.

Thus Christchurch had a substantially lower Presbyterian affiliation than both Canterbury and New Zealand as a whole.

Affiliation to the Catholic Church in New Zealand as a whole varied between 10% and 14% from 1861 to 1916.

Affiliation to the Catholic Church solely in Canterbury varied between 5% and 12% from 1861 to 1916.

Affiliation to the Catholic Church solely in Christchurch varied between 9% and 10% from 1874 to 1911.

Thus Christchurch had a similar Catholic affiliation to Canterbury, but a lower affiliation than New Zealand as a whole.

### **Rates of Growth of Religious Affiliation**

From 1861 to 1881 Methodist affiliation in New Zealand grew from 8.48% to 9.52%, while Anglican affiliation fell from 44.89% to 41.62%.

From 1861 to 1881 Methodist affiliation in Canterbury grew from 10.67% to 12.75%, while Anglican affiliation fell from 66.95% to 48.6%.

From 1874 to 1881 Methodist affiliation in Christchurch grew from 14.06% to 14.61%, while Anglican affiliation fell from 53.82% to 48.75%.

From 1881 to 1901 Methodist affiliation in New Zealand grew from 9.52% to 11.12%, while Anglican affiliation fell from 41.62% to 40.84%.

From 1881 to 1901 Methodist affiliation in Canterbury grew from 12.75% to 14.14%, while Anglican affiliation fell from 48.6% to 45.65%.

From 1881 to 1901 Methodist affiliation in Christchurch fell from 14.61% to 14.08%, while Anglican affiliation grew from 48.75% to 50.2%.

## **Methodist Denominations in 1881**

Of the Methodist denominations throughout New Zealand the Wesleyans claimed 84.75% in 1881, the Primitive Methodists 9.95%, the UMFC 4.31%, the Bible Christians 0.8% and "other" 4.76%.

Comparable percentages for Canterbury are Wesleyans 81.89%, Primitive Methodists 9.18%, UMFC 6.98%, Bible Christians 1.78%, and "other" 0.17%.

Comparable percentages for Christchurch are Wesleyans 79.18%, Primitive Methodists 4.22%, UMFC 13.3%, Bible Christians 3.12%, and "other" 0.17%.

Comparable percentages for the Borough of Sydenham are Wesleyans 73.76%, Primitive Methodists 2.64%, UMFC 20.21%, Bible Christians 3.08% and "other" 0.31%.

## **Methodist Membership and Attendance**

Tables 8 and 9 show that for most of the period of this study Canterbury had the highest number of Wesleyan members of any district in New Zealand. From the 1860s to 1901 the South Island Wesleyan districts outnumbered North Island districts.

In terms of attendances the pattern was similar.

Membership figures for the UMFC 1875-1895 in Table 10 show growth in the first ten years, and stability of numbers in the second ten years. The scattered nature of membership in New Zealand is also evident.

Table 11, Primitive Methodist membership 1894, shows comparable figures and demonstrates the rural support of the denomination.

## Section 1: Church Affiliation, as shown in NZ Census Reports.

**Table 1** Affiliation to Methodist, Anglican, Presbyterian & Catholic Churches in N Z.

Year	Methodist	% NZ pop	Anglican	% NZ pop	Presbyt'n	% NZ pop	Catholic	% NZ pop	total %
1858	5,950	10.04	30,492	51.40	11,513	19.40	6,592	11.11	91.95
1861	8,394	8.48	44,436	44.89	21,194	21.41	10,870	10.98	85.76
1864	13,846	8.04	73,118	42.47	42,058	24.43	21,507	12.49	87.43
1867	18,001	8.27	92,990	42.53	52,949	25.12	30,413	13.91	89.83
1871	22,004	8.58	102,389	39.93	63,624	24.82	35,608	13.89	87.22
1874	25,219	8.53	127,171	43.01	72,477	24.51	40,412	13.67	89.72
1878	37,879	9.14	176,337	42.77	95,103	23.05	58,881	14.27	89.23
1881	46,657	9.52	203,333	41.62	113,108	23.15	68,984	14.12	88.41
1886	55,292	9.61	232,369	40.37	130,643	22.70	80,715	14.02	86.70
1891	63,415	10.14	253,331	40.51	141,477	22.62	87,272	13.96	87.23
1896	73,367	10.69	282,809	40.27	159,952	22.78	98,804	14.07	87.81
1901	83,802	11.12	315,263	40.84	176,503	22.87	109,822	14.23	89.06
1906	89,038	10.32	368,065	41.51	203,597	22.96	126,995	14.31	89.10
1911	94,827	9.77	413,842	41.14	234,662	23.33	140,523	13.97	88.21
1916	106,024	9.91	459,021	42.90	260,659	24.36	151,605	14.17	91.34

Source: NZ Census Reports

Note: Includes those identified as belonging to broad affiliations, eg Episcopalians, not otherwise defined are included in Church of England category. "Methodist" includes all four denominations plus those who otherwise identified themselves as belonging to the Methodist Movement.

**Table 2** Affiliation to Methodist Denominations in NZ

Year	Wesley Meth.	%	Prim. Meth.	%	UFMC	%	Bible Chr.	%	Other	%
1858	5,387	90.54	563	9.46	...	...	...	...	...	...
1861	7,670	91.37	724	8.63	...	...	...	...	...	...
1864	12,560	90.71	1,340	9.29	...	...	...	...	...	...
1867	16,669	92.60	1,332	7.40	...	...	...	...	...	...
1871	19,971	90.76	1,883	8.56	...	...	...	...	150	0.68
1874	22,728	90.12	1,725	6.84	674	2.67	71	0.28	110	0.44
1878	32,299	85.27	3,676	9.70	1,501	3.97	233	0.62	86	0.23
1881	39,544	84.75	4,643	9.95	2,009	4.31	375	0.80	2,223	4.76
1886	45,164	81.68	5,173	9.36	2,193	3.97	539	0.97	2,953	5.34
1891	53,061	83.67	5,220	8.23	1,923	3.03	1,060	1.67	2,625	4.14
1896	63,373	86.38	7,041	9.60	...	...	...	...	3,639	4.96
1901	71,034	84.77	10,143	12.10	...	...	...	...	2,625	3.13
1906	63,603	71.43	21,796	24.48	...	...	...	...	3,639	4.08
1911	63,959	67.45	27,445	28.94	...	...	...	...	3,423	3.61
1916	106,024	100	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Source: NZ Census Reports

**Table 3** Affiliation to Methodist, Anglican, Presbyterian & Catholic Churches in Canterbury

Year	Methodist	% of pop	Anglican	% of pop	Presbyt'n	% of pop	Catholic	% of pop	% total
1861	1,712	10.67	10,738	66.95	2,014	12.56	889	5.54	95.72
1864	3,401	10.54	17,101	52.98	5,279	16.36	2,495	7.73	87.61
1867	5,416	10.05	28,176	52.31	9,501	17.64	7,153	13.28	93.28
1871	5,750	12.29	24,567	52.49	8,378	17.90	4,180	8.93	91.61
1874	7,153	12.17	30,654	52.15	10,415	17.72	5,577	9.49	91.53
1878	11,718	12.75	46,301	50.37	16,216	17.64	10,483	11.40	92.16
1881	14,302	12.75	54,516	48.60	19,932	17.77	13,014	11.60	90.72
1886	16,064	13.23	56,673	46.68	22,170	18.26	13,794	11.36	89.53
1891	17,535	13.66	57,966	45.15	24,749	19.28	15,361	11.96	90.05
1896	18,910	13.92	61,207	45.05	25,267	18.60	16,248	11.96	89.53
1901	20,219	14.14	65,305	45.65	26,935	18.83	17,501	12.23	90.85
1906	20,333	12.78	72,711	45.70	31,494	19.79	19,711	12.39	90.66
1911	20,052	11.58	78,979	45.60	35,150	20.30	20,895	12.07	89.55
1916	21,152	11.63	82,440	45.33	38,187	21.00	21,998	12.10	90.06

Source: NZ Census Reports

Note: Westland excluded from Canterbury from 1871

**Table 4** Affiliation to Methodist Denominations in Canterbury

Year	Wesley Meth	%	Prim. Meth	%	UMFC	%	Bible Chr.	%	Other	%
1861	1,616	94.39	96	5.61	...	...	...	...	...	...
1864	3,215	94.53	186	5.47	...	...	...	...	...	...
1867	5,264	97.19	152	2.81	...	...	...	...	...	...
1871	5,537	96.29	213	3.70	...	...	...	...	...	...
1874	6,514	91.07	296	4.14	328	4.59	13	0.18	2	0.03
1878	9,844	84.01	1,032	8.81	682	5.82	118	1.01	42	0.34
1881	11,712	81.89	1,313	9.18	998	6.98	255	1.78	24	0.17
1886	12,675	78.90	1,378	8.78	1,014	6.31	402	2.50	595	3.70
1891	13,878	79.14	1,286	7.33	1,046	5.97	801	4.57	524	2.99
1896	16,038	84.81	1,873	9.90	...	...	...	...	999	5.28
1901	17,174	84.94	1,320	6.53	...	...	...	...	725	3.59
1906	14,685	72.22	4,298	21.14	...	...	...	...	1,350	6.64
1911	15,214	75.87	4,608	22.98	...	...	...	...	230	1.15
1916	21,152	100	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Source: NZ Census Reports

**Table 5** Affiliation to Methodist, Anglican, Presbyterian & Catholic Churches in Christchurch

Year	Methodist	% of pop	Anglican	% of pop	Presbyt'n	% of pop	Catholic	% of pop	% total
1874	2,385	14.06	9,127	53.82	1,939	11.43	1,554	9.16	88.47
1878	1,762	13.12	7,008	52.20	1,763	13.13	1,293	9.63	88.08
1881	3,459	14.61	11,541	48.75	3,288	13.89	2,554	10.79	88.04
1886	4,388	14.80	14,475	48.81	3,811	12.85	2,727	9.20	85.66
1891	4,753	15.03	14,791	46.77	3,899	12.32	2,968	9.38	83.50
1896	5,849	13.99	20,591	49.24	4,954	11.85	3,788	9.06	84.14
1901	6,094	14.08	21,735	50.20	5,364	12.39	4,110	9.49	86.16
1906	6,890	12.50	27,870	50.54	7,528	13.65	5,150*	9.34	86.03
1911	8,226	10.25	30,227	37.69	8,205	10.23	6,260	7.81	65.98

Source: NZ Census Reports \* uncertain

Notes: 1874 - Electoral Districts, Christchurch City, East and West

1878 - Borough of Christchurch

1881 - Boroughs of Christchurch & Sydenham

1886 & 1891 - Boroughs of Christchurch, Sydenham & St Albans

1896 - Boroughs of Christchurch, Sydenham, St Albans, Linwood, Woolston & Sumner

1901 - Boroughs of Christchurch, Sydenham, St Albans, Linwood & New Brighton

1906 & 1911 - Boroughs of Christchurch, New Brighton, Woolston & Sumner

The disparity in the 1911 figures indicates a shift of statistical boundary.

**Table 6** Affiliation to Methodist Denominations in Christchurch

Year	Wes Meth	% of total	Prim	%	UMFC	%	Bib Chr.	%	Other	%	Total
1874	2,107	88.34	66	2.77	209	8.76	3	0.13	...	...	2,385
1878	1,541	87.46	88	4.99	108	6.13	19	1.08	6	0.34	1,762
1881	2,739	79.18	146	4.22	460	13.30	108	3.12	6	0.17	3,459
1886	3,362	76.62	235	5.36	428	9.75	169	3.85	194	4.42	4,388
1891	3,655	76.90	232	4.88	470	9.89	256	5.39	140	2.95	4,753
1896	4,997	85.43	387	6.62	...	...	...	...	465	7.95	5,849
1901	5,021	82.39	622	10.21	...	...	...	...	451	7.40	6,094
1906	4,650	67.49	1,353	19.64	...	...	...	...	887	12.87	6,890
1911	5,481	66.63	1,424	17.31	...	...	...	...	1,321	16.06	8,226

Source: NZ Census Reports

Notes as for Table 5 above

**Table 7** Affiliation to Methodist, Anglican, Presbyterian and Catholic Denominations within the Borough of Sydenham

Year	Wesleyan Meth.	Primitive Meth.	UMFC	Bible Christian	Other Meth.	Anglican	Presb'n	Catholic
1881	1,175	42	322	49	5	3,664	1,294	1,094
1886	1,079	46	307	102	5	4,106	1,300	1,108
1891	1,186	22	293	134	65	4,179	1,329	972
1896	1,446	47	...	...	213	4,643	1,329	1,035
1901	1,528	128	...	...	83	5,428	1,439	1,180

Source: NZ Census Reports



## Section 2: Church Membership and Attendances, as shown in Church records.

**Table 8 Wesleyan Membership in NZ, Canterbury & Other Provinces**

Year	NZ	Cant'y	Auck.	Tara'ki Wang	W'ton	Nelson	Otago	Other	Total
1858	632	100	256	32	146	90	8	2,026	2,658
1861	836	223	298	52	155	108	.	1,392	2,228
1864	1,262	389	371	57	130	143	172	1,716	2,978
1867	1,826	575	458	99	227	288	179	531	2,351
1871	2,633	946	512	113	265	341	456	311	2,944
1874	2,726	984	568	188	311	318	357	375	3,101
1878	3,192	985	700	371	341	349	446	423	3,615
1881	3,880	1,221	1,051	426	376	361	445	466	4,346
1886	6,851	2,113	1,862	537	782	544	1,013	405	7,256
1891	7,910	2,216	2,079	835	1,038	662	1,080	409	8,319
1896	11,236	3,262	2,461	1,437	1,548	786	1,742	616	11,852
1901	12,494	3,337	2,846	1,753	1,670	940	1,948	1,176	13,670
1906	14,763	3,803	3,357	2,018	2,313	1,052	2,220	1,445	16,208
1911	17,173	3,983	4,134	2,568	2,941	1,279	2,268	2,021	19,194
1916	23,563	5,299	5,661	4,683	2,593	1,408	3,019	2,048	25,611

Source: Reports to Annual Conferences of Wesleyan and, after 1896, united Methodist Church.

Note: Other includes Maori and Scandinavian. Some adjustments to boundaries.

**Table 9 Wesleyan Attendances in NZ, Canterbury & Other Provinces**

Year	NZ	Cant'y	Auck	Tara'ki Wang	W'ton	Nelson	Otago	Other	Total
1858	3,650	520	1,080	370	1,000	650	30	6,491	10,141
1861	5,086	1,200	1,546	410	1,080	850	.	6,107	11,193
1864	9,752	2,500	2,546	550	1,256	950	1,950	3,695	13,447
1867	13,111	3,520	3,338	750	1,300	2,280	1,923	2,540	15,651
1871	20,956	5,982	6,508	900	1,660	2,646	3,360	.	20,956
1874	22,406	7,958	5,073	1,860	2,640	2,375	2,500	2,567	24,973
1878	29,054	9,869	5,400	3,294	3,590	3,453	3,448	3,440	32,494
1881	37,734	10,967	10,155	3,954	4,500	3,666	4,492	3,159	40,893
1886	46,646	12,579	13,892	4,195	6,057	3,553	6,370	3,336	49,982
1891	52,094	13,767	14,082	5,833	7,264	4,151	6,997	3,069	55,163
1896	67,211	17,055	16,116	8,858	9,731	4,929	10,522	3,330	70,541
1901	67,781	16,653	17,125	8,917	10,025	4,890	10,171	5,125	72,906
1906	73,560	16,535	19,622	9,736	11,563	5,265	10,839	7,030	80,590
1911	71,307	15,185	19,550	9,886	11,746	5,367	9,573	9,530	80,837
1916	79,082	17,175	21,733	14,934	8,706	5,085	11,449	8,700	87,782

Source: Reports to Annual Conferences and, after 1896, united Methodist church

Notes: Other includes Maori and Scandinavian. Some adjustments to boundaries.

**Table 10** Membership of United Methodist Free Church

Circuit or Church	1875	1886	1888	1889	1890	1891	1892	1893	1895
Addington	-								99
Auckland	71								114
Charleston	40								-
Christchurch	187								98
Napier	40								50
Oxford	33								54
Pahiatua	-								60
Rangiora	-								77
Reefton	17								62
Richmond	-								62
Waipawa	14								44
Wellington	-								63
Westport	17								35
Woodville	-								125
Total	419	940	898	898	891	848	912	915	943

Source: Minute Book, NZ District Meetings

**Table 11** Membership of Primitive Methodist Church in 1894

Stations	Members	Hearers
Ashburton	65	305
Auckland I	130	485
Auckland II	95	285
Bluff Branch	28	105
Christchurch	76	180
Dunedin	136	500
Fielding	60	350
Foxton	60	190
Geraldine	54	210
Greendale [near ChCh]	76	315
Halcombe [near Fielding]	46	245
Hunternville	20	-
Invercargill	100	340
New Plymouth	58	390
South Invercargill	28	265
Stratford	35	416
Thames	66	540
Timaru	60	320
Waimate & Oamaru	30	300
Wellington	168	415
Westport & Denniston	40	378
Totals	1,443	6,534

Source: Record of NZ Conference 1894

**Section 3: Freethinker affiliation, as shown by NZ Census Reports**

**Table 12** Freethinkers in NZ, Canterbury, Christchurch & Sydenham

Year	NZ	Canterbury	Christchurch	Sydenham
1861	34			
1864	44			
1867	57			
1871	41			
1874	135			
1878	490			
1881	2,422			
1886	3,925	508	136	84
1891	4,475	867	402	130
1896	3,983	797	208	105
1901	2,856	544	151	79
1906	3,116	522	284	...
1911	4,238	541	260	...
1916	3,394	373	...	...

## Appendix Two

# PROHIBITION LITERATURE

Extract from *The New Zealand Methodist* 9 October 1886

### RUM AND THE VICIOUS CLASSES

BY BISHOP R. S. FOSTER.

The vicious classes are Christian born. Think for a moment, that this Christendom has authorized, by law and sanction of the State, the creation of this frightful pest gang; that it has provided for its creation; that it is here not in opposition to, but of her will; that by formal and deliberate legislation, brought about by Christian votes, she has opened, in all her towns and cities, slaughter houses of men, women, and children and of all virtue, and employs a million minions to do this dreadful work; that she has and continues to do it with her eyes open, and with full knowledge and purpose; that she has prepared and planned and deliberated in Government chambers for the production of these desperate classes; that her employed and licensed minions do this for pay.

For a generation Christendom has been hearing a low growl from the kennel, where she is battenning these wild beasts of passion; a growl in the kennel as they have crunched their victims. What means the roar today along Trafalgar Square and London streets? It is the beast, loose and shaking his mane. Pamper him a little more on Government joints, and no kennel bars will hold him. Fitted for raven, he will raven to the full. Rum engenders poverty; poverty and rum engender crime. From the Government rum-shop the wild beast hunts his prey. Is Christendom stricken with judicial blindness that she sleeps? Are her eyes holden that she cannot see? There are armies marching and countermarching, with banners on which are emblazoned dynamite, anarchism, communism, nihilism, labour-league, no Sabbath, down with the Church and State, recruited from the dram-shop and officered from the kennel. Are we so deaf that we do not hear the tramp of the gathering legions? Nations that license murder for pay will be murdered for plunder; nations that batten the wild beast of passion will be devoured by the wild beasts of rapine and ruin. The rum-hole must be closed, or the rum-hole will engulf Christendom.

[Note: Bishop Foster's article continued in this vein for a further 2,000 words.]

Extract from the *No-License Handbook 1908*.

## THE LIBERTY OF THE SUBJECT

No-License deals only with the *traffic* in liquor – with the acts of barter and sale, not the act of drinking.

It is true that the reform of moral conduct is hoped for as a result, and it is believed that in the absence of the usual public inducements to drink men will cease to drink, but the prohibitory law aims at compelling men to cease selling liquor, not at compelling them to cease drinking.

The act of drinking a glass of liquor is one that may affect no one but the man himself who drinks; but offering for sale to the public the same glass of liquor is an act that is of a public character, and affects the public interests.

The legal right of the State over all kinds of trade and traffic is one that has been firmly established for generations.

The State can, under law, regulate, suppress, or destroy any form of traffic that it considers inimical to the people's interests.

The evil effects of the drink traffic as compared to its benefits are of exceptional magnitude and gravity.

These evil effects are practically inseparable from the traffic.

These evil effects are by no means confined to those who participate in the traffic, either as buyers or sellers of drink, but extend in a serious degree to society in general.

For these reasons it is wholly consistent with personal liberty that the liquor trade should be singled out from all others, and, except within very narrow and sharply-defined limits, should be forbidden by law.

John Stuart Mill says: "The interests of these liquor-dealers in promoting intemperance is a real evil, and justifies the State in imposing restrictions and requiring guarantees which, but for that justification, would be infringements of legitimate liberty."

We know that a liquor-dealer can give no guarantee that he will not promote intemperance. Mill has said that restriction and prohibition are simply a difference of degree; so, in admitting that restriction is rendered justifiable by the "real evil" of the traffic, he has admitted that prohibition, which is but a more severe form of restriction, is rendered justifiable if the less severe form proves inadequate.

## Appendix Three

# BUSINESS INFORMATION

### IN BANKRUPTCY IN THE SUPREME COURT OF BANKRUPTCY HOLDEN AT CHRISTCHURCH In the matter of "The Bankruptcy Act, 1883"

NOTICE is hereby given that JOHN THOMPSON BROWN of Christchurch Timber Merchant has this day been adjudicated a bankrupt in the said Court. - The first general meeting of the creditors will be held at the office of the Official Assignee Old Government Buildings Christchurch on Friday the 3rd day of October 1884 at 11 o'clock in the forenoon. - The public examination of the bankrupt will be held at the sitting of the Supreme Court in Bankruptcy on Wednesday the 22nd day of October 1884 at 11 o'clock in the forenoon. - Dated this 30th day of September 1884

E.C.LATTER  
Official Assignee

*The Lyttelton Times* Wednesday, October 1, 1884.

### IN BANKRUPTCY IN THE SUPREME COURT OF BANKRUPTCY HOLDEN AT CHRISTCHURCH

In the matter of "The Bankruptcy Act 1883"

NOTICE is hereby given that I JOHN THOMPSON BROWN of Christchurch in the County of Selwyn in New Zealand Timber Merchant have this day filed in the said Court at Christchurch a petition to be adjudged a bankrupt.  
Dated this 30th day of September 1884

JNO.T. BROWN

GARRICK, COWLISHAW AND FISHER  
Solicitors for the said Bankrupt

*The Lyttelton Times* Wednesday, October 1, 1884



### *Liabilities and Assets*

JOHN THOMPSON BROWN, of Christchurch, timber merchant.

Liabilities - Secured: New Zealand Trust and Loan Co. L10,937.10s; Union Insurance Co. of N.Z. L6350; J.T. Peacock L2052.10s; Permanent Investment and Loan Association of Canterbury L7122.16s 6d; N.Z. Grain Agency and Mercantile., Limited L10,273. 4s 6d; total secured L36,736 1s.

Unsecured: King Bros. L424 2s 4d; J. Withers L387 19s 9d; Hokianga Sawmill Co. L350 13s 11d; Brownlee and Co. L341 14s 3d; R.W.England L317 6s 3d; M'Latchie and M'Intosh L282 5s 2d; Scott Bros L252 8s 9d; M. Brown and J. Mangels L250; Kelsey Bros. L213 4s 10d; W.H.Hargreaves L172 6s 10d; M'Pherson, Filmer and Co. L148 12s; C.A. Ulrich L128 0s 6d; W.H. Jewell L119 4s 10d; T.P. Baber L91 10s 11d; Austin, Kirk and Co. L83,10s 2d; C.W. Turner L83 0s 8d; W.L. Whitby L80; J.T. Peacock L70; J.Mangels L143 8s 6d; R. Wood L62 15s 9d; Mason, Struthers and Co. L62 14s 2d; Briscoe and Co. L46 1s 11d; W. Stocks L39 11s 2d; J.B. Way L112 8s 7d; W.A. Burt L30 12s 5d; Edwards, Bennett and Co. L30 11s 2d; Montgomery and Co L27 1s 3d; T. Crompton L23 9s 10d; J. Waller and Co. L20 0s 11d; E.H. Banks L20; J. Smith L20; Press Co. L16 14s 8d; Cuff and Graham L9 19s 7d; Findlay and Co. L51 14s 7d; total L4513 5s 8d

Other liabilities - Miles and Co. (rent) L250; N.Z.Railways L150; sundry small debts L306.2s 6d; J.Brown (cash lent) L1265 4s 10d; W Brown (cash lent) L833 6s 2d; R. Brown (cash lent) L150; T.M. Brown (cash lent) L60; wages L255 3s 4d; J Brown (2 promissory notes) L1020 19s 2d; total L4290 16s

total liabilities L45,540 2s 8d.

Assets - Stock-in-trade, Christchurch and Sydenham L2670; book debts L2821 13s 4d; cash in hand L1 18s 3d; furniture L270 5s; saw mill (plant only) L400; railway siding, premises and buildings and improvements at Sydenham, 5 3/4 acres land at L1500, L8625 (mortgaged to Permanent Investment and Loan Association); 5 1/4 acres land and house, Sydenham L3500 (mortgaged to J.T. Peacock); 8 acres at Addington L2000 (mortgaged to Permanent Investment and Loan Association); 2597 acres land at L6 per acre (including crop) at Mitcham L15,582 (mortgaged to N.Z. Trust and Loan Co.); farm, 1711 acres at L6 per acre (including crop) at Mitcham L10,266 (mortgaged to Union Insurance Co. of N.Z.); all the above properties are subject to 2nd mortgages to N.Z. Grain Agency and mercantile Co., Limited; brigantine "Sea Bird" L1000; farm plant on 2 farms at Mitcham L500; sheep, horses and cattle also on said farms L1000; working business, plant, including horses, drays, crane, trap, harness, at Christchurch and Sydenham L340; 1 waggonette L25; 1/2 acre at Sheffield L100; balance of purchase money due by T. Ballan of Sheffield (secured by a second mortgage over land purchased by Ballan from Brown, situated at Waddington L150; total L43,488.

*The Mercantile and Bankruptcy Gazette*, October 11, 1884.

### IN BANKRUPTCY

In the Estate of JOHN THOMPSON BROWN, of  
Christchurch, Timber Merchant.

ALL Accounts due to the above Estate must be paid to the Official Assignee, old Government Buildings, Christchurch, or to Mr John Brown, at the late office of Mr John Thompson Brown, Tuam street, Christchurch, within 14 days, or summary legal proceedings for their recovery will be taken without further notice.

E.C. LATTER  
Official Assignee

Christchurch, 13th October, 1884.

*The Mercantile and Bankruptcy Gazette*, October 18, 1884

SUPREME COURT.  
Wednesday, Oct. 22.  
(Before His Honor Mr Justice Johnston.)  
IN BANKRUPTCY.

PUBLIC EXAMINATIONS.

*Re John Thompson Brown.* Mr Fisher appeared for the debtor.  
The Official Assignee's statement gave the liabilities at L49,000 and assets at L45,000. The accounts had been well kept, and bankrupt had given every assistance. There was no opposition; on the contrary, the creditors had expressed a wish that the bankrupt should not be opposed. The examination was declared finished, &c

*The Lyttelton Times*, Thursday, October 23, 1884.

*Applications for Discharge*

JOHN THOMPSON BROWN, of Christchurch, Timber Merchant. Application for order of discharge at the first sitting in bankruptcy of the Supreme Court, Christchurch, after 17th November.

*The Mercantile and Bankruptcy Gazette*, November 8, 1884.

IN BANKRUPTCY

In the matter of "The Bankruptcy Act, 1883,"  
and of the Acts amending the same,

Notice is hereby given that I have filed in the Supreme Court, Christchurch, a Statement of Accounts showing in detail the Receipts and Expenditure in respect to the following Estates: -

...  
Brown, John Thompson, of Christchurch, timber merchant.

I also hereby give notice that it is my intention to apply to the Supreme Court, Christchurch, on TUESDAY, the 15<sup>th</sup> day of March, 1887, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, for an order relieving me from office as Official Assignee, in respect to the above estates.

Dated this 1<sup>st</sup> day of March, 1887.

E.C. LATTER,  
Official Assignee.  
*Lyttelton Times*, 5 March 1887, p.7.

The *Christchurch Press* of 16 March 1887, p.3, reports that the Court duly granted the above release.

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Photograph: John Thompson Brown, Mayor of Sydenham

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# Notes to Chapters

## Introduction

<sup>1</sup> Rollo Arnold, 'The Patterns of Denominationalisation in Later Victorian New Zealand,' in *Religion in New Zealand*, Christopher Nichol and James Veitch (eds) Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington, 1983, p.108.

## Chapter One An Informed Decision

<sup>2</sup> J.W. Smith and T.S. Holden, *Where Ships Are Born Sunderland 1346-1946 A History of Shipbuilding on the River Wear*, Sunderland: Thomas Reed, 1946, p.42.

<sup>3</sup> G.E. Milburn, 'Piety, Profit and Paternalism Methodists in Business in the North-East of England c.1760-1920', *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, vol. XLIV, December 1983, p.88.

<sup>4</sup> Geoffrey E. Milburn and Stuart T. Miller (eds), *Sunderland River, Town and People A History from the 1780s*, Sunderland: Borough of Sunderland, 1988, p.222.

<sup>5</sup> G.E. Milburn, 'Wesleyanism in Sunderland in the Later 18<sup>th</sup> and Early 19<sup>th</sup> Century', *Antiquities of Sunderland*, vol. 26 (1974-76), p87. There were also 'immigrants' from Scotland and Ireland. Of the 64,000 people in the Borough of Sunderland in 1851, over 25,000 were born outside the town. pp.86-7.

<sup>6</sup> George Patterson, 'Victorian Working Life', Milburn and Miller, pp.47-52.

<sup>7</sup> Milburn, 'Wesleyanism' p.87.

<sup>8</sup> Stuart T. Miller, 'Harbour and River Improvement', Milburn and Miller, pp.17-18.

<sup>9</sup> Neil T. Sinclair, 'Industry to 1914', Milburn and Miller, p.23.

<sup>10</sup> Patterson, p.45.

<sup>11</sup> Joe F. Clarke, 'Shipbuilding 1780-1914', Milburn and Miller, pp.33-7. During the 1780s there were six shipyards in Sunderland producing about 2,500 tons of shipping per annum. In 1804-5 the output of Sunderland was only exceeded in England by Newcastle upon Tyne. By 1814 output had increased to 14,000 tons, in 1841 251 ships were built, a total of 64,000 tons in over 70 shipyards. In the early 1840s trade through the port collapsed and the industry declined dramatically, but by 1850 38 new yards had started and production averaged 65,000 tons per annum for 1853-6. Through the 1850s it vacillated between 40,000 and 65,000 tons per annum. A slump occurred in 1858-60 bringing production down to 40,000 tons. The first iron ship was launched in 1852 and the bigger ships went hand-in-hand with port development for the remainder of the century.

<sup>12</sup> G. E. Milburn, *The Diary of John Young*, n.p., Surtees Society, 1983, p. 152.

<sup>13</sup> Clarke., p.34.

<sup>14</sup> Smith and Holden, p.43.

<sup>15</sup> Smith and Holden, p.23.

<sup>16</sup> With two John Browns, two Margaret Browns and three William Browns there is great potential for confusion. Where 'John' and 'John Brown' are used they will mean John Thompson Brown. 'Margaret' or 'Margaret Brown' will mean John's wife. 'William' or 'William Brown' will mean John's father. Where others are referred to the relationship will be specified.

<sup>17</sup> Milburn, *John Young*, pxiv., quoted from *Sketches of Public Men of the North*, anon. 1855, p.56.

<sup>18</sup> Graham R. Potts, 'Growth of Sunderland', Milburn and Miller, p.58.

<sup>19</sup> Immigration Regulations, Canterbury Provincial Gazette of 1857, pages 70 and 77. The criteria set by the Provincial Government for assisted immigrants was that they would be 'bona fide labouring men, mechanics and female domestic servants', and 'No single man above the age of 40 years; no person above the age of 50, unless a member of a large family; and no person above 60 years, under any circumstances.'

<sup>20</sup> *ibid.* The passenger would either pay half on departure or in instalments of five pounds within nine months of arrival.

<sup>21</sup> The equivalent of the Brown's half fare on the *Indiana* in New Zealand dollars in the year 2000 is approximately \$2,800.

<sup>22</sup> The Shipping List of the *Indiana*, Canterbury Museum Library. The 93 settlers from Sunderland were made up of 23 adult women, 23 adult men, 25 boys and 22 girls. There were 21 families, 2 single women and 2 single men. Included is a Newcastle family and a Durham family, who appeared to be part of the contingent. The average age of the adult men was 29, of the adult women it was 28. In addition to the Browns the names of the emigrating families is: Barker (2), Cooper, King, Lee, Ness, Reed, Robson (4), Sharplin, Simpson, Smithson, Thompson (3), Watson.

<sup>23</sup> Supporting evidence is in later chapters.

<sup>24</sup> Records of the Correspondence of the Canterbury Provincial Secretary 1857-58. National Archives, Christchurch.

<sup>25</sup> Milburn, *Diary of John Young*, p.xvii. Reference to correspondence from organised parties of emigrants from Wearside to Australia in the early 1850s.

## Chapter Two The Emergence of Free Methodism

<sup>26</sup> *The Advocate*, 12 September 1896, p.151.

<sup>27</sup> Obituary, *The Advocate*, 26 October 1895.

<sup>28</sup> Richard Cawardine, *Transatlantic Revivalism*, Westport, Connecticut, Greenwood Press, 1978, p.56.

<sup>29</sup> *ibid.*, p.111. For "entire sanctification" see Glossary.

<sup>30</sup> *ibid.*, p.120.

<sup>31</sup> *ibid.*, pp.130-1.

<sup>32</sup> *ibid.*, p. 133.

<sup>33</sup> Obituary, *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 6 April 1912.

<sup>34</sup> Rev. William Morley, *The History of Methodism in New Zealand*, Wellington, McKee, 1900, p.3.

<sup>35</sup> John Wesley, *The Works of the Rev. John Wesley*, vol. 8, fifth edition, London: John Mason, 1860, p.348. 'They were all zealous members of the Church of England, not only tenacious of all her doctrines, so far as they knew them, but of all her discipline, to the minutest circumstance.'

<sup>36</sup> John Wesley, *Works*, vol. 1, p.103. 'I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone for salvation: And an assurance was given me, that he had taken away *my* sins, even *mine*, and saved *me* from the law of sin and death.'

<sup>37</sup> John Kent, 'The Wesleyan Methodists to 1849', in *A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain*, Davies, George & Rupp (eds) vol.2., London: Epworth, 1965. p.270. 'The perfected Wesleyan was to live and work in the ordinary world without allowing his relation to God to be corrupted by civil society; he would attain the goal of Christian holiness within the Wesleyan society but without withdrawing from the world.'

<sup>38</sup> George Eayrs, 'Developments, Institutions, Helpers, Opposition', in *A New History of Methodism*, Townsend, Workman and Eayrs (eds) London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1909, p.305. '...the doctrine taught by the Wesleys became increasingly clear. While in general agreement with the articles and homilies of the Church of England, it emphasized certain points and gave an evangelical Arminian interpretation to all. It thus created a virtually distinct system of doctrine. With almost ceaseless iteration the preachers taught the doctrines of universal depravity, universal redemption, the witness of the spirit or Christian assurance, the duty of testimony, and sanctification or Christian refection.'

<sup>39</sup> Alan D. Gilbert, *Religion and Society in Industrial England*, London: Longman, 1976, p.22.

<sup>40</sup> *ibid.*, p.12.

<sup>41</sup> *A New History of Methodism and A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain*.

<sup>42</sup> Morley, pp.2-3. 'The State Church...had lost its hold on the people...and the lives of many of the clergy did not commend their message...' But Morley notes the exception of John Wesley's father, who he describes as '...a patient student, a man of considerable erudition and of tireless diligence.'

John Richard Green, *A Short History of the English People*, London: The Folio Society, 1992, first published 1874, pp.747-52. 'A large number of prelates were mere Whig partisans with no higher aim than that of promotion...The system of pluralities turned the wealthier and more learned of the priesthood into absentees, while the bulk of them were indolent, poor and without social consideration...But it would be



rash to conclude from this outer ecclesiastical paralysis that the religious sentiment was dead in the people at large.'

A more trenchant and perhaps less credible view is presented by J. Wesley Bready in *England: Before and After Wesley*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1938. Bready considers that the Church had become a political organisation, virtually a branch of the Civil Service, many of its teachings lacking in spiritual depth, providing only position and power to its leaders. Drunkenness and dissolute living occurred on a large scale among town and rural parsons, many of whom were in reality absentee landlords living off an income gained through the compulsory collection of the tithe. The result, he says, was that "Moral and spiritual standards had largely broken down; crime was mounting at an alarming pace and the police system, as Fielding and others have shown, was little more than a farce. So the ruling castes turned to a ferocious penal code as a defence of their "property rights"...' p.127.

<sup>43</sup> Robert Wearmouth, *Methodism and the Common People of the Eighteenth Century*, London: The Epworth Press, 1945.

<sup>44</sup> *ibid.*, p.189.

<sup>45</sup> *ibid.*, p.7. Under the leadership of the Wesleys, Methodists were '...not only interested, as some critics would have it, in preparing men and women for another world, but also were impassioned in their determination to alleviate their physical and economic distress in this. And of sorrow and sighing, of tribulation and disease, the common people of England in the eighteenth century had their full and tragic share.' p.216.

<sup>46</sup> Clyde Binfield, *So Down to Prayers*, London: J.M.Dent, 1977, p.21.

<sup>47</sup> Morley, p.3.

<sup>48</sup> Gilbert, p.8.

<sup>49</sup> Binfield, p.22.

<sup>50</sup> Green, p.750. 'It was a miracle if the rain stopped and allowed him to set forward on a journey. It was a judgement of Heaven if a hailstorm burst over a town which had been deaf to his preaching. One day, he tells us, when he was tired and his horse fell lame, "I thought - cannot God heal either man or beast by any means or without any? - immediately my headache ceased and my horse's lameness in the same instant." With still more childish fanaticism he guided his conduct, whether in the ordinary events or in the great crises of his life, by drawing lots or watching the particular texts at which his Bible opened.'

<sup>51</sup> Eayrs, pp. 300-01. 'Highwaymen came to let them pass unmolested, for earlier encounters had shown that they possessed nothing but a few tracts and a fixed determination to pray for and with their molesters.'

<sup>52</sup> Binfield, p.12.

<sup>53</sup> Robert Currie, Alan Gilbert and Lee Horsley, *Churches and Churchgoers Patterns of Church Growth in the British Isles since 1700*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977, p.139.

<sup>54</sup> Morley, pp.12-13

<sup>55</sup> It might not be overstating it to see the large increase in the composition of hymns and their widespread popularity and use in the evangelistic churches as analogous to modern popular music. The hymns of Charles Wesley's hymns were widely used from the mid eighteenth century and those of Moody and Sankey had a large international following a century later.

<sup>56</sup> Rev F.F. Bretherton, 'John Wesley's Visits to Sunderland', in *Antiquities of Sunderland*, vol. 20, 1951, pp.129-141, p.130.

<sup>57</sup> *ibid.*, p.131.

<sup>58</sup> Wesley, *Works*, vol. 2, p.413. June 1757, 'Thur. 16 - In the evening I preached at Sunderland. I then met the society, and told them plain, none could stay with us, unless he wool part with all sin; particularly robbing the King, selling or buying run goods, which I could no more suffer than robbing on the highway. This I enforced on every member the next day. A few would not promise to refrain: So these I was forced to cut off. About two hundred and fifty were of a better mind.'

The sequel to this is recorded in a further Journal entry, vol. 2, p.490, of 23 June 1759. 'I spoke to each of the society in Sunderland. Most of the robbers commonly called smugglers, have left us; but more than twice the number of honest people are already come in their place: And if none had come, yet I should not dare to keep those who steal from either King or subject.'

<sup>59</sup> Bretherton, p.136.

<sup>60</sup> *ibid.*, p.140.

<sup>61</sup> G.E. Milburn, 'Wesleyanism in Sunderland in the Later 18th and Early 19th Century' in *Antiquities of Sunderland*, 1974-76, vol. 26, pp. 85-108. p.91.

- <sup>62</sup> Kent, p.270.
- <sup>63</sup> C.T. Symons, *Our Fathers' Faith and Ours*, Auckland: Methodist Church of NZ, 1946. pp. 88-92
- <sup>64</sup> W.R. Sunman, *The History of Free Methodism in and about Newcastle-on-Tyne*, Newcastle-on-Tyne: A. Dickson, 1902, p.9. 'John Wesley warned his "preachers" before his death, to be careful how they governed the Methodist Societies: "for," he said, "the people will not submit to you as they have submitted to me."'
- <sup>65</sup> Sunman, p.4.
- <sup>66</sup> Binfield, p.9. '...all but 8.6 percent of [Nonconformity's] strength came from that 67 percent of society which fitted between the professional classes and the unskilled: the artisan, the good poor who might become the better rich in an expanding society.'
- <sup>67</sup> D.A. Gowland, *Methodist Secessions*, Manchester: The Chetham Society, 1979, p.166.
- <sup>68</sup> *ibid.*, p.166.
- <sup>69</sup> Binfield, p.12. Thomas Binney addressed the Congregational Union in 1848: 'Revolutions are convulsing the world: and they are doing so partly through the medium of ideas consecrated by us...and, it must be confessed, that if our ideas be right, or, whether right or wrong, if they should predominate, our mission is, and would seem to be, revolutionary.'
- <sup>70</sup> W.M.Patterson, *Northern Primitive Methodism*, 1909, Robert S. Moore, *Pitmen, Preachers and Their Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974. Robert Colls, *The Pitmen of the Northern Coalfield*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987.
- <sup>71</sup> Gowland, pp.12-15.
- <sup>72</sup> Gowland, pp.14-15.
- <sup>73</sup> Sunman, p.19.
- <sup>74</sup> *ibid.*, p.20.
- <sup>75</sup> Dr Bunting is credited with saying: "Methodism knows nothing whatever of democracy, and is as much opposed to democracy as she is to sin;" Sunman, p.4. His attitude to reform was expressed in similar terms: "It is no sin for a man to think that our discipline is wrong, providing that he quits us." Gowland, p. 168. This is reminiscent of John Wesley's remark, "Hand my brother my hat" when, at a meeting, his brother Charles threatened to leave because he could not agree with a matter. And in regard to autocracy there is a revealing attitude in Wesley's statement: "If by arbitrary power you mean a power which I exercise simply without any colleagues therein, this is certainly true, but I see no hurt in it." Green, p.751.
- <sup>76</sup> Gowland, p.17.
- <sup>77</sup> Oliver A. Beckerlegge, *The United Methodist Free Churches*, London: The Epworth Press, , p.37.
- <sup>78</sup> Kent, p. 270. 'Just as nineteenth century Wesleyan reformers were entitled to argue that Wesleyanism should be 'reformed', so Jabez Bunting was entitled to regard the stress they laid on the autonomy of the local chapel as a departure from the original system which he ought to resist.'
- <sup>79</sup> Beckerlegge, p.36.
- <sup>80</sup> Milburn, *Wesleyanism*, part 1, p.91.
- <sup>81</sup> Milburn, *Wesleyanism*, part 2, p. 7.
- <sup>82</sup> Sunman, pp.29-30.
- <sup>83</sup> Milburn, *Wesleyanism*, part 2, p.7.
- <sup>84</sup> Sunman, p. 35. 'The spirit which this transaction has brought to light was not created by the transaction itself, but has long animated the Wesleyan community, and right-hearted men in all parts of the kingdom have recorded their opinion that the powers claimed by the Conference were not consistent with the liberties of the people.' John Benson, a local lay leader in a letter to the *Newcastle Guardian* of 11 October 1849.
- <sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 35-40.
- <sup>86</sup> Sunman, p.26.
- <sup>87</sup> *ibid.*, p.64. Between 1850 and 1852 the Wesleyan Church lost 4,518 members in the Circuit of which 849 were in Sunderland. The Free Methodists did not gain them all, supporting Beckerlegge's comment that because of the Disruption many were lost to Methodism, though Primitive Methodism also gained during this period. Patterson, p.253.
- <sup>88</sup> Milburn, part 1, p.100.
- <sup>89</sup> Currie, Gilbert & Horsley, p.141.
- <sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, p.204.
- <sup>91</sup> Obituary, Note 33, above.
- <sup>92</sup> *The Advocate* 12 September, 1896, see also p. 90.

<sup>93</sup> James Goss, *Diary on board Indiana 3 August 1858 – 5 December 1858*, Canterbury Museum Library. James Goss went on to become a successful builder and timber merchant in Christchurch and a Christchurch City Councillor, 1870-6. He was a member and staunch supporter of the Presbyterian Church. *The Outlook*, June 1901. *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 3, p.111.

<sup>94</sup> *Lyttelton Times*, 24 November, 1858.

### Chapter Three Getting Established

<sup>95</sup> Gordon Ogilvie, *Banks Peninsula Cradle of Canterbury*, Wellington: GP Books, 1990, p.82

<sup>96</sup> House of Representatives Electoral Roll, 1860, Christchurch Country, entry no. 77.

<sup>97</sup> Colin Whitby Venimore, *Last Port Lyttelton*, Auckland: Brookfield Press, 1982, p. 35.

<sup>98</sup> Information provided by C.F. Amodeo.

<sup>99</sup> C.F. Amodeo, *The Last Voyage of the Volunteer*, unpub, July 1991, p.1.

<sup>100</sup> Johannes C. Andersen, *Old Christchurch*, Christchurch: Simpson & Williams, 1949, pp.467-8.

<sup>101</sup> Captain Whitby, 'Life on the Ocean Wave', in *The Star*, 16 September, 1919.

<sup>102</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>103</sup> C.W.N. Ingram, *New Zealand Shipwrecks*, 7<sup>th</sup> revised ed., Auckland: Beckett, 1990, p.77., p.110.

<sup>104</sup> Jacobsen, p. 468.

<sup>105</sup> *G.R. Macdonald Dictionary of Canterbury Biography*, Canterbury Museum Library. At the time of Matthew's death J.T. Brown's eldest son, John, was a member of the Lyttelton Harbour Board.

<sup>106</sup> Venimore, p.50.

<sup>107</sup> Ingram, p.210.

<sup>108</sup> *ibid.*, pp.142-3.

<sup>109</sup> Information provided by C.F. Amodeo.

<sup>110</sup> Amodeo, *Volunteer*, pp.6-7.

<sup>111</sup> Information provided by C.F. Amodeo.

<sup>112</sup> Information obtained from records held in the Land Information Office, Christchurch.

<sup>113</sup> *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 6 April 1912.

<sup>114</sup> Trustees of the Lyttelton Methodist Church, *Advance Methodism*, 1950, p.6.

<sup>115</sup> W.A. Chambers, *Our Yesteryears 1840-1950*, Christchurch: Willis & Aitken, p.14.

<sup>116</sup> Trustees of Lyttelton Methodist Church, p.10, p.13.

<sup>117</sup> Chamber, p.15.

<sup>118</sup> George, with his wife and seven children, had come to Canterbury as a paying passenger on the *Zealandia*, arriving in Lyttelton on 12 November 1859. *The Lyttelton Times*, 16 November 1859. Also on the *Zealandia* was John Cumberworth a Methodist school teacher who had taught at the Wesleyan school at Monkwearmouth and at his own private school in Sunderland. Margaret Lovell-Smith, *Plain Living High Thinking*, Christchurch: Pedmore Press, p.25.

<sup>119</sup> Rev. William Morley, *The History of Methodism in New Zealand*, Wellington: McKee, p.321. Also Obituary of George Booth, *New Zealand Methodist*, 19 May 1888.

<sup>120</sup> Henry F. Wigram, *The Story of Christchurch*, Christchurch: 'Lyttelton Times', 1916, p.250. Until 1857 the populations of Christchurch and Lyttelton were approximately the same, but by 1864 Christchurch had 6,423 souls to Lyttelton's 2,436 and by 1874 the figures were - Christchurch 16,945, Lyttelton 2,902, within a total Canterbury Provincial population of 58,770. *ibid.*, p.252.

<sup>121</sup> Ernest E. Wright, *Sydenham Past and Present*, Sydenham: Ernest E. Wright, 1904.

<sup>122</sup> J.P. Morrison, *The Evolution of a City*, Christchurch: Christchurch City Council, 1948, p. 108.

<sup>123</sup> New Zealand Federation of University Women, Canterbury Branch, *Sydenham the Model Borough of Old Christchurch*, Christchurch: Pegasus Press, 1977, p. 16.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, p.19.

<sup>125</sup> W.H. Scotter, *A History of Canterbury*, vol. 3, Christchurch: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1965, p.49, 133.

<sup>126</sup> *G.R. Macdonald Dictionary of Canterbury Biography*.

<sup>127</sup> Robert Bateman Paul, A Sermon preached before the opening of the Canterbury Provincial Council, 27 September 1853, in *Letters from New Zealand*, London: Rivingtons, 1857, pp. 141-2. '...there would seem to remain only one mode in which the important work of education can be aided by the State - I mean by

making to each religious body grants proportionate to the sums raised by themselves, leaving them at perfect liberty to educate their children in the manner approved by themselves...

<sup>128</sup> In 1857 the Province was granting 250 pounds annually to the Wesleyans - in 1864 it was 156 pounds per quarter plus fees. W.T. Blight, *A House Not Made With Hands*, Christchurch: Bascands, p.22.

<sup>129</sup> Chambers, p. 22. 'By 1864, besides these seven Wesleyan Day Schools, there were nine Presbyterian schools, twenty-one Church of England Schools and twenty-two private schools. These institutions were charged with the educational responsibilities of the Province.' The Wesleyan schools were at Christchurch, Lyttelton, St Albans, Papanui, Kaiapoi and Woodend. John Cumberworth was the headmaster of the foremost of these - Christchurch Wesleyan. *ibid.*, p.25.

<sup>130</sup> *The Lyttelton Times*, 6 August 1873.

<sup>131</sup> G.R. Macdonald *Dictionary of Canterbury Biography*

<sup>132</sup> He could be wrong. Before the advent of city morgues the bodies of people who died in a public place were usually put in the nearest hotel room until more permanent arrangements could be made.

<sup>133</sup> *The Lyttelton Times*, 27 November 1879.

<sup>134</sup> Wright, p.19.

<sup>135</sup> *The Lyttelton Times*, 25 November 1880.

<sup>136</sup> *The Lyttelton Times*, 22 December 1881. The following resolution shows something of the tenor of John's leadership. 'That the members of the Sydenham Borough Council beg to express their thanks for, and appreciation of the kind and considerate manner with which his Worship the Mayor, John Thompson Brown, Esq., has for the past two years presided over them, and now that he is about to vacate the chair, wish that he, Mrs Brown and family may enjoy many years of health and happiness.'

<sup>137</sup> *The Lyttelton Times*, 15 November 1881, and information provided by the Sydenham Money Club from a short unpublished history. Charters had fled the country earlier in the year, to be arrested at "The George and Railway Hotel", Bristol, England, transported to New Zealand, tried, convicted and gaoled.

<sup>138</sup> Macdonald

<sup>139</sup> Minutes of the Sydenham Borough Council of 12 April 1882, National Archives, Christchurch.

## Chapter Four Doing Well and Doing Good

<sup>140</sup> *The New Zealand Wesleyan*, 30 June 1871. In regard to the comment at the end of this rather self-satisfied item, it could be added that the Wesleyans had the same object with reference to the UMFC.

<sup>141</sup> John Wesley, 'Rules of a Helper' in *Minutes of Several Conversations between the Rev Mr Wesley and several others; from the year 1744 to the year 1789.*, *Works*, vol.8, pp309-10.

<sup>142</sup> John Wesley, 'The Character of a Methodist' in *Works*, vol.8. p. 347.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 344.

<sup>144</sup> Gillian Watkin, 'Strengths and Weaknesses of Methodism in New Zealand to 1913', in *WHS Journal*, vol.49, 1986, p.49.

<sup>145</sup> Wesley Chambers, *Our Yesteryears*, Christchurch: Willis & Aitken, n.d., p.1.

<sup>146</sup> Ray Belmer, *James Watkin Pioneer Missionary*, *WHS*, no.33, August 1979, p.33.

<sup>147</sup> Chambers, p. 3.

<sup>148</sup> The Rev Te Kote evidently had a sense of humour for, when at the District meeting of November 1879 the Rev Harper of Temuka chided him by saying he had not seen him on his visits to Temuka, Te Kote responded; "When the hawk goes hunting, it does not see a mouse." *The Star*, 27 November 1879.

<sup>149</sup> W Morley, *The History of Methodism in New Zealand*, Wellington: McKee, 1900, p.427.

<sup>150</sup> Rollo Arnold, 'Patterns of Denominationalism in Later Victorian New Zealand', in *Religion in New Zealand*, Christopher Nichol and James Veitch, eds, Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington, 1983, p.79.

<sup>151</sup> *ibid.*, p.79.

<sup>152</sup> Rollo Arnold, *The Farthest Promised Land*, Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1981, p.84.

<sup>153</sup> Chambers, p.14. Chambers says this increase was accounted for by Buller's comprehensive vision of the needs of the Province, his strongly evangelical preaching, the initiative of laymen in Church extension and the absorption of immigrants as far as possible.

<sup>154</sup> W.T.Blight, *A House Not Made With Hands*, Christchurch: Bascands, p.20.

<sup>155</sup> Oliver Beckerlegge, *The United Methodist Free Churches*, London: Epworth Press, 1957, p.82.

<sup>156</sup> Morley, p.323. Morley's entry omits the more colourful details of Rev. Tyerman's erratic career. Edith Jarmin, in *The New Church in New Zealand*, pp6-9, records, 'Rev. Tyerman, although a good preacher, had none of the moral character expected of a minister and had, in fact been discarded by his own Church [ie the UMFC], (previous to the formation of the Independent Church) for immorality.' His several years with the Independent Methodist Church in Christchurch ended with a stormy public quarrel over a chapel in Montreal Street. He then went to the New Church – a denomination based on Swedenborgian doctrine – a small group, which included Charles Allison, later Town Clerk of Sydenham, but which eventually faded for want of support. Tyerman then went to Melbourne where he offered himself to the Anglican Church, but was not accepted. He then apparently joined the Freethinkers.

<sup>157</sup> *Souvenir of the Jubilee of the Addington Church and Sunday School 1864-1914*. Christchurch, Addington Church Committee, 1914, p.2.

<sup>158</sup> Gordon McKenzie, *How Great a Flame*, Christchurch: Addington Church Committee, 1964, pp.6-7.

<sup>159</sup> *Souvenir of the Addington Church*, p.4.

<sup>160</sup> *ibid.*, p.4.

<sup>161</sup> Morley, p.323.

<sup>162</sup> *ibid.*, p.324. He was thus the acknowledged leader of the UMFC in New Zealand.

<sup>163</sup> Robert Bateman Paul, A Sermon preached before the opening of the Canterbury Provincial Council, 27 September 1853, in *Letters from New Zealand*, London: Rivingtons, 1857, pp. 141-2. Apparently the Provincial Government agreed with this course and in 1858 the Council voted 10,000 pounds for the building or enlargement of places of worship as follows: Anglicans 7,800; Wesleyans 800; Presbyterians 1,000; Roman Catholics 400.

<sup>164</sup> Chambers, p.6.

<sup>165</sup> McKenzie, p.13, p.18.

<sup>166</sup> F Lane, *Light in the Clearing*, pp. 12-14.

## Chapter Five Angels and Demons

<sup>167</sup> Frances Porter and Charlotte Macdonald, (eds) *'My Hand Will Write What My Heart Dictates'*, Auckland: Bridget Williams Books, 1996. This collection of letters from pioneer women to friends and family at 'home' contains many graphic examples of how the need to work for just the necessities of life gave little room for leisure and no excuse for unemployment.

<sup>168</sup> J. Cocker and J. Malton Murray, *Temperance and Prohibition in New Zealand*, London: Epworth Press, 1930, p.22.

<sup>169</sup> *The New Zealand Methodist*, 22 November 1890, p.8.

<sup>170</sup> G.R.Macdonald *Dictionary of Canterbury Biographies*, Canterbury Museum Library.

<sup>171</sup> *Lyttelton Times*, 7 April 1885.

<sup>172</sup> J.Cocker and J. Malton Murray, p.48.

<sup>173</sup> *Lyttelton Times*, 15 May 1883.

<sup>174</sup> *The New Zealand Wesleyan*, 1 June 1883. Rev. Samuel Macfarlane was the noted Free Methodist.

<sup>175</sup> *Lyttelton Times*, 19 May 1883.

<sup>176</sup> *ibid.*, 22 May 1883.

<sup>177</sup> *ibid.*, 23 May 1883.

<sup>178</sup> *ibid.*, 22 May 1883.

<sup>179</sup> J. Cocker and J. Malton Murray, p. 36.

<sup>180</sup> *ibid.*, p.36.

<sup>181</sup> Margaret Lovell-Smith, *How Women Won the Vote*, Christchurch, Canterbury Museum, 1993, p.11.

<sup>182</sup> J.Cocker and J. Malton Murray, pp. 48-9.



- <sup>183</sup> *Lyttelton Times*, 7 April 1885.  
<sup>184</sup> *ibid.*, 10 April 1885.  
<sup>185</sup> *Lyttelton Times*, 16 April 1885.

#### CHRISTCHURCH SOUTH-WEST

The local Option poll for the district of South-west Christchurch was held yesterday at St Michael's schoolroom, but did not create more interest than the polling in the other districts, and up to noon only about half a dozen ratepayers had voted. Some more votes were recorded in the afternoon (sic), and the poll resulted as follows:-

Publicans licenses - For increase	2,
Against do	<u>22</u>
Majority against	20
N.Z. wine licences- For increase	2
Against do	<u>21</u>
Majority against	19

#### AVON

The local option poll of the ratepayers of the Avon Licensing District, was taken on Tuesday, and resulted as follows:-

Publican's licences - For increase	21
Against do	<u>124</u>
Majority against	103
N.Z. wine licences - For increase	20
Against do	<u>124</u>
Majority against	104
Accommodation licenses -	
For increase	25
Against do	<u>132</u>
Majority against	97

There was very little excitement over the polling. Some slight interest was taken in the proceedings at Richmond, but none at any of the other polling places.

- <sup>186</sup> *Lyttelton Times*, 7 April 1885.  
<sup>187</sup> Nellie F. H. Macleod, *The Fighting Man*, Christchurch: Dunbar and Summers, 1964, p.11.  
<sup>188</sup> Margaret Lovell-Smith, *How Women Won the Vote*, pp.12-15. J. Cocker and J. Malton Murray, *Temperance and Prohibition in New Zealand*, pp. 53-59.  
<sup>189</sup> P.F. McKimney, *The Temperance Movement in New Zealand*, University of Auckland: Thesis, 1968, p.212.  
<sup>190</sup> *ibid.*, p.28.  
<sup>191</sup> *ibid.*, p.29.  
<sup>192</sup> Geo. Dash, *No-Licence Handbook*, Auckland: New Zealand Alliance, 1908, pp. 1-2.  
<sup>193</sup> Macleod, p.7.  
<sup>194</sup> Obituary, *The New Zealand Primitive Methodist*, 1 September 1911.  
<sup>195</sup> *ibid.*, p.8.  
<sup>196</sup> He was not beyond taking risks to make his point, like taking a prostitute to a service in the Durham Street Methodist Church in an effort to save her soul. Macleod, p.35.  
<sup>197</sup> Ernest E. Wright, *Sydenham Past and Present*, Sydenham: Ernest E. Wright, 1904, 'In June, 1890, the first issue of a paper in the prohibitionists interest was published in Sydenham. This was circulated gratuitously, and had for its avowed intention the abolition of licensed houses in the "model borough". Apparently from this sprang into existence the great prohibition movement which spread throughout the length and breadth of the colony.' p.26.  
<sup>198</sup> *ibid.*, p.26 It is interesting to note that the cemetery was eventually established in 1896, right across Selwyn Street from the Addington Free Methodist Church and that Tommy is buried there. Tommy also had an interesting ally on this issue – Sydney Day, a Sydenham Borough Councillor and Freethinker, who championed the cause of cremation.



<sup>199</sup> In the 1892 election Taylor was nominated by John Brown, Thomas Cutler and others, while John Brown was nominated by T E Taylor, Thomas Cutler and others. These facts demonstrate the linkages between the Free Methodists and the temperance movement.

<sup>200</sup> Leonard M. Isitt, 'The Sydenham Campaign and What it Led To', in *Temperance and Prohibition in New Zealand*, Cocker and Murray, pp. 60-70.

<sup>201</sup> *ibid.*, p. 63.

<sup>202</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 64-5.

<sup>203</sup> Conrad Bollinger, *Grog's Own Country*, Auckland: Minerva, (Second edition), 1967, pp. 37-39.

<sup>204</sup> *ibid.*, p. 38.

<sup>205</sup> Through his exposures of police corruption, especially in relation to licensing laws, he virtually forced Seddon to appoint a Royal Commission into the condition of the force in 1898. He obtained the right to examine witnesses and participated in the commission's hearings. From this he published a large book, *The Shadow of Tammany*, which told a credible story, but earned him the animosity of Seddon. In 1909 Sir Joseph Ward, without the sanction of Parliament offered the British Government a dreadnought. Tommy protested vociferously and a number of public meetings were held in Christchurch, at which supporters - including Mayor Charles Allison - and opponents clashed and ended in uproar. While Tommy attracted his share of disapproval it did not greatly affect his popularity in the long-term. See Johannes Andersen, *Old Christchurch*, for an amusing eye-witness account of the meetings. He had a long-running and very public squabble with Massey over unfounded allegations made by Massey impugning his honour. See Macleod, pp. 124-6. p. 132.

<sup>206</sup> *The New Zealand Methodist*, 1 September 1911, pp. 210-12.

## Chapter Six Mixed Fortunes

<sup>207</sup> John Wesley, in 'The Nature, Design and General Rules of the United Societies', 1743, *Works*, vol. 8, p. 270. These Rules are reproduced in the attached Glossary under the heading 'membership'.

<sup>208</sup> *ibid.*,

<sup>209</sup> Robert Wearmouth, *Methodism and the Common People of the Eighteenth Century*, London: Epworth Press, 1945, p. 232.

<sup>210</sup> See Glossary, under the heading 'Stewards'.

<sup>211</sup> Wearmouth, p. 233.

<sup>212</sup> *The Christian Observer*, 1 January 1870, p. 16.

<sup>213</sup> Part of Rural section 66. Land Information Office, Christchurch.

<sup>214</sup> W.H. Scotter, 'The Superintendency of William Rolleston', in *A History of Canterbury*, vol. 2, W.J. Gardner (ed), Christchurch: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1971, p. 294.

<sup>215</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 321-2.

<sup>216</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 313-4.

<sup>217</sup> R. M. Macdonald went on to become a Christchurch City Councillor. He was the father of G.R. Macdonald, author of the *G.R. Macdonald Dictionary of Canterbury Biographies*. Information provided by Richard Greenaway of the Canterbury Public Library.

<sup>218</sup> *The Press*, 17 February 1891, p. 6. A lengthy article contains impressive information about this burgeoning export business.

<sup>219</sup> Ernest E. Wright, *Sydenham Past and Present*, Christchurch: Ernest E. Wright, 1904, p. 45. N Z Federation of University Women, *Sydenham the Model Borough of Old Christchurch*, Christchurch: Pegasus Press, 1977, p. 43. *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 3, Canterbury, p. 384.

<sup>220</sup> *Macdonald, Cyclopedia*,

<sup>221</sup> *Macdonald, Cyclopedia*, p. 382. Obituary, *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 6 January 1923.

<sup>222</sup> *Macdonald*. The entry on J.B. Aulsebrook illustrates the entrepreneurial aspects of business life at the time and the risks of speculative enterprise.

<sup>223</sup> *Macdonald, Cyclopedia*, p. 383.

<sup>224</sup> *Macdonald, Cyclopedia*, p. 397, Obituary, *The Advocate*, 16 December 1899, p. 342.

<sup>225</sup> Obituary, *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 13 October 1923.

- <sup>226</sup> Macdonald
- <sup>227</sup> *Cyclopedia*, p. 363. Scholefield, p.311-2. Obituaries *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 29 March 1889, 6 April 1889.
- <sup>228</sup> Macdonald, Obituary, *The Advocate*, 7 October 1899, p. 223.
- <sup>229</sup> W.H. Scotter, *A History of Canterbury*, vol.3, Christchurch: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1965, p. 59.
- <sup>230</sup> Katie Pickles, 'Workers and Workplaces', in *Southern Capital CHRISTCHURCH*, John Cookson and Graeme Dunstall, (eds), Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 2000, p. 142.
- <sup>231</sup> Scotter, p. 71.
- <sup>232</sup> John Wesley, 'Minutes of Several Conversations between the Rev Mr Wesley and several others; from the year 1744 to the year 1789', in *Works*, vol. 8, p.309.
- <sup>233</sup> *The Constitution of the United Free Methodist Churches with the Rules and Regulations adapted by the Addington Circuit, Canterbury New Zealand, 1888*, published by the UMFC, Part X, No. 3 p.12.
- <sup>234</sup> Denis Hampton, 'Bankruptcy and Its Records' in *The New Zealand Genealogist*, January/February 1991, pp. 6-10.
- <sup>235</sup> *Ibid.*, p.8.
- <sup>236</sup> Addington Minutes 19 September 1883.
- <sup>237</sup> Addington Leaders' Meeting Minutes 24 October 1883.
- <sup>238</sup> Addington Quarterly Leaders' Meeting Minutes 12 December 1883.
- <sup>239</sup> Addington Quarterly Church Meeting Minutes 19 March 1884. I have found no relation between A. Aulsebrook and the J.B. Aulsebrook, referred to earlier in this chapter, yet membership of the Addington Free Methodist Church does suggest that there might have been a common connection.
- <sup>240</sup> The Report of the Official Assignee in Bankruptcy, No. 155, (No.1. & No.2.), Estate of John Thompson Brown, National Archives, Christchurch.
- <sup>241</sup> Addington Leaders' Meeting, Minutes, 29 October 1884.
- <sup>242</sup> Addington Quarterly Church Meeting, Minutes, 17 December 1884.
- <sup>243</sup> Macdonald notes that Rokeby Station was offered for sale on behalf of the liquidators of the N.Z. Grain and Mercantile Co., so it may be that John was dragged down by the collapse of that company, not having sufficient capital to ride it out.
- <sup>244</sup> See Appendix Three.
- <sup>245</sup> The tension between the Road Boards and the citizens of Sydenham did not cease with the incorporation of Sydenham as a Borough. Serious boundary issues remained and the minutes of the Spreydon Board contain many peppery resolutions regarding the streets of Sydenham, such as '...the Council be requested to proceed with the work without more vexatious delays...' 6 June 1887, 'It was resolved that the Sydenham Boro Council be informed that this Board views with disgust the action of the Council...' 27 December 1887, '...this Board will decline to pay any more money for the maintenance of the boundary Road until some arrangement is made for the reformation of Strickland Street as money so spent would be wasted.' 23 January 1888. All this when John Down of Sydenham was a member of the Board. By the eighteen-nineties either the boundary issues had been resolved or J.T. Brown exercised a mediating influence.

## Chapter Seven Turning Point

- <sup>246</sup> Peter Lineham, *New Zealanders and the Methodist Evangel*, WHS, No. 42, September 1983, pp.12-13.
- <sup>247</sup> In the eighteen-nineties the Wesleyans appointed Rev. D. O'Donnell as Connexional Evangelist with a roving commission within New Zealand.
- <sup>248</sup> Family information.
- <sup>249</sup> E.W. Hames, *Out of the Common Way*, WHS, vol.27, Nos. 3 and 4, 1972. pp.88-91.
- <sup>250</sup> This might be contrasted with the major restructuring of the New Zealand economy approximately one hundred years later which was largely accomplished by political leaders acting on assumed mandate from the electorate.
- <sup>251</sup> David Thomson, *A World Without Welfare*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1998.
- <sup>252</sup> See Glossary under the heading Poor Steward.

<sup>253</sup> Addington Minutes. 25 December 1872 - Poor Steward Thomas Lunt's annual report gave disbursements at eight pounds, twelve shillings, receipts as six pounds thirteen and tenpence and balance in hand as six pounds nine shillings and fourpence. 20 December 1883 - Poor Steward E. Taylor reported a balance in hand of three pounds, two shillings and recommended the sum of two pounds to Mrs Burmester and 'that the Chairman visit her and ascertain her circumstances if possible.' 12 April 1899 - the Poor Steward reported fifteen shillings and sixpence in hand. In 1881 a collection was taken up for relatives of those drowned in the *Tararua*, which had been wrecked while on the way to Australia with some of the New Zealand delegates to the Australasian Wesleyan Conference as passengers.

<sup>254</sup> Thomson, pp.162-3.

<sup>255</sup> Hames, pp. 84-5.

<sup>256</sup> Lloyd Geering, 'New Zealand Enters the Secular Age', in *Religion in New Zealand*, Christopher Nichol and James Veitch, (eds), Victoria University of Wellington, 1983, p. 173.

<sup>257</sup> *ibid.*, pp.174-6.

<sup>258</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 161-3.

<sup>259</sup> Peter Lineham, 'Freethinkers in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand', *The New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol.19, No.1, April, 1985.

<sup>260</sup> A complete set is held in the Alexander Turnbull Library.

<sup>261</sup> *The Freethought Review*, 1 November, 1883, p.6.

<sup>262</sup> *The Freethought Review*, 1 August 1884, p.15.

<sup>263</sup> Frederick Hall typified a Victorian with a social conscience, but no religious affiliation. He filled a number of public offices and was a Sydenham Borough Councillor from 1877 to 1883. He was chairman of the Sydenham School Committee, was fluent in French and was French consul for a time. Macdonald says: '... he always wanted to help in anything which was for the good of the community.' Macdonald

<sup>264</sup> Sydney Day, also a Sydenham Borough Councillor (see Chapter Five), was a founder of the Christchurch Working Men's Club and supporter of community causes of a secularist nature, such as cremation.

<sup>265</sup> *The Freethought Review*, 1 March, 1885, p.5. This is a reference to the evangelist Richard Booth referred to in Chapter Five.

<sup>266</sup> *The Freethought Review*, 1 January, 1885, pp. 3-4.

<sup>267</sup> *The Freethought Review*, 1 February, 1885, pp.3-4.

<sup>268</sup> *Christchurch Star*, 27 June, 1884.

<sup>269</sup> Peter Lineham, Freethinkers in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand, p.63.

<sup>270</sup> *The New Zealand Methodist*, 29 March, 1890.

<sup>271</sup> John Stenhouse, *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol. 2, 1870-1900, Claudia Orange, (ed.) Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1993, pp.94-5.

<sup>272</sup> Macleod, p. 38.

<sup>273</sup> Stenhouse, p.94.

<sup>274</sup> Macdonald, Scholefield, pp. 68-9. Tommy Taylor's fiancée, Elizabeth Ellison, recalls them walking home together after she had attended a lecture by Professor Bickerton. Macleod, p.25.

<sup>275</sup> S.G. Macfarlane, *Free Methodism in New Zealand*, WHS vol.14, No. 4, July, 1958, p.11f. There were in fact three Revs J Hosking in the Methodist denominations at this time. Dr John Hosking was the only one who was a Free Methodist.

<sup>276</sup> Stenhouse, p.94.

<sup>277</sup> *The Free Methodist Monthly Magazine*, vol.1, No. 2, May, 1891, p.2.

<sup>278</sup> Information provided by Dr Peter Lineham.

<sup>279</sup> Hames, p.108.

## Chapter Eight Separation and Union

<sup>280</sup> Obituary, *The Advocate*, 26, October, 1895.

<sup>281</sup> Minutes of the NZ District Meeting of the UMFC, January, 1876.

<sup>282</sup> Bernard Gadd, *William Morley, 1842-1926*, WHS, vol. 20, No.1 & 2, March 1964, p. 16.

<sup>283</sup> *ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>284</sup> To be fair to the New Zealand Wesleyans they were opposed to the three-year limit on ministerial locations, but were powerless to alter that as long as they remained under the umbrella of the Australasian Conference. A well-argued editorial in *The New Zealand Wesleyan*, 1 April 1873, p.56, spoke forcefully of: '...the loss of the special influence which a minister attains by long association with one community...Pastor and flock are divorced with unfailing regularity as soon as they begin to really know and understand each other. To ministers themselves and their families, itineracy represents the sacrifice of all the comforts of home and settled life.' The New Zealand Wesleyans also had a liberal view on polity and at the Christchurch Conference in 1874 recommended admitting laymen. A strongly argued editorial in *The New Zealand Wesleyan* of 1 October 1874, p.181, argued the position forcefully. However, it should be noted that the editor of the paper at this time was criticised for too-liberal views, even by Morley, Gadd, p. 16.

<sup>285</sup> Gadd, p.38.

<sup>286</sup> *ibid.*, p.38.

<sup>287</sup> *The New Zealand Methodist*, 10 February, 1894, report of the District Meeting of the UMFC. See also Hames, p.97.

<sup>288</sup> George died in May 1888 after a very brief illness. The *Lyttelton Times* of 9 May carried a report of his funeral which stated: 'The funeral procession which left his late dwelling in the Lincoln road, shortly after half-past two, was of unusually large proportions. It was headed by about two hundred of the teachers and children of the Free Methodist Sunday School. Following these came the hearse, with three mourning coaches containing the relatives and more intimate friends of the deceased. Behind these were more than a hundred pedestrians, the procession closing with about twenty private carriages.'

<sup>289</sup> *The New Zealand Free Methodist Quarterly Magazine* of August 1877, Vol III, no 3, p72, records that Mr William Hicks of Cornwall gave 500 pounds to Rev S Macfarlane towards a new chapel in Christchurch and 500 pounds to Rev H Redstone towards a new chapel at Wellington.

<sup>290</sup> Minutes of the Addington Circuit Meeting of 30 December 1891.

<sup>291</sup> S.G. Macfarlane, *Free Methodism in New Zealand*, WHS, vol.14. No. 4, July, 1958, pp.10-11. He enumerates the debts of the various circuits in the late eighties and early nineties.

<sup>292</sup> The Minutes of a New Zealand Committee Meeting, (undated) probably 1881, refer to 'criminal intercourse' between Rev Lockwood and Miss Droggat, a member at Christchurch and a dispute between Rev Wilkinson and some of the members at Napier. Such problems were reasonably infrequent, but the committee kept a close eye on the probity of its ministers and despite difficulties of 'supply' removed or censured them if it felt it had to.

<sup>293</sup> R.E. Fields, *Waimakariri Methodism*, Oxford: 1971, p11.

<sup>294</sup> W. Morley, *The History of Methodism in New Zealand*, Wellington: McKee, 1900, p. 324.

<sup>295</sup> *The Advocate*, 10 November 1894.

<sup>296</sup> *The Advocate*, 5 January 1895, p. 368.

<sup>297</sup> *The Advocate*, 28 March, 1896, pp.434-5. Hosking's pleasure was not long-lived as, by 1900, he was the President of Mount Eden Free Methodist Church, which had withdrawn from the United Church. He published a small leaflet, *The Advocate*, in August 1900, which contained some rather bitter and not credible comments about the United Church: '...after all the properties of the Free Methodists were seized by the Wesleyans, the Ministers of the Churches were treated shamefully and practically driven out one after the other, and sent about their business.' This is belied by information in Morley *The History of Methodism in New Zealand* which show where the Free Methodist had progressed to, and especially by the complimentary comments about Hosking while at the Cambridge Circuit of the United Church – p.235.

<sup>298</sup> *The Advocate*, 4 April, 1896.

<sup>299</sup> Circuit Committee minutes, September, 1896.

<sup>300</sup> *The Advocate*, 12 September 1896.

<sup>301</sup> An editorial in *The Advocate*, 11 December 1897, discussed the problems of this policy.

<sup>302</sup> *The Press*, 1 May 1899, p.2. 'I respectfully request a small space in your columns to raise my voice against what I consider a great public evil, viz., the desecration of the Sabbath in Christchurch. A few Sundays ago, passing through the Square, as the tramcars were filling up for Sumner, I could not help feeling that the Tram Company were doing a good deal to turn the Holy Sabbath into an ordinary holiday, thereby disregarding the glory due to the Most High. Other public notices of Sabbath desecration appear in your paper this week. There is the Sunday fishing excursion trip from Lyttelton, the lecture on "New

Zealand Scenery" in the Theatre Royal, "admission: dress circle 1s, other parts 6d," and an advertisement of a Sunday Cycle Band parade. If I am asked to say what makes it my business to protest against Sabbath desecration, my reply is, that if the Bible, the only authoritative external source of information on morals is to be taken as a guide, the Sabbath-breaking is as much a breach of morality as stealing or lying. The command, "Remember the Sabbath Day to keep it holy" is as distinct as "Thou shalt not commit adultery." Is there a man to be found who in his senses does not believe that the sanctity of the Sabbath is essential to the morality, peace and prosperity of a people. When such things as those to which I refer are publicly announced or reported, I think it time for someone to publicly protest. Of course I don't say that the responsibility in this matter rests wholly, or even mainly, on the non-church-going class. Perhaps Churchgoers who use trams to go to church, or elsewhere, are specially to blame. Though it should be said, in answer to the charge that religious people are responsible for depriving drivers of cars and others of the Sabbath rest, that if trams only ran to take people to church very few would be needed. Feeling deeply the seriousness of the question, and believing that the moral effects of the Sabbath desecration that is going on will be very disastrous, I ask the insertion of this letter.'

<sup>303</sup> *The Press*, 13 May 1899, p. 7. The Canterbury Sunday Observance League had been in existence since 1874, (see *The New Zealand Wesleyan*, 1 October 1874), and had a strong following in Christchurch throughout the period.

<sup>304</sup> John Brown was a representative to the Annual Conference in 1898 and 1899. In the 1899 Conference photograph he is seated beside Rev. T E Thomas. *The Advocate* of 23 April 1904 contained a lengthy letter from T E Thomas, defending the historical validity of the Pentateuch against Darwinist influences.

<sup>305</sup> Obituary, *The Advocate*, 24 April, 1899, p. 510.

<sup>306</sup> Wesley Parker (ed.) *Rev. C.H. Laws*, Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1954, p.50.

<sup>307</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 50-1.

<sup>308</sup> *ibid.*, p.53.

<sup>309</sup> E.W. Hames, *Out of the Common Way*, WHS, Vol. 27, Nos.3 and 4, 1972, p.145.

<sup>310</sup> *ibid.* p. 143.

<sup>311</sup> *ibid.*, p. 144.

<sup>312</sup> D A Cowell, *Methodism in New Zealand in the Late Nineteenth Century*, MA thesis in History, University of Auckland, 1983.

<sup>313</sup> 'Fainting, sudden temporary loss of consciousness' *Oxford Illustrated Dictionary*.