EDUCATION IN CANTERBURY
1851-57

an Investigation of
Source Material with Particular Reference to
The Extent of Educational Facilities,
The Nature of the Curriculum,
And Problems of Control,
Finance and Organization

A Thesis
Presented to
The University of New Zealand

In Partial Fulfilment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts
in Education

by
Leonard E. L. Watson
1961
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to Mr. Graham Nuthall, who brought to my notice much of the source material used in this thesis (more particularly that which is deposited in the Canterbury Museum), and who has freely made available to me his knowledge of the period. I would also like to thank Mr. J. Wilson, Librarian of the Canterbury Museum, for encouragement and assistance.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Scope of the Thesis</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Review of the Literature</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sources</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recurring Themes</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. THE ENGLISH BACKGROUND</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Condition of the Church</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Educational Background</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. THE CANTERBURY ASSOCIATION</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Formation of the Association</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Canterbury Association and Education</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Association Plans for Education</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. PREPARATIONS FOR SETTLEMENT</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrangements in New Zealand</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land Sales</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecclesiastical and Educational Arrangements</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Recruitment of Emigrants</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Voyage Out</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. THE BEGINNINGS OF THE SCHOOL SYSTEM</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The College and Grammar School</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER</td>
<td>PAGE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Association Schools</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday Schools</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pigeon Bay School</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. THE FINANCING OF EDUCATION, 1851-1853.</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Failure of the Land Fund</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Necessity for Voluntary Giving</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Financing of Education</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. THE CONTROL OF SCHOOLS, 1851-1853.</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Association Plan</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Lack of a Bishop</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Control of Education</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious Education and the Place of Dissenters</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII. THE GODLEY PERIOD: A REVIEW</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contemporary Views of the Godley Period.</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Extent of Schooling</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The College</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Significant Trends</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Godley's Influence</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX. INTERREGNUM: DECEMBER 1852-APRIL 1854</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Arrival of Sewell.</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Provincial Council</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Association Schools.</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

X. FITZGERALD AND THE EDUCATION SYSTEM, 1853-1854

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Church, the State and Education</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Opening of the Provincial Council</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Work of the Provincial Council: Sessions I and II</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Transfer of the Schools</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Minute on Education</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

XI. THE CONTROL OF EDUCATION: APRIL 1854-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MAY 1855</th>
<th>180</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Implementation of the Minute</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Operation of the Minute</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FitzGerald's Education Bill, 1855</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

XII. THE CONTROL OF EDUCATION: MAY 1855-MARCH 1857

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1857</th>
<th>201</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Organization of the Schools</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Attitude of the Clergy</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Problem of Finance</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

XIII. THE SCHOOLS, APRIL 1854-MARCH 1857

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Christ's College</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Remaining Anglican Schools</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Wesleyan School</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian Schools</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Schools</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult Education</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Education</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusions</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| XIV. THE STATE OF EDUCATION IN 1857 | 257 |
| School Property | 257 |
| Staffing | 261 |
| School Organization | 265 |
| Curriculum | 271 |
| Means and Methods of Instruction | 273 |
| Religious and Moral Instruction | 274 |
| Attendances | 279 |
| Conclusions | 287 |

| XV. THE EDUCATION ORDINANCE, 1857 | 290 |
| The Clergy Express their Views | 290 |
| The Debates on Education, April-June 1857 | 298 |

<p>| XVI. EDUCATION IN CANTERBURY, 1851-1857: A REVIEW | 317 |
| The Extent of Education | 317 |
| School Attendance | 320 |
| The Control of Education | 324 |
| The Financing of Education | 339 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Problem of Religious Education</td>
<td>341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education and the Social System</td>
<td>345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVII. CONCLUSION</td>
<td>349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suggestions for Further Research</td>
<td>353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX A. PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN CANTERBURY, 1851-1857</td>
<td>370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX B. PRIVATE SCHOOLS IN CANTERBURY, 1851-1857</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX C. PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHERS IN CANTERBURY, 1851-1857</td>
<td>375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX D. INSPECTORS OF SCHOOLS IN CANTERBURY, 1854-1857</td>
<td>378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX E. THE EDUCATION MINUTE, APRIL 1854</td>
<td>379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX F. THE EDUCATION BILL, 1855</td>
<td>385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX G. RESOLUTIONS ON EDUCATION INTRODUCED INTO THE PROVINCIAL COUNCIL, SESSION VIII, 1857</td>
<td>392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX H. THE EDUCATION ORDINANCE, 1857</td>
<td>399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX I. ADDRESS OF THE SUPERINTENDENT ON OPENING THE FIRST SESSION OF THE CANTERBURY PROVINCIAL COUNCIL, 1853</td>
<td>403</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX</td>
<td>TITLE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.</td>
<td>ACCOUNT OF PURCHASES MADE BY THE REV. THOMAS JACKSON</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K.</td>
<td>MEMBERS OF THE CANTERBURY PROVINCIAL COUNCIL, 1853-1857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>MEMBERS OF THE CANTERBURY EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, 1853-1857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>PROVINCIAL SECRETARIES OF CANTERBURY, 1854-1857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>CANTERBURY PROVINCIAL COUNCIL: DATES OF SESSIONS I - VIII, 1853-1857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O.</td>
<td>THE ORIGINAL SCHEME FOR THE CHRISTCHURCH COLLEGE AND GRAMMAR SCHOOL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.</td>
<td>CENSUS FIGURES</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. Rolls of Canterbury Association Schools as given in the Blue Book, 1852</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Rolls and Average Attendances, Association Schools, 1852</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Salaries of School Teachers, 1857</td>
<td>264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. Fees Charged by Schools, 1857</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Attendances at Public Schools About March, 1857</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. Total School Population, 31 March 1857</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. Population of School Age (5 - 15 Years) 31 March 1857</td>
<td>283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII. European Population of the Canterbury Block Excluding Akaroa and Pigeon Bay, November 1851</td>
<td>426</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX. Children of School Age and School Populations, Government and Private Schools, 31 March 1854</td>
<td>427</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X. Children of School Age and School Populations, Government and Private Schools, 15 January 1856</td>
<td>428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TABLE</td>
<td>PAGE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI. Children of School Age and School Populations, Government and Private Schools, 31 March 1857</td>
<td>429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII. Percentage of European Population of N.Z. Able, or Not Able, to Read or Write, 1855 and 1856</td>
<td>430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIII. Religious Denominations in Canterbury for the Years 1851, 1854, 1856, and 1857</td>
<td>431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIV. Religious Denominations in Canterbury: Percentage of Total Population, 1851 and 1857</td>
<td>432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XV. Children in Canterbury Aged 5 - 15 Years and School Attendance, 1851-1857</td>
<td>433</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FIGURE</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. Christchurch and Environs: Location of Schools 1851-1857</td>
<td>xiv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Christchurch and Environs: Distribution of School-Age Population, 31 March 1857</td>
<td>xv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. School Attendance and School-Age Population, Canterbury, 1851-1857</td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. Public Schools in Canterbury, 1851-1857</td>
<td>372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue Book</td>
<td>Archives of the Province of New Munster, <em>Blue Books for the Province of New Munster</em>, 1851-1852.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CA-AE</td>
<td>Accounts of the Ecclesiastical and Educational Fund.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CA-DG</td>
<td>Copy Despatches, Godley to the Management Committee.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CA-DM</td>
<td>Canterbury Association: Despatches from the Management Committee to Godley.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CA-DMI</td>
<td>Canterbury Association: Canterbury Church History and Instructions to Godley.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CA-I</td>
<td>Canterbury Settlement - Invoice Book.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CA-L</td>
<td>Canterbury Association Letters in the Lands and Survey Department, Christchurch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CA-M</td>
<td>Bundle of Canterbury Association Papers relevant to Schools, located in the Canterbury Museum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CA-Min</td>
<td>Copy of Minutes of the Canterbury Association.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCM-Min</td>
<td>Minutes of the Meeting of the Committee on Church Matters, Christchurch.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Church-Minutes Church Minute Book of Lyttelton.

EC-M Minutes of the Canterbury Executive Council.

Guardian The Guardian and Canterbury Advertiser.

Lyttelton Times The Lyttelton Times.


PC-Papers Canterbury Provincial Council: Papers Laid on the Table.

PC-Sup Addresses and messages, Superintendent to Provincial Council.


PT Provincial Treasury: Ledger.

SCC-Min Society of Canterbury Colonists, Minute Book.

SIL Superintendent's Office: Inward Letters.

SNZ Statistics of New Zealand for 1853-1856.

For details of sources, see Bibliography, infra, pp. 355-69.
FIGURE 1
CHRISTCHURCH and ENVIRONS
LOCATION OF SCHOOLS, 1851-57
KEY
- 10 Children, 5-15 years
- 50
- 200

FIGURE I
CHRISTCHURCH and ENVIRONS
DISTRIBUTION of CHILD POPULATION
31 March 1857
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I. THE SCOPE OF THE THESIS

This thesis is concerned with the earliest years of education in the Canterbury Settlement, from the arrival of the First Four Ships in December 1850, to 1857: a year which is notable for the passing of the first Education Ordinance of the Province, and the end of the first Superintendency. It is therefore concerned with the infancy of the New Zealand education system.

Knowledge of the facts about education in early Canterbury is very inadequate. It is not known how many schools existed, when they opened or closed, who their teachers were,\(^1\) or how many pupils attended them. Knowledge of what school books were used, what fees charged, or what subjects taught is equally slight. For this reason detailed accounts of the origins and growth of schools will be given, and an attempt made to fill in some of these gaps in our knowledge of the vital facts of the period.

\(^1\)Butchers' account of pioneer teachers is inadequate and in certain cases erroneous. See A.G. Butchers, Young New Zealand (Dunedin: Coulls Somerville Wilkie, 1929), p.356.
Alongside this there will be an attempt to see the development of education during this period as something dynamic, arising in the minds of the founders of the Canterbury Association influenced as they were by mid-nineteenth century ideas about Church and school; transferred to the settlement, where the ideals were changed by impact with the colonial situation, where the old problems which the colonists had hoped to have left behind them appeared again, sometimes in another form. Here the main emphasis will be upon the control, management and maintenance of the education system as a whole.

II. A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The literature which bears directly upon the history of education in Canterbury is very scant. Undoubtedly the classic is Butchers' *Young New Zealand* which treats of the development of education in New Zealand to the Education Act of 1877. As would be expected from the scope of the book, there are only ten pages devoted to Canterbury in this period, 1850-57. It is, however, unfortunate that

---

2Butchers, *op. cit.*

Butchers' interpretation of the period is inadequately founded and over-simplified. With regard to the Anglican schools, which include almost all of the schools of the period, in his text he only mentions the Collegiate Grammar and the St. Michael's schools at Christchurch. Two private schools (one of them subsidised by the Association) are discussed at length, and in summarizing the period he says:

Hence the strange anomaly that with the exception of the "Canterbury College and Grammar School", the settlers in what was educationally the most richly endowed province of all, had to depend for many years to a large extent upon private enterprise for the education of their children.¹

The evidence to be indicated later will show that in fact the Association maintained a number of schools, and despite the lack of finance, did much to begin education in Canterbury.

Butchers quotes from FitzGerald's address to the first session of the Provincial Council⁵ but implies in his treatment that the years between 1853 and 1857 were years when virtually nothing of significance was done, and that the real history of education in Canterbury begins with the

⁴Ibid., p.157. ⁵Ibid., p.171.
Education Ordinance of 1857. That this interpretation must be considerably modified will be shown in the following pages.

Butchers' *Centennial History of Education in Canterbury*, although published over twenty years after his earlier work, incorporated no new material on the period under discussion.

Several theses have been written on the history of education in Canterbury, but only two of them can now be located. The earlier one, by Enid Oxford is disappointing in its treatment of the 1850-57 period. After discussing the origins of the Canterbury Association and the settlement of Canterbury, she writes in Chapter III of "Education to 1853." This consists only of material on New Zealand education in general—the missionaries, Grey's Ordinance and Domett's protest. The following chapter is entitled "The Educational Policy of the Canterbury Provincial Council to 1862." Here she follows Butchers (then


only just published) in overstating the case against the investment of the Ecclesiastical and Educational Fund in
land, and concludes:

Thus it happened that the most richly endowed province, from an educational point of view, had, with the exception of "Canterbury College and Grammar School" to depend for several years largely on private and denominational schools.

Virtually no mention is made of educational policy during the early period. It is dismissed thus:

As the colony was essentially a Church one, the policy was naturally a denominational policy ... although many of the leading men of the province did not agree with this system.9

In a later chapter on the growth of specific schools there are many confusions and inaccuracies; thus the schools in Lyttelton are wrongly said to have been under the control of the Head Master of Christ's College.10 Altogether this thesis is too sketchy and inaccurate to provide much knowledge of education in the earlier period.

Betteridge's thesis is concerned with the development of Anglican schools only,11 and that over a relatively long

8Ibid., p.18. 9Ibid., p.20. 10Ibid., p.37.

period--1849 to 1918. The first two chapters only are relevant to the period 1850-57. The first deals with the plans of the Canterbury Association and with the Godley period, while the second is concerned with the Anglican schools between 1853 and 1856.

For the earlier period, his discussion is unfortunately brief and undetailed. No mention at all is made of how the schools were actually controlled, or of the relationship which existed between the clergy, the Association, and Godley himself, in the management of the schools. He also suggests that the Association played virtually no part in the financing of the schools of the period.

The following chapter is notable for its detailed and sound discussion of the origins of Christ's College in the Provincial Period, and it has been found unnecessary to repeat much of what Betteridge says. It is unfortunate that in his treatment of the political aspects of education, and in his brief accounts of schools other than Christ's College, he is brief and inaccurate. The Education Bill of 1855 goes unmentioned, and the complicated developments between 1853 and 1856 are not mentioned at all. The schools in 1854-55 are still called "Church Schools" without the specific meaning of the term being defined in terms of the Education Minute of 1854. The impression is given that
the movement towards secularism did not become important until 1857:

Some felt that the time had come for the introduction of a secular system of state-controlled education. Foremost among its advocates was Fitzgerald, himself a good Churchman.\(^\text{12}\)

While Betteridge adds something to our knowledge of certain aspects of education (and particularly the establishment of Christ's College), he covers too long a period for his survey to be of very much depth in the period now under review.

III. SOURCES

The books and theses mentioned in the review above have generally relied upon certain published sources (especially Butcher's work in the case of the theses), such as personal recollections, newspapers and secondary works. Betteridge made considerable use of unpublished sources deposited in the Christchurch Diocesan Office, as well as the Association despatch books. However, a large amount of other unpublished material is available and relatively untouched. Particularly is this true of certain pamphlets

\(^{12}\) Ibid., p.67.
held in the Hocken and Turnbull Libraries, and of very valuable material deposited in the library of the Canterbury Museum. Here is found the bulk of the papers relating to the Provincial period—not only published works such as the Government Gazette, but such sources as the minute book of the Executive Council and the provincial letter-books. Without such materials as these, no adequate understanding of education in the period can be reached.

A most valuable section of these papers is a collection of miscellaneous items relating to education, chiefly pertaining to the Association period. Although uncatalogued, they contain most valuable and interesting records, including letters and records of school attendances.

IV. RECURRING THEMES

It will be useful at this stage to anticipate certain themes or questions which will continually recur during the story to be told, each time perhaps in a different form and in a different situation. Three problems are central; and it is valuable to distinguish them early, so that it can be seen how men have, in one particular place and at one particular time, struggled to solve these problems within the limits of their experience.
and environment.

How shall the schools be controlled? Should they be managed by the Church or the State, or left to purely individual effort? If the State enlists the Church as partner, must this imply an established Church? If not, what is to be the relationship of the State to the denominations within it? Associated problems relate to the inspection of schools and the appointment of teachers.

How shall the schools be financed? If the Government is to take an active interest in education, ought it to levy rates, pay grants in aid from revenue, or charge fees? What is the appropriate place of educational endowments? Is it desirable or expedient that school attendance should be free? These questions are closely related to those concerning the control of schools.

Shall there be religious education? If so, what form should it take and what allowance should be made for the children of those who dissent from the religious teaching given? These questions are perhaps the most fundamentally dividing ones, and lie behind many of the problems in the control of education in this period, as they did in England at the same time.
Less obvious problems, but none the less real ones, centre around the problem of curriculum. For whom are the schools intended? Should there be two levels of school, one for the middle class and one for the lower? What should they teach, and why? Is universal or compulsory education desirable?

In the course of the following pages an attempt will be made to indicate the ways in which answers to these questions were proposed, and the extent to which they were carried out. At the same time the account of the development of the schools themselves will be given.

A beginning will be made by viewing the background from which the first settlers came; especially important to the understanding of later developments in Canterbury is a knowledge of the ecclesiastical influences operating in the England of the early nineteenth century, and the educational conditions and problems of that time. Following this will come a brief survey of the formation of the Canterbury Association, and a more detailed examination of its educational plans for the colony. This section of the thesis will be completed with a description of the arrangements that were made for settlement and of the schools held on board the emigrant ships.
Very soon after the arrival of the First Four Ships in Canterbury towards the end of 1850, schools were set up. A description of this process will be given, and a survey made of educational facilities during the period 1851-53. Attention will be given to the problems of the control and financing of education in Canterbury during the Godley period. In Chapter VIII conclusions will be drawn concerning this period, both from the point of view of the spread of educational facilities, and in terms of the problem of control. The section will end with a discussion of the winding up of the Canterbury Association, and of the beginnings of the Provincial Council.

The early Provincial period between 1854 and 1857 might with justice be entitled "The FitzGerald Period." In Chapters X to XII comes the story of his attempts to build up a provincial education system. The following two chapters will describe the course of the schools from the beginning of the Provincial period, concluding with a survey of the state of education in March 1857.

The Education Ordinance of 1857, the first educational legislation enacted by the Canterbury Provincial Council, will be the theme of the fifteenth chapter. Finally, the thesis will conclude with a review of the whole
period between 1851 and 1857. At all stages special attention will be given to the themes outlined above.¹³

This account of education in Canterbury begins then with a consideration of the English background from which the Canterbury Colonists came, against which can be seen the relationship between the past which the colonists left behind them and the future towards which they were moving.

¹³See supra, p.9.
CHAPTER II

THE ENGLISH BACKGROUND

I. THE CONDITION OF THE CHURCH

It is useless to attempt to understand the politics of Nineteenth Century England, or the background of Godley's Canterbury settlement, except in terms of the Evangelical Revival and the Tractarian or Oxford Movement.¹

For this reason a beginning must be made of any study of Canterbury education by looking at the English Church and school of the time.

The Established Church

Looked at from the point of view of a twentieth century New Zealander, perhaps the most obvious characteristic of the Church of England was that it was the established Church; it was The Church of England. But being in a very strong legal position, especially in regard to endowments and education, had its attendant weaknesses, and the end of the struggles of the seventeenth century had been marked by a general spiritual lethargy.

Within the Establishment there was need for reform, and
with it an increasing demand, not only for reform within
the Church of England, but for its disestablishment:

Under these general conditions, it is not wonderful
that the Radical Press, in lampoons, articles and gross
caricatures of plump, red-faced eaters of tithes,
attacked the Anglican clergy more fiercely than they
had been attacked since the days of the Long Parliament.
Their unpopularity came to a head in 1831, when
the Spiritual Peers in the House of Lords voted by
twenty-one to two against the Reform Bill.

The position was such that Dr. Arnold of Rugby could
write, "The Church as it now is, no human power can save." 

**Moves for Church Reform**

Demands for Church reform came from many sources.
The Enlightenment of the eighteenth century, with its
attendant rationalism, stimulated men to examine the role of
the Church, and to bring criticism to bear upon its
exclusive claims. Within the Establishment, the Evangelical
Revival brought with it a new sense of urgency of mission,
both within England and in the countries then being opened up.
The strengthening of Dissent by parallel revivals (notably

---

\(^2\)G.M. Trevelyan, *English Social History: a Survey of
Six Centuries, Chaucer to Queen Victoria* (London: The

\(^3\)Ibid., p.519.
by the rise of Methodism) not only shook the foundations of the Anglican Church in such areas as Wales and the industrial north, but brought renewed demands for the separation of Church and State, and the abolition of the numerous civil disabilities which bore upon those who dissented from the Establishment.

The first half of the nineteenth century saw some improvement both in the internal condition of the Anglican Church and in the civil status of Dissenters. The work of the Ecclesiastical Commission did much to redistribute clerical incomes and improve the condition of the lower clergy. Catholic emancipation came in 1829, 1839 brought the Tithe Commutation Act, and the Marriage Act, whereby the state recognised marriages performed in Dissenting chapels. Yet in spite of these concessions, Dissent was definitely at a civil disadvantage. G.M. Trevelyan summarises the situation thus:

These various reforms saved the Church from the serious attacks upon her that had been predicted alike by friend and foe. Nevertheless political and social divisions remained very largely religious. . . . For a long time to come England was less "class-conscious" than "Church- and chapel-conscious."

---

4Ibid., p.519.
While the Evangelicals were bringing new urgency to the proclamation of the Gospel, and Wesleyans were converting many of the working and middle classes, a newer movement was pressing upon the Anglican Church an awareness of its Catholic heritage. Beginning with Keble's sermon on "National apostacy" in 1833, the Oxford Movement sought to emphasize the Church as an organic being, with its own ritual and doctrines, led by a priesthood ordained in the apostolic succession. But it represented more than a liturgical revolt:

The Oxford Movement was a reaffirmation of the spiritual independence of the Church from secular control, it opposed divine authority to the antidogmatic standpoint of liberalism, and following the seventeenth century tradition of Andrewes and Laud, it stressed the Catholic heritage of the Church of England and the latter's continuity with the pre-Reformation Church.5

The suspicion that they leaned rather far towards Rome (emphasized by Newman's conversion), limited the influence of the Tractarians. They are important to us, however, in that their influence was considerable among the founders of the Canterbury Association, especially

---

5J.J. Saunders, The Age of Revolution (London: Hutchison, [1947]).
with regard to views on the relationship between the Church and the State.

The Church and Colonisation

Accompanying the increasing self-criticism within the Church of England regarding its role in missions, in doctrine and in organisation, came a similar judgement of the part it had played in colonisation. The Low Church party, acting through the Church Missionary Society, generally were opposed to colonisation, and saw the Church's function as being to send missionaries to bring enlightenment to the heathen natives. The High Church party, on the other hand, generally accepted the reality and necessity of colonisation; and its leaders were concerned that where the colonists went, there also should the Anglican Church be as an organised body, with bishop and parochial clergy. This view played an important part in the Canterbury project, which was a systematic attempt at Church colonisation.

Typical in many ways, was the position taken by the Rev. James Cecil Wynter, who had been offered the position of first bishop of Canterbury. In a pamphlet which he wrote in 1850 he described and condemned the lack of
organized Church activity in the beginnings of the American colonies, and asked whether, in the founding of the Second British Empire, the Church was again going to remain inactive:

Is the Church going to stand aloof, a cold, dignified unimpassioned spectatrix of the solution of this great knot and juncture of England's destinies? . . . Or, shall she assume not only a nobler part, but the very function imposed upon her by her Divine Founder, and, assimilating her life with their life, her interests with their interests, share while she heartens them under difficulties, and temper the violence of the struggle which she may not be able altogether to turn aside?

He felt that the Church had hitherto erred badly:

And the gravaman of the charge consists in this, that the Church made really no self-sacrifice at all to promote the religious welfare and moral training of the colonists. She did not go forth herself complete in herself, but sent forth here and there a solitary missionary; then left him to struggle onwards as best he might, alone and unsupported, against a kind of enforced irreligion which, if she did not exactly create, she at least, by her neutrality, contributed to swell. She was guilty of the absurd anomaly of attempting to plant Episcopacy without a Bishop, and that for nearly two centuries.

By the 1840's, then, there were in England a growing number of sincere and thoughtful Churchmen, who were convinced of the need for the Church to sponsor emigration;

---

7Ibid., p.8.  
8Ibid., p.11.
partly that the colonists might be properly provided for in things spiritual; and for some, that there might be established overseas a branch of the Church which might be free from the corrupting divisions of which it was becoming so acutely conscious. These men knew in practice the strengths and weaknesses of an established Church, and had experienced first-hand the effects of denominational differences upon the life of the nation. Nowhere were these tensions more keenly felt than in education.

II. THE EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

It was inevitable that the English colonists would bring with them preconceived views as to how education should be organised, of what should and should not be done. It was equally inevitable that these plans should be influenced by the sort of education that was available in England at the time, and by the problems which were being experienced there.

The Organization of Education

It is the custom today to take for granted a system of education which allows all children, irrespective of the
social class of their parents, to undertake elementary, secondary and higher education, according to their abilities. In nineteenth century England, however, education was stratified according to one's religion and social class.

For the upper and middle classes, 'public' endowed schools or fee-charging grammar schools catered for most children. At the beginning of the century many of the schools had been in very poor condition, but considerable improvement had occurred during the next few decades. The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge were still the preserve of the Anglican higher classes, entrance being restricted to members of the Church of England.

About 1850, elementary education for the lower-middle class and lower class was organised mainly upon a voluntary basis. Many people still held the view that education in reading and writing was not advisable for the poor\(^9\) but that religious instruction and perhaps some

---

\(^9\) Hans quotes the Bishop of London in 1803 affirming that "... men of considerable ability say that it is safest for both the Government and the religion of the country to let the lower classes remain in that state of ignorance in which nature has originally placed them." N. Hans, *Comparative Education* (Second edition; London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1950), p.133.
industrial training was all that was needed.

But other forces had been at work during those last decades: Evangelicals, Benthamites, Chartists, the growing social conscience expressing itself through Factory Acts and the abolition of the slave trade; these operated to persuade men that all children, even the poorest, were entitled to a minimum of education. So there had sprung up a range of schools, most of them being sponsored and organised by one of the great educational societies.

The "British and Foreign School Society" had begun in 1808 as the "Lancastrian Society," headed by Joseph Lancaster. It set out to form day schools for the poor, organised on the monitor system, and along undenominational lines. Support was almost entirely from nonconformists.

Formed in opposition to the British and Foreign Society was the "National Society for the Promotion of the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church," in 1811. The Anglican Church felt keenly that education was a Church business, and that in forming schools, the Dissenters were going outside of their legitimate field. As the Church of England was the National Church, so should any national system of education be controlled by the Church. Schools were organised at the
parish level, and largely controlled by parochial clergy. These schools provided mainly for the poor. There was as well a range of fee-charging schools intended for the lower middle class. Some of these were dame schools, where frequently an elderly woman minded rather than taught young children. The condition and standard of these schools tended to be low. Usually better were the Commercial Schools—a term which recurs later in Canterbury history. Of these Adamson says:

Arnold . . . gives the following account of private schools. Between the Grammar and Parochial schools

"There is a great multitude of what are called English or Commercial schools, at which a large proportion of the sons of farmers and tradesmen receive their education. In some instances they are foundation schools, and the master is appointed by and is answerable to, the trustees of the charity; but more commonly they are private undertakings, entered upon by individuals as a means of providing for themselves and their families. . . .

Arnold gives the following outline of the course of studies usually followed in the commercial school. They teach the three R's, history, geography, English grammar and composition, the rudiments of physical science, "carried on to a greater or lesser degree of advancement", land-surveying or book-keeping, religion varying with the instructor.10

Sunday schools had been organized, notably by Robert Raikes, who in 1785 had begun "The Society for the Support and Encouragement of Sunday Schools in the Different Counties of England." At first their aim had been limited to religious instruction and some reading. Hannah More narrowed down her curriculum to the Bible and Catechism and "such coarse work as may fit children for servants. I allow no writing for the poor."¹¹ Later, as the move towards secular instruction strengthened, these schools taught more of the three R's; many industrialists agreed with Raikes that sufficient secular knowledge could be imparted on one day per week.

In 1840 Dr. Kay, Secretary of the Privy Council Committee on Education, privately founded an undenominational Normal School at Battersea for the training of teachers to instruct pauper children. In 1844 it was handed over to the National Society¹² and is mentioned several times in early Canterbury history, several of the first teachers having been trained there.

¹¹Hans, loc. cit.

Education and the State

For Centuries education in England had been regarded as a prerogative of the Church; and however much its duty may have been neglected, the feeling still existed that religion and education were inextricably intertwined. But with the growing concern about education came a growing demand for a national scheme of education. In 1833 Rooke asked the House of Commons to pledge itself for the next session to such a scheme. Instead, a vote of £20,000 was passed, to be divided between the National Society and the British and Foreign Society; although no sum was to be contributed from the grant, unless an equal amount was raised by voluntary subscription. This was the first vote of public money for education.

The next landmark in the history of state participation in education comes in 1839, with the creation of the Education Committee of the Privy Council. This body, with its staff of officials, formed a permanent

---

13The Act of Uniformity of 1662 laid down that: "... every schoolmaster keeping any publique or private schoole, and every person instructing or teaching any youth in any house or private family should undertake to conforme to the Liturgy of the Church of England." Adamson, op. cit., p.188.
Board of Education, with Dr. Kay (later Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth) as Secretary. But although this move was to have far-reaching repercussions, at this stage it was seen as only a board to supervise the distribution of the annual grant voted by Parliament; by 1839 this was £30,000. Although most of the grant was administered through the two existing School Societies, other schools not connected with these bodies were entitled to receive Government aid. In all cases the right of inspection was retained by the Committee. This policy of encouraging voluntary giving resulted in the amount collected from local sources for school purposes between 1839 and 1844 amounting to £230,000, which was met by grants in aid totalling £170,000.14

When the Canterbury settlers came to organize their education system, they had before them the example of England where voluntary schools were granted money from public funds, and became subject to inspection. It should be stressed that at this time the Government itself took no other direct part in education.

14Cornish, op. cit., pp. 201-2.
The Problem of Religious Education

The social cleavage between Establishment and Dissent was paralleled in educational administration by the division between the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society. The central practical problem was, what system of religious education was to be used in schools? The National Society firmly adhered to its Anglican principles. On the other hand, the British and Foreign Society refused to teach the English catechism, and allowed Bible reading and teaching along 'general' and undenominational lines only.

Indicative of the attitude of the Church is a resolution passed at a large meeting of the National Society, held under the presidency of Archbishop Howley. The resolution read:

That it is an object of the highest national importance to provide that instruction in the truths and precepts of Christianity should form an essential part of every system of education intended for the people at large, and that such instruction should be under the superintendence of the clergy, and in conformity with the doctrines of the Church in this Realm, as the recognised teacher of religion."15

Here were all the ingredients of much later trouble:

15Ibid., p.204.
Especially the insistence upon the central role of the clergy and upon the teaching of Anglican doctrines. These could not be accepted by Dissenters in England, and were to prove equally unpalatable to non-Anglican opinion in the colony.

To conclude, it might be fairly said that elementary education in England in 1850 was controlled by religious bodies; financed by voluntary subscriptions, school fees and local rates, with the assistance of Government grants; the nature of the religious teaching being decided by the body controlling the school.
CHAPTER III
THE CANTERBURY ASSOCIATION

I. THE FORMATION OF THE ASSOCIATION

Edward Gibbon Wakefield

The arrival of the first of the New Zealand Company's emigrant ships at Port Nicholson in 1840 marks the beginning of systematic colonization in New Zealand. Further settlements by the Company followed, Taranaki in 1841 and Nelson in 1842. In this work, the prime mover was Edward Gibbon Wakefield, the founder of the New Zealand Company. He had devoted most of his life to the study and encouragement of systematic colonization, in revolt against both haphazard, uncontrolled emigration and penal colonies.

Wakefield and his family had had a long and close association with the Benthamite circle and with the colonial reform movement. As a result of these and other influences, and of what he had heard of colonial life, Wakefield concluded that the primary cause of economic

---

difficulty in most colonizing ventures was the method of land disposal. In the place of a system of cheap land (as in Australia where the land was frequently given away) he proposed that land be sold at a 'sufficient price'; a price that would be high enough to prevent speculation, to ensure that settlements would not be spread out too far, and to prevent labourers from becoming land-owners too soon; but low enough to attract capital, and to allow industrious labourers to buy land after a few years of working for wages. Emphasis was placed upon the proper surveying of land prior to the arrival of the settlers.

A central characteristic of the Wakefield system was the use made of the fund derived from the sale of land. In his original view, the money was to be spent upon public works, and upon assisting immigration. In the Canterbury scheme this was modified to include religious and educational expenditure.

Controlled immigration was, for Wakefield, the second key to successful colonization. In the place of the acceptance of all comers, he advocated that the emphasis be put upon quality. No colony could prosper, he felt, unless it could attract both capital and a high
class of person. He therefore advised that assisted emigrants be carefully chosen with due regard to the proper balance of the sexes and of occupations, as well as to the personal quality of the persons concerned. Finally, as a reformer, he stressed the importance of self-government for the colonies.2

Wakefield recognised the importance (although not the dominance) of religious institutions in any proper colonizing scheme. He believed that to attract the right colonists, religious institutions were essential. In his work The Art of Colonization,3 he says:

A colony that is not attractive to women is an unattractive colony; in order to make it attractive to both sexes, you do enough if you take care to make it attractive to women. Women are more religious than men—or, at all events, there are more religious women than religious men. You might persuade religious men to emigrate, and yet in time have a colony of which the morals and manners would be detestable; but if you persuade religious women to emigrate, the whole colony will be comparatively virtuous and polite.3

---


He criticises previous religious provisions as being inadequate in that they did not encourage the better order of colonists:

I will not meddle here with the causes of the inadequacy of religious provisions for the colonies, still less with the means of removing them. My only object here has been to show, that the actual state of colonial provisions for religion is well calculated to deter the better order of people, and especially the better order of women, from going to live and die in a colony.  

The New Zealand Company's settlements were undenominational in character, although some provision was made for endowments for educational and religious purposes. However, difficulty over Church endowments in Nelson⁵ caused by the presence of a variety of religious denominations, led Wakefield to question the wisdom of founding further undenominational settlements. This view was reinforced by a consideration of the history of the American colonies. "It was wrong," he said, "to suppose that the founders of the religious English colonies in North America, crossed the Atlantic in order to enjoy liberty of conscience;" on the contrary, "Their object was,  

---


each body of them respectively, to find a place where
its own religion would be the religion of the place . . . "6
Further confirmation came from his experience of the
multi-sect Canadian colonies while there with Lord
Durham. There he learned of the dangers of having
Church and educational reserves in the name of one
denomination only in a colony that was multi-denominat-
ional. From this time his mind frequently turned to the
idea of denominational settlements.7

As early as May 1843, Wakefield wrote to his
sister Catherine Torlesse, about the Anglican colony
which the New Zealand Company intended to sponsor, in
the following terms:

It will be a Church of England colony; that is,
the foundation fund of the colony will contain
ample endowment for religious and educational purposes
in connexion with our Church exclusively. The project,
which is mine own, is warmly approved.8

6 Wakefield, op. cit., pp.158-59.

7 Without doubt the attacks on the established
Church in England and the difficulties over religious
education there increased his attachment to the idea of
denominational settlements. On the situation in
England, see supra, pp.14-18.

8 E.G. Wakefield to Catherine Torlesse, May 1843.
Quoted in The Press, Centennial Supplement, 16 December
1950, p. 4.
During 1844 the New Zealand Company was able to report:

The plan of a special settlement for members of the Church of England . . . has assumed a practical form under the auspices and patronage of a body of distinguished members of the legislature friendly to systematic colonization, and to the principle of making more ample endowments for religion in new settlements than have hitherto been attempted.9

However, the political wind turned cool, and protracted negotiations were still in progress in 1847, when Gibbon Wakefield contacted Godley, and began the work which resulted in the formation of the Canterbury Association.10

John Robert Godley

John Robert Godley was born in Dublin on the 29th May, 1814, the son of an Anglo-Irish land-owner. To the age of ten he remained in Ireland, after which he attended a private school in England, followed by Harrow and Christ Church, Oxford. In 1839 he was called to the Irish Bar, but retired from practice two years later in order to act for his father as Master of Killegar. His time as a landowner was interrupted by an important


10For a discussion of the relations between the N.Z. Company plan and the Canterbury Association, see Hight and Straubel, op. cit., p.149n.
tour he made of the U.S.A. and Canada in 1842. During the following years he served as a local magistrate and landlord, while taking a keen interest in colonial matters. He gave evidence before the Devon Commission, published an Irish Emigration Plan, and gave evidence before the House of Lords Committee on Irish Emigration (1847).

While at Harrow and Oxford, Godley had met numerous men who had a considerable influence upon him, with a number of whom he remained friendly until his death. He knew many leaders in Church and state, and was in touch with most of the political and ecclesiastical figures of the age.

Particularly important in Godley's development was his contact with the Tractarians. Godley was at Oxford when Keble preached his famous sermon on "national apostacy", the occasion being the suppression, by the Whig government, of some Irish bishoprics. Most of his associates were High Church and Tory, and he did not pass through Oxford untouched by the enthusiasm that was

the mark of his generation. In later years Godley fought to show that the Canterbury settlement was not a 'Puseyite' affair; but he acknowledged his own sympathy with the aims of the Tractarians in a letter to Adderley:

... You must not think, from what I have said, that I am an unqualified admirer of the Tracts, and all the doctrines contained in them; on the contrary, I think that the writers have, by perhaps a natural reaction from what they perceive to be the rationalistic and latitudinarian tendency of the age, been driven in many instances to a contrary excess ... but still I like, on the whole, the tendency of their writings. I prefer superstition to scepticism, an undue regard to forms to a neglect of them, and I think the spirit of the age so much more inclined to Ultra-Protestant than to Roman Catholic errors, that I look with less apprehension on what seems to savour of the latter than the former. 12

It is in attitudes such as these that lie the roots of much of his educational thinking.

It was this young man, with his enthusiasm for the Church, for colonisation and for colonial reform, with his great abilities and keen intellect, and with his wide contacts with people, whom Edward Gibbon Wakefield had invited to join with himself in forming

---

the Canterbury Association. 13

The Formation of the Canterbury Association

A recent biographer of Godley describes him in the following way:

The man whom Wakefield met at Malvern, in November 1847, was thirty-three years old, tall and sparely built, with a broad, high-domed forehead, scanty brown hair, pale blue eyes set very wide apart, a straight firm mouth, and a serious expression. He read and wrote much but spoke little, sparing his throat which had been strained in twelve months of politics. In manner he was courteous but reserved, often abstracted, absorbed in his own thoughts. Those who knew him well agreed that he was no ordinary young man. As a philosopher he was guide and tutor.

13 Of Wakefield and his relationship with Godley, Trollope wrote:

"Mr. Wakefield was ever at work seeking for colonists who would act under his impulses, and who would do credit to his thesis by their education, character and social position. For him I doubt whether the Church of England had any special charm. He had been instrumental in founding a colony in South Australia, of which, according to his friends, it should have been one leading feature, one governing principle, that there should be no ascendant Church. He had assisted in establishing a Scotch and therefore Presbyterian colony in Otago . . . No blame attaches to a man for so wide a sympathy. But the wide sympathy is not compatible with strenuous advocacy of a peculiar doctrine. The anxiety of Mr. Wakefield was more in regard to his scheme than to the Church. . . . With Mr. Godley it was very different. He brought to the joint work strong religious convictions, and a warm philanthropy." A. Trollope, Australia and New Zealand (London: Chapman and Hall, 1873), Vol II, pp. 357-58.
to several of his political friends, as a man of action he had proved himself in the Irish troubles, but most remarkable was the restless energy with which he brought men of mark together, organised committees, drafted reports, and got things done.14

Between Wakefield and Godley there sprung up an instant partnership, although they were never intimate friends.

Godley's immediate concern was finding persons who would subscribe to the Association and to belong to the Management Committee, and here considerable care had to be taken.

My present business is to procure a certain number of good and creditable names with which to go before the public as our Committee of Management. I do not want them to be taken mainly from any one party in the Church, but wish to have a broad basis, composed of those who wish the Church well, and are known as zealous in her interests, without holding extreme views.15

In this endeavour, thanks to his ability to hold friends and to his wide circle, Godley was most successful. The list of Members of the Association, as published in May 184816 includes a host of celebrities. The President was no less than Dr. Sumner, Archbishop of Canterbury,

14 Carrington, op. cit., p. 48.


16 For a full list, see Carrington, op. cit., pp. 223-28.
and among the list of members were included another archbishop, seven other bishops, two deans, the chaplain-general, several other beneficed clergy, the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; a number of the higher nobility, including Lord Ashley (afterwards the great Earl of Shaftesbury) and Lord Lyttelton. Following this came a long list of active politicians, chosen with care, and all Conservatives; and lastly a few men with colonial experience, such as John Hutt and Jerningham Wakefield.

The business of the Association was carried on by the smaller Management Committee, with the Bishop of Oxford, and later Lord Lyttelton, as Chairman.

It was a contemporary criticism that the Canterbury Association was a Puseyite or Tractarian affair. Godley himself went to some trouble to refute this. A moderate contemporary view was that of Hodgkinson, an early settler in Canterbury. He wrote:

An impression has prevailed in England that Canterbury was an exclusively Church of England settlement, and not only so, but that Tractarianism or Puseyism was in the ascendant there. This opinion is erroneous. Though some of the founders of the colony and some of the clergymen and first settlers may have wished it to be so, yet, from the first the majority of the members of the Church of England have opposed all Tractarian doctrines and ceremonies,
so that no offensive practices or opinions are now introduced into the celebration of divine service. 17

The first meeting of the Management Committee of the Association was held on the 27 March, 1848. At that meeting it was resolved "that the proposed settlement be Canterbury and the name of the chief town be Christchurch." 18

At last the proposal for an Anglican settlement, long looked forward to by Wakefield, was ready to move into the public view.

II. THE CANTERBURY ASSOCIATION AND EDUCATION

From the first, education was seen to have an important place in the planning of the Canterbury Settlement, and the Management Committee, in its minutes and publications, went to considerable trouble to place the plans before the public.

The Central Role of the Church

There is ample evidence that the majority of the founders of the Canterbury settlement saw there a chance


18Canterbury Papers, No 1.
to form a colony within which the Church should be central. In the first issue of the *Canterbury Papers* the Association said:

Let us consider the position of the poor and uneducated emigrant, in his adopted country. He has been accustomed to seek from the affluent and cultivated class above him, relief in distress and advice in difficulty; members of that class rarely emigrate under our present system. He has been used to going to the neighbouring church; in the new settlement he has access if at all, certainly with much difficulty, to any place of worship. He has children old enough to be at school; he needs religious rites and consolations; the clergyman and schoolmasters are few in number, and widely dispersed. In short, no care has been taken to make due provision for the cravings of his moral nature; we have thought of our colonists chiefly as of so much flesh and blood requiring to be renewed by food and covered with clothing; the food of the heart has received but secondary care. Hence have proceeded materialism, the rudeness, above all the neglect of religion, which have been too general in the new countries which we have peopled.19

But the consideration was for the health of the Church as well as for the spiritual well-being of the settlers:

The Church of England is now doing that which her sons complain, not without reason, that she ought to have done long ago; she is sending forth a segment of her own body—a complete specimen of her organisation—which may perpetuate the presentation of her doctrine and discipline among nations yet unborn.20

---

19Ibid., pp.5-6.  
20Ibid.
Lord Lyttelton stated the implication of this position when he said in June 1850 that:

The promoters of the Canterbury Settlement had set it on foot with a chance to realize some settlement which would more worthily represent society, in its best views, than had ever been attempted in the colonies."

Accordingly, he went on to say:

"It must be distinctly understood that this was a Church undertaking, and must therefore be confined, strictly, to members of the Church of England."

It was assumed that the Church could only flourish in the new soil if it could be united, and the Association was determined therefore that as far as possible the colonists and emigrants would be restricted to members of the Church of England. The original intention was that this restriction be included in the Association's Charter, but Lord Grey, the Colonial Secretary, would not allow this. Reliance was then placed upon the condition that of every acre bought, £1

---

21Marr, op. cit., pp.104-5.

22Ibid.

was to be paid into the Anglican Ecclesiastical and Educational Fund. It was assumed that non-Anglicans were not likely to buy land under these conditions, and land-purchasers' nominations were preferred in selecting immigrants to be assisted. As the Management Committee said:

(The Committee) therefore do not desire to establish the Church in the colony in a position of secular authority—nor to give it the aid of the secular arm in enforcing her own doctrines, to the exclusion of dissent, by forcible means—nor to endow her with any compulsory provision. Were such their object, they feel persuaded that the Government, by whom alone the civil institutions of the colony can be created—would refuse to assist them in such a plan. All which can be done in securing the first foundations of the Church is to ensure, as far as can be, the churchmanship of the individuals who will plant it.

This policy of exclusiveness was supported by an article in a contemporary review:

Those who criticise this primary feature of the enterprise we are discussing must bear in mind, that its elimination would leave the bare alternative of either an absence of all religious provision whatever, or else the miserable contrivance of a fund for equal distribution among all claimants; and that a young society should start in the face of God's creation without one social element of religion about it,—or that it should on the other hand, volunteer to inflict on its youthful prime a gratuitous foretaste of the scars, and wounds, and mutilations which the casualties of this troubled world may very

---

possibly inflict in sufficient time and number -- are both suppositions which no well-regulated mind could contemplate without dismay. The difficulties which surround the question of National Education, also, would scarcely be surmountable in the first arrangements of a new colony, except under a similar alternative of either unity or apathy among its members in the matter of religious creed. . . . What appears intolerance in an old country is unity of purpose in undertaking the foundations of a new one. 25

At the time many said that, however desirable such might appear in theory, in fact such unity could not be maintained. In a leading article The Times said:

The Church of England is pre-eminently a mixed and tolerant community. Its formularies harbour a vast variety of opinions, and even inspire a constant divergence of sentiment. As sure as there are Dissenters in England, where will also be Dissenters in the Canterbury Settlement . . . The settlement will start with Dissenters, and we can scarcely anticipate that its leaders will be able to exclude that entire toleration and that equality of civil rights which, after many struggles, have been established in this country. 25

This in fact happened; on the First Four Ships there were Dissenters, and the problem of sectarianism in education was certainly not left behind in England.

The Importance of the Bishop

It was universally agreed that if the settlement


26 Canterbury Papers, p. 37.
was to be Anglican, then a resident bishop was imperative. This colony must not fall into the fault of trying to plant episcopacy without a bishop.

Wakefield suggested to Godley the sort of man for whom he was looking. "Will you ask Hinds if he knows a fit man—not a propagandist, but a planting bishop, a true colonizer for the Church?" Bishop Selwyn was concerned that the Association make sure that they had a bishop, even though full revenues might not be available. In a published letter, he wrote:

The example of the China bishopric is a warning how long good plans may be delayed if you wait till the Endowment Fund be complete. The American system seems to be the best. Have a bishop at all events. It is not at all certain that you will get a better man for £1,000 than for £100 a year. Such matters are no question of money. Let him get his money as he can for a time—whether as warden of the College or as a parish priest—till the growth of the endowments and the increase of duties lead naturally to a subdivision of labour. . . . If you can find a bishop of all work, he ought to be the first clergyman to land in New Zealand. Your plan would seem to infer the necessity of the Bishop being the Omega of the clerical body. I hope that you will find it possible to make him the Alpha.

Not only would the Bishop be head of the Church in the Settlement, but he was seen as being head of the

27E.G. Wakefield to Godley, 26 September 1849. E.J. Wakefield, op. cit., p.108.

28Letter published in Canterbury Papers, p.35.
education system, warden of the College, and chairman of the body to be set up to administer the Ecclesiastical and Educational Fund. 29

The Church and Education

It is necessary to consider briefly what the members of the Canterbury Association understood by the term 'Education'. For them no dichotomy existed between 'religious' and 'secular' education: they were inseparably linked. Education was and must be more than the three R's: it was the forming of the moral principles and habits of men. Thomas Arnold was stating the view of the average Churchman when he wrote of "the great principle that Christianity should be the base of all public education in this country." 30 But as has been noted, for the Anglican, religious education meant education that conformed to the dogmas of the Church of England. It is against the background of an established Church and Non-Conformist attacks upon it that we must see this statement contained in the earliest outline of

29 Extract from the Minutes of the Committee of Management, 7 November 1850. CA-L, 108/3.12.50.

the "Plan of the Canterbury Settlement":

As by preserving unity of religious creed, the difficulties which surround the question of education are avoided, we shall be enabled to provide amply and satisfactorily for that object. 31

Education was to be placed under the charge of the Church:

The Committee desire in the institution of this, a Church colony, to restore what appears to them an integral part of the true idea of the Church; not, indeed, by way of monopolizing the fields of benevolent action, or excluding the foundation of like institutions by other hands, either private or public, but as taking the lead in this as in all other good works, and fulfilling at all events on her part, an admitted duty. Besides this they think that a direct connection between the Church and those institutions which most command public sympathy, must tend greatly to extend her influence, and preserve her in that commanding position which is aimed at as one of the prominent features of their plan.

. . . With this view they desire to place under her charge the general education of the colony; not compulsorily, but by supplying opportunities of education under her direction, presenting such advantages as may virtually exclude competition. 32

The advantages mentioned were to arise mainly from the existence of the Ecclesiastical and Educational Fund, derived from the one-third of the proceeds of the

31 Canterbury Papers, p.6.
32 CA-DC, 1 October 1850.
sale of land. This money was to be used for the endowment and building of churches, schools and the College, and for the payment of clergy and schoolmasters; but only in connection with the Church of England. 

Betteridge sums up the educational aims of the founders of the Canterbury Association in a succinct fashion:

The education to be provided for the children of Canterbury was to be basically religious, it was to be Anglican, and it was to be organized on a similar system to that practised in England.

III. THE ASSOCIATION PLANS FOR EDUCATION

The Management Committee of the Association intended that the education system of the Canterbury Settlement should be approximately similar in form to that which existed in England. There would be a series of parochial schools for the labouring and tradesmen classes; a Grammar School with an elementary class for children of the middle and upper classes (although with scholarships available to the deserving from the elementary parochial schools); and, the crowning glory of the education system, Christ Church College. Girls

---

33 See Wakefield to Torlesse, supra, p.33.
34 Betteridge, op. cit., p.8.
would be educated with boys at the parochial level. At the higher levels the intention is not clear. Perhaps it was assumed that middle class daughters would attend private schools. There is, however, the suggestion of a Grammar School for girls in a speech which the Bishop-Designate, the Rev. Jackson, gave at Reading on the 17 July 1850.35

In its planning for education, the Management Committee thought on a grand scale. They began by assuming that 200,000 acres of land would be sold at £3 per acre, giving a total of £200,000 to the Ecclesiastical and Educational Fund. On this they based their estimates, which they published in the following form:

The Association, considering the large surface over which the population will be distributed, calculates that 20 clergymen and as many schoolmasters, will not be more than are requisite to establish and maintain that high religious and educational character, which the Association hopes, with the Divine blessing, that this settlement will possess.

Assuming that the churches, parsonages, houses and schools will be constructed of wood upon foundations of stone carried to a height of three or four feet above the ground, the following will be an approximate estimate of their cost:

35 Canterbury Papers, p.129.
20 Churches at £1,000 each  £20,000
20 Parsonage houses and glebes, £500 each  £10,000
20 Schools at £100 each  £2,000
A College and Chapel  £6,000
Residence for a Bishop, the Principal of the College, and an Archdeacon  £3,000

£41,000

Deducting this sum from the original fund of £200,000, £159,000 will remain. The interest derived from this sum will probably have to defray the following stipends:

To a bishop  £1,000
To an archdeacon  600
20 clergymen, at £200 per annum each  4,000
20 schoolmasters, at £70 per annum each  1,400

£7,000

To carry on our hypothesis, if £80,000 invested in the British funds yield 3½% interest, and £79,000 invested in Colonial securities yield 6%, an annual income of £7,540 will be derived from the whole. 36

This plan was never carried into operation; the estimates were wildly inflated, and Canterbury had to be content with a much humbler system.

The Control of Education

The Management Committee in London decided that, although they would maintain an absolute control over the Ecclesiastical and Educational Fund, it would be

36Ibid., pp. 20-21.
administered through the medium of a managing body in the colony; a body which would in many ways act as a Board of Education. The scheme, although it never came into operation, is sufficiently important to quote at length:

The Committee of Management of the Canterbury Association, having considered the minute of the 3rd of September, 1850, with reference to the Ecclesiastical and Educational Fund, have adopted the following basis of a scheme for its future administration.

By the terms of their charter the Association are bound to apply this fund for the purpose of religion and education—a responsibility which they cannot if they would devolve upon others. They reserve, therefore, to themselves the fullest powers to enable them to discharge this obligation, and for this purpose exercise an absolute control over the fund itself, and over all persons concerned in its management and distribution. . . .

Subject to the foregoing conditions they propose to administer the fund through the medium of a managing body in the colony, to be constituted in the following manner.

They propose that such a body shall be constituted, to be termed the Canterbury Church Managing Committee (and which shall hereafter be referred to as the Managing Committee), such body to consist of the bishop, the dean of the metropolitan town, the archdeacon or archdeacons, if more than one, the rural dean or rural deans, if more than one (ex officio), four of the clergy

\[36\text{Ibid.}, \text{pp.} \text{20-21.}\]
having parochial duty, to be named by the bishop, and a number of laymen, corresponding to the number of the clergy on the Managing Committee, exclusive of the bishop . . .

Educational objects include the following:—
Expenses incidental to the foundation, erection, establishment and endowment of the College;
Expenses incidental to general education . . .

As to the provision for purposes of general education in the Colony. Sites for schools may be purchased and conveyed to the Association, the purchase money to be taken from the General Church Fund; money may be laid out in necessary buildings upon such sites and all questions of plan, cost, etc., to be with the Managing Committee.

They are to have the nomination of schoolmasters and school-mistresses, teachers, etc., and to frame general regulations for management. The same to be under the general direction of the bishop. Suitable stipends to be assigned to masters, mistresses and teachers from the General Church Fund. Voluntary contributions will be received in aid of such objects.37

This then is the essence of the Association's plan for the administration of education in the new colony. There was to be plenty of money, derived from the Land Fund. The schools were to be administered by a committee of clergy and laity chaired by the Bishop, with the Committee in London having a veto.

This was the plan; but the bishop did not arrive until 1856, and the plan for the committee, meeting opposition in the colony, was never put into

37Ibid., pp. 279-81, 184.
operation.

The College

Predominant among the Association's educational plans was Christ Church College, planned on a scale out of all proportion to the size of the colony. This College was to be not only a local affair, but one whose renown would echo far overseas. Godley was informed that:

The object which the Association eventually desire to accomplish is the foundation, in the Canterbury settlement, of a College capable of taking rank with similar institutions in this country, from which, as from a central point, the education, not merely of the Canterbury settlement, nor of New Zealand alone, but of the Australian colonies, even of India itself, may in a measure be supplied.\(^{38}\)

This College was to be in two departments. The lower would take boys from the age of seven to seventeen, and would provide a classical education similar to that given in similar schools in England. The Upper Department would take men over the age of seventeen, and would be of university standard. It would comprise four divisions: theological, classical

\(^{38}\textit{Ibid.}, \text{p.} 235.\)
mathematical and agricultural.  

Once again Bishop Selwyn gave good advice, this time in regard to the College. He advised caution; while the beginning of the College should not be delayed, the emphasis should be upon quality. For this reason he advised against making advances too fast. This advice was taken, and plans were made for beginning the College on a small scale soon after the arrival of the first body of settlers.

---

39 For the original scheme for the College and Grammar School, see infra, Appendix O.

40 "Begin at once—if you can find a man who can reflect what Oxford was when Alfred's students read almost illegible MSS. by the light of paper lanterns... Beyond the first striking a key-note, I would advise you to hurry nothing. Send out a few very fit men, and wait patiently until you can obtain others. The mere name of a college, with a good but insufficient body, is far better than a full staff of incapables." Canterbury Papers, p. 35.

41 In the minute book of the Society of Canterbury Colonists, 23 May 1850, there is a minute reading:

"Minute agreed to at a meeting of the Council of the 28th Instant was read, to the following effect—
I. The Colonists being informed that a College was about to be established in Canterbury, and that there were strong grounds for believing that the College would be set on foot from the earliest period of the settlement..." SGC-M, 23 May 1850.
Canon Purchas summarizes the Association plan for the Canterbury settlement in the following terms:

An English County, with its Cathedral city, its famous university, its bishop, its parishes, its endowed clergy, its ancient aristocracy, its yeomen farmers, its few necessary tradesmen, its sturdy and loyal labourers; and all this with no crime, no poverty, and no dissent - this was the ideal which their imagination suggested.42

Such was the dream; the reality was to be more harsh.

---

CHAPTER IV

PREparATIONS FOR SETTLEMENT

Four main tasks had to be done by the Association before the Colonists could emigrate: arrangements had to be made in New Zealand, land was to be disposed of to the settlers, emigrants were to be enlisted and arrangements made for their transportation, and a bishop, with attendant clergy and schoolmasters, had to be appointed.

I. ARRANGEMENTS IN NEW ZEALAND

Captain Thomas, a retired soldier having a good knowledge of New Zealand, was appointed Chief Surveyor and acting Agent of the Association in New Zealand, and instructed to find a suitable locality for the Canterbury settlement, to survey the towns and prepare public buildings prior to the arrival of the first ships. For this he was supplied with certain credit. He left England on the 7 July 1848, and subsequently decided that the settlement would be located on the Port Cooper plains where he began his work.

He was followed by Godley, whose doctor had persuaded him to leave England, and whom Gibbon Wakefield
had prevailed upon to travel to New Zealand and act as Chief Agent. Godley and his wife left England on the 13 December 1849, and after visiting Wellington and Otago, arrived in Port Cooper on the 11 April 1850. He recorded his impressions of Lyttelton in a letter to Adderley:

On rounding the bluff . . . I was perfectly astounded with what I saw. One might have supposed that the country had been colonized for years, so settled and busy was the look of its port. In the first place, there is what the Yankees would call "a splendid" jetty; from thence a wide, beaten-looking road leads up the hill . . . In a square, railed off close to the jetty, are four excellent houses, intended for emigrants' barracks, with a cook-house in the centre . . . we could not help laughing at our own anticipations of a shed on a bare beach, with a fire at the door . . . .

However, despite this light-hearted description, Godley was worried. Two days in Lyttelton served to convince him that Thomas' preparations had been on too lavish a scale, and that much money had been wasted. Thomas had been given a credit of £20,000 and above this had persuaded William Fox, the Company's agent in

1 Carrington, op. cit., p.104.

2 Carrington (Ibid., p.106) mentions that Thomas had employed an architect to design temporary sheds, and had ordered an expensive pile-driver for building the jetty, which could not be landed until the jetty was built.
Wellington, to advance another £4,000 without security. Virtually all this had been spent, and there was still no assurance from London that the settlement was going forward. To Thomas' chagrin, Godley ordered him to stop work until further word was heard from the Association, and until more credit was forthcoming.

Godley decided to return to Wellington, where he remained until it was time for him to return to Port Cooper to meet the first emigrant ships in December of that year.

II. LAND SALES.

By the terms of the Charter, the Association was to sell land at the rate of £3 per acre, £1 of which was to be paid into the Ecclesiastical and Educational Fund, for the provision of religious and educational facilities. Early in 1848 the newly-formed Canterbury Association had negotiated an arrangement with the New Zealand Company, whereby the Association bought from the Company an area which subsequently became the Canterbury Block. The details of the arrangements and subsequent negotiations lie outside of the scope of this study; suffice it to say that the agreement included a clause whereby the agreement was to lapse if a certain
minimum amount of land was not sold within a stated time.  

Felix Wakefield was placed in charge of the selling of land, and began to tour the country. At first the reports that came in were encouraging, although this was largely due to incompetence and inflated optimism. But as time went on, there grew the fear that the deadline would not be met. Wakefield was busy behind the scenes, and the crisis was overcome; but until a relatively late date there was uncertainty as to whether the scheme would be proceeded with. Lord Lyttelton, Lord Cavendish, Simeon and Gibbon Wakefield combined to give a £25,000 guarantee to the N.Z., Company,


For example, John Hutt wrote to Godley (then in New Zealand) on the 26 January, 1850:

"I saw Felix Wakefield yesterday. He is well pleased at his tour in Staffordshire and Warwickshire, and feels quite confident of disposing of £100,000, perhaps £150,000 worth of land; and he believes even more but to this amount he considers we are quite safe." Kilbracken Papers. This estimate proved to be very far out.
and the Association committed itself by announcing that the registered list of applications for land would close on the 30 June, and that the first body of colonists would be despatched not later than the first week in September.  

Up to the 7 September 1850, just before the departure of the first body of settlers, only 13,150 acres of rural land and 132 acres of town land had been sold, for a total amount of £39,300. The one-third share to the Ecclesiastical and Educational Fund was therefore £13,150—very much less than the amount reckoned upon. Thus from its earliest moments the new settlement found its plans for education being upset by lack of finance.

III. ECCLESIASTICAL AND EDUCATIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

The Selection of a Bishop

If the Association's efforts to sell land were not up to expectation, their attempts to find a suitable bishop were almost disastrous. Everyone was agreed

---

5 *Canterbury Papers*, p.31.

that a bishop was essential\(^7\) but the difficulty was to find a suitable man who would be willing to take on the work. The first choice fell on the Rev. Cecil Wynter, Rector of Gatton, and author of the pamphlet on Church colonization already quoted.\(^8\) He was one of the ablest and most active of the clerical supporters of the Association. But despite the best efforts of Wakefield, Godley and others, Mrs. Wynter refused to go. Next to be approached was the Rev. W. Maddock, Rector of Kington. Plans were far advanced, and formal arrangements were made for his becoming bishop, when he declined, with consequent bad publicity for the Association. The situation was getting desperate, and finally the choice was made of the Rev. Thomas Jackson,\(^9\) Preceptor of St. Pauls and late Principal of the Battersea Training College. It proved to be an unfortunate choice.

**Rev. Thomas Jackson**

He was an able speaker, reputed to be one of the

---

\(^7\)See *supra*, pp.18-19.

\(^8\)Wynter, *op. cit.*

\(^9\)CA-DLI, 7 May 1850.
best in England, but he was not the stuff of which colonial bishops were made. "A man less suited to be a colonizing bishop it would be difficult to imagine," is Webb's verdict. 10 There are a number of contemporary evaluations of him. Gibbon Wakefield wrote to Godley a long and violent condemnation of him. Part of his letter read:

Considering the nature of the plan, what can be so important as the personal character of the first Bishop? . . . If Jackson had admired and loved the plan ever so much, he would not have been the man for Bishop of this particular colony. Not merely has he not enough of elevation and refinement of thought and manners, but he has not at all of either elevation in either manners or mind. . . . In one word, he is not, and never can be, a gentleman. . . . Now Jackson's idea of being a bishop is the idea of always being in the broadest and brightest light. I think I have hardly ever known a man more beset with the weakness, let us call it vice, of disliking all positions but that of cock of his own dunghill. . . . 11

More moderate was the letter which the young Charles Torlesse sent home to his mother. He wrote of Jackson:

Mr. Jackson is decidedly unpopular here, and all that you say of him is most fully confirmed by our experience of him. Nobody respects him by reason of his unnatural and affected manner, but I doubt not his being an amiable man. Neither he nor Mrs Jackson appear to have paid any attention to the

---

10 Hight and Straubel, op. cit., p. 162.
emigrants on the voyage out, which is a bad sign . . ."12

Earlier, the lawyer Henry Sewell had written to warn Godley:

No one is more sensible than myself of his many eminent and admirable qualities--his talent, energy, zeal--the generosity of his impulses--the kindness of his nature--which have in this country won for him a high place in public estimation--as well as strong private attachments. But with all these high qualities he unhappily labours under one sad defect, which mars in a great measure his usefulness and leads him (as in the present instance) into positions of extreme difficulty. He is utterly insensible to the value of money, and has no power of managing business in which money is concerned. I write this without fear, because I only repeat language which his best and most intimate friends are in the habit of using. . . .13

It was easy to be wise after the event; but in those last hectic months before the first settlers sailed, the Association was so relieved at having a bishop-designate that it did not look at him too critically.

Jackson quickly turned his talents to use in a lecture-tour of the country, giving a large number of


13Henry Sewell to Godley, 21 October 1850. Kilbracken Papers.
speeches and sermons advertising the Association's plans, and calling for subscriptions. Altogether he raised £1,000 which was given to the Bishopric Fund and further amounts which were spent on stores, on outfitting clergy and schoolmasters, and on the purchasing of land in the colony for the bishopric estate and as endowments for scholarships to the College.

The selection of Schoolmasters

The Ecclesiastical Sub-Committee of the Association virtually handed over to Jackson the responsibility for recruiting teachers, and most of that for finding clergymen, both as chaplains of ships and as settlers. It was the intention of the Association, and one carried out in spite of some criticism at the expense, that every ship would have its chaplain and schoolteacher.

It cannot be said that the teachers recruited by

14 Henry Selfe Selfe, The Accounts of the Canterbury Association (London: John Parker, 1854) p.60

15 Rev. Jackson to Lord Lyttelton (undated) CA-L, 919, encl. 1/2.1.52
Jackson were of poor quality. Several were graduates of the Battersea Training College. The needs of the intended College received special attention. The Rev. Henry Jacobs, later to become Dean of Christchurch, was appointed Classical Tutor and Head Master of the Grammar School by Jackson, who informed Lord Lyttelton:

I have appointed the Rev. Henry Jacobs, M.A., .. to be classical tutor at Christchurch and Master of the Lower Department thereof at a stipend of £200 a year, making £1,000 for five years. Mr. Jacobs was placed in the 1st class in Literis human., in the University of Oxford, and is a Michel Fellow of Queens College in the same University. Mr. Barrow, the general Tutor of that College, informed me that should a vacancy occur in the tutorship Mr. Jacobs would most probably be appointed .. .

A part-time veterinary surgeon was also selected and Jackson negotiated with a possible "professor of Drawing" and lecturers in medical science and in agriculture. As well as this he appointed Mr. C. Calvert (a barrister and Cambridge graduate) as the bishop's secretary, and mathematical tutor and Bursar to the college. This latter appointment to the College...

---

16 For a list of teachers in early Canterbury, see infra, Appendix C.

17 Jackson to Lord Lyttelton, Loc. cit.
was over-ruled by the Association when Jackson's business incompetence was discovered. 18

Altogether, apart from the College appointees mentioned above, Jackson brought out a total of nine schoolmasters. He chose them carefully, realizing that their teaching services might not be needed immediately; I do not expect, he said,

that these persons will all be wanted for elementary schools immediately on our landing but all three of them are good carpenters, two are excellent modellers, all are accustomed to practical agriculture. One plays the organ very well, one is a clever draughtsman and will be able to teach drawing in the Lower Department of the College and one is very competent to illuminate and otherwise decorate the interior of Churches. 17

Stores

It was one of Jackson's responsibilities to purchase stores, both educational and ecclesiastical, for the use of colonists during the voyage out and in the colony itself, and it is apparent that Jackson bought a large range of goods. The Committee assured Godley that there was provided an ample supply of books, both as the foundation of a College library, and for

17 Jackson to Lord Lyttelton, loc. cit.

18 Alston to Godley, 14 August 1851. GA-DM, 102/51
instruction in College and school. These were divided up amongst the first five ships. There still exists a manuscript list of goods entitled "Shipped on Board the Cressy" and initialled "B.W.D." (the Rev. B.W. Dudley, later Incumbent of Lyttelton). The list reads:

1 paten and 1 chalice (both very small).
1 quarto Bible; 1 Do Common Prayer and 2 Altar services.
12 books of Chants.

2 six inch Chess Boards; 2 eight inch Do.
1 Box Bricks; 6 Boxes Dominos; 1 set Spellicans.
4 Games of Fox and Geese; 4 Humming Tops.
6 Bone word illegible; 9 cushions; 1 cup and ball.
10 Needlework Books; 3 Puzzling Rings; 7 Pearl Waxers.
5 Pair Wooden Knitting Needles;
3 Ivory Rings (one of them given to a sick child on Board).
12 Skipping Ropes (these given to Children on Board).

There is also other direct evidence of the sort of things which Jackson purchased. Blackboards, teaching aids, desks, readers, atlases and other materials are

---

19_Ibid., 1 October 1850. CA-DM.
21_CA-M.
among a large list of school moveables,\textsuperscript{22} and an invoice of goods bought by Dr. Jackson includes such items as globes, maps, diagrams of steam engines, and Pestalozzian Boards.\textsuperscript{23} It is interesting to note that these purchases were made at the store of the National Society. There is no doubt that thanks to the efforts made by the bishop-designate, the schools of Canterbury had plenty of stores for several years to come.

All this was expensive. Books for schools, school furniture and freight on these items cost £1,487. 5. 1; outfits for schoolmasters £333.19. 5; while an item "For the Rev. Thomas Jackson-sundries" accounts for another £736. 7. 1.\textsuperscript{24} It is easy to criticise Jackson for being extravagant; but while it must be admitted that he had a very poor business head, it can in his favour be said that he was only taking seriously the implications of what had been published by the Association. He was not in a good

\textsuperscript{22}"A list of moveables in the School at Christchurch belonging to the Canterbury Association." No date, but probably written prior to May 1854. \textsuperscript{CA-4}

\textsuperscript{23}See \textit{infra}, Appendix J.

\textsuperscript{24}Selfe, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 60-63.
position to know how slowly the land was selling; and if the grandiose plans of the Association had been carried into effect, all of the stores bought would have been needed. 25

Jackson's Resignation.

It had in the first instances been intended that Jackson would be ordained bishop and travel to the colony with the first band of settlers. However, a legal problem of extraordinary complexity occurred concerned with Selwyn's resignation of part of his see. It therefore became necessary for Jackson only to visit Canterbury, before returning for ordination. He left from Plymouth on the 3rd October 1850, taking with him his family, his secretary Calvert, and several of his teachers.

Just as he left the storm broke. His financial and administrative incompetence had become so apparent that the Management Committee had to take notice. He left behind him a series of unpaid accounts, which the

25* beg to add that to the best of my judgement every one of these purchases is necessary to the barest fulfilment of the promises made by the Association to the Colonists and the Public." Jackson to Lord Lyttelton, 14 December 1850. Cobham Papers.
Association had to pay in order to avoid a public scandal. It was with considerable relief that the Association accepted his resignation when he returned in 1851, after only a few weeks in his intended diocese.

IV. THE RECRUITMENT OF EMIGRANTS.

The Selection of Emigrants

It was a basic postulate of the Wakefield plan that part of the fund derived from the sale of land should be used to bring assisted emigrants to the colony; and a second postulate that these persons were to be honest, sober and industrious. By the terms of the conditions of land purchase, purchasers would have the right to nominate emigrants for assistance. Each

26 Hight and Straubel, op. cit., p.163

27 Betteridge is hardly just when he states: "Jackson arrived at the end of February and departed on the 15 March without accomplishing anything beyond the bringing out of several teachers and the institution of the endowment raised in England for the College." (op.cit. p.38). As well as his work noted above, Jackson held a number of meetings with the clergy of the settlement, and made educational and ecclesiastical arrangements. He arrived on the "Castle Eden" on the 7 February 1851, and not towards the end of the month as given by Betteridge.
applicant for assistance had to produce a medical certificate, and a certificate from his local clergyman. 28

It was intended that much care be exercised in the selection of emigrants, due attention being paid to character, age, 29 and the balance of sex and of occupations. 30 But a month before the sailing date the number of emigrants was some 300 below the number desired, and Felix Wakefield and James Edward Fitzgerald (the emigration agent) were given authority to relax the regulations "except as to character and religion." 31 The extent to which this

28 Certificate by the Officiating Minister of the Parish in which the applicant resides:

I certify that the above-named Applicant has resided in my parish for .... years, that I have known him personally for .... years, that I have made especial enquires into his circumstances and character, and I declare upon my honour that I believe all the above statements to be true, and that the Applicant is sober, industrious and honest, and that he and all his family are among the most respectable of their class in the parish." GA-K, 177, encl. 3/5.6.50

29 Intending emigrants were to be under forty years old, and preferably between 20 and 30.

30 Preference was to be given to "farm labourers, shepherds, domestic servants, country mechanics and artisans." Canterbury Papers, p.18.

31 Right and Straubel, op. cit., p.170
was done is difficult to gauge, but from the records available it appears as though the balances of sexes and occupations was well maintained.

**Religious Tests**

The question of religious tests was one to which much careful attention was given. It has been shown that in principle non-Anglicans were to be excluded. Curiously enough, although the leaders emphasized the exclusiveness of the scheme, there is no evidence as to the denominations of the emigrants. Although the large majority would be Anglicans, it is known that there were Wesleyans on board the First Four Ships.

Some light is thrown on the attitude of the Association in a correspondence which took place in mid-1850. Edward Ward, an Irish Landowner who later in the year came to Canterbury, and was subsequently drowned in Lyttelton Harbour, wrote to H.F. Alson,

32located in the Canterbury Museum.

33"As one of the pioneer clergy wrote: 'Many came out at the Association's expense, as Church of England members, who yet turned out to be 'professed dissenters' and some of them even dissenting preachers.'" J. Hight, The Origin and Inception of the Canterbury Settlement (Wellington: E.V. Paul, 1938), p.10. See also The Press, Centennial Supplement, 16 December 1950, p.4.
then Secretary of the Canterbury Association, asking whether it would be possible for Presbyterians to obtain assisted passages or buy land, if they expressed a willingness to become Anglicans. In reply, the Association declared that no religious tests were applied for either the landowners or their nominated labourers. Nevertheless, the Committee at the same meeting resolved that in the case of labourers selected by the Association itself, every effort must be made to ensure that they were bona fide members of

---

34 Edward Ward to Alson, 21 April 1850. CA-L 177, encl. 1/5.6.50

35 "It is not the rule of the Committee . . . to require any declaration or to impose any test of Church Membership upon those who are desirous of purchasing land in the Canterbury Settlement beyond that which is implied in the appropriation of one third of the purchase money to religious purposes according to the order of the Church of England. The Committee consider that this is sufficient security and the only practicable one within their power as a committee for the objects with which they are concerned. The Committee see no reason for making any distinction in this respect between the persons on whose behalf you have written and any other purchasers; and they have therefore to inform you that they will be admitted to purchase land on the same terms as other persons. Purchasers of land so admitted will be allowed to recommend labourers without other conditions being required in the respect alluded to, in the case of such labourers, than in their own." Alson to Ward, 25 April 1850. CA-L, 177, encl. 2/5.6.50
the Church of England. 36

It appears then that no religious tests were applied, although effort was made to enlist only Anglicans among colonists (that is, land purchasers) and emigrants. 37

The "Leader" of the Settlement

It had been hoped that the first ships would be led by a man who, by birth, education and wealth, would be suited to occupy the highest social position in the colony. This "leader" was to have been Captain E.H.W. Bellairs, whose father, Sir William Bellairs, was to have received a baronetcy and to have emigrated to New Zealand with his whole family and property—"which latter would have amounted to about £70,000." 38 The arrangement fell through when Bellairs insisted on receiving the baronetcy prior to his leaving England. 39 This was another blow to the Association.

36 Minutes of the Management Committee, 14 May 1850. CA-L 177, encl. 4/5.6.50.

37 See also the despatch from the Association to Godley, 5 June 1850. CA-DM

38 E.J. Wakefield (ed), op. cit., p.xi.

V. THE VOYAGE OUT

On the 7-8 September 1850, the Canterbury Pilgrims as they came to be known, left Plymouth on their voyage to the land in which they were to make their homes. The First Four Ships—the Charlotte Jane, Cressy, Randolph and Sir James Seymour, the largest of which was only 850 tons—carried between them a total of 782 persons. Of these, 130 were First Cabin, 77 were Intermediate passengers, and 575 were steerage. 40

School on Board Ship

Each ship had its surgeon, chaplain and schoolmaster, provided at the expense of the Association. The schoolmasters for the above ships were: 41

- Cressy: Mr. Edward Toomath
- Charlotte Jane: Mr. Purseglove
- Sir George Seymour: Mr. John Bilton
- Randolph: Mr. Stoddart

There were also schoolmistresses on all the ships. That on the Cressy was Miss Elizabeth Horrell. 42


41CA-L, 949/7.3.51

42Certificate of good conduct for Miss E. Horrell
The schoolmaster was under the superintendence of the ship's Chaplain, who was responsible for the general oversight of the school.43

The Rev. Jackson mentioned the school on board the "Castle Eden", the fifth ship to be despatched.

He indicated that:

An elementary school was held on deck, including boys, girls and infants, whenever the state of the weather would permit. The children, I have reason to believe, made satisfactory progress in their learning, considering the unavoidable interruptions amidst which the classes were taught.44

In another letter he elaborated upon the difficulties.

-------------------------------------
from the Rev. Kingdon, chaplain of the "Charlotte Jane," 6 March 1851. CA-L, 1148/6.3.51. These certificates had to be produced before the teacher or other employee could be paid for work done while on the voyage out.

43 Secretary of the Association to Mr. Jones, 10 January 1851.

"The Committee of Management of the Canterbury Association having appointed you Schoolmaster for the ship "Duke of Bronte" about to sail for the Canterbury Settlement, I am directed by the Committee to instruct you forthwith to place yourself in communication with the Rev. Elijah Smith, the Chaplain of the ship, under whose immediate superintendence you will consider yourself as acting. The Committee desire that in all matters connected with your duties as schoolmaster you will be guided by that gentleman's directions." CA-L, 350/10.1.51.

44 The Press, 16 December 1911.
under which the schools operated:

Distinct instructions ought to be given to the Surgeon Superintendent relative to the place where the elementary school should be held. Our peasant boys have been sacrificed as far as their education is concerned to this defect. The school is held on the main deck amidst tackling, washing materials, cow cleaning... Could not a fourth of the poop deck be set apart for the purpose, for two hours every morning? Say from 10 to 12, when not more than two or three poop passengers are stirring? 45.

There is an interesting but brief mention in the same letter of an adult school which "prospers especially."

A Chaplain's report of the religious services and school held on one of the emigrant ships is contained among the Association papers. 46 It shows that the school was open most weeks for 10 to 12 half days, the number of children attending averaging about 15. Religious instruction was given by the Chaplain for between half an hour and two and a half hours per week.

It can with some justice be said, then that the first schools of Canterbury lie on these emigrant ships, 12,000 miles away, where "schools are already

45 Jackson to Lord Lyttelton, 14 December 1850. Gobham Papers.
46 GA-L 303/28.1.52
training the next generation of New Zealanders, even before New Zealand knows their fathers' faces."47
CHAPTER V

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

In this chapter it is proposed to view the origins of the schools begun in the period 1851-1853, with a view to collating information about them, that a more balanced view of the educational provisions of the period may be obtained than has been available previously.

I. THE COLLEGE AND GRAMMAR SCHOOL

The Rev. Henry Jacobs, who had been appointed Tutor of the College and Head of the Grammar School by Jackson, did not afterwards remember making any commencement of the Grammar School on board ship, although it is recorded that in a cabin of the Sir George Seymour "he taught the elements of algebra to Joseph Brittan." After the arrival of the ships in Canterbury, very little time was lost in opening the school, the date of which is fixed by a letter

---


from Godley dated 6 January 1851, in which he says:

"The Bishop of New Zealand arrived here in his schooner on Friday last on his way to the Southward. He preached twice yesterday and has this day opened our first school at the store."

Jacobs' description of the first site of the school was as follows:

A room in the immigrants' barracks, about twelve feet square, very roughly whitewashed, with a small table and a few wooden stools, as far as I can remember, for its only furniture, was the first College Lecture-room. A similar room of somewhat larger dimensions was allotted for the Grammar School.

The College and Grammar School in Lyttelton

The Lyttelton Times of 15 March 1851 carried an advertisement for the "Lyttelton Collegiate Grammar School," for boys aged seven to seventeen years, who should be able to read with ease to qualify for admission. The course of instruction:

... will embrace the Greek and Latin Classics, ancient and modern History, Ecclesiastical History, and Geography, Arithmetic, Algebra, and Euclid, Vocal Music, Drawing and French; and, above all, the

---

3Godley to the Association, 6 January 1851. Quoted in Butchers, Young New Zealand, p.158n.

4Flower, op. cit., pp.22-23
Doctrines of the Christian Religion, as expounded by the United Church of England and Ireland. The fees were two guineas a quarter, plus a charge for books; the hours 9 a.m. to noon, 2 p.m. to 4.20 p.m., five days a week. It was intended to form a class of younger boys and girls, which would be preparatory to the Grammar School and to the Girls' School which it was announced as intended to be opened.

The staff of the Grammar School consisted of the Rev. Jacobs as Head Master, and Mr. Holmes as Assistant-Master, with particular responsibility for the elementary class. Mention is also made of Mr. Calvert (secretary to the Bishop) as a master of the Grammar School in estimates of expenditure, but he never actually taught in the school.

The roll of the school fluctuated as families

---

5 *Lyttelton Times*, 15 March 1851.

6 *Flower, op. cit.*, p.23. Archives of the Province of New Munster, *Blue Book for the Province of New Munster, 1851*.

7 Godley to the Secretary of the Association, 4 February 1851. Quoted in Butchers, *Loc. Cit.*. Bruce is incorrect when he says that Calvert was a master of the Grammar School. A.S. Bruce, *The Earliest Days of Canterbury* (Christchurch: Simpson and Williams Ltd, 1932), p.21.
arrived in Lyttelton, and then moved over to the plains. Manuscript attendance returns signed by Holmes are extant\textsuperscript{8} and show that in 1851 in the Grammar School (ages 11 - 15) there was a total of five names on the roll, but that only one stayed for more than five weeks, and only one indicated intention of returning in 1852. The elementary class (ages 4 - 10) was in a similar position, with a total of 12 names on the roll (only 6 until near the end of the year) with only 4 expecting to return in 1852.

From January to April 1852 the combined roll was 9, the boys being aged from six to thirteen years.

The college, meanwhile, was continuing in a very quiet way. An advertisement\textsuperscript{9} indicates that the College was in operation, the fees being £12 per annum. Jacobs says, "At different times during 1851 there were five students receiving instruction in classics and mathematics in this primeval stage of the existence of the College."\textsuperscript{10} The Blue Book for

\textsuperscript{8}CA-M.

\textsuperscript{9}Lyttelton Times, 31 May 1851, p.4.

\textsuperscript{10}Flower, loc. cit.
1851 indicates that in Lyttelton there was a Collegiate School, with a roll of seven boys, which gave "all elements of an English University Education."\(^{11}\)

In this early period then we find, in however rudimentary a form, an infant College with its two Departments, as envisaged by the founders of the Canterbury Association.\(^{12}\)

**The Move to Christchurch**

On the 9th October 1851 Godley approached Holmes and asked him to carry out a survey of the possible demand for a Grammar School on the plains. This Holmes did, and with the results of the canvass included a plan for a school along rather novel lines.\(^{13}\) His suggestion was that both males and females be enrolled,

\(^{11}\) *Blue Book*, 1851.

\(^{12}\) "During the whole period of my tenure of the office of Head Master the original idea of a College with two departments, a Collegiate and a Grammar School Department, however imperfectly carried out, was never wholly lost sight of. I cannot distinctly remember any time at which there were no students at all." Flower, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

\(^{13}\) William Holmes to Godley, 14 October 1851. With enclosures: (1) Results of survey; (2) Proposed circular. *CA-L*. 
but on the basis that they could take any or all of the subjects offered, a strict and regular timetable being kept. According to Holmes' enclosure, he had 20 boys promised to him aged from 5 to 15; all would be taking the basic course, while 15 would also take drawing and music. Of the girls, ten were promised aged 9 to 15, for the drawing and music class: for them the general course was not wanted, except for "Mr. Brittan, who much wishes his daughter to learn writing." The subjects as proposed by Holmes were those characteristic of a grammar school. However, Holmes' plan was not proceeded with, partly because of Jacobs' opposition to having girls in the school.

Nevertheless early in 1852 the newspaper advertised, "The Collegiate Grammar School has been removed to Christchurch, and will open for the admission of pupils on the 21st of April next." So the school

14 "Scripture and English History, Physical Geography, Mathematics in all departments, Latin and English composition and writing, drawing and perspective, theory and practice of vocal music." Ibid.

15 "I am aware that Mr. Jacobs strongly objects to females being admitted to a school of this kind . . . ." Ibid.

moved into its second stage of development. In Christchurch it was housed in a room 17 feet by 16 feet which had been added on to the Christchurch parsonage, at the corner of Lichfield Street and Oxford Terrace (opposite St. Michael's Church). It opened on the 26 April 1852, with five boys and by the end of June had a fairly steady roll of fifteen.

Jacobs carried on the school alone for some time after Holmes' move to Wellington in April 1852. About July 1852 two assistant-masters were appointed, Messrs Percival and Baines, at £35 a year each. These were pupil-teachers rather than qualified masters, and did not prove very satisfactory.


18 These five boys were Charles Pritchard, Herbert Mathias, Frank Mathias, David Williams and Charles Hood. "List of pupils of the Grammar School, Christchurch, June, 1852." CA-M.

19 Holmes' letter of resignation to Godley, 23 March 1852. CA-L. 820/23.3.52
The school continued along these lines until the beginning of the Provincial Period.

II. OTHER ASSOCIATION SCHOOLS

Apart from the Grammar School, a total of six day schools and one or more Sunday schools were opened and financed, at least in part, by the Canterbury Association.

**Church Commercial School, Lyttelton**

Some time in January 1851 (the exact date is unknown) there began in Lyttelton what became known as the Church Commercial School. It was a mixed school for boys and girls between the ages of 6 and 14, with a curriculum approximately corresponding to that of the English Commercial Schools. Fees were sixpence per week for the older and threepence for the younger children, with sixpence a week for those taking extras.

---

*21 Lyttelton Times, 8 March 1851*

*22* History and Geography of the Old and New Testaments, Church Catechism, Reading, Writing and Arithmetic, Modern Geography and Vocal Music will form the principal subjects of instruction." Extras were "Mechanics, Natural Phylosophy, land surveying, mensuration linear and figure drawing." Ibid. On the English Commercial Schools, see *supra*, p. 23.
The master of the school was Edward Toomath\textsuperscript{23} who had arrived on the Cressy.\textsuperscript{24} As the school roll increased, a woman teacher, Miss Annie Simpson, was also employed.\textsuperscript{25}

Attendance figures for the early part of 1851 are missing. The 1851 \textit{Blue Book} gives the figures as 42 boys, and 50 girls, while the roll for the last quarter totals 131, with an average attendance of 82\textsuperscript{26}. The equivalent figures for the first quarter of 1852 were 95 and 57. These included both boys and girls.

It appears that from the 1 April 1852 the school was divided into a boys' and a girls' school, while

\textsuperscript{23}Roll of the Church Commercial School, Lyttelton, this shows Toomath as master. \textit{CA-M}.

\textsuperscript{24}Butchers, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 159. He later conducted a private school in Wellington, was elected to the Provincial Council there, and later to the first Education Board in Wellington. J.L. Ewing, \textit{Origins of the New Zealand Primary School Curriculum, 1840-1878} (Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 1960). p.27.

\textsuperscript{25}\textit{Blue Book}, 1851.

\textsuperscript{26}Roll of the Church Commercial School, Lyttelton. \textit{CA-M}. 
continuing to use the same buildings (in part of the immigration barracks). While the evidence for this is not conclusive, it is definitely suggestive. Up to the end of March 1852, rolls are given for the "Church Commercial School, Lyttelton." From that date there are separate rolls for boys and girls, headed with such a title as "Church Commercial Boys' School, Lyttelton." Another piece of evidence is a "List of books and furniture at the Girls' School, Lyttelton," dated 19 November 1852, and signed by Jane Jaggers. It was apparently the original intention to have separate schools.

The Girls' School continued under Mrs Jaggers. For the first quarter of 1853, the greatest number enrolled in any one week was 38; while for the year 1 April 1852 - 31 March 1853, the quarterly average attendance varied from 33 to 36. The fees charged were twopence per child per week, in advance.

27 CA-M.
28 Ibid.
29 The estimates of expenditure for 1851 list teachers of 'elementary school' and 'girls school' separately. Butchers, Young New Zealand, p. 158.
30 CA-M.
Toomath continued as master of the Boys' School.\textsuperscript{31} Between April 1852 and June 1853, the quarterly roll varied between 45 and 56, the quarterly average attendance between 36 and 44.\textsuperscript{32} The fees were the same as for the Girls' School.

A newspaper advertisement\textsuperscript{33} indicates that on the 28th., April evening classes were commencing in connection with the Church Commercial School, between 7 and 8 p.m. on four evenings a week. The masters were Messrs. Toomath (of the Commercial School) and Holmes (of the Grammar School). The curriculum was indicated as emphasizing reading, writing and arithmetic; but other subjects (English Grammar, Composition, Music Drawing and Mathematics) would be available if required. Unfortunately there appears to be no further mention in the contemporary sources of this early beginning of adult education in Canterbury.

\textbf{Lyttelton Infant School}

On the 13 March 1851, the Rev. Jackson Appointed Miss Ranson to be mistress of the Infant School at

\textsuperscript{31} \textit{Blue Book}, 1852. \hfill \textsuperscript{32} CA-M

\textsuperscript{33} \textit{Lyttelton Times}, 12 April 1851.
Lyttelton, but it is not known when the school actually started. Miss Ranson was not paid after the 5 June of that year. A Mrs Collis is noted as having been paid for 12 weeks as schoolmistress in Lyttelton, during the period June to August 1851, and this might have been at the Infant School. On an official return Mrs Jaggers (who later taught at the Lyttelton Church Commercial Girls' School) is shown as Mistress of the Infant School, and it is probable that she took over about the 20 October. From that date to the end of December returns exist showing that the roll numbers varied from 41 to 66, and the quarterly average attendance from 32 to 49. Mrs Rosetta Godfrey became mistress of the Infant School in April 1852 (Mrs Jaggers going to the newly-divided Commercial School), and she was still being paid in March 1853.

Church Commercial School, Christchurch

Mr. John Bilton was the first master of a school

34 CA-M. 35 CA-A 36 Blue Book, 1851

37 Roll of the Infant School, Lyttelton, CA-M. Also the Blue Book for 1852.

38 CA-A.
which was opened in the new St. Michael's Church, Christchurch, on 20 July 1851, when the Rev. H. Jacobs preached the sermon from the text "Who hath despised the day of small things?" The curriculum is noted as being "That recommended by the English Training Establishment." The fee charged was 2d per week.

The roll in 1851 is given by the Blue Book as 32 boys, and 25 girls; a manuscript summary for October to December 1851 shows a roll of 69 and an average attendance of 36; for the first quarter of 1852 a roll of 97 and an average attendance of 71.

It is possible that this school was also divided into two schools at the beginning of the second quarter of 1852, although here the evidence is conflicting. On the one hand, the only attendance returns still existing are headed "Returns of Christchurch Commercial Boys' School," and the size of the school might very well have indicated the desirability of division. On

---


40 Blue Book, 1851.

41 CA-M.
the other hand, in May 1854 Jacobs wrote to FitzGerald recommending "as a matter of paramount importance . . . the immediate separation of the Mixed School in Christchurch into Boys' and Girls' Schools." Also, in a report on schools [probably written by FitzGerald, boys and girls are mentioned as having been attending together. It is most likely, therefore, that the school was not divided into two schools, although the girls may have been taught separately at one time.

A suggestion of this is indicated by the Blue Books which for both 1851 and 1852 list a Miss Horrell as teacher at the Christchurch Commercial School. This is not mentioned elsewhere, although there are records that she was being paid as a schoolmistress in Christchurch from July 1851 to the end of June 1853.

**Church Commercial School, Akaroa**

Towards the beginning of May 1851 an attempt was made to start a school in Akaroa. The first mention

---

42 Henry Jacobs to J.E. FitzGerald, 5 May 1854 CA-M.

43 "Report on Schools laid before the Provincial Council, 10 November 1854." PC-Sup., Session III, No 2.

44 CA-A.
of it is in a list of 218 books and 45 other items of educational stores, intended for Akaroa, and dated 21 May 1851. The schoolmaster was Robert Wadsworth, one of the teachers brought out by the Rev. T. Jackson. The school was reported as being organized on the National School System. The combined roll of boys and girls from June to September 1851 was 23, with an average attendance of 15; but by December it had dropped to 14, with an average attendance of 12. The fees were 6d per week.

The building used as a combined Church and school-room was quite inadequate, and at a public meeting which was held on 22 September 1851, it was determined to open a subscription list towards the cost of a

45 This was addressed to Mr. Wadsworth and signed by William Holmes. CA-M.

46 Blue Book, 1851.

47 Manuscript attendance record, CA-M.

48 "Mr. Wadsworth . . . said he could bear witness to the unfitness of the present building for a school-room, several parents having objected to send their children to a place affording such free ingress to wind and rain. He had no doubt that the school would considerably increase if a proper building was erected." Lyttelton Times, 4 October 1851, p.7.
building. However, it is recorded that "In consequence of the small attendance this School will be given up in February 1852," and consequently we find Wadsworth being paid off from the 7th of that month. After leaving Akaroa he went to Wellington, and later to Australia.

**Gebbies' Station School**

During the same month in which it was decided to establish a school in Akaroa, a request was received by Godley from Samuel Manson for assistance in the formation of a school on the Gebbies' run at the head of the harbour. The residents offered to provide the school-room and school-house, £30 towards the salary of the master, "and also engage to provide him wood for fuel delivered free of charge at his door."

---

50 *Blue Book, 1851*  
51 *CA-A.*  
52 He is mentioned as having gone to Wellington in an undated memo. *CA-M.*  
53 Butchers says that the school was initiated by the Rhodes family. This is incorrect. See Butchers, *op. cit.*, p.157.  
54 Manson to Godley, 12 May 1851. *CA-L, 367.*
services of William Blatchford were obtained as schoolmaster. 55 Adequate stores were sent, 56 and the school was opened in June 1851.

The first roll is still existing. 57 It shows that there were ten children on the books: 4 Gebbies, 5 Mansons and a McQueen. Attendance was almost one hundred per cent.

Nothing more is heard of this school until 1855; it is possible that the Association assistance may have finished in December 1852, the date of the last recorded payment of Blatchford's salary. 58

Kaiapoi Native School

In October 1850, the Management Committee sent a despatch to Godley in which it mentioned that the provisions of the Ecclesiastical and Educational Fund should be available, as circumstances would permit, to the Native as well as to the European population. 59

55 Blue Book, 1851. 56 See the list in GA-M

57 GA-M. No date, but almost certainly in 1851.

58 GA-A.

59 Secretary of the Association to Godley, 1 October 1850. Kilbracken Papers.
Baker points out that there was published in the *Canterbury Papers* an appeal for aid in the erection of an industrial school "for such children of the native population as their parents may be induced to place at the disposal of the Bishop." "This school," she says, "never came into being."

This however does not appear to be correct. From some time not later than June 1851, until November 15, 1852, there was a Native School at Kaiapoi. The teacher, Henry Fletcher, had come out on the Castle Eden with the bishop-designate, and had been granted an


61"I have appointed a young man of real missionary spirit, one of my former students at Battersea, whom I could not dissuade from accompanying me to Lyttelton, to be the resident catechist at Kaiapoi. He is a good carpenter, and has habits of discipline and government. It is our intention that he should teach the natives as the true beginning of all sound progress—the way of salvation, the knowledge of the Kingdom of God and His Righteousness, and then subordinately, to this instruction, the arts of civilised life, such as building houses, making chairs and tables, the use of crockery ware, etc., etc." Rev. Thomas Jackson, *Report to Dr. Bird Sumner, Archbishop of Canterbury* (Bound newspaper clippings, 1851).

62Outfits of clergy and teachers. CA-M.
assisted passage. On a list of outfits supplied, he is noted as having received £33. 2. 7., as the "School-master and catechist at Kaiapoi to the Natives." The Association account books note regular payments to him of £5 a quarter.

During the period it was open, the roll of the school fluctuated between 12 and 32, and the ages of the pupils varied from 6 years to "about 49 years". All the pupils had Maori names, and included both males and females. This information is contained in a recently-discovered school return addressed to Godley. On it is noted, "The reading and writing must be understood to mean the Maori language."

Fletcher may have been the first Pakeha to have permanently resided among the Kaiapoi Maoris. He apparently enjoyed their confidence, as he wrote on their behalf in connection with a dispute over trespassing on Maori land.

Fletcher was partly paid from the Maori Missions

63Expenditure for religion and education for passages." CA-L, 27 September 1850.

64CA-M. 65CA-A. 66CA-M

67Lyttelton Times, 26 June 1852.
Fund, derived from one quarter of the Offertory of the Lyttelton Church, and partly by the Association. The school was closed down in November 1852, as a result of lack of funds. The clergy were however still conscious of the need to do something about Native education, for only two months after the decision to close the Kaiapoi school was made, they supported an application for funds under the 1847 Ordinance for that purpose. However, no further schools for the Maoris were established in Canterbury for many years.

It has been thought appropriate to include much detail in this account of the Kaiapoi school, as its existence has not previously been recorded.

III. SUNDAY SCHOOLS

There is no doubt that Sunday schools existed in Canterbury from very soon after the arrival of the first emigrant ships. We have only the barest knowledge,

---

68 *Church Minutes*, 6 June and 18 July 1851. Also a receipt from Fletcher to Godley for salary. CA-L, 361.

69 *Church Minutes*, 19 October 1852. 70 Ibid.

71 Butchers (Young *New Zealand, op. cit.*.) makes no mention at all of the Lyttelton Girls' or Infants' Schools, or of those at Akaroa or Kaiapoi.
however, of what was taught or of other details. 72

Sunday Schools were discussed at a meeting between Bishop Selwyn, the Rev. Jackson and the Clergy of the settlement on 21 February 1851. Concerning this, the minutes state:

The Bishop did not think it desirable that the Sunday school should be under the superintendence of the weekly master, but that the Clergyman should step into the master’s place, and transfuse his influence entirely into everything that is done on the Sunday. 73

Undoubtedly the curriculum included religious instruction and attendance at the normal Church services; but the extent of secular instruction is, with the information at present available, impossible to determine. 74

IV. PIGEON BAY SCHOOL

In May 1843 the Hay and Sinclair families moved from Wellington and settled in Pigeon Bay, 75 and it was

72 The Blue Book for 1851 states that there were 56 boys and 50 girls in the Sunday School at Lyttelton; and in 1852 “there is a Sunday School at Lyttelton. About 120 names are on the Register.”

73 Church Minutes, 21 February 1851.

74 On the English and New Zealand Sunday Schools, see Ewing, op. cit., p.13.

Ebenezer Hay who started the first school there, after the arrival of the main body of settlers in 1850.

E. Guthrie Hay writes of the beginning of the school,

After the Canterbury Settlement Mr. and Mrs. Hay, who had long realized their isolation in regard to education and religious matters, spared no trouble to secure an efficient tutor, but though there were plenty among the Pilgrims desirous of such an opening, there was considerable difficulty in finding one at first. On making his application, Mr. Hay was told—"The teachers brought out by the Canterbury Association are for the children of the Church," and on condition of his joining the Church of England and having his children baptized, he should have one. He turned away indignant and disappointed, determined to send Home for one himself without further delay. However, it was found there were too many teachers brought out and he was asked to take one shortly after his application had been refused, and before he had time to send Home. The school probably began late in 1851.

Some confusion exists concerning the earliest teachers at this school, but E. Guthrie Hay appears

76 This appears to contradict the fact that the Presbyterian Gebbie obtained a grant under similar circumstances to Hay's. Perhaps the explanation is that Godley believed that Hay was well able to afford the school while the Association funds were so low.


78 Butchers quotes James Hay (Reminiscences of Earliest Canterbury and Its Settlers, 1915) assaying
to give the most probable account, when of the teachers he writes:

The first two, Messrs Donaldson and Woodley, proved failure from physical causes, which combined with the fact that although educated men themselves neither had the necessary gift of imparting their knowledge—greatly incapacitated them as teachers. One became non compos mentis at times, and was so frequently 'indisposed' as to necessitate a change as soon as it could be arranged. The other had a sleeping disease, which rendered him often quite impervious to sights and sounds. . . . It is therefore little wonder that the progress of the children's education was slow, and by no means sure, at this early period in their history. 79

The school began to improve with the arrival of Francis Knowles as master, probably at the end of 1852. For the few months he, his sister and mother lived with the Hays, before removing to a larger house where he began to take in boarders. 80 The curriculum of the school was advertised as:

English Grammar and Composition, Ancient and Modern History, Geography, physical, mathematical and descriptive, Writing—plain and ornamented,

that "the first teacher was not a success, so Mr. Hay sent to Schotland to secure a good man." This was Mr. Gillespie, who arrived in 1859. However, Gillespie's immediate predecessor was Knowles, who was certainly not unsuccessful. James Hay apparently did not know of the two previous teachers.


80 Ibid., p.163.
Arithmetic and Mensuration, Scripture History and Biblical Antiquities, the elements of Natural Science; with Elementary Drawing, Latin, Euclid, Algebra and Plain Needlework.81

The fee was two guineas a quarter for tuition and books, nine guineas for board.

Francis Knowles was a trained teacher, holding the Diploma of the College of Preceptors. He was only twenty-one years of age when he started his school, after a short period as the first sub-editor of the Lyttelton Times.82 Leaving the school in 1858 to be ordained Deacon, he later became Vicar of Lyttelton, and subsequently a Canon of Christchurch Cathedral and Bursar of Christ's College.83

This school is interesting in that it represents the effort of a run-holder to provide education for his children in an isolated district. Although owned by a Presbyterian, it had an Anglican teacher, and religious instruction was given to both Anglicans and Presbyterian children in their own catechisms.84

81Lyttelton Times. 5 March 1853, p.12

82Ibid., 11 January 1926, p.17, col. 2.


84See infra, Chapter XIII.
V. CONCLUSION

By the end of the Godley period, about December 1852, there were a number of schools operating in the Settlement. In Lyttelton there were three—a boys', girls' and infants'. Christchurch was served by the Grammar School and by the mixed Church Commercial School. Akaroa had its school, although it was soon to be closed down; while at Kaiapoi Fletcher served as teacher until the middle of November. All of these schools were financed by the Association with the assistance of fees, except in the case of the Native School, which was partly paid for by the Church. As well as these Association schools, there was the assisted school at the Gebbies' Station. Only in Pigeon Bay was there a school entirely dependent upon a local inhabitant. There may have been other private schools in the towns, catering for those who could pay high fees, but apart from that of Mr. Green in Christchurch\textsuperscript{85} none are known of.

\textsuperscript{85}For further details of this school, see the section on private schools, \textit{infra}, p.248.
CHAPTER VI

THE FINANCING OF EDUCATION 1851-1853

I. THE FAILURE OF THE LAND FUND.

As far back as 1849, Bishop Selwyn had stressed the importance of the settlers coming to a settlement that was well prepared for them, with Church and school ready for instant use. Now, in January 1851, he was in Canterbury, and very conscious of the lack of expenditure on educational and Church buildings.

Here I find neither church, nor school nor parsonage in existence. Money enough has been spent, but all in civic engineering. Last Sunday I administered the Holy Communion in a crowded loft over the store. I do not object to these things if they are unavoidable; but where it has been part of the whole plan from the first to put religion in its right place, I do object to spacious and costly offices, long lines of wharves, road, piers etc. and not one sixpence of expenditure in any form— for the glory of God or for the comfort of the clergy. Mr. Godley is doing all that he can to remedy the defect, and I shall of course make the best of the matter.2


A similar view was expressed by E. Coleridge, one of the early land-purchasers, in a letter to Lord Lyttelton:

I cannot however feel so well satisfied as to the conduct of our Agent in laying out so much money in engineering purposes and wholly neglecting the Church and school, as you will see he has done, by the end note. Surely it was his bounden duty to have considered them as primary objects in a settlement founded on distinct Principles and Pledges. I do not underrate roads, bridges, etc., but I do think the Church and school should not have been wholly postponed to such objects. 3

For in fact there was "neither church nor school nor parsonage. Priority had been given by Thomas to other public works, and available financial resources had been exhausted before ecclesiastical buildings were begun.

The Management Committee of the Association expressed strong regret that more had not been done towards preparing buildings for churches and schools, "Even the extent of survey and other works completed will, in their opinion, be an inadequate compensation for this defect." 4 They urged that Godley make some

3 E. Coleridge to Lord Lyttelton, 7 September 1851. Italics in the original. Cobham Papers.

4 Secretary to Godley, 7 September 1850. Canterbury Papers, p.199.
immediate provision for these, recommending that temporary buildings be built, or existing buildings hired.

This position had been caused by lack of funds. By the 30 August 1850, 13,150 acres of land had been bought. The one-third share of the proceeds to the Ecclesiastical and Educational Fund, less the land agent's commission, therefore amounted to only £12,500. From this £9,000 had been paid to the Colonial Bishopric Fund and the total was further reduced by the purchase of 225 acres of land in the settlement. During the whole of the Association period, up to January 16 1854, a total of £39,162. 6. 2. was received into the Fund (including school fees at £101. 8. 0.). Against this were items of expenditure (in round figures) of £1,200 for Church materials, £1,500 for school books and furniture, £1,300 for commissions on sales £10,000 to the Colonial Bishopric Fund, £1,500 for outfits of clergy and schoolmasters, £2,800 for passage money, and £730 for sundries of Rev. Jackson's. Virtually all of this was spent in England. The chief

---

5H.S. Selfe, *The Accounts of the Canterbury Association*, pp.19-20
items of expenditure in the settlement were: 6

For buildings—
Churches (some used also as schools) £1,129.14. 5
Parsonages 573. 9.11
Cemeteries 271. 3. 6
1,974. 7.10

For salaries—
Clergy 1,596.16. 7
Chaplains of ships 1,340. 0. 0
Schoolmasters 898.12. 2
Clerk, Sexton, etc. 91.15. 3
3,927. 4. 0
£5,901.11.10

The sum immediately available for educational purposes within the colony was therefore quite inadequate.

Much of the money in the fund for educational purposes was invested in land within the colony, 7 a measure which released the funds for urgent public

---

6 Adapted from Ibid., pp.60-63.

7 The Committee have come to the conclusion that it is essential for many reasons that all the funds available for religious and educational purposes should be laid out in land endowments. Not only is this necessary with reference to the financial position of the Association and the personal liabilities of individuals; but in their opinion, this will prove, if not immediately, at all events eventually the most eligible form of investment for Church and educational funds." CA-DM. 120/51.
works, and at the same time provide valuable endowments for the future. The policy has been strongly criticised. Godley felt that "the Committee made . . . a very serious mistake when they invested the whole of their ecclesiastical funds in wild lands . . . . The Church will depend on the rents of the Church lands, and that is, in my opinion, far too precarious a source of income to be properly relied upon." Butchers more recently has criticised the measure. But at the time it was not unpopular. The Society of Land Purchasers wrote a vigorous letter condemning the expenditure of this capital upon salaries and other recurring items, rather than investing it in permanent securities. Although only a small return was obtained from the money at first, it proved to be, as Sewell had anticipated, a wise

---


9 Butchers, *Young New Zealand*, p. 156.


investment. 12

Reactions to the lack of money for spending on educational objects varied. Many people felt that as they had spent £1 per acre already for Church and education, they should not be called upon to pay over again. There was considerable newspaper correspondence in which the Association was criticised, partly for making unwise expenditure, and frequently for not publishing its accounts. 13 Adams 14 after discussing the few items of expenditure of Churches in the settlement, concludes: "The state of things here detailed has naturally created some murmurs." Some people became very bitter about the position, 15 while others

12 For a detailed discussion of the question, see Carrell, The Endowments of the Church of England in Canterbury 1850-1954.

13 Letter by "Omega" in the Lyttelton Times, 24 July 1852, p. 10.


15 "Nothing has been done for Akaroa. I Don't know what the Association will next require, if not that the clergy should build the Church, the Parsonage and the School, as well as pay the Schoolmaster's salary
were thankful for such advantages as had been obtained. The young Charles Torlesse wrote to his sister, "We shall struggle on without those advantages, and can boast of the respectability of the whole affair . . . We may be poor, but we shall be respectable . . ." Perhaps the reaction of the moderates was best expressed by the Rev. Fenton of Akaroa, who said at a public meeting called to discuss the building of a church, that:

He was aware that many persons thought the Canterbury Association ought to build Churches and Schools. He had no doubt that had the Association sold 100,000 acres of land as at first anticipated, the present meeting would have been unnecessary; but as they had only sold about 23,000 acres, he thought Mr Godley's offer to bear half the expense of the building a very generous one.

Godley himself tried to economize by cutting down salaries which he believed were too high, and

and live himself on aid. I was promised ere I left home great things, nothing realised, let the Association declare themselves bankrupts, but don't hold out hopes never to be realized . . . I believe if all the settlers only spoke their mind the Association's life would be a short one." Rev. Aylmer to Godley, 12 August 1852. **Kilbracken Papers.**


17 *Lyttelton Times*, 4 October 1851, p. 7.
reduced his own salary first by a quarter, and then refused to accept any pay at all.\textsuperscript{18}

11. THE NECESSITY FOR VOLUNTARY GIVING

As Association funds were insufficient for the support of the educational and religious activities which were required, 'it was necessary for the general public to provide finance. Sewell had foreseen the likelihood of this some months before the first ships sailed. At a meeting of the Colonists' Society, he is reported as having said that:

\[\ldots\] he was afraid that for some short time the funds arising from the land sales for Church and educational purposes would not be adequate to all the wants of the whole Colony. He suggested it might be advisable to adopt a principle as regards that land, similar to that adopted by the Church Building Societies, namely making it to some extent auxiliary to other funds raised by the Colonists themselves. A plan of this kind appeared to him likely to work well both by increasing the means for Ecclesiastical and educational purposes, and also by stimulating the exertions of the Colonists themselves. The meeting generally approved of this proposal, and a minute to that effect was ordered to be entered upon the proceedings.\textsuperscript{19}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{19}SCC-Min., 8 May 1850.
\end{flushright}
There is no denying that the educational facilities offering in Canterbury during the period 1850-1853 were not comparable with those which had been expected, and the reasons for this have been stated. Nevertheless, Butchers\textsuperscript{20} overstates the case when he says that "the settlers in what was educationally the most richly endowed Province of all, had to depend for many years to a large extent upon private enterprise for the education of their children." Campbell takes a similar view.\textsuperscript{21} As they state it, the period up to

\textsuperscript{20}Butchers, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 156-58.

\textsuperscript{21}"In Canterbury, as in Otago, the settlers had at first to provide schools for themselves, as no money was available for either churches or schools from the province's very handsome endowment, although there were building sites in abundance. This curious state of affairs resulted from the action of the Canterbury Association in paying over to itself the one-third of the proceeds of land sales which it then re-invested in unsold land of its own as an endowment for the objects of the trust . . . Instead of witnessing the orderly development of the education system planned by the founders of the Association, the early years of the settlement saw nothing more than the establishment of the Canterbury College and Grammar School (in practice it was a Grammar School only), and the haphazard growth of a collection of private and denominational schools which was quite inadequate to meet the educational needs of the community." A. E. Campbell, \textit{Educating New Zealand} (Wellington: New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1941), p. 39.
1857 was virtually one of private enterprise, with the Canterbury Association, and later the Provincial Council, having neither money for education nor interest in it. In neither case was this true.

III. THE FINANCING OF EDUCATION

During 1851 Godley was considerably handicapped in his organizing of the education system by lack of information from the Association, and from the lack of a directing force for the Church. Soon after the arrival of the first body of settlers he had written:

The non-arrival of Mr Jackson and the want of any instruction as to his views leave me in a state of considerable perplexity with reference to the clergy and schoolmasters who have come out and who of course are too numerous to find occupation among our present population. 22

With regard to schoolmasters, Godley's problem was two-fold. On the one hand, many schoolmasters had been engaged by Jackson, but on conditions which were known only to him. Some schoolmasters (and more especially clergy) had been engaged for the voyage only; but upon arrival in Canterbury they expected

22 Godley to the Secretary, 6 January 1851. Quoted in Burchers, op. cit., p.158.
employment to be found for them. Secondly, there were insufficient openings for these men. The Committee and Jackson had both foreseen this, and had ensured that the schoolteachers chosen could also work as clerks, or as tradesmen. Much confusion resulted, not entirely due to Godley, as Sewell recognised.

The educational budget for 1851, drawn up by Selwyn, Godley and Jackson, allowed for the employment of seven teachers at a total cost of £550, with an allowance for schools and fittings of £100. From the information now available, it appears that the extent

---

23 "In the despatches which arrived by the First Four Ships there was absolutely nothing to guide me in dealing with the clergy and schoolmasters who have arrived at various times under engagement to the Association ... They preferred claims which I could not help considering ... The result of all this is eminently painful to me as I see these very respectable and worthy people reduced to positive distress, and I cannot avoid feeling that the Association for whom the Bishop-Designate acted, is to a good extent responsible for their position." Godley to the Secretary, 12 April 1851. CA-DG, 22/51.

24 Secretary to Godley, 22 October 1850. CA-L, 170.

25 Henry Sewell to Godley, 22 December 1851. CA-DMI.

26 Godley to the Secretary, 6 January 1851. Butchers, loc. cit.
of Association assistance to education during 1851-53 amounted to the following:

Collegiate Grammar School, Christchurch.
Church Commercial School, Christchurch.
Church Commercial Boys' School, Lyttelton.
Church Commercial Girls' School, Lyttelton.
Infant School, Lyttelton.

The Association paid all costs in connection with these schools.

Church Commercial School, Akaroa.

The school and schoolmaster's house were subsidised by the Association, the local residents paying half. The salary of the schoolmaster, stores and incidental expenses were paid by the Association.

Gebbies' Station School

This was a private school, but the Association provided stores, and paid half of the Master's salary.27

Kaiapoi Native School

The Maori Mission Fund of the Lyttelton Church contributed to the support of this school, but it had been set up by the Association, and the account books show regular payments to Fletcher. It is likely that the school was financially supported by both Church and Association.

Considering the situation in which Godley and the Association were placed, these were no mean achievements.

---

27 For details of the payments to teachers for this period, see the Account Books of the Association (CA-A).
The cost of administering these schools was to a small extent offset by the fees which were paid weekly by the children attending. At the Grammar School they were two guineas a quarter, plus a charge for books; at the Christchurch and Lyttelton Commercial Schools 2d. per week per child, and at Akaroa 6d. Altogether, during the whole time the Association was administering the schools, the total amount collected in fees was only £101. 8. 2.

During this period there was no shortage of educational stores, many having been brought out by Jackson. Reserves were apparently kept in Lyttelton and appear to have been in the charge of William Holmes until his removal to Wellington.

The basis of payment to teachers varied during the period. The Rev. Jacobs was paid £200 per annum.

---

28 Selley, op. cit., p. 60.

29 A memo headed "An inventory of sundry stores purchased out of the Ecclesiastical and Educational Fund and brought from England by Mr Jackson and not applied to any purpose", includes a large list of articles headed "in store at Lyttelton." It is dated 14.10.51. CA-L, 1320.

30 Several lists of stores issued are signed by Holmes. CA-M.
It had been intended to pay salaries of £70 a year to men and about £35 to women, but this became modified. Sometimes teachers were paid a smaller salary, and could keep all or a percentage of the fees collected. At other times, however, the teacher was paid a larger salary, and had to account to the Association's accountant for the fees.

Conclusion
The intention of the Canterbury Association had been to provide fully for both schools and churches out of the Ecclesiastical and Educational Fund. When the expected land sales did not eventuate, educational provisions had to be considerably modified. Nevertheless a number of schools were established and maintained by the Association, although no school building programme could be undertaken.

---

31 This system was recommended by Selwyn in 1852. Ca-L, 881. See also a letter from Mr Marshman, the Association's accountant in Lyttelton, to Rev. Dudley, 26 January 1852. CA-AL.
CHAPTER VII

THE CONTROL OF SCHOOLS, 1851-1853

This chapter is concerned with the general question: How were the schools controlled and administered during the Godley period? Special attention will be paid to the role of the Church.

I. THE ASSOCIATION PLAN

As the Agent of the Canterbury Association, Godley had apparently been given a very free hand. Part of his formal instructions before coming to Canterbury read:

Your powers, except so far as they are limited by these or subsequent instructions, will best be defined by informing you that whatever the Association is competent to do in England, you are authorized and empowered to do, on their behalf, in New Zealand. The servants of the Association are placed under your unqualified control, and you are empowered to suspend or dismiss any of them as you may see fit . . . . You will also from time to time make such appointments as may be necessary for the carrying out of the objects of the Association, and consistent with the means at your command . . . .

1Such instructions arrived frequently, although they were not always helpful.

2CA-DMI.
Godley received very little assistance from London in his organising of the school system. A typical instruction reads: "With respect to the erection of schools, the Committee leave you to consult with the Bishop-Designate. You will together consider the question of making the best provision for this object, having regard to the possible means." However, they recommended that considering the state of finances, temporary school buildings be built or existing ones utilized.

As has been seen, the Association initially intended to set up a Committee of laymen and clergy, headed by the bishop, who would administer the Ecclesiastical and Educational Fund within the Settlement; and the function of this body was to include the control of schools. But this committee was never set up. Godley therefore had to improvise, not knowing whether a bishop was arriving in the near future, or whether the Association in fact would appoint the Committee. So he wrote that the arrangements he had made

---

3 Secretary to Godley, 1 October 1850. CA-L, 234.
5 See supra, p. 50 ff.
with teachers were for one year only, and the Management stressed the importance of all educational arrangements being regarded as tentative. This inability to plan for the future, forced on to Godley and later upon FitzGerald, was a major cause of the inefficiency of the school system until some permanence was guaranteed by the terms of the Education Ordinance of 1857.

II. THE LACK OF A BISHOP

It had been intended that the Bishop of Christchurch would also be director of the school system. But apart from Jackson's six-weeks' stay, all that Canterbury saw of its bishop was occasional brief visits from Selwyn. Upon Godley therefore fell many of the responsibilities which it had been intended the Bishop would shoulder; yet he did not at the same time have the Bishop's authority. Cocks points out how this resulted in lack of direction and stability in the Association school system.

---

6Godley to the Secretary, 9 December 1851. CA-DG.

The non-appearance of a bishop was keenly felt in Canterbury. The Rev. R. B. Paul in farewelling Godley, is reported as having said that:

In connection with this subject, education, he would say a few words respecting the appointment of their bishop. It was now two years since the first detachment of Colonists had landed on the shores of the Canterbury Settlement, and month after month the arrival of the Bishop among them had been deferred. Would it be too much to ask their respected guest on his return to England to represent to those in whom the appointment was vested, how anxiously the coming of our Bishop was longed for — how bitterly would be the disappointment if, under conceivable circumstances, this most important part of the Association's ecclesiastical scheme were abandoned, or even its execution delayed a moment longer than was absolutely necessary?

Selwyn saw the necessity of doing something about the position, and so we find the Lyttelton Times reporting that:

The Lord Bishop of New Zealand held a Visitaton on Friday sen'nnight at Lyttelton . . . . The most important of the ecclesiastical business transacted on this occasion related to the direction of the clergymen in the temporary absence of the Bishop-Designate. Bishop Selwyn, whose every proceeding was marked with the greatest delicacy, and who stated that any arrangement made by him was to be considered as only temporary, and until the erection of the settlement into a separate diocese, proposed to nominate two of the clergy, to be chosen by their brother clergymen, his Commissaries, and whose direction and opinion should be taken as that of himself, in all matters in which such aid was required. The

---

8Lyttelton Times, 25 December 1852, p.7.
Unanimous choice of the ministers present fell upon the Rev. O. Mathias, and the Rev. R. B. Paul, who have accordingly, we understand, received the necessary powers.

This proved to be a significant step; the Rev. Octavius Mathias is a frequently-recurring figure in the early history of Canterbury education.

III. THE CONTROL OF EDUCATION

The Location of Power

There is almost no evidence on how the administration of the Association's school system was actually carried on, and much of what is available is incidental or only suggestive. But one thing can be said: Godley was central. As Agent of the Association he controlled the expenditure on education, and the appointment and dismissal of teachers. To him was addressed Manson's petition for a grant towards the school at Gebbies' Pass; it was he who signed authorizations of expenditure; through him Fletcher at Kaiapoi was paid, and to him Fletcher sent registers of attendance and

9Ibid., 6 December 1851, p. 6.
10CA-M.
11See supra, pp. 95-97.
progress. Some of the administration was channelled through Mr Marshman, the Association accountant at Lyttelton, who records a conversation with Godley concerning the basis of payment to the teacher at the Infant School. Godley appears to have been, then, the Association's 'Director of Education'.

But this is not a full explanation, for it does not account for certain other information which is available. Selwyn and Jackson were making plans for education in terms which suggested that the initiative was with them. The estimates of expenditure for education for 1851 were signed by "G. A. New Zealand, Thomas Jackson, John Robt Godley." The clergy appeared

12 Marshman to the Rev. Dudley, 26 January 1852.

13 "It was impossible to do more at present than to make temporary provision for the due supply of religious ordinances to the inhabitants of the Canterbury Settlement, and for such educational institutions as the pecuniary means at present at the disposal of the Agent of the Canterbury Association would permit.

It was determined to commence an elementary and commercial school at Christchurch as soon as possible, for both Girls and Boys. The want of such an institution begins to be greatly felt on the plains." Lyttelton Times, 1 March 1851, p. 5.

14 Godley to the Secretary, 6 January 1851. See Butchers, Young New Zealand, p. 158.
to see little difference between their role in the organization of day schools and Sunday schools. Were then the clergy the policy-making body, and Godley the executive instrument? Certainly the Management Committee in London would, if it came to the point, expect Godley to co-operate in carrying out the clergy's plans. The fact that so little evidence exists regarding the form of educational control suggests that Godley and the clergy fairly closely agreed upon general policy, with a consequent informality of administrative procedure being sufficient. This certainly might be expected from what we know of Godley's views.

School Committees

Some time during 1851 or 1852, Godley formulated a plan for administering the schools centering upon a committee system. Unfortunately very little is known of what actually happened, but a copy of the Regulations for these committees has been preserved. The

15Church Minutes, 21 February 1851.

16Godley had been instructed to consult with the Bishop-Designate. Secretary to Godley, 1 October 1850. Canterbury Papers, pp. 234-35.

17Provisional Regulations for the Management of
management of the schools in each 'ecclesiastical district' was to be vested in a committee of twelve, to be nominated by the senior officiating clergymen of the district. All clergy were *ex officio* members, the most senior to be chairman, but all its decisions were to be subject to the veto of the Canterbury Association Agent.

At each monthly meeting of the Committee two of its members shall be nominated to serve as visitors of the schools during the ensuing month. The officiating clergymen of the district, and the Commissaries of the Bishop of New Zealand in this Settlement, shall be *ex officio* visitors of the schools.

It should be noted that the Committee was intended to have neither financial powers, nor appointmental powers.

The system did not appear to work at all well. Sewell in February 1853 mentions the committee, but remarks: "However, the Clergy and the Committee are at issue." The reasons for this, and the form which the quarrels took, constitute a teasing problem, but one about

---

the Boys' and Girls' Day and Sunday Schools, Supported by the Canterbury Association (Lyttelton: T. Shrimpton, 1852).

18Ibid.


20Ibid.
only speculation is at present possible. It could have been that the conflict was on the dual questions of the role of the clergy in the control of education, and the place and nature of denominational religious teaching.

IV. RELIGIOUS EDUCATION AND THE PLACE OF DISSENTERS

Early in 1853, Sewell stated the problem which it had been hoped could have been avoided in Canterbury, but which was then appearing, barely a year after the arrival of the first ships:

The School question seems to be just the same kind as in England. What part is the Church to take in education? What are the laity to do? The case is complicated here by the peculiarity of our system. We are a Church colony. Our funds are exclusively applicable to Church projects. The schools are maintained out of these funds. Per contra. Here are Dissenters school-less. What is to be done with them? Mr Dudley says send them to school and to Church, and he carries his principles to extremes by wanting to get them to daily service—at any rate to attend on Fasts and Festivals. 20 . . . How all this reminds one of the old country.

The Position of Dissenters

According to the census of November 1851, within

20 Ibid., pp. 29-30.
the Canterbury block there were a total of about 135 Roman Catholics and 400 Protestant Dissenters (Presbyterians, Wesleyans and others) out of a total population of 3,264. At the end of 1852 there were no day schools for the children of Dissenters, although a Wesleyan Sunday school had been started in a hut in Hagley Park as early as April 1851. It was therefore necessary for non-Anglican parents, if they wished their children to attend school, and if they could not afford one of the private schools available, to send them to an Association school, which would be organized along Church of England lines, and where they would be taught the Anglican catechism and expected to attend Anglican worship. That this situation was keenly felt is

---

21 On the reliability of early statistics, see infra, Appendix P.
23 The Press, Centennial supplement, 16 December 1950, p. 4.
24 Provisional Regulations ..., op. cit.
25 "All the children above 8 years of age shall be expected to attend Divine Service at the Church at least once on the Lord’s Day either in company with their parents, or under the care of the master or mistress." Ibid.
obvious from the remarks of Sewell's already quoted.

**Godley's Views**

There appear to be no recorded views of Godley upon the religious question, dating from this period. However, two letters written earlier may throw some light upon his attitude. In comparing the Irish education plan with a British Government measure on education in 1843, he had written:

In the first we have throughout and in every shape **compromise** between the various forms of religious instruction, and apparently a studious effort to convince the people that all sects and all opinions have an equal chance of being right, and that there is no such thing as definite objective truth. . . . Now, Sir James Graham's plan distinctly recognises the precise converse, by giving a predominance to one faith, with toleration to all. The Church is assumed to be **the proper** channel for instructing the people, at the same time that those who will not accept her teaching are not thereby debarred from the use of the elementary education which the state provides.

In another letter to Adderley, a year later, Godley advocated for Ireland a system which virtually provided

---


for separate grants to different religious denominations; although he recognised that this would be acceptable only because of difficulties of that specific situation, as a matter of expediency.\(^{28}\)

From these letters it might be deduced that Godley's attitude would be one of support for the dominant claims of the Anglican Church, with willingness to go some way towards toleration for those who could not recognise the claims of the Church of England.

**The Church View**

There was considerable criticism of the Canterbury Settlement's attempt at religious exclusiveness; and typical of these criticisms was one from the *Nelson Examiner*.\(^{29}\) The plan was attacked on two grounds: first, that it would be impossible to carry into effect; and secondly, that it was intrinsically undesirable. The editorial stated:

> To us this seems so far from tending to advance civilisation and to enlarge the scope of human

\(^{28}\)Ibid., Letter XXXIX (13 August 1844), pp. 86-87.

\(^{29}\) *Lyttelton Times*, 3 May, 1851, p. 6.
sympathy, as altogether a retrograde movement, and calculated to foster bigotry, create intolerance, and narrow the range of man's benevolence. 30

The article was editorially replied to in the Lyttelton Times. 31 Several arguments were put forward in defence of assistance to one denomination only. The first argument was that the alternative to this policy would be to aid all denominations, and that under these circumstances, it was argued, there would be virtually no education at all. Secondly, the writer claimed, the Canterbury plan was based upon the principle of aid to the Church of England only; and any non-Anglicans had come knowing the conditions under which education was to be available. It was realized, the argument continued, that Canterbury could not remain exclusively Anglican: "... but we do expect that the introduction from the first of a good educational machinery for youth of all ages, will be felt in the colony, and will prolong its benefits to all time." 32 Although some took more extreme positions,

30 Ibid. 31 Ibid. 32 Ibid. Italics in the original.
the *Lyttelton Times* here probably put forward the view of the majority of Anglicans.
CHAPTER VIII

THE GODLEY PERIOD: A REVIEW

In December 1852, John Robert and Charlotte Godley left Canterbury to return to England; and with Godley's departure ended the first phase of the history of education in Canterbury. For two years he had steered Canterbury through difficult waters, and he now felt that it was time to go. William Pratt wisely suggests:

I cannot help hazarding the opinion that in all his useful and disinterested labour on behalf of the Settlement, Godley never showed his wisdom and judgement more conspicuously than in choosing the appropriate time of retiring from the commanding position he had filled with such advantage to the Settlement and leaving a clear field for the many talented men who rose to power on his departure.  

I. CONTEMPORARY VIEWS OF THE GODLEY PERIOD

In viewing the progress made in the first two years of the Settlement, many settlers were critical of the Association's optimism. Adams suggested that too

much had been promised:

To a certain extent the Canterbury establishment is an experiment, and it may be doubted whether too much has not been attempted. The settlers have been induced to pay a high sum for their land (three times the amount of the ordinary price) upon the faith that one third of the purchase money would be expended for Church purposes and one third upon the formation of roads. They naturally expected some immediate advantages from such payments... 2

The Rev. R. B. Paul, however, took a more optimistic position. At the farewell breakfast to Godley, he was reported as having said that:

He had never been one of those who thought the ecclesiastical scheme of the Canterbury Association a failure. With the large provision made for the future endowment of the Church in this settlement, he believed that the time would come when her own property would be amply sufficient for all her requirements.

Godley freely admitted that he had come to Canterbury, as had so many others, expecting to achieve too much in too short a time:

When I first adopted and made my own, the idea of this colony, it pictured itself to my mind in the colours of a Utopia. Now that I have been a practical colonizer, and have seen how these things


are managed in fact, I often smile to myself when I think of the ideal Canterbury of which our imagination dreamed. Yet I see nothing in the dream to regret or be ashamed of, and I am quite sure that without the enthusiasm, the poetry, the unreality (if you will), with which our scheme was overlaid, it would never have been accomplished. 4

He realized that the school system was quite unlike that which the imagination of the Canterbury Association had conceived, but he claimed that "while the number of schools appeared small," in fact "it is as much as there is an effective demand for." 5 He pointed out that he had "tried the experiment of having schools in two other localities, but found the population so scattered and so busy that the attendance was not such as to justify [his] keeping them up." 6

II. THE EXTENT OF SCHOOLING

According to the 1851 census 7 there were only about 2816 Europeans living within the Canterbury block,


5 Godley's speech at the public dinner held in his honour in London.  Ibid., pp. 240-41.

6 Ibid.

7 See infra, Appendix P.
exclusive of Akaroa and Pigeon Bay. Of these, 1144 are shown as children under the age of 15 years. However, some of these lived in outlying pastoral areas where schools could not be set up through lack of sufficient children. If the estimates are restricted to children living in or relatively near to Lyttelton, Christchurch and the head of the harbour, we find that the number of children is reduced to 1100. Assuming that the proportion of pre-school children was approximately the same as that shown in the census figures for 1854, 1856 and 1857 it can be estimated that at the end of 1852 there were between 550 and 650 children of school age (between 5 and 15 years) living within a few miles of an existing school.

No accurate figures of school rolls and attendances are available, but estimates can be made. The 1852 Blue Book lists the schools in Canterbury with their rolls, and these are shown in Table I on page 136. It will be noted that the school on the Gebbies' Station was not included in the return. According to

---

8Provincial Gazette, 1 July 1854, 12 June 1856 and 30 June 1857. See infra, Appendix P.
This source, a total of 198 children were attending school at the time the returns were made.

TABLE I

ROLLS OF CANTERBURY ASSOCIATION SCHOOLS

AS GIVEN IN THE BLUE BOOK, 1852

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Christchurch Grammar School</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christchurch Commercial School</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lyttelton Commercial School</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lyttelton Infant School</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other attendance figures may be obtained by taking the quarterly attendance returns. The material from these is summarized in Table II on page 137. It will be noticed that the roll figures show considerable discrepancy between the Blue Book returns and those indicated in Table II. This may be accounted for by taking into account three factors. The list in Table II is built up from records which show the total number of

9CA-M.
names appearing on the roll during the quarter 1 October to 31 December 1852, not the number on the roll on a given day (as the Blue Book probably does). Second, the Blue Book does not include the ten children at the Gebbies' Station School. Finally, the figures for the Girls' School in Christchurch are only estimates.

It does, however, appear reasonable to suggest that when Godley left Canterbury something over 200 children were attending Association schools, the average attendance being about 200. This would indicate

TABLE II

ROLLS AND AVERAGE ATTENDANCES, 1852
ASSOCIATION SCHOOLS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Christchurch Grammar School</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christchurch Commercial</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys' School</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls' School</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>30(\text{a})</td>
<td>30(\text{a})</td>
<td>20(\text{a})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lyttelton Commercial School</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>36(\text{b})</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lyttelton Infant School</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gebbies Station School</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>252</td>
<td></td>
<td>203</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(\text{a}\) These are estimates only, as no attendance returns are extant.

\(\text{b}\) Greatest roll in any week.
that about 40% of children living within a few miles of a school were actually taking advantage of it, although this estimate does not take into account children attending private schools. The reasons for this relatively low attendance will be examined later.

III. THE COLLEGE

By the end of the Godley period, the College and Grammar School were established in Christchurch. The College proper had almost no institutional existence, consisting of one or two students who were tutored by the Rev. Jacobs. Nothing had been done about putting it on a more active basis. This was due partly to lack of finance, partly to other factors which Godley hinted at in a speech made upon his return to England:

Unfortunately in new countries there is such a demand for men and money that few are content on the one hand to pay the sums that would keep their sons as gentlemen at College; and on the other, to sacrifice those sons' services just at the age when they are beginning to be useful on station or farm. A College in the English sense of the word, for three or four thousand poor and hardworking people would be out of place. It would die for want of students.¹⁰

Henry Sewell, upon his arrival in Canterbury, strongly criticised Godley for taking this position. In his Journal he wrote:

Another of Godley's mistakes is about the College. All the people are now hot for the College, for the same reasons as influenced us. Supply a good place of education and you will get a good class of colonist.  

He also expressed considerable indignation at the suggestion of Godley's, of building the College without a chapel. It was, he said, "No doubt right to keep within means, but a College without a chapel is the play without Hamlet. Nobody would subscribe a penny towards such an abortion."  

Godley's point of view can certainly be seen with regard to the College; virtually the only students were those who were preparing for Ordination. But circumstances soon showed both the desirability and practicability of establishing the Grammar School on a better footing.

---


12 Ibid., 11 May 1853, p. 245
IV. SIGNIFICANT TRENDS

The Financing of Education

During the whole of the period under review, Godley had quite insufficient funds for the carrying out of the Association's plans, and this had made voluntary assistance necessary for both Church building, and the maintenance of clergy. This was a significant trend away from the principle of education being provided by the Association without further effort from the people, and it was suggested that this resulted in greater interest in education than might otherwise have been the case. This lack of finance, however, adversely affected the stability and permanence of the system. 13

The Control of Education

The period was characterised by a lack of clarity in the control of schools, with some confusion of roles between Godley, the laity and the clergy.

13 Despite this, Betteridge overstates the position when he says that "the schools were poor and struggling, relying for their incomes on voluntary subscriptions and the fees of their pupils." Betteridge, The Church of England and Education in Canterbury, 1849-1918, p. 43.
(evident in the conflict between the clergy and the school committee). This was largely a result of the lack of a bishop, who was seen as having authority to settle controversial matters. The popularity of the Association declined during these two years, largely due to its reluctance to publish full statements of accounts of the Ecclesiastical and Educational Fund, and by its attempts to stifle the growing movement towards local self-government in both secular and ecclesiastical spheres. This weakening of the Association's influence tended to place more power in the hands of the clergy, who were looked upon by many as the natural leaders of the settlement, especially in matters educational.

The Religious Problem

The schools operated by the Canterbury Association in the settlement were not Church schools in that they were neither directly controlled nor owned by the Church (which itself at this time had no corporate existence); rather they were Association schools organised under Anglican clergy, and operated as if they were Anglican foundations. The confusion here is a result
of the peculiar relationship between the Church and the Association. Although in a legal sense the Church of England was not established in the province as it was in England, yet, because the Ecclesiastical and Educational Fund (administered by the Association Agent) was intended exclusively for Anglican purposes, the effect was very similar to what happened in other colonies when one denomination was established as the State Church.

At this time the problem of religious instruction was not very pressing, but it was of growing significance. Dissent would soon be strong enough either to build its own schools, or to challenge the exclusively Anglican basis of the existing schools. In either case, the problem of the relations between the Association, the Church and the Dissenters would become acute. As Sewell had seen, the situation was coming to parallel closely the position in England.

V. GODLEY'S INFLUENCE

There can be no doubt that Godley was the outstanding figure of the earliest years of the Canterbury Settlement. Upon everyone he met he made a
strong impression; and even his letters were such as
to cause Anthony Trollope to write:

No volume of correspondence ever fell into my
hands which left upon my mind a higher impression
of the purity, piety, philanthropy, truth and
high-minded thoughtfulness of the writer. The
letters are written with all the elegance which
education gives and all the abandon which the
privacy of the loving friendship produced. 14

Although placed in a position of considerable
authority and power, and in spite of his somewhat
autocratic nature, Godley saw his role as that of
governing the settlement in the light of what the
colonists themselves wanted, 15 and the same attitude of

----------------

14 Anthony Trollope, Australia and New Zealand
pp. 356-57.

15 To the Land Purchasers' Society he had written:

"I consider myself placed here, not merely to act
on behalf of the Association as I may think best for the
interests of the colonists, but to do so subordinately
to their expressed wishes . . . . As a general rule, it
is for you and not for me to determine how those common
interests may best be consulted; while I am ready
therefore to bear the full weight of responsibility
which properly devolves upon me as an executive officer,
. . . as a general rule . . . I shall guide myself by
your direction, so long as I shall be satisfied that
your body does really and adequately represent the
land-purchasers of the Settlement . . . ." Quoted by
Italics in the original.
enlightened despotism governed his attitude to education. In no sense was he a popular democrat; rather he saw education as something essentially for the upper classes, by which he meant "men of superior intelligence, the men of cultivated minds and high education, to whom we should look to direct the policy of the country and give tone to society." Although he keenly desired the spread of education among the people, he expected it to be diffused by individual and private effort working through the Church:

---

16 "I have long thought that the age of equality is coming upon us, and that our business is not so much to struggle against it, with a view to repulse it altogether, as to retard its progress and to modify its effects; at present we are not ready for it. I think no man can look upon the state of our working classes, their ignorance of all which it is important for them to know, the immense space which divides them in habits and tastes, pursuits and feelings from the rich, above all, the wide-spread indifference to religious obligations, without trembling at the thought of their speedily acquiring political power. Our object, then, should be to refuse it to them as yet, while we earnestly endeavour to remove the disqualifications which I have mentioned. . . ." Adderley (ed), *Extracts From the Letters of John Robert Godley to C.H. Adderley*, Letter XX (21 January 1843), p.33.

17 Godley's speech in London, replying to the toast "The Association" at the dinner to mark the satisfactory settlement of the claims of the Association in the colony. *Lyttelton Times*, 19 November 1856.
for if the people have leisure and money they will of themselves create the means of education. At the same time, it is highly desirable that at the very beginning they should have a sound system of education established, and such a system if once set going, will always, it may be hoped, keep the population up to a high intellectual standard. 18

Of Godley's administration in the colony, there may have been a few acts, but they were exceptionally few, which were open to criticism. Whatever political opponents he may have had, they all recognised the unselfishness and purity of his motives. His integrity was universally conceded. J. E. FitzGerald, referring to the unique position occupied by Godley in the colony, said:

From the 16th December 1850, until December 1852, when he sailed for England Godley was, in all but name, the Governor of the settlement which he originated and founded. What he was amongst us during the first two years of the settlement some of us remember, and most of us know by tradition; not with coffers full and facilities abundant, but in poverty of funds amidst great difficulties, amidst great discontent, amidst the disappointments of many sanguine expectations, and the ill-concealed hostility of the N. Z. Government, Godley guided the infant fortunes of Canterbury in the full and entire conviction of the result which must one day come. 19

18Ibid.
19Quoted in Hickey, op. cit., Vol II, p. 332.
CHAPTER IX

INTERREGNUM

DECEMBER 1852 - APRIL 1854

In the history of Canterbury, this period represents something of a pause between the Godley Period, and the beginning of FitzGerald's Superintendence and the work of the Provincial Council.

I. THE ARRIVAL OF SEWELL

From the first it had been the Association's intention to abdicate its powers as soon as the colony had some properly-constituted method of self-government. This came with the New Zealand Constitution Act of June 1852.1 The members of the Association, and especially those who had advanced large sums of money on virtually no security,2 were relieved at the prospect of their burden being relieved them. Accounts were settled in London, and Henry Sewell (who had for some time been the paid Deputy-Chairman of the Association) was sent out

15-16 Vict., c72, 30 June 1852.

to effect the transfer of the Association's assets and liabilities. He arrived in Lyttelton on the 2 February 1853, only a few weeks after Godley's departure.

Estimates of Sewell have varied. In an article in the *Lyttelton Times* it was said of him:

Sewell was a man of undoubted ability. As a constitutional lawyer in England he stood high, was a skilled debater, and had cultured literary tastes. With strong English prejudices, he saw little that was attractive in the young Canterbury settlement. But the most startling fact that emerges from the reading of his diary is the querulous, deprecating comments on the men who were prominent in Canterbury affairs. Hardly one but comes under the lash of his biting and often ungenerous criticism, but he was a shrewd observer, and viewing his position as counsel for the Association he resented the actions of all those who failed to see eye to eye with him on every occasion and on every detail of the Association's demands.

Gisborne, in his *New Zealand Rulers and Statesmen* wrote:

His mind had breadth, but it was slippery, and unable to grasp closely great principles; its strength was dissipated on small things. There was in him no fixity of purpose. . . . He was fussy, restless, too easily impressionable, and full of false alarms. Probably this natural disquietude taught him to be, what he certainly was, fertile in resource and skilful in evasion.

---

3 *Lyttelton Times*, 16 December 1925, p.23.
Edward Gibbon Wakefield commented: "It is so painful for him to say what he thinks another is pained to hear, that he will not speak his real mind if he observes you are disturbed by hearing it." Monk concluded by saying:

In a letter to Rintoul written from the colony Wakefield refers to Sewell's 'morbid sensitiveness or extreme thinness of skin' which made him the victim of a jealousy which his superior unrivalled talents excited, and which at times made him perfectly miserable. These penetrating criticisms are amply borne out by the tone of the Journal and by numerous incidents recorded in it.

Sewell could not do his primary work for the Association until the Provincial Council to be set up under the Constitution Act was established. Even when this had been done, several years elapsed before the many difficulties were overcome. Meanwhile, Sewell continued in Godley's place as Agent for the Association, keeping control of the Ecclesiastical and Educational Fund, collecting revenues from the Church endowments, and supervising the Association schools.


II. THE PROVINCIAL COUNCIL

The origins of the Canterbury Association lie partly among the colonial reform movement of the nineteenth century, and self-government for the colony had always been the aim (if not always the practice) of the Association. Struggles between the colonists and Governor Grey on the one hand, and with the Association on the other, further reinforced this tendency. Conway Rose, a most dissatisfied colonist, remarks upon how "in any English colony, unless in the pay of the Government, no man who can think at all, is anything else but an ultra radical— all free institutions, free trade, free Church, and I never heard a solid or serious objection raised to universal suffrage!"

Under the Constitution Act provinces were defined, and Provincial Councils given wide powers. The Canterbury Province included all of the 'Canterbury Block', with additional land to the north and south. The elected Council consisted at first of twelve members.

On the 4 March, 1853 James Edward FitzGerald was

---

7 Unpublished letters of Conway Rose to his sister, Isabella Collier, 25 March, 1853. Italics in the original.
elected Superintendent of the Province. He had been
very active in the Association in London during 1850,
having acted for a time as Emigration Agent. Later in
the settlement he was a Resident Magistrate, and
editor of the *Lyttelton Times*. Like Godley and many
others of the Canterbury Pilgrims, he was of Anglo-Irish
parentage. In a foot-note Maling refers to him in
the following terms:

He was charming, cultured, a fine speaker and a
genius in many ways, but erratic and not a practical
statesman. Torlesse, in a letter to his mother
describes him thus: "Our Superintendent is a clever
man but a flighty wild Irishman, too easily
persuaded by the last speaker and too much influenced
by the mere pot-house cry which he mistakes for
public opinion."

This is perhaps rather harsh. "Yet behind
FitzGerald's emotional instability and irritating
assumption of omniscience," says Webb, "there was real
ability and firm grasp of principle." This grasp

---

8 The final state of the poll was: (*Lyttelton
Times*, 23 July 1853, p. 7).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>ChCh.</th>
<th>Lytt.</th>
<th>Akaroa</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FitzGerald</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campbell</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tancred</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

of principle was no better displayed than in his struggles to obtain for Canterbury the benefits of a satisfactory education system.

III. THE ASSOCIATION SCHOOLS

After Godley's departure, the Association schools gradually dropped further and further back in standard and attendance. "It is sad indeed," wrote FitzGerald to Godley, "to see how the schools have dwindled down since you left, children increasing, school children decreasing." 11 Sewell despairingly wrote:

At present [the schools] are in a very unsatisfactory state. I cannot raise the stipends so as to attract or keep the best masters and mistresses and they consequently go off to Wellington or elsewhere leaving us only the second best. The present school constitution is bad. I am a temporary accident, but as I hold the purse strings, people look to me as having authoritative control.

Everywhere, he complains, he finds lack of interest in education. "The talk about Education is for the most part cant. People in general are too selfish and self-engrossed to think of expending time and thought

11 J. E. FitzGerald to Godley, 26 April 1854. Kilbracken Papers.
12 Sewell's Journal, 1 April 1854, pp. 683-84.
on anything unremunerative."  

He tried to set up local committees, but "as they have no real power they take no interest, and the management drops away to nothing."  

Part of the trouble was finance. Before he left Godley had had to stop the salaries of the Rev. Paul and the Rev. Aylmer, and had warned the clergy that his successor might have no funds with which to pay them after the end of the year. Captain Simeon (who acted as Agent for the few weeks before Sewell arrived) hoped to be able to continue salaries until June 1853, and eventually Sewell was able, by selling certain of the Church endowments, to avoid stopping salaries further. Earlier Godley had had to dismiss Mr. Perceval of the Grammar School because of lack of finance.  

Although a public meeting was held by the residents of Papanui on 3 October 1853, at which resolutions were passed in favour of raising a subscription

---

Ibid.  

Ibid.  

Captain Simeon to Revs. Paul and Mathias, 2 January 1853. CA-L, 986.  

Godley to Perceval, 19 November 1852. CA-AL.
towards the construction of a building "to serve the joint purposes of a school and a Mechanics' Institute in the evening." Nothing further appears to have been done about the matter, and Papanui did not have a school until one was begun by the Provincial Council near the end of 1854. This would suggest confirmation of Sewell's estimate of public apathy.

By the beginning of 1854, then, Sewell was feeling that it was time something was done about the Canterbury Association schools. Especially he felt that they were too great a burden upon the slender financial resources of the Association. "If I can in conscience rid myself of the school responsibility, I will," he wrote.18 While the Agent was looking around for some method of financing the schools, others were coming to think that the Provincial Council ought to either subsidize the schools or take them over out-right. In this way arose in Canterbury the thorny question of the relationship between education, the Church and the State.

17 Lyttelton Times, 8 October 1853, p. 7.

18 Sewell, op. cit., p. 684
CHAPTER X

FITZGERALD AND THE EDUCATION SYSTEM
1853-1854

Canterbury was settled by people who believed that the education of the young was part of the Church's legitimate role, and who wished that responsibility to be borne by the Anglican Church. But by 1853 it had come to be recognised that, however much in theory they might wish it to be otherwise, the Anglicans in Canterbury had to accept the fact that an increasing number of people not of the Church of England was settling in Canterbury.¹ No longer could one realistically talk about the Anglican Church having a legitimate monopoly of educational facilities. This is part of a much larger problem, that of the relationship of the State and the Church in regard to Education.

¹In June 1853 Charles Bowen wrote to Godley that one hundred sheep runs, with a total area of one million acres, had been taken from the Canterbury block by pastoralists. These people were of quite a different type to those who had come out under Association auspices, and their independence of outlook, associated with their including a high proportion of non-Anglicans, undoubtedly contributed to the acceptance of religious toleration. See Hight and Straubel, History of Canterbury, Vol 1, pp. 195-96.
I. THE CHURCH, THE STATE AND EDUCATION

So long as the Church in any country remained undivided, the problem of the relationship which should exist between the Church and the state of that country did not arise in its later form, for no dichotomy was felt to exist between these two forms of authority. Thus in England prior to the Reformation, the Church’s claim to be the exclusive teacher of the young was not only unchallenged but enforced by the state.

With the Reformation of the sixteenth century, and the subsequent fragmentation of the Church, the monopoly of education in the hands of the Established Church became harder to justify, especially in the face of the growing liberalism of the nineteenth century. Education in England had been left alone by the state, the Church in its various denominations conducting schools and teaching in most cases along strictly denominational lines. The advent of the British and Foreign School Society, with its undenominational teaching from the Bible, represented a revolt against the doctrinal claims of the Anglican Church, and an attempt by the dissenting groups to strengthen their position by unifying their activities.
But it was becoming only too obviously true that individual and private effort was quite insufficient to meet the increased demand for literacy, and the quickening social conscience in England, accompanied by a growing conviction that all children of the nation should be educated at least in part, led to a belief that education was at least partly a responsibility of the state. But if this was granted (and the Church leaders certainly welcomed the possibility of financial aid to their schools, provided that this did not imply state interference), the problem arose of defining the attitude of the state towards the various denominations within it.

Here two main points of view were expressed. On the one hand, it was believed by some that the state's function in the matter was to support the Established Church only, on the ground that it taught the only true religion. Extremists would allow no other schools than those financed by the state and owned or managed by the Church of England. A more moderate position allowed other denominations to have their own schools, but to receive no financial or other advantages from the state.

On the other hand, an increasing number of Dissenters from the established Church of England, and
their strengthening political and social influence, allied with the general moves towards greater toleration, tended thinking towards the view that the religion within a country was no business of the state(s). The state was here thought of as a society whose objects were purely secular. If this was so, then all denominations would have to be treated alike. This was the position taken by the Rev. Baker when he wrote:

I believe from the bottom of my heart that, while anxious of course to protect Church-of-England Education . . . I am quite, as ready as any conscientious dissenter from her communion, to deny (as I now emphatically disclaim) her right to any exclusive or exceptional prerogative or privilege in the distribution of public revenue. 2

Perhaps the most obvious solution was for the state to organise its own schools, but this was not so simple in practice, for it raised the problem of what religious teaching was to be taken, at a time when almost all men were agreed that no education was worthy of the name which did not include this. Dissenters did not want a school in which only the Anglican catechism was taught--such a school was virtually that of an established Church--

---

and the result would have been that the dissenters would have started their own schools. In fact this system was not tried in England until late in the nineteenth century.

An alternative, and one generally supported by the Anglicans and Wesleyans, was that the state provide finance for the denominations, who would themselves operate their own school systems as they wished. The state then would have no control over the denominational schools apart from the right of inspection to ensure that the money granted was not wasted.

These problems were transferred to New Zealand because the colonists belonged to several different denominations, and came from this background of dissension. Even in Canterbury, the most Anglican of the settlements, the possibility of the Anglican Church being established in a special and 'official' relationship with the state was not countenanced after the end of the Canterbury Association, for the same reasons which prompted Sir Richard Bourke, Governor of New South Wales, to write of a similar situation:

I would observe that in a New Country to which persons of all religious persuasions are invited to resort, it will be impossible to establish a dominant and endowed Church without must hostility
and great improbability of its becoming permanent. The inclination of these colonists, which keeps pace with the Spirit of the Age, is decidedly adverse to such as Institution; and I fear the interests of religion would be prejudiced by its Establishment.

In the case of the Canterbury colonists, these liberal tendencies were reinforced by the Tractarian attitude which favoured separation between Church and state.

In Canterbury in 1853, when the first session of the Provincial Council was opened, there was a strong body of opinion which supported the view that the Council should vote some money for the support of education, as had been done annually in England since 1833. It was in the context of this situation that the Council met together to discuss whether the grant should be given, to whom, and under what conditions.

IV. THE OPENING OF THE PROVINCIAL COUNCIL

The first session of the Canterbury Provincial Council met together in what had been the offices of a newspaper on 27 September 1853. During the morning

---


4 W. F. Cornish, The English Church in the Nineteenth Century, pp. 197-98.

5 J. C. Andersen, Old Christchurch in Picture and Story, p. 117.
The Superintendent and Councillors worshipped at the Church of St Michael, where all took communion together, and where the sermon was preached by the Rev. R. B. Paul, one of the Commissaries of the Bishop of New Zealand.

\*\* Rev. Paul’s Sermon on Church and State 6

Paul began by outlining the peculiar religious provisions under which Canterbury was colonized, and pointed out that they no longer held:

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 in all its integrity, as regards the religious and educational objects which formed its basis. I do not, for my part, believe that this is practicable. . . . I cannot think that any system of endowment would be either wise or just, or eventually successful, which was based on the principle of benefitting one religious body at the expense of others, even although those others may at the present time be weak and insignificant.

This, he believed, left the state two alternatives: to aid all denominations alike, or to aid none, and rely entirely upon the voluntary system. He stated that whatever happened, "as a member of the

\*\*\* 


7 Ibid.
Church of England, this I would say, that if she is true to herself, she will never accept any aid that is not accorded to her freely and unconditionally." He considered the question: In what manner and to what extent is the State bound to assist in the work of national education? The problems arising from denominational differences are discussed, and the conclusion reached that:

Supposing the view which I have taken to be correct, 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 proportional to the sums raised by themselves, leaving them at perfect liberty to educate their children in the manner approved by themselves, with only so much government interference as is necessary to prevent the waste or misappropriation of the grant.  

It will be recognised immediately that a considerable change of view had occurred in the three years since the Canterbury Pilgrims had arrived. In place of the assumption that only Anglicans would be assisted from a Fund contributed to by all, there is the frank espousal, by the Bishop's commissary, of a view

---

8 Ibid. Italics in the original.
9 Ibid., p. 142.
which would recognise all denominations as equally entitled to grants in aid.

FitzGerald's Opening Address to Session I

Later on the same day, FitzGerald delivered an impressive address, the section on Education being important as a statement of his policy.10 As the Rev. Paul had done, he considered especially two questions, of which the first was: What is the relation in which the State in its corporate capacity is to stand towards the various religious bodies existing within it? He saw the denominations as being co-existent with but independent of the State, with quite different functions, and he concluded that "the state should stand in an attitude of absolute indifference to all religious communities."11 In defending this position, he pointed out that this did not mean that the State must not legislate for religious bodies, but only that it would treat them all alike.

His second question, similar in substance to Paul's

10PP, pp.10-14, Session I, 27 September 1853. See infra, Appendix I.

11Ibid.
was: In what manner, and to what extent, does it become the state to interfere in the education of youth? There was no doubt in his mind that the State had a definite responsibility, more especially in a newly-formed colony:

Gentlemen, I know of no duty so incumbent upon a nation, as that of transmitting to posterity, unimpaired if not improved, that moral and intellectual conditions, which, under the providence of God, it has inherited from the past. I know of no duty, the neglect of which bears with it so immediately, or so fearfully, its own punishment in the degradation of the national character, the increase in crime, and the diminution of all the sources of human happiness. And yet, it is indisputable that a very small portion of this Province are enjoying the benefits of intellectual instruction or of moral discipline similar to that which their fathers received in England, still less similar to that which they themselves might have received had they remained in the land of their birth; and, unless some universal, some very earnest and self-denying effort be made to avert the danger, I am at a loss to conceive how we can anticipate other than a deterioration in the character of the inhabitants, which it is bitterly painful to all right-minded men to contemplate, and keenly wounding to all honest pride to submit to.12

From these considerations, and from reflection upon the social character of the Canterbury Settlement, he concludes that "if . . . we resolve to possess the blessings of a really national education, we must

12 Ibid.
ourselves provide the means, by raising a rate or tax on the inhabitants of the Province.\textsuperscript{13}

Concerning the problem of religious education, Fitzgerald concludes with the Rev. Paul that the State's financial resources should be distributed as grants to such religious bodies as organize schools.\textsuperscript{14}

This speech was notable for two things: for the way in which it emphasised the importance of a provincial education system; and for its rigid separation of Church and State, recognising that the State's only concern in education was that children were taught secular subjects satisfactorily, while ensuring freedom of religious education.

Considering that the positions from which they started were somewhat different, it is interesting that Paul and Fitzgerald were so akin in their views. Both endorsed the separation of Church and State, and both accepted the principle of state grants to denominational schools, although Fitzgerald went further in advocating

\textsuperscript{13}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{14}"The education fund of the Province should therefore be used in all instances to supply the secular instruction to schools set on foot by some religious Body, guaranteeing that religious instruction shall be given to all the children attending it."  PC-R, p. 13.
the raising of funds by the levying of a special tax. But such agreement was only superficial, and rifts in the apparent unanimity soon appeared when the details came to be worked out. The difference was one of emphasis; for whereas the Rev. Paul was mainly concerned to maintain the integrity of Anglican religious education, FitzGerald's preoccupation was primarily with the encouragement of a national, or at least a provincial, system of education for all.

III. THE WORK OF THE PROVINCIAL COUNCIL

SESSIONS I AND II

Session I

It is notable that there was no public outcry against the position taken by either Paul or FitzGerald, although FitzGerald expected strong opposition to his suggested tax. On 6 October the Council wrote to FitzGerald stating that "They entertain a deep sense

15"The question I am most anxious about is Education. I introduced the subject in my speech as a sort of forlorn hope, thinking that all my popularity would vanish at the moment the word tax was uttered. On the contrary, I hear from various quarters that the proposal is by no means an unpopular one." FitzGerald to Godley, 23 October 1853. Kilbracken Papers.
of the importance of placing the Education of the people upon a sound and efficient basis, and will give their earnest consideration to any measure which may be proposed to them on the subject."\textsuperscript{16}

Later in the same month two resolutions were introduced by the Government into the Council, and passed after amendment in the following form:\textsuperscript{17}

1. That this Council is of the opinion that some general plan for the Education of the people, ought to be adopted by the Government of the Province.

2. That it is expedient, in the event of other means not being available for that purpose\textsuperscript{18} to raise the necessary funds for such Education by means of a special rate, to be levied for that purpose.

However, some members of the public felt that the Council was not going far enough. On 15 November 1853, W. H. Hamilton introduced into the Council a Memorial from the Lyttelton Colonists' Society.\textsuperscript{19} Its first two clauses (which had been passed unanimously) were

\textsuperscript{16} Pi-I, 4/7.10.53.

\textsuperscript{17} Provincial Gazette, 31 December 1853. PC-P. Session I, 28 October 1853, p. 29.

\textsuperscript{18} The underlined section was inserted as an amendment.

\textsuperscript{19} Lyttelton Times, 26 November 1853.
virtually the same as the two previously passed by the Council. The third clause, and one to which Hamilton would not definitely give his support, read:

That a majority of the meeting expressed a decided opinion, that grants in aid of a denominational system, would have the effect of arousing that sectarian spirit for which this settlement has been as yet so happily free and that a good and efficient education could not in this colony be given to the rising generation under such a system, as by the necessary subdivision of the funds that might be at the disposal of the state, a very inferior class of teachers only could be provided. 20

A majority of the Society would apparently have preferred to have seen the Council itself set up and control a system of education, although no hint was given as to their attitude to the existence or nature of religious education in such a state system. 21

20 PC-Papers, 168/15.11.53.

21 A strong minority dissented from this recommendation, and issued the following amendment:

"Resolved, that in carrying out any such plan, it is incumbent on the Government distinctly to recognise the right of every religious denomination to receive state assistance for the purpose of carrying out, according to its own views, a system of united secular and religious education—it being however distinctly understood that no religious teaching should be forced on any child whose parents object to the same." The resolution was moved by the Rev. R. B. Paul, seconded by Captain C. Simeon, and signed by eight others, including the Rev. B. W. Dudley. Lyttelton Times, 29 October 1853, p. 7.
FitzGerald had planned to introduce an Education Bill into the Provincial Council during its first session, implementing the views he had expressed to the Council. As early as 23 October 1853, he had written to Godley, "If I can carry these resolutions I shall bring in a bill to put my plan, tax and all in operation at once." But the Bill was deferred, probably because of the pressure of important business concerned with finance, land, and the establishment of routines attendant upon the beginnings of Provincial Government. It is obvious that the matter had been deferred but not forgotten, for in March 1854 part of a newspaper editorial read:

We shall be curious to see the provisions of the measure for the promotion of Education in this Province, which has been announced by the Government to be in preparation. It shows considerable moral courage in a statesman to attempt legislation on this subject.

The position taken by C. C. Bowen, who had taken over the control and editorship of the *Lyttelton Times* from

22 FitzGerald to Godley, 23 October 1853. *Kilbracken Papers.*

23 *Lyttelton Times*, 4 March 1854, p. 6.
FitzGerald, was one supporting the role of the minister of religion in education. He advocated that:

... the application of public funds to educational purposes should be entrusted with a worthy confidence and cordiality of feeling to such religious ministers and lay members of their communion, as shall have given proof of their zeal and ability in the cause, by originating schools.

The editorial also stressed that the schools should not be made a 'charity' but should charge fees; whereby, it was claimed, the funds of the school would gain, and the school raised in the public esteem.

Pressure of other business prevented the introduction of the proposed Bill. Thus on 21 March the Provincial Council went into Committee on the Estimates for the year 1854-55, and £1,000 was voted for Education. This money was to be administered in terms of the provisions of the Education Ordinance of New Zealand, Session VIII, No. 10 (Grey's Ordinance of 1847); wherein was provided that moneys could be granted


25 Lyttelton Times, loc. cit.

26 PC-P, p. 66.
to the heads of religious denominations in support of schools, the government to have the right of inspection.27

This measure met with considerable support from the Press. The Editor of the Lyttelton Times stated that:

The system, however, under which the temporary grant at present to be distributed is to be administered, is in accordance with the provisions of the Ordinance of the Governor of New Zealand. This measure so far accords with the views which we have advocated, that contemporaneously with a system of Government inspection, it placed the immediate control of the schools, assisted by public money, together with the appointment of teachers, under the heads of the several religious bodies by whom the schools shall be established.28

FitzGerald had not given up his intention of introducing a bill to set on foot a permanent education system, but he recognised that this could not be done immediately, and thought the providing of the grant better than doing nothing at all.29

27 For the text of the Ordinance, see Butchers, Young New Zealand, pp. 310-11.

28 Lyttelton Times, 15 April 1854, p. 7.

29 "The vote for Education will, I am persuaded, be attended with the greatest benefit to the people. I regret that I have been unable to lay before you a bill for establishing a regular Education system in the Province. But it seemed far better that schools should be established under a provisional arrangement than that the matter should stand over until another session. Besides,
More detailed procedures had to be worked out for the distribution of the Provisional Grant, for at the moment of the voting of the Education grant, the only schools in the Province were (purely) private ones, and those supported by the Association. In his speech to the Council of the 12 April 1854, the Superintendent said:

The Executive Council have therefore passed a minute for the appropriation of the grant in accordance with the existing Education Ordinance. I have arranged with Mr Sewell for transferring the schools established by the Canterbury Association to the Government, and for placing them on a better footing as regards inspection. In this way FitzGerald announced to the Provincial Council the Education Minute of 1854, and the taking over by the Government of the Association Schools.

IV. THE TRANSFER OF THE SCHOOLS

FitzGerald and Sewell had considered together the possibility of the Council either subsidising or taking over the schools set up and maintained by the Canterbury Association. Sewell, and the Rev. Dudley, whom Sewell had consulted, were quite happy with the

---

30 Ibid.
terms of the 1847 Ordinance;31 for practical purposes the Association schools would become Anglican schools, and so eligible for a share of the £1,000 voted by the Council. On 17 April Sewell wrote to the Rev. Henry Jacobs as follows:

I need not trouble you with details as to particular expenditure for schools, inasmuch as for the future the Provincial Government has undertaken out of the Education grant to provide as follows:

A master of a commercial school at Christchurch, in connection with the Grammar School; and a master and mistress of the lower school there;

A master of a grammar and commercial school at Lyttelton, and a master and mistress of the lower schools at the latter place;

The infant school at Lyttelton remains to be provided for.

Part of the arrangement with the Government is that the Association shall provide school buildings at Lyttelton . . . 32

But this was not finalized: on 4 May Sewell and FitzGerald met, and Sewell wrote that "FitzGerald was unsettled in his plans (and apparently had no fixed view)."33 FitzGerald had intended to appoint a paid

31Sewell, Journal, 1 April 1854, pp.683-84.
33Ibid.
inspector of schools (he suggested Tancred), but Sewell, believing this to be a waste of money, had suggested that the inspection of the lower schools be entrusted to the Masters of the Grammar Schools, who would themselves be inspected by the Superintendent or some other official.

F(itzGerald) expressed his preference for not undertaking the schools himself, but giving our schools a grant in aid. £150 for Lyttelton and the like for Christchurch—we to manage as hitherto, only subject to inspection, and the condition about children of dissenters. I returned quite happy in my mind to Lyttelton.

Arrangements were made for a meeting on the Friday between Sewell and certain of the clergy and laity who were interested in education, and the schools. The meeting was quite lively:

We met at the Reading Room; S(imeon) looking in at the door saw three or four people assembled whereupon he exclaimed loudly against the impropriety of publicly discussing such a matter. "It was a matter for the Executive Government; he was a member of the Executive Council; he should have nothing to do with it." All of which was absurd . . . We set to work without him, discussing and contriving how with £150 we could make both ends meet to establish the Grammar School; keeping the present schools on foot. In the midst of our counsels the door opened and in came F(itzGerald), stately and solemn with a cloud on his brow and rather agitated. I saw immediately the state of the case

---

34 Ibid., pp. 688-89.
(Simeon had been priming him to explode a petard at us, as a nest of conspirators). We received him cordially—asked him to sit down and give us counsel; whereupon he drew himself up officially. "He had no counsel to offer. If we were desirous of doing anything ourselves we were welcome to do so, etc., etc.—His plan was not to give us a grant in aid but to take the schools under the Government." Then he produced a budget of what he had done the day before with the Executive Council. It seems that after his talk with me and Jacobs, he altered his mind, and planned a general scheme for all the schools including Lyttelton and Christchurch, taking them under the charge of the Government except Jacob's which remains with the Association. His plan seemed unobjectionable and financially it was a great relief to me, easing me of the expense of all the lower schools. I assented, not caring about forms, and having no desire to keep the schools on the hands of the Association if I can properly transfer them. Then FitzGerald smoothed his ruffled plumes, and we had useful practical talk ending in a satisfactory arrangement.

The substance of the arrangement was that the Government was to take over all the schools except the Grammar School, providing the salaries and other costs, the Association providing buildings for which rent of £70 per annum was to be paid.

This decision to take over the schools completely was a significant one: for now, even though they were to be administered by Church of England clergy, they were Government schools, not

denominational schools receiving a grant in aid.

V. THE MINUTE ON EDUCATION

At a meeting of the Executive Council of the 10 April 1854, FitzGerald proposed a Minute on Education, the first clause of which read:

Until the details for the system of education for the Province shall be settled by a local Ordinance, the grant shall be expended in accordance with the provisions of the Education Ordinance of New Zealand, Session VIII, No. 10.

The Terms of the Minute

The Minute provided for the support, regulation and inspection of what had been the Association schools. The Grammar School in Christchurch was to be assisted and made subject to inspection (otherwise retaining its previous administration); and a Grammar and Commercial School was to be established in Lyttelton. District schools "under the superintendence of the Bishop" were to be set up in a number of districts. The headmasters of the Grammar Schools were to be Visitors for the elementary schools in their districts, which would also be visited by a Government inspector.

36 For the text of the Minute, see Appendix E.
Opposition from the Clergy

Although it was claimed to be simply an administrative instrument under the Education Ordinance, the Minute in several regards differed from the Ordinance, and it was on this account that FitzGerald found himself being opposed by the Anglican clergy of the Province. On 20 May they met and unanimously passed a series of resolutions calling upon the Executive Council to revise certain clauses. As a result a conference was held between the Executive Council and the clergy on 2 June. At this meeting the clergy were asked to submit their complaints in writing, the Rev. Mathias (the only remaining Commissary, the Rev. Paul having gone to Wellington) and Jacobs doing so on the 14 June. They wrote:

1. Whereas the Ordinance (clause 4) provides that "Every such school shall be placed under the superintendence and management of such one of the persons named or referred to in the Schedule hereunto annexed, as the Governor with the advice of the Executive Council shall in the case of each such

\[37\] Jacobs to the Provincial Secretary, 22 May 1854. \textit{PL-I}.

\[38\] FC-M, 2 June 1854.

\[39\] Revds Mathias and Jacobs to the Provincial Secretary, 14 June 1854. \textit{CA-M}. 
school especially direct;" the Minute (Clause 9) arranges that the District Schools shall be placed under the superintendence of the Masters of the Grammar Schools, and that "the Masters and the Mistresses shall report to and receive instructions from them."

2. Whereas the Ordinance (Clause 5) provides that "the teachers of every such school shall be appointed by the person under whose superintendence and management the same shall be placed as aforesaid and shall be removable by him at pleasure," the Minute (Clause 11) arranges that "the Bishop, or in his absence the Bishop's Commissary shall with the consent and approval of the visitor and inspector of each school appoint a master or mistress thereof."

It appears to us both right and expedient that the provisions of the Ordinance should be strictly adhered to, and that no departure from them should be permitted, except for reasons of urgent necessity. Italicics in the letter but not in the minute.

The clergy therefore suggested that "all schools established by the Provincial Government in connection with the Church of England should be placed under the general superintendence and management of the Bishop of New Zealand, and, in his absence, of his Commissary;" and that the appointment and dismissal of teachers should rest with the same person. They also asked that the fees to be charged (clause 12) should

---

40 Italics in the letter but not in the minute.

41 Mathias and Jacobs, loc. cit.

42 Ibid.
be reduced to sixpence per child per week.

The letter was considered at a meeting of the Executive Council on the 17 June, and the relevant minute reads:

The Council decline to make any alterations which would affect the principle of the measure, and approve a draft of a letter to that effect; but they assent to the proposed reduction of the fee for the District Schools, and approve the following clause to be substituted for Clause 12 of the minute in question:

"The fees of the District Schools shall be 6d. a week for each child, such fees to be paid on each Monday morning in advance."43

By May 1854 the Government had taken over the Association schools (excluding the College) although leaving them largely under Church superintendence, and was busy making arrangements for the opening of new district schools. By doing this and not merely making a grant-in-aid, FitzGerald won considerable control over the schools, specifically in the matter of the appointment of teachers and inspection. It represented a step towards his aim of a state-controlled provincial education system, quite different to that desired by the

43 EC-M, 17 June 1854.
The schools in Canterbury, and the Provincial Council votes, were administered under the Minute and the 1847 Ordinance from April 1854, until the passing of the first Education Ordinance of Canterbury in 1857. It represented FitzGerald's first attempt to gain control of the school system, and provided a point of focus for disagreements between the Government and the Anglican clergy of the Province. It is to the implementation of the Minute that attention must now be turned.

---

The clergy definitely thought in terms of a parochial school system:

"We are of the opinion that the immediate superintendence of the District Schools by Parochial Clergy . . . will be sufficiently secured by placing them under the general superintendence of the Bishop and his Commissary, who doubtless will not depart from the universally established Parochial system of the Church." Mathias and Jacobs to the Provincial Secretary, op. cit.
CHAPTER XI

THE CONTROL OF EDUCATION

APRIL 1854 - MAY 1855

During this period, the main source of interest lies in the operation of the 1854 Education Minute, and FitzGerald's unsuccessful Education Bill of 1855.

I. THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE MINUTE

On 22 March 1854, the Provincial Council voted £1,000, "to be expended in aid of education . . . in strict accordance with the Education Ordinance." Some of this money was appropriated for the starting of new schools in outlying districts; £150 was to go to each of the Christchurch and Lyttelton districts, and for the formation of a Grammar School in Lyttelton; £150 for the salary of an Assistant-Master for the Commercial Branch in the Christchurch Grammar School; the remaining £250 to be reserved for building schools.

The Reorganization of Existing Schools

The chief difference made to the Christchurch Grammar School was the appointment of Mr Frederick

---

1Lyttelton Times, 25 March 1854, p. 9.
Thompson to conduct a commercial class under the Head Master, the Rev. Jacobs.

In accordance with a recommendation from Mr Jacobs, the Church Commercial School in Christchurch (as it had been known as previously) was divided into two District Schools, one for boys and one for girls. The Boys' School was continued in the Church of St. Michael's, Mr Bilton remaining as master. From 22 July the Girls' School was begun in a house in Cashel Street, the mistress being Mrs Thompson, the wife of the new master at the Grammar School. Advertisements were inserted asking for tenders to build school-rooms for the two schools, to be leased by the Government; but there is no evidence that any buildings were constructed.

The Lyttelton Church Commercial Schools were taken over from the Association from 1 April 1854, but they were probably not reorganized as district schools.

\[^2\text{Jacobs to FitzGerald, 5 May 1854.} \text{CA-M.}\]
\[^3\text{Lyttelton Times, 15 July 1854.}\]
\[^4\text{Provincial Gazette, 22 July 1854.}\]
\[^5\text{Ibid., 20 June 1854. Also Superintendent to Jacobs, 13 April 1854, PL-08. The schools were still situated in private buildings in 1857.}\]
until 1 May. On that day both opened, with Mr and Mrs Mayo as teachers, still occupying one of the old Association barracks which were now rented by the Government. 6

The Organizing of New Schools

Clause 4 of the Minute read, "A grammar and commercial school shall be established at Lyttelton under the superintendence of the Bishop of the Diocese," while Clause 7 provided for the establishment of district schools in outlying areas. As a first step towards establishing these schools, on 13 April FitzGerald wrote to Jacobs asking to "furnish ... a report on the number of children who may be expected to attend the schools in each of the Districts proposed to be established in connection with the Grammar School in Christchurch." 7 In reply, Jacobs estimated the following potential school populations: Papanui, 100; Riccarton, 50; and Ferry Road, 30. He

6 "District Schools Lyttelton", a return enclosed in a letter from Spowers to the Provincial Secretary, 7 June 1855. PL-I, 797/14.6.55.

7 Provincial Secretary to Jacobs, 13 April 1854. PL-08.
notes that these are conservative estimates. 8

Riccarton. On the 6 July the Executive Council put aside estimates of £145.19. 3 for the Riccarton School, 9 and on 2 August Mr Fisher was appointed to the position of Master. 10 The Government advertised that the school would be opening on 14 August. 11 However, less than a month later the Rev. Mathias was again advertising for a teacher for Riccarton, 12 and on 9 October Mr Townshend was appointed. 13

Papanui. There was definite interest in Papanui in having a school, 14 and the Government put aside finance for it. However, a suitable master proved impossible to find, and the school remained unstaffed.

8 Jacobs to the Superintendent, 5 May 1854. CA-M.
9 EC-M, 6 July 1854.
10 Mathias to the Superintendent, 2 August 1854. SIL, 173. Also Provincial Gazette, 22 July 1854.
11 Canterbury Standard, 3 August 1854.
12 Provincial Gazette, 9 September 1854.
13 Mathias to FitzGerald, 9 October 1854. SIL, 228.
14 A public meeting had been held for that purpose in October 1853.
Ferry Road. On 1 August Mrs Dixon was appointed to this school, situated on the Ferry Road near Christchurch Quay, which was opened on the 14th of the same month. In his report to the Provincial Council in November 1854, FitzGerald said that the attendance was very limited, only six children attending. As a result, the school was closed in June 1855.

Governor's Bay. As early as 4 May 1854, the Governor's Bay School appeared on a list of education estimates; a building was leased and necessary alterations to it made, and on 10 July Miss Roworth was appointed Mistress. The school, however, was of poor quality. In his report of 13 December 1854, Spowers, the local Inspector, said that only six children aged three to nine years were actually attending; the standard of work was very low; and he

---

15 *Canterbury Standard*, *loc. cit.*
16 *P.C-Sup.*., *Session III*, No. 2.
17 *EC-M.*, 16 June 1855.
19 Spowers to the Provincial Secretary, 4 July 1854. *CA-M.*
recommended that the school be closed down at the end of the year. 20

Akaroa. During 1851 and 1852 the inhabitants of Akaroa had had an Association school, and on 1 March 1854 they sent a Memorial, signed by John Watson (the Resident Magistrate), Gouland (later Provincial Secretary), and the Rev. Aylmer (the local clergyman) and twenty-five others, asking for a school, and offering to help towards its cost. 21 In April FitzGerald instructed Aylmer to begin a school. 22 It was hoped that the old Association Church and school building could be used. 23 On 16 November Mr and Mrs Tuson were appointed. 24 The school was well supported, and continued for many years, although the Tusons left after only a very short stay.

---

20 Spowers to the Provincial Secretary, 13 December 1854, GA-M.

21 PC-Papers, 123/1.3.54.

22 PL-OS, 13 April 1854.

23 Provincial Secretary to John Watson, 10 July 1854, PL-OS.

24 Mathias to FitzGerald, 16 November 1854, SM, 286.
Okaia Bay. This school appeared on the estimates of 24 July 1854, but lack of a teacher prevented the school being opened.25

Lyttelton Grammar and Commercial School. On 4 May 1854 £290 was set aside for this school.26 Stores were bought from the Association,27 and on 15 May the Rev. George Cotterill was appointed Headmaster.28 The school provided both a classical and a commercial course, and its roll, beginning with two, had by the end of 1855 crept up to seventeen.29

By the end of 1854, then, the Provincial Government had been successful in setting up the Lyttelton Grammar School, and district schools at Riccarton, Ferry Road and Governor's Bay; although these new schools were generally weak and poorly attended.

25 Fitzgerald's Report on Schools, November 1854
26 PC-Papers.
26 EC-M, 4 May 1854.
27 Spowers to the Provincial Secretary, 14 May 1854. PL-I, 79.
28 PL-I, 798/14.6.55.
29 Ibid.
II. THE OPERATION OF THE MINUTE

The Superintendence and Control of Schools

Nominally, the schools were under the direction and superintendence of the Rev. Mathias, as the Commissary of the Bishop. In fact, however, it was FitzGerald who really controlled the administration of the schools, through his Inspectors and Visitors. It is notable how often letters concerning education received by the Provincial Secretary, have notes added by FitzGerald, instructing a course of action, outlining a reply, or adding some information. During this time FitzGerald appears to have been centralizing as far as possible the education system on the Provincial Government, in rejection of the views of the clergy who desired a parochial system directed by the Bishop.

For school administration, the Province was divided into three school districts: Christchurch, Lyttelton (including Governor's Bay), and Akaroa (including Okain's Bay). In each district there was a part-time Inspector of Schools, and also a Visitor, both appointed by FitzGerald. On the same day as that on which
he tabled the Education Minute, Fitzgerald informed
the Executive Council that he intended to appoint three
Inspectors of Schools, Mr G. Gouland (Christchurch), 30
Mr J. Spowers (Lyttelton), and Mr John Watson (Akaroa). 31
In his letter of appointment, Spowers was told, "His Honour
requests that you will regularly inspect the Schools when
established, and that in all matters of account you will
consider yourself as the Head of a Department of the
Local Government." 32 For general oversight from the
professional point of view, each of the District Schools
was placed under a Visitor; in the case of the Christchurch
schools, the Rev. Jacobs; in Lyttelton and Governor's Bay
the Rev. Cotterill; and in Akaroa, the Rev. Aylmer.

30 Pratt describes Gouland thus:

"The chief functionary in Lyttelton before the
arrival of the Canterbury Colonists was Harry Godfrey
Gouland, who combined in his single person all the dignity
and authority of the British Constitution. As an official
he was fussy and methodical, and a red-tapist, but out of
office personal acquaintances found him a genial and
pleasant gentleman, possessed of a large fund of valuable
information and experience." William Pratt, Colonial
Experiences, quoted in Hickey, the History of Canterbury
from 1850 to the End of the First Superintendency, Vol I,
p. 126.

31 EC-M, 10 April 1854.

32 Provincial Secretary to Spowers, 13 April 1854.
PL-OS.
It will be noted that only in the case of Akaroa is
the Parochial system used, for in the other two cases,
the Visitors are the heads of the local grammar Schools,
and not the Incumbents of the parishes.

**The Appointment of Teachers**

As has been seen, Mathias and FitzGerald had
clashed over the terms of the Education Minute, insofar
as it was concerned with the appointment and dismissal
of teachers; for the Minute made the Bishop's right
to appoint teachers conditional upon "The consent and
approval of the Visitor and Inspector of each school."
There are on record a number of letters from Mathias,
appointing some person to a school; but the first one
makes particularly interesting reading:

> I have this day forwarded to you my appointments
> respectively, to the Government schools mentioned in
> my letter, of the Revd George Cotterill and of
> Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Thompson, in conformity with
> the General Education Ordinance of New Zealand,
> Sess. 8, No 10 by the 5th clause of which the said
> schools are placed under the superintendence and
> management of the Bishop of the Diocese and the
> Masters and Mistresses of which are removable by
> him at pleasure.

> I beg most respectfully, at the same time, to
> protest against the minute of the Executive Council,
> dated Apl 8th 1854 which most materially interferes
> with the Bishop's prerogative as clearly laid down in
> the Ordinance above referred to.
This clause of the Minute led to much friction between the administrators of education in Canterbury. An example of this is found in a letter addressed by Spowers (Inspector of Schools in Lyttelton) to the Provincial Secretary:

I have this morning seen a letter from the Rev. Mr. Mathias addressed to the Headmaster of the Grammar School expressing his surprise at seeing Mr. and Mrs. Mayo advertised as Master and Mistress of the District Schools as he had not appointed them. In reference to this I beg to observe that on the transfer of the schools from the Association the services of those parties were continued by the Instruction of His Honor the Superintendent, and I certainly thought that the first appointments here were taken as a matter of course. As this is not so I have further to notice that the Commissary of the Bishop has given an appointment to the Rev. Mr. Cotterill without having first obtained my approval as Inspector appointed by the Government (see clause 5 of the Minute of the Executive Council of the 10th April 1854).

1854 then saw the development of a 'dual' system, not according to the usual pattern of two systems operating side by side, but in the unusual sense of two organizations attempting to control the same——

\[33\] Mathias to FitzGerald, 7 July, 1854. CA-M.

\[34\] PL-I, 142/8/7/54.
system simultaneously. The Provincial Government, operating through the Education Minute, was controlling the schools through a series of Government inspectors and the headmasters of the grammar schools (who from this point of view were acting as civil servants, even though both were clergymen); while Mathias regarded the schools as being Anglican ones, himself as Commissary being the head of the system (as provided for by the 1847 Ordinance).

Nevertheless, it must have been with some satisfaction as well as disappointment, that FitzGerald reported to the third session of the Provincial Council "the steps that have been taken by the Provincial Government to extend the advantages of education by means of the sum voted by the Provincial Council for that purpose." 35

III. FITZGERALD'S EDUCATION BILL, 1855

In a letter to Godley written soon after the promulgation of the Education Minute, FitzGerald had

33 Mathias to FitzGerald, 7 July 1854. GA-M.
34 PL-I, 142/8.7.54.
35 PC-Sup., Session III, No. 2, 10 November 1854.
I have at last thank God been able to set my hand on the schools and though I cannot get any Ordinance to work I have got a vote to spend virtually as I please. Indeed, I can never speak in terms of sufficient gratitude for the confidence and support which the Provincial Council have given me. I have now got a system and the people are all delighted to have a chance of schools... These are not of course exclusively Church schools, but they are better than nothing, and they will be constantly and well inspected...

Financial Difficulties

Nevertheless by early January 1855, FitzGerald must have been feeling that the system whereby the Council voted a sum of money from year to year was not and could not be a satisfactory basis for the schools. It led to lack of planning, lack of interest, and inability to attract or retain good teachers. Finance for schools was very short and urgent maintenance of buildings could not be carried out.

Thus, as the time for the Fourth Session of the Provincial Council approached, FitzGerald resolved to try to get an Education Bill passed, enabling him to establish the Government schools on an efficient basis.

---

36 Italics in the original.

37 FitzGerald to Godley, 26 April 1854. Kilbracken Papers.
The Education Bill, Session IV

In his address at the opening of the Fourth Session of the Provincial Council, 11 April 1855, FitzGerald dwelt at length upon the problem of education. He reminded the councillors of how he had urged upon them eighteen months before the urgency and importance of the subject; and pointed out that economic, social and educational conditions were making educational reform as imperative as ever. Especially he emphasised "the impossibility of making permanent institutions on the frail security of a casual vote of the Council." 

He discussed the problem of education under two headings: the nature of the system to be adopted, and the means to be used for its maintenance. With respect to the first, he reiterated that the central question was that of the relation between the Church and the state. His attitude to the question he stated thus:

The most that legislation can do is to establish a system which shall be fair to all, and shall distinctly recognise the duties of all; and the principle in the proposed measure is this—that whilst no system deserves the name of education which endeavours to separate secular instruction

---

38PC-Sup., Session IV. 39Ibid.
from moral and religious training, yet the duty of the state extends only to affording secular instruction, whilst the various religious denominations of which the state is composed are the proper organs for conveying doctrinal instruction in religious matters. If the state then shall undertake to teach secular things, and shall place it in the power of the teacher of religion to fulfil his proper duty, it has done all that it can do in the matter. 40

With respect to the question of the means of maintaining a system—that is, with the financing of education— he stated that although the land fund could provide some finance, it was on its own unsatisfactory; partly through its insufficiency, partly because of the unreliable nature of the revenue from land sales. He pointed out that fees alone could not provide sufficient funds, nor could the Public Revenues; he therefore recommended a rate upon the whole population of 10/- a head for an adult, 5/- for a child. And while this would provide sufficient money for financing the schools on a proper basis, it would have a second advantage: "I mean free education for all alike; that the schools should be entirely open to all the inhabitants of the Province, without any charge, and that, not as a matter of charity but as a matter of right." He also

40Ibid.
advocated the formation of a boarding school for children whose parents lived in the country.

Yet despite his support for this method of financing the schools, it did not appear in the Bill which was introduced into the Provincial Council. The reason is found in the minutes of the Executive Council, under the date 16 March 1855:

The Council proceed to consider the draft of an Education Bill to be introduced into the Provincial Council.

His Honor proposes to introduce into the Bill a principle for making all the schools free to all the inhabitants of the Province, and for raising the funds necessary to the support of the Schools by means of a poll tax . . .

The Provincial Secretary dissents from the principle of free education and thinks it inadvisable to bring forward the proposal of a rate at the present.

The Provincial Solicitor and Mr Bealey without disagreeing with the principle, think it would not be desirable to introduce it into the present bill. 41

In the face of this opposition within the Executive, FitzGerald dropped all reference to finance in the bill.

In its final form, the Bill 42 provided for a Board of Education consisting of six elected and a large

---

41EC-M, 16 March 1855.

42For the text of the Bill, see Appendix F.
number of *ex officio* members, the latter including most of the legislative and executive officials of the Province, as well as senior educators (inspectors of schools and headmasters of grammar schools). Its powers were to be wide, embracing the establishment, management and supervision of schools, the management of endowments and other property, and the granting of aid to schools other than its own. One of the most notable features of the Bill is its system of dual committees.

The Secular Committee, consisting of the President and Vice-President of the Board, the educators on the board, and the elected members, was to have the function of "entire and exclusive control in all matters relating to the course of secular instruction pursued in all the schools established by the Board" and the selection and approval of textbooks. As well, there was to be a Denominational Committee for each religious denomination, consisting of the clergy of that denomination. These committees were to have entire control over the course of religious instruction to be taken in all the Board's schools, so far as regards the children of parents belonging to the religious body

---

concerned. It was also to select and approve textbooks.

This measure represented a bold attempt by FitzGerald to overcome the difficulties of denominational control of education, while still allowing freedom of religious education. It indicated his ideal of an education system controlled by a central body, and not merely by the heads of several religious denominations (as set up by the Ordinance of 1847).

The Fate of the Bill

Knowledge of what happened to the Bill is restricted to a short passage in the Lyttelton Times.44 It was introduced for its second reading by Mr Samuel Bealey on 1 May 1855:

Mr Brittan urged the postponement of the measure for a short time. He said he was not opposed to the government plan, although he might desire to see important alterations in its details. But he contended that the pressure of business before the Council was so great as to justify delay. It was not of such pressing urgency as the settlement of the Association's affairs, the land question, and many other subjects to be dealt with.

Mr Bray followed on the same side. Mr Packer

44 Lyttelton Times, 5 May 1855, p. 3.
Dr Donald, Mr Hamilton, Mr Dampier, the Rev. Mr Aylmer, and others spoke for the Amendment. 45 Mr Hall and Mr J. Bealey spoke in favour of the bill. The amendment was ultimately carried by a large majority. Mr Hall said the Government would introduce the bill for a second reading at an early date.

The House subsequently went into committee on the Waste Land regulations . . .

Thus the bill was dropped, and it is interesting, although rather inconclusive, to consider why. The speakers mention pressure of urgent business; and certainly two very pressing problems were exerting considerable pressure upon the time of the legislators: the winding up of the Canterbury Association, with the transfer of its assets and liabilities to the Provincial Council, was nearing completion, while the waste lands were as ever providing a source of legislation. 46 But was the question of education any less urgent? Certainly

45 The amendment was "that the Council do proceed to the next Order of the Day." PG-P, p. 108.

46 "... FitzGerald has made several blunders. He has been over-legislating. We have had a Corporation Bill, an Education Bill, a Road Bill - a Census Bill - a Registration Bill, etc., etc., brought down to us. For the most part, clever, ingenious, suggestive but impractical. People do not like this and we must get rid of them. What the Council must do is to devote itself wholly to the Land Question, Finance, and the Association affairs - the sooner we confine ourselves to these the better." Sewell writing in his Journal, 28 April 1855, pp. 953-54.
FitzGerald thought not. The Anglican clergy would be opposed to the measure, and they were a strong and influential body of men, exerting an influence out of all proportion to their numbers. Some leaders, such as C. C. Bowen, felt that the measure was premature and too elaborate for the circumstances of the colony. 47 Political factors entered in. Less than two weeks after the bill was introduced, Hall's executive fell, 48 and Hall was replaced by Brittan, who had spoken against the bill in the Council, and who would not therefore be likely to support its reintroduction. In his revised estimates to the Council Brittan showed the Government's intention "to make a grant of £1,000 for the purpose of education, and to continue at least for the present, the principle existing in the settlement." 49

Almost without comment the bill disappeared, and FitzGerald never reintroduced it.

47 "As to education I am afraid FitzGerald intends to bring in too grand a scheme for our size. We would go on better as we are for a little time till we have more money and more pupils." C. C. Bowen to Godley, 31 March 1855. Kilbracken Papers.

48 Provincial Gazette, Volume II, p. 43.

49 Lyttelton Times, 6 June 1855.
The Continuation of Annual Grants

Six weeks after the Education Bill had been thrown out, the Provincial Council voted another £1,000 to Education, "to be expended under the provisions of the 'Education Ordinance, Session VIII, No. 10.'" The Legislature had determined to continue with the existing system, perhaps as the easiest if not very efficient way out of a difficult situation, and the establishment of a permanent and satisfactory system had been postponed for another year.

50 PG-P, p. 137.
CHAPTER XII

THE CONTROL OF EDUCATION

MAY 1855 - MARCH 1857

This was a relatively quiet phase in the struggle towards a system of education, characterised by a "wait-and-see" attitude and a disinclination to change, partly forced upon the Executive by the refusal of the Provincial Council to accept FitzGerald's educational legislation.

I. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE SCHOOLS

FitzGerald had hoped that after the fourth session of the Provincial Council, he would have been able to reorganize the educational structure along the lines of his Education Bill. However, the Council's disinclination to accept the legislation, and their again making a vote from revenues for one year only (of £1,000, the same amount as in the previous year) forced the Executive Council to consider overhauling the organization and administration of its schools.

The Executive Council Meets

At its meeting of 16 June 1855, the Executive Council reaffirmed its determination to expend the funds
"generally in accordance with the Minute of the 10th April 1854."\(^1\) A review of the schools as they were at the time led to a resolution providing for the giving up of four district schools—those at Riccarton, the Ferry Road, Papanui and Governor's Bay, the remainder to be maintained.

The next step taken by the Executive was to increase the degree of centralization of the district schools upon the grammar schools. A combined meeting of the Executive Council and the headmasters of the grammar schools (the Revds Jacobs and Cotterill) was held to consider the question of how the grant for education was to be expended. It was decided:

That it is desirable to place all the Schools at Lyttelton with Mr Cotterill as Headmaster and that Mr Cotterill be requested to make a full report to the Government as to the Management of the schools.

That Mr Jacobs, as Sub-Warden of the College, be requested to report to the Government what steps the College are prepared to take for providing for the education of Christchurch in the event of their receiving a portion of the Grant for that purpose.\(^2\)

\(^1\)EC-M, 16 June 1855.

\(^2\)Ibid., 26 June 1855.
In accordance with the minute mentioned above, on 5 July the Rev. Cotterill, Headmaster of the Lyttelton Grammar School, reported upon the schools in Lyttelton, and proposed a number of changes should they come under his superintendence. Several internal changes within the schools were recommended: that the Grammar School have only one scale of fees; that the Master of the Boys' District School have assistance and that his school-room be modified; that fees at the District Schools be increased to one shilling per week; and that the teaching of drawing and singing be introduced into the schools. Cotterill was very keen to see an upper Girls' School begun, with boarding facilities, and thought that the infant school should receive a grant. Finally, he proposed that he have the superintendence of all these schools, spending a certain portion of his time every day in one or other of the schools besides his own. For this reason he refers to the position of "Head Master of the Lyttelton Schools."

Jacobs had been asked to inform FitzGerald what the

3Cotterill to the Provincial Secretary, 5 July 1855. PL-I, 839.
College would do if the management of the Christchurch schools was handed over to it, with a suitable grant. He proposed in that case to continue maintaining the assistant-master of the Grammar School; to carry on the Boys' District School under the name of the Christ's College Commercial School (transferring it from the Church to the master's house, and providing a suitable building for it as soon as funds permitted); to carry on the Girls' School; and, if possible, to start an Infant school. Because the salaries alone of these schools would amount to more than the proposed grant of £350, Jacobs asked that it be increased to £400.4

The Executive Council Estimates and Resolutions

On the 11 July the Executive Council considered—
the reports, together with a letter from the Rev. Aldred requesting a grant for a Wesleyan school.5 It was decided to distribute the grant as follows:

To the College £370
To the Lyttelton Schools 370
To the Akaroa School 150
To Mr Blatchford 30
To the Wesleyan School 80

4 Jacobs to Provincial Secretary, 3 July 1855.
5 See infra, Chapter XIII.
The Council also resolved that the grants be paid to the following persons:

For the College - to the Bishop's Commissary and Mr Jacobs.
For the Lyttelton Schools - to the Bishop's Commissary and the Headmaster.
For the Akaroa School - to the Bishop's Commissary and Mr Aylmer.
For Mr Blatchford's School - to the Master.
For the Wesleyan School - to Mr Aldred.

The persons concerned were informed of these decisions in a letter which set out the conditions of the grant:

I am instructed by His Honor the Superintendent that the Provincial Council, having taken the subject of the disposal of the grant for Education for the present year into consideration, have determined to apportion the sum of £370 for the maintenance of the schools at Lyttelton in connection with the Church of England, to be expended generally in accordance with your report to the government of the 5th instant, and with the provisions of the Education Ordinance, Session VIII, No. 10. The Government will pay over this sum in four equal quantity payments to yourself and the Bishop's Commissary on receiving your joint receipt and a declaration that the money shall be expended solely on the object specified and in accordance with the provisions of the Ordinance I have mentioned above.

The Government will not exercise any control over the accounts of the schools, but will at such times as they think fit, appoint one or more inspectors.

6 This was Manson's School at the Gebbies' Station.
7 EC-M, 11 July 1855.
to inspect the schools, and they will require that notice shall be given of all the periodical examinations in order that a Government inspector may be present...

**Significance of the Change**

This measure represented a change in two directions. The provision that the schools were to be placed under the headmasters of the schools at Lyttelton and Christchurch was definitely a move towards a provincial system of education, with greater centralization, and the employment of paid officials. It is apparent that this was a long way from the idea of a parochial system, or even of a Church-managed one. Certain forms were retained—the mention of the Education Ordinance, and references to the Bishop's Commissary—but the schools were only "in connection with the Church of England" and were not Anglican Church schools. The Rev. Cotterill was being paid by the Provincial Government as the headmaster of a Government school, and not by the Church out of a grant from the state.

But the measure also represents a loss of power from the Government. At least for administrative purposes...

---

8 Provincial Secretary to Cotterill, 12 July 1855. PL-2, 279. Similar letters were sent to the Rev. Jacobs, Rev. Aylmer and Rev. Aldred.
The Christchurch schools had been handed over to the College. The Government, apart from providing finance and inspection, had no control over the schools, not even the power of audit. It should be noticed that it was not to the Church as such that the power had been given, but to the College.

A further curious point about the system set up by these resolutions, was its variety. The nature of the system in regard to Christchurch and Lyttelton has been noticed. In the case of Akaroa, however, the parochial system operated: a village school was under the control and supervision of the Bishop and the local clergyman. Perhaps the most interesting situation was that of the school at Gebbies' Station, Mr Blatchford's School, as it was called. It had been founded by the Gebbies and Hanson families (two Presbyterian families who arrived in Canterbury prior to 1850) with the assistance of the Canterbury Association, which had provided stores and paid half of the Master's salary. This half was still being paid by the Government, although the school was otherwise entirely a private one, not under any Church control (although religious instruction was regularly taken). It therefore represents
an anomaly if the administration of the schools at this time is thought of as being purely within the terms of either the Minute of 1854 or of the Ordinance of 1847.

II. THE ATTITUDE OF THE CLERGY

Just as the clergy were dissatisfied with the system operating under the Minute of 1854, so the revised scheme of apportioning the grant did not meet with their approval.

At a meeting of the clergy of the Province chaired by Bishop Selwyn on 10 November 1855, a discussion arose on the subject of education in connection with the parochial system and especially with reference to the situation in Lytholton.9 It was explained that previously the clergy "had unanimously agreed to urge upon the Provincial Government the adoption of the Parochial System in the Education of the Province, but that difficulties had arisen to prevent its adoption."10 The Bishop expressed his strong agreement with the principle of the parochial system.

9 Church Minutes, 10 November 1855.

10 Ibid.
He decided to license the Rev. Cotterill to the Grammar School of Lyttelton as an extra-parochial charge, but that the district (referred to as 'parochial') schools and infant school should be under the charge of the Rev. Dudley, as Incumbent of Lyttelton. Some of the clergy present represented to the Bishop the difficulties of the situation and the dangers that might arise from any abrupt change of system. "Mr Dudley agreed, with his Lordship's sanction, to leave matters as they were at present until the expiration of the Government grant for the current year."

All could not have been smooth sailing on the Church Committee, and there must have been some clash of personalities, for Bishop Selwyn "strongly urged the necessity of individual clergymen submitting as far as possible their private opinions to the clearly expressed and well considered opinion of the majority."

The same questions arose at a meeting of the clergy in April 1856, the Rev. Dudley wanting control of

---

11Ibid.

12The Rev. Dudley does not appear to have been very popular. See Sewell's Journal, pp. 29-30.

13Church Minutes, 23 April 1856.
the district schools in Lyttelton. "A lengthened
discussion ensued on the propriety and expediency of
acquiescing in the arrangements of the Government with
reference to the distribution and management of the
Grant." Finally, a resolution was passed (proposed
by Jacobs and seconded by the Rev. Willock):

That, under the special circumstances of the
case it is desirable that the Clergy should
acquiesce in the arrangements proposed by the
Executive Government for the distribution of the
Education Grant, and the management of the Schools
supported by it, for the ensuing year, commencing
from the 1st July next.15

On Christmas Day 1856, Bishop Harper was consecrated
Bishop of Christchurch in the little Church of
St. Michael, and when he presided at a meeting of
clergy held later the same month, it was agreed that
he should confer with the Superintendent on the subject
of education.16 Two weeks later he reported to the
Committee that nothing definite had resulted from his
conversation with FitzGerald, and that he presumed the
grant would be continued as before.17

14 Ibid.
15 Ibid.
16 Ibid., 31 December 1856.
17 Ibid., 14 January 1857.
III. THE PROBLEM OF FINANCE

The revenues of the Canterbury Province were of two types, general revenues, and those accruing from the sale of waste lands. General revenue alone hardly provided in a young colony funds necessary for public works, but the Provincial Government was finding it difficult to gain control of the waste lands of the Province from the General Government. In 1855 the matter was one of considerable uncertainty.

For the period 1 April 1855 to 29 February 1856, the total general receipts of the Province was £11,448, and the total expenditure £20,054, leaving a debit balance of £8,506. While education was to have been financed from general revenues, money was not available there, and it had to be paid for out of the land fund. Moreover, in the year 1855-56 a total of £1,205 was spent on education, although only £1,000 had been voted for that purpose.

During the debates in the Provincial Council over the Waste Land regulations a motion was proposed

---

18 PC-Sup., Session VI.

19 Provincial Secretary to Mathias, 5 December 1855. PL-0, 457.
providing that the sum accruing from the sale of waste lands should be divided into three equal parts, one part to be called the Religious and Educational Fund, "to be distributed amongst the different Christian sects in the Province in proportion to the numbers as ascertained by the Census, to be applied by them to the purposes of Religion and Education." This however was rejected by nine votes to five. If it had been carried, it would have represented an interesting return to the Association's policy of financing education from a stated proportion of the land fund; a difference being that in this lattercase the money would have been available to all denominations.

During December 1855, the Executive Council found it necessary to consider the possibility of making no estimates for education for the following year, and the Rev. Mathias and the Rev. Aldred were informed of this in a letter which was also published in the Lytton Times:

I have the honour by direction of His Honor the Superintendent to acquaint you that the Provincial

---

20PC-P, p. 143.
Council have thought it right to bring under your notice the probability of the Education Grant being withdrawn for the ensuing year owing to the possibility of no funds being at the disposal of the Government for that purpose. You are aware from the published statements of the public accounts that the Ordinary Revenue of the Province fell short of the ordinary public expenditure and that all the funds for educational purposes have hitherto been supplied by the land fund. But owing to the present financial relation between the General and Provincial Government, and to the impossibility of anticipating with any certainty in what position the province may stand after the next meeting of the General Assembly in respect of the Land Fund; taking also into consideration the peculiar nature of that fund itself, the Government are of the opinion that it would not be consistent with public faith that any permanent engagements should be left outstanding which can only be met by a fund of so varying and uncertain a character.

While therefore the Government do not at present finally determine not to propose a vote for Educational purposes to the Provincial Council next session they think it right to communicate to you in time for the possibility of their being unable to do so, in order that you may not be led upon expectations which may not be realized to make or continue engagements for the maintenance of schools under your superintendence, and in order that the Government may be enabled to receive from yourself and others interested in promoting education in the Province any suggestions for the establishment and maintenance of schools out of some less uncertain and fluctuating source of revenue than that by which they are at present maintained.21

Nevertheless, the Executive Council decided to

20 PG-P, p. 143.

21 PL-0, 457 and 458, 5.12.55.
ask for a vote of £1,300 in the approaching financial year: £1,135 to be spent on Anglican schools at Lyttelton, Christchurch, Akaroa, Papanui, Kaiapoi and Governor's Bay; £60 to aid residents at Okains Bay; £80 to the Wesleyan school in Christchurch; and £25 for the travelling expenses of an Inspector of Schools.

But while this was being planned, it was realized that the money might not be available, and the following resolution was passed:

Considering the present state of the public revenues of the Province the members of the Executive Government direct it to be distinctly understood that as the vote of the Provincial Legislature is founded on contingent revenue they will not be responsible, in case the funds should fall short at any time during the current year, for continuing payments which will be made quarterly in advance.

The sixth session of the Provincial Council met from the 28 February to 23 May 1856, and on 27 March the education estimates were considered. After the Provincial Secretary had outlined how the proposed vote

---

22EC-M, 27 March 1856.

23PC-P.

24Lyttelton Times, 2 April 1856, p. 8.
was to be used, several questions were asked. Why could not Riccarton have a school? Why did Lyttelton absorb so much finance? Should not the fees be raised? The Provincial Secretary agreed that all the arrangements were defective, but they were necessarily so, it being unavoidable in the existing situation:

He hoped that the Government would soon be at leisure to make up their minds to a general system of education. He was sorry that the fund for education was so small, but he was happy to see that its smallness was caused by our poverty, and not by our disinclination.  

The vote for £1,300 was then passed.

The Provincial Secretary followed this by sending letters to the Revs. Mathias, Aldred and Aylmer, informing them of the proportion of the grant which was to be apportioned to the schools under their superintendence, but reminding them that the continuance of the grant depended upon the stability of the revenues.  

Fitzgerald himself had not been presiding at the meetings of the Executive Council for some time, owing to illness, and was not able to personally open

25_25_25Ibid.

26_26_26PL-0, 106/5.4.56.
or close the session of the Provincial Council. But in the Address which he had read at the closing of the Session, he indicated how he felt about the continuing lack of educational legislation, and the reliance upon temporary expedients. His remarks were reported thus:

The Superintendent also regrets that his illness should have prevented him again urging on the Council the need of providing for the education of the people. He had hoped that Canterbury would have taken the lead in a question of this nature; but he regrets to find that it will be one of the last of the Provinces to provide for the civilization of its inhabitants.

It is time now to turn back to observe what had been happening to the various schools in this first part of the Provincial Period.

---

27 PC-Sup., Session VI, closing address.
28 Ibid.
CHAPTER XIII

THE SCHOOLS, APRIL 1854 - MARCH 1857

So far, only passing reference has been made to individual schools, attention being concentrated upon the general outline of the control of education. A different view of the period may now be obtained, and the picture rounded out, by a view of each of the schools in turn.

I. CHRIST'S COLLEGE

The Christchurch College and Grammar School, situated in the St. Michael's parsonage, was not taken over by the Provincial Council with the other Association schools, but left under its previous administration. The reason for this is partly that the school was largely self-supporting, having a higher revenue from fees than other schools, and having also several valuable endowments. ¹ Sewell in 1854 was still working to have the College constituted along the lines originally intended by the Association, and for this reason would want to retain control of it. Public assistance was, however, given through the appointment

¹A. S. Bruce, The Earliest Days of Canterbury, gives a list of endowments.
of Mr Thompson as assistant-master, his salary being paid by the Government. 2

During 1854 the Church Property Trustees were appointed to manage the properties which had been bought out of the Association's Ecclesiastical and Educational Fund, and this body founded the College on 21 May 1855:

The deed of foundation provides that this establishment shall be henceforth known by the style and title of Christ's College, Canterbury; that its object shall be the propagation of the Christian religion, as it is now professed by the United Church of England and Ireland; and that it shall consist of a warden and fellows, not fewer than six, nor more than twenty-five in number. 3

The College so founded was incorporated by the Provincial Council by Ordinance, 4 the Superintendent giving his assent on 23 June 1855. 5 In referring to this Ordinance, FitzGerald said:


4The Christ College Ordinance, Session IV, No. 4.

5PC-P, p. 140.
Amongst other acts of the Session, I notice with great pleasure the incorporation of the Warden and Fellows of the College. The promise of such an institution was not one of the least advantages which we were led to expect in emigrating to this settlement. Though delay and some disappointment have been experienced in the fulfilment of our hopes, it is a great pleasure to learn that such an institution is now actually established, and that it is in possession of such a portion of the lands purchased out of the Ecclesiastical and Educational Fund as cannot but constitute, in the course of a few years, a very valuable and permanent endowment.

During these years the roll increased steadily. At the beginning of 1853 there were 16 boys on the roll; a peak was reached in the second half of 1856 when there were 37 boys, 34 beginning in 1857; and this had risen to 42 by March of the same year.

Despite the enlarging of the original room at the Parsonage, the school-room was far too small and the

---

6 One-fifth of the Ecclesiastical and Educational endowments were entrusted to the College. About 1856 the Rev. Paul estimated the revenue from the College lands to be about £369 annually. Paul, op. cit., p. 86.

7 PC-Sup., 10 July 1855.

8 A. W. Flower et. al. (ed), The School List of Christ's College from 1850 to 1935, p. 423


building quite unsuited to the needs of the College. On 16 April 1857, the Warden and Fellows petitioned the Provincial Council for a grant of £500 towards the building fund; for it was intended to build a more permanent building on the site which the school now occupies, and which had been obtained. In support of the application, the Rev. Jacobs wrote:

It has long been their earnest desire to remove the Grammar School as soon as possible from the present buildings . . . It is properly the parsonage of Christchurch . . . It is inconveniently situated for a school being close to the high road and having no proper playground attached to it. Moreover, it is not the property of the College, and therefore no enlargement or improvement can be effected for school purposes without a loss which the College would not be justified in incurring.

This removal, then, which was at all times desirable, is now made absolutely necessary by the increased and increasing numbers of the school. No one, who knows the size of the present schoolroom, and thinks of upwards of forty boys, with two and frequently three masters congregated in it, will doubt that its closeness is prejudicial to health, and its narrowness of space highly injurious to order and discipline . . . .

\[\text{PC-Papers, 336.}\]

\[\text{As long before as 1852 the boys of the Grammar School had petitioned Godley for a playground. The Memorial is located among the Kilbracken Papers.}\]

\[\text{Jacobs to Fitzgerald, 7 May 1857. PL-I, 387.}\]
That the physical conditions under which the masters were teaching severely affected the efficiency of the school cannot be doubted; the Rev. Willock in his report suggested that the provision of new buildings would meet deficiencies which he saw, including "a general want of order and system" and "the small amount of accurate knowledge acquired by the boys."\(^\text{14}\)

The grant was provided,\(^\text{15}\) but it was some time before the school was able to transfer to its new site.\(^\text{16}\)

II. THE REMAINING ANGLICAN SCHOOLS

Under this heading are included the Lyttelton Grammar School and the various district schools which the Provincial Council had either taken over from the Canterbury Association or had established since then.

The Lyttelton Grammar and Commercial School

This school was opened in May 1854 by the Provincial Government, the master being the Rev. George

\(^\text{14}\) Willock's Report, op. cit.

\(^\text{15}\) PC-P. p. 226.

\(^\text{16}\) For a sound account of the endowment of the College and the choosing of the site, see Betteridge, The Church of England and Education in Canterbury, Chapter II.
Cotterill. It was intended to provide a classical and commercial education of fairly high quality to boys whose parents could afford to pay the fees of £2.10. 0 a quarter. Cotterill soon found that the school was not properly fulfilling the real needs of the community. Six weeks after he took over the school, he wrote to Tancred, who was always interested in education and was at that time President of the Executive Council:

I have found during my residence here that some persons have been disappointed that they cannot obtain for the children an education superior to the one given in the district schools, but of a somewhat different character from that which is provided for the Grammar School, and which it will be necessary to provide for a considerable number of boys . . . . There is ample room for an intermediate class provided that the fees were lower than those charged in the upper school. 17

He went on to recommend that the fee for children attending this class (which would be taught commercial subjects, without mathematics or languages) would be £1.10. 0 a quarter. It would then be necessary for a second master to be appointed. Tancred replied that more details would be required, but that the Government

17 Rev. Cotterill to the President of the Executive Council, 28 June 1854. CA-4.
would consider the proposal. When consulted on the matter, Mr Spowers, the Inspector of Schools for the district, agreed that the plan was desirable, but felt that it would be better to raise the standard of the district schools than lower that of the Grammar School. However, under the circumstances he recommended the carrying out of Cotterill's plan. The Revd Mathias and Revd Jacobs agreed that the need existed, but stated that it had to be remembered that at Okains Bay, Kakaipo and the Ferry Road there were rising populations without any schools at all. Acting on this advice, the Government decided to sanction the establishment of the proposed class if Cotterill would undertake the instruction of both classes until the income of the school and the increase of pupils should warrant the appointment of an assistant master. This Cotterill agreed to do.

---

18 Provincial Secretary to Cotterill, 7 July 1854. PL-OS.
19 Spowers to Provincial Secretary, 10 July 1854. CA-M.
20 Mathias and Jacobs to the Provincial Secretary, 15 July 1854. CA-M.
21 Provincial Secretary to Cotterill, 25 July 1854. PL-OS.
22 Cotterill to Provincial Secretary, 27 July 1854. PL-I.
Things did not work out as expected: by 30 August there were only four boys in the first class and ten in the second. Cotterill explained the reasons for this:

The numbers are not as large as I expected because the notice given was short - the advertisement announcing the two classes being only put into the paper the week before the schools opened. My calculation of the numbers in the first class was made on the supposition that there would be an assistant master. At present unless a boy is so forward as to have begun Latin or the elements of Mathematics, there is no object in his being placed in the first class, as I am obliged of course to give equal attention to both classes. 23

On 10 November 1854 FitzGerald reported to the Provincial Council that although only one boy had attended the school during its first quarter, during the following one there were fifteen boys attending, and the fees collected between 15 May and 30 September amounted to £25.15.0. 24

The standard of attainment at the school was low. In protesting against having to have a public examination in the school (as provided for in the Education Minute)...

23 Ibid., 30 August 1854. GA-M.

24 Report on Schools, 10 November 1854. PC-Sup, Session III, No 2.
Cotterill wrote in December 1854:

In the case of my school, I should avoid a public examination as much as possible on account of the exceeding backwardness of the boys. With most of these it was literally the case that six months ago they could not read at all, and were generally as ignorant as they well could be. 25

During 1855 the average attendance per quarter was fairly constant at fifteen. 26 In his report of July 1855, Cotterill said that he had called a meeting of parents, which recommended that the system of two classes and two sets of fees begun the previous year be abandoned, and that the school return to a system of fees at £2.10. 0. 27

By March 1856 the school had an assistant master 28 Mr Pollard, B. A. 29 This master devoted two hours a day to the district schools, while Cotterill helped them for three hours a week. Cotterill pointed out that

25 Cotterill to FitzGerald – 13 December 1854. CA-M.
26 Spowers to Provincial Secretary, 7 June 1855. PL-I, 798, encl. 1.
27 Cotterill to Provincial Secretary, 5 July 1855. PL-I, 839.
28 Cotterill to Mathias, 15 March 1856. PL-I, 201, encl. 2.
29 Paul, op. cit., p. 86.
"This allows the Master and Mistress to give a considerable portion of their time to the lower classes which they could not do unless they received this assistance." The average attendance at this time was twelve.

In a report following his visit to the school on 5 February 1857, Willock remarked that only eleven boys were attending, but that they answered questions intelligently, and appeared to be of a satisfactory standard. He noted that there was then an assistant master, and that the school was soon to be given up.

In June 1857 Cotterill handed over the keys to Mr John Hall, Inspector of Police in Lyttelton.

**Lyttelton District Schools**

During April 1854 the Association schools in Lyttelton were taken over by the Provincial Government, and renamed District Schools. They continued to occupy the emigration barracks, rent being paid for them until

---

30 Cotterill to Mathias, *op. cit.*

31 Willock's report, *op. cit.*

they were taken over as part of the Association's assets. During the whole period the schools, although in the same building, were separated into boys' and girls' schools, the teachers being Mr and Mrs Mayo.

There is some confusion over the actual date from which the schools became known as district schools. In his report on schools\(^\text{33}\) FitzGerald stated that "the schools were transferred to the control of the Provincial Government from the 1 April last," while Spowers in his attendance returns for these schools\(^\text{34}\) noted "Date of opening - 1st May 1854", and attendance records dated from then. It is possible that the schools closed for a month during the period of reorganization, or that there were normal school holidays during April.

There is also some difference in the figures given for this period. According to FitzGerald, 47 boys attended during the quarter ended 30 June 1854, while Spowers gives the average attendance for the same period as

\(^{33}\text{PC-Sup., Session III, No. 2, 10 November 1854.}\)

\(^{34}\text{Spowers to the Provincial Secretary, 7 June 1855. PI-L. 798, enclosure 2.}\)
period as 29. This may be accounted for by the assumption that the former figure refers to the number of names appearing on the roll for that period, and not to actual attendances. If this is the case, it would indicate either a rapid turn-over of school population, a poor average attendance, or, most likely, both of these.

During 1854 and 1855 the quarterly average attendance of the boys' school increased from 29 to 44. By July 1855 the number of boys was becoming too great for one teacher to handle, and Cotterill reported that the school "is not in a very satisfactory state."35

The fees for both schools were raised from sixpence to one shilling a week, or ten shillings a quarter, in September, 1855.36

Of the Boys' School Willock said:

Held in the barracks. Numbers present 25 on February 5th, 31 on February 18th. Here the numbers are small for the population; but the school is in very good order. The reading was very good; writing very moderate; arithmetic good; geography very good; History of England, Bible History and Catechism good.37

---

35 Cotterill to FitzGerald, 5 July 1855. PL-I, 839.
36 Cotterill to Mathias, 15 March 1856. PL-I.
37 Willock's Report, op. cit.
The standard must have improved considerably since Cotterill's remarks in 1855. The Girls' School was less satisfactory:

Numbers present, 10. This school is not in a flourishing condition; some of the children had only just entered, and this may account for their indifferent reading and little knowledge of other subjects. The mistress seemed hampered with an infant in her arms.

Lyttelton Infant School

The infant school was established in Lyttelton in 1851, but appears to have been neglected by the Provincial Government when the other Association schools were taken over. There is no mention of it in Provincial records during 1854, nor in FitzGerald's report on schools for that year. However, Cotterill in July 1855 recommended that it receive a grant and be placed under the same supervision as the other district schools, and this was done. Nothing further is heard of it until Willock inspected it in

---

38 Ibid.

39 Cotterill to FitzGerald, 21 July 1855. PL-I, 838.

40 Lyttelton Times, 21 July 1855. The teacher was Miss Bunker, the fees 3d (later increased to 6d) per week.
1857. He was strong in his criticism:

Held in the barracks. Numbers present, 20. This is a much smaller number than might be looked for in such a population; and the fact that I found 40 children at a private school, crammed into a very small room all of whom, except 6 or 7, should have been in this infant school, proves that there is something here radically wrong... literally none of the apparatus usually found in infant schools is provided for her... 41

Christchurch District Schools

It has been previously mentioned that when the Provincial Government assumed control of the Association schools in 1854, the Church Commercial School in Christchurch was divided into a Boys' and a Girls' school. During the period under review, the staffing of these two schools remained constant, with Mr Bilton at the Boys' and Mrs Thompson at the Girls' school. 42 Fees were then sixpence per week per child. 43 In 1855, with the reorganization of the district schools under the College, they were re-named the Christ's College Commercial School and the Christ's College Girls' School. 44

---

41 Willock's Report, op. cit.
42 See supra, p. 91.
44 Jacobs to Mathias, 17 March 1856. PL-I, 201.
At Christmas 1855 there were 39 boys on the roll, with an average attendance for the quarter of 24; the figures for the Girls' school were 42 and 34.

Of the Boys' School in February 1857, Willock wrote in his report:

"Numbers present, 18. I found much that was gratifying in this school - great intelligence - and a very accurate acquaintance with most of the subject taught, evincing good drilling and constant and expert teaching on the part of the master, Mr Bilton."

"To this school," Willock wrote in referring to the Girls' school, "the remarks I have made above apply in great measure. The girls show great intelligence and good instruction." The ages of the girls ranged from 6 to 13 (with a total of 24 on the roll), and for the Boys' school the ages of the 23 boys on the roll were from 8 to 14.

At this time these schools, despite insufficient materials and space, appear to have been providing education at a satisfactory level.

---

45 Willock's Report, op. cit. Italics in the original.
46 Ibid.
Christchurch Infant School

Unfortunately very little is known of this school. It was started by the College about the middle of November 1855, with money provided by the Provincial Government. The teacher was Mrs Harris, and the school was held in her home. For her services and for rent she received £60 per annum. In January 1856 there were 23 children on the roll, the average weekly attendance being about 15 children. There is no indication of the ages of the children, but judging from the situation in Lyttelton and from the age of the youngest at the District Schools at that time, the infant school probably took children up to about 7 or 8 years of age. The fees were sixpence per week or five shillings per quarter.47

The school must have closed down during 1856, for there is no mention of it by Willock in early 1857.

Akaroa District School

This school was one of those established under the Minute of 1854, in November of that year. In its first two and a half years it had a succession of three

47Jacobs to Mathias, op. cit.
teachers. The first was Mr Tuson, who remained less than two months. In instructing the local Inspector of Schools (Mr John Watson) the Provincial Secretary had indicated the appointment of Mr and Mrs Tuson; but there had been in the letter more than a hint of possible trouble. "They are to have no salary for three months after the date of this letter, and if the master should be discharged in the meantime for bad conduct they will be entitled to no salary whatever. This is to be understood."\(^48\) In a passage which throws some light on the relationship between the positions of Visitor and Inspector, Watson was instructed to take especial care of the inspection of the school:

> His Honor will be much obliged if you will exercise the most constant and vigilant inspection of this school. The instruction of the children will be under the general inspection of the Visitor, Rev. Mr Aylmer, but so far as regards the general inspection of the school . . . the Government look rather to yourself than to anyone else.\(^49\)

Only a few weeks later, on 9 January 1855, Mathias wrote to the Provincial Secretary informing

\(^{47}\) Jacobs to Mathias, \textit{op. cit.}

\(^{48}\) Provincial Secretary to Inspector of Schools, Akaroa. 28 November 1854. \textit{PL-Q}, 291.

\(^{49}\) \textit{Ibid.}
him that he had told Mr Tuson of "my intention not to confirm his appointment to the mastership of the Akaroa Government School, as he has been reported to me as having been one day last week publicly in a state of intoxication." Mr Tuson must have had a following in Akaroa who did not hold his conduct against him, or who were afraid that no other schoolmaster would be forthcoming to take his place in the school for which they had waited three years, for on 8 January a Memorial was addressed to Mathias from fifteen of the citizens of Akaroa, including the Rev. Aylmer, pleading for Mr Tuson's reinstatement. However, Mathias remained adamant, and Tuson went.

On 10 February the Provincial Secretary forwarded to Watson the appointment by the Commissary of Mr and Mrs Feltham as Master and Mistress of the Akaroa School (incidentally at a salary of £150 a year plus house, compared with the £80 that was offered to Mr and Mrs Tuson). Efforts however were being made to persuade the master of the school during the

---

50 Mathias to Provincial Secretary, 9 January 1855. PL-I, 510.
51 PL-I, 486/30.1.55.
52 Mathias to Provincial Secretary, 29 January 1855. PL-I, 486.
Association days, Mr Robert Wadsworth, to return from Melbourne; the arrangement was that if Wadsworth arrived within three months, Feltham would resign. Wadsworth did not come, but the staff changed again when Feltham left some time in 1856. The date is not known, but he apparently resigned over some disagreement concerning salary. Thus, "John Paradise, Master of the Government school" informed newspaper readers that he was taking in boarders in his "roomy and commodious house," and Mr Aylmer mentioned that "our school here (since the appointment of Mr Paradise) is going on most favourably." Paradise had been appointed in September of 1856.

---

53 Provincial Secretary to Inspector of Schools, Akaroa. 10 February 1855. PL-Q, 108.

54 Rev. Aylmer to Provincial Secretary, 28 November 1857. PL-I, 874.

55 Oxford incorrectly states that Paradise's school was a private one. E. Oxford, A History of Education in the Province of Canterbury, New Zealand (to 1876), p. 52.

56 Lyttelton Times, 8 November 1856.

57 Rev. Aylmer to Provincial Secretary, December 1856, PL-I, 740.

58 Willock's Report, op. cit.
favourably on the school, stating that between September and February the roll had risen from eight to twenty-six. The school appeared to differ from the usual district school in that it had children attending it who would have gone to a grammar school had one been available. The Master therefore taught Latin to certain of the boys. The ages of the children ranged from 5 to 14.\textsuperscript{59}

\textbf{Okain's Bay District School}

It was the Government's intention to begin a school at Okain's Bay (where there was a flourishing timber-cutting industry) immediately after the passing of the Education Minute of 1854, and the Rev. Aylmer (under whose Visitorship the school would be) was so informed.\textsuperscript{60} The name of the school appeared against an item of £80 in the estimates for 1854-55,\textsuperscript{61} the grant being conditional upon the residents giving certain aid.\textsuperscript{62}

\textsuperscript{59}\textit{Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{60}Provincial Secretary to the Rev. Aylmer

13 April 1854. \textit{PL-OS}.

\textsuperscript{61}\textit{EC-M}, 24 July 1854.

\textsuperscript{62}The Inspector of Schools, Akaroa, was to find
On 8 January 1855 the Superintendent wrote to the Commissioner of Crown Lands, Christchurch, asking for the conveying of ten acres which he had selected for a school and school-house, and later in the same month the Executive Council agreed to make a grant provided the inhabitants gave the timber for the school. But no teacher could be found, and the school remained unopened. A year later the question was raised in the Provincial Council during a debate on the Education vote, when Mr Rhodes said that there were upwards of forty children at Okain’s Bay receiving no education whatsoever, while their parents were willing to assist to the utmost of their ability. But this was a time when the Government was very short of finance, and the Provincial Secretary in reply had to admit that money simply was not available. However, the name of the school appeared on the Estimates a few out what the local inhabitants were willing to do to help. Provincial Secretary to Inspector of Schools, 25 July 1854. PL-08.

Superintendent to Commissioner of Crown Lands, Christchurch, 8 January 1855. PL-08.

EC-M, 27 March 1856.

Lyttelton Times, 12 March 1856, p. 4.
days later. Finding a teacher remained a problem, but in October 1856 the school was opened with the appointment of Mr Tuson, previously dismissed from Akaroa. Two months later twenty-one children were attending, although none of them could read.  

**Governor's Bay District School**

On 1 July 1854 Miss Roworth was appointed to this school as the first Mistress. The school did not prosper; in December 1854 there were ten on the roll; by March the figure had dropped to eight, and in June it stood at only four. The school was therefore discontinued.

---

66 EC-M, 27 March 1856.
67 Tuson to the Provincial Secretary, 24 November 1856. PL-I, 710, enclosure 1.
68 Willock's Report, op. cit.
69 See supra, p. 184.
70 Inspector of Schools, Lyttelton, to Provincial Secretary, 13 December 1854. GAM.
71 Ibid., 26 March 1856. PL-I, 637.
72 Ibid., 7 June 1855. PL-I, 798.
This school should not be confused with another situated not far away, on the Gebbies' Station. This latter was frequently referred to as the Governor's Bay School (as by Willock in his report) although it was a private school subsidised by the Government, and not a Government district school.

Papanui District School

This school also exemplifies the difficulties of maintaining schools in this period, when neither finance nor satisfactory teachers were readily available. Although a building was leased for a school-room, no master was forthcoming. In August 1855 the Executive Council agreed to make a grant to a District School Committee and the Bishop's Commissary jointly; but still there was no master. At last one was found, Mr Haskins, and he taught at the Papanui School from the beginning of 1856. Willock reported that on the day he visited the school there were 28

---

73 The lease arrangements were made in May 1855 (SIL, 755 and 782), but almost a year later the house had not been used. See William Derrett to Provincial Secretary, 1 March 1856. PL-I, 163.

74 Provincial Secretary and W. Thompson, 2 August 1855. PL-O, 322.

75 PT.
children present. He had been informed that this was unusually high, attendances being very irregular. 76

Riccarton District School

This school was initially handicapped by having several masters in quick succession. 77 It did not prosper, and when the Government had to cut down educational expenditure, the school was closed in June 1855.

Kaiapoi District School

A school at Kaiapoi appeared on the estimates for the year 1854-55, 78 but it was not opened until November 1855, 79 on the basis of a Government grant of £120. 80 It was under the superintendence of the Rev. Raven, with Mr Franks as master. When Willock inspected it in March 1857, eleven children were attending, their ages ranging from three to eleven. Most of them were beginning learning to read. He particularly noted that

76 Willock's report, op. cit.
77 See supra, p. 183.
78 Lyttelton Times, 25 March 1854.
79 The date is placed by PT, 4 June 1856.
80 Provincial Secretary to Rev. Raven, 12 April 1856. PL-O, 108 and 111.
there were locational and communication difficulties; the school was not well placed for the children living on the Island at Kaiapoi; and while there were a number of children living three miles to the north, at what is now Woodend, the road was frequently impassable in winter. The general impression left by the report is that the school was somewhat unsatisfactory, due to lack of finance and of suitable facilities.  

III. THE WESLEYAN SCHOOL

According to the census of March 1854, there were about 560 persons in the Province who were neither Anglicans nor Roman Catholics, and by March of 1857 this figure had risen to about 1140. It is therefore not surprising that the Wesleyans and Presbyterians should have done something about providing education for their children in schools not managed by the Anglican Church.

We are now in a position to settle a problem which Butchers discussed in a footnote.  

---

81 Willocks' Report, op. cit.
82 Provincial Gazette, 1 July 1854. See Appendix P.
83 Ibid., 30 June 1857. See Appendix P.
84 Butchers, Young New Zealand, p. 162.
Wesleyans and Presbyterians, "with a fair prospect of a weekly increase." This memorial was probably the cause of Boyd's dismissal, for Aldred wrote to FitzGerald stating that the Master had no authority whatsoever for writing. Boyd's application was turned down by the Government, the reason being given that "the Government is ... unable to make any grant in favour of any school unless it shall be placed under the Superintendence of some one of the persons named in the schedule of that Ordinance ... Any application therefore must come through such a person." Two weeks later, Aldred formally applied for a grant:

A day school has been opened in the Wesleyan Methodist chapel, Christchurch, in accordance with the Laws and Regulations of the Wesleyan Methodist Church.

The School is under the Management of a local Committee the members of which are chosen from our Church Members and regular hearers. Of their Committee I am ex officio Chairman.

---

89PL-I, 830/2.7.55.

90Aldred to FitzGerald, 28 June 1855. PL-I, 831/2.7.55.

91PL-Q, 264/19.6.55. This conveniently overlooked the exception of Blatchford's school at the Gebbies' Station.
Wesleyans and Presbyterians, "with a fair prospect of a weekly increase." This Memorial was probably the cause of Boyd's dismissal, for Aldred wrote to FitzGerald stating that the Master had no authority whatsoever for writing. Boyd's application was turned down by the Government, the reason being given that "the Government is ... unable to make any grant in favour of any school unless it shall be placed under the Superintendence of someone of the persons named in the schedule of that Ordinance ... Any application therefore must come through such a person." Two weeks later, Aldred applied formally for a grant:

A day school has been opened in the Wesleyan Methodist chapel, Christchurch, in accordance with the Laws and Regulations of the Wesleyan Methodist Church.

The School is under the Management of a local Committee the members of which are chosen from our Church Members and regular hearers. Of their Committee I am ex officio Chairman.

---

89 PL-I, 830/2.7.55.  
90 Aldred to FitzGerald, 28 June 1855. PL-I, 831/2.7.55.  
91 PL-Q, 264/19.6.55. This convenient overlooks the existing exception of Mr Blatchford's school at Gebbies' Pass.
I am instructed by the Committee to apply to Your Honor for a grant of money towards the support and maintenance of the School.\textsuperscript{92}

A grant of £80 for the current year was made.\textsuperscript{93}

Willock reported on the school in 1857, visiting it on 23 February. He reported that there were sixteen pupils present, all except three being under nine years of age.\textsuperscript{94} The level of attainment was therefore low.

A brisk correspondence resulted from this report, letters passing between Aldred, Broughton, FitzGerald and Willock, for Aldred believed that the Inspector had been unfair in his reporting. The disagreement was apparently due to the fact that at the end of 1856 there had been a much larger group of children attending (averaging between twenty and thirty) including a number of older ones, but that these had not returned to school in 1857.\textsuperscript{95}

\textsuperscript{92}PL-I, 859/12.7.55.

\textsuperscript{93}Provincial Secretary to Rev. Aldred, 13 July 1855. PL-Q, 283. See also EG-M, 11 July 1855.

\textsuperscript{94}Willock's report, op. cit.

\textsuperscript{95}For further details on this correspondence, see PC-Papers, 267/30.3.57, and PL-I, 931/57.
IV. PRESBYTERIAN SCHOOLS

The first settlers on the Canterbury Plains, and many of the earliest ones on the Peninsula--the Deans, Hays, Gebbies, Mansons and others--were Presbyterians, and three of these families were instrumental in founding two schools, which will be considered here.

The Gebbies' Station School

The origins of this school, and its history during the Association period, have already been discussed. The grant which Godley made it appears to have ceased about December 1852, after which there is no further mention of it in the Association accounts. Mr. Blatchford continued to teach at the school, apparently supported entirely by the parents of the children attending.

The Provincial Government agreed to guarantee half of the Master's salary, and this was paid from June 1854 onwards. The school appears to have been well conducted. Of it in 1857 Willock said, "This school reflects the greatest possible credit upon the Master."  

96See supra, p. 94. 97PT, 12 June 1855. 98Willock's report, op. cit.
At that time it had a roll of seventeen.

Pigeon Bay School

The early history of this school has already been discussed in connection with the Association Schools. During the period 1852-1857 Knowles continued to conduct it as a boarding school, and it achieved an excellent reputation. As early as 1852 an official report was mentioning that it gave "a superior education." Willock in 1857 said of it, "This is a private school, receiving no assistance from the Government, but I venture to report the result of my examination of it, as it is in every way creditable to its master, Mr Knowles." He was of the opinion that the school deserved some external assistance, if the Master was willing. At this time the roll was eighteen, with an equal number of boys and girls.

The Organization of Presbyterian Activity

For some time the Presbyterians of the Province

\[100\] Blue Book, 1852.
\[101\] Willock's Report, op. cit.
had hoped for a Minister, and at last they were able to obtain the services of a Free Church of Scotland clergyman, the Rev. Charles Fraser. He arrived on 13 April 1856, and for some time preached in the Wesleyan Chapel until the St. Andrews Church in Christchurch was opened on 1 February 1857. At the time, the Rev. Aldred wrote of him, "My opinion of him is good. May he prove a blessing to his people." Mrs Deans said:

He was a very clever, talented man, polished and gentlemanly in manner, though a muddler in business. He was connected with about every institution in Canterbury, whether educational or charitable. He was highly educated and most liberal in his views on politics.

Something of his views on education may be obtained from a pamphlet which he wrote in 1868. He was always keenly interested in educational matters, and was instrumental in the opening of the Christchurch Boys' High School, Oxford Terrace, on 15 November 1858.

---

102 Aldred, op. cit., 15 April 1856.

103 Lyttelton Times, 16 December 1925, p. 18, col. 2.

104 Rev. C. Fraser, A Letter to His Honor W. Rolleston Esq., Superintendent of Canterbury (Christchurch: Ward and Reeves, 1868).
V. PRIVATE SCHOOLS

It is difficult to learn much about the many private schools which existed during the earliest days of Canterbury, but such material as can be found has been brought together. It provides a tantalizingly incomplete picture.

Probably the best of the private schools has already been described, Knowles' School at Pigeon Bay.

Christchurch

The first private school in Christchurch seems to have been that of Mr and Mrs H. Green. In 1852 they advised the inhabitants of Christchurch:

... that they intend, as soon as they can obtain a sufficient number of pupils, to open a Day-school in the town, for children of both sexes, where they will be taught to Read, Write, Cypher and be instructed in History, Geography and English Grammar.105

Fees were one and sixpence a week, and by 5 August 1852 the school was open.106

Early in 1853 Miss Roworth informed the residents of Christchurch that she was about to open a

105Guardian, 22 July 1852.
106Ibid., 5 August 1852.
day school for young ladies, and undertook to instruct her pupils in reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, grammar, English and Scripture history, and needlework. Either the school did not open or did not prosper, for it is probably the same Miss Roworth who was employed by the Government for a few months at the Governor's Bay School in 1854.

In August 1853 the Misses Reeve announced that they "propose to open a day-school at Christchurch for Girls and Little Boys" where "a plain English Education will be given." Again, there is no evidence that this venture was successful.

Enid Oxford, unfortunately without giving the source of her information, states that during 1854-55 there were in Christchurch the following private schools: Mr Prince's, Mrs Slagg's, Mr Deans', Mr Bagshaw's, Mr Alabaster's, and the "Christchurch Academy." In Papanui there were, according to the same thesis,

107 *Lyttelton Times*, 5 March 1853, p. 12.
Mr. Jennings' and Mr. Mayow's schools. Certainly the census for 1856 lists 31 children in the town of Christchurch, 20 in the North Christchurch District and 15 in the South Christchurch District, attending private day or Sunday schools.\textsuperscript{110} The only school of which details can be found was that of Mrs. Charles Thompson, known as the Christchurch Ladies' School, and situated at Avon House, Oxford Terrace West.\textsuperscript{111} It was opened in February 1854. According to its advertisement, it was to be "for day-scholars and boarders, to be conducted on Church of England principles," and was probably useful in providing for girls the sort of education equivalent to that which the boys obtained at the Grammar School:

It is proposed early in 1854 to open this Establishment where a good English education will be imparted, with instruction in the Latin Grammar, in Music (piano-forte, guitar and singing), and in drawing; also in the French, German and Italian languages. Parents in the neighbouring settlements, in India or other parts, who may entrust the care of their daughters to the ladies conducting the above establishment, may depend on every effort being made

\begin{itemize}
  \item[\textsuperscript{110}]\textit{Provincial Gazette}, 12 June 1856. See infra, Appendix P.
  \item[\textsuperscript{111}]\textit{Lyttelton Times}, 10 September 1853. 8 October 1853.
\end{itemize}
to form their minds and manners rightly, and to promote their health and happiness.\textsuperscript{112}

The school must have prospered, for it is mentioned by Bruce in his chapter on "Schools in the Sixties."\textsuperscript{113}

Again according to Oxford, in 1857 there were ten private schools in Christchurch, but she gives no further details.\textsuperscript{114} It is possible that some of the schools mentioned by Bruce may have been established about this time.

\textbf{Lyttelton}

The first recorded private school in Lyttelton would appear to have been that of Miss Taylor, who in October 1851 advertised that she had room for more boarders and day-scholars "at her Seminary in Winchester Street."\textsuperscript{115} There is no further mention of this school, although about May 1854 she opened a day-school in Dublin Street, Lyttelton. It was still

\textsuperscript{112}Ibid., 7 January 1854.

\textsuperscript{113}Bruce, \textit{The Earliest Days of Canterbury}, p. 182.

\textsuperscript{114}Oxford, \textit{loc. cit.}

\textsuperscript{115}\textit{Lyttelton Times}, 25 October 1851.
open in 1855,\textsuperscript{116} and was probably the same one as Willock inspected early in 1857. Of it he said:

I found 24 present in a very confined space; three of them were boarders; the girls could read very fairly, and answered well in geography; about 10 were learning the simple and 7 or 8 the compound tables in arithmetic. Miss Taylor's charges are much higher than at the Church Parochial Schools.\textsuperscript{117}

At the beginning of 1857 Miss Andrews opened a school for young ladies in Canterbury Street, Lyttelton. No further details are known.\textsuperscript{118}

The third of the three private schools in Lyttelton mentioned by Oxford,\textsuperscript{119} was probably Miss Abraham's infant school, of which Willock said: "The numbers are large - most of them very young, who seem sent merely to be kept out of mischief."\textsuperscript{120}

\textbf{Akaroa}

No details of any private schools in Akaroa are known, although there was at least one from 1854 onwards,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{116}\textit{Ibid.}, 22 April 1854, 3 June 1854, 7 January 1855.
\item \textsuperscript{117}Willock's Report, op. cit.
\item \textsuperscript{118}\textit{Lyttelton Times}, 19 October 1856, 31 December 1856.
\item \textsuperscript{119}Oxford, op. cit., p. 53.
\item \textsuperscript{120}Willock's report, op. cit.
\end{itemize}
as the census figures of school attendance show.\textsuperscript{121}

\textbf{Kaiapoi}

The 1856 census indicates that a private school existed here.\textsuperscript{122} It was probably Mrs Denne’s school, mentioned by Willock. This was situated on the Island at Kaiapoi, and had an average attendance early in 1857 of about sixteen, and a roll of twenty-four. The ages of the children varied from five to twelve years.\textsuperscript{123}

No doubt other private schools existed during this period, but the brief account given here summarizes all that can now be found about them.

\textbf{VI. ADULT EDUCATION}

On at least one of the early emigrant ships there was a school for adults conducted on board,\textsuperscript{124} and within four months of the arrival of the first body of settlers, Mr Toomath (of the Lyttelton Church

\textsuperscript{121}See infra, Appendix P.

\textsuperscript{122}\textit{Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{123}Willock’s report, \textit{op. cit.}

\textsuperscript{124}\textit{Rev. Jackson to Lord Lyttelton, 14 December 1850. Gobham Papers.}
Commercial School) and Mr. Holmes (of the Grammar School) advertised that they were opening evening classes for adults of both sexes, the main emphasis to be upon reading, writing and arithmetic; although other subjects were to be taught if there was sufficient demand.\footnote{Lyttelton Times, 12 April 1851.} This venture flourished under various masters. Mr. Mayo continued the evening classes in 1855,\footnote{Ibid., 31 March 1855.} and Mr. Cotterill in his suggestions for the reorganization of the schools later the same year, remarked that "the evening classes are very important, and ought to form a part of the general plan."\footnote{Cotterill to FitzGerald, 5 July 1855. PL-I, 839.} This was done, and advertisements in the \textit{Lyttelton Times}\footnote{Lyttelton Times, 1 August 1855, 4 August 1855, 26 September 1855, 13 October 1855, 23 January 1856, 26 March 1856.} gave the public details. The subjects taught included not only the three R's, but drawing and French, English history and book-keeping. The instruction must have been popular, if one can judge from the way in which new subjects were added to the curriculum.
What would today be called adult education was also carried out by such voluntary societies as the Lyttelton and Christchurch Colonists' Societies, but a discussion of their work is outside the scope of this thesis.

VII. NATIVE EDUCATION

After the closing down of the Association's Native School at Kaiapoi in November 1852, no further such schools were opened. FitzGerald and the Colonial Secretary in Auckland did carry on a correspondence on the subject in 1855. The Superintendent had intended to reopen the Kaiapoi school, and applied to the General Government for a grant from the £7,000 set aside for native education. He was unsuccessful, and the school remained unopened. 129

129 The Colonial Secretary replied as follows:

"As the religious bodies, under whose superintendence and management Native Schools are established throughout New Zealand would have a just cause for complaint, if any portion of the £5,900 should be withheld from them, it is not possible for the Government to appropriate any portion of the sum of £7,000 for the maintenance of the proposed school at Kaiapoi. Colonial Secretary to the Superintendent of Canterbury, 19 April 1855. PL-I, 770/2.6.55."
VIII. CONCLUSIONS

In February 1857 there were thirteen schools in Canterbury financed partly or fully out of public funds. Of these only five had been started by the Provincial Government, while others at Riccarton, the Ferry Road, Governor's Bay and Christchurch (the infant school) had been established but subsequently closed; the Lyttelton Grammar School also being closed within four months. This did not present a very impressive picture when a full-scale inspection of schools was carried out early in 1857, immediately prior to a wide-spread debate on education, both within and outside of the Provincial Council.

130 This refutes Betteridge's claim that "By the time the Bishop arrived (late in 1856) all the schools planned by the (Executive) Council were in existence . . . ." Betteridge, The Church of England and Education in Canterbury, p. 65.
CHAPTER XIV

THE STATE OF EDUCATION IN 1857

In this chapter there will be reviewed the general state of education in Canterbury immediately prior to the Provincial Council's eighth session, and the debate on education which resulted in the Ordinance of that year.

The source of most of this information is the invaluable report on schools\(^1\) of March 1857, produced by the Rev. W. Willock, who was appointed for that purpose by the Provincial Government. In this chapter, where no footnote reference is given for a statement of fact, it is to be understood as coming from this Report.\(^2\)

I. SCHOOL PROPERTY

This section is concerned with the tenure and condition

---

\(^1\) Report of the Inspector of Schools, March 1857 (Willock's Report), PC-Papers, 337. This report is in two parts: a printed foolscap section incorporating a report on each school, with certain general remarks; and an even more valuable manuscript supplement appended to the copy among the Provincial Council records in the Canterbury Museum. This latter consists of three large sheets, with detailed answers to a large number of questions about each school.

\(^2\) Betteridge, op. cit., refers to this report, but does not appear to have used it.
of school property, and of physical amenities provided.

**The Ownership of Schools**

The tenure on which the site of the school was held varied. In the case of four schools (the Christchurch District Schools, and those at Gebbies' Station and Akaroa) the building in which the school was held had been privately built, and was rented. Three schools met in Churches; Christ's College still used the Christchurch parsonage; the Okain's Bay building was leased; and at Pigeon Bay the school was owned by Mr. Hay. Only four school buildings were actually owned by the Government, and these were all part of Association property taken over in 1854. Since then the Provincial Government had not been able to erect one building exclusively for use as a school-room.

**The Buildings**

All the school buildings were reported as being made of wood, with the addition that the Gebbies' Station

---

3 Wesleyan, Papanui and Kaiapoi Schools.

4 The four Lyttelton schools all used the old Association barracks.
school was lined with clay. Many of them were far too small. Of the Christchurch schools, Willock said:

It is clear that the present school-rooms both for boys and girls in Christchurch could not accommodate many more scholars; in fact, the schools being at present held in mere private rooms, which are much too small, and without class-room and gallery (both of which are all but indispensable to a good school) it seems necessary that new buildings should at once be obtained if any further endeavours to improve the education provided for the rapidly-increasing population of Christchurch are to be of much avail. 5

Referring to the Lyttelton schools, Willock suggested that part of the reason why attendance was small lay in the poor siting of the schools; and especially was this so in the case of the infant school. "For infants and girls, who generally have to take care of the infant to and from school, it is essential that the school buildings should be in a central and easily accessible position." The infant school room was "gloomy and prison-like."

Willock believed that six of the schools had buildings that were large enough and adequate for the wants of the district; 6 the Lyttelton Girls' and Infants' schools

5 In the case of the Boys' School the room was 12' x 15' x 9', and the Girls' was 12' x 12' x 8'. In these two rooms about 50 children were regularly taught.

6 Wesleyan, Papanui, Lyttelton Grammar and Boys', Akaroa and Okain's Bay Schools.
were large enough but not sufficiently central; while the remaining six were considered much too small or otherwise inadequate.

In only four cases was there a master's residence provided. 7

School Amenities

In answer to the question: Is any play-ground provided? Willock answered, "Yes, by nature," in the case of the Okain's Bay School. The Wesleyan and three of the Lyttelton schools had a yard around the buildings, but in no other cases were there any playgrounds.

Willock also enquired whether "decent conveniences [are] provided for boys and girls". He found that they were not so provided in four cases; 8 that at Papanui and Kaiapoi boys and girls shared the same conveniences; and that for the three Lyttelton District Schools there were only public conveniences "which are not decent."

7Christ's College, and the Lyttelton Grammar, Gebbies' Pass and Pigeon Bay Schools.

8Lyttelton Grammar, Gebbies' Station, Pigeon Bay and Kaiapoi Schools.
II. STAFFING

The Qualifications and Quality of Teachers.

The Association had brought out to Canterbury a number of trained teachers, but by 1857 some of these had moved away from Canterbury. Nevertheless, the Province compared favourably with other parts of New Zealand in the qualification of its teachers.

The two grammar schools had for their Headmasters clergymen, both graduates; the Rev. Henry Jacobs, M.A. (oxon) and the Rev. George Cotterill, M.A. (Cantab.) Both of these men appear to have been good teachers. Jacobs especially was a man of real quality, remaining as Headmaster of Christ's College for many years, and later becoming Dean of Christchurch.

Of the remaining male teachers, details of training, qualifications and quality of character and method can be found for most of them, although in some cases Willock did not mention one or other of these categories, either through lack of knowledge, or through the teacher concerned not having had, for some reason, opportunity to demonstrate his quality. Of the nine male teachers working in the schools inspected, all except three had been trained. Knowles was an Associate of the
College of Preceptors; Bilton, Blatchford and Haskins (who had a Second Class Government Certificate) were trained at Battersea; while Paradise at Akaroa had been trained by the British and Foreign School Society, was a good linguist, and had "high qualifications for the position." George Mayo was listed as trained, but no details were given in the report. Of the three untrained teachers, Broughton was mentioned as having high qualifications, and Franks at Kaiapoi had been master of a national School in England. The academic standing of the male teachers, therefore, might be said to have been good.

Of the three female teachers, Miss Baker and Mrs Thompson were untrained, while Mrs Mayo had been trained in the Gloucester Diocese (probably therefore in a National Society Training College or Normal School.)

Willock in his report also commented upon most of the teachers from the point of view of their character. Here two of the men earned a "good"\(^9\) while all the rest received "very good" or "excellent". Of the women, none earned less than "very good".

\(^9\)Haskins ("Who had bad manners") and Broughton.
From the point of view of method, again there was variation. John Broughton was rated as "fair"; Bilton, Blatchford and Franks as "very good indeed" and the rest were "very good." In the case of the women, Mrs. Thompson was rated "good", and Mrs Mayo "moderate", while no opinion was expressed concerning the quality of Miss Baker's teaching method.

It may be concluded, therefore, that the teachers in the Canterbury schools in 1857 were on the whole of fairly high quality for the time, especially in the case of the men.

The Salaries of Teachers

The salaries of teachers varied considerably. In the highest-paid group were the Headmasters of the Grammar Schools, who received £200 per annum each. Further information on salaries is given in Table 111 on page 264. It indicates how by 1857 salaries were varying. Earlier there had been what was virtually a standard rate; £200 for clergymen, £120 for assistants in the grammar schools, £70 for male elementary teachers, and between £35 and £50 for female. But by 1857, partly because of the need to attract teachers (the newer-filled positions such as Akaroa Kaiapoi and Papanui pay higher salaries than earlier-filled
ones such as Gebbies' Pass or Pigeon Bay), and partly was a reflection of the willingness of parents in some districts (such as Papanui) to add to the teacher's salary, the salaries of elementary teachers had tended to increase.

TABLE III

SALARIES OF SCHOOL TEACHERS, 1857

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Teacher</th>
<th>School</th>
<th>Salary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John Bilton</td>
<td>ChCh. Boys</td>
<td>£100 &amp; £20 rent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Thompson</td>
<td>ChCh. Girls</td>
<td>£100 &amp; £20 rent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Broughton</td>
<td>Wesleyan</td>
<td>80 &amp; fees to £20.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Haskins</td>
<td>Papanui</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Mayo</td>
<td>Lytt. Boys</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Mayo</td>
<td>Lytt. Girls</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Baker</td>
<td>Lytt. Infants</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wm. Blatchford</td>
<td>Gebbies' Pass</td>
<td>80 &amp; fees.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Paradise</td>
<td>Akaroa</td>
<td>130 &amp; fees.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Tuson</td>
<td>Okains Bay</td>
<td>60 &amp; fees.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Knowles</td>
<td>Pigeon Bay</td>
<td>50 &amp; fees.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Franks</td>
<td>Kaiapoi</td>
<td>120 &amp; fees.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*aAmount of fees actually rather under £20.

*bOnly about £5.

*cAbout £10.

*dAbout £26.
The Appointment of Teachers

Nominally, teachers were to be appointed by the head of the religious denomination which managed the school concerned. Willock in his report gives information on this question. He indicates the Bishop as the appointing authority for most of the schools. In the case of Christ's College the selection of staff was done by the Warden and Fellows (the Bishop of Christchurch being the Warden). The school-master was appointed and dismissed by Mr. Adred and the School Committee in the case of the Wesleyan School, by Mr. Hay in the case of the Pigeon Bay school which received no grant, and by "the inhabitants" in the case of the Gebbies' Station school which did receive a grant.

III. SCHOOL ORGANIZATION

The Classification of Children

It was the usual custom to classify or "stream" children in "classes", the First Class being the most senior. This classification was done on the basis of

---

10 The Education Ordinance, 1847, Clause 5; the Education Minute, April 1854, Clause 11.

11 The Christchurch District Schools, all the Lyttelton schools, and the Papanui, Akaroa, Okain's Bay and Kaiapoi Schools.
attainment. Most schools had four classes, although there was wide variation between the schools in the age distribution of the children,\(^{12}\) depending partly upon the size of the school and partly upon the age-spread of the children.

**The Use of Assistants**

At this time the Christchurch Boys' School (or Christ's College Boys' School as it was known at that time) and Christ's College Grammar School are each reported as having an assistant-teacher. That at the Grammar School was Mr Frederick Thompson, but the name of the assistant at the Boys' School does not seem to have been recorded. He only worked for one hour per day, and may have been a pupil-teacher.

Mr Haskins at Papanui was using the Monitorial System,\(^{13}\) while a variation of it was employed at the Wesleyan School where children of the first class in turn taught the lower classes. Mrs Paradise at Akaroa helped for a time each day, although she was not paid.

\(^{12}\)Full details are given in the supplement to Willock's Report, *op. cit.*

\(^{13}\)He had two monitors or pupil-teachers, but they were unpaid.
Holidays and Hours of Attendance

In most places, school was open daily, five days a week, between 9 and 12 a.m. and between 2 and 4 p.m. The exceptions were: the grammar schools, where school continued until 4.30 daily; three schools\(^{14}\) where school did not finish until 5 p.m.; and Blatchford's school, the morning school being from 9 a.m. until 12.45 p.m., and the afternoon from 2 to 4.30 p.m.

The length of holidays varied considerably between school and school. The shortest were at the school at Gebbies' Station, with only three weeks a year, while the longest were enjoyed by the boys of Christ's College, with eleven weeks. Otherwise the usual was between six and ten weeks.

Examinations

Under the Canterbury Association voluntary examinations were held, but under the Education Minute these were made compulsory, and were to be held at least twice a year.\(^ {15}\) Other scholarship examinations in the district schools were to be voluntary.\(^ {16}\) By 1857 the situation had

\(^{14}\) Akaroa, Okains Bay and Kaiapoi Schools.

\(^{15}\) The Education Minute, Clause 21 (see Appendix E).

\(^{16}\) ibid., Clause 22.
changed. Christ's College continued with an annual examination, and six other schools maintained the half-yearly examination. The remaining schools are reported as having no examinations at all.

Rewards and Punishments

Willock's report included a survey of punishments and rewards which were reported as used within the schools. At only four schools was corporal punishment ever used and then only for serious offences; while one of these schools mentions that it was used rarely. In the case of every other school, corporal punishment was reported as being never used. The Christchurch Boys' and Girls' School stated that no formal punishment was used at all; Christ's College used impositions, and the Wesleyan School "confinement during play hours".

Most schools gave book prizes after the periodical examinations.

---

17 The Christchurch District Schools, the Lyttelton (except Infant) schools, and the Pigeon Bay School.

18 Christ's College, and the Wesleyan, Lyttelton Grammar and Okains Bay Schools.
Fees

There was no longer a uniform scale of fees charged by the schools. A summary of the information from the Inspector's Report (see Table IV below) shows that the charges varied, not only between grammar and district schools, but between the elementary schools themselves.

TABLE IV

FEES CHARGED BY SCHOOLS, 1857

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of School</th>
<th>Fee Charged</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Christchurch Boys'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christchurch Girls'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lyttelton Boys'</td>
<td>1s a week, 9s a quarter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lyttelton Girls'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaiapoi District</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wesleyan School</td>
<td>1s to write on paper, otherwise 6d a week.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papanui School</td>
<td>1s if 7 or over, otherwise 6d a week.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lyttelton Infants'</td>
<td>6d per week.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akaroa District</td>
<td>6d, 9d or 1s a week, according to circumstances of parents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pigeon Bay School</td>
<td>Mr. Hay paid for salary and house; other children 9d or 1/6 per week.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lyttelton Grammar</td>
<td>£2.10. 0 per quarter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christ's College</td>
<td>£2.10. 0 per quarter.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*aTwo free places.

*bOne free place.*
Willock asked one question which has a modern flavour about it: Do teachers keep up any intercourse with Parents of children, or confine their attention to the children during school hours? The pattern here shows extremes.

Five teachers indicated that they did not particularly try to get to know the parents of the children they taught, while one said "occasionally". Two said that they "often and regularly" did so. On the other hand, Mr Haskins at Papanui is reported as having tried to avoid intercourse with parents.

A further question was: Are there any systematic means adopted for keeping up a connection with the children after leaving school? Most schools gave a negative answer. The Gebbies Pass school reported that a free evening school was conducted; three schools (the Lyttelton Grammar and District Schools) had evening classes with an average attendance of between eight and sixteen, while Mr Tuson at Okain's Bay also conducted an evening school.

These teachers were Mr Mayo and Mr Knowles.
IV. CURRICULUM

The curricula of the schools varied according to the type of school and the needs of the children which it was called upon to fill. In the case of the grammar schools, as well as the "core" subjects of reading, arithmetic, writing and religious knowledge, Latin and mathematics were included. Those children not suited to the more difficult grammar school course could take a commercial course, which included book-keeping, land-surveying and similar subjects. The core of the elementary school curriculum was the three R's, and in his evaluation of a school's standard Willock's attention was largely drawn in that direction.

Christ's College Boys's School under John Bilton taught reading, writing, arithmetic, History of England, Geography, Grammar and Etymology, and in all of these except writing Willock thought them the best he saw, when their age was taken into consideration. He was, however, critical of their writing:

Their writing was only indifferent, and this remark applies, I think, without exception to every school in the Province which came under my inspection.20

Another criticism he made was in regard to music

20 Italic in the original.
in Christchurch schools: "vocal music is not taught in one of them and no attempt is even made to sing either psalm or hymn."

The standard in many of the elementary schools was low, partly at least due to the young age of the children. In writing of the Wesleyan school Willock said:

The children I found in this school were all, except three, under nine years old. Three could read simple narratives very moderately--the remainder were only learning mono-syllables, four writing on paper, their knowledge of cyphering or other subjects very meagre.

Of the children in the Lyttelton Girls' School he said, "Some of the children had only just entered, and this may account for their indifferent reading and little knowledge of other subjects." At Papanui, "Only one child was being taught the compound, the rest were not beyond the first simple rules in arithmetic."

Mr Tuson at Okain's Bay had reported that when he arrived none of the children could read.

At this time none of the schools taught "works of industry" to the boys. Sewing was taught to the girls at three schools, and knitting at two.
V. MEANS AND METHODS OF INSTRUCTION

School Stores

In his report, Willock listed in detail the books used in each school. Easily the most popular readers were those known as the Irish Readers, used in all except three schools. Also used were the readers issued by the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, while the Bible was used as a reader in three of the elementary schools. In the case of arithmetic books, there was less unity. Again the Irish books were the most popular, being used in four schools. Taits, McLeod and Cornwall were other authors mentioned. In Geography, Cornwall and Sullivan were easily the most popular.

However, many schools had insufficient books. Christ's College, Christchurch Girls' and the Gebbies' Schools were mentioned as having the books they needed; but Papanui and Kaiapoi had quite insufficient; the Wesleyan School expected the children to bring their own (with the resulting insufficiency and lack of uniformity); and the Mistress of the Infant School had "literally none of the apparatus usually found in infant schools... She had either begged or borrowed two or three reading sheets..."
In general schools were supplied adequately with furniture, desks and blackboards being the main items mentioned. Nevertheless, the Wesleyan school was noted as being without blackboards, and the Kaiapoi school as without any furniture at all.

**Library Facilities**

The Pigeon Bay School was the headquarters for a district circulating library of between fifty and sixty volumes. Christ's College, Lyttelton Grammar and Okain's Bay schools also had libraries, the children taking the volumes home.

**Methods of Instruction**

Little is recorded about the methods of instruction in these schools. All the teachers are stated as questioning children after reading or other lessons. At four schools\(^\text{21}\) the children were taught to write abstracts of lessons, but not at the other schools.

**VI. RELIGIOUS AND MORAL INSTRUCTION**

Willock in his inspection asked a large number of

\(^{21}\) Christ's College, and the Lyttelton Grammar, Gebbies' Pass and Pigeon Bay Schools.
questions relating to the religious instruction given in the schools.

**Daily Worship**

In every case the schools assembled and dismissed the children with some form of worship. In the case of every Anglican school except the Lyttelton Infant School the prayers used were the Prayer Book Collects, while three schools also used the Lord's Prayer regularly. Two schools used *extempore* prayer: the Lyttelton Infant School and the Wesleyan School. The Gebbles' Pass school used prayers from the dissenters' "Lewis Catechism" in the morning, and on Wednesday and Friday afternoons the Litany. It is interesting that at Knowles' school in Pigeon Bay, begun by a Presbyterian, the prayers used were from the Anglican Prayer Book.

A psalm or hymn was sung every morning in five of the schools only. The girls of the Lyttelton Girls' School were taught prayers to learn and use at home, and to some extent this was true for the Pigeon Bay School, but not of any other.

---

22 The Christchurch Boys' and Girls' and the Papanui Schools.
Religious Instruction

Almost all of the schools indicate that religious instruction was given every day, the exceptions being the Infant school where it was given twice a week, and the school at Akaroa, where little was given at all on week days. No information is available for the Okain's Bay School. All the schools at which it was given indicated that it appeared on the timetable during the morning, in most cases within the first hour. The most usual length was thirty minutes, although at the Gebbies' Station School it is noted as being from 9.30 a.m. to 10 a.m., and from 11.30 a.m. to 12.15 p.m. daily.

Willock was very concerned at the lack of Bibles and Prayer Books in schools. In referring to the Boys' School in Christchurch, he said, "Again, I found neither Bibles nor prayer books, a remarkable deficiency in this Church of England school; it exists likewise, I am sorry

23 The large Roman Catholic population could have been a factor here. In November 1854, the Provincial Secretary had written to John Watson, the Inspector of Schools there, stating that: "With regard to the French and Roman Catholic population they must be specifically informed that they will be allowed to avail themselves fully of the secular teaching of the school without any interference whatever directly or indirectly with their religious tenets." Provincial Secretary to Inspector of Schools, Akaroa, 28 November 1854. PL-0, 291/28.11.54.
to say, in the Girls' School of Christ's College." The Bible was read daily at the Papanui School, and at all the Lyttelton Schools except the Infants'; two or three times a week at Christ's College, Pigeon Bay and Gebbies' Pass. The New Testament was used as a textbook for the Second Class at Akaroa, and was read daily at the Wesleyan School. At the Christchurch Boys' School the Bible was sometimes read or referred to in Scripture History.

The Church Catechism was taught in all the Anglican Schools except Papanui, Okain's Bay and Akaroa (where it was taught only on Sundays). It is recorded that at Pigeon Bay the Catechism was taught to children "of Church people only." At only Gebbies' Pass and Kaiapoi were children instructed in the litany and services of the Church. The Scottish Shorter Catechism was also taught at the Pigeon Bay and Gebbies' Pass Schools.

To the question: Is the children's knowledge of Bible and Liturgy in proportion to their knowledge of secular subjects? the answer was generally "fair". It is mentioned that children answered questions very intelligently at the Gebbies' Station school, but mechanically and by rote at Papanui.
Church and Sunday School

Records as to whether the children went to Church are scanty. Some went from the Christchurch Girls' School and that at Gebbies' Station. The Christchurch Boys' School did not go to Church as a school, although individual boys may have done so. There was no Church at Pigeon or Okain's Bays. Mr and Mrs Mayo at Lyttelton replied that they did not know, as they took no part in Church activities. At Akaroa the school went to Church as a school.

At Papanui school all the children attended Sunday school, and at other schools some did. All but six of the girls at Christchurch Girls' School went to Sunday school, two or three of them to the Presbyterian one. At Kaiapoi the children were frequently questioned as to the instruction given in Church.

Willock felt keenly the lack of participation of the local clergy in the schools—a criticism that was to be frequently made in the years preceding the Tancred Report of the next decade. After referring to the low attendances in the Christchurch schools, he wrote:

I know not how this can be remedied until there be a more active interest shown in the schools by the parochial clergy. I fear being charged with presumption in speaking on this point; and the reasons
why it is *almost impossible*, under *present circumstances*, that the clergy should give their time to this most important work, must be so well known to the Government, that it is perhaps unnecessary for me to say more on the subject—though the fact that in only one instance throughout the Province does the clergyman of the district regularly visit the school—could not be passed over by your Inspector in silence. The wise and encouraging superintendence of the clergyman seems the one point upon which in most cases depends the success of the school, and nothing that I know of can supply the want of it under ordinary circumstances.

The exception referred to was Akaroa and even there the minister did not teach at all; religious instruction was almost entirely restricted to the Sunday school.

**VII. ATTENDANCES**

**Total Rolls and Average Attendances**

There are two methods of determining the approximate school population early in 1857. The first is by consulting the figures given by Willock collected during his inspection in February and March of that year. These figures are summarized in Table V on page 280. They indicate the extent to which, on some cases, children's average attendances were low. This is particularly so in the case of the Christchurch schools.

The second method is to study returns from the census of 31 March 1857, which includes figures giving
the school populations of both private and public schools.\textsuperscript{24} The relevant data are condensed in Table VI on page 281.

There is a fairly wide divergence between these two sets of figures, but certain differences can be

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\caption{Attendance at Public Schools About March 1857}
\begin{tabular}{lcccc}
\hline
\textbf{Name of School} & \textbf{On Books Last Six months} & \textbf{Daily Average} \\
 & \textbf{Boys} & \textbf{Girls} & \textbf{Boys} & \textbf{Girls} \\
\hline
Christchurch Girls' & -- & 37 & -- & 22 \\
Christchurch Boys' & 25 & -- & 18 & -- \\
Christ's College & 42 & -- & 35 & -- \\
Wesleyan & 55 & 6 & -- & -- \\
Papanui & -- & -- & -- & -- \\
Lyttelton Grammar & 11 & -- & 11 & -- \\
Lyttelton Boys' & 27 & -- & 25 & -- \\
Lyttelton Girls' & -- & 10 & -- & 10 \\
Lyttelton Infants' & -- & -- & -- & 18 \\
Gebbies' Station & 12 & 5 & -- & 14 \\
Akaroa & 17 & 11 & -- & 18 \\
Okain's Bay & -- & -- & -- & 20 \\
Kaiapoi & -- & -- & -- & 10 \\
\hline
348 & 25.2 & & & \\
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{24}See Appendix P.
accounted for fairly readily. The figure of 348 includes all whose names appeared, irrespective of how long they had actually attended, or whether their names were on the roll at the time of inspection. Therefore this figure would be expected to be considerably higher than the average attendance, because of turn-over of school population, duplication of names, and absences. When Willock's average attendance figures are compared with those of the census, the difference is less: 252 to 232. In the census the Gebbies' Station School would probably have been thought of as a private school. When its attendance figure is deducted from Willock's total the following approximations are arrived at:

Willock: 238
Census: 232

Closer agreement than that cannot be expected.

TABLE VI
TOTAL SCHOOL POPULATIONS, 31 MARCH 1857

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Public Schools</th>
<th>Private Schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Day S.S. Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Canterbury districts:</td>
<td>92 61 140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

aDerived from Census figures, Appendix P.
Comparisons of Public and Private School Rolls

It is evident from the figures in Table VI on page 281, that more children were attending private schools in Canterbury during 1857 than were attending those schools supported or assisted by the Provincial Government. It is unfortunate that so little is known about the private schools of the period. While undoubtedly they varied considerably in quality, there is no doubt that they filled a need.

Comparison of School with Total Child Population

The census for 31 March 1857 gives the total number of children of school age (5 to 15 years) in the Province. If those living in areas where there were no schools are deducted, an estimate can be given for those who had schools within reasonable travelling distance. This allows a measure of the degree to which people took such opportunity as was offered. The relevant figures are summarized in Table VII on page 283. This indicates that in 1857 over one-third of Canterbury children between the ages of 5 and 15 were attending a school; of those who had access to a school, the proportion was something over two-fifths.
Allowance has to be made for the fact that few children remained at school until they were fifteen; in fact the school leaving age tended to be about eleven or twelve.

**TABLE VII**

**POPULATION OF SCHOOL AGE, 31 MARCH 1857**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Children aged</th>
<th>% attending schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5-10</td>
<td>10-15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Canterbury Province</td>
<td>757</td>
<td>622</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Areas served by schools</td>
<td>657</td>
<td>540</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What were the reasons for the low school attendances? There were undoubtedly many, and one cannot at this distance in time do more than suggest possibilities.

As has been seen, Willock blamed the poor attendances in Christchurch partly upon insufficient buildings and lack of interest from the local clergy, who he felt should have encouraged people to send their children to school. He believed that in Lyttelton the siting of the schools discouraged attendance. Undoubtedly,
the frequently poor quality of the teaching at the schools did not encourage parents to send their children.

In the earlier years, and until 1857 in the more rural areas, there were other reasons. Those advanced by the Rev. H. Jacobs in his Memoirs were significant:

It was impossible not to accept the excuse for lateness or non-attendance when it was argued that the farm servant had gone off to the diggings, and that there was no one to milk the cow or chop the wood or keep the cattle from trespassing on a neighbour's land or--direst necessity of all--when a new baby had put in its appearance, making it absolutely necessary that a brother should stay at home to guard the ex-baby from indulging its infantile vagaries at the perpetual risk of being burnt, drowned in a swamp, or lost in the fern or tutu. 25

It must not be forgotten that the older children, both boys and girls, were a valuable source of labour. Willock noted in his report that his inspections being mainly in February, it was to be expected that attendances would be lower than usual because of the older children being absent in order to help with the harvest.

All the schools charged fees, and this might have been a factor in children not attending school; but, in an age when paying fees was taken for granted, this does

not appear to have excluded many from school. Akaroa is the only place where Willock felt that there were persons who might lack the ability to pay fees, and there the fees were reduced accordingly, "according to parents' circumstances." The fact that over half of the children attending school were enrolled at private schools, suggests that the expense of education was not often an over-riding factor.

At this time few people thought in terms of universal compulsory education, although many believed that it would be desirable if all children did attend school. At Christ's College and the Wesleyan School, regular attendance was enforced by the use of punishments, and at the Lyttelton schools (except the Infant School) by "general discipline". At the remaining schools regular attendance was noted as being urged but not enforced.

**Ages of Children at School**

Entry and leaving ages varied from school to school, and no accurate details are available. The grammar schools took boys of about 6 years of age who could already read to some extent, and retained them until they were about 14 to 16. The parents who sent their boys to these schools
could normally do without their labour for those extra years. On the other hand, the infant school would take children once they were walking, and keep them until about seven years of age. Most of the other schools would take children at almost any age, and several had four-year-olds on the roll; although the Christchurch Boys' School stipulated that new entrants must know their alphabet.

It is difficult to form an idea of what proportions of the various age groups attended school, and the extent to which the school populations were made up of younger rather than older children. Although the figures are incomplete, it would appear that rather less than half of the school population was aged eight or over, while the proportion of children of twelve or over attending school would perhaps be 8%.27

The pattern of school population therefore represents a wide age-range of children in each school, the majority being in the five to nine-year-old range.

26 The Kaiapoi School had at least one three-year-old attending. Willock's Report, op. cit.

27 These figures have been calculated from data given in the supplement to Willock's Report.
VIII. CONCLUSIONS

Willock in his report gave a clear and detailed account of the condition of the government schools in Canterbury at the time of his inspection, showing how—and in many cases why—these schools were not properly fulfilling their function. No doubt this had an influence upon the growing body of dissatisfaction with these schools, expressed in the increasing percentage of children attending private schools,28 and in other ways. His Report provided a factual basis and centre of focus for these criticisms. Most informed people in Canterbury appear to have agreed that education needed to be reformed;29 the point of difficulty was in deciding what form the changes should take.

Willock made certain suggestions for the reorganization of the education system. Especially, he felt, there was "something radically wrong" with the Lyttelton schools, and so he proposed a more efficient system:

28 By 1857 this was about 55% of the total school enrolments. See Table XIV., p. 433.

29 An editorial in the local newspaper mentions that "The system has not been productive of much benefit ... The statistics of education in the Province are tedious to give, and, we must confess, reflect anything but credit upon us." Lyttelton Times, 13 May 1857.
It is impossible not to be convinced that one superior public school in Lyttelton should swallow up all the private ones; and the public money now provided should provide such a one, if properly administered.

FitzGerald was to follow up this suggestion in his proposals to the Provincial Council later in the year.

Willock saw the need for expanding the school system to include many districts which were at the time unprovided with educational facilities—he particularly mentioned the needs of Riccarton, the Lower Lincoln Road, Ferry Road, Hoon Hay and Little Akaloo.

Implicit in many of his criticisms was the charge that education had suffered both from lack of finance and of organization. The method of financing schools by means of annual votes of the Provincial Council had not allowed of long-term planning, while the amounts provided had been insufficiently large to enable the Government to embark upon a building programme.

These were some of the facts in the minds of the public and the Provincial Council when the subject of education arose a few months later, in connection with the voting of the education estimates. It is against the

---

30 Willock's Report, op. cit.
background of Willock's Report on schools that the subsequent debates must be seen with their culmination in the Education Ordinance of 1857.
CHAPTER XV

THE EDUCATION ORDINANCE, 1857

I. THE CLERGY EXPRESS THEIR VIEWS

On 8 January 1857 the Rev. Willock was appointed Inspector of Schools, and his report became available before the middle of March. It made clear that the education system supported by the Provincial Council was not in a satisfactory condition, and FitzGerald still hoped to do something about this before the end of his superintendency later in the year.

FitzGerald writes to the Clergy

On 16 March FitzGerald wrote to the Bishop of Christchurch stating that the Government would soon have to make up Estimates for the coming year, and that education would be considered. FitzGerald pointed out that the Ordinance under which the Province had been operating was not completely suited to the purpose for which it had been used. Nevertheless, the Bishop was

---

1Rev. W. Willock to the Provincial Secretary, 9 January 1857. PL-I, 29.

2FitzGerald to Bishop Harper, 16 March 1857. PL-OS.
asked to indicate what funds would, in his opinion, be necessary for the following year; how he contemplated their disposal; and how he would work the vote to be taken by the Council.  

FitzGerald expressed dissatisfaction with the school system as it existed:

Your Lordship will probably agree with me in thinking there is the greatest case for dissatisfaction at the whole of the Educational System at present existing, and that a very small amount of benefit is obtained for a very large expenditure of public money.  

He felt that it was essential for the Government to appoint a full-time Inspector of Schools who could overlook the schools and aid the masters in the performance of their duties. Finally he makes a somewhat daring suggestion, along the lines of what had been suggested for Lyttelton by Willock:

I submit to your Lordship whether you do not think it would be desirable to unite all the schools in Christchurch, if possible, into one; leaving certain hours for religious instruction, if this could be done by a mutual agreement between Your Lordship, Mr. Aldred and Mr. Fraser.  

The Bishop Replies

In his reply of 24 March, Bishop Harper began by

---

3Ibid.  4Ibid.  5Ibid.
agreeing with FitzGerald that "the benefit obtained by the present Educational grant is not in proportion to what might have been expected from so large an expenditure of public money". He amplified this by saying that he referred not so much to the quality of the instruction given as to the fact that comparatively few children had been brought under it; and he ascribed this as being due in part to lack of suitable buildings. He agreed that it was the duty of the parochial clergy to encourage parents to send their children to school.

In reply to FitzGerald's suggested uniting of the Christchurch schools into one, he replied:

If this plan were adopted a considerable expense could no doubt be saved both as regards the school buildings and the management of the schools, and the children would be as well if not better taught, and can see no great objection to this plan; if the teaching of the Master (who would then, I conclude, be appointed by the Government) be confined to secular teaching, and a certain time set apart on each day for religious instruction, to be given by the Ministers of the different religious bodies, or by persons authorized by them. This plan could not however be effectively carried out without a large building for a school room, and at least two classrooms.

I am quite prepared to do my best in promoting the plans proposed by Your Honor, if, on consideration,

---

6Bishop Harper to FitzGerald, 24 March 1857.
PL-I, 927/57.
they should receive the sanction of the Provincial council; but as the Council may prefer apportioning the Grant for Educational purposes, as hitherto, to the several Religious Bodies . . . 7

The Bishop then answered Fitzgerald's other questions, assuming that a grant in aid was to be paid.

He first suggested the formation of a building fund, to be supplied by a grant from the Government, and to be administered by a Government-appointed committee for the benefit of all the religious bodies.

The need for reorganization of some of the Anglican schools was pointed out, particularly the closing down of the Lyttelton Grammar School, and the opening of parochial schools at Riccarton, Ferry Road, Lincoln Road and other places. As well as supporting the appointment of a Government inspector of schools, he suggested the need for a Diocesan one also. Altogether the Bishop asked for the following sums, exclusive of the building fund, to be used by him as his discretion along the lines he had indicated:

For the maintenance of the several schools £1,700
For the Diocesan Inspector 200

£1,900

7Ibid.
He concluded by saying:

I have made these suggestions, on the supposition that the Provincial Council may prefer giving the assistance of the Government, as hitherto, in separate grants to the different Religious Bodies, and I am convinced that what I have proposed, although requiring perhaps a larger outlay on the part of the Government, would be attended with fewer difficulties, than any plan which should attempt to unite the different religious bodies in one educational scheme. 8

The Rev. J. Aldred Replies

Following this, on 27 March FitzGerald wrote to the Wesleyan Minister, the Rev. J. Aldred, enclosing a copy of the letter to the Bishop, and asking him to inform the Superintendent of his "views and intentions respecting any assistance from the grant in aid of schools under your charge during the ensuing year." 9

In reply, 10 Aldred asked for an increase of the grant to the Christchurch Wesleyan school from £80 to £120, to allow for a purchase of teaching equipment, and for another grant of £80 to enable a school to be started at St. Albans.

8Ibid. 9FitzGerald to Aldred, 27 March 1857. PL-OS. 10Aldred to FitzGerald, 31 March 1857. PL-I, 929/57.
where ground had been donated, and where there was need for a school.

With respect to the appointment of a Government inspector, Aldred was uneasy. He was afraid that any inspector appointed might be an Anglican clergyman, and preferred the appointment of a layman. Having a Government inspector at all would be expensive, and Aldred preferred to see a closer tie between parochial clergy and the schools:

Could not God's ministers be induced to take a more lively interest in the schools. . . For after all, the true friends of Education in our Native Land would tell us, and swiftly tell us, that no General Inspector can fill the place of him, under whose ministerial care, children, in the Providence of God, are placed.

He was again cautious in his comments upon the suggested Government school in Christchurch:

To such a school I cannot offer any insuperable objection, provided it would be conducted, as to the religious element, in the manner hinted at in your enclosed letter, and also that the building be held as the property of the Government. To this scheme I could only demur on two slight grounds - firstly, a preference to the Denominational System; and

\[\text{[11] He had had a disagreement with Willock (whom he apparently felt was prejudiced) over the report on the Wesleyan School. See letter from Willock to FitzGerald, 1 April, 1857. PL-I, 931/57.}\]
secondly the great outlay which such a plan would involve; but this objection the ultimate saving of funds would remove.\textsuperscript{13}

He concluded by pointing out that there was considerable dissatisfaction among Dissenters in Lyttelton on account of the exclusiveness of the schools as to Ministerial oversight. This, he said, had been the cause of many Wesleyan and Presbyterian children being transferred to Miss Abraham's school.

\textbf{The Rev. C. Fraser Replies.}

The Rev. Charles Fraser of the Free Church of Scotland had arrived in Canterbury in April 1856, and was very active in educational and Church matters. St. Andrews Church, Christchurch, had been opened on 1 February 1857. The Minister had made personal application to FitzGerald for a grant towards a Presbyterian school, and the Superintendent wrote to him at the same time as to Aldred, asking the same questions.\textsuperscript{14}

In his reply, Fraser stated that he had intended to apply for a grant in aid of education, but that he had not done so since hearing of FitzGerald's plan for a Government

\textsuperscript{13}ibid.

\textsuperscript{14}FitzGerald to Fraser, 27 March 1857. PL-03
School in Christchurch. "I should be unwilling to take a step which might impede the Essay you propose making towards a Comprehensive Scheme of Education . . . "15

He assumed that in fact FitzGerald intended that this single school would herald the introduction of a full Provincial state-sponsored system. Concerning it he wrote:

Respecting the establishment of a Government School in this place, the views stated above will sufficiently indicate my readiness to co-operate with the Bishop of Christchurch and Mr Aldred. It certainly appears to me that to establish a School and to endeavour in the working of it to obviate difficulties as they arise, is the most likely way to show what General Scheme of Education will best meet the necessities of the Province. No one can in such a case complain of being taken by surprise; and the Public Mind, which is usually readier and more sound in its judgement of facts immediately before it, than of abstract principles, will be better prepared on such questions as may be raised, to give a just and impartial decision whether in the Legislative Councils or in the General Elections. Your proposal for the appointment of a Government Inspector . . . confirms one in the idea that you contemplate the establishment of a General System of Education for the Province as the ultimate result of the successful establishment of a Government School in Christchurch.16

Mr Fraser, then, was a strong supporter of a "Comprehensive System" of Education, which would hand over

16Ibid.
to the state the responsibility for secular teaching, while ensuring full opportunity for denominational religious instruction. Bishop Harper and Mr Aldred, while they would support such a system if it was imposed upon them by the Provincial Council, definitely preferred a denominational system based upon grants-in-aid.

II. THE DEBATES ON EDUCATION

APRIL - JUNE, 1857

The Opening of the Eighth Session

The eighth session of the Provincial Council opened at a time of considerable public interest in education. The question of educational estimates was to arise, and with it FitzGerald's suggestions for the reforming of education. Few knew what the Government was going to propose until FitzGerald made his opening speech in the Council on 2 April. 17

He began by expressing his disappointment that nothing permanent had been done about Education by the Council during his period as Superintendent, and he especially criticised the short-term nature of what had

17 P.O.-P. pp. 206-7
been done:

The system at present in operation is the very worst that can be adopted. It is a system of giving just enough assistance to paralyze all independent exertion, without giving enough to establish a thoroughly efficient system of education; and its worst feature is, that it offers no prospect of permanence; the salaries of masters being dependent from year to year upon the political views and sympathies of the party in power.\(^\text{18}\)

It was for this reason that he recommended to the Council that the education vote be made, not for one year, as had been the case previously, but for five, allowing at least some degree of security of income for the schools.

A further measure which Fitzgerald urged upon the Council was the appointment of a Government Inspector of Schools at a fixed salary. "Without such an officer," he said, "I am quite persuaded that the money you vote will be, comparatively speaking, wasted."

It is apparent that by this time Fitzgerald, in the face of a combination of popular opposition and apathy, had given up his previous plans for a scheme of secular education:

I have abandoned the hope that any general system will be adopted by this Council and am compelled to confess with much disappointment, that on this subject, which always seemed to me of infinitely greater moment

\(^{18}\text{Ibid.}\)
to the future welfare of the country than any other which you can consider, there is a feeling of lukewarmness and indifference, not so much in your Council as amongst the people generally. 19

This apathy, he felt, accounted for the relatively small extent to which parents had availed themselves of the schools that did exist. His attention now turned from the fostering of a general scheme (based on his ideas as set out in the Education Bill of 1855) towards finding methods for improving the efficiency of education in a piecemeal fashion, based upon the proposed schools in Christchurch and Lyttelton:

Without adopting any general system of education I should be very glad if one General School could be established in Christchurch, to which parents of all denominations could send their children, and another of the same kind in Lyttelton: the clergy of the different denominations giving religious instruction to the Children of their own Congregations at specified times, either in a class-room or, what would be still better, in their Churches. . . . . I think such a School, properly conducted, would do much towards preparing the public mind for some general scheme of education in a future year. 20

In its reply the Council stated:

The Council are sensible of the great importance to be attached to an efficient system of Education, and they regret exceedingly that so long a period has elapsed before any well matured Measure upon the subject

19 Ibid. 20 PG-P, loc. cit.
has become law. They assure your Honor that the delay which has occurred has not arisen from lukewarmness or indifference, but rather from a sense of the difficulty attached to making any permanent provision for Education at a period when affairs are generally so unsettled. 21

This was all: the Council gave no hint as to what it thought of the measures suggested by the Superintendent, and in the light of the later debates, this silence was not surprising.

The Government Resolutions

On 30 April Packer formally moved the vote of £2,500 for education, 22 but the debate was immediately adjourned until early in the next month, when on 7 May he introduced six resolutions 23 which had been decided upon at a meeting of the Executive Council on 4 April. 24 The Council proposed the voting of £2,500 annually for five years, for the support of schools, in the form of a £1 for £1 subsidy on money raised locally (with a clause providing for help for small districts). The

--------------------

21Ibid., p. 281

22Lyttelton Times, 2 May 1857, p. 10.

23For the text of the Resolutions, see Appendix G.

24EG-H, 4 April 1857.
appointment of an inspector was included. The religious teaching of a school was to be determined by the head of the religious body raising the money for the school; provided that where the money was raised by several religious bodies, there should be no religious teaching, but that times should be set aside for children to be taught separately by their own minister. The Government resolutions therefore provided for a Denominational system, with provision for secular schools if this was found to be expedient. ²⁵

Following the reading of these resolutions, Charles Bowen ²⁶ rose and announced a series of resolutions ²⁷ which he proceeded to lay before the Council, in amendment of those proposed by Mr Packer. He believed that they would be found more practicable and more beneficial than those proposed by the Government.

The Establishment of the Denominational Principle.

The issue soon arose whether the vote for education

²⁵Lyttelton Times, 13 May 1857, p.5.

²⁶Not to be confused with his son Charles Christopher Bowen, at that time editor of the Lyttelton Times.

²⁷For the text of the Resolutions, see Appendix G.
should be for one year or for five, as was proposed by the Government. The matter was debated for some time, finally being decided in favour of the five-year period, on a division, by a majority of nine votes to seven.\textsuperscript{28}
The first of Bowen's clauses reading the same as the initial Government resolution, was put and carried.

The second of the Government resolutions (that providing for the appointment of an inspector) was then put, and Bowen moved his second resolution in amendment, Mr J. Bealey pointed out that his raised the whole question of the relative merits of the denominational as compared with the secular system. Several speakers spoke to the amendment, which was put and carried, on a division, by nine votes to seven. The debate was then adjourned.

By this decision, the Provincial Council had virtually abandoned the Government resolutions, and determined upon the principle of a denominational educational system, whereby the annual grant was to be paid to the heads of the religious bodies. There were, however, many details still to be determined.

\textsuperscript{28}\textit{Lyttelton Times}, 13 May 1857, p. 5.
The debate was due to be resumed on 12 May, but was postponed until the 14th to allow Bowen's resolutions to be printed.²⁹

When the Committee resumed on the question of Education on 14 May, a curious change took place. Bowen began by saying that the resolutions brought forward by him on a previous evening "had been drawn up in a hurry and without consultation."³⁰ He therefore begged leave to withdraw them. The reason for this is obscure; but the introduction of the resolutions was probably done as an emergency measure, allowing time for debate, and the preparation of other measures. They certainly achieved the purpose of providing a focus of opposition to the Government resolutions.

Following the withdrawal of Bowen's resolutions, Packer suggested the consideration of the Government measure. This was opposed by Dr. Donald, who believed "that if these proposals were carried there would in a short time be more masters than scholars in the Government schools."³¹ He therefore moved an adjournment of the

²⁹Ibid., 16 May 1857.
³⁰Ibid.
³¹Ibid.
question "in order that the public might be able to give their opinion upon this important question." 32 It is possible that he did this with an eye to the Public Meeting called by the Lyttelton Colonists' Society for that evening. The house then adjourned.

The Lyttelton Meeting on Education

This meeting, 33 sponsored by the Lyttelton Colonists' Society and held on 14 May, was attended by most of the leaders of the community in both Christchurch and Lyttelton. The first speaker spoke of the advantages of having one good school, in preference to having several inferior ones. He then moved:

That in the opinion of this meeting the scheme of denominational schools, besides being in principle undesirable, is especially inapplicable to the circumstances of the province. 34

This was very strongly opposed by the Rev. B. W. Dudley, Vicar of Lyttelton, on the ground that religious teaching in the schools was absolutely necessary in the work of education. After a number of speakers had spoken on both

32 Ibid.


34 Ibid.
sides, the motion was put and passed by a large majority.

The second resolution was then proposed:

That the establishment of schools on a municipal or district system for secular education, reserving to the appointed minister of every denomination the task and duty of religious instruction, is in the opinion of this meeting the most satisfactory scheme. 35

FitzGerald made a powerful speech that was heartily supported by most of those present. Especially he reiterated that it was the duty of the state "to see that every child was instructed to understand the laws by which it was governed; but it was not in the province of the state to enforce a religious creed." 36 Rather it was the parents and the Church who had the duty of fostering the religious nurture of the child; and upon the extent to which they fulfilled this duty largely depended the future of the colony. The second resolution was then put and carried with one dissentient. These two resolutions were later presented to the Provincial Council in the form of a petition. 37

In this way the public meeting came out very strongly

35 Ibid. 36 Ibid. 37 PC-Papers, 321.
against the principle of denominational control of education; but it should not be assumed that this move to divorce the secular and religious of the young was, although "secular", also anti-religious. It was not a move against religion, or against religious teaching, but one against religious exclusiveness. No speaker is reported as having suggested that religion was not an essential ingredient of education; all appeared to be agreed that no education could be called complete which did not concern itself with the spiritual development of the person. But the inability of the denominations to agree between themselves, on the religious teaching to be done, had led many to the conclusion that the best thing was to divorce secular education (which would be paid for by the state) from religious education (to be left to the religious denominations).

The argument was continued during the next month in the correspondence and editorial columns of the Lyttelton Times, Mr. Rae and "Connell Counsellor" opposing the denominational system,38 and the Rev. Henry Jacobs supporting it.39

39Ibid., 23 May 1857, pp. 7-8.
The Clergy's Resolutions

When he withdrew his resolutions, Bowen had suggested that the Council proceed to consideration of "those resolutions recommended by the heads of the religious bodies." This is the first extant mention of these resolutions. It would appear that the heads of the denominations must have agreed upon a set of resolutions, which were later presented to the Provincial Council. The resolutions provided for a strictly denominational system of education, whereby all the schools receiving government aid were to be "placed under the entire management of one of the acting heads of such Christian bodies as are at present, or may from time to time be organized in this province;" such heads having control over appointment and dismissal of teachers, and over all teaching, both secular and religious. A conscience clause for parents was included. The Government Inspector was to have power of inspection only, with absolutely no power of interference in the management of the schools.

It is unfortunate that our knowledge of the debate

40 Ibid., 16 May 1857, p. 6.
41 For the resolutions, see Appendix G.
of the 19 May is very limited, due to the Lyttelton Times’ not having had a reporter present. It appears that a number of prepared speeches were read. As the newspaper reported:

The resolutions on the subject of education, as drawn up by the heads of the different religious bodies, were then considered in committee. The debate was exceedingly lengthy, and the amendments somewhat intricate. The resolutions were put seriatim and finally carried in their general wording.

Immediately after the passing of these resolutions, Mr. Hall moved that certain resolutions be inserted between the fourth and fifth of those already adopted; but the debate was adjourned until 28 May.

When the debate was continued, Mr. Hall moved the first of his resolutions. It read:

The schoolmasters to be appointed to schools assisted by such grant shall be subject, on their appointment, to approval by the Government inspector.

This resolution was supported by four speakers, who felt that the resolutions already passed allowed the denominational heads too much control over the disposal

---

42 See the editorial reply to "Elector", Lyttelton Times, 27 May 1857, p.7. The Proceedings of the Provincial Council do not include details of debates.

43 Ibid., 23 May 1857, p.6.

44 Ibid., 30 May 1857, p.6.
of the grant. On the other hand, it was maintained that the new resolution virtually placed the heads of the religious bodies under the inspector, which was at variance with the resolutions already passed. Finally Hall's amendment was lost, by four votes to ten.45

Mr. Hall then proposed the second of his resolutions:

The secular instruction given in such schools shall be such as shall be satisfactory to such Inspector. Upon the report of the Inspector that the secular instruction is not satisfactory the Superintendent and Executive Council may with-hold such portions of the grant applicable to such school for such period as they shall deem fit.

An animated discussion followed. After the first sentence was withdrawn, the rest of the motion was put and carried.

Two further resolutions were proposed and agreed to, relating to the powers of the inspector, and the furnishing of accounts by the denominations.47

The Council proceeded to reconsider the first and

45<ref>Canterbury Standard, 4 June 1857, p.3.</ref>
46<ref>Lyttelton Times, 30 May 1857, p.6.</ref>
47<ref>For the text of the resolutions, see Appendix G.</ref>
fifth of the clergy's resolutions previously passed, when on the motion of Mr. Bowen words were inserted empowering the heads of the religious denominations to remove schoolmasters, and the Superintendent and Executive Council to remove the Inspector. The remaining clauses were left as before.48

At this stage, then, the denominational system had been strongly supported, although not without opposition. The power of the heads of the denominations over the schoolmasters and over both religious and secular instruction had been secured, although the Executive Council had been granted the right to withdraw the grant if secular instruction was not up to standard. Nevertheless, despite amendments, the resolutions as they were passed gave more power to the religious bodies than those previously withdrawn by Bowen.

The Education Ordinance

Although the resolutions were briefly debated on 2 and 9 June, no changes were made in them. On 12 June leave was granted for the Government to introduce an Education Bill, embodying the resolutions previously passed

48Lyttelton Times, 30 May 1857, p.6.
by the Council, and it was read a first time.\textsuperscript{49} The
Second Reading was taken on 16 June, and the Bill was
passed on the 18th of the same month.\textsuperscript{50}

The Ordinance\textsuperscript{51} represented a move to a completely
denominational system, and the destruction of FitzGerald's
ideal of secular education. It provided for the granting
of annual sums to the heads of the Anglican, Wesleyan,
and Presbyterian bodies, for them to use in aid of
education, at their discretion. The denominational
heads obtained complete control over the appointment of
teachers, the instruction given, and the management of
the schools with regard to both secular and religious
teaching. However, a conscience clause was included for
the benefit of children whose parents objected to the
religious education taught. An inspector was to be
appointed by the Government, but only with the agreement
of the heads of the religious bodies. He was to report
upon the schools (but not upon the religious instruction
given), although he could not interfere in any way with
their management. The only control which the Government

\textsuperscript{49}\textit{PC-P}, p. 246. \textsuperscript{50}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 251.

\textsuperscript{51}For the text of the Ordinance, see Appendix H.
retained over the schools, associated with the right of inspection, was the power to cut off the grant to a school if its secular instruction were not up to standard, and the right of demanding detailed accounts.

By the terms of this Ordinance, such education in Canterbury as was granted money from the public revenues was to be almost exclusively under denominational control and management, for the following five years. In the face of considerable opposition, the Rev. O. Mathias and the clergy had won out against FitzGerald, Tancred and their supporters.

Yet FitzGerald had accomplished something. He had given up hope of immediately achieving a secular system of education, and his main concern now was for the improved stability and efficiency of education. So he was able to say, when dissolving the Council:

I am especially gratified that an Education Bill has been passed before the term of my office expires. Not that I wholly approve of this measure, but it is a very great improvement upon the former plan, and it gives stability and permanence to a system of education. For this reason alone, it gave me great pleasure to assent to that law. 52

Ten days later, the Bishop of Christchurch and
Mr. Fraser met the Executive Council to consider carrying the Ordinance into effect. The question of school fees was discussed, and it was determined by the Council that those for infant and dame schools should be sixpence per child per week, and for all other schools one shilling. In this way, the first action was taken under the new Ordinance.

**Building Grants to Schools**

It has been previously mentioned that the Warden and Fellows of Christ's College applied for, and during the eighth session were granted, £500 towards their building fund. The brief debate, as it is reported in the *Lyttelton Times*, is of interest in showing the attitude towards both the College and the educational activities of "Dissenters" that was current both within the Council and outside of it.

After the Provincial Secretary had moved that the sum be given, Mr. S. Bealey asked whether the College was to be for the Church of England alone; this question was not answered. He also asked what had happened to the

---

54 See *supra*, p. 220.
one-fifth of the Ecclesiastical and Educational Fund which was handed over by the Church Property Trustees, and was told that this money had been invested in land, the return from which was yet low. A significant remark, in the light of later events, was that of Mr. Ollivier, who "pointed out that the Scotch Kirk was in the same position and if necessary would expect, and no doubt receive similar assistance."55

Once the Rev. Fraser had realized that FitzGerald's plan for a general school in Christchurch was not going forward, he had applied to the Provincial Council, on behalf of the Presbyterian Church, for a grant of £150 towards the building of a high school. In his letter of application he wrote:

It is intended to establish a High School or Academy similar to those in Scotland where the youth are prepared for entering the University. In the present circumstances of the Colony, young children would not be prevented from attendance, but care would be taken from the first, while there is but one teacher, that he should be well qualified for the higher duties. The sum for which I beg to apply is One Hundred and Fifty pounds sterling to assist in the erection of a suitable building.56

55 Lyttelton Times, 13 May 1857, p.5.
56 Fraser to FitzGerald, 16 June 1857. PL-I, 521/24.6.57.
This application was refused, on a very flimsy pretext, in marked contrast to the granting of a much larger sum to Christ's College. There appears to be no doubt that the Government still thought of the Province as essentially a Church of England one, with "Dissenters" taking a second place.

The passing of the Education Ordinance of 1857, and the end of FitzGerald's Superintendency a few months later, mark the end of this period of the history of education in Canterbury, a period which will be reviewed in the next chapter.

---

57 The reasons ("The Government draw some distinction between an institution which has been in active operation for more than six years, and one which it is only in contemplation to establish") are refuted in a letter from the Rev. C. Fraser to FitzGerald, 26 June 1857. PL-I, 536/26.6.57.
CHAPTER XVI

EDUCATION IN CANTERBURY, 1851-1857

A REVIEW

This chapter will be concerned with summarizing the material which has been presented, and with indicating certain trends over the period as a whole. In the course of the discussion, special attention will be given to the questions raised in the Introduction.\(^1\)

Sections will be concerned with the extent of education, the control and financing of education, religious instruction, and the general philosophy of education during the period.

I. THE EXTENT OF EDUCATION

Upon the arrival of the First Four Ships in Canterbury during December of 1850, the first permanent settlement of any significant size was established in Lyttelton, and from then until 1856 Lyttelton was the largest centre of population in the Province. It was natural, therefore, that the first schools should have been established there. As the population moved across the Port

\(^1\)See supra, pp.9-11.
Hills to the plains, so the schools followed them to Christchurch, first the Church school at St. Michaels, and early in 1852 the Grammar School. Akaroa had been settled by French settlers ten years before; it was soon the centre of British settlement also, and an Association school was established. On the Peninsula were several pockets of settlement begun during the 1840's, and at two of these, private schools were begun, one of them with Association assistance. This was the pattern of population and school distribution during the first two years of settlement.

During the years 1853-57 a general expansion took place. Christchurch came to take the place of Lyttelton as the largest centre of population, and by 1857, with its surrounding villages and farms had a total population of some 3,000 out of a total Provincial population of 6,230. To cater for this spread of settlement, new schools were established at Papanui,

---

2Hight and Straubel, History of Canterbury, pp. 58-86.

3Mr. Hay's school at Penguin Bay and the school at Gebbie's Station.

4Including Papanui, Riccarton, St. Albans, Hoon Hay, Lincoln Road and Heathcote.

5Provincial Gazette, 30 June 1857.
Riccarton and Ferry Road, but of these only the one at Papanui lasted more than one year. A second tendency during these years was for settlement to spread out around the bays of Lyttelton Harbour and Banks' Peninsula. The unsuccessful Governor's Bay School was opened in 1854, and the more successful one at Okain's Bay in 1856. The private schools at Pigeon Bay and the head of the harbour continued to provide education for these outlying areas. The third direction which settlement took was out into the pastoral districts, and especially north towards Kaiapoi. These were the areas of sheep and cattle runs. Nevertheless, Kaiapoi and to a lesser extent Rangiora were centres of population by 1857, and the Provincial Government founded a school in the former area late in 1855.

Despite these efforts, in 1857 there were a number of settlements unserved by schools; in particular, Riccarton, Lincoln Road, Sumner, Hoon Hay and Governor's Bay.

---

6 For the public schools in Canterbury between 1851 and 1857, with their dates of opening and closing, see Appendix A, on page 370-3.

7 See the map showing distribution of population in 1857, Figure II, p. xv.
II. SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

School attendances have been discussed in relation to the Association period, 8 and as they were in 1857. 9 The concern of this section is to place these in perspective by a discussion of the whole period 1852-57. The relevant data are given in Figure III on page 321 and Table XV on page 433.

A total of about 240 children were attending Association schools at the end of 1852, 10 representing approximately 33% of the total population of school age; a level which was not to be reached again for many years. By March 1854, when the Provincial Government took over the Association schools, the figure had dropped to 164, only 16% of the school-age population. Some increase followed the opening of new district schools, and eight months later the figure stood at 190. Despite the closing down of several schools, the figure rose to a peak of 354 children attending public schools in January 1856, following the reorganization of education in 1855. 11

---

8See supra, pp. 134-38. 9Ibid., pp. 279-89

10Including the Gebbies' Station School.

11Christchurch Infant, Papanui and Kaiapoi Schools had opened at the end of 1855. See Figure III.
FIGURE III

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE AND SCHOOL-AGE POPULATION, 1851 - 57

KEY
Children Aged 5-15
Private School Rolls
Public School Rolls

Source: Table XV, p.433.
But despite the opening of the Okain's Bay school in 1856, by March 1857 the total number of children attending had dropped to 232, representing only 17% of children of school age.

The rise of private schools was rapid. In 1851 there were very few children attending these; probably not more than twenty. The census for March 1854 shows that seventy children were doing so at that time; about two-fifths of the number who were attending public schools. By January 1856 this had risen to 115 (10% of the school-age population) and within fourteen months it had more than doubled to stand at 290, more than the number attending public schools.¹²

It is uncertain what caused this movement, although it would suggest dissatisfaction with the public schools. Inspection of Table XI¹³ shows that at Port Victoria,¹⁴ Avon-Heathcote,¹⁵ and Riccarton, there were private

¹²See pp.321.
¹³See p. 429.
¹⁴The school attended by 15 children would be Blatchford's school, which although private was assisted by public funds.
¹⁵The ten children shown as attending public schools would travel into Christchurch or board there, rather than attend a local private school.
schools but no public ones; while in other districts both existed. Religious differences lead some children of Dissenters to be sent to private rather than public schools.\textsuperscript{16} The lack of an equivalent for girls of the Christ's College Grammar School provided an opening for such private schools as Mrs. Thompson's.\textsuperscript{17} It nevertheless must have been a matter for some concern that the percentage of children attending public schools was falling while more and more children were going to private ones.

While comparative statistics of school attendance for other provinces are not available, Table XII\textsuperscript{18} indicates the percentages of Europeans in each province who could or could not read and write. In 1856 Canterbury is shown as having slightly more persons who could read and write than the average for the colony. It should be noted that this does not provide a measure of the efficiency of the education system, as it is considerably influenced by the selection of immigrants.

\textsuperscript{16} This was the case in Lyttelton, and could also be so in Papanui and Akaroa.

\textsuperscript{17} See \textit{supra}, p.250.

\textsuperscript{18} See \textit{infra}, p.430.
This, then, is the general picture of school attendance during the first six years of the settlement in Canterbury. Attention must now be turned to the conflicts which developed over the control of the education system.

III. THE CONTROL OF EDUCATION

In the consideration of the control of education in Canterbury between 1851 and 1857, two main questions arise: what views were held on the problem of who should control the schools, and how were the schools in fact controlled?

There was no doubt in the minds of the Canterbury people that the state should definitely take some responsibility for education. As has been seen, however, education was thought of as something intimately involving the Church, a religious as well as a secular activity, and so the question of the control of education

---

19This view was expressed strongly by FitzGerald:

The obligation of the State to provide such education is recognised by almost every statesman in every civilized country at the present day, and it is acted on with more or less consistency by every European government. Address on opening Session I of the Provincial Council. PG-P, Session I, 27 September 1853, p.12.
resolved itself into one concerning the relations between the Church and the State.

The Association Period

Although the Canterbury Association protested that it did not desire that the Church of England should be legally established as a state Church, in effect this was what happened. Association (and therefore public) aid was only given to Anglican schools (with the exception of the Gebbies' Station School) through the publicly-subscribed Ecclesiastical and Educational Fund, and the schools were treated as being specifically Anglican ones, even though in fact owned by the Association and not by the Church. But in adhering to this policy the Association was already reactionary, flying in the face of the whole trend of events elsewhere. Whereas in England the tendency was towards greater liberalism and toleration, the Anglicans of the Association desired to form a colony which would be exclusively Anglican, and wherein public aid to education was given exclusively to Church of England institutions.

This policy proved impossible to maintain. The entrance of Dissenters into the Settlement could not be prevented, and was accelerated by Godley's opening of the
pastoral districts to the lease-holders. By 1854, there was acceptance of the view that all denominations were entitled to aid from the state in the maintaining of education. Leicester Webb summarizes the position when he writes:

That FitzGerald's statement of principle on the relations of Church and state should have aroused no argument shows how far the political thinking of the settlers had diverged from the original ideas of the Canterbury Association's founders. Canterbury was founded as a Church of England colony; the leaders of the Association and of the settlers were churchmen; in the colony itself the Church had substantial properties; and in England itself there was still precedent for an established Church standing in a special relationship to the state. Yet as soon as the settlers acquired control over their own affairs they affirmed unhesitatingly the principle of a purely secular state; the idea that the Church of England might be given special status or privileges was not thought worth discussion.

Marais suggests that "if there was anything which the colonists particularly loathed it was the idea of Church domination." 21

The Problem of Denominational or Secular Control

If both Church and state were to take an active interest in education the problem arose of the relationship between them. There were two broad schemes put forward,

20 Hight and Straubel, op. cit., p.218.
although each had its variations. The Denominationalists wished the state to make grants in aid of education to each of the religious denominations in proportion to their numbers, otherwise leaving the administration of education to the denomination concerned. The Secularists, however, wished the Government to control the schools, while allowing the right of entry to the clergy of each denomination for the instruction of the children of their denomination.

The Secularist began his reasoning, as was seen in the case of FitzGerald, by assuming that the state as such had as no part of its function the determination of theological truths, and could not therefore by its very nature distinguish between different religious denominations—this was the basis for the rejection of the idea of an established Church. The separation of Church and state led, according to these thinkers, to the view that the state as such was only concerned with secular teaching. It therefore followed, they believed,

---

22 "If the state then shall undertake to teach secular things, and shall place it in the power of the teacher of religion to fulfil his proper duty, it has done all that it can do in the matter;" FitzGerald's address on opening Session IV of the Provincial Council. PC-Sup., 11 April 1855.
that the most desirable system was one where the state organised and maintained schools, but allowed the clergy entrance to the schools for the purpose of religious instruction. It was readily recognised that no education was complete unless it included religious instruction, but at the same time it was denied that it was any function of the state to do more than make such instruction possible.

The second argument upon which the Secularist based his position was that of expediency; that by no

23 "In all these discussions we are not speaking of Education in its widest and proper sense; but merely of State education; that is, of the education which it is possible for, or the duty of the state to give...

The supporters of the secular system have never said that when the State has done its work, the child is properly educated. They only say that the State has done all it can do, or ought to pay for. They well know that children only so educated, would be miserable moral and intellectual starveling... They therefore look to the Church to do its duty and to provide for the religious training of the people...


FitzGerald's determination to separate Church and state is reflected in his refusal to assent to an estimate providing for the paying of a stipend to the Chaplain of the Provincial Council. See PC-Sup., Session IV, Nos 5 and 8, and Lyttelton Times, 23 June 1855, pp.3-4.
other system could the public monies be efficiently spent on the furtherance of education.

The Denominationalists in Canterbury during this time generally took a moderate position. Almost all were in accord with the position taken by the Rev. Paul in his sermon to the Provincial Council, where he agreed that the Church and state must be separated. But they pointed out that this did not preclude the denominational system, but the granting of aid to one denomination exclusively. The chief argument for the denominational system was that it allowed for complete liberty of conscience and religion. A frequently recurring criticism of the secular system was that it was in fact the forcing of one denomination (the


26 "I am at a loss to think of any fairer plan for the administration of public money for educational purposes, than that which wholly disregards the religious teaching of the school, and comes in aid of every really good school, irrespective of its denomination. This is the only plan consistent with the toleration of all religious differences in a State, and with private judgement, which is the birthright of British subjects. The prescription of any uniform system of religious teaching, whether in a school room or a Church, is in fact establishing a State religion, practically endowing it, and giving a bias to the public mind towards a particular form of doctrine. It is incompatible with the religious liberty of the subject:" Baker, The Denominational System . . ., pp.7-8. Italics in the original. Although this was written by a Wellington clergyman, it states the position taken by many Canterbury people of the same time.
"Secularists") upon the people, and the establishing, not of a state religion, but of a state irreligion. 27 It is for this reason that C. C. Bowen 28 could write that "the Denominational system . . . is surely the most liberal of all the systems, as embracing every other; while every other excludes all others but itself." 29

The Denominationalists believed that one of the chief criticisms of the secular system was that it in fact did not educate the young, and that it could not, because of the arrangements for religious instruction. Bowen objected to the treatment of religion as if it were merely another subject in the curriculum, 30 while Baker

27 Ibid.


29 Lyttelton Times, 26 April 1856, p. 5.

30 "We find it difficult to believe that the scheme of 'one day's religion' proposed by the Government resolutions would have mended the matter. What is this but adding one more 'ology' to those taught all the rest of the week? What effect is it likely to have on the children if this ology be theology? . . . Is religion to be taught to children then as a separate science? One day for arithmetic, another day for writing, another for reading, and another for religion? Is the schoolmaster to be carefully watched lest he should drop a word in his
points out that it is often nonsense to talk as if the Church's ministrations were fully available to all. 31

A further argument advanced by those supporting a denominational system of educational control was that this system was the most popular, and would lead to a minimum of friction within the Province.32 The Rev. Jacobs wrote that for his own part he believed "that our countrymen would generally prefer the denominational schools for their children, provided that the secular instruction given in them was not much below par."33

---

31 "The great need of a newly established colony is religious education. It is all very well to say that religious education can be given by the clergy of the several denominations out of school hours; but in point of fact there are no clergy perhaps of any denomination in certain districts; certainly not of all . . . ." Lyttelton Times, 16 May 1857, p.7.

32 "We should, however, endeavour to avert any possibility which might arise of bringing religious denominations into collision; and in establishing any system of education, our aim should be to select the one least likely to lead to such catastrophe . . . .

"The Denominational system appears to be the least objectionable that can be devised . . . ." Lyttelton Times, 16 May, 1857, p.7.

33 Ibid., 7 June 1857, p.7.
On the other hand, the Lyttelton Colonists Society petitioned for a secular system, advancing the argument that the denominational system of grants in aid would increase sectarian rivalries.

Much of the argument centered around these matters of principle, but much criticism of the denominational system came from those who believed that the secular system would be both more efficient and more economical. It has been seen how Willock pointed out the need for a single large school in Lyttelton, and how FitzGerald unsuccessfully tried to obtain this benefit also for Christchurch. This question was to some extent one of what was desirable in theory competing with what was expedient in practice. C. C. Bowen, a Denominationalist, could still wonder whether the difficulties of denominational schools in rural areas were sufficient to justify the principle; while when really challenged, he admitted the argument but not the conclusion, of the Secularists.

34 *PC-Papers*, 168/15.11.53. See supra, p.167.
35 Willock's Report, op. cit.
36 *Lyttelton Times*, 19 March 1856, p.4.
37 It is very true that we might have larger schools established on an apparently firmer basis, if the funds were not separated, and some "secular" system were
Probably many were in the position of 'Connell Counsellor' who, after agreeing that the denominational system was apparently the most fair and most popular that could be devised, could still write:

I object to the denominational system because it will make a number of small, inferior schools, ill attended, and with masters badly paid; and because in this colony this evil will be ten-fold greater than in a more densely peopled country. 38

From this point of view, the practical difficulties facing the control of education in Canterbury were two-fold: the sectarian differences expressing themselves in the problem of religious education, and the fact that few settlements could economically support more than one school without expensive duplication.

The Control of Education, 1854-1857

It has been indicated in the main discussion of the control of education in the period following the Education Minute, that the system formed took on the aspects of both the denominational and secular systems.

Formally, the system was being operated in terms of

---

... adopted. But this is not an answer to those who are prepared to deny that such a system could afford an education at all . . ." Lyttelton Times, 16 May 1857, p.7.

38 Ibid., 20 May 1857, p.7.
The Education Ordinance of 1847, and constant reference was made to that Ordinance both by the Government and by the Rev. Mathias; while the Education Minute was seen as being supplementary to, and interpreting, that Ordinance. The annual grants were paid over to the Bishop's Commissary; Mathias appointed teachers; the school at Akaroa was administered as a parochial school under the local Incumbent; and the Wesleyan school was treated entirely in terms of the Ordinance. There were, however, many secular elements in the control of the schools. The schools were government ones, and were referred to as such by Willock in his report. They were (with the exception of the Wesleyan and Gebbies' Station schools) only "in connection with the Church of England" and not controlled by her. The Executive Council exercised full control over the financing, setting up and closing down of schools, and through inspectors, of the appointment of teachers. The Gebbies' Station school, although otherwise a private one, was receiving a grant from public funds, although not under the head of any denomination as provided for in the Ordinance. The administration of the district schools was by the Government through Visitors and Inspectors in the earlier period, and later through the headmasters of
During the Association period, the schools had been personally controlled by Godley, acting for the Association, and with the advice of the Bishop and clergy. The nature of this administrative system has been indicated, and the way in which it lacked form. This lack of definition of roles was satisfactory so long as all the component parts were agreed; but after the schools were taken over by the Provincial Council and FitzGerald began working towards a state school system, the informality of the system up to then acted to reinforce other dividing forces, and conflict occurred. Godley to some extent left a vacuum in educational administration, a vacuum which both FitzGerald and the clergy led by Mathias endeavoured to fill. Although FitzGerald was largely successful in 1854 and the earlier part of 1855 in personally controlling the school system after the decision to place the district schools under the grammar schools, and his failure to obtain the passing of the Education Bill, the initiative passed to the clergy who by 1857 were able to raise sufficient support, for their resolutions to become the basis of the Education Ordinance of that year.

FitzGerald's Education Bill of 1855 represented
an attempt to take assisted schools away from the control of denominations altogether, while allowing them control over religious education. But the Provincial Council and the public generally were not ready for this measure, and it was dropped without even being debated.

The Government resolutions of 1857 were an attempt at a compromise between the secular and denominational systems. In general the schools were to be denominationally controlled, but provision was made for the state to organise schools (as the suggested one in Christchurch). In practice this would have been similar to the dual system which subsequently operated in Canterbury for a period after the reforms following the Tancred Report.

The Education Ordinance came as a victory for denominationalism. Education was placed almost entirely under the control of the heads of the various religious denominations, and by it an end was put to the government school system, which had had a precarious existence for the previous three years.
The granting of public revenues for the aid of education was felt to carry with it the right of inspection, and it was a frequently-made criticism of the education system between 1854 and 1857 that it was insufficiently inspected. During the Godley period there were no formally appointed inspectors, although according to the published Provisional Regulations Visitors were appointed, and clergy were ex officio Visitors of the schools in their parishes.

FitzGerald made use of Inspectors of Schools as administrators. Messrs Spowers, Gouling and Watson, who were appointed under the Education Minute of April 1854, were seen as heads of a local branch of local government, with considerable power over the schools. By this means the schools were centralized upon the Government and FitzGerald, as compared with the parochial system. After the resignation of John Hall in July 1855, this administrative role was very largely dropped, and inspectors were appointed for the whole of Canterbury, and not for a specific district, with the result that their

---

Provisional Regulations for the Management of the Boys' and Girls' Day and Sunday Schools Supported by the Canterbury Association, Clause 5.
activities were restricted to the inspecting and reporting upon schools rather than aiding in their administration.

The letters written by the clergy to FitzGerald in reply to his requests for suggestions early in 1857 emphasized the need for inspectors, without which, it was felt, the schools could not be properly organized and operated. FitzGerald wished this official to be responsible for the advising of masters and the general superintendence of the school, but by the Education Ordinance of 1857 his role was reduced to inspecting the secular teaching.

The Appointment of Teachers

The basis of the quarrel between the Rev. Mathias and FitzGerald over the appointment of teachers has been outlined. This was never formally resolved, although in fact Mathias was given full control: there is no evidence of any disputing of his appointments. It was to be expected that this would become an issue in the debates on the Education Ordinance. The result was that the appointment of teachers was left entirely in the hands of the heads of the religious denominations.

---

40 An exception was the Rev. Aldred, who considered that more use should be made of the parochial clergy.
IV. THE FINANCING OF EDUCATION

During all the period under review, the problem of finance was one of the central factors limiting both the extent and efficiency of the education provided for the children of the province.

The Association Period

It had been the original intention of the founders of the Canterbury Association that the schools of the settlement would be entirely financed from two sources: schools fee, and the Ecclesiastical the Educational Fund. It has been seen how these arrangements broke down in the face of unexpectedly low land sales, and how education suffered as a result.

The Provincial Period

During the three years of the Provincial Period under consideration, the public schools of the Province were financed out of fees, and annual grants made by the Provincial Council, these latter varying from £1,000 to £1,300 a year. As well as this in some cases (notably Okain's Bay, Gebbies' Station and Papanui) some of the finance required was raised locally by ways other than fees, often in the form of timber or other goods.

The public grants were voted from current revenue;
but this was frequently insufficient to meet the extra demand, and education for some time was financed from the land fund. The effect of this system was two-fold: firstly, being made on an annual basis, the grants could provide no real security for the schools; and secondly, the land fund was an unreliable source of revenue. As a result, the schools were essentially of a temporary nature, and the threat of no further grant was frequently oppressing them. Under these circumstances it was not surprising that they were somewhat inefficient.

FitzGerald's first attempt to overcome these problems by providing a sufficiently large, reliable and permanent source of income for the schools was by proposing a poll tax. As has been seen, this was defeated in the Executive Council, and never looked like being carried into practice. If it had been, it would have constituted an excellent source of finance for a school system. His second, less radical and more successful, attempt at ensuring some permanence of income for the schools, was in getting the vote increased to £2,500 annually, to be voted for five years. This he regarded as being a great improvement over the previous method.

FitzGerald had proposed that all schools should be free once his poll tax had come into operation. While there
was no suggestion in this of compulsory education, if it had been carried into effect, Canterbury would have been remarkable among the Provinces in taking this important step.

Conclusion

Lack of finance, and its being voted annually, resulted in schools which were poorly housed and lacked important teaching materials, with a correspondingly low morale. These factors partly account for the low proportion of children attending school, and for the large number of districts where no public schools had been established.

V. THE PROBLEM OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

The problem of religious education has already been discussed within the context of FitzGerald's address to the Provincial Council in 1853. It resolved itself into the question: under what form and conditions is religious instruction to take place in the schools?

In the Association schools the instruction given was Anglican, and there appears to have been no provision

41 See supra, pp. 166ff.
for the exclusion of children of Dissenters. This was in accordance with the generally exclusive nature of the Association's policy.

The Provincial Government, in allowing the Government schools to be "in connection with the Church of England" took care to secure the right of Dissenters to withdraw their children from the religious instruction given, although there does not appear to have been any

---

42 The Provisional Regulations (op. cit.) stated that all children must attend religious instruction and divine worship.

43 Fitzgerald instructed Watson (the Inspector of Schools) to take care not to offend the Roman Catholic population of Akaroa. The attitude of the Executive Council is indicated in a letter replying to objections concerning the Education Minute:

"It should be borne in mind that no schools established by the Church of England are in existence in the Province, and in granting public monies for those schools formed by the Association and in connection with the Church of England the Government practically are providing temporarily for a system of education throughout the whole province. They became thus bound to see that those schools which alone are certain to be kept on foot under the Church to which the bulk of the population of the Province adhere should be made available as widely as possible for the youth whose parents belong to other religious bodies which are as yet too weak to provide schools of their own. Being responsible to the Province for thus protecting the interests of persons of all creeds it is but right and just that the Government should themselves fix the conditions under which they should be satisfied to support the Church of England schools, and
right of entry into the schools of any but Anglican clergy; a point implied by Aldred's criticism of the exclusively Anglican oversight of the Lyttelton schools. In Christchurch the children of dissenters were able to attend the Wesleyan school, but in all other centres the choice was between an Anglican Government school or a private school (most of which would also be Anglican; two known exceptions were Mr. Hay's school at Pigeon Bay and Miss Abraham's in Lyttelton).

Willock in his Report indicated the nature and extent of religious instruction in the schools he inspected, and this has been reported above. It suffices here to indicate that within the Anglican schools the general quality of this instruction was not high (note the complete...
lack of Bibles in the Christchurch schools, and the generally low attainments of the children in religious knowledge), while at Akaroa it was almost non-existent.

The example of the Presbyterian schools at Pigeon Bay and Gebbies' Station—where Anglican and Presbyterian children were each taught their own catechism—showed how in practice the problem of religious instruction could be overcome if agreements rather than differences were emphasized.

The Government Resolutions introduced into the Provincial Council during its eighth session were designed to initiate a system whereby any denomination organizing a school would decide itself upon what religious instruction would take place in that school, with a conscience clause for those who dissented from the instruction given; while in any schools organized by the Government, there would be no such teaching, but the clergy would be allowed into the school to teach the children of their own congregations. In the place of this arrangement, the Council passed the Ordinance which simply left all decisions on religious instruction to the head of the denomination concerned, with the provision of a conscience clause.
VI. EDUCATION AND THE SOCIAL SYSTEM

In the forming of the Canterbury Settlement a conscious attempt was made to bring out a cross-section of English stratified rural society. The emigrants came from a social structure which accepted stratification as being 'natural' and proper. It is important to realize both these features: that England consisted of several classes, and that this was accepted by almost all of the people. Rights and duties were seen as pertaining to all classes, although the actual social behaviour concerned might differ according to one's position in the hierarchy. With this stratification came a relative lack of vertical mobility; if one was born into a working class, one tended to stay in it.

The English School system was similarly stratified, with Preparatory and Public Schools, and the Universities, for the upper classes; Grammar and Commercial Schools for the middle classes, and voluntary elementary schools for the "deserving poor." "It is impossible," writes Campbell, "to understand English popular education until one realises that it began ... as a charity provided by the well-to-do for the children
of the deserving poor." 47

This is reflected in the Association's attitude to education. Webb suggests that the implication of the plan for the College and Grammar School was that "the first need was to organise schools for the benefit of children whose parents could afford to pay for their education and that the education of working class children was a charitable activity to be extended 'as funds permit'." 48 Certainly far more was said in the Association's plans about the College than about elementary education.

As might be expected from the social background of the first settlers, despite the egalitarian influence of colonial life, the education system was designed and operated on the basis of two types of education, provided in two types of schools, for the two main divisions of society. The College and Grammar school, with its elementary department, provided education at all levels for the middle class, mainly the run-holders, merchants and professionals. Within both Christchurch and Lyttelton there were parallel schools which were designed to cater

47 A. E. Campbell, Educating New Zealand, p. 9.

primarily for the working class children. The curriculum followed in these schools paralleled this division: an emphasis upon religious instruction and the three R's in the parochial schools, and the inclusion of Latin, Mathematics and other subjects at the Grammar School—those subjects needed for the education of a gentleman. This attitude is exemplified in Godley's reference to the cost of maintaining a youth at College "as a gentleman."

This vertical division broke down slightly after the Association Period. The Commercial Departments begun in the two Grammar Schools represented something of a compromise, while in some schools where no grammar school was available locally, the school had to serve both functions for the children of professional people, and so Latin was taught to certain pupils at Akaroa.

The original scheme of Christ's College provided for endowed scholarships, but there is no suggestion that these were designed on the Scottish system of allowing children of the working class to profit by a Grammar School education. In 1857, Christ's College had one free place and the Lyttelton Grammar School two. These were filled by boys who had excelled in the district schools, and did allow a restricted avenue to secondary
education.

The attitude to teachers followed this pattern. Especially in the earlier part of the period under discussion, the distinction between the clergy who taught at the Grammar Schools, and the elementary school teachers, was marked. The Rev. Jackson pointed out that all of the teachers he had brought out for elementary schools were able to farm, or act as tradesmen—there was no suggestion that they were professional people, but were rather classed with the skilled trades. The Rev. Jacobs and the Rev. Cotterill were paid £200 per annum each: the Association's salary for male elementary teachers was £70—less than that of a cooper or blacksmith at the time.

It was many years before these attitudes were broken down in Canterbury and equality of educational opportunity offered to children of the working classes.
CHAPTER XVII

CONCLUSION

I confess that I shall be bitterly disappointed if the Canterbury Settlement is not distinguished, among all the colonies, for the number of children in proportion to the whole population enjoying the benefits of a system of public instruction, imparted without stint or parsimony to all. It is only by this means, by the blessing of God, that we shall be able to resist that blighting slavery to mammon and materialism of every kind, which, as it requires no deep philosophy to see, is the curse and peril of young and active communities.¹

In these terms the Bishop-Designate had stated his hopes and fears for education in the infant settlement; hopes and fears which were shares by the members of the Canterbury Association. The hopes were not to be fulfilled, and the statistics provided have indicated how few indeed were enjoying education at however an elementary level. The liberality with which education was to have been spread was replaced by inadequacy and want, quite disproportionate to the plans of the first settlers.

This thesis began with a suggestion that Butchers was oversimplifying the situation when he implied that education in Canterbury up to the passing of the Education

¹Rev. T. Jackson, Report to Dr. Bird Sumner, Archbishop of Canterbury, op. cit.
Ordinance of 1857, had been simply a period of quiescence.\(^2\) Especially his statements concerning the extent of Association aid to education were challenged.\(^3\) The arguments rebutting Butchers' claim with regard to the Association have already been stated,\(^4\) and it only remains to summarize the conclusion: that the Canterbury Association, although severely handicapped by lack of ecclesiastical leadership and of finance, did in fact provide educational facilities which, while they did not come up to the promises made, yet were such as to justify the claim that at the end of 1852 there were relatively more children attending public schools than was the case for several years after the end of the Association itself.

The first four years of the Provincial Government have been seen as a time when a considerable struggle

\(^2\)Apart from quotations from FitzGerald's 1853 speech to the Provincial Council (pp.170-72), Butchers' treatment of the period 1853-56 is covered by the following sentence:

"Although the Canterbury Provincial Council adopted the denominational system, copying almost in its entirety Grey's original Ordinance of 1847, there were many who from the first were greatly dissatisfied with the scheme, including the Superintendent, J. E. FitzGerald, himself." Butchers, Young New Zealand, p.249.

\(^3\)See supra, p.3. \(^4\)Ibid., pp.112ff.
was being fought over education principles, on both the theoretical and administrative levels. To say that in 1854 Canterbury adopted the denominational system, if this is to suggest control of schools by the denominations, is to misstate the case; for despite the frequent references to the 1847 Ordinance the system as it operated in practice was far from being one controlled by the heads of the religious bodies. There is in this period a struggle for power, highlighted in the Education Minute, the rejection of the 1855 Bill, the arguments over the operation of teacher appointments, and the debates (both in the Provincial Council and in the newspaper columns) of 1857. In no sense can the Education Ordinance of that year be seen as the codification of an already-existing denominational system. To believe that it can so be seen is to ignore the complexity and intensity of these few years of Canterbury's educational history.

FitzGerald emerges as one who saw education as a universal right, owed by the state to all; and not only a right, but a duty, if the civilization of the people was to advance. Good churchman as he was, he did not under-rate the role of the Church in education, but believed that, under the existing conditions, it was the state's
responsibility to educate the young in secular things only, leaving to the Church the responsibility of completing the educative process by the addition of spiritual values.

The Canterbury Pilgrims came to Canterbury filled with a resolute desire to found there a settlement in which Church education would be a central civilizing force, binding society together and enriching it with both secular and religious virtues. But despite their endeavours, the materialism which the Rev. Jackson feared proved almost too strong. Even where schools existed, people neglected them; in 1857 most men desired educational reform, but were not willing to pay for it. The Education Ordinance of that year came, not as a logical consequence of a simple progression, but as an imperfect attempt to solve specific pressing problems within the context of education in Canterbury.

---

6The Rev. Jacobs expressed this feeling thus:

"'Do naught without a bishop' was the voice Of Churchmen in those purer days of old; And wonder we why all is poor and cold Within our Zion? This one taint alloys Our fair success. Our flocks and herds rejoice Upon a thousand hills; our spreading fields Stand thick with corn. God's vineyard only yields A poor return."

Quoted in Hickey, op. cit., Vol. 1.
SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

That very little basic research has been done in early Canterbury education is evident from the way in which much purely factual data has had to be presented upon which to build interpretations, and there is need for more of this essential work to be done. A study could well be made of the period immediately following the 1857 Ordinance, and culminating in the Tancred Report. Biographical studies of the figures who were concerned with education—such people as the Rev. Charles Fraser, the Rev. Habens, H.J. Tancred and others—would add considerably to our knowledge of this subject.

The Canterbury Association still provides a field for research in its educational aspects, as does the question of the English and Scottish influences upon Canterbury education, which is but briefly touched upon in this investigation. Detailed examination of the social and educational backgrounds and views of the Provincial Councillors could throw considerable light upon our understanding of why education in Canterbury took the course it did, especially in relation to Fitzgerald's abortive Education Bill of 1855.
BIBLIOGRAPHY
BIBLIOGRAPHY

The most important single repository of Canterbury Association and early Provincial period documents is the Canterbury Museum. It contains much material (such as the minute books of the Executive Council and the Provincial letter-books) which has never been examined from the point of view of the history of education. The Diocesan Office in Christchurch holds certain Association and Church records, while the best collection of Association letters is held by the Christchurch Lands and Survey Department. The Canterbury Public Library, Hocken Library, Dunedin, and Turnbull Library, Wellington, contain important books, pamphlets and newspapers. Most official records are held in the National Archives, Wellington.

The Bibliography is arranged as follows:

I. DOCUMENTARY SOURCES

A. Papers of the Canterbury Association
B. Papers of the Canterbury Provincial Council
C. Church papers
D. Contemporary Journals and Letters

II. PRINTED SOURCES

A. Official
B. Bibliographies
C. Newspapers
D. Contemporary Books and Pamphlets
E. General Secondary Material
   1. English and Association Background
   2. Canterbury and New Zealand History

III. THESIS
I. DOCUMENTARY SOURCES

A. PAPERS OF THE CANTERBURY ASSOCIATION

**Canterbury Museum Library**

Typescript of Letters to the Management Committee from Thomas and Godley, mostly concerning land, but including a few Godley despatches.

These are the London accounts.

Canterbury Settlement. Invoice Book.
Duplicate vouchers, 12 December 1848 - 30 June 1849.

Journal, July 1849-June 1853.
Stores Book, February 1849-March 1852.
Cash Book, July 1852-June 1853.
Cash Book, July 1848-March 1853.
These account books include records of educational expenditure by the Association in the Settlement, including payments on education.

30 May 1851-19 November 1852.

A valuable bundle of miscellaneous papers including reports of school attendances, letters and stores reports of schools during the Association period.

A typescript of the original minute book in the possession of the Canterbury Public Library.
**Diocesan Office**

Vol II: 6 February 1851-28 September 1852.
A contemporary copy of originals now held in the Hocken Library.

Canterbury Association. Despatches from the Association to the Canterbury Agent. 2 vols.
Vol I: 10 December 1849-10 September 1851.
Vol II: 10 September 1851-29 September 1852.

Canterbury Association. Despatch Book A.
Despatches of Captain Thomas to the Secretary of the New Zealand Company (20 June 1848-17 March 1850); and J. R. Godley to the Secretary of the Canterbury Association (23 April 1850-1 July 1851).

Vol I: 23 April 1850-6 October 1851.
Vol II: 7 October 1851-19 March 1852.
Copy of despatches from the Chief Agent at Lyttelton to the Management Committee.

Canterbury Association. Register of despatches to the Secretary of the Canterbury Association from the Chief Agent at Lyttelton, and from the Secretary to the Agent at Lyttelton.


**Turnbull Library**

No 6: 1 January 1851-8 October 1851.
No 7: 8 October 1851-1 February 1853.
This consists mainly of letters concerning appointments of and instructions to ship's chaplains surgeons and teachers.

**Lands and Survey Department, Christchurch**

Canterbury Association Letters.
Boxes of letters and other documents, covering the years 1849-1853. Numbered, and indexed in a bound volume.

**B. PAPERS OF THE PROVINCIAL COUNCIL**

**Canterbury Museum**

Addresses and Messages, Superintendent to the Provincial Council, 1853-1860.

Canterbury Provincial Council: Papers Laid on the Table.

Canterbury Executive Council: Minute Book, 1853-1876.

Index of Inward Letters to the Superintendent's Office. 
Vol I: 23 July 1853-10 October 1860.

Provincial Secretary: Outward Letter Book.

Provincial Treasury: Ledger. 2 vols. 
Vol I: November 1853-March 1855.  
Vol II: April 1855-1858.

Vol A: 30 July 1853-30 August 1854.  
Vol B: 24 November 1854-21 April 1857.  
Vol C: 23 April 1857-4 November 1857.

**C. CHURCH PAPERS**

These are located at the Christchurch Diocesan Office.
Church Minute Book of Lyttelton, New Zealand. 20 February 1851-6 February 1861.

This valuable source includes the minutes of the meetings of the Church Trustees, and synodical meetings of the clergy.

Minutes of Meetings of the Committee on Church Matters. 18 May 1853-26 January 1854.

D. CONTEMPORARY LETTERS AND JOURNALS

Letters from Edward Gibbon Wakefield to Lord Lyttelton, 1850-1853, together with a few other related letters.

A typescript typed in 1945 from a copy made from the originals by A.H. Johnstone some years before. Copies are held at the following libraries: Turnbull, Hocken, Universities of Auckland and Canterbury.


The manuscript is held at the University of Canterbury, and there is a typescript in the Turnbull Library.


This is a bound typescript copy, held at the Turnbull Library, and includes references to the Christchurch Wesleyan School.

Kilbracken Papers: Letters to John Robert Godley concerning the Canterbury Settlement and other New Zealand affairs, 1848-1861.

The manuscripts of this collection are held at the Canterbury Museum. A typescript copy is held at the Turnbull Library under the following title:

Canterbury Papers: Letters to J.R. Godley concerning the Canterbury Settlement and other New Zealand affairs, 1849-1852, with draft lectures on New Zealand. 2 vols.

Conway Rose. Letters to Isabella Collier, 1852-53. The photostats of these letters sent to his sister criticising the Canterbury Settlement, are held in the Canterbury Museum Library.

II. PRINTED SOURCES

A. OFFICIAL

Archives of the Province of New Munster. Blue Books for the Province of New Munster, 1851-1853. These are contemporary copies of official returns made to the Colonial Office by the Governor of New Zealand. The 1851 copy is a microfilm of the original in the Public Records Office, London. Located in the National Archives, Internal Affairs Department, Wellington.

Archives of the Colony of New Zealand. Blue Books for the Colony of New Zealand, 1854-1855. No returns for Canterbury are included in these years. Location: National Archives.


B. BIBLIOGRAPHIES


This volume contains the best single bibliography on Canterbury up until 1852. Some of the Land Office material listed has since 1957 been transferred to the Canterbury Museum.

*Historical Studies: Australia and New Zealand.*

Vol I, No. 1 (April 1940) -

This periodical appears twice annually, and useful accession lists of manuscript materials are given for the main Australian and New Zealand libraries.


C. NEWSPAPERS

*The Canterbury Standard.* 1 June 1854 -

Easily the most complete series is held in the Turnbull Library.

*The Guardian and Canterbury Advertiser.* 3 June 1852 - 16 September 1852.

The Canterbury Public Library has an almost complete set.

*The Lyttelton Times*, Vol I, No. 1 (11 January 1851) -

The Canterbury Museum and Canterbury Public Library both have almost complete series. The volume for January-June 1857 is missing from the Public Library.


Both of these special numbers are held in the Canterbury Public Library.

D. CONTEMPORARY BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS


A pamphlet located in the Hocken Library.


Bound in New Zealand Pamphlets, Vol II, in the University of Canterbury Library, McMillian/Brown Collection.


Located in the Auckland Public Library.


Hodgkinson, S. Emigration to New Zealand: a Description of the Province of Canterbury, New Zealand ... London: W. & F. Cash, 1856.
Location: University of Canterbury Library.


E. GENERAL SECONDARY MATERIAL

1. The English Background


2. Canterbury and New Zealand Material

*Akaroa and Banks' Peninsula, 1840-1940.* Akaroa: The Akaroa Daily Mail, n.d.


______. *Young New Zealand.* Dunedin: Coulls Somerville Wilkie, 1929.


III. THESSES

1. Unpublished Masters' Theses, Canterbury University College


O'Regan, Pauline M. *The Control of Immigration into Canterbury during the Period 1853-1870.* 1953.


Smith, N.S. *James Edward Fitzgerald.* 1932.

Wilson, J.V. *The Origin of the Canterbury Province.* 1914.


Kindly lent by the Rev. Mother of the Convent of Our Lady of Missions, Christchurch.
## APPENDIX A

### PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN CANTERBURY

**1851-1857**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Opened</th>
<th>Closed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHRISTCHURCH DISTRICT</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church Commercial</td>
<td>20 Jul 1851</td>
<td>31 Mar 1854 a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collegiate Grammar</td>
<td>26 Apr 1852</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christchurch District</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys' School</td>
<td>1 Apr 1854</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls' School</td>
<td>1 Apr 1854</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riccarton District</td>
<td>14 Aug 1854</td>
<td>Jun 1855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferry Road District</td>
<td>14 Aug 1854</td>
<td>Jun 1855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wesleyean</td>
<td>22 May 1855</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christchurch Infant</td>
<td>Nov 1855</td>
<td>sometime in 1856</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papanui District</td>
<td>Nov 1855</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AKAROA DISTRICT</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church Commercial</td>
<td>Jun 1851</td>
<td>7 Feb 1852</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akaroa District</td>
<td>Nov 1854</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okain's Bay District</td>
<td>Oct 1856</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>KAIAPOI</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native School</td>
<td>Jun 1851</td>
<td>15 Nov 1852</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaiapoi District</td>
<td>Nov 1855</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### APPENDIX A (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Opened</th>
<th>Closed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>LYTTELTON DISTRICT</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collegiate Grammar</td>
<td>6 Jan 1851</td>
<td>31 Mar 1852</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church Commercial</td>
<td>Jan 1851</td>
<td>31 Mar 1852</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lyttelton Infant</td>
<td>Mar 1851</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manson's School</td>
<td>Jun 1851</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church Commercial Boys'</td>
<td>1 Apr 1852</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church Commercial Girls'</td>
<td>1 Apr 1852</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governor's Bay District</td>
<td>Jul 1854</td>
<td>Jun 1855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lyttelton Grammar</td>
<td>15 May 1855</td>
<td>Jun 1857</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

a Transferred to the Provincial Council.

b Transferred from Lyttelton. From 21 May 1855 becomes Christ's College.

c From July 1855 known as Christ's College Boys' School.

d From July 1855, Christ's College Girls' School.

e Transferred to Christchurch.

f Divided into two schools: the Boys' and Girls' Church Commercial Schools.

g Not granted aid during the 1854-55 financial year.

h Formed by the division of the Church Commercial School. From 1 May 1854 it becomes the District Boys' School.

i Formed by the division of the Church Commercial School. From 1 May 1854 becomes the District Girls' School.
## Figure IV

**Public Schools in Canterbury, 1851 - 1857**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School Type</th>
<th>1851</th>
<th>1852</th>
<th>1853</th>
<th>1854</th>
<th>1855</th>
<th>1856</th>
<th>1857</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CH.CH. Grammar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CH.CH. Boys' School</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CH.CH. Girls' School</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CH.CH. Infants'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wesleyan School</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lyttelton Grammar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lyttelton Boys'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lyttelton Girls'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lyttelton Infants'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akaroa School</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okain’s Bay</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papanui School</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riccarton School</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferry Road School</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governor’s Bay</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gebbie’s Station</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaiapoi School</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## APPENDIX B

### PRIVATE SCHOOLS IN CANTERBURY 1851-57<sup>a</sup>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>School</th>
<th>Opened</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Christchurch</td>
<td>Mr Green's</td>
<td>c. Aug 1852</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Miss Roworth's</td>
<td>c. Mar 1853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Misses Reeve's</td>
<td>c. Aug 1853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mrs Charles Thompson's</td>
<td>Feb 1854</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mr Prince's</td>
<td>1854 ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mrs Slagg's</td>
<td>1854 ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mr Deans'</td>
<td>1854 ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mr Bagshaw's</td>
<td>1854 ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mr Alabaster's</td>
<td>1854 ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Christchurch Academy</td>
<td>1854 ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papanui</td>
<td>Mr Jenning's</td>
<td>1854 ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mr Mayow's</td>
<td>1854 ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaiapoi</td>
<td>Mrs Denne's</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pigeon Bay</td>
<td>Mr Hay's&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>c. Oct 1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lyttelton</td>
<td>Miss Taylor's</td>
<td>c. Oct 1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Miss Taylor's</td>
<td>c. May 1854</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX B (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>School</th>
<th>Opened</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lyttelton</td>
<td>Miss Abraham's</td>
<td>1856 ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Miss Andrew's</td>
<td>c/Feb 1857</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

^aFor a discussion of these schools, see *Inward Bound*, pp.246-53.

^bThe successive masters were Messrs Donaldson, Woodley and Knowles.
## APPENDIX C

### PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHERS IN CANTERBURY

1851-57

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>School</th>
<th>Date of teach.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BAINES, Mr</td>
<td>Christ's Coll.</td>
<td>Jul 52-Jun 53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAKER, Miss Harriet</td>
<td>Lytt. Infant</td>
<td>? 56-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BILTON, John</td>
<td>ChCh Church Comm.</td>
<td>20 Jul 51-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BLATCHFORD, William</td>
<td>Gebbies' Station</td>
<td>Jun 51-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOWLEY, Mr</td>
<td></td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOYD, Daniel</td>
<td>Wesleyan</td>
<td>May 54- Jun 54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BROUGHTON, John</td>
<td>Wesleyan</td>
<td>Jul 54-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BUNKER, Miss</td>
<td>Lytt. Infants</td>
<td>1854?-1856?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CALVERT, Christopher</td>
<td>College</td>
<td>? - ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COLLIS, Mrs</td>
<td>Lytt. Infants</td>
<td>May 51-Aug 51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COTTERILL, Rev. George</td>
<td>Lytt. Grammar</td>
<td>15 May 54-Jun 57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIXON, Mrs Mary</td>
<td>Ferry Road</td>
<td>Aug 54-Jun 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FELTHAM, Mr</td>
<td>Akaroa</td>
<td>10 Feb 55- 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FISHER, James</td>
<td>Riccarton</td>
<td>1 Aug 54-Sep 54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FLETCHER, Henry</td>
<td>Native, Kaiapoi</td>
<td>Jun 51-Nov 52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRANKS, Francis</td>
<td>Kaiapoi District</td>
<td>Nov 56-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GODFREY, Miss Rosetta</td>
<td>Lytt. Infants</td>
<td>1 Apr 52-53? 54?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>School</td>
<td>Date of teaching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HARRIS, Mrs</td>
<td>ChCh Infants</td>
<td>Nov 55- ? 56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HASKINS, Thomas</td>
<td>Papanui</td>
<td>Nov 55-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOLMES, William</td>
<td>Christ's Coll.</td>
<td>6 Jan 51-Mar 52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HORELL, Mrs</td>
<td>ChCh Church Comm.</td>
<td>c. Jul 51-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JACOBS, Rev. Henry</td>
<td>Christ's College</td>
<td>6 Jan 51-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JAGGERS, Mrs Jane</td>
<td>Lytt. Infants</td>
<td>c. Aug 51-Mar 52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JAGGERS, Mrs Jane</td>
<td>Lytt. Girls'</td>
<td>1 Apr 52- ? 53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McCARDELL, Mr J.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAYO, Gilbert</td>
<td>Lytt. Church Comm.</td>
<td>? Oct 53-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAYO, Mrs Gilbert</td>
<td>Lytt. Church Comm.</td>
<td>? Oct 53-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PARADISE, Mr</td>
<td>Akaroa District</td>
<td>? 55-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERCIVAL, Mr</td>
<td>Christ's College</td>
<td>Jul 52?-Dec 52?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERCY, Mr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POLLARD, Mr</td>
<td>Lytt. Grammar</td>
<td>? 56- ? 56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PURSEGOLOVE, Mr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RANSON, Mrs</td>
<td>Lytt. Infants</td>
<td>c. Mar 51-c. May 51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ROWORTH, Miss</td>
<td>Governor's Bay</td>
<td>1 Jul 54-Jun 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIMPSON, Miss Annie</td>
<td>Lytt. Girls'</td>
<td>Feb 51-? Dec? 51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STODDARD, Mr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THOMPSON, Frederick</td>
<td>Christ's College</td>
<td>1 Jul 54-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THOMPSON, Mrs F.</td>
<td>ChCh Girls'</td>
<td>1 Jul 54-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### APPENDIX C (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>School</th>
<th>Dates of Teach.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TOWNSHEND, Mr</td>
<td>Riccarton</td>
<td>Oct 54-Jun 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TUSON, Mr</td>
<td>Akaroa District</td>
<td>16 Nov 54-Jan 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Okain's Bay</td>
<td>Oct 56-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TUSON, Mrs</td>
<td>Akaroa District</td>
<td>16 Nov 54-Jan 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aWADSWORTH, Robert</td>
<td>Akaroa Church Comm.</td>
<td>Jun 51-Feb 52h</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[a\] Teachers appointed by the Rev. Thomas Jackson.

\[b\] He was not needed, and so Selwyn provided for him in the North Island.

\[c\] He did not teach. "I find that Mr. McCardell after full consideration of the matter has given up the idea of undertaking school work. I am very sorry as I think he would have been of great use here." Cotterill to FitzGerald, 13 December 1854. QAM.

\[d\] This was later the Lyttelton District Boys' School.

\[e\] This was later the Lyttelton District Girls' School.

\[f\] Went to Nelson.

\[g\] He was brought out to teach part time in the College, but never did so. When he saw the position in which the College was placed, he went to Sydney.

\[h\] After leaving Akaroa, Wadsworth went to Wellington and later to Melbourne.
APPENDIX D

INSPECTORS OF SCHOOLS IN
CANTERBURY, 1854-57*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Inspector</th>
<th>Appointed</th>
<th>Resigned</th>
<th>District</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GOULAND, H.G.</td>
<td>13 Apr 54</td>
<td>Jan 55</td>
<td>Christchurch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPowers</td>
<td>13 Apr 54</td>
<td>Nov 55</td>
<td>Lyttelton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watson, John</td>
<td>13 Apr 54</td>
<td></td>
<td>Akaroa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hall, John</td>
<td>8 Jan 55</td>
<td>6 Jul 55</td>
<td>Christchurch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul, Rev. R.B.</td>
<td>6 Aug 55</td>
<td>? 56</td>
<td>Canterbury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willock, Rev. W.W.</td>
<td>8 Jan 57</td>
<td></td>
<td>Canterbury</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Provincial Gazette.
APPENDIX E

THE EDUCATION MINUTE, APRIL 1854

1. Until the details for the system of education for the Province shall be settled by a local Ordinance, the grant shall be expended in accordance with the provisions of the Education Ordinance of New Zealand, Session VIII, No 10.

2. Two classes of schools shall be established. A. Upper schools providing a classical and commercial education. B. District schools providing education adapted to the wants of the mass of the population.

Upper Schools

3. The Grammar School established at Christchurch shall receive such assistance as may be necessary for the addition thereto of a department of commercial education. The School remaining under its present system and management, provided that it shall be subject to the inspection and its account to the audit of the Government in such manner as His Honor may direct.

4. A grammar and commercial school shall be established at Lyttelton under the superintendence of the

---

1Source: Minutes of the Executive Council, 10 April 1854.
Bishop of the Diocese.

5. The Bishop or in his absence the Bishop's commissary shall with the approval of the inspector appointed by the government appoint the headmaster, and with the approval of the inspector and headmaster make rules for ordering the system of instruction to be pursued, and the general conduct and management of the school.

6. A fee of £2.10. 0 a quarter shall be paid for every pupil.

District Schools

7. District schools under the superintendence of the Bishop shall be established as soon as possible in the following places: Christchurch, Riccarton, Papanui, the Ferry Road, Lyttelton, Governor's Bay, Akaroa, Okain's Bay and from time to time in such other places as the wants of the population may require; and the funds at the disposal of the Government may admit.

8. At Christchurch and Lyttelton the schools shall consist of two departments, one for boys and the other for girls, which shall be under the charge of a master and mistress separately. A similar division will be made in all the schools, as the funds arising from the fees shall
justify increased expenditure.

9. The district school in each district shall be placed in connection with the Grammar School; those in Christchurch, Riccarton, Papanui and the Ferry Road with the Grammar School in Christchurch, those at Lyttelton with the Grammar School at Lyttelton, and the Masters of the Upper Schools shall visit and superintend the District Schools; and the master and mistress of the latter shall report to and receive instructions from them.

10. The schools at Akaroa and Okain's Bay shall be visited and superintended by the incumbent of Akaroa.

11. The Bishop or in his absence the bishop's commissary with the consent and approval of the Visitor and inspector of each school, shall appoint the master and mistress thereof, and shall make rules for ordering the system of education to be pursued and for the general conduct and management of the schools.

12. The fees in the district schools shall be one shilling a week for a single child, or ninepence a week for two children, or sixpence a week for three or more children of the same family, which shall be paid on each Monday morning in advance of the week. 2

---

2This clause was amended later to read: "The fees
13. The religious teaching in the above schools shall be in accordance with the doctrines of the Church of England, but any child upon written request to that effect addressed to the master or mistress by the parents or guardians, may receive instruction in the schools without such religious teaching.

14. Children may be admitted into the District Schools by the master or mistress but may only be removed therefrom by the Visitor on a special report from the Master or Mistress, and after careful enquiry into the charge made.

15. Every case of corporal punishment inflicted by any master or mistress shall be entered in a book to be kept for that purpose which shall be laid before the Visitor.

16. A daily attendance book shall be kept in every school in which the master or mistress shall enter the attendance of every child day by day, and this book shall always lie open to the inspection of the visitor and inspector.

17. All fees shall be collected by the master or

of the District Schools shall be 6d a week for each child, such fees to be paid on each Monday morning in advance." Minutes of the Executive Council, 17 June 1854.
mistress, and shall be accounted for to the Inspector once in every quarter. All salaries shall be paid once in every quarter, and shall include the fees collected.

18. No expenses shall be incurred on account of any schools except under the authority of the visitor approved by the inspector.

19. The Provincial Secretary shall from time to time furnish to the inspector estimates of expenditure for salaries and other contingencies sanctioned by the Government for each school, and such estimates shall never be exceeded except by special authority of the Government.

20. The annual reports made by the inspectors under the provision of the Education Ordinance shall be as soon as possible laid before the Provincial Council.

**Examinations and Rewards**

21. There shall be a public examination once in every half year of all the children in every school, and the examiners shall be the Bishop or his commissary, the Visitor and the Inspector, or some persons appointed separately by each of them. The child who shall pass the best examination and shall be recommended by the Master or Mistress for general good conduct shall be entitled to
receive instruction for one year free of all charge at the
cost of the Government.

22. There shall be a voluntary public examination
once in every year at such time and place and by such
examiners as His Honor the Superintendent shall appoint,
of any boys who shall have received regular instruction
in any district schools of the Province, for one year
and upwards, and who shall present a certificate from their
masters of good conduct during the past year. And a boy
who shall then pass the best examination shall be entitled
to receive instruction for two years as a day scholar in
the Grammar School in Lyttelton or Christchurch, free
of all charge at the expense of the Government.
APPENDIX F

THE EDUCATION BILL, 1855

(The complete Bill is not presented below; only
the more important clauses are given in full, the
contents of the others being only indicated).

A Bill to Provide for the Education of Youth
Within the Province of Canterbury, New Zealand.

Preamble

Whereas an Ordinance was passed by the
Lieutenant-Governor and Legislative Council
of New Zealand entitled "The Ordinance for
Promoting the Education of Youth in the
Colony of New Zealand, Session VIII, No 10," and whereas it is expedient that the said Ordinance be repealed and that other provision should be made in that part of New Zealand within the Province of Canterbury.

Be it therefore enacted by the Superintendant of the said Province with the advice and consent of the Provincial Council thereof as follows.

---

1Source: Canterbury Provincial Council--Papers Laid on the Table, No 269 (Box 4).
1. Repealing the present Ordinance

From and after the passing of this Ordinance the said recited Ordinance so far as it refers to the Province of Canterbury shall be, and the same is hereby repealed.

2. To be a Board of Education

There shall be within the said Province, a Public Board to be called "The Board of Education for the Province of Canterbury," which shall consist of a certain number of Ex-Officio members and of six elected members as hereinafter provided.

3. Who to be the Ex-Officio Members

The following officers or persons for the time being lawfully acting in the several capacities hereinafter mentioned, shall be the "Ex-Officio Members" of the Board of Education, that is to say: The President and Vice-President of the Board appointed as hereinafter provided, every Judge of the Supreme Court residing in the Province, the Provincial Secretary, the Provincial Treasurer, the Provincial Solicitors, every member of the Executive Council of the Province, the Speaker of the Provincial Council, the Collector of Customs, the
Commissioner of Crown Lands, the Registrar of Deeds, the Keeper of the Public Records, every Resident Magistrate, every Deputy Registrar of Births and Deaths and Registrar of Marriages, every Chairman of a town council or other chief civic officer in any town possessing a municipal corporation, every Inspector of Schools appointed as hereinafter provided, every Head Master of every Upper or Grammar School, established or maintained or receiving aid under the provision of this Ordinance, and every officiating minister of Religion within the meaning of an Act of the General Assembly entitled "The Marriage Act, 1852."

The six elected members shall be elected from time to time, at Special Meetings of the Board to be called for that purpose, by a majority of the votes of those present at any such meeting, and such members shall be elected out of the inhabitants of the Province most distinguished for sound learning and shall hold office five years from the day of their election severally; and the first six
elected members shall be elected at the first meeting of the Board and before the transaction of any other business thereat.

5. How vacancies may occur.

6. How vacancies may be filled.

7. The Board of Education to be a Corporation.

8. The Board shall have power to hold property on trust for the purposes of education.

9. Duties and it shall be the duty of the Board of Education and it is hereby empowered, to provide for the establishment, maintenance and endowment of schools; and for the building of school rooms; and for the general regulation of all such schools and for the appointment of fit and competent persons to be school-masters and school-mistresses therein; and for granting such aid as the Board shall think fit towards the maintenance and support of any schools established or which may be hereafter established, otherwise than under the provisions of this Ordinance, by any person or persons, or by any religious or other body; and for the
founding and maintenance of public libraries and reading rooms; and for the conduct and management of all the property of the Board; and for the regulation of all meetings of the Board . . .


11. Provision for Ordinary and Special Meetings.

12. Provision for Chairman.

13. Secular Committee

There shall be a Committee of the Board to be called the Secular Committee, which will consist of the President; the Vice-President; the Inspectors of Schools; the Head Masters of Higher or Grammar Schools, being members of the Board, all the elected members of the Board.

14. Provision for Chairman of the Secular Committee.

15. Secular Committee; its role

The Secular Committee shall have the entire and exclusive control in all matters relating to the Course of secular instruction pursued in all the schools established by the Board, and shall select and approve of all the books used for the purposes of such instruction.
16. Denominational Committee
For every religious denomination there shall be a Committee consisting of the officiating ministers of such denominations being members of the Board; and such Committee shall be called the Denominational Committee.

17. The Denominational Committee to have control of religious instruction
The Denominational Committee for each religious Body will have the entire and exclusive control over the course of religious instruction to be pursued in all schools established by the Board, so far as regards the children of Parents belonging to such religious body, and shall select and approve of all the books used for the purpose of such instruction.

18. Committees to keep minutes of proceedings.

19. The Board may rescind conflicting minutes of committees.

20. The Board may not otherwise than in Clause 19, interfere with minutes of Committees.

21. Officers of the Board
There shall be the following officers of the Board. A President who shall be the Superintendent of the Province for the time being; a Vice-President; a Secretary; a Treasurer; and so many Inspectors of Schools as the Board shall think fit, and such
officers except the President shall be elected at special meetings of the Board to be called for that purpose, by a majority of the votes of those present at such meeting, and shall hold their respective offices at the pleasure of the Board.

22. Duties of Secretary.

23. Duties of Treasurer.

24. Money paid to the Treasurer to be the property of the Board.

25. Provincial Auditor to audit all accounts of the Board.

26. Treasurer to make annual balance sheet.

27. Treasury to give security.

28. Auditor to have free access to all papers and accounts.

29. Inspectors of schools to visit and inspect schools, and to make annual reports.

30. All papers are to be open to inspection.

31. Title This Ordinance shall be entitled and may be cited as "The Education Ordinance, Session IV, No."
APPENDIX G

RESOLUTIONS ON EDUCATION
INTRODUCED INTO THE
PROVINCIAL COUNCIL
1857

I. THE GOVERNMENT RESOLUTIONS

1. That a sum not exceeding £2,500 should be expended annually, out of the general revenues of the Province for the next five years, in promotion of Education throughout the Province of Canterbury.

2. That an Inspector of Schools should be appointed by the Superintendent with the assent of the heads of the Religious Bodies, whose whole time should be employed in visiting the schools receiving Government aid; and that he should receive a fixed salary of £300 a year.

3. That as a general rule, the sum granted to any school should equal the sum raised by school fees or other contributions in the district. And that the sum should never be less than £50 in the case of a boys' school, and £30 in the case of a girls', infants' or Dame School.

1Source: EG-M, 4 April 1857.
4. Except that in any district in which there were less than 30 children capable of attending the school, a supplementary grant in addition to that above mentioned might be made upon the recommendation of the Inspector.

5. The Religious teaching in any school shall be ordered by the head of the religious body by which the local contributions are raised and where such contributions shall be raised by several religious bodies there shall be no religious teaching in such school; but in such case several times shall be set apart by the Inspector at which the children of each denomination shall attend at their usual place of worship, or other place appointed by their minister, to receive religious instruction from such minister, or from some persons whom he shall appoint for that purpose.

6. If any balance shall remain out of the sum of £2,500 aforesaid over and above that expended in grants under these resolutions, such balance may be expended by the Government in buildings, school furniture or books, upon the recommendation of the Inspector.
II. CHARLES BOWEN'S RESOLUTIONS

1. That a sum not exceeding £--- should be expended annually out of the General Revenues of the Province, for the next five years, in promotion of education throughout the Province of Canterbury.

2. That £--- of the above amount be divided proportionally according to the number of children under fifteen years of age of the various Christian denominations in the Province, according to the census returns.

3. That the Government do, in conjunction with the heads of each religious body, apportion its share of the above grant to the different districts, according to their necessities.

4. That, for the sake of convenience, the boundaries of the school districts be the same as those adopted by the Church of England in the division of parishes.

5. That the school teachers be appointed and their stipends fixed by the heads of religious bodies, subject to the approval of the Government.

6. That a school fee be paid weekly for each child, according to the following rates, viz - 1/- for one, 6d for two, 3d for a third and for every other child of one

---

2Source: Lyttelton Times, 13 May 1857, p.5. Charles Bowen should not be confused with his son, C. C. Bowen.
family. Half of the above sum to be paid in the case of infant or dame schools.

7. That an Inspector of Schools should be appointed by the Superintendent, with the assent of the heads of the various religious bodies, whose whole time should be employed in visiting the schools receiving Government aid, and that he should receive a fixed salary of £300 a year.

8. That the rules, regulations and system of secular instruction to be adopted in the several schools be fixed by the Inspector, together with the heads of the respective religious bodies; with an appeal, in case of difference, to the Superintendent and Executive Council. The heads of religious bodies to have sole control over the religious instruction.

9. That, in case of any religious body, in any parish or district, not thinking it advisable to avail themselves of their grant, it may be in the power of the Government to reapportion such grant for the current year amongst any other schools in such parish.

10. That such portions of the above grants as may be thought necessary may, with the consent of the Government, be expended in the rents for or building of schools, and the purchase of furniture, books etc.
III. THE CLERGY'S RESOLUTIONS

1. That every school receiving government aid should be placed under the entire management of one of the acting heads of such Christian bodies as are at present, or may from time to time be organized in this province; and that such heads shall have the appointment of the teachers, and the entire control of all the instruction carried on in the schools, both religious and secular.

2. That if the parents of any child attending any such school shall wish it, such children shall not be required to attend at such times as are peculiarly set apart for instruction in the doctrines of religion.

3. That the school fees shall be the same in all schools of a similar class receiving Government aid, on a scale to be fixed by the Superintendent and Executive Council in consultation with the heads of the several religious denominations above mentioned.

4. That £1,700 be granted annually to the Church of England; £250 to the Wesleyan and £250 to the Presbyterian bodies, respectively; and that in order to secure the assistance of competent masters, the above grant be made for five years.

5. That there be an Inspector of Schools, to be

---

3 Source: Ibid., 23 May 1857, pp. 6-7.
appointed by the Superintendent with the assent of the Bishop of Christchurch and of a majority of the acting heads of the different religious denominations which have schools in the Province; that such Inspector have power only to inspect and examine the schools and to report thereon to the Government, but not to interfere in the management of the schools, and that all reports should be published in the Government Gazette; that the salary of the Inspector should be £300 a year, and that his whole time should be employed in inspecting schools receiving Government aid.

IV. MR. HALL'S RESOLUTIONS

1. The schoolmasters to be appointed to schools assisted by such grant shall be subject, on their appointment, to approval by the Government inspector.

2. The secular instruction given in such schools shall be such as shall be satisfactory to such Inspector. Upon the report of the Inspector that the secular instruction is not satisfactory the Superintendent and

---

4 Source: Ibid., 30 May 1857, pp.6-7. These resolutions were brought forward by Hall, to be placed between the fourth and fifth resolutions of the clergy above.

5 This amendment was lost, 10 votes to 4.
Executive Council may withhold such portions of the grant applicable to such school for such period as they shall deem fit. 6

3. The religious instruction shall in no way be subject to interference of such Inspector. 7

4. Detailed accounts shall be furnished annually to the Superintendent by the head of each religious denomination of the expenditure of the grant received by it. Such accounts shall be laid before the Provincial Council. 8

---

6 This resolution was carried after its first sentence had been withdrawn.
7 Carried.
8 Carried.
APPENDIX H

THE EDUCATION ORDINANCE
1857¹

Whereas it is expedient to make better provision for the establishment and maintenance of schools in Canterbury, be it therefore enacted by the Superintendent of the said Province, with the advice and consent of the Provincial Council, as follows:

1. Out of the public revenues of the said Province there shall be paid every year during the five years ending 31st March, 1862, the sum of £2,500 sterling to the several persons and in the several portions undermentioned respectively; that is to say -

To the Bishop of Christchurch, or others, the acting head of the Church of England within the said Province, £1,700.
To the Principal Minister or other acting Head of the Wesleyan body within the said Province, £250.
To the Principal Minister or others, the acting head of the Presbyterian body within the said Province, £250.

¹Canterbury Provincial Ordinances, Session VIII, No 10, 1857.
2. The Provincial Treasurer shall pay such sums to the persons hereinbefore named, in such portions and at such times as the Superintendent shall by any warrants under his hand, from time to time direct; and shall be allowed to credit in his accounts for all such sums so paid; and the receipt of the persons above named or any other persons lawfully authorized to receive such money in their behalf respectively, shall be a full discharge to the Provincial Treasurer for the sum or sums for which such receipts shall be given.

3. The sums hereby granted shall be expended by the Heads of the religious bodies above named in the establishment, maintenance and support of schools in the Province of Canterbury.

4. Every school which shall be wholly or in part maintained out of the sums hereby granted shall be placed under the entire management of one of the Heads of the Christian bodies hereinbefore named, and such heads shall have the appointment and removal of the teachers and the entire control over all the instruction, both religious and secular in any school so placed under his management.

5. If the parent of any child attending any such school shall wish it, such a child shall not be instructed to attend at such times as are peculiarly set apart for the
instruction of the doctrines of religion.

6. The School fees shall be the same in all schools of a similar class receiving aid out of the funds hereby granted, and such fees shall be on a scale to be fixed by the Superintendent and the Executive Council, in consultation with the Heads of the Several Religious Bodies abovementioned.

7. There shall be an inspector of schools who shall be appointed and who shall be removable by the Superintendent, and with the advice of the Executive Council, provided that such appointment shall be made with the assent of the Bishop of Christchurch and not less than half the other acting heads of the different religious denominations receiving aid in support of schools out of the grant hereby made.

8. Such inspectors shall have power to inspect and examine all schools wholly or in part maintained out of the grant hereby made, and shall require the managers and teachers of any such schools to furnish full information as to the course of particular instruction carried on therein, and as to the attendance of the children, and as to the school fees received, and the expenditure of any part of the sum hereby granted in support of such schools, and shall report thereon to the Government: Provided that the
Inspector shall not examine or report upon the religious instruction carried on in any such school.

9. If the Superintendent and Executive Council shall be satisfied upon the report of the Inspector that the secular instruction carried on in any such school is not satisfactory, or that the managers or teachers of any such school have refused or neglected to afford such information as the inspector is hereby authorized to enquire, or to afford proper facilities for the examination and inspection of such schools, it shall be lawful of the Superintendent with the advice of the Executive, to prohibit the application of any portion of the sums hereby granted to such schools for so long as he shall think fit.

10. Detailed accounts shall be furnished annually to the Superintendent by the Head of each Religious Denomination of the expenditure of the grant received by it. Such accounts together with the report furnished by the Inspector, shall be laid before the Provincial Council.

11. This Ordinance shall be entitled and may be cited as the Education Ordinance, Session VIII, No 10.
APPENDIX I

ADDRESS OF THE SUPERINTENDENT ON OPENING
SESSION I OF THE PROVINCIAL
COUNCIL

... The next subject to which I shall invite your attention, is the education of the people; I use the word in its largest sense, as comprehending the instruction of all classes, rich and poor; of all ages, old and young; in all matters, religious as well as secular. You are well aware, Gentlemen, that this subject is one which, in our old country, is encumbered with greater difficulties than almost any other with which Legislators have to deal; but we must recollect that those difficulties arise from circumstances which have no existence here; they are occasioned in England, by the necessity and by the endeavour to accommodate institutions founded upon the principles, the sentiments, and the traditions of former ages, to the condition and circumstances of the present time.

It is your fortunate lot, Gentlemen, to enter upon

---

1Source: PC-P, pp.10-14, Session I, 27 September 1853. Only the relevant sections are included.
this question unencumbered by such a conflict between the ideas of the past and the necessities of the future. Whatever you recognize as theoretically right, it is in your power to carry into action.

Now the question of education presents us two problems, upon which it is desirable that we should entertain distinct and consistent views; and if possible, establish them as rules to be adhered to in all our future legislation. First, what is the relation in which the State in its corporate capacity, is to stand towards the various religious Bodies existing within it? And secondly, in what manner and to what extent ought the State to interfere in the education of the young?

With regard to the first of these points, whatever our individual predilections on the subject may be, however much we may wish that circumstances would admit of a different solution, I know not how we can accommodate to our existing political and social circumstances any other opinion than this, - that the State should stand in an attitude of absolute indifference to all religious communities; that we should regard the state as an organization of society for the purpose of regulating the intercourse between individuals in matters relating to this world; and religious communities as co-existent, but wholly
independent organizations of the same society, for the purpose of ordering the conduct and promoting the well-being of their several members in matters relating to another world. And the one only exception to this rule is, that the State being subject to the common law of self-preservation, is necessitated and bound to oppose, and even to expel those whose religious opinions involve the destruction of the State itself.

Gentlemen, I entertain no fear that this doctrine will produce irreligion amongst a people by whom it is distinctly understood and consistently acted on; for I am persuaded that if the State performs its duties in the affairs of this world the Church of God will fulfil its mission in the affairs of the next. I am persuaded that those who, as Members of the State, "render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's," will not fail, as members of a Church, to render unto God the things that are God's.

It does not however follow from the rule which I have endeavoured to lay down, and from which I trust the Government of this Colony will never depart, it does not follow that the State may not be called upon to legislate in reference to religious Bodies. The assistance of the Legislature may frequently be required to enable religious communities to manage their own affairs, which, under the
existing state of the Law, they may be unable to do without such assistance. 2

I do not apprehend, Gentlemen, that these Bills will be considered to violate the principles which I have expressed; on the contrary, should any other religious body claim the assistance which is asked by the Church of England, they ought in justice to receive it at your hands.

The State, you will observe by these Acts, does not convert property to the use of the Church, nor does it even assert the desirability of such conversion. We have nothing now to do with how this property came into the possession of the Association; it may suffice us that, when we came into existence, we found it there. The only principle which is asserted in the two Bills to which your assent will probably be asked is, that it is expedient that the property in question should be placed in trust, and should be managed within the Settlement, and subject to the control of those to whose benefit it is dedicated, rather than that it should continue to be vested in a Corporation existing in England.

2 There follows a discussion on the need for legislation concerning the Church Property Trust and the Incorporation of Christ's College.
I come now to the second question - In what manner, and to what extent, does it become the State to interfere in the education of youth.

The obligation of the State to provide such education is recognized by almost every Statesman in every civilized country at the present day, and it is acted on with more or less completeness and consistency by every European Government. But if the necessity which has compelled the recognition of this principle has been so urgent in those communities where the appliances of refined civilization and a complete organization of society afford such extensive facilities for education through private means, and where the concentration of population places such vast numbers within reach of schools so established, how tenfold more urgent must that necessity be where, as is the case with us, the mass of the population are engaged in the arduous struggle to extort from a wild country the first necessaries of life, and to call around them in the midst of a desert the comforts of a home; - in a country where the great demands upon the energies of all to provide for the material prosperity of the present tends to obliterates the sense of the obligation to provide for the moral prosperity of those who are to come - where the inevitable dispersion of society renders
all individual or unorganized efforts at education utterly fruitless.

Gentlemen, I know of no duty so incumbent upon a nation, as that of transmitting to posterity, unimpaired, if not improved, that moral and intellectual condition, which, under the providence of God, it has inherited from the past. I know of no duty, the neglect of which bears with it so immediately, or so fearfully, its own punishment in the degradation of the national character, the increase of crime, and the diminution of all the sources of human happiness. And yet, it is indisputable that a very small portion of the youth of this province are enjoying the benefits of intellectual instruction or of moral discipline similar to that which their fathers received in England, still less similar to that which they might have themselves received had they remained in the land of their birth; and, unless some universal, some very earnest and self-denying effort be made to avert the danger, I am at a loss to conceive how we can anticipate other than a deterioration in the character of the inhabitants, which it is bitterly painful to all right-minded men to contemplate, and keenly wounding to all honest national pride to submit to.

But the great necessity for some general scheme of
education is still more strongly forced upon the mind when we consider the peculiar character of this population and watch the direction in which it is advancing.

Speculating on the social condition of this Province some few years hence, it must be apparent to all, that in the course of a few years, a very powerful body will have arisen in this country, whom we should in England call peasant proprietors—small farmers of their own lands; a class which, I believe, contributes the best and firmest basis upon which the superstructure of society can be erected. This class will be composed of those who were once Labourers in England; and you will see them rapidly growing up around you in wealth and political importance, a powerful and sturdy phalanx, whilst, unless some remedy be applied, they will, with equal rapidity, degenerate in intelligence and information.

There is something to my mind awful in the prospect of the great mass of a community rapidly increasing in wealth and power, without that moral refinement which fits them to enjoy one, or that intellectual cultivation which enables them to use the other.

Gentlemen, I am deeply impressed with the necessity of averting evils, which I foresee are otherwise inevitable, by the introduction into the Province of a general system
of education on a scale commensurate with the wants of the Province, but when I enquire into the means of accomplishing this great end, I am met at once by the conviction that there are no funds whatsoever at our command which can be applied to such a purpose. The Church of England, indeed, possesses an endowment for educational purposes, which has hitherto provided means for the support of the schools at Lyttelton and Christchurch, which were founded immediately after the landing of the first Colonists.

That endowment has already placed this Settlement in a position of Superiority to any Colonial community of the same age and magnitude, but it is obvious to all that it is wholly insufficient to meet all the wants of the Settlement.

If, therefore, we resolve to possess the blessings of a really national education, we must ourselves provide means, by raising a rate or tax on the inhabitants of the Province.

It would be premature if I were now to enter upon the details of the measure which I desire to propose; If you consent to the principle of providing a state education, and if you admit the necessity for raising money by taxation for the purpose, we should not be long in agreeing
upon the details of some plan for collecting the requisite annual amount, and of distributing the burden fairly amongst all.

But upon the mode of expending the education fund, when raised, I shall say a few words.

Keeping in view the principles with which I started, I should steadily avow that the State is not bound to educate its subjects in matters of religion. That is the proper business of the Church, or of the religious bodies to which the children happen to belong. The business of the State is to educate in matters secular, and in them alone. But this doctrine is quite consistent with the admitted necessity of uniting secular and religious instruction in the education of youth.

The education fund of the Province should therefore be used in all instances to supply the secular instruction to schools set on foot by some religious Body, guaranteeing that religious instruction shall be given to the children attending it. For example, if the Church of England offers to provide religious teaching for a school at Riccarton, and guarantees an annual sum of money for that purpose, a grant would issue from the education fund of the Province to provide secular instruction for that school in proportion to the numbers attending it.
. Upon this principle, of the most perfect fairness to all religious sects, the State education fund should be expended.

If the great mass of the people would consent to such a plan as this, and without that consent cheerfully given, from a deep sense of its necessity, it is idle to imagine it would succeed, I should not hesitate to lay a Bill on your table for carrying it immediately into effect. If I gain assent, I contemplate not only day schools with really efficient Masters, at each centre of population, but the establishment of a good agricultural boarding school, where the children of the working class may receive such an education as shall fit them for the higher and more influential position which every sober, honest and industrious man is certain to attain in this Colony, and I think such a school might be made self-supporting.

Gentlemen, if such an educational scheme as that which I have proposed is to be worth anything, it must be set on foot with no niggard hand; you must have well educated, and therefore well paid Masters. If the education which the State is to give is to have the effect of moulding the character and exalting the tastes of the population, the Ministers of that education, your school Teachers,
must be honoured and respected in their generation; and if the College which is about to be set on foot by the Canterbury Association, and which you will be asked to incorporate by charter, is to be a reality, and not a paper scheme, it is to that institution I should look to provide a supply of such Instructors. If the Masters in the parochial schools are well paid, depend upon it, young men will gladly take advantage of the College to qualify themselves for such situations . . .

Gentlemen, I am not imagining that all this will be done in a day, all I ask now, is that this Province should commit itself to a principle - a principle of such vast importance, that upon your verdict will in my mind rest the destinies of this country for many generations. Nor in such a system should we neglect the Native population; small as it is in this Province, we shall be bound to provide some means to enable the Natives to share the advantages which the European population would in such case enjoy. . . .
APPENDIX J

ACCOUNT OF PURCHASES MADE BY THE
REV. THOMAS JACKSON

Revd. Thos. Jackson, D.D. Depository,
Sanctuary.
Westminster,
Sept 24th, 1850.

INCORPORATED NATIONAL SOCIETY
for
Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of
The Established Church
Instituted 1811

1 pair of 15in. Globes, low stand, stained wood £4.15.0
1 Compass for Do. 3.9
6 Geographical Slates with Key 6d 1/6 9.0
2 framed Hemisphere slates 6d 1/3 2.6
1 Black board 30 by 42 plain 5.6
1 Do, ruled both sides 8.3
1 Double easel 8.0
1 Map of the World 18.0
1 Map of Europe 9/-, Asia 9/-, Africa 9/- 1.7.0
1 Map of America 9/-, Palestine 9/- 18.0
1 Map of the British Isles, with names 13.6
1 Map of the Do, without names 12.0
2 Diagrams steam engine £4/6 9.0
Section of Steam engine 9.0
1 comparative sizes of animals 10.0
3 Illustrations of Natural Philosophy 7/6 1.2.6
1 Perforated Hemisphere with stand and Key 10.6
Set of Mechanical Powers superior 2.12.0
6 Prints, Forest Trees, 2 of ea. 6d 1/6 9.0
1 Model Geographical Terms 9.0
6 Maps Br. Geo on rollers 6d 1/1 6.9
2 Pestalozzian Boards - £1/2/0, £1/7/0 2.9.0
Packing cases 16.0
£21.3.3

APPENDIX K

MEMBERS OF CANTERBURY PROVINCIAL COUNCIL

1853-57

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Electorate</th>
<th>From</th>
<th>To</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AYLMER, Rev. William</td>
<td>Akaroa</td>
<td>27 Sep 53-</td>
<td>Nov 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BARKER, Alfred C.</td>
<td>City of ChCh</td>
<td>8 Mar 55-14 Jul 57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEALEY, Samuel</td>
<td>City of ChCh</td>
<td>27 Sep 53-14 Jul 57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEALEY, John</td>
<td>ChCh Country</td>
<td>8 Mar 55-14 Jul 57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BLAKISTON, Charles R.</td>
<td>Lyttelton</td>
<td>13 Mar 55-14 Jul 57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOWEN, Charles</td>
<td>ChCh Country</td>
<td>27 Sep 53-14 Jul 57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BRAY, William B.</td>
<td>ChCh Country</td>
<td>8 Mar 55-14 Jul 57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BRITTAN, Joseph</td>
<td>City of ChCh</td>
<td>8 Mar 55-14 Jul 57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CASS, Thomas</td>
<td>City of ChCh</td>
<td>27 Sep 53-14 Jul 57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COOKSON, Isaac T.</td>
<td>Lyttelton</td>
<td>27 Sep 53-14 Jul 57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAMPIER, Christopher</td>
<td>Lyttelton</td>
<td>27 Sep 53-14 Jul 57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAVIS, Rowland</td>
<td>Akaroa</td>
<td>2 Jan 56-14 Jul 57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DONALD, William</td>
<td>Lyttelton</td>
<td>13 Mar 55-14 Jul 57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOOKS, Charles B.</td>
<td>City of ChCh</td>
<td>8 Mar 55-14 Jul 57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HALL, John</td>
<td>ChCh Country</td>
<td>27 Sep 53-14 Jul 57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### APPENDIX K (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Electorate</th>
<th>From</th>
<th>To</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HAMILTON, William J.W.</td>
<td>Lyttelton</td>
<td>27 Sep 53-14 Jul 57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOORE, Thomas R.</td>
<td>ChCh Country</td>
<td>28 Sep 55-14 Jul 57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOOREHOUS, William S.</td>
<td>Akaroa</td>
<td>16 Mar 55-14 Jul 57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MORGAN, William</td>
<td>Lyttelton</td>
<td>28 Jul 56-14 Jul 57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OLLIVIER, John</td>
<td>ChCh Country</td>
<td>8 Mar 55-14 Jul 57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PACKER, Richard</td>
<td>City of ChCh</td>
<td>27 Sep 53- Apr 56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>29 May 56- Jan 57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3 Mar 57-14 Jul 57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RHODES, Robert Heaton</td>
<td>Akaroa</td>
<td>27 Sep 53-14 Jul 57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEWELL, Henry</td>
<td>Lyttelton</td>
<td>13 Mar 55- Jun 56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIMEON, Charles</td>
<td>ChCh Country</td>
<td>27 Sep 53- Aug 55</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TANCRED, Henry John</td>
<td>ChCh Country</td>
<td>27 Sep 53- Jul 55</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>25 Aug 55-14 Jul 57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THOMPSON, William</td>
<td>ChCh Country</td>
<td>8 Mar 55-14 Jul 57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WARD, Crosbie</td>
<td>Akaroa</td>
<td>16 Mar 55-14 Jul 57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WESTENRA, Richard</td>
<td>City of ChCh</td>
<td>8 Mar 55-14 Jul 57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

APPENDIX L

MEMBERS OF THE CANTERBURY EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, 1853-1857

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Appointed</th>
<th>Resigned</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BEALEY, Samuel</td>
<td>23 Oct 54</td>
<td>12 May 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BRITTAN, Joseph</td>
<td>12 May 55</td>
<td>27 Jul 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOWEN, Charles</td>
<td>27 Jul 55</td>
<td>12 Feb 57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CASS, Thomas</td>
<td>15 Jul 57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOULAND, Harry Godfrey</td>
<td>24 Mar 54</td>
<td>13 Oct 54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23 Oct 54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GRESSON, Henry Barnes</td>
<td>23 Oct 54</td>
<td>12 May 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12 May 55</td>
<td>8 Dec 57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HALL, John</td>
<td>23 Oct 54</td>
<td>12 May 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAMILTON, William J. W.</td>
<td>27 Sep 53</td>
<td>13 Oct 54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>27 Jul 55</td>
<td>13 Jun 57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HARMAN, Richard James</td>
<td>29 Jun 57</td>
<td>8 Dec 57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PACKER, Richard</td>
<td>12 May 55</td>
<td>27 Jul 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12 Feb 57</td>
<td>8 Dec 57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIMSON, Charles</td>
<td>27 Sep 53</td>
<td>13 Oct 54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TANGRED, Henry John</td>
<td>27 Sep 53</td>
<td>13 Oct 54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>27 Jul 55</td>
<td>12 Feb 57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

^1 Source: New Zealand Parliamentary Record. (Wellington: W.A.G. Skinner, Government Printer, 1925.)
APPENDIX M

PROVINCIAL SECRETARIES IN CANTERBURY
1854 - 1857

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Appointed</th>
<th>Resigned</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Puckle, Rev. E.)²</td>
<td>1 Sep 1853</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gouland, H.G.</td>
<td>1 Apr 1854</td>
<td>7 Feb 1855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hall, J.³</td>
<td>7 Feb 1855</td>
<td>12 May 1855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brittan, J.</td>
<td>7 Aug 1855</td>
<td>12 Feb 1857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Packer, R.</td>
<td>12 Feb 1857</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹Source: Provincial Gazette

²FitzGerald at first carried on his own correspondence without having an official Secretary, being assisted by the Rev. Edward Puckle, Clerk to the Executive Council and Private Secretary to the Superintendent.

³Hall was the first political appointee to the position.
APPENDIX N

CANTERBURY PROVINCIAL COUNCIL

DATES OF SESSIONS I - VIII

1853 - 1857

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Session</th>
<th>Opened</th>
<th>Closed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>27 Sep 1853</td>
<td>24 Nov 1853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>15 Feb 1854</td>
<td>12 Apr 1854</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>10 Oct 1854</td>
<td>14 Feb 1855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth</td>
<td>11 Apr 1855</td>
<td>10 Jul 1855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifth</td>
<td>9 Oct 1855</td>
<td>23 Oct 1855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sixth</td>
<td>28 Feb 1856</td>
<td>23 May 1856</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seventh</td>
<td>16 Oct 1856</td>
<td>26 Nov 1856</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eighth</td>
<td>2 Apr 1857</td>
<td>30 Jun 1857</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1Source: New Zealand Parliamentary Record.
APPENDIX U

THE ORIGINAL SCHEME FOR THE
CHRISTCHURCH COLLEGE AND
GRAMMAR SCHOOL

SCHEME FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A COLLEGE IN OR
NEAR THE CAPITAL CITY OF THE SETTLEMENT OF
CANTERBURY, NEW ZEALAND, AND TO BE CALLED THE
CHRIST-CHURCH COLLEGE

It is proposed that this College shall consist
of two Departments - One for boys of all ages, from seven
to seventeen; and one for young men above the age of
seventeen.

I. PUBLIC SCHOOL DEPARTMENT

1. The Lower Department will be established on
the plan of the great Grammar Schools of England, both as
to instruction and discipline. It will be designed to
provide an efficient course of Education for youth,
comprising Religious and Moral Instruction, in strict
conformity with the Doctrine and Discipline of the
Established Church of England; the Greek, Latin and
Modern Languages and Literature; Mathematics; English

1Flower et. al., The School List of Christ's
College from 1850 to 1935.
History; Physical, Descriptive and Political Geography; and such other branches of knowledge and such accomplishments, as it may be practicable and advantageous to introduce.

2. Every boy will be expected to learn the French language.

3. Simple lectures will be delivered, from time to time, on the elements of Botany, Chemistry, and Natural Philosophy; and the older boys will be encouraged to learn to experiment for themselves in the Laboratory, and to construct such simple apparatus as may enable them to pursue their researches when deprived of the use of scientific instruments.

4. The foundation of Scholarships, as rewards to successful talent and industry in the Public School Department, and to be held in the Collegiate Department, is contemplated as necessary to the success of both institutions. Also, courses or Exhibitions to the lower school may be founded. It is intended that these shall be perpetually called by the names of the Founders . . .

5. Two Examinations, partly written and partly oral, shall be held each year.

6. Model, Landscape and Figure Drawing, etc. etc. and Vocal Music, especially that which will enable them
to take part in public worship, will be taught to all the scholars.

II. COLLEGIATE, OR UPPER DEPARTMENT

It is intended that -

1. This department shall comprise four divisions: -

   Theological;
   Classical;
   Mathematical, and of Civil Engineering;
   Agricultural.

2. The Theological Division will be confined (with the exception of a few general lectures) to the Candidates for Holy Orders, who will be expected to attain to the standard of theological knowledge required by the English Bishops, before presenting themselves for examination for orders. They will also be expected to teach at least one hour in every day in the central primary schools of the City.

3. The Classical Division will, as a general rule, include all the students.

4. In the Civil Engineering Division, it is hoped to give an elementary course of instruction in Physics and Industrial Mechanics, especially such as are applicable to the wants and capabilities of a new country.
The practical application of the mechanical powers, the strength of materials . . .

5. In a country which derives its main wealth from agricultural produce, it will be obviously desirable to introduce an agricultural element in any scheme of higher public instruction. It is not intended that such a course should be compulsory; but the Visitor will not rest satisfied until these Gentlemen, members of the College, who do not intend to enter any of the learned professions, shall have had the opportunity of varying their studies in language and abstract science, by watching the processes of practical agriculture adapted to the climate and soil of the Canterbury Settlement; learning at least, the elements of farriery, of agricultural chemistry (including rotation of crops, grafting, budding etc.) of the botany of New Zealand; of aiding with their own hands in tending cattle, and in working a small farm of arable land; and also of studying such elements of medicine and surgery as will enable them to act in cases of emergency.

6. It is proposed that an ample supply of apparatus should be provided for both Departments, and that the buildings should be arranged and fitted up according to the best examples of England and on the Continent of Europe. It
is expected that all boys in the Lower Department will wear a simple and uniform costume. Caps and gowns will be worn by the students in the Upper Department.

7. Donations of apparatus etc. solicited.

8. All the persons connected with the College will assemble for Divine Worship in the Chapel twice a day.

9. Day scholars as well as boarders will be admitted in both Departments.

The best practical security for the College's satisfactory establishment and working, especially as regards the religious instruction and the general discipline, should be looked for in the constitution of the governing body to whom its administration is to be confided.

Office of the Canterbury Association,

21st May, 1850.
APPENDIX P

CENSUS FIGURES

Within this Appendix are included a number of tables of census figures relating to education in Canterbury between 1851 and 1857. Most of them are derived from printed sources, particularly the Canterbury Provincial Gazette, or General Assembly Publications.

As with all early statistics, considerable care must be taken with their interpretation; especially for the years 1851-54 they cannot be regarded as accurate. The Editor of the official N.Z. Government statistical publication in 1858 indicated that:

The educational tables . . . contain as much information as could be compiled, with any approach to completeness, for the years 1854, 1855 and 1856—the returns not admitting of even so much for 1853. It may be hoped that more full and accurate returns will admit of classifications in future statistics as to Sex and Age, which are omitted here, not from any disregard of their importance in connection with the subject of education but simply because the available materials did not suffice for their preparations. . . .

Nevertheless, the statistics available, although incomplete and rather inaccurate, do give something of a quantitative picture of the period, and are to that extent valuable.

-------------

### TABLE VIII

**EUROPEAN POPULATION OF THE CANTERBURY BLOCK EXCLUDING AKAROA AND PIGEON BAY\textsuperscript{a}**

**NOVEMBER 1851**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(1) \textsuperscript{b}</th>
<th>(2)</th>
<th>(3)</th>
<th>(4)</th>
<th>(5)</th>
<th>(6)</th>
<th>(7)</th>
<th><strong>Total</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>444</td>
<td>446</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>1047</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>625</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 15: Male</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>612</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>532</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>1349</td>
<td>1189</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>2816</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{a}This table has been adapted from Hight and Straubel, *History of Canterbury*, Vol 1, p.246-47.

\textsuperscript{b}The districts represented by the columns marked (1) to (7) are:

(1) The west side of Bank’s Peninsula and south side of Governor’s Bay including Little River.
(2) Port Levy.
(3) North side of Lyttelton Harbour to the westward of Lyttelton.
(4) Town and neighbourhood of Lyttelton including Sumner.
(5) Town and neighbourhood of Christchurch, including the farms along the Heathcote.
(6) Stations between the Rivers Waimakariri and Rakaia.
(7) Cattle stations beyond the Waimakariri to the limits of the Canterbury Block.
TABLE IX

CHILDREN OF SCHOOL AGE AND SCHOOL POPULATIONS, GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS,
31 MARCH 1854

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Ages of Children</th>
<th>School Populations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0-5</td>
<td>5-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Day S.S</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town of Christchurch</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avon, Heathcote, Lincoln</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riccarton</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papanui</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lyttelton including suburbs</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sumner, Gollans Bay, Mt.Pleas.10</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governor's Bay</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Levy</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akaroa</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaiapoi, North of Waimak. Pastoral</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>district: Waimak- Rakaia</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rakaia-Rangitata district</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>664</td>
<td>561</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

aSource: Provincial Gazette, 1 July 1854.

bSunday schools.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Ages of Children</th>
<th>School Populations</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0-5</td>
<td>5-10</td>
<td>10-15</td>
<td>Govt</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Day</td>
<td>S.Sb</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>Day</td>
<td>S.Sb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town of Christchurch</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North ChCh District</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South ChCh District</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town of Lyttelton</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lyttelton Country Districts</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaiapoi District</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akaroa District</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Pastoral Districts</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Pastoral District</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Pastoral District</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|                | 1024           | 663              | 519        | 222     | 105        | 132     | 88      | 25      | 27      |         |

*Source: Provincial Gazette, 12 June 1856.*

*Sunday Schools.*
TABLE XI
CHILDREN OF SCHOOL AGE AND SCHOOL POPULATIONS, GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS

31 MARCH 1857a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Districts</th>
<th>Ages of Children</th>
<th>School Populations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0-5</td>
<td>5-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Day S.SbBoth</td>
<td>Day S.SbBoth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christchurch</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lyttelton</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaiapoi and Rangiora</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papanui</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riccarton</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln Road</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avon and Heathcote</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sumner</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akaroa</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Victoriac</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Pastoral District</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Pastoral District</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Pastoral District</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>1211</td>
<td>757</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

aSource: Provincial Gazette, 30 June 1857.
bSunday Schools.
cGovernor's Bay and the west end of the harbour.
### TABLE XII

PERCENTAGE OF THE EUROPEAN POPULATION OF NEW ZEALAND ABLE, OR NOT ABLE, TO READ OR WRITE, 1855 AND 1856<sup>a</sup>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Cannot Read 1855</th>
<th>Cannot Read 1856</th>
<th>Can Read Only 1855</th>
<th>Can Read Only 1856</th>
<th>Can Read &amp; Write 1855</th>
<th>Can Read &amp; Write 1856</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CANTERBURY</td>
<td>27.56</td>
<td>27.02</td>
<td>9.36</td>
<td>10.08</td>
<td>63.08</td>
<td>62.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUCKLAND</td>
<td>34.06</td>
<td>25.68</td>
<td>11.98</td>
<td>14.10</td>
<td>53.96</td>
<td>60.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEW PLYMOUTH</td>
<td>24.00</td>
<td>23.31</td>
<td>13.44</td>
<td>12.26</td>
<td>62.56</td>
<td>64.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WELLINGTON</td>
<td>26.50</td>
<td>26.73</td>
<td>14.47</td>
<td>14.21</td>
<td>59.03</td>
<td>59.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NELSON</td>
<td>26.24</td>
<td>18.54</td>
<td>13.30</td>
<td>14.38</td>
<td>60.46</td>
<td>67.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTAGO</td>
<td>-----&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>26.24</td>
<td>-----&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>14.33</td>
<td>-----&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>59.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVERAGE FOR THE COLONY</td>
<td>24.83</td>
<td></td>
<td>13.55</td>
<td></td>
<td>61.62</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>Source: *Statistics of New Zealand for 1853, 1854, 1855 and 1856, compiled from official records* . . . (Auckland: W.C. Wilson, for the N.Z. Government, 1858), Table 5A.

<sup>b</sup>Returns wanting or defective.
TABLE XIII

RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS IN CANTERBURY

FOR THE YEARS 1851, 1854, 1856 AND 1857

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>1851b</th>
<th>1854c</th>
<th>1856d</th>
<th>1857e</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Church of England</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>3225</td>
<td>3931</td>
<td>4455</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>291</td>
<td>413</td>
<td>573</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wesleyanh</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>457</td>
<td>456</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptistsj</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others k</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

b Source: Hight and Straubel, History of Canterbury, Vol 1, p.248. The figures are for the area within the Canterbury Block.

c Source: Provincial Gazette, 1 July 1854. The area included was from the Rakaia to the Rangitata.

d Source: Ibid., 12 June 1856.

e Source: Ibid., 30 June 1857.

f Includes those who indicated Protestant, and Episcopalian.

g Includes Church of Scotland, Scotch Protestants, and Scotch Independents.

h Includes Methodists.

j Including Independents.

k Including None and No entry made.
TABLE XIV

RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS IN CANTERBURY

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION

1851 AND 1857a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>1851</th>
<th>1857</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Church of England</td>
<td>81.9</td>
<td>71.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian Church</td>
<td>5.25</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wesleyan Church</td>
<td>5.25</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic Church</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

aCompiled from the data in Table XIII, p.431.
TABLE XV

CHILDREN IN CANTERBURY AGED 5-15 YEARS AND
SCHOOL ATTENDANCE, 1851-1857

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Children Attendances</th>
<th>% Attendances of child pop.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nov 1851</th>
<th>600 220</th>
<th>?f</th>
<th>?</th>
<th>37</th>
<th>?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1852d</td>
<td>---f</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>?f</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>c.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1853d</td>
<td>---f</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>?f</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>c.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 Mar 1854</td>
<td>1010</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 Oct 1854</td>
<td>---f</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>c.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855d</td>
<td>---f</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>c.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Jan 1856</td>
<td>1184</td>
<td>354</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>469</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 Mar 1857</td>
<td>1379</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>522</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

aCalculated to the nearest whole number.
bThe figures for school-aged children for 1851 are based upon Table VIII, p.426, and those for 1854, 1856 and 1857 upon census returns (Tables IX, X & XI, p.427-29).
cEstimates for March 1854, 1856 and 1857 from Tables IX, X and XI, pp.427-29: for the other years, from calculations based upon school attendance returns.
dEstimates of children attending school are based upon school attendance returns.
eFigures are based upon returns in FitzGerald's Report on Schools, PC-Sup., Session III, No 2, 10 November 1854.
fNo figures available.