THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

AND

EDUCATION IN CANTERBURY.

1849 – 1918.

Being a Thesis presented for the Degree of Master of Arts and Honours.

1918.

[Signature]

Maurice S. Butteridge.

Code No. .......
"The policy of educating for virtue is profounder than that of punishing for crime"—Alfred Domett.
Not infrequently the vigour of a religious denomination can be fairly accurately assessed by its educational policy and the condition of its schools. In this thesis I have endeavoured to trace the vicissitudes of that policy with regard to the Church of England in Canterbury. Some attempt has been made to show the interaction of other forces such as the growth in the province of a secular outlook on education.

Throughout the whole period the Church held one conviction which was never shaken. The conviction that education is much more than mental gymnastics, that it involves a child's whole being, that it includes the training of his moral and spiritual faculties. The Church was never in doubt that if the future was to be won and the fruits of the present not allowed to wither away through mere inanition, the young must be taught to fill the places vacated by the old.

The dominating influence in the early years of Canterbury was the English tradition. Churchmen looked back instead of forward. In the minds of many it was a basic assumption that the Church must control all education, that the State must support the Church in her divinely appointed task. A just criticism of the Church's policy in those years is not so much that it failed to provide for the needs of the population but that it was not competent to do so. The State was not prepared to
subsidize church schools to the necessary extent. It was the rise of secularism rather than church apathy which prevented the church schools from satisfying the educational needs of the province.

The dual system from 1864 to 1873 weighed more heavily in favour of the state schools as the years passed. Throughout this period the Church clung to the notion that it had a right to state aid for its schools; it claimed it now on the grounds of religious liberty and minority rights. With the decline of the church schools the centre of interest gravitated towards the public schools. The Church changed her method, but not her aim, and sought to work through the state schools. This hope vanished with the 1877 Education Act which gave no clearly defined right of entry into the schools for the clergy.

The nadir was reached in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Individuals sought to stem the tide of increasing secularism by setting up church schools, but they were individual efforts rather than the result of a settled policy.

A history of church education down to 1900 presents rather a depressing picture. Although the Anglican population of Canterbury since 1870 had represented 40% of the people and was twice as large as that of the next largest denomination, the Presbyterians, surprisingly
little had been accomplished apart from Christ's College. The apathy that caused this was the result of several factors. Many Anglicans were no more than nominal members and many again were imbued with the widespread secular and materialistic outlook on life. The public education system was working well, it was free, and few desired to tamper with it or to start schools in opposition to it. The feeling prevailed that it was not worth while trying to start church schools.

The new century brought renewed zeal. The Church had become conscious that something should be done. The setting up of two secondary schools and the formation of the Bible in Schools League with its insistence on definite religious teaching signalised the new attitude. Yet there was still a great apathy among Anglicans as was clearly shown by the failure of the scheme for a Girls' Diocesan High School and the collapse of the League. The latter served, however, to point to the only solution, the re-establishment of church schools which would give tangible expression to the value of religious education. The Diocesan Board of Education, instituted in 1918, inaugurated a new and self reliant attitude towards the problem of education.

This subject could be treated as the biography of men who had an immutable faith in the value of religious education. The chronicle would begin with Dean Jacobs, Henry Sewell, and Bishop Harper; it would
include Archdeacons H.W. Harper and W.C. Harris, and Mr J.E. Marsh; it would end with Bishop Julius, Dean C.W. Carrington and Canon J.R. Wiford.

In covering so long a period it has been necessary to delimit the scope of this Thesis. Down to 1870 the church schools were principal educational force in the community; I have, therefore, devoted the greater part of my study to them. No attempt has been made to write a history of Sunday School activity, nor have I attempted an internal history of the day schools — in Christ's College alone there is more than enough material for a thesis. I have been content to estimate their nature and influence at different periods. The great difficulty has been the diffuse sources of material. Visits to the various parishes which once had church schools were, apart from one or two jubilee publications, quite unproductive as no records have been preserved.

Sincere appreciation is due to Mr L.H. Wilson, the Diocesan Registrar, for the ready access which has been afforded to Synod reports, various letters and other documents, minute books and despatches, as well as the files of the Church Quarterly Paper and the Church News. For the later period considerable assistance has been rendered by oral interviews with many who were closely associated with the educational activity of the day.
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CHAPTER I

THE CANTERBURY ASSOCIATION PLANS

A SYSTEM OF EDUCATION.

A. The Founders of Canterbury and Their Outlook on Education.

Education was the traditional preserve of the Church in England. The Act of Uniformity in 1662 merely codified existing procedure when it 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 as a tutor or a schoolmaster should undertake to conforme to the liturgy of the Church of England.

Education was the patrimony of the Church and of the wealthy, thought the majority of Englishmen in 1840; but there were auguries of change. The 1832 Reform Bill had brought about more democratic political conditions and revealed the future possibility of dangers arising from an ignorant population. It was not surprising that the following year Parliament voted the first annual grant of £20,000 for the

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1 J.W. Adamson, A Short History of Education, P. 188.
erection of schools to supplement funds raised voluntarily. This was developed in 1839 by the creation of a Committee of the Privy Council for educational purposes and the increase of grants to £30,000. There was, however, little desire as yet to make education state-controlled and the administration of the grants was left to the various religious denominations. The system was inadequate and inefficient, but anything further was felt to be an unwarranted infringement of religious liberty. The Church of England protested against the state grants to nonconformist and non-sectarian schools, but, unable to meet the demands being made on its own schools, could do no more.

While the great mass of the Church of England in the early decades of the nineteenth century was sunk in an inertia resulting, in part, from the historic alliance of church and state, two movements took place within its ranks and both were to influence directly the colonization of Canterbury. Although comparatively small groups were affected by the Evangelical Revival and the Oxford Movement, these were very influential, and in common they held the belief that the Church was a vital institution in complete harmony with the deepest needs of the day. To these, one of these needs was the relief of overpopulation and the solution, Edward Gibbon Wakefield
maintained, lay in emigration.

The Evangelicals and the High Churchmen hoped to prove the vitality of the church and its harmony with the needs of the day by promoting the formation of a Church of England colony.

Wakefield was interested in the founding of an Anglican colony for social and political reasons. He wished to see by means of colonization the perpetuation of English society and the prevention of that deterioration of manners and customs which he lamented in the coarse scrambling life of existing colonies. His study of Greek colonization made him an advocate of systematic colonization and his study of American colonization showed him the importance of religion. He saw that in North America the object had been "to found a community, the whole of which would be of one religion," 2 and that the respectability of the emigrants to each colony had a close relation to the force of the religious attraction. He also noted that the admixture of differing religions in schools and colleges was disliked by most religious people of all denominations.

Dissatisfied with the New Zealand Company, Wakefield decided to promote "a distinct settlement in New Zealand, under the patronage of a powerful body in this country (England) desirous of spreading the Church

2 E.G. Wakefield, op. cit., P. 158
of England."

In May, 1843, he wrote to his sister, Mrs Torlesse, "It will be a Church of England colony; that is, the foundation fund of the colony will contain ample endowments for religious and educational purposes in connection with our church exclusively." This was duly noted in the Eighth Annual Report of the New Zealand Company on 21 August of that year. The hostility of the Colonial Office and the Maori Wars led to the temporary abandonment of the scheme and nothing further is heard of it until 1847 when Wakefield met John Robert Godley. His sincere zeal for the advancement of the Church of England, his abundant energy and high talent, and not least, his many influential friends, made Godley the man for whom Wakefield had been seeking. Wakefield fired him with the desire to share in the founding of a church colony in New Zealand. It was Godley who secured support for the scheme from such influential men as Lord Lyttelton, C.B. Adderley (afterwards Lord Norton), Sir J. Simeon, and Somers Cocks. It was Godley who was especially responsible for the settlement's distinctive feature — the provision of ample funds from land sales for religious and educational purposes.

The Canterbury Association was incorporated by a Royal Charter in November, 1849. Numbered among its

3 Ibid. P. 5
4 Dr. Garnett, — Life of B.G. Wakefield, P. 303.
members were influential High Churchmen, many of them personal friends of Godley, and also prominent Evangelicals—
including Archbishop Sumner, the chairman, Lord Ashley, and Mr John Hutt, the first chairman of directors. They were interested in colonization because they considered that it was in the interests of the Church of England that they should be. By the terms of the Charter the settlement in Canterbury was to be founded for "colonists being wholly members of the Church of England," and among its objects was "the extension of the influence and privileges of the Church."

To Wakefield, the Church was a means to an end. He aimed at making the new colony the epitome of an English country with its Cathedral and College, its refinements of English society, and so attract settlers from the upper classes. The Canterbury Association however, while not wanting to plant a colony merely for the sake of the Church, desired to prove the efficacy of the Anglican faith by showing its influence when it was the predominant moral force. A despatch to Godley from the Committee of Management of the Association, 1 October, 1850, stated clearly the objects 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 monopolising the field of benevolent action, or excluding the foundation of like institutions by other hands, either

6 Canterbury Papers. P.236.
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 connexion between the Church and those institutions which most command popular 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." The despatch concluded that the surest way to establish the Church and secure her influence in the colony would be through her having the power to develop her own energies. "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."

It is necessary to consider briefly what the members of the Canterbury Association understood by "education." Religious and secular education were inseparably linked in their minds. Education was more than the three R's; it was the forming of the moral principles and habits of man. Thomas Arnold was stating the view point of the average churchman when he wrote of "the great principle that Christianity should be the base of all public education in this country." 7 By religious instruction they understood teaching that conformed

to the dogmas of the Anglican Church. This was being challenged in England by the nonconformists and secularists and an echo of the prevailing controversy is found in the earliest outline of 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."

The case for church education was emphatically stated by the Rev. R.B. Paul M.A., one of the foundation clergy of the diocese, in a sermon preached before the Superintendent and Provincial Council of Canterbury at the opening of the first session on Tuesday, 27 September, 1853. Deploiring the unhappy differences of religious belief in England which had rendered impossible any comprehensive scheme of education except by leaving out religious instruction altogether, or imparting it in a form so general as to preclude dogmatic teaching, he proceeded to raise grave objections against both these plans. He was aware, he said, that the advocates of a purely secular system of education were ready to allow that a certain portion of time should be given up to religious instruction. Yet he felt that there was the risk that those who were brought up under such a system would

8 Canterbury Papers, P.6
almost of necessity learn to consider the acquisition of secular knowledge the primary business of life and regard that which the Gospel of Christ pronounced to be 'the one thing needful' to be at best a mere accessory to the general plan - "a work useful it may be and beneficial, but not the great end of life - else would it not surely have occupied a more prominent place in their system of education?" He continued, "The other plan is that adopted by some of our religious sects at home; and is in my mind liable to almost more serious objections." He maintained that the Church of England dared not sanction any plan which assumed the mere reading of the Bible, and that by little children, to be religious instruction.

"We have a standard of belief set forth in the articles and liturgy of our Church."  

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 organised on a similar system to that practised in England. In the 'Plan of Canterbury' the Association stated that its object was to set an example of a colonial settlement in which, from the first, all the elements, including the very highest, of a good and right state of society, should find their proper place. Its desire to carry out this object

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10 Canterbury Papers, p. 6
is reflected in the thoroughness with which it planned to provide a faithful replica of English educational institutions.

The Founders had enjoyed a classical education and desired to impart the kind of education they could understand and appreciate, "I want my children to be faithful and true-hearted sons of the Reformed Church of England — to enjoy that old Grammar School education, followed by that venerable collegiate discipline and training, which has raised generation after generation of English gentlemen." So said the Rev. Thomas Jackson, Bishop — designate of the Canterbury settlement, at a public meeting at Ipswich on 30 May, 1850. There was to be a Grammar School and a University which would give the colonial gentry an English classical education while parochial schools would teach the three R's to the children of the lower classes.

England at the time was witnessing the rapid spread of commercial schools and it was proposed that Canterbury should be provided with these.

Thomas Arnold, writing to the Sheffield "Courant," defines these schools: — "Between the grammar school and the parochial schools there is a great multitude of what are called English or commercial schools, at which a

II Ibid. P. 93.
large proportion of the sons of farmers and tradesmen receive their education."

It was also intended to have facilities for the education of the daughters of the gentry. The Rev. Thomas Jackson spoke on this subject to a public meeting at Reading on 17 July, 1850. After lamenting over the shortcomings of the College for gentlewomen in London, he added that he hoped these deficiencies might be avoided, so far as they were founded on fact, in the new College for the education of gentlewomen to be established in Canterbury while all the valuable elements of the London College might be retained.

The outlook and ideals of the promoters of the Canterbury settlement with regard to education were accurately epitomised by Dr. Hinde, Bishop of Norwich, who said that when he spoke of education he did not mean merely schools for the poor, but that he meant schools for the higher classes as well. He did not mean merely what are called schools because, in carrying out their views, they (the Canterbury Association) contemplated something higher than the best schooling – something like a University institution.

He concluded: "But again, the object was not merely education – they looked to something higher; they

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13 Canterbury Papers, P. 129.
looked at the project as the means for training up a Christian — a thoroughly Christian people."

Such an outlook on education was the result of sincere conviction. It was also the product of their environment. It showed a realization of the fact that an education worthy of the name must train the spiritual and moral as well as the mental attributes of man. It was practical in that a definite basis was desired for the teaching, the tenets of the Church of England.
Nothing in the Canterbury Association's plans attracted more attention nor fired imaginations as much as the College. Among those who were interested in colonization, the fever for Canterbury raged throughout 1850. The measure of the enthusiasm that was aroused can be gauged by the packed public meetings that were held up and down England. The College was the focus of attention. The high aspirations that were abroad are reflected in the pages of 'Hints on Church Colonization,' a pamphlet written by the Rev. J.C. Wynter M.A. "Why not," he suggested, "found a University which may be no mean rival of the scholastic honours of Eton and of I Oxford?" Further evidence of this tremendous enthusiasm is to be found in a letter from England published in the "Lyttelton Times" of 14 June, 1851. It described the great preparations in progress in England, the canvassing for funds, and the advertising for the establishment of the College on a most extensive scale.

Yet, with much that was Utopian in the plan, there was enough of common-sense to recommend it to the consideration of practical men.

From the outset the College loomed large in

1 Canterbury Papers, P. 47.
the plans of the settlement, but it was not till after
the death of Charles Buller in November, 1848, that
anything definite was done. Buller had been an
intimate friend and adviser to Wakefield and, when
Sir F. Baring proposed to name the proposed College,
the 'Buller College,' Wakefield became anxious to make
positive plans for its establishment. However, it
happened that those concerned with the erection of a
memorial to Buller decided on a less costly and ambitious
memorial in Westminster Abbey. Buller's connection with
the College has never the less been retained.

Mr Jackson, the Bishop - designate, in his Ipswich
speech said that a gentleman had already given £650
as a start towards an exhibition, to be identified for
ever with the name of a distinguished individual once
connected with the colonies - Mr Charles Buller. 2

The work of planning the College continued
and early in 1849 a definite plan was sent to Bishop
Selwyn in New Zealand. The Bishop was enthusiastic and
replied: "Begin it at once - if you can find a man who
can reflect what Oxford was when Alfred's students read
almost illegible M.S.S. by the light of paper lanterns....
The academic life of a colony is to work when you must;
and to read when you can.... Every year that you delay
the beginning it will become much more difficult to begin

2 Canterbury Papers, P. 97
This now forms part of the Buller - Reay Scholarship Fund.
at all. A full-grown college cannot be exported at
once.... Mark out a good extent of land, and put up a
wooden building; people are very tolerant and will call
it "The College.".... By degrees the plan would be
developed under active and judicious management; teachers
and pupils will flow in; subscriptions and legacies will
increase.... Beyond the first striking a keynote 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. In the former
case, every kind of right principle may be established from
the first and gradually developed in practice as
assistance is obtained. 3 It was sound advice and the
Canterbury Association to a large extent acted upon it.

The Bishop also recommended that the first bishop
of the settlement should be the head of the College.
This led to the appointment of the Rev. Thomas Jackson M.A.
as Bishop designate of the settlement. Mr Jackson, a
brilliant educationalist and facile orator, had been for
some years Principal of the Battersea Training College.
In approving his appointment on 7 May, 1850, the Committee
of the Canterbury Association empowered him to make such
arrangements in reference to religious and educational
matters as he might think requisite.

3 Canterbury Papers, p. 35. Published in 'The Times,'
On 21 May the "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" was made public. The author was Jackson. On the same day an "Appeal for aid on behalf of the Diocese of Lyttelton" was published. Money was asked for the endowment of a theological professor in the 'College' about to be founded, and for the endowment of scholarships and fellowships in the College. Jackson set himself the task of obtaining financial support from those interested in the scheme and addressed various public meetings throughout England.

At Ipswich on 30 May 1850, a public meeting was held in the Town Hall and enthusiasm was evident on all sides. Dr. Hinds, the chairman, said that if they looked at New Zealand on the map of the world they would perceive that its locality adapted it in a most peculiar manner, to be the centre of a university education for a very considerable portion of the British dominions. Mr Jackson outlined the proposed 'Scheme' in somewhat greater detail. "I do not mean to be contented with the waifs and strays of the lowest class of elementary teachers... I have been for several years at the head of a large institution for training up national

5 Pamphlet. Copy in Church House.
6 Canterbury Papers, P. 91 et seq.
schoolmasters; and several of these have placed themselves unreservedly at my disposal, to further in the Canterbury Settlement the purposes of education. But in addition we contemplate the establishment of a college. This is to embrace two departments — one is to be called the public school, the other the collegiate department. The public school department is to be on the plan of the old English grammar schools, with substantially the same discipline and the same course of instruction. . . . Then there will be the foundation of scholarships as the rewards of successful talent and industry in the public school department, to be enjoyed in the collegiate department, an arrangement which is viewed as necessary to the success of both institutions. It is intended that these scholarships shall be called by the names of their respective founders.

The Canterbury Association will vote towards the funds of the College £5,000. I hope to have plain buildings of wood, strong and permanent."

Mr Jackson concluded by outlining how he intended to adapt the classical education to the needs of the colony. He said that there would be an agricultural course.

"If our California is to be derived from the growth of sheep and cattle, we must, in some way or other, have gentlemen capable of acting in cases of emergency with efficiency and success." He also proposed that the elements of medicine and surgery would be taught; "for
every young man who becomes a colonist ought to be
able, in case of accident in the bush to set above...;

J. E. Fitzgerald, speaking on behalf of the intending
emigrants, expressed his support for the provisions made
for combining sound education with their religious
instruction, without which he felt assured that numbers
would never have left the shores of England.

In a despatch to Lord Lyttelton, immediately prior
to the sailing of the first four ships, Jackson detailed
the appointments which he had made. The Rev. Henry Jacobs
M.A., who was placed in the first class in 'literis
humanioribus' at Oxford and was a Michel Fellow of
Queen's College, was to be classical tutor at Christchurch
7 College and master of the lower department, at a stipend
of £200 a year. Messrs. Holmes, Bilton, Cardell, Puraglove,
Toomath, and Wadsworth were appointed schoolmasters at
a stipend of £70 each. Thus there was to be a schoolmaster
for each ship.

Mr. Stoddart Farmer, a veterinary surgeon was to
give twelve hours a week practical instruction at the College
at £40 p.a. In addition Jackson was negotiating for an
able medical practitioner who would lecture at the College
twelve hours a week for a stipend of £60 a year; for a
professor of drawing on the same terms; and for Mr. Kent,

7 The College was called by various names at this time.
an operative chemist, who would lecture on agricultural
chemistry eight hours a week at a stipend of £40 a year.
Two other relevant appointments were noted; that of a
national school mistress and an infant school mistress,
both to receive £40 a year. In all this Jackson was
following the advice of Bishop Selwyn to hurry nothing
and lay a foundation on which the colonists could build
as the need arose.

Wakefield was not satisfied. He could not see
the College as planned in the May prospectus fulfilling
his vision of a cultural centre for New Zealand and extending its influence over the Southern Hemisphere.
Wakefield worked behind the scenes and the extent of his
influence can be gauged from the fact that the final
prospectus of the College which the Association drew up
incorporated on 25 April, 1851, many of Wakefield's desires.

Interest in the College appears to have
overshadowed all the other plans of the Association.
The minutes of the Committee of Management of the
Association and despatches to Godley, who had gone to
Canterbury in 1849 as the Association's chief
representative, betray an enthusiasm for education.

One such despatch is that of 1 October, 1850,
from the Association to Godley. "On the subject of the
College the Bishop - designate has made all necessary

8 Godley arrived at Lyttelton on 12 April, 1850.
arrangements for beginning the work. Some of the clergy who sailed by the last ships, together with masters and teachers... will form an ample staff for commencing an education system of a high order, embracing all the departments of literature and science, and including instruction in the arts most useful in the colony. The Committee have provided an ample supply of books (selected by the Bishop - designate) both as the foundation of a College library, and for instruction in the College and schools."

The despatch suggested that temporary provision should be made at first for College buildings. "It would be inexpedient (even were there ample funds at command) to undertake buildings of a costly and permanent kind. It must be for a little time at all events be a matter of uncertainty as to the best locality to select for a site." It was felt, moreover, that with the excessive price of labour in the infancy of the settlement it would be uneconomical, it was therefore left to Godley's discretion to erect what temporary buildings he thought necessary.

Mention was made of the fact that they were working on a permanent plan for the College. "The object which the Association eventually desire to accomplish is the formation, within Canterbury settlement, of a college capable of taking rank with similar institutions in this

9 The "First four ships", 6 September 1850.
country (England) which, as from a centre 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."

A minute of 30 September, 1850, states that a 'memorial' was to be sent to the University of Oxford asking them to found a college in the Canterbury settlement. With the advice and help of the Dons, a constitution and statutes for the College were drawn up by a sub-committee and given in a report to the Committee of Management on 2 February, 1851. This final plan of the College was stated before a general meeting of the Association on 25 April, 1851, and, on reaching New Zealand, it was published in the Lyttelton Times of 20 September, 1851.

The final plan retained the main features of that of the previous May but its scope was wider and it was more detailed. The College was constituted an Independent Society with a Warden and Fellows. The Bishop of the Diocese was to act as Visitor. One of its fundamental objects was to train up students in the faith and discipline of the church and in particular to equip a colonial clergy. In the Collegiate Department the four divisions - Theological; Classical; Mathematical; and Civil Engineering and Agricultural - were retained,
and a medical school added, while one of the Fellows of
the College was to superintend the proposed Hospital.
The most interesting innovation was that contained in
the 49th and final clause. It was proposed that sons
of English gentlemen might be boarded at the College
with a view to their making a colonial career.

The opening clause, with its pious hope that the
College would extend its influence throughout the
Southern Hemisphere, reflected the idealism of
Wakefield. The second clause, however, had a more
ominous tone:— "though it may be that want of adequate
funds may prevent.... full realisation (of the plans)
at once." We must now consider how it was that the
educational provisions of the Association foundered
on the flinty rock of finance.
The Ecclesiastical and Educational Fund.

"The best laid schemes o' mice an' men
Gang aft agley
An' lsa'e us nought but grief an' pain
For promis'd joy."

In 1849 the New Zealand Company allotted to the Canterbury Association 1,000,000 acres. The Association hoped to sell 200,000 acres of this in the first year or two. The land was to be sold at $3 an acre, of which $1 was to be allotted to the Ecclesiastical and Educational Fund. Thus it was hoped that $200,000 would be available for religious and educational purposes. With meticulous care, the Association decided how the money would be appropriated. $1,000 was to be made available to the Ecclesiastical and Educational Fund. From this, the following was to be allocated to educational purposes: 1

20 schools at $100 each ——— $2,000
A College and chapel ——— $6,000
20 schoolmasters at $70 P.A. ——— $1,400

$9,400

The scheme promised many advantages. By the contribution of a $1 an acre towards the purposes of religion and education according to the tenets of the Church of England, it was intended to create a voluntary

1 Canterbury Papers, P.21.
endowment. Prospective settlers who were unmindful of religious influences in an infant colony would be discouraged from buying land. The foundations of the church would be firmly laid by ensuring the churchmanship of the settlers; for this would be demonstrated by their willingness to pay a high price for land in order to contribute to church purposes.

Unfortunately the ambitious financial provisions of the Association were never realised. At the end of 1852 the total sum to which the Ecclesiastical and Educational Fund was entitled was only 325,000. Financially the scheme was a lamentable and abysmal failure. The reason for this lies in the very nature of the plan. None but sincere idealists and ardent supporters of the church would be prepared to pay £3 per acre when colonial land elsewhere was being sold cheaply or given away. Such enthusiasts are comparatively few. This was conclusively proved when the first applications for the purchase of land were opened on 1 July, 1850. The Association had hoped to sell 100,000 acres, instead only 18,650 were sold. But 25,000 acres had been sold by the beginning of 1853.²

The financial dearth was aggravated by the costly expenses incurred in the laying out of the settlement; so much so that Godley was obliged in April, 1850, to suspend all further public works preparatory

² Despatch to the Association from H. Sewell, 10 May, 1853.
to the arrival of the first settlers until the land sales were opened. The result was that when the colonists arrived "there was no church, no schoolroom, no place even in which it seemed possible a service could be held." \(^3\)

The sending out of settlers and supplies put a heavy burden on the already slender assets of the Association. A typical example is school furniture. In the two years ending September, 1852, furniture to the value of £327 - 3 - 10 was shipped to Canterbury. The freight and insurance charges on this amounted to no less than £255 - 8 - 8. \(^4\)

The mission of Jackson, the Bishop designate was an expensive item. He arrived in Canterbury early in 1851 to inspect, see and to found the College. He failed to accomplish either purpose and, after a stay of but a few weeks, left at the end of March. This mission cost £3,000; \(^5\) its sole achievement was incidental, for he brought out with him Mr Holmes a schoolmaster and Mr Fletcher a drawingmaster, while his secretary, Mr Calvert M.A. remained in Canterbury to become mathematical tutor at the College. In a despatch to Godley on 22 December, 1851, Henry Sewell on behalf of the Canterbury Association apologized for the appointment of the ex-Bishop-designate.

"One of our principal early faults was the unqualified

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3 C. L. Innes, op. cit. p.6.  
4 Accounts of Schol. and Educ. Fund.  
5 Henry Sewell's estimate. The various items are listed in the accounts of the Schol. & Educ. Fund—it includes expenditure on outfits for clergy & teachers. The actual cost of sending out Mr Jackson & his party on the 'Castle Eden' to N.Z. was £736 - 7 - 1
surrender to him (Jackson) of all our church arrangements. The truth is that his infirmity in money matters is incorrigible... since his return he has done as much harm as he could by running the Colony down." In Mr Jackson's defence it can be said that he did excellent campaigning for the College before he left England and raised £903 which was expended in an endowment for the College, and that he selected many excellent schoolmasters for the inauguration of education in Canterbury.

While control of the Educational and Ecclesiastical Fund was to remain with the Association in England it was decided that it should be administered through a Committee in the settlement. A minute of the Committee of Management of the Association dated 3 September, 1850, ran as follows: "The Committee takes for granted that the Association and colonists can have but one object in view, namely, to construct a sound and durable basis of religious and educational administration..." The Committee proceeded to recommend to the Association that the administration of the Ecclesiastical and Educational Fund should be vested in a body in the colony.

This recommendation was acted upon and the Annual Report of the Managing Committee included a "Scheme for the Administration of the Religious and Educational Fund".

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6 The Jackson Trust Estate.
7 The Annual Report was published in the Lyttelton Times, 27 Sept. 1851.
A Canterbury Church Fund Managing Committee was to be set up consisting of an equal number of clergy and laity, including the Bishop who was to have an absolute veto in all matters. The future administration and distribution of the Fund in the colony was to be made exclusively through its medium and by its direction. Educational matters over which it was to have control included expenses incident to the foundation and erection of the College, the purchase of school sites, endowments, and payments to schoolmasters.

This 'Scheme' came in for much criticism, of which the editorial of the "Lyttelton Times" on 11 October, 1851, was typical. It attached the policy of long range control and the retention of control over the Fund by the Association. "It cannot be too often repeated that the proper function of the Canterbury Association was to found a settlement, not to manage or govern it." The 'Scheme' left undone all it ought to have done and did all it ought not to have done; entering upon trifling details about which the authors were utterly ignorant and not providing the one thing wanted, a permanent authority in the colony for the management of the Fund.

Whatever were the ethics of the situation, it was overshadowed by the ugly fact that in this richly endowed settlement there was no money available for educational
purposes in the colony. Disquieting rumours were circulating throughout the settlement and many letters on the subject appeared in the correspondence columns of the "Lyttelton Times." This paper sought to act as an apologist for the Association, yet it seemed far from satisfied with the situation. The editorial of 31 July, quered the Fund. "When to this is added the expenses in England of attacking a chaplain and schoolmaster to each ship, and of all the books and educational apparatus which were sent to the colony and are now in use— it would appear that more than the fund subscribed by the colonists has been already spent." The article concludes:— "All we assert is that whatever faults may be charged upon the Association, a reservation or alienation of funds from the purposes to which they were appropriated was certainly not one. We hope that the Association will see the need of publishing a full and detailed account of all the monies which they undertook to administer."

This appears to have satisfied no one. A heated public meeting was held at the Mitre Hotel, Lyttelton, on 14 August. Godley defended the Association, reminding his listeners that when they objected to the endowments of churches and schools, they should never forget the most material fact that it had created the very fund out of which it was paid. If it had not been for that provision, the

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8 Relevant details of the Accounts of the Assoc. include:—

- Books and music for schools = £904 - 12 - 7
- Schoolmasters & outfit = £333 - 19 - 4
- Passage money for school masters £561 - 0 - 0
Canterbury Association would never have existed, and without the Canterbury Association, neither settlement nor land fund would then have existed in the plains of Port Cooper.⁹

However the fact remained that the position of the Fund was precarious in the extreme. A conference of the clergy of the settlement with the Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of N.Z. was held on 28 November, 1851 at Lyttelton to consider the whole problem.¹⁰ The Ecclesiastical and Educational Fund amounted at the time to $23,253 and expenditure to $23,195, leaving a balance of $1,658. This close approach of the expenditure to the revenue was attributed to the fact that $13,000 had been invested in land in the colony for endowments and was as yet yielding no return. Stipends of clergy and schoolmasters had risen from $890 to $1,300 since February - Godley in a despatch to the Association on 4 February, 1851, estimated that the education expenditure for the year would be $650¹¹ and all this expenditure was going out of capital. Bishop Selwyn referred to "the precariousness of the whole system of endowments" and estimated that a sum equal to the whole amount already received would need to be realized by further

⁹ J.E. Fitzgerald, op. cit., p. 78

¹⁰ Church minute book, 1851 - 61.

¹¹ In detail: - (Grammar school) Jacobs, $200; Holmes and Calvert, each $70. (Elementary school) Thomast and Bilton, each $70 (Girls' school) Miss Simpson and Miss Ransom, each $35. General allowances, $100.
land sales if they were to be able to guarantee future salaries. At this meeting it was also agreed to spend £1,250 on the building of a 'Collegiate Grammar School' at Christchurch. Unhappily, this particular resolution was not carried out.

During the course of 1852 the Association was compelled to borrow £12,000 from private sources. This sum was credited to the General Land Fund and one third of the amount appropriated to the Ecclesiastical and Educational Fund. The amount was laid out in the purchase of land endowments, which, being bought on the account of that Fund, yielded one third more land with the same money. Sewell justified this as the purchase money was carried to the credit of the Emigration and the Miscellaneous Funds and thus diminished the over-draughts upon them. Sewell admitted that this apparently diminished the present income of the Ecclesiastical and Educational Fund but he felt that no one would desire for the sake of the permanent interests of the Church, to reverse these transactions.\(^2\)

The colonists were more concerned with present actualities. The money they had subscribed in land purchases for the establishment of schools was locked up in land that was bringing in an annual income of £140. They were rightly dissatisfied. Money was so

\(^2\) Despatch to the Association from H. Sewell, its 2\(^{nd}\) agent in Canterbury, 10 May, 1853.
scarce in the infant colony in 1852 that Godley, anxious to push on with survey discontinued the stipends of clergy and schoolmasters. This decision was reversed by Sewell the following February. Despairing at his impossible position and heartily dissatisfied with the incompetency and inefficiency of control from England, Godley resigned in December, 1852.

Meanwhile in England the Association, by no means as authoritative as the colonists would have us believe, planned to wind up activities. The Report of its Committee of Management of 15 July, 1852, stated that the Association's intention was merely to plant a seed whose future growth should depend on its own vital energy — not upon artificial connection with the Mother Country. "The Association was formed with the special object of founding a Colony with institutions which might grow up into a suitable form for the reception of immigrant members of the Church of England, but did not aim at establishing in this country (England) any permanent organisation for securing that end." To this end the Committee reported that they had obtained the introduction into the Bill, which was to establish Provincial Councils in New Zealand, a clause enabling them to transfer to the Provincial Legislature of Canterbury.

13 The Lyttleton Times, 26 Feb., 1853.
15 The 76th clause of the Constitution Act, proclaimed in Canterbury on 17 January, 1853.
the special functions and privileges vested in the Association. "To that body we must look for the continuance and development of the plan which the Association has originated." Henry Sewell, vice-chairman of the Managing Committee was appointed the Association's agent in succession to J.R. Godley and was commissioned to make the necessary arrangements whereby the assets and liabilities of the Association would be transferred to the Canterbury Provincial Council.

In the Colony unrest continued "What in plain words has become of the large part set aside for Ecclesiastical and Educational purposes?" 16 was the question all were asking. Sewell writing to Mr Brittan said: "On my arrival I found with deep regret a current belief that the Association had wholly failed to provide means for answering its engagements with clergy and schoolmasters and that it had purposely suppressed its accounts." 17 A few weeks later he wrote: "Without admitting the full justice of the complaint, I am compelled to acknowledge that it is not altogether without foundation. True we have not sold as much land as was at first counted on, but even looking to what has been sold and to the means at disposal, I do not think the results have been as yet commensurate." 18

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16 Editorial, The Lyttelton Times, 5 March, 1853.  
17 The Lyttelton Times, 26 Feb., 1853.  
18 Despatch to Lord Lyttelton, May, 1853.
Ugly rumours were circulating in the settlement. A public meeting was held at Christchurch on 25 April. H.J.Tancred moved a resolution that the management of the Fund should be transferred entirely into the hands of a local board. He gave his reasons and then concluded: "We have but one church in the whole settlement, and that built mainly from private subscriptions, we have schools, but they cannot be said to be on a perfectly satisfactory footing." Even this was an understatement of the case.

On 4 June, 1853, the long overdue balance sheet of the Association appeared in the Lyttelton Times. It was accompanied by a report from Mr N. Wedgwood, the Government Inspector. He said that the comparatively small demands for ecclesiastical and educational purposes in the infancy of the colony had allowed a considerable balance to accumulate to the credit of that fund in the books of the Association at the beginning of 1852, but the whole available resources of the Association having been required to meet the excess of expenditure in other departments, the Association determined to make good the balance due to the Ecclesiastical and Educational Fund by an allotment of land. By this means the amount of land sales was apparently increased by the sum of £10,200 while no addition was made to its actual resources.

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19 The Lyttelton Times, 25 April, 1853.
20 Appropriations of £6,900, £2,250, £750, and £300 were made.
Mr Wedgwood's judgement was: "It appears to me that such a proceeding was hardly in accordance with the spirit of the Charter, which requires that one third of the land sales should be appropriated for Ecclesiastical and Educational purposes. Instead of money, a tract of land, which may remain for an indefinite period before it acquires a saleable value, was appropriated to the Fund in question."

Lord Lyttelton on behalf of the Association claimed that the whole question turned on whether the lands were valuable or not, and said that as a permanent endowment for religious uses they constituted the best form of investment. This was hardly in keeping with what had been the avowed policy of the Association in the past. It was a matter of present necessity, not long-term policy. Godley expressed the viewpoint of the Association when he said on 5 April, 1851, that if funds had been sufficient to provide salaries by investment in Government Securities he would have much preferred that the church should have no territorial endowments.

The "Lyttelton Times" was forthright in its condemnation of the Association, accusing it of misappropriating the Fund to secular objects in direct violation of its duty, and of concealing this fraud by a nominal sale to the church of its own unsaleable land at its imaginary price. All this was followed on 16 July, by a report of the Committee on Church Matters, set up to assist Sewell. After condemning the wasteful expenditure
of the Association, it concluded that to have invested in waste lands the whole of what remained was an injudicious and ill-advised step.

Nevertheless it is hard to know what else the Association could have done in its straitened financial condition. The extent of its operations was perhaps imprudent, yet it was essential to the planting of the young colony. It acted under too sanguine a hope of the proportionate increase, in land sales, yet it might reasonably have expected better results than it got.

The New Zealand Company pressed its claims for the return of borrowed money with undue severity. A final blow was the falling off, almost to the degree of actual suspension, of the land sales, due more than anything to the gold discoveries in Victoria.

At the time, it did appear a serious mistake for the Association to have invested the Fund in waste land which could not be relied upon for an income, but, although it occasioned immediate hardships and set-backs, in the long run it was to pay handsomely. Sewell prophesied that the value of these lands would rapidly increase. Godley too, felt that this was so. "No doubt in the process of time, the ecclesiastical lands in Canterbury, which have been very carefully selected, will become extremely valuable." 21

In September, 1853, the first Provincial Council terminated the Canterbury Association's control of education. The Association had proposed generous educational facilities, ample funds for endowments, and the erection of buildings, but the irony of circumstances prevented anything but the roughest realisation of its enlightened scheme.

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22 Some endowments for the College were established in this period: Mrs Sosmes - 50 acres of rural land and one allotment of town land (No. 1 in order of choice). Rowley Scholarship, (No. 121) Mr Rulse for 'Hulsean Chichele Professorship' (No. 123); the Canterbury Ass., 100 acres of rural and 2 allotments of town land (No. 146); Rev. Jackson, 350 acres of rural and seven allotments of town land (No. 156).
D...... The Early Schools.

On 4 September, 1850, H.P. Alston, Secretary of the Canterbury Association wrote to Lord Grey, the Colonial Secretary, to say that immigration barracks and agents' houses had been built and that he hoped that some steps at least had been taken towards the erection of a church and schools, "but on the latter point the Association gather nothing distinctly from the last advices." The Association was anxious that something should be done, so three days later a despatch was sent to Godley suggesting that for temporary purposes the buildings to be used as schools should be rough, and not of a permanent kind. "It may even be expedient to purchase, hire, or otherwise appropriate some building or buildings already completed." Godley was so short of money that he acted on the latter advice. Moreover the despatch arrived with the first four ships in December and there was no labour to spare for the building of schools.

Mr Jackson had planned to commence the Grammar School on board the first four ships; Mr Jacobs says that he could not distinctly remember doing so, but adds that very little time was lost after their arrival. Godley records the opening of the first school in a

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1 Copy of Correspondence between the Colonial office and Cant. Assoc.
2 Christ's College School List, P. 22.
despatch of 6 January, 1851. "The Bishop of New Zealand arrived here in his schooner, on Friday last, on his way to the southward. He preached twice yesterday, and this day opened our first school at the Store." Apparently 'the Store' was one of the barracks; for Godley in a further despatch on 18 January said that he had devoted an immigration barrack to the purposes of a temporary school and place of worship. "It seems peculiarly well adapted for them and will save the necessity of an immediate outlay on permanent buildings." Jacobs describes these lodgings. The first College lecture-room was about twelve feet square, very roughly white-washed, with a small table and a few wooden stools. A slightly larger room was allotted to the Grammar School. Mr Calvert B.A., assisted in the College as mathematical tutor and during the course of 1851 the Collegiate Department had five students. The Grammar School was managed by Jacobs who combined the offices of classical tutor of the College and headmaster of the Grammar School. He was later assisted in the Grammar School by Mr Holmes who came out with Jackson in March. The number of pupils was very small and fluctuating as family after family moved over to the Plains.

Meanwhile, the non-arrival of the Bishop-designate and the want of any instruction as to his views left Godly in a state of considerable perplexity as the schoolmasters who had come out, were too numerous to find occupation. Jackson had anticipated this, for in
describing the teachers which he had selected, he said:

"Three of them are good carpenters, two are excellent
modellers, and all accustomed to practical agriculture." 4

Jackson arrived at the end of February and
departed on 15 March without accomplishing anything
beyond the bringing out of several teachers and the
institution of the endowment raised in England for the
College. 5 This was a sorry blow to the educational plans
of the Association for he had been selected particularly
with a view to his taking charge of the educational
organisation of the church in the settlement. With his
departure the church lost any real chance of co-ordinating
its educational plan until the arrival of Bishop Harper in
1857, and the events of the intervening years show a lack
of true foresight. Policy was carried out piecemeal and
the few struggling schools were left to carry on as best
they could while starved of funds.

The first public notice of the Grammar School
appeared on the front page of the "Lyttelton Times" of
8 March, 1851. It was announced that there were plenty of books
and that the fees were two guineas a quarter. In
conjunction with this school, and in order to meet a need
which was extensively felt, it was intended to form a
class of little boys and girls, paying a shilling each

3 A despatch from Godly to the Cant. Assoc., 4 Feb. 1851.
4 Supra, P. 17.
5 Supra, P. 24.
per week, under the tuition of the assistant master.
This class was to be regarded as preparatory to the
Grammar School and to the girls' school which it was
hoped to set up.

The same day a further notice advertised the
'Lyttelton Church Commercial School' under Mr Toomath
which was stated to have been in operation for nearly
two months. This was organised along similar lines to
its English counterpart and was for children between the
ages of six and fourteen. The fee was to be sixpence a
week. By the end of the year this school had about fifty
pupils, the infant school thirty, and the Grammar School
twenty pupils.

On 20 July, 1851, the first parochial school in
Christchurch was opened in St. Michael's Church by the
organist Mr Bilton who was one of Mr Jackson's Battersea
trainees. Later on a schoolroom and master's house were
built. Jacobs preached a sermon on the occasion of the
opening of the school, in the course of which he declared:
"This is the first permanent and substantial building
erected for the purposes of divine worship and religious
education in the colony."6

Also during the course of this year a commercial
school under Mr Wadsworth, was opened in Christchurch,7

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6 Souvenir and handbook of St. Michael's & All Angels
Church, publ. 19th Dec. 1913.
7 Probably in a private house. The only reference to its
existence is contained in a report to the Archbishop of
Canterbury made by Jackson on his return to London—This
was reprinted in the CH.CH. "Star", 16 April, 1932.
a school at Sumner was projected, and the construction of an infant school in Christchurch commenced.

There was little room for development in Lyttelton and so the majority of colonists moved over to the rapidly expanding city of Christchurch. The want of a College and Grammar School began to much felt in the infant city and urgent representations were made to Godley for their transfer from Lyttelton to Christchurch. A formidable difficulty now arose—there appeared to no building available. The one schoolroom in the town, the recently-erected parish school at St. Michael's was already occupied; while such was the poverty of the Association that the erection of a schoolroom and master's house seemed quite out of the question. A satisfactory solution was happily found when the new incumbent of St. Michael's, the Rev. G. Mathias, who was already settled in a house at Riccarton, offered the newly built parsonage as a school house.

"Mr Godley, by hook or by crook, found the means of adding a room, about seventeen feet long by sixteen in width." This was later enlarged by throwing out a sort of wing.

The "Lyttelton Times" announced the removal of the College and Grammar School from Lyttelton on 27 March and stated that it hoped to reopen in Christchurch on the 21 April, 1832. It opened on 26 April and five pupils were present on the first day. The number rose to sixteen.

8 Jacobs, Christ's College School List, p.23.
before the end of the year. The work for the most part was very elementary and of those entered on the first day, the old School Register bears record of one that he could 'read a little—write a little;' of another, that he could 'read pretty well—write a little;' and of a third, that he could 'scarcely read or write.' Progress was greatly hindered by the irregularity and unpunctuality of attendance caused by the eccentricities of clocks and watches, when there was no public clock and no watchmakers; by the utter impassableness of roads in bad weather, and by the dire necessities of life in those old colonial days.\(^9\)

It will be remembered that part of the final plan on the College included a scheme to board 'colonial wards' at the College. Consequently a notice appeared in the "Lyttelton Times" of 31 May, 1851, announcing that Mr Jacobs would take boarders in his house at £50 p.a., for seniors and £35 p.a., for juniors. However, it was not until the school shifted to Christchurch that an unpretentious beginning was made. The first boarders, and the only ones in the year 1852 were R.S. Jackson and B.T. Dudley. That year Holmes left for St. Peter's school, Wellington, and Jacobs was obliged to carry on the school alone, his only assistance coming from two former Lyttelton students whose attendance was somewhat desultory.

In the 'Appeal for Aid for the Diocese of Lyttelton' circulated throughout England in 1850 money had been asked for the erection of an industrial school for native children. 10 This was not forgotten, and at a meeting of the clergy of Christchurch in the house of the Rev. R. E. Paul on 19 October, 1852, it was resolved: "That the establishment of a Maori industrial school in this settlement on the principles of those already established at Otaki, Waikato, and other places in the North Island, in accordance with the Education Ordinance of 7 October, 1847, is highly desirable." 11 Nothing seems to have eventuated at the time but a school was established at Kaiapoi in the sixties.

On 18 December, 1852, Godley made his farewell address to Canterbury. Speaking of education, he said: "We have provision for the higher and lower branches of education to as great an extent, I now find, as there is an effective demand for, among a population situated as this is." 12

The next year saw few changes in the church schools. Mr. Toomath left for Wellington and was replaced by Mr. Mayo at the Lyttelton commercial school. The "Lytelton Times" of 19 February, 1853, contained an advertisement for the 'Fidgeon Bay Boarding School' under the charge of

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Mr Knowles. This lasted down to 1857 when Mr Knowles left to take charge of the cure of Lyttelton. The schools were poor and struggling, relying for their income on voluntary subscriptions, and the fees of their pupils. At the beginning of 1853 the teachers were threatened with the suspension of their salaries and it was only the timely action of Sewell that saved the situation.

Sewell in a despatch to the Association in May, 1853, after admitting that "the world points at our large promises in the early stage of our undertaking and contrasts them with our actual performance," proceeded to analyze the situation as it then was. Two parsonages had been built and one of them housed the Grammar School. A schoolroom had been built but this was also used as a temporary church. At Lyttelton there were two converted immigration barracks. There were sufficient schoolmasters available, and Sewell notes that many of these were "extremely efficient." On the adverse side he pointed out that nothing effectual had been done towards the foundation of the College, that there was as yet no permanent school at Lyttelton. Sewell was particularly anxious to put the College on a permanent foundation. He stated that he had won many influential colonists to his viewpoint, that a site and staff would present no difficulty, that there was

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13. Balance Sheet of the Assoc. shows that £101/5/- was collected in school fees up to Sept. 1852. The first entry was 23/-/5 on 28 Feb., 1851.
money available in England, and that the Provincial Council, when installed, would undoubtedly grant it a legal corporation.

Godley too, had much to say concerning educational progress in Canterbury when he returned to London. "There is a day school at Lyttelton, and another at Christchurch both excellently taught and well attended. I 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 my keeping them up.... Now this may not appear to be much, and I fully admit that it is not as much as was intended - but, on the other hand, I maintain that it is as much as there is an effective demand for.... Overestimating, as we always did, the probable extent of our colonization, we thought and spoke a great deal about a College. But a College, in the English sense of the word, for three or four thousand poor and hard working people would be out of place.... The true criticism would be - not that we have not a College, and many other things of the same sort now - but that we so positively announced that we should have them; and to that criticism there is no answer except that we were over-sanguine."

It had been a period of disappointments and hardships; that something had been done under so many

difficulties was a tribute to the pioneer teachers. Although the church had fallen far short of its high ideals and aims, although the faults were obvious and the failures glaring, the fact remained that a start had been made and that the schools, however humble their lodgings, were providing for the needs of the people.
CHAPTER II

DO NOT HUNT WITHOUT A BISHOP. 1853 - 56.

At a public gathering in Christchurch on 25 April, 1853, Jacobs bewailed that "our Church can do no more than drag on a languishing existence without a Bishop." In respect of church education this was all too true. The clergy showed no initiative, lacking leadership, and the Association had become discredited.

When the Provincial Council met in September there was considerable discussion about education, but a reading of the debates belies the true position. Sewell considered, and rightly so, that all this talk was so much cant. People were too self-engrossed to spend time and thought on anything unremunerative. "If the parent does not care whether the child goes to school or not," Sewell noted, "the child soon finds out and demeans itself accordingly. There are stories of children flouting out of school in a huff." 2

Not least among the difficulties confronting the schools was the fact that children's labour was valuable

1 The Lyttelton Times, 30 April, 1853.
which was urged as an apology for irregularity of attendance.

Below all this lay the perennial problem of finance. Sewell in a letter to Jacobs on 17 April, 1854, wrote that the available income of the estates held for ecclesiastical and educational purposes by the Association was £661; in addition to £600 derived from the bishopric estate and available for general purposes until the appointment of a bishop. This was proving insufficient to meet the current expenses - including the salaries of the clergy and the teachers. In fact many of the clergy had been unpaid for several years and were making a livelihood by farming. Consequently, Sewell was anxious the newly elected Provincial Council should subsidise and, in part, control the church schools.

One major advance was made during these years, and that largely due to Sewell's initiative. Christ's College was legally incorporated, endowed, and established on its permanent site - a worthy fulfilment of one of the most cherished aims of the founders of the settlement.

It will be remembered that Sewell had arrived in Canterbury in order to wind up the affairs of the Association and effect a transfer of its powers to the Provincial Council about to be established. He found the colonists resentful at the Association's failure and the clergy thoroughly hostile to himself. He desired to rehabilitate the good name of the Association and the only way that he could see open to

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3 The Lyttelton Times, 22 April, 1854. Sewell estimated that this would increase to £925/10/0 by 1860, and by 1870 to £1448/5/0.
accomplish this, was to establish the College. It was therefore made an indispensable condition of the transfer of powers and assets that the College should be founded.

Sewell was distressed by the misunderstanding of the College plan and he complained that people laughed at it. "It was put forth in the colony that we meant to spend £20,000 out of the ordinary funds which was a manifest absurdity. .... I consider the settlement of the College one of the essentials of the winding up of affairs.' Without it we cannot determine the appropriation of lands, nor do anything with the subscriptions."5 His enthusiasm was contagious and five days later he recorded in his Journal: "All parties agreed in the importance of the College to the colony and both Paul and Mathias6 entered heartily, I may almost say greedily into it."7 Mr. Puckle's parsonage was discussed as a possible site for the College but rejected as it would split the College and Grammar School. Sewell, influenced by Bishop Selwyn's desire that the College should be at least four miles from a town, was in favour of the valley leading down to the Heathcote Ferry by the bridle path for a site.8 On further investigation he found that there was no land available and so had to look elsewhere.9

On 21 February Paul prepared a short epitome of the original College scheme in which he proposed that the Warden

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9 Ibid, 15 June, 1853, B266.
and Fellows would be honorary except Jacobs. Sewell commented that it would suit the colonial taste better.

"People are afraid of talking big even when it is right to do so. I am contented as long as they preserve the substance."

Then came the question of endowments. The Association had originally promised £6,000. Now, "cash they had none, but land they had." Sewell, Capt. Simeon, Mathias and Paul drew up a provisional assignment of one fifth of the ecclesiastical lands which would be available for the College and it was calculated that this, along with the private endowments, would bring in £1,500 p.a., ten years hence.

Again the question of a site was mooted and Paul's parsonage of the Sumner Road, where all the discussion as to the future of the College took place, was suggested.

It had much to commend it, but, as Paul wanted £2,000 for his parsonage and its fifty acre section, they decided it was too great an initial outlay.²²

Godley had asked Mr Mountfort, the architect of Canterbury, to make estimates for the beginning of the College and on 21 May, 1853, presented the plans to Sewell, who thought they were no College but only a school.

Godley had directed Mountfort to omit the chapel as too expensive. Sewell felt a College without a chapel was the play without Hamlet. "Nobody would subscribe a penny towards

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10 Ibid, P.62.
11 400 acres of Kaiapoi land, some land near Christchurch, 10 acres of town land, and 5 acres of Lyttelton land.
such an abortion. I have told Mr Mountfort to give me his estimate including the chapel.\textsuperscript{13}

The quest for a suitable location was more important than ever, for Sewell was anxious to obtain Bishop Selwyn's approval, send the plans to England, and canvas for building subscriptions. On 15 June, 1853, he records that "Jacobs, Paul, Cass \textsuperscript{14} and I went off to look over the church lands and select if we could a site for the College. Paul was anxious to fix it in Cathedral Square, to make the College belong to the Cathedral, but there is no place not above three or four acres altogether. Then they talked of throwing together sundry town allotments and making a respectable sized block of seven or eight acres, but this would not I am sure do. So I walked them off to look at the land marked "Government Domain" - about sixty four acres next the town, surrounded on three sides by the river, and after a careful inspection of it we all agreed that it was the place. But we could not devote the site to ecclesiastical and educational purposes without the consent of the Provincial Council.... We have sketched out in imagination a handsome central street, running through the city, terminated at one end by the College and its gardens - the Cathedral in the central square.\textsuperscript{15}

Sewell converted J.E. Fitzgerald, who had been

\begin{footnotes}
\item[13] Ibid, P.245.
\item[14] Thomas Cass, the Association's surveyor.
\end{footnotes}
elected Superintendent, to his views and in his inaugural speech to the Provincial Council on 27 September, 1853, Fitzgerald emphasised the importance of establishing the College, stating that it would benefit the whole community by providing highly trained instructors for the public schools. Thus, at the end of the year, Sewell, by dint of his unflagging efforts had revived enthusiasm for the College and could write with triumph: "All the people are now hot for the College, for the same reasons which influenced us (the Association). They see that to make a good place of education is to advance the colony."17

However, no further progress could be made until control of the ecclesiastical and educational funds of the Association had been transferred to a local body. As 37,425 acres were sold during the lifetime of the Association, the sum of £37,425 was due to the church, of which £25,000 was invested in land for endowments.18 These lands rapidly rose in value. Sewell thought that they were the one thing which the Association could reasonably take credit for. They brought in £1,000 in 1854, and he calculated that they would be worth £2,000 p.a., in seven years time.19 Discussing this property in

16. The Lyttelton Times, 10 October, 1853.
18. Report of Bishops' Commission on Church Property Trust Estates (from the date of this transfer from the Assoc. to 29 July, 1864.) P.3.
the course of his speech to the Provincial Council, Fitzgerald said that it should be placed in trust and managed within the settlement. This was Sewell's intention. On 18 January, 1854, he noted in his Journal that he was engaged in preparing a Church Trust Deed to incorporate a body of clergy and laymen to control the Association's endowment. On 25 January he submitted it to Jacobs for his approval and it was passed in the second session of the Provincial Council in February.

Another delay now occurred as the Governor's signature to the Ordinance had to be obtained. Fitzgerald was impatient and desired an immediate transfer of the property to the Council but Sewell would not hand over the church lands to the Trustees before the Ordinance was confirmed and before he could come to a business-like settlement. In October the Governor's assent was obtained; but still the transfer could not take place because the Association had laid down as an essential preliminary the founding and endowing of the College by the Trustees.

The foundation of the College had become a matter of increasing urgency for yet another reason. Among the endowments for the College which the Rev. Thomas Jackson had raised in England on behalf of the Association, was the Somes Foundation originating in the gift, by Mrs Maria Somes, of a land order for fifty acres, the cost of which was £150. It became extremely valuable, and within several years was

20 The Church Property Trust Ordinance, Session II, No.3.
returning its original value each year in interest. But this scholarship fund had been offered on condition that the College was founded within five years. This period would expire in July, 1855. Sewell naturally did not want to let this endowment lapse and on 2 February, 1855, he wrote to John Hall, one of the Church Property Trustees, drawing his attention to the fact. He followed this up on 6 February by writing to R.B. Gresson, legal adviser to the Trustees, making a definite offer. "Upon consideration of the steps requisite for founding the College, I think the simplest and best course for me will be, on behalf of the Association, to convey forthwith to the Church Trustees such lands and building as the Trustees may think suitable for the object, that is, for a site for endowment." On receiving a resolution approving this policy from the Trustees, Sewell said he would prepare a deed effectuating such a transfer.

These two letters were read at a meeting of the Church Property Trustees on 1 March, 1855, and a resolution was carried "That it is expedient without delay to found the College."21

On 21 May, 1855, the Church Property Trustees granted a Deed of Foundation to the College. It was endowed with one fifth of the town and rural lands22 made over to the Trustees

21 The Lyttelton Times, 7 March, 1855.
22 This was slightly more than that provisionally agreed to on 23 February, 1853. First Schedule annexed to Deed of Foundation, and Statutes of Christ's College, Canterbury, P.14 et seq.
by Sewell for the Canterbury Association on 16 and 18 May. It was established under the name of 'Christ's College, Canterbury' and was incorporated by an Ordinance of the Provincial Council on 26 June.23 "We do hereby (so runs the Deed) found the said College to the honour and glory of the Eternal and ever Blessed Trinity, for the propagation of the Most Holy Christian Religion, as it is now professed and taught by the United Church of England and Ireland, and for the promotion of sound piety and useful learning more especially within the said Province of Canterbury.24"

Meanwhile the College and Grammar School, still housed in St. Michael's parsonage, had been making steady, if uneventful, progress. At the beginning of 1853 there were sixteen boys on the roll. On 25 March, 1854, Sewell noted in his Journal that Jacobs' establishment was greatly increasing: "We have been obliged to enlarge his house—a right wing was added. I have no doubt if the College were in existence it would get immediately thirty students."25 On 1 July, 1854, Mr. F. Thompson was appointed commercial and assistant master at the Grammar School.26 By 1855 the roll had risen to thirty-two boys and the parsonage, although enlarged, was wholly insufficient and unsuitable so the most pressing problem that faced the newly elected

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23. Session IV, No. 4.
governing body was the procuring of a site and the erection of new buildings.

Among the lands made over to the College was the Cathedral Square, for some of the Trustees desired to see the College erected there. In this particular they were following the precedent of Oxford where the Cathedral of the Diocese was the chapel of Christ's Church College. The idea found no favour with the governing body which presented a petition to the Provincial Council for a plot of land in the Government domain - slightly north of the site provisionally selected by Sewell. This petition was assented to, and by the Canterbury Association's Reserves Ordinance, passed on 23 October, 1855, the Superintendent was empowered to make a free grant of ten acres to the corporation of Christ's College. Jacobs, commenting on this, felt that no better site could have been fixed upon in the whole city and neighbourhood of Christchurch.

Greatly encouraged, the governing body proceeded with their next effort, which was to raise a sufficient building fund. The Christ's College Ordinance had empowered them to raise £500 on their landed estate and this was doubled by a loan obtained on the personal security of some of the Fellows. On 24 January, 1856, a stirring appeal for assistance was sent to England to be circulated among former members of the Association. By this means

27. Session II., No. 2, clause 8.
£1,800 was raised, £200 of which the Right Rev. H.J.C. Harper, first Bishop of Christchurch and Warden of the College, raised prior to his leaving England. The Bishop arrived in Christchurch on Christmas Eve, 1856, and on 7 January, 1857, it was resolved by the Warden and Fellows "that Mr Tuck be desired to furnish a rough estimate of erecting the buildings absolutely necessary." It was not until 24 July, owing to unforeseen delay, that the corner-stone of the new buildings was laid by the Warden. A new era had dawned for the College and Grammar School. Independent of, although closely linked with the Church, Christ's College Grammar School, as it was then called, was to excise a great influence in the future. Up to the present day it has remained the principal Church of England school in Canterbury, indeed in New Zealand. The foundation of the school was an act fraught with tremendous consequences and a milestone in the history of church education in the diocese.

Nevertheless, in the eyes of the citizen of those early days, the College appeared a most unpretentious establishment and to the few who took an active interest in education other issues were at least of equal importance, to the founding of a College, the chimera of the discredited Association.

The beginnings of the problem of the relationship of

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*29 The two were closely linked in the person of Jacobs who was both sub-warden of the College and head master of the Grammar School.*
church and state to education, which was destined to become so contentious an issue in the sixties and seventies, were present even before the first Provincial Council met. Sewell noticed the fact when he first arrived. "The school question seems to be just of the same kind as in England. What part is the church to take in education? Coelum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt." Godley had instituted a lay committee to superintend the church schools but the clergy and the committee were at loggerheads. Sewell, reflecting the prevalent attitude of those days, piously commented: "The Bishop will be here shortly and will probably solve the question." stderr

Fitzgerald breached the subject in his speech to the first session of the Provincial Council when he raised the question: in what manner and to what extent does it become the state to interfere with education of youth? Like other men of his time, his outlook was coloured by the system in England. There 'laissez-faire' was enthroned and education was left to the private schools which were subsidised by the state. Concerned about the indisputable fact that a very small portion of the youth of the Province was enjoying the benefits of education, he said: "The Church of England possesses an endowment which 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. 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 instructions in the education of youth.\footnote{The Lyttelton Times, 1 October, 1853.}

He proposed that the Council should create an education fund by taxation and use it in all instances to supply the secular instruction to schools set on foot by some religious body and upon the principle of the most perfect fairness to all religious sects.

In the second session of the Provincial Council H.J. Tancred mentioned an education bill among the measures proposed. The "Lyttelton Times," in commenting on this on 4 March, 1854, hoped that the Council wouldn't make the schools a charity instead of their being self-supporting. It considered that the natural originator and director of popular education in any place was the minister of religion who was responsible for the training up of the young in the way that they should go. It suggested that the public funds for education should be entrusted to any clergy or laity who had given proof of their zeal and ability by establishing schools.

Introduced too late in the session, the bill for the promotion of education had to be postponed. In the
meantime the Council agreed that the £1,000 voted in the estimates for education should be administered in accordance with Governor Grey's Education Ordinance of 1847.\textsuperscript{32} Control of this money was vested in the heads of the denominations— for the Church of England Archdeacon O. Mathias acted on behalf of the Bishop. The Council intended to place groups of schools under the superintendence of those most competent from their occupation or experience such as masters of grammar schools. This satisfied the Church of England as it received the lion's share.

At the time the church schools were in a very unsatisfactory state. Sewell describes the situation as follows: "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.... 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. In vain I try to set up local committees. As they have no real power they take no interest."\textsuperscript{33} Consequently when Fitzgerald proposed to subsidise all the church schools except the College, which remained with the Association, Sewell willingly assented. "Fitzgerald's plan seemed unobjectionable and financially it is a great relief to me."\textsuperscript{33} For the future he was

\textsuperscript{32} Education Ordinance of New Zealand, session VIII, No.10.
\textsuperscript{33} Sewell's Journal, 1 April, 1854. Vol.I, Part II, P.528.
enthusiastic and felt that the Church might do great good with the fund and plant some really efficient schools.

The Council had made it a condition of receiving the grant that the schools should be open to a government inspector. On 13 January, 1855, John Hall 34 was appointed but he was replaced on 7 August by the Rev. R.B. Paul. 34 A further grant of £1,000 was made that year and it was handed over to the Bishop's commissary, Mathias, and the head of the Grammar School, Jacobs, to be expended under their direction. Mr Spowers was appointed treasurer and auditor. The Council was all this time toying with the idea of a permanent provincial ordinance but its great set-back was lack of funds. The grant was being raised from the tax on land sales and this was fluctuating and uncertain. Doubtful if it could continue, Fitzgerald wrote to Mathias asking for suggestions. This letter was considered by a meeting of the clergy on 10 November, 1855. 35 Bishop Selwyn, who was present, advised them to agree unanimously upon some system of education which they might recommend to the Council.

It would seem that many thoughtful church men were being aroused from their lethargy; for the newspaper columns were sprinkled with letters urging the Church to develop a definite conviction of the value of church education. Typical of these was a letter published in the

34. Canterbury Provincial Gazettes.
"Canterbury Standard" of 3 January, 1856. "Had not the flock owners been fully convinced that scab, if allowed to spread unchecked would have ruined their flocks.... they would not have been so prompt in applying a stringent remedy in the Scab Ordinance.... If then we were only equally well afraid that those dangerous and infectious diseases on man, called vice and crime are the sure product.... of an untaught and undisciplined childhood.... and were convinced that the only safeguard against them is a right education, it is probable that we should apply our minds to the subject of education with the same zeal and promptitude."

Despite good advice from this and other quarters the clergy failed to reach any definite decision and it was left to the Provincial Council to make its own plans. It was decided merely to renew the grant - though this time it was assured by being appropriated from the general funds. The grant was increased to £1,300 and allocated as follows:— the Christchurch schools £370; the Lyttelton schools £370; Akaroa £130; Papanui £120; Governor's Bay £25; Kaiapoi £120; Okain's Bay £50; Dissenters £80.36 These arrangements were acquiesced in by a clergy meeting of 23 April, 1856.37

The trend of these years was for initiative to pass from the Church to the Provincial Council. The

36. The Lyttelton Times, 2 April, 1856.
moribund condition of many of the schools and the
dependence of the Church on Government aid made many
question the value of the system and wonder if secular
education might not be more efficient. Much depended on
the policy that Bishop Harper would adopt on his arrival.

It remains now to consider briefly the few church
schools which were established in the years 1853 to 1856.
Such was the penury of the Association and the apathy of
clergy and people that no new schools had been opened since
1851. Having made a grant of £1,000 the Provincial Council
decided to take matters in hand and erect more schools to
educate the rapidly expanding population. On 15 April, 1854,
the Executive Council determined to establish two types of
schools: upper or grammar schools, and district or parochial
schools. A grammar and commercial was to be established at
Lyttelton under the Bishop's comissary, the fee per pupil
was to be 22/10/- a quarter. Church district schools were
to be established as soon as possible in Christchurch,
Riccarton, Papanui, the Ferry Road, Lyttelton, Governor's
Bay, Akaroa, and Okain's Bay. The fee was to be 1/- a week
and 6d for every additional child in the same family.
Scholarships entitling the best pupils to free tuition were
to be granted. The Council was to have the right to inspect
the schools and to audit the accounts. Appointments and
instructions were to be regulated by Mathias in
collaboration with the Council's inspector. The masters of
the upper schools were to be responsible for and to visit
their local district schools while the incumbent of Akaroa
was to visit his two schools. Religious training was to be given in accordance with Church of England dogma in all the schools, but children of dissenters were not obliged to attend. 38

On 27 May, 1854, a notice appeared in the "Lyttelton Times" inviting applications for schoolmasters for the district schools about to be set up. The salaries offered ranged from £80 to £120 p.a., and a house adjoining the school was to be provided wherever possible. The first of these schools to open was a district school for Christchurch girls in a house in Cashel Street. 39 The mistress was Mrs F. Thompson, wife of the second master at the Grammar School. That was 15 July, and on 22 July the teachers for most of the other district schools were announced. 40 Miss C.A. Roworth was to take charge of the Governor's Bay school; Mr G. Mayo, a boys' district school at Lyttelton and Mrs Mayo a girls' school; Mr J. Fisher was appointed to Riccarton school; and Mrs Mary Dixon to Christchurch Quay district school. A further application for the Papanui district school appeared the same day and a salary of £80 was offered. This school was opened in August. Mr Fisher's stay at Riccarton was brief; for the Gazette of 1 November, 1854, announced the appointment of Mr T. Townsend to that school.

38. The Lyttelton Times, 22 April, 1854.
40. Canterbury Provincial Gazette.
The commencement of a grammar and commercial school at Lyttelton was in no small measure due to Sewell's efforts. On 3 May, 1854, he recorded in his Journal that if they could get some of the grant they might start the much wanted grammar school at Lyttelton. "Here are a parcel of big boys above the lower class, learning nothing but mischief." 41 Sewell talked it over with Fitzgerald who agreed on 7 May to provide £200 p.a., for a headmaster and £110 for a second master - subject to the Association providing schoolrooms for which rent was to be paid at £70 p.a. On 15 May the Rev. George Cotterill was appointed headmaster. Sewell agreed to lease to immigration barracks for the purpose. One to house the two district schools and the other for the grammar schools and masters' house. 42 The grammar school opened on Monday 31 July, 1854. 43 It was conducted in two divisions: the first provided a classical and commercial education at 32/10/- a quarter per pupil and the second a sound commercial education for a fee of 21/10/- a quarter. 44 In conjunction with this evening classes for adults were conducted in the district boys' school three nights a week from seven to nine for 1/6 a week.

On 21 July, 1855, the grant to the Lyttelton grammar school was increased to £370 and a second master,
Mr Pollard, was appointed. The appointment was also announced by Mathias of Miss Bunker as mistress of an infants' district school at Lyttelton. 45

On 10 January, 1855, Mr Knowles's Pidgeon Bay school reopened under the pretentious title of 'Audsley Academy.' There was to be a senior and junior class and the fee for boarders was seven and a half guineas a quarter. 46

By the time that the Bishop arrived all the schools planned by the Council were in existence, but could hardly be said to be prospering. Numbers were uniformly small. In Christchurch there were thirty-two at the grammar school; thirty-three at the boys' and forty at the girls' district school; and twenty-two at Mrs Harris's infant school. Actual attendance in those days was invariably well below the number enrolled; so we may conclude that a very small percentage of the population was receiving an adequate education. In the "Lyttelton Times" of 13 May, 1857, a paper generally favourable to the existing system, the following criticism is found in the course of a summary of colonial progress: "The statistics of education in the province are tedious to give and, we must confess, reflect anything but credits on us." 47

If the Anglican schools had made a satisfactory beginning by the end of 1852, by 1856 they had failed to

45. Ibid, 21 July, 1855.
46. Ibid, 1 January, 1855.
47. R.B. Paul, op. cit., p.15.
48. Unfortunately, no statistics were given.
keep abreast of the growing population. Codley's relaxation of the pasturage regulations in July, 1851, had opened the settlement to all comers and destroyed all hopes of religious unity. By 1856 several dissenting churches had been established, but, apart from one private school, education remained an Anglican preserve. Yet this was no evidence of the activity of the Anglican church. The two grammar schools in the Province owed their existence almost entirely to the work of one man, Henry Sewell. The impetus for the district schools had come from the Council.

No doubt the principal reason for the lack of a real interest in education was the preoccupation with material pursuits. The people were apathetic, perhaps disillusioned by the failure of the Association to fulfil its rosyate promises. The clergy leaned on the Council. The Council were not able or not willing to provide all that was needed.
CHAPTER III

THE DENOMINATIONAL SYSTEM. 1857-62.

The annual subsidies to the church schools were only a temporary arrangement and now that the Bishop was in the settlement, the population increasing, and the Provincial revenues more buoyant,¹ it was desirable that the system of education should be put on a permanent footing. As Fitzgerald said: "The system at present in operation is the very worst which can be adopted. It is a system of giving just enough assistance to paralyse all independent exertion, without giving enough to establish a thoroughly efficient system of education."²

Some felt 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. At a public meeting in Lyttelton on 14 May, 1857, he delivered a long and powerful attack against the denominational system. He advocated the principle of 'rendering unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's.' To him

1. Provincial revenues, 1857, £48,000; Population 6,230.
2. The Lyttelton Times, 16 May, 1857.
the State had nothing whatever to do with the religious culture of the child. That was the office of the parent and of the clergyman. "Let them do their duty and we should have more religion than any school could give."

He quoted figures to show that in England one in every seven and a half of the whole population were being educated at a cost of fourpence per head while in Canterbury, at an expense of £/7 per head, only one in every twenty were being educated. It was his opinion that an attempt to enforce any system of theology in a national system of education was an anachronism.  

However, he was to be no more than the morning star of the secularist opposition; for the average citizen was reluctant to throw over the existing system which the churchmen, led by C.C. Bowen, in the Provincial Council were determined to maintain and extend. Public opinion for the most part did not dream of divorcing religious from secular instruction and the denominational system was advocated on the grounds of toleration and equity to all beliefs. The editorial of the "Lytton Times" of 16 May, 1857, faithfully reflected this view. It considered that the historic interpretation of education was the inculcating, by daily teaching and practice, of the highest truths known to the time and people.

"When we confess our inability to understand the expression

2. The Lyttelton Times, 16 May, 1857.
'secular education' we are aware that it lays us open to a charge of being 'behind the age' - but in company of good and great men who have refused to believe that their learning of figures and of 'ologies can in any way be called an education.

The result was, that on the receipt of a resolution from the religious leaders of the Province advocating an extension of the existing system, the Provincial Council passed an Education Ordinance on 19 May, 1857. Every school receiving government aid was to be under the entire management of one of the religious heads who would appoint teachers and have control over all instruction. Religious teaching was to be subject to freedom of conscience. A uniform scale of fees was to be drawn up by the religious heads in consultation with the Provincial Council. The grant was increased to £2,500 and was voted for a five year period ending 31 March, 1862. £250 was to go annually to the Church of England and £250 each to the Wesleyans and Presbyterians. A government Inspector with a salary of £300 was to be appointed to report on the secular instruction given, and the expenditure of the grant. The grant was made in a lump sum, as in England, and the religious heads left free to apportion it. Quarterly statements of accounts were to be made to the Council - this, however, proved a dead letter, as did the provision for the

3 Canterbury Ordinance, Session VIII, No.10.
4 J.P. Restell, appointed Dec. 1858.
consultation of the civil and religious heads.\(^5\)

The education question seemed settled and the attention of the colony was concentrated on its material pursuits. "The laity were more occupied with the scab which was spreading across the flocks, and with the watercress which was choking the streams. Some of the clergy showed themselves alive to the importance of their schools, but the interest of most was of a fitful and languid kind."\(^6\) Bishop Harper found himself the principal educational official in the Province and he proceeded to use the government grant to set up parochial schools in the new districts which were being opened up.

The importance which the Bishop attached to education can be seen from the prominent place which he gave to the subject in his address at the opening of the diocesan Synod at Christchurch in May, 1861. He considered that, next to places of worship, schools were of chief importance to the welfare of the community. Reviewing the situation he stated that in nine of the parishes there were fourteen schools, and in three of the parochial districts, five schools. Excluding seventy at the Grammar School, there were six hundred children under instruction. Children of the other communions were freely admitted and were not required to attend at such times as were set apart for religious instruction, if the

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\(^5\) The Lyttelton Times 23 May, 1857.

\(^6\) H.T. Purchas, Bishop Harper and the Canterbury Settlement, P.167.
parents objected. He said the Church was doing its utmost to give the highest amount of secular instruction but were keeping steadily in view that their main business was to educate the children in the faith and fear of God. He hoped that teachers would not only provide secular instruction, but would also remind the children by the teaching of their lips and the still more powerful teaching of their lives that all knowledge was of little avail if the children did not, both at school and in after life, set God always before them.

On 4 June, 1861, a report on the state of the church schools was made to Synod. It was found that present funds were inadequate to the task, that more schools were required in new districts. The existing schools were in most cases too small and almost unfit for the purposes for which they were used, being mere shells of buildings and devoid of those comforts and conveniences which are so needful for the health and training of the children. Throughout the Province there was a great want of furniture - desks, books and maps. Acting on this the Synod resolved to set up local school committees of five communicant members of the Church of England elected annually and the church warden, under the ex officio chairmanship of the local curate. These committees were to have control of the appointment and dismissal of teachers and of the appointment of fees. The share of the

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7 Diocesan Synod Reports, 29 May, 1861, P.18.
8 Church Quarterly Paper, 1 Oct., 1861, P.8.
government grant falling to each parish was to be paid to these committees which would expend it as they saw fit. Unfortunately, such was the lack of interest in education that in very few instances was this regulation obeyed and in still fewer was it made operative. The Bishop still had to licence every school teacher before he could accept an appointment and so the net result was to retain the power of appointment with the Bishop.

It was also decided by Synod to petition the Provincial Council for an increase in the government grant. As the existing grant would expire the following March it was decided to ask for a fresh Ordinance in which larger provision could be made for the maintenance of a competent staff of teachers and the erection and furnishing of adequate buildings. It was hoped that the Council would extend the existing system and make it more permanent by fixing the new grant for a number of years. The petition concluded with a suggestion that the Council might grant free passages for English teachers coming out to teach in the church schools.9

There was no immediate need to do anything and the Provincial Council shelved the petition, preferring to wait for the time for the expiry of the existing agreement on subsidies drew near. Outside the Council Chambers dissatisfaction grew. To the voice of the secularists was

9 'Humble Petition' drawn up by Bishop Harper, 14 June, 1861. (unpublished)
added that of the nonconformists, who desired a more equitable division of the government grants. Point was given to this argument by the government Inspector's report on 14 January, 1862. This revealed that while 67% of the population were Church of England there were but 442 in the church schools, while the dissenters, representing 33% of the population had 481 on the books of their schools. It was necessary to make a new grant to the schools for the coming year and the Council, deferring a permanent solution, increased the grant to £5,450 of which the Church of England was to get £3,000.

The undercurrent of dissatisfaction remained. There was not sufficient money for the Church of England, and still less for the others, to extend and consolidate their schools.

The gold discoveries in Otago were having repercussions in Canterbury and there was at the time a keen market in Otago for wheat, butter and meat. Consequently, the number of farms was rapidly on the increase and many new rural districts were being opened up. Large districts were without schools while in some town areas there were several schools where one would have sufficed. On 28 October, 1862, the Council again took up the problem of education. A review of the progress of education since 1854 showed that a quarter of the population was illiterate in that year but that this had dropped to a twelfth by 1856. By 1859 a tenth of the total population were

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10 The Lyttelton Times, 18 Jan., 1862.
11 The Lyttelton Times, 1 Nov., 1862.
under instruction and in 1860, when a system of registration was started in schools aided by the grant, there were 1706 under instruction of whom 610 were in Church of England schools. In 1861 the numbers rose to 1956 and 766 respectively. The Council decided that the information laid before it was too incomplete for it to pass a permanent law and further information was requested as to the operation of the existing system and future requirements.

The Council set up a commission on 10 March, 1863 to enquire into the state of education. The chairman was H.J. Tancred and he was assisted by the Rev. J.Lillie D.D., W. Rolleston E.A., and S.L.Saunders. On 17 July, 1863, the Education Commission made an interim report. While noting that in schools supported by the government aid great attention was paid to the religious part of the instruction, the Commissioners attributed it, not to the distribution of funds among the heads of the denominations, but rather to the good feeling and religious principle of the masters. They stated that the clergy did not exercise anything approaching to an efficient supervision over the schools under their direction, nor took any active part in directing the course of instruction, secular or religious. It was found that in many schools the sole connection with the denomination was that it was the channel for its portion of the grant. This implied that the religious teaching given was not necessarily that

12 The editorial noted a discrepancy between these figures and Restell's, published in Jan. These would lessen criticism of the Church of England's share in the grant. The difference is probably due to fluctuating attendances.
distinctive of the denomination to which the school belonged. The state of the school buildings, little better than sheds, was found to demand immediate attention. Conditions were so bad that many parents were deterred from sending their children. The commissioners also found that the scale of salaries proportionate to attendance had been disregarded while the Council Executive had been left without powers of controlling extravagant and unnecessary expenditure. 13

This was a hard blow to the Bishop. It affected him in his public capacity and the following entry in his journal shows how keenly he felt it:— "25 July. Mr Tancred called, spoke to him on the unfairness of the report towards the Church of England." 14 The Bishop maintained that the Church of England had not indulged in rivalry in establishing schools; that the clergy had taken part in religious teaching in the schools; that distinctive teaching in the form of the catechism had been given; and that their non-compliance with the scale of salaries had been sanctioned by the Executive Government.

When the full report was published it did much to exonerate the Bishop personally and showed that far from establishing schools in a spirit of rivalry, he erred the other way. 15 But it was also to reveal the Bishop's

15. While 76% of the children at Church of England schools were Anglicans only 37% of those at Presbyterian schools were Presbyterians while the majority were Anglicans.
ignorance of the actual state of affairs in the church schools.

The "Lyttelton Times", hitherto a staunch supporter of the denominational system, reflected the changing public opinion when it executed a volte-face on 12 August, 1863. The editorial set out to disabuse the public mind that religious was necessarily synonymous with denominational education. "What we want is not a slavish copy in miniature of every English institution. We want English principles with colonial adaptations."

The Bishop thought otherwise, and at the opening of the diocesan Synod session of 6 October, 1865, he spoke at length concerning education. If the commissioners were to exclude any religious truth which was, in their view, unnecessary to the education of children they would, in fact, virtually be setting up a denomination of their own, or what might be really called a state religion, which in its turn would generate an indifference to all religion. He proceeded to extol the virtues of the English system which combined government aid with voluntary exertion. This was being shown by experience to meet most effectually the educational wants of England without any encroachment on the religious rights of the people. While not objecting to the legitimate government control of secular education in aided schools the Bishop felt that "to us schools in

which we may freely teach all that we are bound to teach, are as necessary in any parochial organisation as the churches in which we minister. The are the instruments of religion which we cannot dispense with, if the lambs of our flock are to be duly fed. Sunday Schools, however useful, are not sufficient for this purpose. They cannot exert the same wholesome influence on the character of the young as the teaching and training of daily schools.... exemplified in the lives and conduct of the teachers."

On 10 November, 1863, the final and full report of the Education Commission appeared. 17

This report disclosed a state of things, not completely unsatisfactory, but undoubtedly leaving very much to be desired. Nearly all the schools imparted adequate religious instruction while most of them taught the three R's reasonably well. The Commissioners thought the children in the upper classes of the best schools would compare very favourably with their equivalent in England; but, on the other hand, they found cases of appointments of teachers who were quite unfit to discharge their duties.

The number of schools in the Province was estimated at ninety including Sunday Schools. Government aid was being granted for thirty-seven day schools—twenty-one Church of England; nine Presbyterian; and seven Wesleyan.

17. Published in sections—The Lyttelton Times, 10 Nov., to 28 Nov., 1863.
As there were 3,739 children of school age and only 2,100 attending any school this meant there were 1,600 attending no school whatsoever. Allowing for home education, the Commissioners considered there were at least 1,000 children who were receiving no training. This position was aggravated by the fact that in all the schools the average attendance fell well below the number on the books. The principal cause was seen to lie in the lack of schools and coupled with faulty geographical distribution of what schools there were.

A statement of income and expenditure on education by the Church of England for the year ending 31 December, 1862, brought to light the following facts:

Income:  
- From government grant £ 2563/ 7/ 2
- From school fees 1690/ 8/ 8
- From voluntary contributions 123/ 2/ 11
Total £ 4376/ 13/ 9

Expenditure:  
- Salaries £ 3476/ 0/ 8
- Buildings and equipment 815/ 4/ 3
Total £ 4291/ 4/ 11

As there were 1,457 children attending Church of England schools, it was costing £3 to educate each child. The cost to the other denominations was even more: the Presbyterians, £3/8/- per child, and the Wesleyans, £3/2/- . But these figures were based on a total school roll of 2,459 whereas the Inspector's visits revealed an average attendance throughout the Province of only 994. This meant it was really costing
£7/13/- to educate each child in actual attendance. The Commissioners condemned the exorbitant expense and contrasted it unfavourably with the cost of educating the average scholar in England and Australia.

Turning to a consideration of the teachers the report revealed that of the forty-six teachers in aided schools, twenty-six had had no previous training while only seven held certificates from England. The Church of England had sixteen male and nine female teachers, not including the grammar school, and of these only two had been trained in England. The Synod regulations as to the appointment of teachers had not been carried out and the majority were appointed by the Bishop. As to the Bishop's policy in the selection of teachers, the report quoted a statement he had made. He had said that in making an appointment he would select a teacher from among the many Anglicans desirous to promote the religious education of the young. While admitting that these persons were not trained teachers the Bishop felt they made up for it by their zeal in the cause. A second class from which he drew his supply of teachers were young men who were intending to take orders. The Bishop said that he felt that teaching was an invaluable training for those about to enter the ministry. The Commissioners were forthright in their condemnation of this.

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Government grant per child</th>
<th>Total including fees</th>
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<tr>
<td>New South Wales</td>
<td>£1. 10. 2.</td>
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They emphasised the need for special teacher-training and for raising the status of the profession which was more than a probation for the deaconate.

Eleven of the twenty-one Anglican schools had no school committee and nowhere was there an active committee. The Synod resolution had proved a dead letter. The clergy had neglected to supervise the schools. There were only two instances of regular visits by clergy who gave religious instruction. In six schools casual visits were paid by the clergy and in one case the school was conducted by the local vicar.

The Commission found that the religious teaching being given was not controversial; the teachers had maintained a wise discretion; that no undue prominence was given to distinctive doctrines; and that most schools opened with prayer and Bible reading. In six Anglican schools the catechism was not used and in the others, dissenting children did not have to learn it. Parents were careless and ignorant as to the distinctive points of Christian doctrine and it was principally in the minds of ministers and denominational leaders that the 'religious difficulty' assumed any magnitude. In selecting a school for their children parents looked for a general efficiency in teaching, and did not concern themselves with the inculcation of special points of religious doctrine. The efficiency of

19. Supra, P.74.
the religious teaching was found to differ with the
color of the teacher, example being better
than precept, and so the Commissioners emphasised the
importance of selecting teachers of high morale and religious
character provided other qualifications were not overlooked.
They concluded: "The so-called denominational system which
has hitherto been tried in Canterbury, does not compensate
for the difficulties and complications to which it necessarily
gives rise, by the attainment of a higher standard of
religious teaching than could be attained with a less
complicated machinery."

Condemning the inherent weakness of a system which
allowed the three religious bodies to pursue their own
policies independent of the Legislature, the Commission
recommended the setting up of a Board of Education
responsible to the Executive Council, the setting up of
local district school committees, and the levying of a
household rate to ensure the stability of the grant.

The designers of the 1857 Ordinance had failed to
realize their ideal of religious education and so, for the
future, the Commission suggested that while schools should
open with a reading and prayer, distinctive religious
teaching should not be given unless requested by a meeting
of parents.

Of the individual schools during the period of
denominational control there is little information. The
Tasman Commission Report gives a graphic but brief review
of each school in the Province and apart from that there is
an egregious dearth of records. The Bishop announced at the opening of the Synod Session of October, 1863, that the number of Anglican schools had risen from nine at the time of his arrival to twenty-four. Of these twenty-one were subsidised from the government grant.

There were only ten school buildings in the Province and seven were Anglican. The largest was Christ's College Grammar School which had a roll of seventy-four in 1863. It now consisted of two masters' residences, a large schoolroom, forty feet by twenty-seven feet, and two classrooms, twenty-seven feet by sixteen feet and thirty feet by fifteen feet. An additional building, sixty feet by thirty feet, was under construction.

In 1859 St. Michael's school was transferred from the schoolroom built in 1851 to a much larger building erected at the cost of £750 from the government grant. The new school was made up of a schoolroom, thirty-seven feet by twenty-five feet, a classroom, fourteen feet by ten feet, and a master's residence all under the same roof. It was situated on three roods, owned by the Church Property Trustees, next to St. Michael's church. In 1863 there were 133 pupils on the books both boys and girls, and the master was Mr. Rawley.

In the course of 1858 and 1859 a boys' and girls'

20. From R.J. Tancock's correspondence files. A list of the staff of the church schools in 1863 has been compiled by A.C. Butcher, op.cit., Appendix D, P. 356.
school was built on land owned by Christ's College on
Kaiapo Island at a cost of £349/13/9, £356 of which was
raised by voluntary contributions. It consisted of an
unlined schoolroom and a detached master's house. In 1863
it had a roll of seventy-three and an average attendance
of forty-five.

At Bangiola there was a boys' and girls' school
in the charge of Mr G. Norton. There were two buildings;
a boys' school thirty-six feet by eighteen feet, built in
1861, and a girls' school twenty-four feet by twelve feet
built in 1854. They stood on a five acres' section.
The total cost was £345 of which £200 had been raised in
England. In 1863 the roll was seventy; the rooms required
lining and there was a deficiency of apparatus.

The Akaroa, standing on a two rods' site, had been
built in 1859 at a cost of £400. The building comprised
a schoolroom thirty feet by sixteen and a half feet and a
master's residence of four rooms under the one roof.
In 1863 the schoolroom was badly in need of repairs; the
furniture was dilapidated; the single desk in the centre of
the room was unfit for school use; and there was an
insufficient supply of books and apparatus. The master,
Mr Benning had had no previous experience; the attainment
of the pupils was very low and their numbers were decreasing.
In 1863 the roll stood at eighteen.

At Riccarton there was another mixed school. It was
a single building, containing a schoolroom thirty-two feet
by sixteen feet and a master's house of five rooms, and
stood on an acre section owned by the church. This was part of a twenty acre block given by Archdeacon Mathias for a church and school at Riccarton.\textsuperscript{21} Built in 1859 at a cost of £450, in 1863 it was in tolerable repair but still unfinished. There were twenty-eight on the books.

The schoolroom at Papanui was built in 1859, the cost, £180, being met out of the government grant. The room was thirty feet by twenty feet and stood on a half acre plot fronting Harewood Road between the present post office and the cemetery. In January 1859 Mr Charles Jennings was licensed as schoolmaster and continued there until his death in 1860. The next teacher was Mr F. Haskins, the local post master and after him came Mr Fleming and Mr Mayo who remained when the government took over in 1873. Mrs Jennings taught in the school on her husband's death and her two daughters opened a private school in their mother's house on the North Road. In 1861 there were fifteen at this school.\textsuperscript{22} On visiting the Papanui school in 1863 the Commissioners found that it needed lining, that the floor was improperly laid, and that the teachers and children were suffering from colds which were causing an irregular attendance. The pupils on the roll numbered sixty.

The Commission found that there were sixteen buildings in the Province used both as schools and churches.

\textsuperscript{21} Church Quarterly Paper, Oct. 1864.

\textsuperscript{22} Souvenir publication. 75 anniversary of St. Paul's Papanui. Christchurch. 1928.
The Church of England possessed nine such chapel-schools.

In 1863 the St. Luke's school in Christchurch consisted of infants and some elder girls, forty-eight in all. The Commissioners condemned it as totally unfit. It was unlined and had no fireplace. The approach to the school was such as to render attendance in wet weather almost impracticable, there being no formed road leading to it. The school-mistress lived at a considerable distance and was unpunctual in her attendance. However, the parishioners were at the time contemplating the building of a new schoolroom.

That the Okain's Bay mixed school came into existence was largely due to the strenuous exertions of Mr Torlesse the local vicar. Appointed to St. John's Church in September 1859 he met with much opposition. "It was amazing that Mr Torlesse stuck to it, but he won eventually. He obtained his first victory when he organised a cricket match and the men found he was a fine bat and could play most games better than they did. He pressed home his advantage and organised a night school for the men. He also acted as schoolmaster to the children."23

In 1860 a chapel-school was built, with the aid of a £300 grant from the government, on a three acre government reserve. The master's house was half a mile away and described as 'poor' in 1863, despite additions made to it

23. Akaroa and Bank's Peninsula, 1840-1940, P.296.
at his own cost. The master at that time, who was also vicar of the district, was Mr Bishop. When the Commissioners visited the school they found thirty-six pupils in attendance. A fireplace and chimney had just been added at the cost of £10, £7 of which had been donated. They noted that the deficiency seemed likely to fall on the master. They also observed that the schoolroom admitted rain from the south-west in consequence of the imperfect way it was put together.

At Little Akaroa the Church of England mixed school was held in a room twenty-four feet by twelve feet which also served as the master's residence and a church. Built in 1858 on a half acre section for a total cost of £80, much of which was raised voluntarily, by 1863 it was too small for Mr D. O. Hampton and his twenty-five pupils. Ten acres had been bought and it was proposed to erect a new chapel-school.

Lord Lyttelton gave the plot of an acre on which a chapel-school twenty feet by fifteen feet and a two-roomed master's house had been built at Duvauchelle's Bay in 1860. The outlay was £108 and all but £15 was raised locally. In 1863 there were seventeen on the books, the schoolroom was unlined and without a fireplace, while the house was not weather-proof. Until recently the master, Mr F. Vanstone, had been obliged to eke out his meagre income by manual labour half the day while his wife took charge of the school.

The Prebbleton parochial school was held in the church. Built in 1862 for £250 - £100 being raised voluntarily - it was erected on a six acre section, a private donation from
the Bishop. The master lived in a one-roomed hut a mile from the school. In 1863 there were eighteen pupils.

In Upper Heathcote there was a small mixed school in the care of Miss Dempster. It was held in a chapel-school twenty-one feet by thirteen feet adjacent to the teacher's residence. Built in 1858 from a grant of £150 it stood on a half acre site which was part of the Jackson Trust Estate.

At what is now Belfast, the Purarakanui or North Road chapel-school was built in 1859. The first master was R.W. Foulger, later succeeded by Mr Kaye. In 1863 the Commissioners found the master's house unfinished, the number of scholars only eleven, and they received complaints from parents as to the coldness of the building to which was attributed the paucity of the attendance.

In 1862 the Wairarapa parochial district chapel-school was established on a five acre site on Harewood Road for a cost of £274/ 1/ 9. The following year the Commissioners found it without a fire-place and condemned it as unfit in bad weather. There were then eleven pupils who were under the charge of two brothers, Messrs. James and John Foulger. They left at the end of 1863 to become lay readers and subsequently clergy and were succeeded by Mr. Mulligan.

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A boys' and girls' school was opened in the chapel at Oxford by Mr J.H. Ralfe in 1862. It stood on a government reserve of five acres vested in the Superintendent in trust for educational purposes. In 1863 the Commissioners found that the school had been temporarily transferred to a private house for which a nominal rent of sixpence a week was being paid. There were then twenty-eight pupils.

There were three schools held in a building owned by the Lyttelton Municipal Council. Two of these were Anglican - the Lyttelton parochial boys' and girls' school and an infants' school. Both were founded in 1854 and were conducted in what had originally been immigration barracks. The Lyttelton grammar and commercial had petered out in 1857 when on 2 April G. Cotterill was transferred to Christ's College.25 In 1863 the parochial school was badly lighted and without ventilation. There were no outdoor offices and the drainage ran under the schoolroom rendering the building most unwholesome for school purposes. The master stated that the children suffered severely in health, in warm weather, from the foul state of the atmosphere. The roll stood at sixty-one of whom only nine were girls - twenty having gone off to the Wesleyan school in the course of 1863.

The infant school with its thirty-six children was in a similar plight. The building was cold, draughty, and

25 Jacobs, Christ's College School List, p. 27.
leaky. Whooping cough prevailed. It adjoined the immigration barracks and the day the Commissioners visited the school the clothes of the immigrants were hanging out to dry immediately in front of the only door and window.

The people of Lyttelton were only too well aware of the deficiency of their church schools and a campaign was launched for the building of a new school. £170 was raised locally by voluntary subscriptions and the Bishop gave £300 from the government grant. A former incumbent of Trinity church, E.W. Dudley, donated three quarters of an acre for a site and also set aside certain property in the town as an endowment for the education of poor children. Mr. C. M. Iglesiasden designed the new school of wood on a stone foundation. It was forty feet by twenty feet and calculated to hold a hundred scholars. A temporary infant school for forty to fifty children was erected on the same site. On 10 December, 1863, the new parochial schoolroom was opened by the Bishop.26

There were also three Anglican schools held in private houses. In Heathcote Valley there was a mixed school in a four-roomed house, for which an annual rental of £30 was paid. When the Commissioners visited it they found twenty-eight pupils in a small room with no fire place and poor ventilation. They considered it both inadequate and unsuited, estimating that if there were an efficient school in the

26 Church Quarterly Paper, Jan., 1864.
Valley the numbers could have been raised to a hundred.

T.L. Stanley conducted a mixed school in a five-roomed house in Timaru which was rented at £35 per annum. The commissioners thought the building, originally a woolshed, unsuited to the purpose, and the furniture and appliances insufficient. There was no proper playground for the children who had to play on the road.

The Lower Heathcote school was held in the mistress's house on Ferry Road. There were forty-one pupils. The Commissioners considered it a good school of its class but hardly suitable for the instruction of older children.

It had been the desire of the Church from the beginning of the settlement to establish a school for the Maoris.\(^\text{27}\) This was at last fulfilled; but its success was to prove ephemeral. At a meeting of the clergy, at which Bishop Selwyn and Bishop Harper were present, on 14 January, 1857, it was decided to apply for a portion of the grant for native purposes in New Zealand for the education of Maoris in Canterbury.\(^\text{28}\) Nothing came of this until 1860 when the General Government made a grant of £200. An additional grant of £200 was made the following year. In notifying the Bishop of this, T.H. Smith, the Acting Native Secretary of the General Government, wrote: "I am to convey to you the thanks of His Excellency and of the Government

\(^{27}\) Supra, P.42.

\(^{28}\) Church minute book, 1851-61.
for the service you have rendered towards the establishment of this school."

Owing to the numbers and ignorance of the native children it was intended to establish a boarding school. By this means their standard of living could be raised, regular attendance assured, and a good education given. The school was to teach the three R's in English and religious instruction was to be taught by the Rev. Stack, vicar of Kaiapoi, and Maori Missioner. Such a school it was hoped, would serve as a training school for native teachers for all parts of the Province. In April, 1862, the services of a fully qualified native teacher, Ruimâ, were secured. He was to be paid an annual salary of £29/10/0.

It was anticipated that expenses for this industrial school would be large; they needed a schoolroom, accommodation for twenty to thirty children, a teacher's house, furniture and apparatus, and farm implements. The Provincial Government was approached and a grant of £250 was received. The Maoris themselves raised £50 and donated timber to the value of £50. On 17 December, 1862, the foundation stone was laid by the Bishop. The Maoris appeared deeply interested in the ceremony and showed their interest by a liberal contribution. The collection, suggested by themselves, amounted to £16/10/0. By July,


1863, £300 had been spent on the school buildings which were nearing completion. The twenty acre section was securely fenced and the land was being put under crop to provide food for the school. 31

The perennial shortage of funds now prevented the realisation of this commendable effort. All the buildings were completed early in 1864 but the school did not open. Such was the abject poverty of many of the natives that they could not pay the amount needed for food and clothing to maintain the school. The coup de grace came when an outbreak of fire gutted the boarding-house. A day school was opened but it soon had to be abandoned owing to the irregularity of attendance. 32

The denomination system had been weighed in the balance and found wanting. It is arguable, however, that it never had a fair trial. The Council's grants were parsimonious, there lingered in the minds of the Councillors the idea that education was a charity. Although the grants were supplement by voluntary donations there was never sufficient money to undertake a comprehensive expansion programme and what new schools were built were usually left incomplete for want of money. In the few well established schools the standard was admittedly quite high but when the Bishop asked for the Council support to raise the standard elsewhere, by the assisted immigration of

32. Ibid. July, 1864.
English teachers, he met with no response. Apparently the main cause of failure in these years was the apathy of the people. They did not awaken to the pitiful inadequacy of their educational system until all its limitations were blatantly obvious.

As the "Lyttelton Times" of 5 December, 1863, pointed out, the position of the Anglican Church in England was very different. In Canterbury the settlement had not remained the pure Anglican colony that had been intended. Although Anglicans were in a considerable majority,\textsuperscript{33} they lacked the traditions of England and in many cases their affiliation was no more than nominal. Consequently, it is not surprising that the people, lacking any real sense of historic continuity and anxious to avoid religious dissensions, looked rather to the European than the English system of education. The Lyttelton Times considered the spread of state education in Europe the prime factor in the spread of liberalism.

Replying to this a correspondent, Mr Raven, stated his preference for English liberty rather than continental uniformity.\textsuperscript{34} The problem of balancing liberty with uniformity was to be the principal educational issue of the succeeding decade.

\textsuperscript{33} 1861 Census; Total population 16,040. Professed Anglicans 10,738.

\textsuperscript{34} The Lyttelton Times, 22 Dec., 1863.
CHAPTER IV

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE
CHURCH SCHOOLS. 1864-78.

The immediate outcome of the Tancred Commission had been the setting up of a permanent Board of Education on 12 August, 1863,¹ to administer the public grants in place of the three heads of the denominations. The chairman was H.J. Tancred and the first members were Rolleston, Lillie, and Saunders, all of whom had been members of the Education Commission. The two outstanding men on this Board were undoubtedly Tancred and Rolleston. Both were loyal churchmen and Fellows of Christ's College, while since 1859 Tancred had been Hulsen-Chichele Professor of Modern History in the Collegiate Department. Tancred's biographer records that he was "a man of the strictest honour, independence of mind, public spirit, and proved capacity; his presence was welcomed in all business, public and private."² Education was almost a passion with Tancred, both he and Rolleston took an active and fostering part in the educational enactments during these years.

1. Canterbury Ordinances, Session XX, No. 7.
In many ways they represented the enlightened lay opinion in the church which, though by no means opposing church schools as such, came to realise that denominationalism could not cope with the educational needs of the Province, nor could it be grafted into any state system of education.

The reaction of the Church to the Education Board and the findings of the Tancred Commission was immediately hostile. The fact that a serious inroad had been made on the Church’s virtual monopoly caused many of the clergy to become suspicious and resentful. When Synod met again on 2 August, 1864, the problems of education was to the forefront of the discussion. It was alleged that the action of the Board was partial and irregular, that it had caused the satisfaction by the arbitrary intrusion of teachers of other denominations into localities where most of the population were Church of England. The Bishop felt that this seemed to argue a disposition to interfere recklessly and unnecessarily with the just claims of the Church. “We cannot but regard with distrust such schools as those proposed by the Board of Education. The evil must be incalculably great if in the same school there should be a succession of teachers each holding different religious views.”3 He drew a distinction between truth as it is ascertained by the human intellect and revealed spiritual truth which is to be received in faith, feeling that under

such a system the latter was being seriously undermined. While this was no doubt true, it was too idealistic. He took no account of the disparity of views on "revealed truth," that the state was a secular association which had to provide for liberty of opinion, that the denominational system as a means of providing education for all had been confounded by facts.

Synod contented itself with two resolutions: one asking that church schools should be treated on an equal footing with schools established by the Board, and secondly, that local committees should administer the grant and carry out religious teaching in accordance with the wishes of the majority. Their avowed aims were to put an end to the present uncertainty to promote local management, and to seek full recognition for the denominational schools. The Tancred Commission had strongly discouraged the combination of the offices of clergymen and schoolmaster in the same person. Synod criticised the inexpediency of this. Thinking of the outlying districts which needed both clergy and schools, it was not easy to devise a means for their support. If the two offices were united in such cases a qualified man could be sent and could be supported out of school fees, the education grant, and church funds. Such a man would be a guarantee for intellectual advancement and moral training - while Mr Torlesse's example at Okain's and Akaroa Bays had proved its practicability. To facilitate greater uniformity

4. Church Quarterly Paper, April, 1866.
in the system, Synod on 17 August, 1864, constituted a Diocesan School Committee to supervise church education and to be the recognised channel of communication with the Board of Education. The Bishop was to be chairman and the other members were to be two clergy and two laymen elected annually by Synod.

It would seem that Synod's criticisms of the ill-defined nature of the Board of Education's activities and the uncertainty of the education system were valid. The Provincial Government realising the need for stability and order passed the Education Ordinance of 1864.⁵ This reflected the resolutions of the Synod in the wide powers it gave to local committees. It distinguished between secular and religious instruction and empowered local committees to set aside two half days a week for religious instruction in addition to a compulsory half hour's Bible reading every morning. A conscience clause was added, and exemption allowed, "if it shall appear to the satisfaction of the committee that such a child is under proper religious instruction elsewhere."⁶

The Synod's plea for equality of treatment for church schools was not unheard, although the swing of the pendulum was obvious. Provided that the denominational schools satisfied the Board's requirements as to accommodation, ventilation, and recreational facilities, and the teacher

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6. Ibid, Clause 41.
was approved by the Inspector, annual grants up to £2 for every child in average attendance were to be made. However, for the future, any district desirous of establishing a public school had only to guarantee a quarter of the outlay and the state would pay the remainder as well as grant up to £75 p.a., for its maintenance.

The majority of the Council acquiesced in the Bill. Mr Beswick condemned it for being neither secular nor denominational. He considered that the dual system in the public schools would only lead to a disgust for religion and that a religious bias was unavoidable if the teacher was to read and explain the Bible to children. Mr Fyfe too, could see little good in the Bill. To him, the system of taxation to secure adequate funds was the only commendable feature.7

Admittingly the Ordinance was a compromise. Church schools were to continue subsidised by the state. Alongside them were to grow up board schools under the control of local committees. The system was far from secular in that the clergy had ample provision for religious instruction. The great change now was that the clergy's opportunities to instruct depended on the desires of the people expressed through their school committees. With the government building subsidies it was inevitable that

7. The Lyttelton Times, 3 Sept., 1864.
the Board schools would increase more rapidly than the church schools yet it was not this Ordinance which destroyed the church schools, although their position was sadly undermined. The State could not afford to dispense with them in 1864, nor would the churchmen and the Provincial Council have allowed it. The true tendencies of the Ordinance were revealed in 1871 when school fees were abolished in the public schools. Church schools were thenceforth fighting a losing battle and when government subsidies to church schools ceased in 1874 the effect was to administer a quick death to an already moribund system.

The immediate result of the 1864 Ordinance was the collapse of eight Anglican schools. These were the schools at Harewood, Purarakanui, Oxford, Heathcote Valley, Lower Heathcote, Okain's Bay, Duvauchelles, and Little Akaloa. All of them had been small and struggling. None was self supporting and all had relied on the educational grants apportioned to them by the Bishop. Now that the amount of the grant was determined by the average attendance, they were obliged to close down because they had insufficient pupils to ensure a sufficient grant and no facilities for extending the size and scope of the schools, even had there been a demand for such. Some of the schools were transformed into district schools and the teachers were retained by the Government. In others, the pupils all left and went to the new and more efficiently staffed district schools.

Nevertheless the remaining church schools held their
own at this time and it was not until 1871 that the number of district schools surpassed that of the denominational schools.\footnote{Report of the Board of Education, year ending Sept., 1872, P.3.} In some districts new Anglican schools were established and in the case of Oxford, the Anglican school was reestablished in 1866. The most important church schools opened in these years were St. John’s in Christchurch in 1867, Avonside in 1865, Hokitika in 1868, and Addington in 1870.\footnote{v. Appendix A, Purchas, op. cit., erra on P.172 in stating that no new schools were established.} By 1871 the total number of Anglican schools had shrunk to fourteen.\footnote{v. Appendix A for the list of schools and average attendances and Appendix B for the staff list.} It appears that in most cases they were efficiently managed but they were often over crowded and the buildings inadequate. This was the inevitable result of the withdrawal of subsidies for building purposes since 1864, along with the rapidly expanding population of Canterbury.

In a report of 4 December, 1871,\footnote{Report of Board of Education, year ending Sept., 1872, P.31.} Bestell, the inspector of schools, mentions several of the Church of England schools which he had visited. He found St. Michael’s and St. John’s in good working order although the boys at St. John’s were very crowded and there was

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\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
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Year & Total No. of schools & Church schools & Year & Total No. of schools & Church schools \\
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1863 & 32 & 28 & 1868 & 51 & 31 \\
1864 & 36 & 30 & 1869 & 55 & 30 \\
1865 & 31 & 21 & 1870 & 61 & 33 \\
1866 & 40 & 27 & 1871 & 69 & 32 \\
1867 & 45 & 29 & 1872 & 77 & 15 \\
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\end{tabular}
an overflow of fourteen in a small porch. At St. Luke's the boys' school was in excellent condition, but not the girls' school; the building was unsuitable, being dark and cold. Addington school had made very satisfactory improvement largely due to local interest, so too had the Rangiora boys' school. The Anglican school at Riccarton was flourishing. "The superior efficiency of this school is highly commendable. Not only is the range of study above the average, but also the degree of accuracy and the exquisite neatness of the work are remarkable."

Perhaps the most interesting, and certainly the most unique church school in the sixties, was that established by Archdeacon H.W. Harper. Appointed Archdeacon of Westland in September, 1866, he undertook the work of organising the Church on the gold-fields. Writing from Hokitika on 15 October he described his day's work in the school which he had just begun. "Every morning I am there for prayers and Bible teaching, and, finding that we have several children of the well-to-do, I spend an hour in elementary Latin, French, History, and some Mathematics." The school was held in a rough wooden building and with a good master and mistress, Mr Stanton and Mrs Soffa, the roll soon rose to a hundred and twenty children who paid from 1/- to 2/6 per week. Assisted by a small government grant all went well.

On 5 February, 1868, he records that he had found

12 Ibid, P.35.
a much neglected posse of boys and girls, arrivals from Australia, attending neither day nor Sunday school, and that he had started a night school for them in a large iron building on the beach. "School is held four nights a week, with large attendance; the building being convenient, with a large central room and several smaller. Our experience has been very encouraging, but certainly novel; no difficulty with those inside the building, but outside we are beset with larrikins who lurk about in the darkness and deliver every sort of attack on the walls and roof with stones and sticks; .... to meet the enemy, we have formed a bodyguard of strong young fellows who patrol the building every night; frequent scrimmages take place, but only add zest to the business, and I find no lack of volunteers for it. .... Another night came a noise on the roof, and in a few minutes a boy who had climbed up to the top of the wide iron chimney, intending to chuck stones down it, missed his hold and slid to the hearth, fortunately fireless. Promptly seized, we kept him prisoner and so interested him with compulsory lessons that he became a regular pupil." The school was not without other difficulties. Few children had heard of the Bible and their views of morality were most primitive. Nevertheless the school had rapidly won favour and the

14 Ibid, P.123.
disturbances became less frequent, "though lately," wrote Harper, "a guest who was staying with me, much interested in this new country and keen about school work, had a very lively experience with us several evenings, and declared that he had never enjoyed anything more than our evening school." 

By 1870 dissatisfaction with the existing 'dual system' was rife. The Church was becoming even more conscious that its schools were failing through lack of funds. The State was disturbed by the fact that the existing system was not reaching large numbers of children. Education was discussed at length in the Fifth General Synod at Dunedin in February, 1871, the issue of the debate being a resolution, moved by Archdeacon H.W. Harper, to present a petition to the General Assembly at its next session. The petition included a request for grants in aid of church schools and recognition of the practice of Bible reading and of daily prayer in public schools. "Your petitioners venture to address your honourable House on these matters, being deeply impressed with the necessity and value of religious instruction in public schools for the welfare of this country, and with the conviction that denominational schools, when they are subject to strict government inspection, contribute to the

15 Ibid, P.124.
general cause of education an amount of voluntary zeal and practical experience which can rarely be over-valued."17

This could be briefly described as asking for the establishment of a Government Education Scheme on the same principles as those of Foster's Education Bill which had been enacted in England the previous year. Central control was established over all schools and aid was granted to church schools satisfying government tests in secular education. On the plea of religious liberty the church schools were to teach those who desired it what they distinctly believed. Realising that aid was essential if church primary schools were to continue, a system such as this, which did not attempt to separate the teaching of religion from the tenets of faith, was hotly advocated in the columns of the "Church News".

The whole question was thrashed out again when the Diocesan Synod met on 26 July, 1871. After quoting the successes of church schools in the examinations for Council scholarships, the Bishop said, "Yet it is notorious that they have not been dealt with of late on the same terms in the apportionment of the public funds."18

The Education Ordinance of 187119 was content to continue the grants to church schools on the basis of the 1864 Ordinance. The provisions for the entry of clergy

19. Canterbury Ordinances, Session XXXV, No.11.
into State schools were continued and the undefined religious instruction by the teacher was exchanged for the compulsory teaching of 'history, sacred and profane.'

The principal concern of the Act was to increase school attendance in the province. To this end Rolleston advocated that the best policy was to make education free in all Board schools; "and such a result, is as I think, but the corollary upon the adoption of any responsibility by the state in the matter of education." 20 After 1 March, 1872, no school fees were to be charged in Board schools and instead, every householder was to pay an annual rate of £1 and an additional 5/- for every child. It was aptly summed up by the 'Lyttelton Times' as "a system of mutual help and indirect compulsion." 21 Being compelled to pay an education rate, it was unlikely that many people would want to send their children to a church school which charged fees when free education was offered. The result was immediate and obvious. The number of church schools of all denominations declined from thirty-two in 1871 to fifteen in 1872, 22 while in 1873 there were seventy-nine Board schools and only eight church schools all Anglican. 23

Suggestions in the Council that it was time to abolish the system of grants to church schools fanned to flames the glowing embers of denominationalism, which still had supporters in the Council and among the people. All

21 The Lyttelton Times, 29 Jan., 1872.
22 Supra, note 8, P. 160.
chances of the church schools becoming widespread had been rendered hopeless by the 1871 Ordinance, now, the few that remained were faced with virtual extinction. However, hopes were revived when a Pyrrhic victory was gained in the Council by the denominationalists. Christchurch, Lyttelton, Kaiapoi, and Timaru showed their disapproval of the Ordinance by refusing to take advantage of its clauses relating to the formation of district school committees.

The question of grants to denominational schools was the subject of a debate in the Provincial Council in December, 1872. Mr Inglis was strongly in favour of doing away with the grants. He stated that denominational schools had proved inadequate and that whereas the attendance of the district schools had risen 63% in the last year, that of the church schools had risen by only 5%. He made the appalling disclosure that out of 21,450 children of school age in the Province, 6,500 were not attending schools. The outcome was that Board schools were to be established in districts where there were twenty-five or more children. As the Council could not be expected to support denominational schools in opposition to its own public schools, Christchurch and Kaiapoi were forced to form school committees, Lyttelton and Timaru having already yielded.\(^24\)

The advocates of the denominational system of

\(^24\) The Lyttelton Times, 6 Dec., 1872.
education made a last ditch stand the next year when a further Education Bill came before the Council. By this time, the only denominational schools were those of the Anglicans. The nonconformist schools having petered out, nonconformists could feel more clearly the defects of the denominational system and were prepared to let the State undertake secular training.

By April, 1873, church schools were few indeed, and far between. In Canterbury, Christchurch and Rangiora alone held out and in Christchurch St. John's had succumbed and St. Luke's referred the question "to be or not to be" to the annual meeting of parishioners held on 18 April. Mr G. Gordon felt that the sooner the parish gave way the better, but largely due to a stirring speech by Mr Justice Grenson, it was decided by a large majority to retain the school.25 The "Church News" was ardent in its support of the church schools; in its April edition the hope was expressed that St. Michael's and Rangiora with their traditions and prestige would not be lightly surrendered. "These at least should be maintained, chiefly for the actual good they will accomplish but also as beacons and rallying points, as links of connection with the past and standards of hope for the future, encouraging the upholders of Christian education not to despair of brighter days to come."26

25 Church News, May, 1873, P.79.
26 Church News, April, 1873, P.67.
It was, however, the debates of the Council which were to decide the future of the church schools. The feeling aroused would hardly seem to be warranted, when it is remembered that there were but eight church primary schools in question.\(^{27}\) The point at issue was less the fate of the individual schools than the principle of liberty which it was held included the right of the Church to teach religion. The State too, it was argued, had a duty to aid the Church in this work. The contest was fierce and acrid, and it continued throughout the year with a bitterness and an energy that have scarcely been equalled since by any public controversy in our history.\(^{28}\)

During the reading of the new Education Ordinance in May, Mr. Mackail moved an amendment that aid should not be withdrawn from the existing church schools. He felt that efficiency had been proved by the fact that since 1866 they had won fifty-three of the eighty-nine Council Scholarships. Having done good work for twenty years he declared that it was unjust to the conscientious scruples of many that they should be arbitrarily extinguished. In reply Mr. Inglis pointed out that to grant any aid would be to reverse the decision of the previous December and also that the church schools were not capable of coping with the prevalent illiteracy. It was his opinion that "religion was in a very bad state if it had to ask

\(^{27}\) v. Appendix A.

\(^{28}\) Lyttelton Times, 15 December, 1900.
the State for assistance. A religion was not worth snuff that could not stand by itself."

On 1 July the Education Ordinance of 1873 became law. It made no mention of grants to church schools and in 1873 all assistance ceased. Discussing this at the opening of Synod on 5 August, the Bishop declared that the omission was a direct call upon the clergy to be more diligent and systematic in the religious education of the young. He hoped that it would be possible still to maintain one or more of the church schools in Christchurch, and, that being the case, he proposed to ordain the masters and so give the schools a distinctive character. Synod debated the matter, the outcome of which was the following resolution: "While the Church will gladly avail herself of every opportunity allowed of imparting religious instruction to her children in

29 The Lyttelton Times, 9 May, 1873.
30 Canterbury Ordinances, Session XXXIX, No. 9.
31 Report of Board of Education for the year ending 14 Oct., 1874, P.1. The Report for the year ending 30 Sept., 1873, P.16, details the last grants made to the church schools:-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Addington</td>
<td>£50-0-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Michael's</td>
<td>£90-10-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrowside</td>
<td>£65-0-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. John's</td>
<td>£75-0-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rangiōra (Boys' school)</td>
<td>£80-0-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Luke's</td>
<td>£67-0-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Girls' school)</td>
<td>£16-0-0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Christ’s College Grammar School received £187/10/0. It will be remembered that the 1864 and 1871 Ordinances allowed the Council to grant up to £2 per child in average attendance. A glance at the average attendance figures in Appendix A and a comparison with the above figures reveals that the Council was by no means paying all they might have and justifies Mr Maskell’s assertions that church schools did not obtain a fair share of the Council’s education grants.
Government day schools, she cannot relinquish the duty of maintaining day schools where practicable."^{32} To effect this object, a Diocesan Education Committee comprising the Bishop, four clergy and four laity, was set up in place of the 1856 School Committee. The new committee was to advise on the course of instruction and general organisation of the church day schools and Sunday Schools. It was also to raise and manage a Diocesan Education Fund, towards which the Church Property Trustees made a grant of £150 for the ensuing year. Meeting on 21 February, 1874, this committee made, out of its funds, a half year grant of 5/- per head for every child attending the four remaining church primary day schools — the St. Michael's boys' school; the St. Luke's mixed school; the Pangia school; and the Merivale girls' school, the latter having been established that year.^{33}

The church schools had found it an uphill fight to exist even with government grants, so with only school fees and the pitifully inadequate dole from the Education Committee it is small wonder that within two years all the schools had closed down. The St. Michael's school was the first to go. At a parish meeting on 14 April, 1874, the parishioners learnt that the day school had closed, leaving the parish £150 in debt. That all interest had not gone was evidenced by the remarks of Mr. R. Parker the organist who spoke strongly of the need for religious education.

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32 Diocesan Synod Reports, 5 August, 1873, p.49.
33 Church News, Feb., 1874, p.34.
He had successfully conducted a self-supporting Anglican day school in Victoria and hoped to reopen the school before very long.

The St. Luke's girls' school was the subject of a parish meeting of 3 August, 1874. The school had lost the valuable services of Miss Brittan through ill-health and was having difficulty in obtaining a new mistress. The attendance had dropped to eighteen and the school was £4 1/7/6 in debt despite the diocesan grant of 5/- a head. Moving a resolution to close the school, Mr Justice Gresson, himself a keen supporter of church schools, sincerely regretted that there was no alternative and laid the blame at the door of parish apathy. A special parish meeting to consider the future of the boys' school was held in September. Although the school was doing quite well under Mr Foster, the annual cost amounted to £200 while the income was but £90. It was decided to ask Synod for a grant of £1 per head, and if this was not forthcoming, to close the school at Christmas. A subscription list was opened to continue the school in the meantime. Synod declined to increase the grant and so the school was closed and the building leased to the East Christchurch school committee.

The Bangiova school was transferred to the control

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34. Ibid, May 1874, P.74.
36. Ibid, Sept., 1874, P.120.
37. Ibid, May, 1875, P.84.
of the Education Board in the course of 1874, the master Mr. C.G. Chapman, being retained by the local school committee. At the end of the year he left to form a private boarding school, the Barnley Academy, in the former residence of the Rev. Canon Dudley. 38

The history of the Anglican school at Hokitika took a somewhat different course from that of the church schools of Canterbury and, as it was by far the largest church day school in the latter years of this period, it warrants our attention. While 1872 found the church day schools in Canterbury wilting in an unequal competition with the public schools, a very different state of affairs obtained in Westland where the Roman Catholic and Anglican schools occupied the field. 1872 was a year of crisis for the church schools on the West Coast, for the abolition of the office of Commissioner of Goldfields with his Executive, Westland became a County with a County Council empowered to draft Bills for its own government. It so happened that a majority in the Council were in favour of secular education and proceeded to draft a Bill which would have withdrawn all Government aid to church schools. Archdeacon Harper, an ardent protagonist of church schools, protested and, after much discussion in the papers and the failure of a Citizens’ Committee, it was decided to call a

38. Ibid.; Jan., 1875, p. 31. There is no record of the Bethel School, but it was mentioned in the Synod of 1876 that there were no church day schools.
public meeting to ascertain the feeling of the whole community.

Then the Archdeacon went to work. Knowing the value the Catholics set on their schools he visited the local priest who welcomed him heartily, "Sure, an' I will send word all over the Coast, an' yea may be certain the boys will roll up to save the schools." 39 A vigorous publicity campaign was organised and such was the interest aroused that the Chairman of the County Council, the real author of the Bill, agreed to preside at the public meeting; it being generally understood that its decision would be final. The Town Hall, capable of holding seven hundred, proved too small for the occasion and hundreds gathered in the main street. Harper spoke and he was strongly supported by several other speakers. At last the chairman called for a vote, bidding all those in favour of the amendments to go to the left. The Archdeacon graphically records the scene.

"Suddenly I felt myself gripped by the waist by a big Irishman and lifted above the heads of the crowd. 'Show yourself, Archdeacon, show yourself! This side boys! This side!' Shoving, scuffling, and in a general mêlée, the great mass of the meeting surged over to our side." 39 The evening's great success was in no little measure due to the lively interest which the parents took in the school. Further evidence of their enthusiasm was evinced by their

raising £300 for a new, well built, and picturesque school with accommodation for a hundred and fifty, which was opened on 7 October, 1872.

Under the capable tutorship of Mr Stanton and Mrs Soffa and with the assistance of a small government grant, the school prospered. In his annual report for 1873, Harper described the examination results as satisfactory, and the discipline of the school as good. "The hearty support it has met is a striking proof of what may be done when the laity and clergyman work vigorously together in promoting a church school." With the attendance averaging a hundred and forty, there being a slightly larger number of boys than girls, the staff was augmented by two paid pupil teachers. Despite the collapse of the Canterbury church schools, the Central Education Committee of Westland recommended to the Superintendent that the subsidies should be continued in places like Hokitika where the church schools worked well. Yet the end was just around the corner. On 3 September, 1875, Harper resigned to take up the Archdeaconry of Timaru. The withdrawal of his infectious enthusiasm coupled with the cessation of the grants and the opening of free schools at the beginning of 1876 decided its fate. The situation was aggravated by the

41. Ibid, Feb., 1874, P.34.
42. Ibid, Feb., 1875, P.45.
sudden departure of a new master after the Christmas holidays. He had proved quite incompetent and the number of boys had dropped to fifteen.\textsuperscript{43} In October 1876, the Rev. W.A. Pascoe was obliged to close the All Saints' Day School.

With the closing of the church primary schools, the centre of interest shifted to the state schools. In the decade 1867-77 the number of these schools increased from sixteen to one hundred and sixteen,\textsuperscript{44} and so, for those who were concerned for the future of religious education, religious teaching in the State schools was an important issue.

The Tancred Commission of 1863 was unanimous in its conviction that "religious instruction ought to form not merely a contingent or accessory, but an essential and fundamental element of any system of education supported by a Christian country." Consequently, the 1864 Ordinance made ample, if not excessive provision for religious instruction in state schools. The right of entry of clergy was repeated in the 1871 Ordinance. "It shall be lawful for the Committee of any school to set apart either one whole school day or any two half days in each week, during which any minister or ministers of religion may impart religious instruction to such of the children on the books of the school as may belong to his or their religious denominations. Provided that no child nor children shall

\textsuperscript{43} Ibid, March, 1876, P.66.
\textsuperscript{44} Report of Board of Education, 31 Dec., 1877, P.5.
be allowed to attend at such instruction except on a written request to that effect addressed to the teacher by the parents or guardians of such children." 45

As most of the parishes had their own schools up to 1873, this clause remained a dead letter as far as it affected the Anglican clergy. The one exception was Lyttelton where the committee of management of the Borough Schools, after consulting the various ministers sent the following, in printed form, to every parent.

"Lyttelton Borough School.

To the Chairman of the Committee,

Sir, - I hereby request that my child(ren) may be permitted to attend the Religious Instruction given by the (here state denomination) Minister, on Wednesday morning in each school week. (Signed)" 46

While the right of entry by ministers, subject to the permission of local committees, was retained in the 1873 Ordinance, two changes were made. The half hour's Bible-reading every day by the teacher, permitted in the 1864 Ordinance and retained in 1871, was dropped; and the teaching of history "sacred and profane" as laid down in 1871 was now made subject to a conscience clause. In theory, education was a long way from being secular, but in practice it was tending that way. In 1874 the Diocesan Education Committee sent out a circular to the clergy enquiring

45. Clause 72.
46. Church News, April 1873, P.67.
whether they were able to give religious instruction in state schools. There were twenty-four replies which revealed that twelve clergy entered one or more schools. Entry was refused in St. Albans, Leithfield, Prebbleton, Templeton, and Woodend. The Kaiapoi school committee went so far as to abolish all religious observances and teaching.

In consequence of this, Synod sent a Memorial to the Provincial Council requesting a well defined 'right of entry' into state schools in order to do away with the uncertainty which arose from leaving the decision to local committees. The plea went unheeded, for the Council was in no mind to interfere with local liberties. If, as Synod believed, the majority of people were in favour of some religious education, yet were averse to tampering with the Education Ordinances, a wiser policy would have been to have exhorted the laity to elect churchmen to the local school committees. Something of this sort no doubt took place and by 1876, clergy who so desired were able to enter and instruct in most State schools. After considering the replies from a circular to clergy, with reference to religious instruction in public schools, the Synod of 1876 passed a resolution expressing its satisfaction and thankfulness at finding that so much was being done.

The important Education Ordinance of 1875, which introduced compulsory attendance at primary schools, made no change in the religious provisions of the previous

47. Ibid, December, 1874, P.25.
Ordinances which continued in force as long as the Provincial Council itself. In November 1876 the Councils were abolished and the following year Mr C. C. Bowen brought forward an Education Bill in the General Assembly. It was an honest endeavour to give a general system of education, to put education within the reach of all, and standardise the curriculum. Bowen intended that the Bill would have a distinct religious element, but it was to be unsectarian. He said: "The Church will find more than enough work before them when they have left secular teaching to the State. I think we should at once dismiss from our minds any hope of reconciling what had been called the denominational system with the administration of education by the State." 48

Discussing systems of public education, the editorial of the "Church News" of July 1877 condemned unsectarianism as a sham and a delusion. "If the masters of our public primary schools are to teach any sort of education, it will be their own religion if they have any. The Latitudinarians and the Flatitudinarians will each produce little -arians after his own kind." Church opinion, however, had a sufficient grasp of the present situation to realise the impossibility of ever returning to the denominational system. They pleaded for a national system of education which would not be a bed of Procrustes but would provide in different ways for different circumstances and would recognise, as far as possible the various religious

convictions of the people. They hoped for a measure that
would provide not only for the right of entry of clergy
into public schools, but also for grants to schools
established by religious bodies. Room could be found also
for unsectarian religious instruction by the teacher in
schools that could not be visited by the clergy. In short,
the plea was now for all forms of religious instruction,
except the mere reading of the Bible by the teacher, an idea
which would only emanate from the brain from a theorist
having little or no knowledge of the nature of children.
In September, General Synod sent a petition to the House
of Representatives embodying these principles and requesting
their inclusion in the Bill.⁴⁹

This petition was endorsed by the Diocesan Synod
in November, but not without heart burnings. It revealed
differences of opinion among churchmen. The Rev. G.J.
Cholmondeley and Mr Malet favoured religious instruction
in state schools and declared that churchmen did not want
their own schools. Mr J.C.Hawkes said that a return to the
denominational system was hopeless. The Rev. Canon Cotterill
could not join with their desire to co-operate with the
Government as he felt it was proposing to do away with
religious instruction. Archdeacon H.W.Harper contended
that the real opinions of people were not to be found on
the political platforms but in their cottages. With a faith

⁴⁹ Church News, Sept.,1877, P.136.
in the cause of church schools that marks him out from his contemporaries Harper said, "Let us set up good schools and they will soon be filled." 50

When the Education Bill was finally passed on 29 November, 1877, it was shorn of all religious provisions through the combined influence of the Roman Catholics and secularists. There was one loop-hole. The minimum school day was four hours and the local committees had the right to determine the use to which school buildings could be put after hours. As it was then customary to start the school day at 9.30 a.m., some districts interpreted this as giving them the right to have religious instruction from 9 to 9.30 a.m. Such was the antipathy of the clergy to the Act that this was not widely acted upon and before long this half hour was annexed to the normal school day.

The Education Act was hailed as the one notable achievement of New Zealand's first General Government. The "Lyttelton Times" of 11 December, referred to it as "a proper subject of pride and congratulation." Notwithstanding this, the immediate reaction of many prominent Anglicans was decidedly hostile.

Writing to the "Church News", Sir Thomas Tancred stated: "I confess I feel shame at the cowardly action of our Colonial Legislature. I feel shame at the apathy of the clergy and religious teachers of our children. I feel shame.

at the stupidity of the parents of our school children in not making their voices heard in the matter — as I am convinced, if canvassed, the great majority would express a desire that their children should not be brought as heathens."

The "Church News" greeted the Act as follows:— "The Rubicon is crossed. The secular system pure and simple has been deliberately adopted."

In December a special meeting of clergy was called to discuss the education question. The Bishop believed that all religious teaching would banned in public schools and declared that it was their duty to palliate the evil by improving the Sunday Schools and where practicable by setting up Saturday schools, as in Melbourne. It was also decided to agitate for a change of the law for the purpose of obtaining public funds for church schools.

By May however, the Bishop's attitude had relaxed considerably. In a pastoral letter which he issued that month, he wrote, "In justice to the Education Act it must be stated that it does not directly oppose itself to religious teaching." He besought churchmen not to be faint hearted if they could not obtain the assistance of the State but rather to develop their own resources of intelligence, piety, influence, and wealth and faithfully

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51 Supplement to the Church News, Nov. 1877, P.15.
54 Ibid, April 1878, P.18.
apply them to the education of their children.

At this time the "Church News" accomplished a surprising volte-face. Recanting its former blatant hostility, it now hailed the Education Act as probably the best measure that could be obtained considering all the circumstances. This provoked criticism, typical of which was a letter by the Rev. F.G. Brittan of Papanui - "My objection is not so much to what the Act does as to what it does not do." This prompted the "Church News" to amplify its reasons for a change of front. After ascertaining that the need for religious education was more pressing than ever, with the wide dissemination of infidel and anti-Christian principles in Europe, and the opportunities existing for the rapid diffusion of such poison throughout the world - a somewhat modern note - the editorial set out to disabuse churchmen of their traditional reliance on state aid. Anglicans had to realise that the Legislature was in no intelligible sense Christian and was under no obligation to enforce religious instruction. Christians could not agree as to what were the principles of their common faith so it was all that could be fairly expected of the Legislature that they would leave the door open to religious instruction, if so desired locally. Rather than embark on the turbulent sea of political

55 Ibid, June 1878, P.91.
56 Ibid, July 1878, P.106.
57 Ibid, July 1878, P.103.
agitation, Anglicans would be wiser if they sought to influence the composition and action of local school committees.

This change of attitude appears to have corresponded with a change of outlook on the part of the majority of Anglicans. Discussion on religious education lessened appreciably in the ensuing years, for it was realised that the battle for religious instruction in public schools was to be fought out in detail in the various parishes. A fresh outlook on church schools now prevailed. It was realised that they would have to stand on their own feet, that their support would rest with those who desired that their children should be brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. In many ways 1878 saw the death of old ideas, and the birth of new.

One should not leave this period without some mention of Christ's College Grammar School. Although the school was governed by an independent corporation and was outside the direct jurisdiction of the church; the connection with it was intimate and personal. Bishop Harper, as Warden of the College, took an active interest and regularly attended morning chapel. Dean Jacobs, who resigned from the headmastership in 1863, remained as sub-Warden until 1897. Among the Fellows were numbered many of the prominent clergy and laity of the time.

From the time of its establishment in 1855 the school had gone on increasing in numbers and efficiency, until, at the end of 1862 there were eighty-two on the books, of
whom thirty-one were boarders drawn from as far afield as
Auckland. The scholastic standard was high as is evinced
by the examiner's remarks following the mid-year examinations.
"I question whether a better set of answers would be obtained
from any equal number of boys of the same age." In 1863
Jacobs resigned the headmastership to become Dean of
Christchurch. A big advance in the school's history was
made that year when the big schoolroom, as it was called,
was built from funds liberally voted by the Provincial
Council. The plans were gratuitously supplied by J.B.
Fitzgerald who was a Fellow of the College.

In 1866 the Rev. W.C. Harris M.A., entered upon the
headmastership. The progress of a school is necessarily
bound up with the personality of the headmaster and Christ's
College was most fortunate in having the services of so able
and assiduous a man at this juncture. His firm and judicious
government of the school, and his earnest and successful
efforts to maintain a high moral and religious tone, were
highly valued throughout New Zealand. An ardent promoter
of English games, and himself no mean athlete, he won the
confidence of both boys and parents. The numbers began to
rise immediately, and increased from 67, when he took office,
to 126 in 1873 when he resigned because of ill-health caused
by over-work and over-anxiety in the service of the College.
At that time the school had never been in a more prosperous

58 Church Quarterly Paper, July 1862.
59 Jacobs, Christ's College School List, P.29.
60 Church News, August 1873, P.114.
condition. The high scholastic standard was proved by the fact that in the four classes of Provincial Council scholarships for 1873, Christ’s College boys gained the first scholarship in each of the first three classes, while in the Sixth Form, H. Cotterill and M. Atack gained first and second places in the three New Zealand University Entrance scholarships for the year. Under the capable Mr. G. Coates B.A. who was headmaster from 1874 to 1888 the school made further steady advances. From 1873, when the Christchurch High School ceased until 1881, Christ’s College was the only boys’ secondary school in Christchurch and during those years its influence on the community was marked. Of the boys who passed through its gates not a few were to become national figures in later life; men like R. Heatton Rhodes, W. Pember Reeves, and Walter Harper, later Dean of Christchurch.

Despite the opening of Wellington College in 1875 the roll increased to 170, and that year, Christ’s College won all six University Entrance scholarships for New Zealand. Grants from the Council having ceased it became necessary to raise the school fees, yet this did not retard progress, and the next year the roll reached 189. 1876 saw new schoolrooms and the third boarding house added to the school. The latter had a pleasing collegiate appearance; the dormer windows and the turret staircase, surmounted by its fluriated iron cross, redeeming the front from the stigma of excessive plainness, not to say ugliness, which attached to the earlier buildings.

61 v Report of Board of Education, 18 Nov. 1872, P. 42.
62 For boys under 14, 15 and 16.
63 Church News, Summer 1875, p. 116.
The Church's contribution to higher education in the period 1864-78 was not inconsiderable. The wording of Statute twenty-three implied that the Grammar School was to be quite a subordinate part of the College, but all that was merely on paper while the Grammar School was a fact. Nevertheless the idea of a College with two departments was not forgotten. The Collegiate Department, although overshadowed by the Grammar School, was never lost to sight. Jacobs records that he could not distinctly remember any time at which there were no students at all; they wore the academic cap and gown and were quite from the Sixth Form although they necessarily sat in the same room.

In 1867 considerable agitation had been made in the General Assembly for a New Zealand University but it was concluded at the time that it would be wiser for young men to go to England. Archdeacon Wilson saw this as an affront to local pride. In his opinion there was no need to found a University when an excellent substitute, the Collegiate Department, was at hand. He aroused general enthusiasm and it was proposed to hold a series of lectures on popular subjects. The main problem was finance, but this was largely solved by grants from the Governing Body of Christ's College and the Provincial Council. Other lectures were to

54 Ordinances, Deed of Foundation and Statutes of Christ's College, P.27.
55 Jacobs, Christ's College School List, P.24.
be provided by the two endowed Professorships of the College.

On 14 August, 1871, the Collegiate Department affiliated with the Museum Trust to form the Collegiate Union. The Board of Governors applied at once to the University of New Zealand, which had been set up in June 1871, for affiliation and a grant of money. This was accepted on 16 April, 1872, and a grant of £300 was made for the ensuing year's work. Lecturers were appointed for the various subjects, including Dr. Julius von Haast in Geology. Apart from the few theological students who resided in the sub-warden's house at Christ's College, the remainder were part-time. The course opened in July 1872 with eighty-three students, a number of whom were studying for degrees, and lectures were given twice a week in the evenings.

Having collected a student body together it was felt that the system should be put on a broader and more permanent basis. The need for a University curriculum was stressed. The Union had not the reserves to develop the work and so a petition was presented to the Provincial Council requesting the establishment of a College. An Ordinance was passed, creating Canterbury College, on 7 May, 1873. The latter was in a large measure the creation of the Union and when the

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1. The Watts-Russell of Divinity, held by Dean Jacobs.
2. The Bulseon-Chichele of Modern History, held by R.J. Tancred.
new College was legally affiliated with the University of New Zealand in April 1874, the time had come for the Union to disband. It was formally dissolved on 19 May, 1874.

Thus ended the endeavours of the Governing Body of Christ's College to provide for a higher education than that offered by the Grammar School. The sanguine hopes of the Founders of Canterbury that the Collegiate Department might develop into a great University were frustrated.

The demand for higher education had arisen and the Collegiate Department could not of itself and with its limited resources, supply that need. Changed conditions and public opinion forbade a denominational University and so the Collegiate Union voluntarily effected its own dissolution, having done so much to prepare the ground for Canterbury College.

It seemed now that the best policy would be to allow the Collegiate Department to be absorbed into the Grammar School. Yet such was not to be its fate. It remained a theological college and a residential college for students attending the University. With the appointment of the Rev. F.A. Hare M.A., Chaplain to the Grammar School, the students were transferred to his house and although he was not expected to act as a tutor he took a lively interest in their welfare. As the number of theological students increased, it proved too severe a tax on Mr Hare's house and on his time and it was decided to appoint a full-time

67 J. R. Hight and A. M. F. Gandy, op. cit., p. 9 et seq.
Principal. The Rev. B. Stanford took up his duties in July, 1862, in a new building on the corner of the College grounds near the Antrim Street bridge. Three years later it shifted to what was to prove a permanent site. This move was prompted by the realization that the Upper Department had become a distinct entity, that it was fulfilling a very real need as both a theological and residential college, and that, with the growth of the Grammar School, there was little room for its inevitable expansion on the school site.

In retrospect: if the hopes of a broad system of church primary day schools had been dashed by 1878, the Church could be justly proud of her achievements in the realms of higher education. Christ's College was a worthy fulfilment of much of the hope and ambition of the Founders of Canterbury. If circumstances had prevented the Collegiate Department from achieving, in the letter, what had been intended for it, nevertheless, College House was, in spirit, all that the Founders could have desired.
CHAPTER V

FOUNDING THE MODERN CHURCH SCHOOLS. 1880 - 1918.

With the passing of the church day schools, Anglicans looked to their Sunday Schools to provide a religious training for their children. To this end the Synod of 1876 set up the Sunday School Association consisting of the Bishop, the clergy, and a representative from each Sunday School. The aim of this body was to secure greater unity and efficiency in Sunday School work, to supply publications, and to arrange periodic training courses for teachers.

The Sunday School Association proved to be too large and unwieldy an instrument to effect very much improvement. After the Education Act of 1877, the Bishop called a special meeting of the clergy in December of that year to consider the problem of religious education. He advocated a radical improvement in the Sunday Schools and the setting up, where practicable, of Saturday Schools similar to those established in Australia.

1 Church News, May, 1877, P. 88.
2 Supra, P. 124.
Nothing came of the latter suggestion, but the former materialised in the appointment by the Synod in 1880 of Archdeacon W.C. Harris, a former headmaster of Christ’s College, as diocesan inspector of Sunday Schools and to supervise the religious instruction in public schools. He did much to improve the all-round efficiency of the Sunday Schools and in 1881, on his recommendation, Synod agreed to give grants to the day schools. In 1884, the year of his retirement due to failing health, he made a report to Synod. This report, dated 23 October, 1884, showed that there had been a marked increase in the number of Sunday Schools and in their attendances. There were then four primary schools, two of which had been started that year, with a total average attendance of 111, and two secondary schools with an attendance of 355. In a review of the work in the state schools, he stated that there were 204 schools in the diocese with a roll of 23,526. 3,038 pupils in fifty-one of these schools were receiving some instruction by the clergy or those appointed by them.

It was not until April, 1894, that another diocesan inspector, the Rev. J.F. Teakle, was appointed. He concerned himself solely with the Sunday Schools and his report of 1895 showed that much ground had been lost since the office of diocesan inspector had been allowed to lapse.

Although the majority of Anglicans in the years 1880 to 1890 were content to leave the religious instruction of their children to the Sunday Schools there were always
those who felt that the Sunday Schools, even at their best, were not competent to cope with the increasing secularisation of education. They deplored the separation of moral from mental training and the relegation of religion to Sundays. To them, religious instruction was more than mere Bible reading in the public schools; it was bound up with a sympathetic atmosphere and tone; for children learn more readily by example than precept.

Such enthusiasts were not common and the church primary schools begun in these years emanated from the zeal of individual clergymen and teachers who succeeded in arousing church people to the value of church schools. But the schools they started had to compete with well equipped and subsidised public schools; in many cases the initial enthusiasm of the people soon waned and, after a brief and fitful career, the parochial school would have to close down.

Little encouragement was received from Synod; after 1881 hopelessly small and spasmodic grants were made to church schools and it was not until 1893 that Synod agreed by resolution to make an annual subsidy of £100. In 1882 Synod had decided to devote the income from the Barbados Street cemetery to the church schools but it was not until 1898 that any money was available from that source. In that year the endowment yielded £25.

The first school to open since 1876 was at St. Luke's. This was an elementary and parochial school set on foot by
the vicar, the Rev. E.A. Lingard. The advertisement stated that the old fee of 1/- a week would be charged, that religious teaching would be prominent in the syllabus and that the school was to have a church tone and character. Under Mr W.F. Gueritz the school opened on 19 January, 1880, with thirty-five boys and girls. By the following Monday the roll had risen to seventy-five.

The closing of St. Michael's school had never been considered as more than a temporary misfortune and necessity. When a new parish hall, capable of holding 250 Sunday School children, was built in 1877 it was hoped that before long it would be possible to re-open the day school. On the advice and with the help of Dean Jacobs, Mr G.H. Merton opened a boys' school on 26 January, 1880. There were nine pupils the first day. In view of the intention of the Cathedral to take over the school as soon as choristers were appointed, the school was called 'The Pro-Cathedral School'. In December the Cathedral Chapter purchased a permanent site for the school in Chester Street and at once started to build. On 16 May, 1881, the beginning of the second term, Mr Merton and his boys transferred from St. Michael's to the new school, henceforth known as the Cathedral Grammar School. The previous Saturday twenty-three boys had been selected for the Cathedral choir and they were enrolled.

3 Church News, Feb. 1880, P. 247.
4 Ibid. M. Merton in an article in the Cathedral Grammar School List states that the school opened in February with eight boys.
5 Cathedral Grammar School List, P. 9.
making a total of fifty-five on the first day. The school was intended primarily for the education of the choir boys who received free tuition and it was directly under the control of the Chapter. Other boys paid £2/10/0 a term if under nine years and £3/10/0 if over, while boarders were taken at £14 a term. Choir practices were held twice daily and life was strenuous in those days when boys had to walk up to three miles to school. Largely due to the efforts of the Rev. W.H. Alton, the Precentor of the Cathedral who supervised the school, more dormitories were built and in August, 1882, the choir boys all became boarders.

In 1892, the roll number had reached ninety-one. However in the next two years the steady, if uneventful, progress of the school was interrupted by financial difficulties which resulted in the Chapter arranging with the Governing Body of Christ's College for the education of the choristers, and in 1895 the Cathedral School became the Lower Department of Christ's College, with Mr G.H. Merton as master.

After the removal of Mr Merton, and his boys, the St. Michael's schoolroom was to lie vacant for nearly two years. In 1883, Miss Hookham, who since 1880 had lived at Waimate where she had started a church school which closed down in 1883, desired to return to Christchurch. Hearing

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6 Church News, June, 1881, P.516.
7 Ibid, June, 1884, P.107.
8 Cathedral Grammar School List, P.11.
that there was a scheme abroad to reopen the St. Michael's school, she got in touch with Bishop Harper and was appointed headmistress. The school opened on 14 May, 1883, with twenty-two boys and girls present. The school grew steadily and, although not without its share of financial difficulties, it became the most successful of the church primary schools. This was to no small degree largely due to Miss Hookham herself. On the occasion of the school's jubilee in 1933, Archbishop A.W. Averill paid the following tribute to her. "She accomplished her lasting and successful work more by her own character and personality than by any assistance which she received from environment or equipment." On 21 April, 1884, the St. Luke's school having closed down, Mr H.F. Guaritz opened another parochial school in the St. Mathew's Sunday School hall, St. Albans. Owing to ill-health he was obliged to retire at the end of the year and was replaced by Miss Taylor and later by Miss Buxton who was at the school for many years.

Bishop Julius desired that the fees should be kept very low so as to enable the poorer children to attend. Consequently the school needed money from Synod. But Synod was not prepared to give sufficient to put the school on a sound footing as many Synodsmen did not think church schools were worthwhile.

9 Christchurch Press, 6 June, 1933.
10 Church News, January, 1885, P. 5.
Schools were also started at Woolston and Hokitika in 1884 but, as happened so often, after a few years' languishing existence they closed down.\textsuperscript{11}

After 1890 Synod showed great activity and manifested an uneasy conscience with regard to education. There were frequent commissions and committees appointed to report on the subject; there was much talk but little positive action. In his inaugural address to the Synod of 1890, Bishop Julius spoke at length of religious education. "I do not desire grants in aid of denominational schools, still less do I require what is called Bible reading without note or comment, which I think to be worse than useless; but I do ask for such solid religious education as is given, for instance, under the London School Board, and for the recognition of religion as the true basis of a sound morality."\textsuperscript{12} Turning to the church day schools, he reminded Synod of their resolutions of 1883 and 1886 which urged the establishing of day schools. "The schools bravely established in obedience to the express wish of Synod are left to starve. Surely we must either rescind the resolutions or help the schools."\textsuperscript{12}

The problem of religious instruction in public schools and the problem of how best to assist the church schools were both to be widely discussed in the following years.

\textsuperscript{11} Ibid, June, 1884, P.108. \textsuperscript{v} Appendix C for the various schools and their attendances. Judging by their smallness we may well conclude that the influence of church primary schools, apart from St. Michael's and St. Luke's, was almost negligible in this period.

\textsuperscript{12} Diocesan Synod Reports, 14 Oct., 1890, P.23.
The two problems reacted on each other but, for the sake of clarity, we shall consider them separately.

In 1891, the Bishop reiterated the need for undenominational but not secular education, pointing out that this was the only alternative since the clergy had failed to make good use of the right of entry. A resolution was passed in favour of systematic religious instruction in state schools as a result. A satisfactory and practicable policy along with joint action by the other denominations was now essential and to effect this a Commission on Religious Education was set up on 27 April, 1892, with Archdeacon W. Harper as chairman.

The Commission made its first report on 6 October, 1892. It considered that the introduction of the London School Board system was both desirable and practicable; that the Church should confer with the other denominations to get an amendment of the Education Act of 1877 so as to permit this system; and that, with regard to church day schools, the English system of Board and voluntary schools, subsidised and inspected, could be worked in the main centres. Concerning the latter recommendation the Commission felt that public opinion was not ready for it and so they concluded by urging that efforts should be concentrated on the introduction of the London School Board system.

The report was approved by the General Synod and a

circular sent to the ministers of the various denominations, explaining the London School Board system and soliciting their support. The circular suggested that religious instruction should be given either at the beginning or the close of school, as approved by the Board of Education. The syllabus was to be that of the London system - the life of Christ and a general explanation of morality. It was to be conducted by the teachers with a conscience clause for both teachers and pupils. 287 favourable replies and 15 adverse were received. Commenting on the circular, the Bishop of Dunedin said, "My individual opinion is that unless we can teach some religion in our schools, it will soon become next to impossible to teach it anywhere else, .... and I agree with the present Archbishop of Canterbury that it is folly not to teach what we can because we cannot teach what we would." 14

A second report of the Commission on 12 October, 1893, stated that the Presbyterians and Methodists were with them and asserted that their aim was not to injure but to perfect the education system.

In 1896 a petition of the churches, signed by 25,000 people, to have religious teaching in schools submitted to a referendum, was introduced into the House of Representatives. Unfortunately it came too late in the session to be considered and was allowed to drop. Meanwhile a certain amount of

religious teaching was being done by voluntary teachers out of school hours. The pitiful inadequacy of this was clearly demonstrated by a survey made in 1896 which disclosed that only 1844 out of the 18,029 school children in North & Canterbury were being reached by this means.\textsuperscript{15}

In 1898, the Bishops issued a pastoral letter commanding the London School Board system, as practised in Nelson, to members of the Church of England. Yet neither Synod nor anyone else did anything about it. Bishop Julius commented on this apathy to Synod in 1899 and reiterated his conviction that no education was worthy of the name which did not include an appeal to the spiritual faculties. He still adhered to religious teaching in public schools as the solution. "For my part, if reasonable facilities were given for religious education, I think it far better that children should be educated together, rather than separated into little denominational schools."\textsuperscript{16}

With the turn of the century nothing more was heard of these proposals to secure Bible teaching in public schools, on the lines of the London School Board system. It had been a half-hearted compromise for, in its effort to please all, it had satisfied no one. Scant interest and enthusiasm would be awakened for a scheme of teaching that was so general and vague as to become nebulous. In 1916, Bishop

\textsuperscript{15} Diocesan Synod Reports, 13 Oct., 1896, P.11.
Julius reflected that the movement met with the fate it deserved. 17

Until 1901, the North Canterbury Education Board made no objection to clergy conducting classes in public schools provided that the requirements of the 1877 Act were observed. In 1901, the question arose over the Kaiapoi Island school where the vicar was accustomed to hold a class once a week between 11.15 a.m. and noon. Notwithstanding the protest of the local school committee which held that it was a matter of local jurisdiction, the Board passed a resolution to the effect that no one was to give religious instruction in school hours. This was not strictly enforced until 1903. In the intervening years a few clergy had undertaken to give religious instruction between 9.00 and 9.30 a.m., once a week at the request of the local school committees. But in 1908 the Board objected, alleging that the syllabus was already too full, and strictly enforced the 1901 resolution with the result that religious teaching was rendered impossible. 18

Again the Church of England was goaded into action. In 1910, General Synod resolved to work for the system of religious education already existing in three States in Australia and lately approved by a referendum in Queensland. The move received the whole-hearted support of the Diocesan

18 Report of Commission to enquire into the obligations of the Church towards education in the diocese, 19 October, 1909.
Synod when it met on 6 September, 1910. The Australian system, known as 'Bible in Schools', had two platforms: 
unsectarian instruction by the teacher and the right of 
the various ministers to enter the public schools and 
instruct children of their own denominations for an hour 
each week.

In June, 1911, representative ministers came together 
in Christchurch to formulate a joint policy. They concluded 
that experience of the system in Australia showed that it 
was of great advantage to the children, that the supposed 
difficulties did not exist, and they recommended the use of 
the book provided by the Education Department of Queensland. 
When Synod met in September, the Bishop heartily endorsed 
the scheme. 19

The "Bible in Schools League of New Zealand" was 
formed in 1912. Representing all the protestant denominations 
it was hailed as an epoch in the history of religious 
education. Canon Garland, who had much to do with the 
cause in Australia, was the organizing secretary. He spent 
the next two years in active campaigning for the movement 
throughout New Zealand.

However, difficulties arose over the question of the 
right of entry and in 1913 a crisis was reached as the 
movement halted for want of sufficient momentum. With

19 Diocesan Synod Reports, 5 Sept., 1911, p.16.
divisions in its ranks the League lingered on into 1914 and it was hoped that it would be possible to have a referendum. All hope of further progress was dashed by the outbreak of war in August and the League, unwilling to embarrass the government, withdrew its activities and placed its organisation at the disposal of the country in raising a large sum for ambulance equipment.20

In all this synod had shown itself not unmindful of the fact that the religious education of the children was a problem of paramount importance. In the opinion of Bishop Julius the Bible in Schools League had been sound and reasonable. They had been honestly beaten.21 So little appeared to have resulted from so much effort. Yet, although they had failed in their endeavours to get a nation-wide and accepted system, all the agitation and the interest aroused was not without its effect. The report of the Education Commission of 1912-13 to Synod, disclosed that classes in state schools in the diocese were being carried on to a greater extent than was commonly supposed. 32 schools were being entered by voluntary teachers and about 1,500 children were being reached.22

Perhaps the most important result of the League's failure was that it forced the Church to give closer attention to its schools. The Diocesan Education Committee

of 1918 was the outcome of a renewed interest in these schools and of a realisation that they alone could provide all that was desired in the way of a religious education. The chain of events which led to the setting up of this committee stretches back to 1892, but the failure of the League in 1914 served to accentuate the need.

The financial starvation of the church schools was the topic of debate in Synod in 1892. At the instigation of Mr J.E. Marsh, the Standing Committee was requested to consider during the recess the present application of the income from the General Trust Estate. They, in turn, referred the matter to a sub-committee of two - Mr G. McIntyre and Mr Batham, the latter a lawyer and a man of singular aptitude. In their report they considered the original purpose of the church endowments and showed how, in the original scheme, churches and schools were inseparably linked. Despite this they found that grants to schools had been quite inadequate and so fitful and uncertain that no permanent arrangements could be made for carrying on even one church school. "Without saying definitely the claims of education have been ignored, we cannot avoid the conclusion that they have not been fairly met."23

Standing Committee disagreed with the sub-committee that the income had not been applied in general accordance

with the terms of the Trust. Nevertheless it suggested to Synod that it would be in the best interests of the Church if a larger proportion were devoted to education. After many adjournments and much debate the Synod of 1893 placed £100 at the disposal of the Standing Committee. By 1917 this had been increased to £300 p.a., and with the steady increase in the value of the primary day schools' endowment, a total income of £550 was available in that year. The money was divided principally between the St. Albans (St. Matthew's) and St. Michael's schools. Between 1900 and 1905 the St. John's school received a share but on the numbers falling below twenty-five all aid was stopped and the school closed. In 1911, the St. Albans school was divided and the Rev. Mortimer, the vicar of the new parish of St. Stephen's Shirley, set up a church school conducted by a deaconess. The school prospered for some years and along with St. Michael's and St. Albans received a grant, based on the average attendance, from the Standing Committee. As there was not sufficient money forthcoming to maintain the Shirley school it was closed in 1916.

During the years after 1893 there were frequent debates on the problem of aiding the church schools. Synod had a conscience over the matter and Mr. Marsh never allowed it to sleep. In 1908, the Bishop was asked by Synod to appoint

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a Commission to inquire into the obligations of the Church
towards education in the diocese. Their report set forth
convincingly the lamentable position into which church
education had fallen. Of the church primary schools only
St. Michael’s and St. Albans survived. The St. Michael’s
school, in the charge of Miss River, was thoroughly efficient
and could have been greatly increased if funds for accom-
modation and staff were available. The St. Albans school
under Miss Rowley was not up to the same standard largely
because of the poor accommodation. It was held in the
Sunday School hall and a side room. In both schools the
pupils paid sixpence a week and both were subject to
government inspection. The Commissioners insisted that
these two schools had to be maintained and improved,
otherwise, they declared, the diocese would suffer
everlasting shame. They recommended that £600 p.a., should
be devoted to primary schools. As this would result in
the main support of the schools coming from diocesan
endowments, the Commissions felt that an alteration should
be made in their future control. At the time Synod had
not direct voice in their management and so the Commissions,
not desiring to interfere with the parochial character of
the two schools, recommended that each school committee
should have a representative appointed by Standing Committee.

25. For many years there was also a small Kindergarten at
Lyttelton under Miss Carson which was attached to the
Holy Trinity Church.
As was so often the case, there was a lame and impotent conclusion Synod was content to raise the grant to £300. It was a fairly considerable increase yet little was done to ensure the efficient maintenance of the two schools.

Another Commission was set up in 1913 to consider and report upon an education policy for the diocese. After making general suggestions with regard to Sunday Schools and classes in public schools it turned to the church day schools. "From every point of view the Church will never be in a position to carry out its paramount duty towards the young until we possess primary schools of our own, which will not only afford a sound education for many of our children, but will also become training centres for the teachers of the future." 26 The Commission suggested the strengthening of the existing schools and the establishing of new ones at Timaru, Ashburton, and Rangiora. It drew special attention to the importance of founding a Teaching Order to staff the schools. The report then came to an untimely end. It had no specific recommendations to make until it knew whether this general policy was accepted and what financial help could be expected from Synod.

With the outbreak of the war, the Church was preoccupied elsewhere and the times were not propitious.

No further move was made in 1915, but the following year Bishop Julius addressed the Synod at some length on the problem of Church education. With the collapse of the Bible in Schools League, the Bishop, who up till then had not greatly favoured the extension of the church primary schools, had come to realise that the future of religious education was with the church schools despite all the difficulties encountered in trying to conduct them in competition with state schools. In this conclusion he was ably supported by the Dean the Rev. C.W. Carrington M.A., and Canon J.R. Wilford B.D., Principal of College House.

The new emphasis of policy was the theme of the Bishop's address to Synod in 1916. Reviewing the history of church education of the past fifty years, he said, "To my thinking it is a manifest expression of weakness and timidity. I say it with sorrow and humiliation; for, as your Bishop for six and twenty years, I must take my full share of it. Therefore I can no longer be a party to what I regard as a suicidal policy; but rather, by every means in my power I must urge the Synod to put in hand at once the fulfilment of that task which it has over and over again declared to be essential to the welfare of the diocese." 27

The Bishop himself gave the lead by proposing that

an annual sum, amounting to a third of the annual Church Property Trust Subsidy should be set apart for the purposes of religious education. "Such a scheme," he said "stands directly opposed to a system of yearly doles, pitiful indeed if they be regarded as the measure of our ability, and altogether shameful if they represent the extent of our devotion."27

If Synod agreed to the subsidy, the Bishop said they would at last have an education policy and be able to give effect to it. If Synod would agree to subsidize the two primary schools, the Bishop thought they ought to be put under diocesan control. They should be rendered efficient or closed. He also advocated new schools, but realising that such a proposal was useless if there were not the teachers, he hoped to form an order of women dedicated to teaching in church primary schools.

To accomplish all this no sacrifice was too great for the Bishop. He gave up half his income and vacated Bishops Court so that the money set free could be expended in the furtherance of a sound and generous scheme of religious education.

With the sanction of the Church Property Trustees, he handed over Bishop’s Court as a hostel for girl students and a training house for teachers. 28 Miss Marchant, a former head of the Dunedin Girls’ High School, took charge of the Bishops Court Hostel which opened with eight girls.

on 3 August, 1917. 29 Within a year the number had risen to twenty-one. Her aim was to found a special order of teachers but she found this incompatible with the other purpose of the Hostel - that of providing a home for women students - and at the end of 1918 she resigned. 30 No more was heard of the plan for a teaching order; the nearest approach is St. Faith's House, Merivale, where deaconesses are trained.

A second hostel was opened in Hokitika to provide a home for Anglican secondary school girls who had to come into Hokitika for schooling. It was conceived on a less ambitious scale than Bishopscourt Hostel and opened in 1917 with five girls in the care of Sister Dora. Canon Wilford took a leading part in raising money for furnishing and equipping of both hostels. It was his hope to establish a teaching brotherhood along the lines of the women's order contemplated by Miss Marchant, but this too did not eventuate.

In response to the Bishop's request, Standing Committee granted a subsidy of a quarter of the income of the General Trust Estate to be expended annually on education. 31 This was not as much as the Bishop had requested but it was, nevertheless, a considerable sum. In 1918 the total receipts of the education fund for the diocese amounted to £2, 547/10/4. The imperative problem now was the administration of the fund. Up to that time,

what money had been available had been apportioned to the schools by standing Committee on the advice of an Education sub-committee. The sub-committee lacked executive power and had had to be content with what money could be spared after Standing Committee had met its other liabilities.32

With its multifarious tasks, Standing Committee was hardly a competent body to frame an education policy and administer so large a sum to the best advantage. A change of system was called for. On 15 October, 1918, Bishop Julius appealed to all churchmen "to throw aside little prejudices and to throw themselves heart and soul into the education scheme."33 Thereupon Mr W. C. Bean introduced into Synod a Bill for the establishment of a Board of Education. The Board was to have control of the education funds and be responsible to Synod for their use. It was to consist of twelve members, clergy and lay, who would be chosen expressly for their capacity to deal with education. The composition of the first Board, which included the Dean, Canon Wilford, and Canon Galway, belied the accusations that the new move in education was the work of one party in the Church.34

The immediate concern of the Board was the two primary schools. The diocese had entered into an arrangement with the committee of the St. Michael's school on 1 July,
1918, as a result of which the Board received the school fees of sixpence a week per child and paid in return an annual subsidy of £100. One of the first acts of the new Board was to increase the salaries of the staffs of the two schools by 25%. The great need of the St. Albans school was new buildings. Canon Wilford organised the Association of the Love of God, and, by the end of 1919, £2,000 had been raised towards the building of a new school in St. Albans.\(^{35}\)

In the field of secondary education considerable progress had been made by 1918. Two new secondary schools had been established. On 4 March, 1909, the Te Wai Pounamu Maori Girls' College opened with twelve boarders.\(^{36}\) It was the consummation of years of work by the Rev. C.A. Fraer, who, finding a Maori pa at one end of his parish and a deserted vicarage at the other, conceived the idea of a technical school for Maori girls which would fit them to be good wives of farmers and would raise the cultural standard of the Maoria. The school was the original Ohaka vicarage which had been vacant since the parish was joined to St. Stephen's. A two storeyed house situated on several acres of land, it was ideal for the purpose. The first headmistress was Mrs Miller who had had experience of the Maori Colleges in the North Island and intended to conduct


\(^{36}\) *Church News, April, 1909, B.7.*
this school in a similar fashion.\textsuperscript{37}

Education was to be given in the broadest sense of the word. Besides the work connected with the ordinary school routine, religious instruction was prominent and great stress laid upon the building of character. Housework in all its branches - cleaning, cooking, sewing - dairywork, laundry work, and gardening were all taught. Special attention was given to health and sanitation. Thus it was hoped that the wholesome all-round education provided would stand the girls in good stead when they returned to their kaingas.\textsuperscript{38}

In many ways the school took up the work begun by Canon Stack whose short-lived Maori girls' school had been destroyed by fire. However, the influence of the new school was not limited to the Kaiapoi Maoris. It was Frere's hope that it would provide for all the South Island Maoris and also those of the Chatham Islands. On the opening day two of the girls were from the Chathams.

A more ambitious educational venture was the scheme for the establishment of a Diocesan Girls' High School. The Bishop spoke of the need for such an institution to Synod in 1906. Christ's College alone could not be held to satisfy the educational aims of the Founders of Canterbury. Bishop Julius felt that it was incumbent upon the Church to provide a similar institution for girls.\textsuperscript{39}

\textsuperscript{37} The Lyttelton Times, 5 March, 1909.
\textsuperscript{38} Diocesan Synod Reports, 20 Oct., 1916, P.37.
\textsuperscript{39} Diocesan Synod Reports, 23 Oct., 1906, P.14.
A Select Commission, chaired by Archdeacon H.W. Harper, was set up to consider the formation of such a school. It was to draw up a prospectus, secure a site, and formulate a financial scheme. On 12 February, 1907, it issued its report. 40 The Commissioners stressed the need to secure the services of a first-rate headmistress before any building so that they could have the benefit of her experience. The avowed aim of the school was to be the formation of character and so Scripture teaching and the Catechism loomed large on the prospectus. In addition to the usual school syllabus, music, painting and drill were to be taught. They suggested a school roll of not more than one hundred and twenty at first, with twenty boarders. They asked for a site in the Crammer Square reserve at a nominal rent. This reserve had been set aside for a fourth parish church, but was no longer needed as the population had expanded into the suburbs. In conclusion the Commissioners estimated that an initial capital of £8,500 would be required.

Bishop Julius was enthusiastic. He acclaimed it as a well matured scheme and said that behind it was the weight and credit of the diocese. "I have no doubt of public support." 41 Synod then proceeded to elect a Governing Body of seven for the proposed school, as the Commissioner had suggested.

41. Ibid, P.16.
In 1908, the Governing Body made its report to Synod. It was a confession of failure. The scheme did not get the public support that the Bishop had anticipated. It had issued a circular and prospectus and appealed for funds. There had been no response — only £400 was available apart from £1,000 given by Mr J. Studholme. The Governing Body recommended that a house in Grammer Square occupied by Professor Cook should be leased to the school for a boarding house. They asked the Church Property Trustees for a grant of £3,000 for school buildings. So large a loan the Trustees were not prepared to secure.

The report of the Governing Body coincided with a report the Bishop received from a Committee set up by the Lambeth Conference of 1897 stating that theological differences with the religious communities of the Church had now been settled. This led the Bishop to receive with greater sympathy a deputation from several of the clergy suggesting that he should apply to the Kilburn Sisters to found the school. Some of the Sisters of this Order were at the time conducting St. Hilda’s Girls’ School in Dunedin which was self-supporting and one of the best of its kind in New Zealand.

The suggestion appealed to the Bishop as having many advantages. Although such a school would be under no diocesan board the Bishop would be ex-officio visitor and the school recognised as Anglican, while there would be

no additional financial burden for the diocese. Consequently he wrote to the Mother Superior of the 'Sisters of the Church' in London and on 15 October, 1909, three sisters sailed for New Zealand with the intention of opening a school the following February. With the Synod's authority they were given a thirty-one year lease of Professor Cook's late house as well as of the adjoining land for buildings, and a sum of £500 was placed at their disposal.\footnote{Ibid, 19 Oct., 1909, P.14.}

On 8 February, 1910, St. Margaret's College for girls was opened.\footnote{Church News, Feb., 1910, P.9.} Under the experienced control of Sister Winifred remarkable progress was made and by the end of the year there were eighty girls on the roll.

Of Christ's College and College House in the years 1878-1918, little need be said. For the College it was a period of steady, if uneventful, progress. The roll climbed steadily from 200 in 1878 to 340 in 1918. In estimating the growing influence of the College May, 1909, is a significant date. In that month a new boarding house, known as 'School House,' was opened. It included the headmaster's residence and accommodation for sixty boys. It was the gift of the Old Boys of Christ's College who had raised £7,816 for the purpose. The event may be taken as evidence that Christ's College had already gathered around it traditions similar to those of the great public schools of England, traditions fostered by the formation of the
Old Boys' Association on 20 February, 1877, under the presidency of Mr G. Harper.

The influence of College House was that of its successive Principals during those years; Canon W. Harper M.A., Canon C.W. Carrington M.A., and Canon J.R. Wilford B.D. By 1914, numbers had risen to fifteen but, with the war, they dropped rapidly and bed rock was reached in 1918 when there were but six students in residence. Although the Collegiate Department had failed to develop into the prominent partner, the influence it exerted over the students within its walls, especially the divinity students, was carried into the community at large and to the churches of the diocese in particular.
EPilogue.

The Education Board of 1918 had high hopes of establishing a chain of church primary schools throughout the diocese; schools at Timaru, Ashburton and Rangiora were suggested. It went so far as to buy land for the purpose in Ashburton but the scheme fell through. St. Michael's has remained the most successful of the church primary schools. St. Albans reopened on 10 June, 1922, at its present site as the Victory Memorial School and has continued down to the present.

In July, 1921, Canon Williams, vicar of St. Mark's Opawa, bought out a small private school and for several years conducted a school with the assistance of a retired teacher Miss Cameron. The vicar created an appreciation for a church school in the parish and in 1925, with the support of the parents, a new open-air school was built. Sister Eleanor, who for several years had been conducting a small school in connection with St. Saviour's Orphanage, Shirley, came to the school. In 1926 the Board of Education agreed to subsidise the school although it retained its local control. By 1930 there were upwards of a hundred pupils on the roll and the school has made satisfactory progress down to the present day when the urgent need is for more accommodation for the 140 pupils.

With the depression from 1928 the schools were in
financial difficulties and the drain on the Education Board's funds was heavy. Funds had been dissipated, moreover, in such schemes as the Ashburton school. As the Church was not in a position to maintain the quarterly subsidy, in 1935 the local school committees were asked to bear a greater share of the burden. A devolution of control took place and the Board of Education was subdivided by the Schools and Youth Work Statute of 1935, into the Primary Day Schools Board of Control, the St. Margaret's Board, the Craighead Board, and the Council of Sunday Schools and Youth Work Board. The functions of the Primary Day Schools Board of Control were defined by the Primary Day Schools Statute of 1938 which regulates the present system.

Since 1918 the Church's major educational advance has been made in the secondary field. In June, 1921, the Maori Girls' College, under Miss Opie M.A., was transferred from the Ohoka parsonage which was in a dilapidated condition, to its present site on Ferry Road, in the City. In August, 1929, control of the site passed from the Purchaser-Trustees—the Rev., G.A. Fraser and J. Galway, and Mr. E.J. Ross—to the Church Property Trustees. The school was small and struggling for many years. In 1942 there were only ten girls but, with grants totalling £700 from the diocese, new buildings have been erected and there are now thirty-nine girls in residence. A registered secondary school, the school certificate course is taken. The girls under Miss Harding, the Principal, do all the domestic work and many of them are training for the nursing and teaching
professions. Until 1943 the school was controlled by a Council appointed by the Bishop. The composition and powers of this Council had never been clearly defined, so in 1943 Synod passed a Statute setting up a Governing Body.

In October, 1920, Synod purchased a property at 71 Papamii Road, and leased it to the Kilburn sisters for a boarding house. However, in 1930 the Kilburn Sisters returned to England, having sold St. Margaret's to the diocese for £4,300. Mrs Young was appointed headmistress and a Governing Body formed. Although not without its share of financial difficulties, this school has grown rapidly. Today there are 425 pupils ranging from the primers to the sixth form. The syllabus is similar to that of the state secondary schools but special emphasis is placed on religious teaching. An interesting addition in recent years has been the purchase of Canon Galway House in Granmer Square. The girls live in, from time to time, and learn home management in a very practical manner.

In February 1923, the Cathedral Grammar School again commenced its existence as a separate school. By 1930 the school had risen to 150 boys. With the world economic depression it was particularly hard hit and had not the parents and old boys loyally rallied around the school, it would have been forced to close in 1936. This led to the setting up of a Board of Governors consisting of four parents' representatives, three old boys' representatives and three members of the Cathedral Chapter.
The school revived and by 1941 the roll reached eighty. In 1948 the school reverted to the status and functions of a preparatory school.

In 1926 Craighead private school at Timaru was offered to the diocese. The Board of Education not having the necessary funds, the church people of Timaru were asked to raise the money and £9,700 was collected. A Board of Governors was set up and Miss Salmond appointed headmistress. Financial difficulties led Synod to grant a loan to the school in 1937 in order to prevent it from closing. Down to 1940 it was a select and small private school of the old type, fitting girls for home life and not for the professions. Since then it has made rapid progress and adopted a similar syllabus to that of the ordinary secondary schools. It has remained, however, a boarding school rather than a day school. In 1943 the roll passed the hundred mark and accommodation has become acute. A building programme is now under way and four more class rooms, a laboratory and a home-craft room are to be added to the school. For the immediate future, the Board of Governors intend to consolidate at 160 pupils, 110 of whom will be boarders.

In the academic and sports fields alike Christ's College has proved itself worthy to be numbered among the leading schools of New Zealand. The extent of its influence has steadily spread and many of the leading citizens of Christchurch have passed through its gates. Its war record in both wars is one of which any school might well be
proud. Captain C. Upham V.C. and bar, to mention but one, is one of the old boys of whom the school is justly proud. In 1948 there are 373 pupils.

Since 1918 the Church has made a large contribution to the University life of the town. In 1924 Bishopscourt Hostel was transferred to a fine residence in Cramer Square given by Bishop Julius. Henceforth known as Bishop Julius Hostel, it opened with thirty-five girls and Miss Havelaar, the matron. It has served an invaluable purpose in providing a home for girl students attending both the Training College and University.

The period after 1918 was one of rapid growth for College House, until, today there are 76 students in residence, of whom twenty are divinity students. Since 1953 Canon Farr, M.C., M.A., B.D., has been Principal and College House has served the dual purpose of the theological college and a residential hostel for University students.

The obvious swing of the pendulum of policy in latter years has been away from the primary schools. Increased emphasis and attention have been devoted to the church secondary schools. This was not contemplated in 1918. Up till quite recent years when men spoke of church education they meant primary education. They never quite forgot that there had been a time in the province’s history when the Anglican Church had a virtual monopoly of primary education, and that these schools had made a very real contribution to the work of the church – for many of the older clergy had received their early training in the old
church day schools.

Secondary schools are easier to manage because higher fees can be charged. To all of these schools boarding establishments are attached and in this manner the Church has been able to provide for the children of her more wealthy country members who are compelled to send their children away from home. The whole history of these schools, moreover, shows that this aspect of their work has been greatly appreciated. There is one danger in this condition of affairs, and that is that church schools may become purely "class" schools. The only remedy for this would be for the laity, convinced of the value of these schools, freely to endow them with scholarships.

Primary schools undoubtedly require a considerable amount of self-sacrificing support from the average churchman. They have to compete with well-equipped public schools and the charging of fees, small though they be, no doubt inclines the average churchman to send his children to the free state schools. The influence of the church primary schools since 1875 has been almost negligible on the community at large. The question arises, are they worth while?

Dr. Garbett, the Archbishop of York, says, "It is a well accepted principle of religious education that the early years of a child's life are of primary importance. There seems little doubt that through the pre-adolescent years children are more sensitive to spiritual influences and more receptive than during the adolescent years."¹

¹ Dr. Cyril Garbett, op. cit., P. 216.
If this be so then the Church would do well to recapture the zeal of 1918. Yet may not it be wiser to wait until children have reached years of discretion and are able the more intelligently to appreciate a religious education and see the value of religious and moral influences? It is an open question.

One thing is certain: if religious education is to accomplish anything, whether in primary or secondary schools, it must be more than vague teaching, it must have a sympathetic atmosphere and be taught by those who are convinced of its values and seek to live by its precepts. In the depth or shallowness of this conviction will be found to depend to a great extent the issue of the practical problem as to the ways and means.

In the twentieth century morality has been largely divorced from Christianity, as Dean Inge says, "We are living on our Christian capital." Materialism is making great strides and the public primary and secondary schools of our Dominion are, for the most part non-religious. There rests on the Church a grave responsibility to make men realise that the life is more than meat and the body than raiment. The church schools, more than any other organ of the Church, are best fitted to carry out this task.

For the future it is to be hoped that the church schools will be maintained at their present high level of efficiency and that they will continue to retain an important place in the educational system of our country. The advantages to the community of the existence of private
including church schools besides the state schools, are many and obvious. One uniform system with standard text-books lays an educational system wide open to indoctrination by the State and, what is more, uniformity breeds decay. The church schools which are free to carry out variations of curriculum and method, provide that element of individual freedom and experiment which is so necessary a condition of progress.
APPENDIX. A.

A table of average attendances at the Church day schools, compiled from parochial returns made to Synod in Easter of each year.

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+ No returns were made again until 1880.

**Note I.** - Statistics of church schools given by the Board of Education in their reports of 31 December, 1872, and 30 September, 1873, show a slightly lower average attendance throughout.

**Note II.** - It would appear that most of the church day schools ceased when they were reconstituted as district schools and put under the control of the Provincial Board of Education. For example, the Board's Report of 1 December, 1873, notes that on 15 March, 1873, the Kaiapoi Church of England day school became a district school. In many cases too, the teachers appointed by the Bishop were retained by the district committees. The Report of the Board of Education of September 1872, announced the award of certificates of fitness to Mr Mayo and Mrs Jennings of the Papanui Church school who when the school was transferred to the control of the district committee in March 1872, were reappointed.
A list of the staff of the Church day schools in Canterbury in 1872. x

Addington. Mr Foster, Mrs Breming.
Avonside. Mr Martin.
St. John's. Mr Dunnett, Miss Antony.
St. Luke's. Mr Mousley, Miss Preston.
St. Michael's. Mr and Mrs Butt.
Kaiapoi. Miss Mathews.
Lyttelton. Messrs Amy, Ross, Borthwick.
Oxford. Mr Wollstein.
Rangiora. Mr Chapman, Mrs Barford.
Riccarton. Mr Wilson.
Woodend. Mr Stewart.

A table of average attendances at the Church day schools compiled from parochial returns made to Synod. Those from 1880 to 1889 are for the year ending at Easter. There were no returns made again until 1894. From 1894 to 1918 the returns are for the year ending on 31 March.

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(The most important sources of information have been the Diocesan Synod Reports, the Church Quarterly, the Church News, and the Lyttelton Times. The newspapers have provided a valuable index to public opinion.)

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Oral interviews with the Rev. Canon H. Williams, the Rev.
Canon S. Hamilton, Miss Harding, Mrs Young, were of great
assistance.