FENDALL’S LEGACY:

LAND, PLACE AND PEOPLE IN FENDALTON 1850 - 1950

A thesis

submitted in partial fulfilment

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of

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by

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University of Canterbury

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The Parish Church of St Barnabas, built of stone and nestled amidst the autumn foliage of its seventy-five year old trees, visibly portrays the English and Anglican heritage of Fendalton.

'It is only now and again that we grasp the fact that it is in the common annals of our every-day life that we are making history, and are influencing the lives of the community in ages to come.'

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ABSTRACT

The name of Fendalton is very well-known. Situated north-west of Hagley Park, it is widely perceived as the most fashionable suburb of Christchurch. When and why Fendalton, in particular, achieved this status forms the framework of 'Fendall's Legacy'. Residential subdivision came relatively late to Fendalton, and the various reasons for this are explored as the second of three major themes throughout the thesis. The third development that I seek to identify over time is the 'Englishness' of the suburb.

The main body of the thesis is divided into four chapters, with the addition of an introduction and conclusion. The 1850 starting point is valid, as Fendalton started with the Canterbury Settlement and owes its origin to the selection of Rural Section 18 by Walpole Cheshyre Fendall in February 1851. The hundred years of study, 1850 - 1950 is subdivided into four quarter centuries. There are some significant changes in Canterbury, and Fendalton in particular, that support this periodisation.

Research on subdivision was focused on deeds records at Land Information New Zealand and property sales plans. Information about changes in the occupations of the increasing number of residents was derived from various sources, including parish records and street directories. Biographical details were drawn from such valuable resources as the G.R. Macdonald Biographies and the Cyclopedia, and from numerous memoirs. The general perception of Fendalton as fashionable and wealthy relies heavily on newspaper comment, notices and property sales advertisements.

The extension of the tramway network into Fendalton in 1907 encouraged subdivision and a noticeably increasing population. Major growth did not occur until the 1920s, at a time when fashions in architecture and landscape design ensured the appearance of the 'Englishness' of Fendalton. The public perception of Fendalton as the 'most fashionable suburb', was delayed until at least the 1930s and possibly beyond the Second World War.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Inspiration for this thesis came via a humourous quip from the Rev. Brian Thomas, Vicar of Geraldine. Brian's timely joke concerning 'rattling jewellery' set me off on a most interesting quest.

I am grateful to the Vicar of Fendalton, Rev. Canon Craufurd Murray, for his support in generously allowing me access to the parish archives. My thanks also go to the many Fendalton residents who have expressed interest in my research and offered encouragement. There is enormous scope for further study in this area and for the gathering and preservation of archival material.

I would particularly like to express my appreciation to Dr. John Cookson, my supervisor, who has entered into many interesting discussions on the attributes of Fendalton. Dr. Cookson has exhibited remarkable patience with my propensity for being a 'magpie', and with the pace of progress of my thesis alongside my many other commitments!

I owe a debt of gratitude to Jean Sharfe for so willingly making available much information on local history sources, drawn from the extensive Christchurch 2000 database in the Department of History.

A very special vote of thanks must go to all my family for their warm encouragement and assistance; and most particularly to my younger son, Julian, whose time and skill on the computer have been so generously made available for my thesis.
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NOTE ON MEASUREMENTS

The basic unit employed in the measurement of land area in New Zealand between 1850 and 1950 was the acre. Rural Sections were purchased in multiples of fifty acres. Subdivision was frequently into blocks of ten, five and one acre, and then into half, and the most popular, quarter acre section. In the interests of clarity and logic I have chosen to retain the use of this system of measurement within the text of the thesis. Rather than insert the metric measurement alongside the imperial on each occasion, a table of equivalent measurements is provided.

Plans of subdivision also employed such imperial measurements as roods and perches, and links and chains for length. Metric equivalents of these units of measurement are given.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>acres</th>
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<td>10</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>0.405</td>
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\[ \frac{1}{2} \text{ acre} = 2025 \text{ square metres} \]
\[ \frac{1}{4} \text{ acre} = 1012 \text{ square metres} \]

1 acre = 4 roods
1 rood = 40 perches
1 chain = 100 links = 22 yards = 20.12 metres
1 link = 7.92 inches = 19.80 centimetres
# ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
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<tr>
<td>LINZ</td>
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<tr>
<td>LT</td>
<td><em>Lyttelton Times</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>NZFUW</td>
<td>New Zealand Federation of University Women</td>
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<tr>
<td>NZJH</td>
<td>New Zealand Journal of History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBVM</td>
<td>St. Barnabas Vestry Minutes</td>
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Chapter 1  Fendalton in New Zealand History

Fendalton is recognised in real estate terms as the most expensive and exclusive residential suburb in Christchurch. For many people the very name is synonymous with social elitism, privileged education, tradition and 'Englishness'. This thesis seeks to discover why of all the Christchurch suburbs it should be Fendalton that acquired this reputation. The local history of Fendalton has been researched from 1850 to 1950, particularly studying the stages of land subdivision, the growth of its 'English' character and suggesting at what approximate date Fendalton became generally recognised as being the foremost fashionable address in Christchurch.

The inspiration for this thesis came from hearing a light-hearted aside, whose humour relied on the 'myth' of Fendalton. In August 1997 the Archbishop of Canterbury paid a visit to Christchurch. During an evening gathering in the Christchurch Town Hall, while introducing an item by some young musicians, the Reverend Brian Thomas parodied John Lennon by announcing, "You can applaud if you like; and those from Merivale and Fendalton can rattle their jewellery!" This was greeted by laughter throughout much of the auditorium, reflecting the widespread nature of this shared perception. The first questions for my research then came to mind asking when and why these two suburbs, and Fendalton in particular, had gained this reputation.

The thesis is divided into four chapters. Being a continuum, any divisions of time must of necessity be arbitrary and a subjective decision. The 1850 starting point is valid as Fendalton started with the Canterbury Settlement and owes its origin to the selection of Rural Section 18 by Walpole Cheshyre Fendall in February 1851. The convenience of a hundred years of study, 1850 - 1950 being subdivided into four quarter centuries might seem too contrived. However, there are some significant changes in Canterbury, and Fendalton in particular, that support this periodisation. In 1875 a local school was opened and land donated for the construction of an Anglican chapel, both illustrating population and growth and change. The end of provincial
government in 1876, and the inclusion of Fendalton in the new county of Selwyn, also supports this choice of date. 1900 saw the celebration of the Canterbury Jubilee and is a generally appropriate point of transition coming at the end of the Victorian era and moving into a progressive stage of suburban growth. In the 1920s education was being very seriously promoted in Canterbury, and 1924 saw the construction of the first open-air classrooms at Fendalton School, in 1926 the stone church of St. Barnabas was consecrated and Fendalton entered a quarter century of increasing recognition as the English Garden suburb of Christchurch. In 1950, as Canterbury marked its centenary, the Anglican Parish of St. Barnabas and the suburb of Fendalton reached their greatest geographical extent. The outwards expansion of high status housing in Fendalton was curtailed at Clyde Road.

Major sources for this study of subdivision in Fendalton have been the deeds books in Land Information New Zealand and salesplans from the Documentary History Research Centre in the Canterbury Museum. As there is generally an increased number of properties put on the market in the Spring, the property market has been studied through the close observation of Saturday editions of the Press in October, at five yearly intervals from 1890 to 1950. An aerial photographic survey of Burnside and Fendalton, from Russley Road to Hagley Park, was undertaken from a helicopter in March 1999. The Parish Archives of the Anglican Parish of Fendalton contain a wealth of local history in the registers, minute books and magazines. Biographical information has been drawn from the G.R. Macdonald Dictionary of Canterbury Biographies in the Canterbury Museum, the Cyclopedia of New Zealand volume 3 (1903) and many primary and secondary publications, frequently located through the University of Canterbury, Department of History, Christchurch 2000 data base. Due acknowledgement must be given to the very wide-ranging and informative survey of northwest Christchurch published in 1977 by Sarah Penney, entitled Beyond the City The Land and Its People Riccarton, Waimairi and Paparua. The resources of the Macmillan Brown Library, the New Zealand Room of the Canterbury Public Library and the Canterbury Branch of National Archives have provided relevant information.
In the physical environment of Christchurch there are four significant variations, which are in many cases interconnected, but which impact upon high status area change. These are elevation, drainage and flooding, soils and river or water frontage. These four criteria will be considered in relation to their benefits and disadvantages to Fendalton as a potential high status locality. What may be seen as a disadvantage at one stage may later become an attraction. Other criteria may give no obvious advantage to Fendalton.

The disciplines of Geography and Sociology have been at the forefront of recent research on the suburbs of Christchurch. Some very worthwhile contributions have been made to our understanding of social changes that have taken place within the physical environment of Canterbury. The information and statistics presented by geographers and sociologists are of great value to the local historian. From the local historian's perspective however, what is frequently lacking from these studies is the appreciation of individual human personalities; that is the people who were the actors within the physical environment and whose lives created the statistics. In this thesis the significance of population growth and change over time in the suburb of Fendalton will be established within the context of Christchurch and Canterbury, with some reference to relevant major changes and events within New Zealand and the British Empire.

In New Zealand historiography the focus on community studies, local and regional history stems largely from an important call by David Hamer at the Turnbull Conference in 1978 to increase the attention given to New Zealand urban history. In response to this call, and as illustration of contemporary interest, articles appeared in the Journal of New Zealand History and a number of books were published. The communities chosen for

2 The work of R.J. Johnston and the MA thesis of Webster in Geography are of particular value and interest. In Sociology, a comparative study of Fendalton and Richmond, Community Formation and Change, was undertaken by Bob Hall, David Thorns and Bill Willmott in 1983
study were suburbs linked with industry and 'working class', such as
Johnsonville and Caversham. David Pearson's book Johnsonville was
published in 1979. Both in their very different ways attacked the 'cherished
ideal of an egalitarian, classless society.' During the 1980s Clyde Griffen encouraged New Zealand historians to consider North American models and experience, as a basis for comparison, equally as important to New Zealand studies as Australian frontier studies. Regional histories also fuelled the debate and there is no doubt that Stevan Eldred-Grigg's Southern Gentry published in 1980 and his New History of Canterbury (1982) provoked considerable discussion.

When Miles Fairburn published his Ideal Society and its Enemies in 1989 another landmark in New Zealand social history was recognised. Fairburn proceeded to identify, analyse and discredit various theories of community in New Zealand before promoting his own theory of 'atomisation'. The response was immediate with Raewyn Dalziel and Caroline Daley, amongst others, utilising their own extensive studies of New Plymouth and Taradale to denounce 'atomisation' as limited, chronologically, geographically and numerically - the 'atoms' were the isolated, early colonial, rural males - and to provide the revival of the theme of small, but close-knit, industrious communities of colonial New Zealand, where women played a very important role in promoting a sense of community.

The publication of Erik Olssen's epic volume in 1995 on the

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community of Caversham\textsuperscript{12} in Dunedin took a period of study from the 1880s to the 1920s and concentrated on links between work, politics and society in what is acknowledged as a working-class suburb. The meaning of this term is studied in the book. Olssen's publisher claimed that the book brings together the perspectives of historical sociology and the new cultural history. It also provides, it is claimed, an illuminating account of how skilled workers constructed an egalitarian society.

Informal histories have also been researched in Christchurch on such suburbs as St. Albans\textsuperscript{13}, Sydenham and Riccarton\textsuperscript{14}, and there have been a myriad of brochures and pamphlets on church and school history, varying in quality from the professional\textsuperscript{15} to the anecdotal.

Jim McAloon's work on the Colonial Wealthy\textsuperscript{16} and Erik Olssen's on Wakefield\textsuperscript{17} have made progress in regulating the balance in historiographical verdicts on the 'gentry' which had suffered from the rather acrimonious and scathing attacks of Eldred-Grigg. Unpublished theses have discussed elite suburbs and high status residential areas within the framework of sociology and urban geography.\textsuperscript{18} A comprehensive comparative study of Richmond and Fendalton was undertaken in 1983 by researchers in the Department of Sociology at the University of Canterbury\textsuperscript{19} but there is a danger of the people being lost in the statistics. Also the translation of measurements of both land

\textsuperscript{12} Olssen, Erik \textit{Building the New World. Work, Politics and Society in Caversham 1880s-1920s.} Auckland, 1995.
\textsuperscript{13} New Zealand Federation of University Women, Canterbury Branch \textit{St Albans from Swamp to Suburb An Informal History.} Christchurch, 1989
\textsuperscript{17} Olssen, Erik \textit{'Mr Wakefield and New Zealand as an Experiment in Post-Enlightenment Experimental Practice.'} \textit{NZJH,} 1997. Vol. 31,2, pp 197-218.
area and money from acres and pounds into hectares and dollars caused unnecessary confusion. The study of Fendalton was informative but the area of 'Fendalton' under study was very restricted. There was a need for a local historical study of the development of a suburb that was not identified as 'working class'.

A gap in our historical knowledge is evident. The obsession of the 1960s was in class and history-from-below. Since the 1970s there has been cynicism and questioning of everything that had traditional values, particularly if the tags of wealth, white, imperial and patriarchal could, however tentatively, be attached. The 'new social history' and its multiplying sub-genres, such as women's history and labour history, urban and cultural history...aspired to understand the experience not of elites but of 'ordinary people' in their everyday lives. A feeling of affinity with Britain declined strongly post 1973 with Britain's entry into the Common Market. Anti-nuclear feeling cooled relations with both the United States and the United Kingdom. Feminism, the Maori renaissance and Asian immigration altered the foci of historical research so that subjects that were fashionable for historical study were orientated towards gender and the Pacific. Through the 1980s there was even a questioning of the possibility of the existence of historical truth. 'Deviance was in vogue and students queued to study it.' Cultural history flourished despite the post-modernist onslaught. Historians have regrouped and are reasserting confidence in historical research. Local history is benefiting from this fresh approach as the late 1990s has produced some excellent, balanced research. But many gaps in our knowledge of local history remain.

The Year 2000 has raised the profile of the Canterbury Association and the sesquicentennial of the planned Canterbury settlement. It is an appropriate time to reconsider the contribution made by British migrants to Christchurch heritage. Erik Olsson's timely article in 1992 reasserted the need for the study

21 Olssen 'Where to from here?' p.68
22 For example G. W.Rice, Christchurch Changing An Illustrated History. Christchurch, 1999
of migration from Britain. Olssen remarked that '[W]e know more about every racial minority than we do about the major flows of migrants from Britain'\textsuperscript{23}. While there are certain characteristics in common between the four main centres of New Zealand '[W]e also know that the history of the two islands is quite dissimilar, especially in the nineteenth century.'\textsuperscript{24} 'We also need to remember that any new history of New Zealand has to be capable of acknowledging that New Zealand has many histories.'\textsuperscript{25} Each predominant migrant group made unique contributions to the original character and heritage of the colonial settlements. This has been nurtured and resurrected as a foundation for the recent resurgence of interest in local history and heritage. As Olssen argued, 'New Zealand's history cannot be explained only in terms of what happened here.'\textsuperscript{26} but we have to 'bear in mind that the colony belonged to the Empire'.\textsuperscript{27} 'In some respects we are turning to look again at the Britishness of Pakeha New Zealand.'\textsuperscript{28} Pakeha culture is British in origin, tempered by colonial conditions, and made unique to New Zealand by its relationship to indigenous Maori culture.

There are also other traits that are remarkably peculiar to particular New Zealand communities, such as the English character of Christchurch. Erik Olssen commented on the 'more English than the English cliche'\textsuperscript{29}. This has frequently been applied to New Zealand, to Canterbury in particular and, one could argue, most fervently to Fendalton. 'The belief in New Zealand's Britishness, or in that deceitful but revealing synecdoche, English-ness, as a definition of the new society's character and destiny, arrived with the 'systematic colonisers' but has been too long ignored, no doubt in part because of the distinctive form that nationalism has taken over the past generation.'\textsuperscript{30}

There has also been a truncated perception that the vision of the early Canterbury settlers was both naive and unfulfilled. Some aspects of the hopes

\textsuperscript{23}Olssen 'Where to from here?' p. 69
\textsuperscript{24}ibid p. 76
\textsuperscript{25}ibid p.76
\textsuperscript{26}ibid p.75
\textsuperscript{27}ibid p.75
\textsuperscript{28}ibid p.74
\textsuperscript{29}ibid pp 54-77.
\textsuperscript{30}ibid' p.74
and vision for Canterbury are still in the process of progressive realisation. The significant English character of Fendalton invites further study. It will be argued that Fendalton developed into the most English of Christchurch suburbs. The progressive stages of the development of this English ambience will be traced from the first English settlers in Fendall Town in 1851.

'English-ness' by its very nature must be a human 'construct' within the New Zealand landscape. The major geographical features of Canterbury in 1850 were definitely not reminiscent of England: the distant Alps (snow-covered in winter), volcanic and craggy Port Hills, khaki tussock, swamp vegetation, dark green bush, turquoise waters of the Harbour, bright sunlight and dusty, hot 'norwesters'. The 'English cathedral city' was a vision in the minds of the Canterbury Pilgrims. The physical appearance of particular localities was gradually moulded to that vision. This was achieved by the planting of deciduous trees, the construction of private homes, public buildings and bridges that captured the essence of English architecture, and the landscaping of riverbanks, parks and gardens.

As the suburbs of the city expanded and industrialisation transformed Christchurch, one of the results was suburban differentiation. 'Working class areas' formed in certain suburbs. Some of these suburbs have been identified and researched. Much of the evidence and criteria for community development is based on so-called working-class suburbs. But what of the residential areas of the middling classes, those whose professional and entrepreneurial skills directed the creation of the city's wealth? Did they not form a community or were their suburbs merely dormitories lacking evidence of community? Why did certain areas gradually attract the more wealthy urban dwellers and why of these areas in Christchurch has Fendalton developed such a widespread 'myth'?

This thesis asserts the value of a local historical study of a suburban community that would not be tagged as 'working class': a suburb whose physical locality and constructed appearance have frequently, and over considerable time, attracted labels of English-ness. A suburb, indeed, whose
name in 2000 is very widely recognised and perceived throughout New Zealand as fashionable, wealthy and exclusive. This perception or 'myth' of Fendalton was the starting point of my research.

The boundaries of Fendalton have always been rather fluid. There are three main criteria determining these boundaries, these being the original rural sections, the Anglican parish boundary and the Waimairi County boundary. There would be a strong argument for the assertion that the heart of Fendalton must be Rural Section 18. This was Walpole Cheshyre Fendall's selection and the origins of the name Fendall Town. It has been suggested that Fendall's homestead was on land south of Fendalton Road currently the site of 'Holly Lea' and the small 'Quamby' residential subdivision. This argument would be reinforced by the location of the wooden chapel-of-ease on R.S. 18 in 1876, the site of the stone church of St. Barnabas, consecrated in 1926, and described as 'a focal point in the...district.' Essentially Fendall Town lay between the Wairarapa and Waimairi Streams and incorporated neighbouring rural sections to east and west between Hagley Park and what is today the site of Christchurch International Airport. To the south beyond the Waimairi Stream was the Deans' 'Riccarton' estate and to the north beyond the Wairarapa Stream was Jeffreys' 'Bryndwr' farm. In 1883 the Anglican Parish of Fendalton widened these boundaries to the Avon River, incorporating part of the Riccarton and Ilam estates, and enclosing 'Bryndwr' in the Fendalton parish. In 1910 the boundary between Riccarton Borough and the Waimairi County created a justification for defining 'Riccarton' estate land as being in Fendalton, as it came in the Fendalton riding and electorate. Some new residents, on the subsequent subdivision of the 'Riccarton' estate in the 1920s, chose to use a Fendalton address to differentiate themselves from properties in Riccarton Borough. The significance of changes in these boundaries is linked with the process of subdivision of the northwest suburbs and the personal and public perception of the importance of residential location.

When studying a suburb, which is widely recognised as being of 'high

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status', it is essential to define the terms that are variously used to describe its residents. It is a challenge finding a useful and satisfactory term to describe the prosperous leadership group of New Zealand. Varying terms may be appropriate in different generations. There has been little historical study in New Zealand of classes and class formation. The major exception to this is the (usually organised) working class, which has attracted a good deal of scholarly attention. Linked with this, labour history has had a major influence on New Zealand historiography. Jim McAloon discusses the definition of different terms in the introduction to his thesis on Colonial Wealth.

There are six terms variously used by historians to describe the prosperous leadership group in Christchurch: elite, wealthy, rich, bourgeoisie, middle class and gentry. The use of the term 'elite' generally presupposes a relatively small, easily identifiable group in possession of wealth and power. It does have a problem as a term as some people would remain socially part of the 'elite' by birth, despite a fall in financial fortune. However, they may be unable to maintain the lifestyle of the elite for a great length of time and consequently lose contact with their former associates.

The term, wealthy, needs to be defined. How much wealth was owned, in what form (such as in land, shares or business), and at what stage of their lives. McAloon uses probate records to identify the wealthy and is well aware of the restrictions of this choice. But, as he argues, it also shows that not only did they become wealthy, but they managed to retain that wealth. I would caution that wealth in probate records does not necessarily reflect a high annual disposable income and wealth calculated for a deceased estate cannot necessarily be presumed for that same person forty or fifty years earlier. In a critique of Eldred-Grigg, McAloon wisely notes 'the wealthy need to be seen as people operating in a social context, not as a series of aggregates'.

Although similar to wealthy, 'rich' seems to have negative overtones,
implying elements of the mortal sin of greed. It was the word chosen by translators of the Bible into English and also used in the English Book of Common Prayer; books containing a multitude of quotations so familiar to generations of Cantabrians. The 'nouveaux riches' traditionally carry the odour of vulgarity and ostentation. Eldred-Grigg almost certainly was utilising these unsavoury innuendoes when he called his book, The Rich\textsuperscript{36}. McAloon's Colonial Wealthy is more accommodating of rewarded effort and also genuine philanthropy on the part of those with money.

Bourgeoisie, the French term for the urban middle class, is useful in that it denotes a different stratum in social terms below the aristocracy, most of whom were closely linked with landed wealth and title. Its very origins tie it with the burgers in Germany and the medieval burgesses of English towns. The elegant upper echelons of the French bourgeoisie, captured on canvas by the Impressionists, do not seem quite at home on the unpaved streets of colonial Christchurch. Perhaps there are reflections of their lifestyle in the drawing rooms of the most magnificent suburban mansions and runholder homesteads of late nineteenth century Canterbury and Otago. The petit bourgeoisie of the shopkeepers, early industrialists and skilled artisans may have a relevance in describing the social class in the young, but growing, colonial cities. But does the term bourgeois adequately describe the independent farmer of the turn of the century? This term is also rather anachronistic when applied to England and the British Empire. It would be a term to which English gentry would not relate and it certainly would not have been thought illuminating in the colonial homes of Christchurch. The use of the term bourgeois in historiography relating to New Zealand is a fairly recent attempt to respond to the perceived need to discover a more acceptable term than 'middle class'. Those who came to New Zealand had aspirations for land and many of the colonists retained their gentility, so to describe colonial farmers and Victorian businessmen as bourgeois does not seem appropriate. The early decades of the twentieth century were seen by Eldred-Grigg as an appropriate time to use bourgeois to describe the urban middle class\textsuperscript{37}.

\textsuperscript{36} S. Eldred-Grigg The Rich - A New Zealand History. Auckland, 1996.
\textsuperscript{37} Eldred-Grigg A New History of Canterbury p.159
Contemptuously he described Christchurch as 'a thoroughly bourgeois place'\textsuperscript{38}. But the so-called 'bourgeois' do not necessarily live in urban town houses; the residents of some suburban Fendalton properties are often still closer in lifestyle to the rural gentry of England.

In colonial New Zealand the class system that emerged was unique. It had traits that connected it with the other frontier colonies of the British Empire and the New World, but the very small size of the population centres, and their relative isolation, precluded the emergence of the highly privileged and ostentatious urban bourgeoisie of the capitals and larger cities of Europe. On the eastern seaboard of the United States and on the great estates of the American South the boundaries between bourgeoisie and landed aristocracy had started to merge, but the English aristocracy retained their titles, tradition and privileges. Eldred-Grigg elaborated this theme by proposing the suggestion that late nineteenth-century Canterbury was 'that very aristocratic province'\textsuperscript{39}. But there were virtually no titled aristocrats in New Zealand. William Pember Reeves observed in 1898 that:

[S]ocially the colonists are what might be expected from their environment. Without an aristocracy, without anything that can be called a plutocracy, without a solitary millionaire, New Zealand is also virtually without that hopeless thing, the hereditary pauper and begetter of paupers. It may be doubted whether she has a dozen citizens with more than £10,000 a year a piece. On the other hand, the average of wealth and income is among the highest in the world.\textsuperscript{40}

Those with connections to aristocratic families were usually younger sons seeking their fortune in the colonies. Three titled aristocrats have tenuous links with Fendalton. Sir George Clifford of 'Stonyhurst', who had a town residence in Fendalton, was from an ancient, aristocratic, English family. The young Earl of Seafield, a Scottish title, was born in Oamaru and his occupation, like that of his father, was recorded as 'Peer of the United Kingdom' when he married Nina Townend, a doctor's daughter from Park Terrace, at St. Barnabas Church in 1898\textsuperscript{41}. An early twentieth century resident

\textsuperscript{38} ibid p. 160  
\textsuperscript{39} ibid p. 160  
\textsuperscript{40} W. P. Reeves, \textit{The Long White Cloud Aotearoa}. London, 1898 p. 406  
\textsuperscript{41} Marriage register of St. Barnabas Anglican Church
of Lower Fendalton was the fourth son of the English Lord Townshend, and preferred the use of his aristocratic appellation, the 'Honourable Ernest'. In 1993 Jim McAloon asserted that "[R]ather than a would-be aristocracy, the rich of the South Island were generally a thoroughly modern bourgeois group."

Class is a notion that is awkward in New Zealand. Colonists and later migrants brought English notions of class in their cultural baggage, but the strata became different and do not perfectly align. When the term 'middle class' is used, by its very nature it must be suggesting the middle stratum between two others. If the middle class in colonial New Zealand were the class in the elitist position of holding greatest wealth and wielding undeniable power, then it was not a middle class. The term 'middle class' is, however, useful in that it carries significant cultural baggage in its transposition from early twentieth-century England. The frequently used term 'middling classes' in urban England was less appropriate to the colonial lifestyle of Canterbury. Certain cultural values were attached to the English middle class, who were an identifiable class below the landed aristocracy, and above the two-tiered level of skilled and unskilled working class within the English context. Webster's geography MA thesis, however, uses 'middle class' as a stratum below the high status 'elite', who live in high status residential areas such as Fendalton. The post 1950s 'middle class' were often skilled workers who had benefited from economic prosperity and were enjoying a 'middle class' consumer lifestyle. The usefulness of the term 'middle class' in its New Zealand context is dependent on the historical timeframe under discussion, but is very appropriate when referring in the first half of the twentieth century to the new professional and white-collar classes that emerged in Christchurch about 1900.

Before the gradual onset of industrialisation in Christchurch from about 1880, the English term of 'gentry' is a helpful and comprehensive term to describe the Christchurch elite. 'Gentry' is the contemporary collective noun for gentlemen (and their families) as a class. It is therefore useful as a descriptive term. The nomenclature 'gentleman' was widely used in

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nineteenth-century England and was transposed to colonial New Zealand.

Gentleman was the occupation given in official records by a man of independent financial means. Initially in Britain this income did not come from trade, but, in the context of New Zealand, trade provided the means to social mobility for many colonists. Gentleman as a term of reference could cover a wide range of income. A gentleman also had a social status below that of members of the aristocracy, but above the cohorts of the common folk. In *Pride and Prejudice* Elizabeth Bennet states of Darcy that he is a gentleman and she is the daughter of a gentleman and so there can be no social prohibition on their marriage. A gentleman knew he was such and was known as such by society in general. Despite the vagaries of fortune gentle folk were supposed to have a quality that identified them from the 'ordinary folk.' In fact so long as the behaviour and values remained appropriate a gentleman-born might retain his status despite loss of income through misfortune. It was bankruptcy and debt through immoral behaviour, such as ill-befitted a gentleman, that caused social isolation and rejection. 'Gentleman' denoted a style and accepted standard of social behaviour and it frequently presumed a certain standard of education. As a term it is applicable in both urban and rural contexts.

This ethos was transplanted as part of the English culture and heritage of Christchurch. Some of the ideal qualities of a gentleman had their roots in the classics. The study of the classics at English public schools and the universities aimed to inculcate in young men the veneration of such qualities as that of honour, and such characteristics as honesty, strength of character, patience, reliability and leadership. The extent to which individual young men espoused and exhibited these ideals is subject to interpretation and debate. What is undeniable is the existence of the ethos of the gentleman and that a sufficient majority of Victorian and Edwardian 'middle class' men considered these values as essential attributes of their social position. The ideal was the healthy mind and body and this encompassed the spiritual as well as the temporal. The qualities of a gentleman were internalised in youth and maintained through association. Edward Gibbon Wakefield strongly
emphasised this element of association for sustaining civilised society in a frontier, colonial environment. His desire was to create a closely settled, agriculturally-based city, endowed with churches and schools. Victorian family values were transported to New Zealand and networks of family relationships became one of the strengths of Canterbury. The responsibilities of a Godparent took on greater significance in the frontier environment. One of the qualities of the gentry was the appreciation of education and culture; art, architecture, music, literature and the theatre. These were recognised as the essence of gentility.

Entry into the gentry was normally by birth, reinforced by secondary and often tertiary education. Many of the early Canterbury gentry had been educated in English public schools and the Oxbridge colleges. Christ's and Canterbury Colleges created similar affiliations in the succeeding generation, widening to include Christchurch Boys' High School. Association in activities, often of a sporting nature, undertaken by gentlemen, which usually included more expensive activities and required a degree of leisure time, strengthened the bonds and provided points of entry for social mobility. The Christchurch and Canterbury Clubs provided venues for further association. Voluntary associations and the pageant of social intercourse increasingly provided the stage for the expansion of the membership of the 'elite'. Being prepared to contribute to the local community in a recognised and positive way, which included contributing to the local economy, being a philanthropist, seeking public office, chairing school boards and committees, all carried the accolade of being a good colonist. Socially unacceptable behaviour ensured doors stayed closed.

Church affiliation, particularly to the Anglican Church in early Canterbury, cemented gentry relationships, and membership of parish vestry and diocesan synod was rather expected. The liberal, middle class from England found comfort, assurance and a sense of purpose in the established Anglican church. The squire, the Anglican church and the schoolmaster gave a sense of order and continuity to the English village. To perpetuate the qualities of the gentleman and inculcate these various skills and qualities in their sons,
gentlemen gave financial support to educational institutions. It is hardly surprising then that the aristocratic and middle class members of the Canterbury Association put such emphasis on the establishment of schools and a college in their vision of the planned Church of England settlement.

Ignoring the presence of these qualities expected of a gentleman in nineteenth-century society is anachronistic. Historians may well argue that a gentleman acted in a certain way and through less than admirable motives. Historians writing since the 1960s have all too often suffered from a blinkered 'history from below' syndrome, exacerbated by post-imperial depression. The past thirty years has been a necessary period of illumination of the vital and dynamic roles on the historical stage played by women and the industrial working classes, and celebrating the ethnic and cultural diversity of humankind. But in producing this wonderfully colourful pageant some historians lost sight of Truth. Indeed a few went so far as to deny its very existence.

The creative energy and social code of the British middle class were transposed to New Zealand in the mid-nineteenth century. There was a stratum of British society which, from the middle of the eighteenth century, devised, engineered and executed the most remarkable expansion of almost every horizon known to humankind. They operated as family units, some more patriarchal than others. The history of the British Empire is being revisited by historians and the history of Canterbury can only be fully understood within this greater context. In Canterbury and Otago the 'middle class' became the 'upper class' by default but they remained the gentry. But for most of the gentry their code of behaviour, work ethic and expectations portrayed their origin and nurturing within the British middle class. It will be argued that much of this legacy continued to be visible in the suburb of Fendalton well into the twentieth century.

A genteel, English cathedral city constructed in the Antipodes was the vision of the Canterbury Pilgrims. It was a vision that required time, effort and prosperity to achieve, and the construction of fine public buildings, bridges
and private homes each contributed to the fulfilment of this goal. The immediate demands, concerns and challenges of the frontier and colonial environment required the prioritising of effort, but by the Jubilee of 1900 there was a general sense of celebration, congratulation and a confidence in the future of Canterbury. The English appearance of Fendalton was acclaimed in the *Cyclopedia* and Ngaio Marsh described the suburb as 'gentee' 

In the nineteenth century workers' sections and cottages were necessarily within walking distance of their place of employment before the advent of cheap and frequent public transport. Labourers in Fendall Town would have resided near the mill or brewery, in cottages on farms or estates, or had a small holding nearby, possibly in the Braco Workers' Settlement. These dwellings, like their inhabitants, are less visible and less frequently recorded in print or on early photos. Some are recorded in street directories. The Anglican church of St. Barnabas was the only church building in Fendalton until well into the twentieth century. Parish records are therefore most useful in giving an indication of population size and composition. Before 1900 parish registers may record a general locality of residence, but not a street address in the more rural suburbs like Fendalton.

Suburbs today are usually merely areas or districts of the greater metropolis, but the term 'suburbs' was employed in the early history of Christchurch as the outlying populated areas without the city proper. The city and suburbs were economically interdependent. Fendalton was a suburb of Christchurch throughout the period of study. Over the hundred years, 1850 to 1950, Fendalton slowly became the residential location sought by the most influential, enterprising and successful inhabitants of Christchurch. The process of the transformation of Fendall Town and the 'English' characteristics of the emerging suburb of Fendalton are the subject of this thesis.

Since 1979 there has been a new wave of interest in urban social

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44 *Cyclopedia Company Vol. 3 Canterbury Provincial District*. Christchurch, 1903. p. 57
history and the late 1990s has seen a great resurgence of confidence and interest both in Canterbury itself and within the discipline of History. Jubilees, centennials and indeed millennia give rise to a certain nostalgia, celebration, reassessment and future planning. Christchurch and Canterbury are in the process of such a transition with the sesquicentennial of the Canterbury Settlement in 2000. This has added an extra dimension to the current international interest in heritage, culture and ethnicity. The so-called 'Maori Renaissance' since the 1980s has had a number of beneficial outcomes. However, what is significant for this thesis is the reaction that has resulted within the greater community, visible as a growing awareness, appreciation and assertion of 'Pakeha' identity. A phenomenal interest in genealogy emerged in the mid-1970s and has not abated. A significant contribution to our knowledge of the individual residents of Canterbury has been made by family historians. I would argue that there is both a demand and a need in the community for accessible information about 'local history', to provide a context into which genealogical, oral family history, parish and business histories may be fitted from below, and to reduce the regional and urban histories into familiar and comprehensible areas. The context provided by local history is immensely satisfying to the individual person and promotes a sense of shared heritage and community. The enthusiasm displayed in the community for soundly researched information on local history has been quite overwhelming, and there is no doubt that local history research is meeting a public demand.
Chapter 2 Fendall's Legacy 1850 - 1875

Fendalton came into existence in February 1851 when twenty-year old 'Canterbury Pilgrim', Walpole Cheshyre Fendall, selected Rural Section 18; fifty acres of land between the Wairarapa and Waimairi Streams, north of the 'Riccarton' estate. An accommodation road was surveyed from Hagley Park through the centre of this rural section and out towards the northwest. The name of Fendall Town was given to the elongated district that was served by this accommodation road and, apart from the land closest to Hagley Park, lay between the Wairarapa and Waimairi Streams. Fendall Town commenced with Rural Section 102 on the banks of the Avon, just across the river from Hagley Park. Of the original 162 selections made in 1851, ten formed the district of Fendall Town: from east to northwest they were 102, 80, 143, 18, 60, 94, 70, 83, 115 and 117. (see map 1) 199 was later selected by W.S. Moorhouse between 117 and what became the Coringa Run on the south bank of the Waimakiriri River. Rural sections 188 and 190, north of Fendall's land, and across the Wairarapa Stream, became the 200-acre 'Bryndwr' farm of Charles Jeffreys. South of the Waimairi Stream was the four-hundred-acre 'Riccarton' estate of John Deans, which was recorded as RS163. The established farm of 'Riccarton' was influential in Fendall's selection of his fifty acres, but in this early period both 'Bryndwr' and 'Riccarton' were beyond the streams that bordered Fendall Town.

The first twenty-five years of Fendall Town was a period of creating the basic infrastructure of housing, roads and bridges. A start was made in draining the land, the land was cleared, English grasses sown and trees planted for shelter. Mixed farming began and some early subdivision of the rural sections took place, as a sparsely populated rural community came into being, dependent upon Christchurch and Riccarton.

Fendall Town had certain potential geographical advantages that in the future would make it a popular residential location, but in this early period the suburb was not perceived as exceptional, nor given particular preference over other suburbs by the colonists. Certain common patterns are evident in
the social status of residents who purchased land in the various suburbs around Christchurch. The timing and type of subdivision that took place in Fendall Town varied between its component rural sections and was influenced by proximity to Christchurch, the contemporary property market, and the aspirations of the owner. From the first days of European settlement discernible English elements were introduced into the distinctively New Zealand natural environment of Fendall Town. By 1875 a small, but remarkably stable, community had formed into the nucleus of a village, and requested the closer proximity of a school and an Anglican church.

Physical geography naturally plays a vital role in the location of human habitation. The suburb of Christchurch that is today known as Fendalton is drained by several streams that form the headwaters of the River Avon, uniting near the northwest corner of Hagley Park as the Avon leaves Fendalton. The district is very slightly elevated and is part of a shingle fan of the Waimakiriri River, which today flows in braided streams, between stop-banks, to the Pacific Ocean to the north of Christchurch. In times past this great Canterbury river employed more southerly riverbeds towards the present Avon and Heathcote estuary. Between the streams of the district under study were shingle banks and areas of grassland and tussock. Lower lying areas, being poorly drained by the meandering streams, were areas of flax and raupo swamp. The prevailing westerly wind and the fact that Fendall Town was upstream of Christchurch on the River Avon were basic factors that would favour future development, as with the West and East End of London on the River Thames.

Maori settlement, much reduced by the mid-nineteenth century by inter-tribal conflict, was centred in three main locations; Kaiapohia pa to the north of the Waimakiriri, Rapaki on the shore of Lyttelton Harbour and on several sites on the Banks peninsula. The land occupied by the present suburb of Fendalton was used for food gathering of naturally occurring plants, eels and waterfowl. This early use of the land has been well documented in recent years. The very small numbers of the Ngai Tahu population did little to impinge upon nor alter the natural features of the landscape of this river and
Map 1

The Location of Fendall Town
swamp area. On the Plains native trees and bush had been burned in earlier periods of Maori settlement and only limited areas of natural bush remained at Putaringamotu (Riccarton) and Papanui. Small transitory campsites are reported to have existed near Putaringamotu and near Burnside, along a known pathway from Papanui. Local knowledge of nutritious, medicinal or toxic flora and fauna was to be of invaluable benefit to the early Pakeha migrants, particularly those few who made a concerted effort to master the Maori language. John Deans used Maori names on his early map in naming the Wairarapa, Waimairi and Otakaro streams.

European settlement on the Canterbury Plains was established in the 1840s and by 1850 John and William Deans' farm at Riccarton, on land previously leased from the Ngai Tahu, was becoming very productive. Following the purchase of land by the Canterbury Association, the first settlers arrived on ships in December 1850. The formal selection of land commenced in February 1851. Fifty acres between the Wairarapa and Waimairi Streams immediately north of the Deans' farm, and in close proximity to the 500 acres of 'Ham' selected as RS12 by John Watts Russell, was chosen by twenty-year-old Walpole Cheshyre Fendall from Yorkshire, England. The name of 'Fendall Town' became quickly attached to this rural section, and also to a large elongated portion of the district from Hagley Park northwest towards the headwaters of the Avon River. From its inception Fendall Town was an English creation in a New Zealand context.

The arrival in the 1840s of the first European settlers made the first major impact on the land. The lease of the land at Putaringamotu by John and William Deans in 1843 marks the start of permanent European settlement in the vicinity of modern day Fendalton. The choice of the land at Riccarton was to have far-reaching implications for the development of the Canterbury settlement and Fendalton in particular.

Captain Thomas was appointed chief surveyor by the Canterbury

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1 The history of the pre-Adamite families, and particularly the Deans family of Riccarton, has been extensively researched and documented.
Association in 1849 and charged with the task of locating a suitable site for the planned settlement in New Zealand. Captain Thomas's decisions involved the choice of the site of the city of Christchurch, the recognition of the Deans's claims to land at 'Riccarton', the siting and size of the reserve of Hagley Park, and the surveying of rural land. It seems clear that the siting of the town domain land, that was named Hagley Park, was a mutually acceptable decision. John and William Deans also requested the renaming of the river as the Avon, after a river in Scotland. The presence and relative success of the Deans' farm at Riccarton greatly influenced Captain Thomas in his choice of what might otherwise have been considered a totally unsuitable site for the future city of Christchurch.

John and William Deans were ambivalent about the proposed Church of England colony of Canterbury. The Deans family was Scottish Presbyterian and their independence and initiative had been well demonstrated by their having quit the environs of the Wellington settlement and established themselves in this relatively isolated location in the South Island. The proposed proximity of a township presented possibilities of economic advantages of a market for farm produce, and investment opportunities in land. The transplanting to their doorstep of a 'traditional slice of English society' under the auspices of the Anglican church did not have great ideological appeal.

The square mile of the planned city was surveyed on very slightly higher ground to the east of the Deans' property and where the River Avon was navigable by shallow-draught boats. To the north of the selected site, to the east behind the sand hills and dunes and to the south near the Heathcote estuary were larger areas of swamp underlining the relative geographical advantages of the chosen setting for the city and the slight advantages of elevation and drainage of the west.

The land at Riccarton had only been leased by the Deans brothers from the Ngai Tahu. Because of Kemp's Purchase and the transference of ownership from the Crown to the New Zealand Company and thence to the
Canterbury Association, it was necessary for the land at Riccarton to be confirmed in the possession of John and William Deans. Four hundred acres was allocated to the Deans brothers as Rural Section 163, being west of Hagley Park and bounded by Riccarton Road, Clyde Road, the Avon River and the Waimairi Stream. The location of the Riccarton estate was to be of major significance in the selection, establishment and development of the community of Fendalton immediately to the north, across the Waimairi stream.

John Deans was acutely aware of property values. He saw the potential value of holding land close to the city as an investment. Initially however the growth of Christchurch was much slower than had been anticipated by the Canterbury Association and the first Pilgrims. Also Jane Deans' determination to keep the estate intact for her only son, after her husband's death in 1854, prevented early breaking up of the estate into smaller units and possible residential subdivision at an earlier stage. It would be the next two generations of the family who would benefit from the purchase and subdivision of a portion of land in Fendalton in 1879 and the progressive subdivision of the Riccarton estate from 1879 to the 1920s.

Enter the Canterbury Pilgrims in December 1850. On the first four ships, the Randolph, Sir George Seymour, Cressy and Charlotte Jane came some of those who had made a financial contribution to the infant Church of England colony. Colonists in cabin class had paid to purchase land. Some purchasers were investors or speculators who remained in England as absentee owners or had delegated agents in the colony. In July 1850 a pecking order of choice had been democratically established in London before the ships set sail in September. Those who had applied to purchase land in Canterbury had balloted to secure an order of choice.

'Colonists' were the people who had put money into the enterprise and selected land within and around Christchurch. In 1851 colonists owned the

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rural sections in the future suburbs. Those who had not purchased rights to select land in Canterbury before leaving England, leased homes and land and purchased from the first owners when the original town and rural sections were subdivided. Some of the colonists had aspirations to be farmers and planned to live on their rural sections. Others saw their future within Christchurch or Lyttelton living and perhaps developing a business on their town sections. These colonists saw their rural sections as speculative property investment, a source of income through leasing or under management, or perhaps a part-time interest. The ambitions of some colonists changed with the opening up of the Canterbury Plains to sheep farming.

In February 1851 the colonists made their way to the Land Office to view the survey maps and to make their choice of sections. Some 'armchair' colonists had agents to act for them, some sections were purchased in partnership and some as an investment with no plans to build a home on the site. Most home construction, after the stage of the initial tents and 'V' huts, would take place on town sections within the boundaries of Lyttelton, Sumner or Christchurch. Rural sections had to be drained, cleared, grassed or ploughed, and fenced before being of value as farmland.

When the first colonists took up their rural sections the land to the north and west of the Deans' farm was subdivided into rural sections using the Wairarapa, Waimairi and Avon streams as the primary natural boundaries. To give access to these land-locked rural sections 'accommodation roads' were drawn in onto Thomas' original plan. What came to be known as Clyde Road and Fendall Town Road are important examples of accommodation roads within the area under study. They were however comparatively insignificant within the list of priorities of the early Canterbury settlement. Financial constraints caused by the fewer than expected applicants for land purchases in Canterbury restricted or delayed the development of some of the proposed road construction.

Access to the port was of the utmost concern. Existing Maori tracks over the Port Hills were more clearly marked or enlarged and new tracks were
made. Thomas embarked upon the construction of the Evans Pass road to Sumner and Christchurch. Goods were freighted by boat round the heads from Lyttelton to the Estuary and the quay at Ferrymead. The economic focus in the 1850s was in the southeast of Christchurch from which direction the lifeline of goods was carried. As well as imported goods from Australia and Britain, brought by sailing ship to Lyttelton, water transport was also a vital method of transporting essential timber supplies logged on the Banks Peninsula. Also of great significance to the early settlers was access to the available timber supplies on the Canterbury Plain near Christchurch. These limited areas of bush were at Riccarton and Papanui.

The choices made by these early colonists very clearly illustrate their perception of where a sound selection was to be made. The map (map 2) indicates the position of the first 40 selections. Agents acting for Maria Somes chose a rural section handy to the first settlement at Lyttelton, where the land could be leased and developed. This was donated by Maria Somes to provide scholarships for the proposed Anglican college. Felix Wakefield had great hopes for the future prosperity of Sumner and made the second choice there. The economic value to the infant settlement of the timber of Papanui Bush is reflected in the selection of Rural Sections 3 and 5. RS 4 and RS 8 were selected at the important ferry quays where the River Heathcote enters the estuary. RS 6 adjoined the surveyed road to Papanui as it left the Town Belt and RS 7 was immediately adjacent to it to the west opposite Hagley Park, between the Wairarapa Stream and the River Avon. The land to the west of Hagley Park was set aside and occupied by the Deans brothers and became RS 163 when negotiations were completed. South of Riccarton Road and adjoining the Park were selections 9 and 10.

The siting of the Deans' farm and Captain Thomas' plan of the large reserve of Hagley Park gave both advantages and disadvantages to the northwest area. The Deans' estate was an attraction with its established cottage and farm, but the reserved land and particularly the large meander of the River Avon placed natural barriers between the surveyed square mile of Christchurch and the rural sections to the northwest. Sumner Road, later Ferry
The first 30 Rural Sections selected in Canterbury in 1851
Road, and the Heathcote River to the southeast, and the Heathcote Valley, carrying the Bridle Path over the Port Hills to Lyttelton, were the first areas of development. RS 11 was in the loop of the Heathcote River.

For the area specifically under study one of the most significant choices of rural land was that made by John Watts Russell at Ilam. RS 12 of 500 acres was taken up in 1851 by John Charles Watts Russell, a holding ratified as a Crown Grant in October 1855. Legal title was in the names of J. Watts Russell of Ilam Hall, Staffordshire, the Rev. J.E. Jackson and H.E. Bathurst. John Watts Russell bought this property and sundry town sections in Lyttelton for £1500. With family money at his disposal young Watts Russell was able to select five hundred acres of land to create a farm. The equivalent of ten rural sections was selected immediately to the west of the Deans' property, bounded by Riccarton Road, Waimairi Road, the Waimairi stream and the Deans' land. Most of the remainder of the prime choices of rural sections reflected the economic importance of the Heathcote River, Ferry Road and Lyttelton Harbour, RS 18 being a notable exception and the one that forms the core of this thesis.

The fifty-acre Rural Section 18 was selected by Walpole Cheshyre Fendall, the twenty-year-old son of the Reverend Henry Fendall, formerly Vicar of Crambe in Yorkshire, England. Walpole Fendall's reasons for making this selection may well mirror Watts Russell's choice bordering the Deans farm. RS 102 was still vacant and would have been a possible choice between RS 7 and the Deans, by the Park and in the loop of the Avon and the Wairarapa. The choice of RS 18 would suggest a desire to be a neighbour of both Deans and Watts Russell, but also to a certain degree separate and independent. The future accommodation road was later surveyed to pass through his land. One could easily imagine the young man standing in the midst of his undeveloped swampy flax and tussock and cheerfully, if ironically, proposing that it be called Fendall Town. His personal assumption of the name of "Fendall Town" is reinforced by the knowledge that in middle

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3 LINZ Deeds Book C1 p.12; Macdonald Biography W252
4 This suggestion has been endorsed by Geoffrey Rice in *Christchurch Changing An Illustrated History*. Christchurch, 1999 p. 41
age he built a home at Pleasant Point in South Canterbury and called it "Fendall's Folly". In later life his wit and sense of humour were recorded by Sarah Courage. Indeed from the earliest months of Canterbury, Fendall Town was the name given to the road and the district.

The order of selection in the choice of land reflected the associated economic value as perceived by the colonists. The preference for the south and east of Christchurch is clear. The Fendall Town district had land selected by such prominent colonists as William Guise Brittan and William Sefton Moorhouse, but both chose to reside on their other land selections at Avonside and Spreydon. Moorhouse purchased 50 acres of the Merevale Farm in 1862. Charles Bowen was the most prominent early Fendall Town resident.

The only economic value of Fendall Town Road was in its rural access to farms to the northwest. It was intended from the early plans of the Canterbury Association that there would be a settlement along Fendall Town Road. It was to be centred upon the intersection of Fendall Town Road and the rural track of Clyde Road, which ran from Riccarton Road, separating the Deans land from the Ilam estate, and north of the Waimairi Stream, forming the western boundary of RS 60. A 5-acre triangular parcel of land was reserved on 27 February 1852 for "Ecclesiastical and Educational Purposes". It was specifically set aside for the School, Church, Cemetery and Parsonage at Riccarton and was Reserve 51 (see fig. 1). Reserves set aside on the same day were at Heathcote Ferry, Pigeon Bay and Akaroa. These other places were established pockets of rural population and so the location of the proposed site of the Riccarton Church and school at the Fendall Town Road intersection displayed interesting vision. The influence of Charles Bowen in the siting of this ecclesiastical reserve in the vicinity of his home, 'Milford', on RS94 must be recognised. Had Charles Bowen still been resident there in 1875 perhaps the wooden chapel of St. Barnabas would have been erected on the glebe land.

5 Macdonald Biography W. C. Fendall
6 S. A. Courage *Lights and Shadows of Colonial Life Twenty-six Years in New Zealand* Christchurch, 1976 p. 118
7 NZFUW *St Albans from Swamp to Suburb* p.17
8 LINZ 1D p.232
Growth, however, took place along Riccarton and Papanui Roads. The first Anglican churches outside the city boundaries were Saint Paul's Papanui and Saint Peter's at Church Corner, Upper Riccarton, constructed in 1858.

The vital role played by individuals must always be considered in the development of a community. The Reverend Octavius Matthias was Incumbent at St. Michael's from 1852 to 1860. He had selected 200 acres of RS 160 at Upper Riccarton that formed the triangle at the meeting of the west and south roads. He conveyed twenty acres by deed of trust to be used for the church, vicarage, Sunday school and burial ground, with the remainder to become glebe land at Upper Riccarton. In February 1857 Thomas Rowley of 'Middleton' and Charles Bowen of 'Milford', Fendall Town, were appointed Church Property Trustees for Riccarton and a wooden church was built and consecrated in April 1858. Fendall Town was incorporated in the large Parish of Riccarton.

The establishment of glebe land and the construction of St Peter's at Church Corner reflected the economic importance of Riccarton Road, but also the personal influence of Rev.Matthias and local eminent Anglicans. The reserve at Fendall Town Road awaited a growth of population, that was hesitant and delayed, also possibly awaiting the Anglican interests and leadership qualities of such a person as J.B.A Acland. The inhabitants of Fendall Town were to wait another twenty years for a small chapel-of-ease to be built in their community.

The Anglican parish districts of St. Peter's, Riccarton and St. Paul's, Papanui were divided off the Christchurch parish of St. Michael's in 1858-59, with the boundary between the parishes of Riccarton and Papanui following the Wairarapa Stream from its source near Russley Road until it reached the corner of RS 7 near Hagley Park. RS 7 went into Riccarton parish while the boundary between Papanui and Christchurch parishes went between RS 105 and RS 52 (the present Merivale Lane) to Papanui Road. The small population

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The location of the glebe land and the rural sections to the northwest of Clyde Road are superimposed on an aerial photo taken in January 2000.
of Fendall Town became part of the Parish of Riccarton, but some Anglican families, living closer to Hagley Park, retained their links with St. Michael's.

The barrier of Hagley Park and the streams to the northwest were of least problem to a person on horseback, but with wheeled vehicles roads and bridges were crucial improvements. Timber was an essential resource and consequently the roads to Riccarton and Papanui received priority for formation, shingle and metal, second only to the Sumner Road to Ferrymead. Essential early work was the clearing of streams, strengthening banks and digging drainage ditches. Vast quantities of shingle were required for the roads as they kept sinking into the swamp.\textsuperscript{10} The road to Riccarton went from the western end of Tuam Street, the southerly road of the square mile of the city. From there it was able to curve south of the meander of the Avon and avoid the necessity of a bridge. After passing through the rough tussock-covered land reserved for the future Hagley Park, the Riccarton Road was very waterlogged and boggy.\textsuperscript{11} The road to Papanui headed north from the western end of North Belt beyond the Town Reserve, but needed to pass through some very swampy land to reach the vital timber supplies of the Papanui Bush.

Along the Heathcote River and the lower reaches of the Avon, roads were gradually constructed along the riverbanks. In the early fashionable suburbs like Opawa and Avonside tree-lined tracks and roads gave access to the riverbanks. When the large rural sections in these suburbs were subdivided for residential purposes, in most cases houses were set back across the road from the rivers. In comparison, the tributary streams that formed the headwaters of the Avon meandered through flax and tussock and formed the boundaries of farm paddocks. An early track was formed as an accommodation road and a stock route along the eastern bank of the Wairarapa stream, and became known as Wairarapa Terrace. This narrow road linked up with Boundary Road (Strowan Road) and to Papanui. By following the eastern bank it did not require the bridging of the Wairarapa stream.

\textsuperscript{10} Penney p. 62
Today it is one of the few roads in the suburb that still captures some of the ambience of its rural origins.

A farm track later followed the south bank of part of the Waimairi stream on the Deans estate near Clyde Road, and in the 1940s became Medbury Terrace. But essentially the banks of the meandering streams of Upper Fendall Town were not even considered as desirable for public access as tracks, and the streams were only useful as a source of water to relatively isolated farms and stock. At 'Ilam', 'Bryndwr' and 'Riccarton' the streams were gradually landscaped to enhance the grounds of the homesteads.

Bridges required sturdy native timber, often later replaced by imported Australian hardwood. The Deans land at Riccarton and Rural Sections 9 and 10 could be reached through Hagley Park without bridging the Avon. Papanui Road was a challenge through the St Albans Swamp but there was no major bridge required once the Avon was crossed on Wadeley Road on leaving Market Square. (Victoria Square). But to travel from Christchurch and reach the accommodation road through Fendall's property required two bridges over the Avon and one over the Wairarapa.

The bridges were in danger of being washed away during the major flooding of the Waimakiriri River in 1865 and 1868. In December 1865 much of the flood water came down 'that branch of the Avon that forks to the northward, above Fendall Town' and the rise was about four feet. The bridge over the Wairarapa on Fendall Town Road 'had to be taken up for fear of the structure being carried away and causing obstruction lower down.' Also the timber for the bridge was important. The bridge must have been fairly simple in structure for the available men to dismantle it so quickly. The Lyttelton Times reported in 1868 that:

12 NZFUW p. 10
13 LT 26 December 1865
Towards noon the alarm caused by this was further increased by gentlemen arriving from Fendaltown and its vicinity, who reported that the Waimakiriri had broken all bounds, and was making its way towards the Avon in greater volume than had ever been known before.\textsuperscript{14}

It is not surprising that William Boag of 'Burnside' in Fendaltown was chairman for twelve years of the Waimakiriri River Board\textsuperscript{15}, established soon after the 1868 flood in order to prevent a repetition.

The most significant alteration made to the landscape of Christchurch by European immigrants was the planting of deciduous trees. The earliest settlers had planted seedlings of English trees brought on the first ships, such as Jack and his trees.\textsuperscript{16} The primary motivating factor was the provision of shelter and shade, and for this the fast-growing Australian gum trees were very useful. A considerable number were planted in Fendalton. Macrocarpa and Australian wattle were early plantings in the more rural Christchurch suburbs. Willows were considered useful for shade and to assist in conserving the riverbanks, but they had the added benefit of being fairly fast-growing and of looking 'English'. Throughout and around Christchurch the trees the colonists associated with 'Home', such as oaks, elms, beeches, sycamores and horse chestnuts were being planted for the benefit of future generations. The Deans family planted many slower-growing deciduous trees at Riccarton with such a vision in mind. Jane Deans' row of oak trees along the south bank of the Waimairi Stream in time enhanced both Riccarton and Fendall Town.

From the purchase of the land for settlement in Canterbury from the New Zealand Company until the granting of self-government to the colony in 1852, John Robert Godley represented the Canterbury Association, which was the governing body of Canterbury under the overall control of the Governor and the Colonial Office in London. From 1852 to 1876 there was a Provincial Government in Canterbury and a colonial Parliament in Auckland. In 1862 the more populous city of Christchurch was seen to need a separate municipal council. Road Boards with wide responsibilities were established around the

\textsuperscript{14} LT 5 February 1868
\textsuperscript{15} Macdonald Biography B538
\textsuperscript{16} M.H.A.B. p.105
city perimeters to organise and develop the suburbs and rural environs. The vital priority of the provision of roads in early New Zealand is obvious in the choice of names for these administrative bodies.

Fendall Town came under the jurisdiction of the Riccarton Road Board and some residents were prominent board members for many years. Daniel Inwood retired as Treasurer in 1875\(^{17}\), Nicholas Ellis was appointed clerk and surveyor in 1868 and he held that position until his death in 1901\(^{18}\). Hawthorn was used for hedging along the roadside and as with most exotic plants in the New Zealand climate the hedges grew rather rapidly. But with its profusion of fragrant, white flowers in spring and red berries in autumn, the hedges went some way to creating an English appearance. Roads and drainage were very important in Fendall Town and there was a constant need for metalling roads and for clearing ditches and waterways. Fendall Town Road was progressively graded and metalled along its length, although it was still fairly rough as the shingle used for surfacing was basically river pebbles extracted from shingle pits in the district. Other accommodation roads, like Clyde Road, were still narrow grassy tracks. In fact it was not until March 1873 that three acres of land for the public road was purchased from Watts Russell by the Superintendent to give public access from the Avon River bank near Riccarton Road, across RS12 to link with the section of Clyde Road north of the Waimairi Stream and the reserved strip of land along the south bank of the Waimairi Stream (Medbury Terrace today)\(^{19}\). Glandovey Road from Fendall Town Road was a private road, the strip of land having been conveyed from Fendall to Jeffreys in 1861. It was not a maintained public road until the subdivision of the 1880s.

The various residents in Fendall Town had to rely on their own transport until after the turn of the century. A local horse-drawn coach service started operating in Riccarton in the 1870s and Cobb and Co coaches used Riccarton Road in the late 1860s on the way to the West Coast, but it was most usual for most people to walk. Gentlemen usually rode or possibly used a

\(^{17}\) LT 9 February 1875
\(^{18}\) Macdonald Biography E 97
\(^{19}\) LINZ Deeds Book 79D p.133
carriage of some description. In the early days they were most imaginative, such as the Rev Octavius Mathias who on Sundays 'was taken to St Michael's by bullock cart but he also used a "light cart drawn by a little yellow cow without a tail which travelled at an astonishing speed"'. 20

The determination of William Sefton Moorhouse, Superintendent of Canterbury (1857-62 1866-68) to link Christchurch by rail to Lyttelton through the Port Hills in 1867 directly caused the location of industrial sites close to the railway line. The Heathcote River, economically a valuable means of transporting goods to and from Christchurch even after the construction of Ferry Road and the railway line, attracted industry to its lower reaches and encouraged the concentration of factory workers' houses in Woolston.

Land was purchased in Fendaltown in 1871 for the purpose of constructing the railway to North Canterbury. The railway was constructed over the shingle fan to the west of Hagley Park, but in parts it ran through swampy paddocks and had to be raised on a low gravel embankment. This is also visible today from the driveway up to 'Mona Vale' and where the railway line crosses Wroxton Terrace and there is a significant hump in the road. There was no station in Fendaltown. There was a station just northeast of 'Bryndwr' near the eastern end of Jeffreys Road and one in Riccarton near Matai Street. The railway line thrust north through the Deans' farm at Riccarton then through the paddocks of Fendaltown, east of the 'Bryndwr' farm. It was of course necessary to route the railway north to Papanui and then on to Belfast and Kaiapoi. It is sometimes believed that Fendalton made sure it did not get a railway station. It would be more accurate to see a railway station in the late nineteenth century as an asset that was acquired by populated enclaves, like Lower Riccarton, Strowan and Papanui, and that the lower lying areas and sparse population near Jacksons Road and Fendalton Road would not justify the expenditure on a station.

The wooden church of St. Mary's, Merivale was built in 1866 as a chapel-of-ease of St. Paul's Papanui. It stood on a paddock on Papanui Road

20 Storer p.14
not far from Merevale House and as much of this land between Papanui Road and Rossall Street (Boundary Road) still consisted of flax and swamp St. Mary's looked like a country church.\textsuperscript{21} When St. Mary's became a parish in 1872 the 'Bryndwr' farm, being north of the Wairarapa Stream, and formerly in the parish of St. Paul's, Papanui, was included in the parish of St. Mary's, Merivale.\textsuperscript{22} In 1872 Robert Heaton Rhodes of 'Elmwood' was one of the first churchwardens.\textsuperscript{23} Edward Gibbon Wakefield donated land for the Vicarage and church day school.\textsuperscript{24} A similar involvement by Anglican colonists would be visible in the establishment of a chapel-of-ease in Fendall Town in 1876 and the parish of Fendalton in 1883. But the ten year disparity in the establishment of both the chapel and parish reflected the slower rate of population growth in Fendall Town compared with Merivale and St Albans.

In 1865 a sale advertisement for Triphook's property on RS 80 described Fendall Town as 'improving\textsuperscript{25}' but a contemporary advertisement for Chippenham Lodge in St Albans off Papanui Road described it as 'the most fashionable' area.\textsuperscript{26} Most suburbs within a radius of 2 to 3 miles of Christchurch had attractive gentleman's residences and Opawa was a most popular area in the 1860s and early 1870s.

Opawa remained relatively 'genteel' amidst its beautiful trees and meandering Heathcote River. Professor Macmillan Brown noted in his memoirs that when he arrived in New Zealand in 1874 to take up his appointment at Canterbury College:

\begin{quote}
In Christchurch I was met by the Chairman of the Board of Governors of the new and still unbuilt Canterbury College, Mr. Joshua Williams, who was then the head of the Land Office and afterwards became one of the most successful and respected judges of the Supreme Court. He put me up at the Christchurch Club, but had me down to his own house at Opawa.\textsuperscript{27}
\end{quote}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[21] NZFUW p.105
\item[22] ADA Year Book 1871
\item[23] NZFUW p. 106
\item[24] NZFUW p. 107
\item[25] LT 27 December 1865
\item[26] Press 3 July 1865
\end{footnotes}
Selwyn Bruce reminiscenced about 'old identities' who were well-known in the 'seventies':

The first I envisage is J.L. Coster, the manager of the Bank of New Zealand–immaculately groomed, with silk hat and silk handkerchief protruding from his breast pocket in perfectly orthodox fashion, and seated in his handsome brougham drawn by a pair of horses which were the pride of himself and his fellows as he daily covered the couple of miles between the Bank and his lovely Opawa home... 28

But Opawa was increasingly cut off from the city by the line of the railway and related industrial growth.

The issue of sanitation became an urgent issue in Christchurch and its surrounding suburbs beyond the town belts. 29 In summer there were serious problems in the lower lying suburbs, particularly the more closely-settled in the south and southeast. Mortality from what was called swamp-fever was prevalent and there were constant complaints about the smells. A sea mist often came in along the foot of the Port Hills up the Heathcote River and mist stayed longer over some of the southern suburbs, including popular Opawa. Those who had the option of choosing their residential suburb were attracted by an area that was slightly higher, drier and sunnier, and consequently seen as healthier.

To some extent the move to the northwest could be seen as popularity by default. There were a number of negative factors increasing to encourage the elite to move elsewhere, but insufficient positive features in Fendalton to attract many wealthy professionals or businessmen until the twentieth century. A school was established first at Riccarton and Fendaltown children had quite a walk to school, across land that could be a quagmire in winter. It was not until 1875 that the Education Board purchased a two-acre site on Clyde Road for a side-school of Riccarton.

The western side of the city was destined to become the academic

29 LT 10 February 1875
quarter. Christ's College was established in Lyttelton in 1851 and on its present site in 1857. The Canterbury Museum was constructed on Rolleston Avenue in 1870. Canterbury University College was founded in 1873. In the years from 1852 to 1875 some 645 young men studied at Christ's College for periods varying from a few months to several years. Some of these boys were boarders from outside the Canterbury Province. Apart from those Canterbury boys who were sent overseas to be educated, or possibly to colleges in other New Zealand settlements, this was the total of young Cantabrian males receiving a formal secondary education.

Between 1852 and 1875 only seven boys representing four families specifically noted their address as Fendalton in their son's enrolment at Christ's College: three sons of Daniel Inwood, two Widdowson boys, Edwin Thornton and Richard Frank Cuddon. Walpole and Lucy Fendall's sons were educated at Christ's College, but by then they were no longer resident in Fendall town.

Walpole Cheshyre Fendall arrived in the *Sir George Seymour* in December 1850. There are only a few scattered fragments of evidence to give us some insight into his first few years in Fendall town. Jack came to New Zealand on the fifth ship, the *Castle Eden* in 1851. Jack was working at Riccarton on one of Henry Phillips' blocks. He walked over to have afternoon tea with Fendall. Fendall travelled on horseback to Homebush with Watts Russell and John Deans to purchase cattle. There is anecdotal evidence that Fendall constructed a cob cottage on RS 18 near where Quamby Place is today.

Walpole Cheshyre Fendall was the son of an Anglican clergyman, Henry Fendall. Lucy Hyacinth Swann sailed out to New Zealand to join Walpole Fendall, and so they must have known each other as teenagers in

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31 ibid
32 M.H.A.B. p.93
33 Penney p. 66
Yorkshire. Fendall had been living on his land for almost four years. He was 24 years old when they were married at St. Michael's on 25 November 1854. Lucy Fendall presented her husband with four sons in the next six years, while they were living in Fendall Town. Their sons were all baptised at St. Michael's, the eldest, Henry Thomas, in November 1855.

Close links with other Canterbury colonists are reflected in the witnesses to Walpole and Lucy Fendall's wedding and in the choice of sponsors for their children, such as Bowen, Tosswill and Worsley. In the rugged colonial environment of the 1850s the importance of reliable godparents, to act as guardians in the event of the death of the parents, was a consideration. Their third son, baptised in September 1858, was Walter Croasdaile, and indeed Croasdaile Bowen was a sponsor. Frederick Philip was born in 1860 and after some academic success at Christ's College was ordained an Anglican clergyman. There were probably a number of factors that combined to cement their decision to move from Fendall Town to North Canterbury.

Fendall leased a hundred acre farm, RS 24, with a house, from C.J.W. Cookson, 'New Biggen', in 1854. This farm was later known as 'Waimairi' and was near William Boag's land at 'Avonhead'. Avonhead Road runs along the west side of the block and RS 22 separates it from 'Ilam'. It was relatively convenient to RS 18 along the extension of Fendall Town Road. But there is evidence that Fendall farmed RS 18 and was resident there for over ten years, until 1862. Fendall had mortgages on his land in 1856 and in 1860 to Peacock. These may have been loans to construct a house, buy stock or possibly to purchase sole rights to the land from his father and brothers.

There may have been a very personal reason that prompted the young family to make the move to North Canterbury. Tragedy struck the Fendall family in 1861 when little Walter Croasdaile Fendall was drowned in the stream near their home. Land values were increasing and there was some subdivision starting to take place on rural sections in the vicinity of

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34 Fendall family history
Walpole Cheshyre Fendall

Lucy Hyacinthe Fendall

William Cuddon
Brewer and Maltster

Rev. Croasdaile Bowen
Vicar of Riccarton 1857-89
Christchurch. The profit from the sale of his land within two miles of Christchurch would have financed the purchase of the 400-acre farm near Leithfield. Fendall's commitment to the Anglican Church involved him in Synod. He was a member for Leithfield from 1871 and so would have attended Synod at the same time as J.B.A. Acland when the chapel-of-case at Fendall Town was being discussed in 1875. 'Nunburnholm' was sold in May 1883 plus 20 acres of bush on Mt Grey.

At the time of the flooding of the Waimakiriri in 1868 'gentlemen' in Fendaltown raised the alarm. 35 Residents mentioned by name were Messrs. Johnstone, Barry, Grigg and Thornton. Mr Thornton, 'the Assistant Engineer' had been sent to check on bridges during the 1865 flood. 36

A number of residents living in Fendall Town, were keen Anglicans and involved in the fundraising for the chapel. The History of the Fendalton Church, written in 1926 at the time of the consecration of the stone church of St. Barnabas, notes:

Among the Fendalton pioneers we find the names of Inwood, Acland, Cuddon, Ellis, Mayo, Fereday, Latter, Jeffreys, Hanmer, Willock, Bruce, Carleton, and Fendall; the last-named family gave the name to our Parish, which was called "Fendall-Town" for a while, till it was afterwards contracted into the more euphonious "Fendalton" of today. 37

Shipboard associations could be very important and the basis for business arrangements and ongoing friendships. In the early Fendall Town district Fendall, Watts Russell, Cookson, Guise Brittan and the young Hill brothers were all cabin passengers on the Sir George Seymour. Daniel Inwood also sailed to Canterbury on the Sir George Seymour and knew young Walpole Fendall. Inwood was 47 years old and was one of the few colonists of 'mature' years. He had experience as a mill owner and required running water in a millrace for his mill wheel. On 21 April 1852 Fendall sold him a block of land at the southwest corner of Fendall Town Road and what is today

35 LT 5 February 1868
36 LT 26 December 1865
37 Parish of Fendalton St Barnabas Church 1876-1926. Jubilee Record and History of the New Memorial Church Movement. Christchurch: Willis and Aitkin Ltd, 1926.
Straven Road. The plan shows the 'intended new cut right of water', which formed the southern boundary of Inwood's purchased lot, bringing water from the Waimairi Stream. This land was about one acre in area.

Daniel Inwood built the first flourmill on the Plains at Fendalton and spent seven years there. He built the 'City Mill' on the Avon and when he retired he purchased a large property at Southbridge on which his sons resided. His flourmill at Winchester was worked by one of his sons. In the latter years of his life Mr. Inwood lived in retirement at Fendalton until his death in 1878, when he left a widow, five sons and one daughter. Mr. Inwood was of a retiring disposition, and except that he had a seat on the Riccarton Road Board he took no part in the politics of the day.\textsuperscript{38}

John Barton Arundel Acland stands out as the prime mover for building a church, being a son-in-law of the Bishop and a lay member of Synod. For many young colonists, like Acland, the presence of an Anglican Church was a fundamental part of an English village life. At Mt. Peel he endeavoured to create this setting with the construction in 1868 of the stone church of the Holy Innocents near the Mt Peel homestead, and the workers' brick cottages. In 1876 he participated in the establishment of the Anglican chapel-of-ease, dedicated on Acland's suggestion to Saint Barnabas, along Fendall Town Road. The luncheon after the consecration of the chapel was held at 'Willowbrook'. But the two possible chapel sites were almost equidistant from "Willowbrook'. It is not surprising that the young colonists of Canterbury formed an 'Anglican elite'; it would be more surprising if they had not.

The decision of the Acland family to move their town residence to Fendall Town in 1874 is of great significance in the evolution of the Fendalton community. J.B.A. Acland was 36 years old when he married Emily Weddell Harper, the Bishop's eldest daughter, on 17 January 1860. Barton and Emily Acland had a large Victorian family of nine children between 1861 and 1874. As a couple, and for a few years with a small young family, they would have

\textsuperscript{38} Cyclopedi\textit{a} p. 365
been able to stay with family on occasional trips to Christchurch from Mt. Peel. But in 1866 Acland purchased 'Glenmore' on Port Hills Road. Being involved in provincial and ecclesiastical affairs he was quite frequently in Christchurch. Mair and Hendry suggest that Acland built the present 'Glenmore' as a major addition to the home that was originally built in the 1850s by Henry Selfe Selfe. It is in late 1870s style and they state that John Chapman purchased 'Glenmore' in 1880. However the Macdonald Biographies say that 'Glenmore' was advertised for sale in 1873. Acland took out a mortgage to purchase 'Willowbrook' so possibly 'Glenmore' had not sold. It may be that the purchase of 'Willowbrook' in 1874 reflects the residential trend in Christchurch. Young colonists who had married in the mid-1850s had sons of an age for secondary schooling by the early 1870s. John Dyke Acland, son of J.B.A. Acland, was a boarder at Christ's College from 1874.

Acland certainly acted as a major motivator for the provision of the chapel-of-ease in Fendall Town, being a keen Anglican and the Bishop's son-in-law. Acland had the support of other Anglican neighbours.

Philip Hanmer was born in 1830 in Flintshire, North Wales and emigrated to Canterbury in 1862, with his brother, George. In partnership with his brother, Philip Hanmer acquired 1000 acres in the Ellesmere district. Trained as a lawyer, Philip Hanmer set up practice in Kaiapoi, where he met and married Fanny Tipping in 1863. Moving his practice to Christchurch, Hanmer purchased several parcels of land in RS 18 in the late 1860s and early 1870s. He built his home and gave it the Welsh name of 'Glannrafon', and the present Snowdon Road became known as Hanmer's Lane. Charles Jeffreys of 'Bryndwr' also came from North Wales. Philip and Fanny Hanmer had no children, but Philip's nephew, Norman, the son of his brother, Colonel Francis Hanmer, came out from Britain for health reasons to live with them. Norman Hanmer was at Christ's College in 1880-81. Philip Hanmer was described as a 'very active C. of E. man'. He was the son of a clergyman, Rev. Anthony Hanmer of Hanmer in Flintshire, North Wales. In 1868 Philip Hanmer was a

40 CCOBA p. 70
41 Macdonald Biography H127
lay member of the General Synod for Christchurch and Central Canterbury. Hanmer was well respected as a barrister but died in 1878 aged 48. At the time of his death he was Chancellor of the Diocese.\footnote{Macdonald Biography HI28} Having been elected a member of the Christchurch Club in 1865 he had most of the connections of the Canterbury elite suggested by Jim McAloon.\footnote{J. McAloon 'Establishment Christchurch' November 1997 Seminar 'When Godley Met Wakefield'}. Likewise he displayed many of the characteristics leading to an established career prior to delayed marriage and a strong sense of community responsibility. After his death, his widow maintained 'Glannyrafon' without subdivision for over forty years.

In January 1870 William Cuddon had bought several acres of land north and south of the intersection of Fendall Town Road and the accommodation road between RS 18 and 80, which is today Idris/Straven Roads. On the electoral roll of 1872-73 his address was still shown as Tuam Street West but he was becoming established in Fendall Town and built up a prosperous brewery on Cuddon's Lane (Straven Road). The residents who took advantage of the first wave of subdivision of the rural sections in Fendall Town in the 1860s and 1870s were often business or professional men, with a number of solicitors in evidence, but with marked individual traits and interests and a desire for space and independence.

William Richard Fereday (1820 - 99) was a Christchurch solicitor. He and his wife were enthusiastic members of the Archery Club that used the lawn in the Botanical Gardens. Selwyn Bruce remembered Fereday 'with his black and white check plaid wrapped around him in true Celtic fashion' and being greeted by his parrot as he entered his garden gate.\footnote{Bruce p.126}

Nicholas Ellis was the son of an army officer and was born on the Isle of Man. He and his brother, Arthur, were in the Crimea before they both decided to emigrate to New Zealand. Nicholas married Jane Cooke in 1866. He was appointed overseer of the Riccarton Road Board in 1868 and held that position until his death in 1901 aged 55 years. He was also Inspector for the
The Acland’s townhouse of ‘Willowbrook’ was located at the end of the cul de sac which today bears its name. The dark green trees of Riccarton Bush are clearly visible at the top left and the Ilam campus of the University of Canterbury at the right.
Board of Health and Government Valuer for the District. The Ellis family lived on Clyde Road by the Waimairi Stream near the Riccarton Road Board office. By 1875 they had several young children of school age.

John Carleton and his family were farmers of the 'Ilam Farm', initially leased from John Watts Russell, and James Carleton farmed on Creyke Road. The Willock, Bruce, Latter and Mayo families moved to Fendaltown in the late 1870s or 1880s.

Rural Section 188 was a Crown grant to Thomas Parr on 15 June 1858 and on 9 December 1858 Parr conveyed the Rural section to his nephew, Charles Jeffreys. Throughout the period to 1875 Charles Jeffreys farmed at 'Bryndwr'. There is scope for much further research about the Jeffreys brothers and 'Bryndwr'. There is little in the usually excellent resource of the G.R. Macdonald Dictionary of Canterbury Biographies and comments in what secondary material has been written are occasionally conflicting. Charles Jeffreys was born in 1821, the son of George and Justina Jeffreys of North Wales. Charles came to Canterbury in the Tasmania, arriving on 15 March 1853, (a month before his 32nd birthday). He named the farm 'Bryndwr' meaning "on the brink of the water". Charles Jeffreys' home was called 'Dolllys' and is at 32A Glandovey Road.

The land north of Jeffreys Road was Rural Section 190 of 100 acres and was granted to Robert George Johnstone at Wairerapa [sic] in 1855. It was purchased by Charles Jeffreys to farm with his R.S. 188. R.S. 190 went from the Wairarapa Stream across to what is today the northern end of Garreg Road. Garreg Road did not extend north of Jeffreys Road in 1880. In 1858 he advertised to let part of his Fendall Town farm of about 80 acres for a term of 6 years. 'All the paddocks have a river frontage'. In December 1861 Walpole Fendall officially conveyed a narrow strip of R.S. 18 to Jeffreys. This provided a private access road from Fendall Town Road to 'Bryndwr'. Charles Jeffreys inherited an estate in Clwyd in North Wales called 'Glandyfi',

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45 Macdonald Biography E97
46 Macdonald Biography J85
probably when his father died in 1868. 'Glandyfi' was said to look out over Cadair Idris. There were no Jeffreys children to inherit 'Bryndwr'. Charles Jeffreys' nephews, Charles and Stuart Meares, came out to Canterbury as very young men to gain farming experience from their uncle.

Two significant early residents beyond Clyde Road were Edward Jerningham Wakefield and Charles Bowen. R.S. 94 (the first rural section up what is today Memorial Avenue) was taken up by Charles Bowen, who built his house here and was one of the early residents of Fendall Town. He named his home 'Milford' after the family home in Ireland. Charles Bowen, his wife, daughter Letitia and sons Charles Christopher and Croasdaile arrived in the Charlotte Jane. The young men were aged 20 and 18 years. Within ten years they were both established at Upper Riccarton. Charles Christopher Bowen, and his wife Georgina, bought the land of R. S. 85 and the two-storey cob house built by the original purchaser, Thomas Rowley. This house still exists as part of Middleton Grange School. Croasdaile Bowen was ordained by Bishop Harper and became the first Vicar of Riccarton when he was 26 years old. He held the cure for 32 years, which included the district of Fendall Town until 1883. Charles Bowen retained the land until his death in 1871. The land was then partially subdivided and Peter Chick, who gave his occupation as labourer, had land on the northern side. Joseph Munnings was another influential resident and is remembered for running an early Sunday school before the parish built the Sunday School room on the glebe land in 1896.

RS 70 was selected in 1851 by a Mr. Pollard but he sold it the next year to Samuel Hewlings, the government surveyor. George Marsh, who was manager for Hewlings on his farm, bought a portion of about ten acres between Burnside Road and the Waimairi Stream. Edward Jerningham Wakefield built his home 'Coldstream' on this land. He farmed his cousin Felix Wakefield's 100 acres opposite St. Peter's Church at Upper Riccarton and he gave the name of Peerswick to this land. Edward Jerningham Wakefield was very keen on racehorses (as were many of his fellow colonists) and he imported a horse that was named, The Peer - hence Peer Street and Peerswick. There were some sad aspects to his life story. He had financial and
family problems, sold his horses and moved to Wellington in the early 1870s. At the far end of Fendall Town Road, however, a colonist's success story unfolded during the nineteenth century.

William Boag represented the hard-working settler and in 1875 was acclaimed by the Canterbury community as the epitome of a good colonist. In the Cyclopedia of 1903 there is the biography of William Boag of "Burnside", Fendalton, who had arrived by the ship Cornwall on 11 December 1851. The Cyclopedia says that 'He is descended of an old Scottish family at Braco, West Perthshire'. He was born at Ardoch in 1828 and 'followed farming until he left home in 1851.' William was the eldest of 6 children and came out steerage having little or no money. He was therefore 23 when he arrived in Canterbury. He did not name his farm Braco, but the name was later used in the district. 'When Mr Boag arrived at Lyttelton he was, like many of the other early colonists, not burdened with much money, but he possessed good health and strength and a determination to succeed.' He walked to Pigeon Bay and found employment for about eighteen months, then managed a dairy business at Port Cooper. This was with Mr. Thomson at Ohinetahi. During this time he devoted his money to the purchase of stock with which to set up his future farm. On 5 July 1853 William Boag married Ann Firmagem, who helped Mrs Hay for 9 years. It is said that she took her nine years pay in dairy cows and that these formed the nucleus of the Burnside herd.

In January 1875 William Boag planned his first trip back to Britain after 23 years establishing his farm at 'Burnside'. 17 January was his 47th birthday. He was given fulsome but sincere praise by the assembled gentlemen of Christchurch for his achievements and contribution to the development of farming in Canterbury. William Boag and Douglas Graham had shown that migrants to the Canterbury settlement could be successful colonists without obvious advantages of wealth, education and parentage.

The population of Fendall Town steadily increased through a process

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47 Macdonald Biography B538
48 ibid.
49 LT 18 January 1875
of subdivision of the early rural sections. Subdivision is a term that is used in two rather different contexts. In the initial stages of development subdivision of rural sections was either one or more parcels of land subdivided out of the original rural section of usually fifty acres. This is rural subdivision. Over a period of time, sometimes one or two decades, 'farm size' economic units were themselves gradually subdivided. Subdivision into regular, relatively small units of land of less than an acre was a much later development in Fendalton and was what I term residential rather than rural subdivision. Land was occasionally surveyed into acre lots but generally did not sell to separate individual owners. Even at the turn of the century about three acres was considered a viable unit of suburban land for a family.\(^{50}\)

The surveying on paper of land for residential subdivision does not necessarily show the actual development of a residential street. Some land in Fendall Town was surveyed as early as the 1860s into one-acre residential sections, but single sales were almost non-existent and the market demand was clearly absent. Subdivision into half and quarter acre sections does not make an appearance in Fendalton until the later nineteenth century and particularly post 1905. Subdivision before 1875 was rural subdivision usually into economic agricultural units. This may be for the purposes of farming income or as an attempt at family self-sufficiency in basic food requirements, as well as space for social recreation, horse paddock and stables. Croquet lawns were being laid out in some gardens. Three to five acres often fulfilled these basic requirements if the householder had another source of income. Rural subdivision in Fendall Town before the 1880s was often into larger units, or there might be a mixture of different sized lots reflecting a variety of needs, requirements and income. This was normal in a semi-rural 'village' community.

There was an abundance of town residential sections available and initial population growth of Christchurch was only gradual. Given the lack of street lighting, the state of the rural roads, which only slowly improved from appalling to poor, and the relatively small population, it might appear

\(^{50}\) AJHR, 1905, C-4 pp.618-619
surprising that the *Lyttelton Times* editorial comments on the growth in the suburbs by 1875\(^{51}\) The desire to own a piece of land was a major draw card for migrants from Britain and Europe and goes a long way to explaining the widespread nature of the population. Although the initial spread of the population was towards the south and the east the established routes towards Riccarton and Papanui were attracting high status development. The movement to northwest Christchurch and then the northwestern suburbs of St Albans and Merivale became discernable by 1875. Residential development in Fendall Town was slower, more gradual and remarkably stable, with some residents holding land for a considerable number of years.

The subdivision of the heart of Fendall town started in 1852 (see map 3). On 21 April 1852 Fendall conveyed 2 acres of land between the Wairarapa Stream and the northwest boundary of RS 18 to a Mr. Jackson. Fendall surveyed 10 one-acre lots, but the balance of approximately 40 acres he farmed at Fendall Town. Some of these lots of land changed hands quite frequently in the 1860s. As part of this subdivision the diagonal road from Fendall Town Road to Idris Road was constructed, today known as Snowdon Road.

The subdivision of 50-acre rural sections into one-acre lots was logical. But several purchasers held more than one section, such as the Cox and Jackson families. One acre was not an economic unit. Philip Hanmer, a Christchurch barrister, steadily acquired several of these lots in Fendall Town in the 1860s and 70s and the access road came to be known as Hanmer's Lane. William Cuddon, the brewer, pursued a similar plan, as did Richard Fereday. By 1873 Philip Hanmer had acquired several of these lots and the road was known as Hanmer's Lane.

\(^{51}\) LT 10 February 1875
It was on 25 October 1861 that Fendall sold the bulk of his RS 18 to Mr. Bowler. Hence it was in 1863 that the Lyttelton Times described RS 60 as lying between the estates of Mr. Bowen and Mr. Bowler. Bowler went to George Gould for a mortgage to purchase the property. It is noteworthy that the Christchurch wealthy who were personally lending money for mortgages in this period, were not resident in Fendall Town. Fendall sold the section at the northwest corner of the Fendall Town Road and Idris Road intersection to Bowler on 6 September 1862. Bowler then owned all of RS 18 except for the remainder of those ten one-acre lots that were subdivided in the early 1850s.

Daniel Inwood gradually acquired further lots of land in Fendall Town. Bowler sold the land south of Inwood's property, between the water cutting and the Waimairi Stream to Mr. Ranger on 23 December 1863. It went through the hands of one other owner between 1872 and 1877, when it was purchased by Daniel Inwood to give him the block between Fendall Town Road and the Waimairi Stream. Daniel Inwood died in 1878. William Cuddon, the brewer and maltster, soon purchased this block of land.

The property in Fendall Town was advertised for sale by Bowler in October 1863. There were several interesting items mentioned in promoting the properties; the lots were all securely fenced and in fine English pasture. They were surrounded by a plantation of young trees and six lots had a 'RIVER FRONTAGE enabling purchasers to form their grounds without being separated from the river by roads. Each lot fronts on a direct metalled road leading to Christchurch. Fences, English grass and young trees were available in other suburbs of Christchurch, but the access to the stream at the end of the garden was already denied by roads in Avonside and Opawa. No mention is made in the in the deeds records of a public reserve of land along the Waimairi Stream.

The rural subdivision of RS 18 took place in 1864 when Bowler sold the balance of the rural section to a Mr. Bennett, who subdivided the land into

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52 LT 7 January 1863
53 Press 20 October 1863 p.3
54 Press 20 October 1863 p.3
5 lots of five acres to the south of Fendall Town Road stretching to the
Waimairi Stream, three slightly smaller lots to the north reaching to the
Wairarapa Stream, and one lot in the triangle to the east of the present
Snowdon Road (see map 4). Several of these blocks sold immediately in May
1864, as soon as they were put on the market, reflecting the demand for this
size property in the suburbs, the increasing prosperity of the province and the
growing population of Canterbury. Purchasers included Fulton and Brooke
and a Mr Lymington, who also purchased the land in the triangle north of
Fendall Town Road. The purchase of one five-acre block to the south of
Fendall Town Road was to be most significant for the history of the Anglican
church in Fendalton. Daniel Inwood purchased this, and in 1875 he donated a
portion of the land for the site of the chapel-of-ease.

At its closest to Christchurch Fendall Town incorporated Rural
Section 102 by Hagley Park. On the list of Sections purchased to 30th April
1863 C. T. Maunsell, at River Avon, took up Hagley Park Rural Section 102.
Charles Thomas Maunsell came out on the Castle Eden in February 1851 (the
fifth ship) and had purchased 200 acres, which he took up in 3 lots, R.S. 14, 67
and 102. R.S. 14 of 100 acres was a prime site between Ferry Road and the
Heathcote River. R.S. 67 was 50 acres on the south bank of the Heathcote near
the Christchurch Quay - so another useful site. His third selection of 50 acres
bordered the Deans' Riccarton farm, within the meanders of the Avon and the
Wairarapa Stream, where Fendall Town Road was to leave Hagley Park. In
2000 one would inverse the order of choice based on property investment! 
Charles Maunsell came from an old family that had settled in Limerick in
Ireland in Elizabethan times. Charlotte Godley refers to him as one of the four
bachelors who shared a house in Lyttelton called 'Singleton House'. Sadly he
suffered from ill health and returned to Ireland where he died in 1859.55 The
Deeds of Title actually show R.S. 102 as being granted by the Canterbury
Association to Mr. Tod as early as June 1852.

Fendall Town Road provided a useful division of the land and Tod
sold 5 acres within the curve of the Avon to Thomas Cass the surveyor in

55 Macdonald Biography M254
April 1853. Sarah Penney comments that as Cass was reputed to have lived on Oxford Terrace it is unlikely that he built a house on the land. But the next year Thomas Cass sold about one and three-quarter acres to Mr. Hart and in 1858 the balance of 3 and a quarter acres to Mr. Wallace. This is the land in the meander of the Avon where Wood Lane is today. Wallace died in 1859 but the land remained intact in his family until 1870 when the Deans Trustees purchased it.

A few acres of land lay between the surveyed boundaries of R.S. 80 and R.S. 102. It was numbered R.S. 697 and was a Crown Grant to Hart in 1858. Mr. Wilkin purchased the small portion to the north of Fendall Town Road in 1865 to consolidate his purchase of R.S. 102 from Tod in 1859. Henry Bell Johnstone purchased the southern part of R.S. 697 in 1860. The cutting of the mill race for W. D. Wood's mill on the Deans' estate reduced the flow of water in the Wairarapa Stream flowing around Johnstone's property and the weir encouraged the build up of water cress, and so he filed a lawsuit against the Deans Trustees for conditions of water use to be established and he claimed damages, a portion of which were upheld by the court. (see illus. 5 and 6)

On the eastern side of Fendall Town Road R.S. 102 was sold by Tod to Mr. Wilkin in December 1859. Ten years later in April 1869 13 and a quarter acres from the Avon to behind the sections along what is now Holmwood Road was sold to John Grigg of Longbeach. His wife, Martha, and their five children, lived here while he built the homestead at Longbeach station, according to Gould family records. He probably built the first 'Avonbank' house. Grigg owned the thirteen and a

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56 Penney p. 65
The weir on the River Avon creates the boating lake in the grounds of ‘Mona Vale’.

The cutting of the millrace for W. D. Wood’s mill reduced the flow of water in the Wairarapa Stream.
half acre 'Avonbank' property from 1869 to 1872. The Waimakiriri burst its banks and reverted to old watercourses in 1865 and even more seriously in 1868. According to this report John Grigg held the property of 'Avonbank' in February 1868 at the time of the flood:

The whole of this district, from its generally slight elevation above the ordinary level of the Avon, has been seriously flooded. The road, after crossing the bridge near Mr Thornton's house, was, throughout yesterday, completely inundated for several miles. The roar of the water passing through Mr Johnstone's property was more like a mountain torrent than an ordinary stream, whilst Mr Grigg's land was several feet deep, and the horses, cattle, &c, had to be removed during Monday night. When the flood had subsided the force with which the stream had run down Fendaltown road was most unpleasantly apparent from the destroyed fences and culverts. The bridge immediately beyond Mr Johnstone's house is impassable. The bridge near the Carlton Hotel is closed...and communication with Fendaltown can now only be obtained by going round by the hospital.

'Avonbank' was sold to a Mr. Saunders in 1872 and the following year, in 1873, a portion of land was sold to the Crown to create Holmwood Road.

Mary Ward selected RS 80 to the east of Fendall's section and the first subdivision of this land took place in 1860. The land north of Fendall Town Road was subdivided into two sections and Mr. Thomson held one part into the 1870s and Mr Johnstone held the balance into the 1890s. A sizeable block of land south of Fendall Town Road was purchased by Daniel Inwood in 1862. A substantial section within the meander of the Waimairi Stream was subdivided off in 1863 and a home built there by Mr. Triphook, who was the agent for the sale of Bangor Welsh slate. He advertised the house for sale or rent in December 1865. The house was not described in detail but the 'Garden is in full profit' and the grounds 'are well fenced and planted in trees'. The early importance of grass, trees and fences was given priority in the advertising. After Daniel Inwood's death in 1878 his widow continued to live on the land bordering Fendalton Road and Cuddon's Lane (Straven Road). This long-term residence within Fendalton gave stability to the community and delayed subdivision in this part of Fendalton until early in the twentieth century.
Henry Francis Worsley, his wife and some eleven children arrived in Canterbury on the 'Cornwall' in 1851 and took up Rural section 143 in the curve of the Wairarapa Stream. It was recorded as a Crown Grant to Worsley on 19 April 1859.\footnote{LINZ CI 143} Following a similar pattern on many of the Rural Sections in Fendalton, Worsley started subdividing some of his 50 acres in the early 1860s. An accommodation road was created going east from Idris Road, parallel to Fendall Town Road. It was known as Selwyn Road until the early twentieth century and today is Wroxton Terrace. Sections of 4, 5 and 6 acres were surveyed and sold south of the road. When the railway was put through the four-acre section in 1871 Philip Hanmer purchased the balance of the land. A smaller section of two and a half acres was sold with a stream boundary on the Wairarapa Stream to Mr. Maude in 1862. Two other smaller sections of two and two and a half acres, bordering Fendall's RS18 by Bradnor and Idris Roads, and an adjoining 5 acre section were all bought by Mr Anson as one lot, and held by him until sold to William Willock in 1884. The largest section of seventeen acres in the meander of the Wairarapa was sold to Mr. Hall in 1862 and was farmed by him until his death in 1886.

The 100 acres of RS 188 was officially recorded as a Crown Grant to Thomas Parr on 15 June 1858 and conveyed to his relative, Charles Jeffreys. RS 190 was purchased by Charles Jeffreys to add to his 100 acre 'Bryndwr' estate north of Fendall Town. Webbs Road (Iam Road), forming the northern boundary of RS190, was the outer edge of the original rural sections. This was the outer farmland and farmed or leased by Jeffreys until the early 1880s. Jeffreys Road formed the boundary between RS 188 and RS 190, and at right angles through the centre of the property was Bryndwr Road.

Colonists even younger than Walpole Fendall began farming on RS60. In the Land Information New Zealand records RS 60 was a Crown Grant to Brittan dated 29 October 1862. However this fifty-acre rural section was selected on behalf of John and James Hill, who came out as fare paying
passengers in the *Sir George Seymour* in 1850. They were 16 and 14 years old and had been entrusted by their uncle, Rev Richard Hill, into the care of W. Guise Brittan. Fifty acres of land in Canterbury was purchased in England in the name of Brittan, but transferred in September 1850 to Richard Hill. The brothers worked as cadets for Brittan on his Landsdowne and Halswell properties and then farmed the Fendall Town rural section. Their place of abode was given as Fendall Town in the electoral roll of 1861.62

In the *Lyttelton Times* of 7 January 1863 the whole of the 50 acres of RS 60 was advertised as freehold in the names of James and John Hill. The advert was initially dated 5 September 1862. The advert stated that the property was:

...within two miles of Christchurch. The whole of the section is fenced and broken up, and laid down to grass; there are two small cottages on the land, and the River Avon runs along the upper and lower ends of the section. The Fendall Town Road runs through the property,...its immediate contiguity to Christchurch and to the large Riccarton estates-from which it is only divided by the river-renders this perhaps the most desirable site for a gentleman's residence in the vicinity of the town. The land is of first-rate quality and admirably adapted for paddocks, or for grazing purposes.63

There was no sale in 1863 of the section as one parcel of land. Brittan repurchased Rural Section 60 and it appears in the List of Sections purchased to 30 April 1863 with the applicant being W.G. Brittan. W. Guise Brittan's home was on RS 26 of 50 acres to the east of the East Belt on the south bank of the River Avon, where he built a brick house, 'Englefield'. In 1864 he sold the house plus 3 acres to John Campbell Aikman for £2000.64 Also in 1864 he had RS60 surveyed into 50 one-acre lots and put them on the market.

W. Guise Brittan's subdivision bordered the accommodation road from Riccarton to Papanui. From Christchurch, Fendall Town Road passed through the subdivision and gave access to the northwest to the rural farmlands. The setting was in close proximity to the Ilam, Riccarton and

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62 Hill family history supplied by their descendant, Allan Hunter.
63 *LT* 7 January 1863 p.7
Bryndwr estates. It was immediately across the road from the five acres of glebe land set aside for the 'Riccarton' church and school. This was surely the anticipated heart of Fendall Town; a vision of the settlement near the crossroads and village green.

The subdivision on paper may show an intention to try to sell all 50 lots individually and immediately so as to create a small community of closer settlement. It may have been to prepare the groundwork so that future subdivision would progress smoothly and logically. It is highly doubtful whether an acre would have been considered an economic unit unless the householder had other employment or was financially independent. Three to five acres was held to be more viable until the suburban subdivisions of the early twentieth century. The one-acre lots may have permitted flexibility in purchasing several to form an economic farming or household unit. William Widdowson bought about ten acres to the south of Fendall Town Road in 1865 and 1866 and he farmed this land until he sold it to John Barton Arundel Acland in 1874.

Over the next four years Guise Brittan sold a handful of these sections as one-acre lots but most of RS 60 formed parcels of land of between 5 and 15 acres. Four purchasers of one acre each in 1866 and 1867 purchased adjoining land over the next couple of years to create a 3 to 5 acre parcel. The largest block in the curve of the Wairarapa Stream was purchased in 1868 by Mr. McCarthy and a portion to the west sold almost immediately to Mr. Murphy. Denis McCarthy and his wife came to New Zealand in 1863 from County Cork, Ireland and purchased 'about twenty acres of land at Fendalton, where he erected a fine house.'\(^{65}\) McCarthy worked for about ten years for Dobson and Crawford, engineers, surveying in various parts of Canterbury and on the railway from Christchurch to Rangiora and Oxford. He later 'disposed of his Fendalton property and purchased a place at Ladbrooks...\(^{66}\) Murphy sold two acres to the Province of Canterbury in 1875 as a site for the Clyde Road School, as a side school to Riccarton, to serve the growing

\(^{65}\) *Cyclopedia* p. 655
\(^{66}\) ibid
population of Fendall Town. The subdivision of some of the rural sections into small holdings in the 1860s and 1870s opened the way to a slowly increasing population in Fendaltown.

At the intersection of Fendall Town Road and Clyde Road was the Glebe land of 5 acres. There was probably the influence of Charles Bowen and William Guise Brittan visible in this allocation for a church, vicarage and school. R.S. 94 (first rural section up what is today Memorial Avenue) was taken up by Charles Bowen, who built his house, 'Milford', here and was one of the early residents of Fendall Town. A Mr. Pollard selected RS 70 in 1851 but he sold it the next year to Samuel Hewlings, the government surveyor. George Marsh, who was manager for Hewlings on his farm, bought a portion of about ten acres between Burnside Road and the Waimairi Stream. Edward Jerningham Wakefield built his home 'Coldstream' on this land. The Coringa run to the northwest extended towards Christchurch on the far side of the Wairarapa Stream at the "back", so to speak of the Rural sections 199, 117, 115 and 83 that extended up Fendall Town Road (the modern Memorial Avenue).

There is the impression of Scotsmen receiving encouragement and the opportunity to advance in the colony from John Deans of Riccarton. After their marriage in 1853 William and Ann Boag went to Riccarton and William leased 200 acres of land from the first John Deans. This was Rural Section 117, in Upper Fendall Town, which John Deans had purchased as an investment in the name of his brother, James Young Deans, his brother who had stayed at home at Kirkstyle in Scotland. The agreement gave the right to purchase at 5 pounds per acre after 7 years. That is £1000. There were then neither roads nor fences. William Boag built a stockyard and a dairy out of cobs, which served for several years. He bought his first plough in Lyttelton and dragged it over the Bridle Track with a bullock. On the expiration of the lease William Boag was in a position to purchase the freehold of the 200 acres. Late in 1853 he bought RS 146 of 1 acre 36 perches situated between two upper branches of the Waimairi Stream at the top end of what is now

67 Macdonald Biography B538
Avonhead Road. This was a triangular piece between RS 24 and RS 117. He drained the land and this became the nucleus of Burnside Farm. (see fig. 3)

The Boags were a classic example of chain migration. William sent money back to Scotland to pay the fares for the family: his parents, William and Jane Boag, brothers, John and Peter, two sisters, Ann and Janet, plus James Rollo, who had recently married Janet. (Another brother had died before they left Scotland.) 'Burnside' was therefore the home to an extended family for several years. William Boag gradually added to his property. In July of 1859 he bought the 100 acres of RS 199 from William Sefton Moorhouse at £6 per acre and sold on 50 acres the same day (at the same price!) to Douglas Graham the manager of the Riccarton estate. Graham had come out to Canterbury from Scotland with John and Jane Deans in 1852.

At the end of the seven years' lease William Boag bought the 200 acres of RS 117 from James Young Deans for £1000. He sold the eastern half of 100 acres to Douglas Graham. The deeds are dated April and May 1861. Arthur Grayburn notes that it was unlikely that Douglas Graham actively farmed his properties as he was contracted to the Deans and would have been fully employed managing 'Riccarton'. William Boag probably leased the land. Over the next two years, 1862-64 William Boag acquired some 300 acres in 9 or 10 titles northwards towards Wairarapa Road (today Wairakei Road). Much of this was stony and not good for cropping but Boag would have seen it as an investment. William Boag continued to build his farm property. In 1867 he bought 50 acres of excellent farmland from H. B. Johnson. This was half of RS24, which had been selected just beyond the Ilam estate in 1851 by C.J.W. Cookson and was called 'Waimairi'. 
The 'Burnside' homestead of William Boag was situated near the water tower. Withells Road can be clearly seen reaching in a straight line towards the Riccarton racecourse.
In 1871 Douglas Graham bought RS 115 and 658, a total of 141 acres for 12 pounds an acre. This was to be his own farm and near the corner of Grahams Road and Fendall Town Road he built his homestead of 'Springbank'. Then in the following year Douglas Graham died under chloroform while the doctor was treating him for an injury to his finger, following an accident at Homebush. The community was shocked at his untimely death.

The years from 1858 to 1865 were very good years for the Canterbury economy and the subdivision of land in Fendall Town in these years reflects this growth of wealth and population. However, 1865 to 1871 were years of 'lean stagnation...during which trade declined, wool prices fell and newly arrived immigrants found it hard to get work.' The economy started to improve in the late 1860s, encouraged by the opening of the railway to the port of Lyttelton, and 'then the recovery turned into a boom in the early 1870s.' The colonial government's immigration scheme, promoted by the Premier, Julius Vogel, had a major impact on Christchurch and encouraged population growth. Although this growth was very much more gradual in Fendall Town than in the more popular suburbs of the southeast of Christchurch, and in Upper Riccarton and Papanui, there was a sufficient community by 1875 to acquire a school and chapel. It is significant that although there was the founding of a brewery, there was no establishment in the nature of a tavern or an inn. There was also no smithy in Fendall Town. The five major features of an English village would be the church, smithy, inn, school and squire. By 1875 Fendall Town would appear to have a number of squires, to be acquiring a school and church, but lacking the smithy and inn. And there was no general store until the new century. But there are some signs that already by 1875 a few characteristics of 'Englishness' were visible in the suburb.

To the new settlers arriving from England the light of Canterbury seemed harsh, the shades of colour of the bush, land and harbour, and even the

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68 Rice p. 32
69 Rice p. 36
sky, seemed strange and alien. The summer of 1850-51 in Canterbury must have shaken the resolve of many young colonists, however adventurous they may have felt on leaving their English shores. The summer heat, winds, swamp, mosquitoes, khaki-coloured port hills, the distances to walk and the lack of trees and flowers would be to name but a few of these challenges. In time the golden tussock, toi toi plumes and tall flowers of the flax would come to be seen as having a beauty of their own. But this often took years to seem fully familiar and attractive, and the strong yearning was to recreate a natural world that related to the English perception of beauty.

This natural vista included a variety of deciduous and particularly lighter-green-leaved trees; green, grassy lawns; flowering hedgerows, and gardens with roses and a multitude of colourful flowers. These flowers would attract humming bees and pretty butterflies, and hawthorn berries would feed familiar bird life. Such English gardens, with the benevolent climate and fertile soil, were soon created around cob cottages, and the expanse and beauty of the homes and gardens grew in relation to the economic wealth of the colony. All the Christchurch suburbs were beginning to acquire some English characteristics by 1875. Anthony Trollope noted in 1871 that "The appearance of the country around Christchurch is especially English. The land is divided into small English-looking fields, with English grasses, and English hedges." The rural nature of Fendall Town was characterised by English grass-sown paddocks, watered by gently-flowing streams, grazed by cows, horses and sheep, protected by growing shelter belts and stands of deciduous English trees, and serviced by narrow stony tracks bordered by hawthorn hedges. Hedgerows were reminiscent of England and made useful, cheap, fast-growing and attractive fences. Hawthorn, with its fragrant, white spring blossom and red autumn berries, was an early and pretty alternative to the golden gorse. The changing cycle of the seasons appealed to English migrants.

By 1875 what aspects of the development of Fendall Town were conducive to its later very fashionable appeal? Deciduous European trees had been planted in abundance and some at least had twenty-five years' growth.

70 A. Trollope p. 76
The land was very slightly higher than neighbouring districts, being on the shingle fan and was being steadily drained, cleared and grassed. There was little actual swamp, which in some other Christchurch suburbs like Sydenham was thought to be the cause of rising damp and fever. The banks of the Avon in Lower Fendalton were slowly starting to be landscaped and made gradually more attractive and accessible to owners who appreciated an English garden appearance, particularly where streams flowed through the grounds of homesteads. Most importantly, delayed subdivision meant that there was plenty of land potentially available for large residential sections in Fendaltown.

Evidence of the vision of a 'village' at Fendall Town can be found in the very choice of the name, the allocation of five acres of glebe land for an Anglican church and school, and in the subdivision of ten acres of Rural Section 18 into one acre blocks as early as 1852. The various streams of Fendalton provided major challenges to the early residents, but also advantages of water for stock and to drive water wheels. By 1875 this growing rural community was calling for the provision of an Anglican church and a village school.
Chapter 3  Here commences Fendalton  1876 - 1900

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century the scattered and sparsely populated district of Fendall Town was transformed into the rural 'village' of Fendaltown. Fendall Town up to the 1870s was slowly unfolding as a small rural settlement and over this 'village' the genteel veneer of Fendalton became increasingly noticeable as the century closed. A change occurred in Christchurch about 1880 as certain suburbs began to experience increased social differentiation. From the 1880s the population of Lower Fendalton was slowly expanding and displaying elements of an increasingly fashionable suburb, with something of an 'English' appearance. Upper Fendalton, towards Clyde Road and beyond, retained more of the characteristics of a New Zealand colonial village, including the Braco Workers' Settlement from the mid-1890s. 1900 can be seen as a watershed in Christchurch history, witnessing the rapid expansion of the new professional class; but Fendalton remained reticent in its growth.

Before Fendalton would be perceived as significantly 'fashionable' in comparison to other Christchurch suburbs, a process of social zoning was required. Social zoning in Christchurch starts to become apparent with the advent of industrialisation. There are three significant reasons for this occurrence of suburban differentiation from the late 1870s in Christchurch: the growth of factories near the railway, the emergence of a new and expanded stratum of a professional middle class, and an expanding public transport network. Goods depots and wool stores were also at Christchurch rather than Lyttelton. Industrial development took place in Sydenham between the Port Hills and the Heathcote River; and the city of Christchurch. Industry was logically established near the railway, and the lower reaches of the Heathcote River, to facilitate the flow of inward and outward goods, and there was also already an available pool of labour in the more populous suburbs of Sydenham, Woolston and Addington. The railway also ran through Lower Riccarton and Papanui, and these established centres of population were endowed with stations, but, unlike Sydenham, these suburbs attracted only commercial and, in the case of Riccarton, some light industrial development.
south of Riccarton Road. The growth in population along Riccarton Road went hand in hand with the growth of primary industry and services such as the salesyards.

Industry in Fendall Town experienced some early growth and the brewery and malthouse operated successfully for over thirty years. The headwaters of the Avon flowing through Fendall Town provided necessary water to Inwood's mill, Wood's mill at Lower Riccarton, and Cuddon's brewery and malthouse. Wood's mill gained a railway siding and continued to operate beside the Avon River, but Daniel Inwood had already relocated to central Christchurch in the late 1860s. Many of the early mills and factories and breweries were established on Ferry Road or on the suburban side of the East and South Belts. Before the construction of the railway, some industrialists built outside the city area because they found the prices of suburban land much lower. Ward and Company had established a brewery on the East Belt in 1880, while on the South Belt the Standard Company set up a brewery with the most complete plant in New Zealand at that date, 1883. The Fendalton brewery, under new management from 1892, moved some of its operations to expanded premises at the corner of South Belt and Lincoln Road. The brewery industry in Fendalton ceased by about 1902. This early industrial initiative in Fendaltown was insufficiently strong to attract further industry to the suburb, despite the relative proximity of the railway line and the workers' settlement.

In the last decade of the century practically all the major secondary industries of Canterbury were firmly established in Christchurch and the surrounding districts. One reason why some of these industries were early established beyond the city boundaries was that residents objected to the noise, the dirt, the smoke, or odours of the factories and thus helped to establish the first crude and unwritten zoning laws. Apart from the protests

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1 J.P. Morrison, *The Evolution of a City: The story of the growth of the city and suburbs of Christchurch, the capital of Canterbury, in the years 1850 to 1903*. Christchurch, 1948. p.97 (footnote 475)
2 Morrison p. 95 (footnote 464 Hocken Pamphlets vol.43)
3 A.S. Craig & Turner, G.W. N.Z. Beer Duty Stamps Handbook appendix D. CM
after the factories were already in operation there was no attempt whatsoever at the zoning of industries in Christchurch or suburbs.\(^4\) Factory based industry was frequently noisy, dirty and smelly, and increasingly was perceived as unacceptable in a residential neighbourhood. Sydenham has often been described as having a strong community spirit, but the swampy and unhealthy nature of the subsoil, the development of the gas works, and pollution from industry discouraged many residents who were free to choose their residential location. 'At the peak of its industrial activities this area was certainly no place for dwellers seeking a peaceful and beautiful prospect.'\(^5\) Workers, who were reliant on walking to their employment or on public transport, had no such option. Increased industrial employment opportunities, consequently drew a working class population to those suburbs.

Health issues became one of the greatest concerns of the late 1870s. Sydenham and other more closely populated suburbs had severe sanitation problems that were affecting the health of residents. 'Stagnant water in the streets and swamps into which refuse was dumped, open ditches into which house drains were running, ditches blocked by bridges carelessly built - these were all too familiar features of the district.'\(^6\) Polluted water supplies resulted in frequent typhoid epidemics.\(^7\) In February 1875 the *Lyttelton Times* editorial raised the issue of sanitation in the suburbs beyond the town belts:

> When we look around us and see houses springing up like mushrooms in the closest neighbourhood to us, and remember that nothing, absolutely nothing is done in the way of sanitary supervision, when we see several houses on a rood of ground with cesspits and rubbish heaps - all the slops being thrown on the ground at the house door to putrefy and reek-all this in a flat a few feet above high water mark, can we wonder that typhoid fever and dipheria are rife among us?\(^8\)

In comparison, the less-densely populated suburbs of the northwest appeared much healthier. It is significant for the development of Fendalton as a residential suburb that it was geographically located both upstream and

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\(^4\) Morrison pp.95-96
\(^5\) Morrison p.97
\(^6\) Morrison p.67
\(^8\) LT 10 February 1875
upwind of the city of Christchurch. Christchurch residents were concerned about pollution in the river upstream of the city and so industry in Fendalton and Lower Riccarton was strongly discouraged by all city dwellers downstream. In 1884, Christchurch residents petitioned against the carrying on of a fellmonger’s business on the banks of the Avon north of the city in what is now a highly fashionable and very beautiful residential area. Immediate residents may have protested because of the potential smell. Morrison's contemporary perception in 1948 of Fendalton as both fashionable and beautiful is in itself revealing.

The growing industrial barrier and working class housing development between Opawa and the city of Christchurch encouraged many middle class residents to consider relocating from the attractive, leafy suburbs along the Heathcote River towards the north and west. Opawa remained relatively 'genteel' amidst its beautiful trees and meandering Heathcote River, but was increasingly cut off from the city by the line of the railway and related industrial growth. The north west quadrant of Christchurch, centred on Cranmer Square attracted this 'middle class' migration and educational facilities expanded to cater for the growing number of professional families.

Educational facilities were also drawn into this quadrant from the suburbs. In describing Mrs. Croasdaile Bowen's Private School the Cyclopedia records that it was originally established about 1874 at Upper Riccarton by Miss Lohse 'and removed by her a few years later to the best part of Christchurch between Hagley Park and Cranmer Square.' The location of Warwick House School, at the corner of Armagh and Montreal Streets, 'fronting Cranmer Square and close to Hagley Park' was described as 'one of the healthiest in Christchurch.'

The suburbs of St. Albans and Lower Riccarton also benefited from this migration in the late nineteenth century. Several historians of Christchurch have identified this trend, including Stevan Eldred-Grigg who wrote:

9 Morrison p.96 (footnote 472 C.C.C. Minutes 28-7-84)
10 Cyclopedia Company Vol. 3 Canterbury Provincial District. Christchurch, 1903. p.182
11 Cyclopedia Vol. 3 p.183
Prosperous people also increasingly fancied the northwest, where they began to fill the umbraeous streets around Cranmer Square and Park Terrace, and the lanes, parks and pretty riverside paddocks which led off Papanui and Fendall roads [sic]. Merivale and Fendall Town were about to begin their elegant careers.\textsuperscript{12}

Eldred-Grigg notes the northwest trend as occurring from the 1870s. Claiming that 'rich people did not live in subdivisions' but rather 'they strove to imitate the homesteads of the gentry.'\textsuperscript{13} There seems to be a differentiation here between the early colonists, who became run holders and whom Eldred-Grigg refers to elsewhere as 'Southern Gentry'\textsuperscript{14} and 'the rich', who are presumably members of the new professional 'middle class', whose ranks had noticeably swelled by the end of the nineteenth century.

Hill sites were perceived as being healthier, having fine views and possibly giving residents a certain feeling of superiority from a vantage point. In the hilly cities of New Zealand, the wealthy moved to the ridges and there developed a noticeable deterioration in housing quality and lifestyle from the ridge down to the valley. This is apparent in Auckland, Wellington and Dunedin, where horizontal land was also at a premium. Christchurch was predominantly flat, allowing plenty of space for expansive land holdings. Hill sites were also more expensive to develop and the Port Hills land was held in pastoral runs. Residential development did not start on the Cashmere Hills until the first subdivision in 1897.\textsuperscript{15} There was little development on the lower flanks of the Port Hills until about the turn of the century. Cashmere began from the late 1890s having a few homes constructed on what was then a rural and rather remote site, but with fresh air and wonderful views of the Southern Alps. The extension of the steam tram to the foot of the Cashmere Hills in 1898 encouraged an interest in residential subdivision on the hills.\textsuperscript{16} Professor John Macmillan Brown, who was living on five acres in Fendalton at the time,

\textsuperscript{12} S. Eldred-Grigg, \textit{A New History of Canterbury}. Dunedin, 1982 pp.40-41
\textsuperscript{13} Eldred-Grigg, \textit{A New History} p.40
\textsuperscript{14} S. Eldred-Grigg, \textit{A Southern Gentry. New Zealanders who inherited the earth}. Wellington, 1980.
\textsuperscript{15} G.Ogilvie \textit{The Port Hills of Christchurch}. Wellington, 1978. p.149
\textsuperscript{16} Ogilvie p.151
bought a piece of land near Dyers Pass Road late in 1897 and then later built a home. This hillside development was later than in the other main centres of New Zealand and was limited to some extent by distance from the city, lack of property market demand and to a certain degree by the challenges of the terrain. It was not until the early twentieth century that Cashmere started to become 'popular', and the 1920s before it could be called a 'fashionable' suburb. Cashmere was arguably never a serious rival to Merivale, and later Fendalton, as the leaders in the 'myth' of wealth and fashion.

The eastern suburb of Avonside grew around the early selections of land and fine homes built by some leading Cantabrians, such as Joseph and William Guise Brittan. A number of John Macmillan Brown's associates in the late 1870s resided in the eastern suburbs. 'On Sundays the afternoons I often spent in the house of my colleague, Professor Bickerton; the evenings frequently in the house of Dr. von Haast.... There too I made my first acquaintance with Mr. and Mrs. Wilding who were also devoted to music.' In 1895 'Riversleigh' in Avonside was advertised for sale as a new subdivision in 'this Healthy, most Favoured and Beautiful suburb.' Other beautiful homes included Flesher's mansion. The movement of the 'elite' from the south and east of Christchurch towards the northwest was due to the growing disadvantages of those locations caused by industrialisation or the encroachment of suburban development in the late nineteenth century, rather than any obviously innately superior attractions of Merivale and Fendalton at that time.

Fendaltown had some slight advantages of drainage and elevation. The 30 metre contour runs in almost a north-south line through the Coringa Run west beyond Upper Fendaltown and the west of Christchurch is higher by about 10 metres. However, the Clyde Road intersection is only about 7 metres higher than Cathedral Square. Much of Fendaltown and Merivale is no higher than a large part of Spreydon and so 'any attempt to establish a causal link

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17 Ogilvie p.150
19 Press Saturday 12 October 1895 p.11
between elevation on the plain and the location of "fashionable" areas, must be accompanied by some qualification.\textsuperscript{20}

The district of Fendalton stretched along Fendaltown Road from Hagley Park to the edge of the Coringa Run at Russley Road. In the 1880s and 1890s, as the urban infrastructure moved outwards from the centre of Christchurch towards the periphery, Fendalton divided naturally into some five perceptible localities. Lower Fendalton was closest to the city, Hagley Park and Merivale and was generally subdivided earlier, included some wealthy residents, and benefited first from such amenities as the telephone and, after the turn of the century, the tram. In the next area from the railway line to Straven Road, as well as some substantial homes and gardens, there was some market gardening near Jackson's Road. The 'heart of Fendalton' was Rural Section 18 from the line of Straven and Idris Roads to the Glandovey Road turnoff and was centred on St. Barnabas Church. This locality contained a number of large homes on 5 to 10 acre sections, plus the complex of brewery and malthouse buildings belonging to William Cuddon. (see maps 5 and 6) A fourth locality surrounding the Clyde Road intersection warrants the name of 'Fendalton Village'. By the end of the 1890s this part of Fendalton encompassed the local school, the Vicarage, glebe land and Sunday School (cum Community Hall), the Braco Workers' Settlement and, just across the Waimairi Stream, the Riccarton Road Board office. Beyond the intersection, stretching into the distance, and including 'Burnside', were the dairy farms and barley fields of Upper Fendalton. Fendaltown Road was most significant at the turn of the century in that it was an accommodation road leading to dairy farms such as 'Burnside' and servicing a small semi-rural suburban community. Small holdings in Fendalton, as in other rural locations, came close to being self-sufficient economic units with cows, fowls, orchards and vegetable gardens. By the end of the nineteenth century those in Lower Fendalton were increasingly likely to be a gentleman's residence for an urban professional, employing a number of servants, and having a considerable portion of the section devoted to lawns and 'pleasure gardens'.

\textsuperscript{20} Webster p.100
1885
Map 6

Wakefield
Fernday
St Barnabas
William
Inwood
Wakefield
Waimairi Stream
Wairarapa Stream
Hanmer
Cuddon
Cuddon
Cuddon
Cuddon
Cuddon
Boggia
Alice Cox
Hammer
Anson
Ferndall Town Road
The 1926 History of St. Barnabas' Church speaks of the name of the district 'which was called "Fendall-Town" for a while, till it was afterwards contracted into the more euphonious "Fendalton" of today. Fendall Town sounded like a colonial settlement; Fendalton evoked images of a pleasant, 'genteel' suburb. The transition from the rural village identity to that of a desirable suburb of Christchurch took place over some forty to fifty years, but the name change, which happened gradually about the 1880s, can be seen as a benchmark.

Fendalton's identity was either split under various umbrellas or split between nomenclatures for official purposes. For example the Fendalton community was split by electoral boundaries. The Census of 1871 noted the boundary of the Christchurch West electorate as passing between Rural Sections 18 and 80, that is along Cuddon's Lane and Idris Road. The electoral boundary, marked on a map in 1884, split Lower Fendalton, which was identified as Holmwood, from the rest of Fendalton. The St. Albans Electoral District was to the north and west of Hagley Park, and the boundary went north up Springfield Road, along Normans Road, Strowan and south down Idris Road and across Deans' land to Wellington Street, Riccarton. Rural sections 143 and 80 were in the St. Albans Electoral District, as were the areas of Holmwood and Strowan. Fendalton was included in the Riccarton Road District and in the Riccarton Riding of Selwyn County until 1909. And yet Fendalton existed, was indeed of very large extent, and its names, in their changing forms, were applied to the whole district on maps and in property sales advertisements.

By 1878 72 per cent of the population of Christchurch lived in the suburbs but the majority of the professionals lived within the city area. This provided a community of interest and culture within the inner city that benefited first from new amenities and had allowed proximity to their offices.

21 Parish of Fendalton St Barnabas Church 1876-1926. Jubilee Record and History of the New Memorial Church Movement. Christchurch, 1926. p.3
22 Census 1871, p.iv
23 Map CM1308 Christchurch and Suburbs 1884
24 Webster p.105
Many were able to benefit from a location overlooking the River Avon as it meandered through Christchurch. Park Terrace never lost this appeal and also benefited from the development of the academic precinct in the northwest of the city. Commercial expansion in the central city forced many of the professional elite to move outwards, and in the 1880s and 1890s this movement was north up Papanui Road. It encouraged but was also largely dependant upon the development of the tramway network providing reliable public transport. This resulted in most circumstances in relocation away from river and stream boundaries. The stream through 'Strowan' was dammed to create an attractive lilypond, but although St Albans had plenty of swamps and drains, it generally lacked attractive streams.

The streams of Fendall Town had initially been barriers to communication, transformed to torrents by floodwaters, and in their swampy nature provided breeding grounds for mosquitoes. However they also had a practical value in providing water for stock and crops. The streams also provided motive power via water wheels for pumps to raise the water from wells to holding tanks. They had been harnessed for use by industry in the mills of John Wood and Daniel Inwood, and the brewery of William Cuddon.

The streams of Fendalton became increasingly valued assets from an aesthetic perspective by the burgeoning new professional middle class. It was the sparkling waters of the Wairarapa that attracted John Macmillan Brown in 1886. Sections with a stream boundary along the Wairarapa were considerably larger sections in the subdivision of 'Bryndwr' in 1880 compared with the regular, rectangular, half-acres between Plynlimon and Glandovey Roads. Boating and picnics by the river were possible on the reaches of the Avon and the Wairarapa in Lower Fendalton. The streams and rivers supported leisure activities such as rowing boats that could then navigate the deeper waters of the rivers. Weirs could be constructed to dam back the water to create a boating lake, as at 'Karewa' with white English swans and water lilies. 25 (see illus. 6)

25 CM 3257 photograph of 'Karewa' the residence of Frederick Waymouth, Irvine Street, Lower Riccarton.
The attraction of streams and large sections had to be balanced with delayed introduction of such amenities as drainage, sewerage and public transport. A map of sewered areas of Christchurch illustrates that St Albans, including either side of Papanui Road, was connected to sewers by 1884, Carlton Mill by 1903 and Merivale by 1910. The Riccarton Road Board and Waimairi County Council areas were much slower in being connected to the sewer system although those closer to Merivale and Riccarton Road were connected earlier. Houses were not connected up as far as Waimairi Road until 1931. As subdivisions opened up and properties were connected this became an important advertising feature alongside the healthy nature of the district.

Public transport was an essential criterion in late nineteenth century suburban development. One of the first and principal lines ran along Papanui Road, but lack of population growth and market demand did not warrant the expense of an extension of the tramway through Merivale to Fendalton until the twentieth century. However, the size and geography of Christchurch encouraged the use of the bicycle from about the 1890s and Fendalton residents of many ages and in many occupations took to cycling through Hagley Park to the city.

The problem of terminology of class is evident in Webster's thesis when he argues that 'middle class' housing to the north and east halted the spread of the elite residential area up Papanui Road. I would argue that in fact his 'middle class' are in fact skilled working class and it is his 'elite' who exhibit 'middle class' values. In the New Zealand environment of the late 1890s the skilled working class were indeed in the middle of the unskilled workers and the rising and expanding class of the new professionals. But it was this expanding stratum of 'middle class' professionals who were pursuing a genteel lifestyle as the 'elite' in the very large suburban homes of Merivale.

The prosperous members of Christchurch were naturally the first to

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26 Webster p.97
27 ibid p.110
pursue and embrace new styles and technology in their homes. At times of rapid innovation in housing style or technology the property sales advertisements highlighted these features as attractions. The advertisements reflected what was considered to be of value and interest to the potential customers. In the late 1870s the main piece of information was the number of rooms and perhaps the panelling, room size, furniture and fittings. There was little mention of the exterior design or materials, except perhaps whether the house was single or two-storeyed. Information was listed about outhouses, stables, the absence or presence of a well or an artesian bore, and the absence or presence of a cowshed. There was the distinct absence of mention of the building material.  

In 1881 20.2 per cent of houses in New Zealand had five or six rooms and 16.3 per cent were 'superior dwellings' of more than six rooms.

In 1890 the property sales advertisements were random inserts neither sorted by location nor price. A long list of small notices advertising properties for sale or rent were placed in the newspaper on page 7 under the heading of the land agent. A '4-roomed cottage on Oxford terrace East with pantry, scullery and garden' cost about £200. Five Acres, House, 5-stall stable, close to North road Papanui. Price £650. A six-roomed house in Fendalton to sell or let, was on four acres, but no price was advertised. W.R. Harding's long list of properties continued the pattern of location, size of land, number of rooms, outbuildings and occasionally any exceptional features such as proximity to tram, rail or church. The one advert for a property in Fendalton was a four-acre corner section of first class land - 'well worth attention.' Some large properties were so well known by potential buyers that all that was needed in the advert was the name of the house: 'For sale or to let "The Grays" Riccarton.' Houses were frequently rented. 'To be let in the Fendalton District. Family dwelling-house with garden, paddock, stabling, &c.' The economic downturn in Canterbury in 1890 is apparent from the mortgagee sale

28 ibid p.125
29 Census 1881 p.4
30 Press 4 October 1890 p.7
31 Press 25 October 1890 p.6
32 Press 25 October 1890 p.8
of Racecourse Hill and the sale of some properties with comments about the house having initially cost more or that the sale was a sacrifice or very cheap. This further delayed the sale of sections and the subdivision of additional sections in Fendalton. There were some sections still available on the market in Fendalton from the 1880 subdivision of 'Bryndwr'.

"Fendalton. For Sale. A Bargain." was offered on the property market in 1895. Unfortunately, as was frequently the case at that date, the price was not advertised. The property was described as '9 acres of first class land with double frontage, subdivided into garden, orchard and paddocks with house of 6 rooms, pantry, scullery, dairy etc.'\(^{33}\) Meanwhile by 1895 some novel features were available in the larger homes of the city. A verandah house of 9 rooms in Cashel Street offered a bathroom with hot water service, electric bells and a washhouse.\(^{34}\) Venetian blinds, built-in wardrobes, gas, iron railings and gate, and asphalt paths were all starting to appear in the advertisements along with concrete foundations and channelling. A section in St. Albans is described as good and high, features that later would be applied to sections in Fendalton, but in 1895 there is no noticeable promotion of residential sections in Fendalton. Land was available much closer to the city with a 'choice building section' being marketed in Durham Street North 'Gould's Paddock'.\(^{35}\)

By the turn of the century there was a change apparent in sales adverts. As well as the number of rooms, bathrooms and washhouses were now emphasised. Before the new vicar, Rev. Thomas Hamilton, took up residence in the Fendalton Vicarage in 1898, the Church Property Trustees required vestry to install a bathroom, a new kitchen range and a high-pressure water supply. L75 was allocated for these alterations and approval of a parish meeting was sought for raising a loan.\(^{36}\)

Large established estates were being put on the market in suburbs

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\(^{33}\) *Press* 5 October, 1895 p.11

\(^{34}\) *Press* 12 October, 1895 p.11

\(^{35}\) ibid

\(^{36}\) SBVM 8 December 1898
around the city. In 1900 the decision to sell was brought forward by the
destruction by fire of the 'private residence' of Mr. James Freeman on the
'Somerfield' estate. The delightful description in the Press illustrates that this
property of almost 32 acres on the banks of the Heathcote was the equal, if not
superior, to any at the time available in Fendalton. It was situated just off
Colombo road, adjacent to Mr. Charles Clark's and within three minutes' walk
of the tram.

The site for a house is very high and dry, commanding a fine view of the Port Hills and
Southern Alps. The Grounds are well laid out with croquet and tennis lawns, ornamental
pond, etc., and planted with rare shrubs and trees, and thousands of spring flowers, lilies-
of-the-valley etc. There is also an exceptionally fine Orchard, stocked with choice fruit
trees, including filbert, walnut, damson, quince, and medlar etc. The Water Supply is
abundant and laid on all over the kitchen garden, lawn, and in each paddock. The
Property is approached by a new road, the entrance to which is from Colombo road
Bridge, over the Heathcote river, which forms the southern boundary of the land.37

In this advertisement there is no mention of subdivision, but the pressure from
industrial development in Sydenham and of unimpeded outward expansion of
artisanal population south along Colombo Street, plus the immediate
availability of the tram, made Somerfield ripe for close subdivision.
Professional families seeking properties large enough to include ornamental
garden, croquet and tennis lawn, and such a river or stream boundary, had to
look to Fendalton in the twentieth century, but many awaited the extension of
the tramway network.

The early-established and fashionable suburb of Opawa was still
offering tempting sites for a gentleman's residence in 1900. 'On the West Side
and Fronting the River Heathcote, opposite the Residence of H.P. Murray-
Aynsley, Esq.' six acres of fine land was offered for auction in the best part of
Opawa. Not only was the site healthy, the temperature milder than
Christchurch but the outlook and surroundings were everything to be
desired.38 But in Beckenham there was 'another grand subdivision' of 'splendid
building sites' varying in area from a quarter to 3 acres. The 'locality is greatly
increasing in favour, a fact which is proved by the rapid erection of numbers

37 Press 6 October, 1900 p.12
38 ibid
of nice villa residences'. The area had the tram, proximity of the Port Hills and artesian water supply to its credit.\textsuperscript{39} In the miscellaneous column there are three identical adverts for the sale of 'cheap' sections in Beckenham from a quarter to an acre. Home ownership is being promoted vigorously and suburban villas are being built in the southern and eastern suburbs. Generally sections and properties for sale in Fendalton are conspicuous by their absence in 1900.

Upward social mobility was achieved in nineteenth century Canterbury through education, wealth, association, achievement and behaviour. Inappropriate association and behaviour, bankruptcy, and lack of education and achievement could have a negative and detrimental effect on social status. Education may be identified as the transmitting of a society's values and body of knowledge to the next generation. The Graeco-Roman traditions of education, so admired by mid-nineteenth-century Europeans, perceived education as the foundation of civilisation: politics, government, law and culture. Educated Canterbury colonists endorsed this and included religion, medicine, science, music and a knowledge of the classics. There was an ideal perception of the qualities of a British Anglican Gentleman, but tempered by the demands and challenges of colonial life. Many of the early colonists portrayed these qualities and fitted neatly into this category, including such men as John Barton Arundel Acland. Other nationalities and denominations fitted in comfortably, so long as the criteria of a 'gentleman' were met. Many examples could include Sir George Clifford, who came from an ancient Catholic family, the Austrian Sir Julius von Haast, and William Boag, who was a Scottish Presbyterian arriving in Canterbury in steerage class, but who through hard work and qualities of character was a respected colonist.

Education was so valued by the educated themselves that they would go to great expense to give their children, especially their sons, the benefit of a secondary and often a tertiary education. Depending on family income, ties and aspirations this enterprise might even involve the whole family returning

\textsuperscript{39} ibid
to Britain, as the Cliffords did; sending sons to boarding school or university in Britain; or supporting and patronising the colonial colleges. In Canterbury, Christ's College held the monopoly in providing this essential facility in secondary education up to 1881.

Christ's College actually received a little praise from 'Hopeful' in 1887 when she said that 'the College is one of the oldest institutions in the colony, and has been a success, having turned out some good scholars who have gained honours at home.' There were twenty-one boys who were identified as from 'Fendalton' enrolled at Christ's College between 1875 and 1900. These included sons of three families closely connected with the parish life of the Anglican church of St. Barnabas: Thomas and Frederick Beckett in 1886 and 1893; two sons of Fulbert Ashley Archer in 1899 and 1900; and a son of the vicar, Rev. Thomas Hamilton, in 1900. A son of George Humphreys of 'Thornycroft' entered Christ's College in 1895 and Frederick Waymouth of 'Karewa' in 1899 although the address given was Christchurch. A number of families in Lower Fendalton and neighbouring areas like the Helmore family, merely put Christchurch. The Goulds however identified themselves as of 'Avonbank' Fendalton. By the 1890s many Christchurch enrolments include a suburb indicating that more families keen to send their sons to Christ's College are living in the suburbs and are identifying with that address. The range of suburbs is very broad and includes Linwood, Spreydon, Addington and Sydenham as well as Riccarton, Avonside and Opawa, and an increasing number from Merivale and Papanui Road. But businessmen who had an office in Christchurch may have used Christchurch instead of the suburb; Judge Denniston's address was Christchurch when his son was enrolled in 1895, at which date he was living along Fendalton Road. After 1881 Fendalton families also had the option of Christchurch Boys' High School for their sons' secondary education. From the 1880s greater educational options at secondary and tertiary level were opening up for girls as well, particularly in northwest Christchurch.

A growing sense of community is illustrated by the responsibility

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40 Hopeful "Taken In": being A Sketch of New Zealand Life. London, 1887 p.78
taken by local residents for the religious education of the children in Fendalton. In the early 1870s Joseph Munnings had established a Sunday School in his own home along Fendalton Road. In 1876 classes were transferred to the new church building and amongst the earliest teachers were Mr. Munnings, Mrs. Fereday, Miss Inwood and Mr. Verran. A separate purpose-built Sunday School room was constructed on the glebe land in 1896 in response to increasing attendance figures. Bible Classes held at Fendalton School had also grown and the new vicar reported in 1899 that with the cooperation of the teachers Bible lessons were given to the whole school from 9 to 9.30 every morning.

The growth of Fendalton School from 1875 to 1900 mirrored both the continuity and changes experienced by the greater community. Two rooms on two acres of paddocks formed the nucleus of the Clyde Road School for the first eight years. In 1883 Mr. Culvinhouse was appointed as the first headmaster of the Fendalton District School and a school committee was formed. Nicholas Ellis, clerk of the Riccarton Road Board was the first chairman and the committee members were Messrs. Cuddon, Peate, Pepper, Tayler[sic] and Wray. James Pepper and Walter Wray were both living on Wairarapa Road, Bryndwr in 1893. Walter Wray was a market gardener. Joseph Taylor lived on Webbs Road. The average school attendance was sixty-five pupils, but by 1890 it was already 130 with 153 on the roll. This was at a time when the population of Canterbury was actually falling. Every year between 1883 and 1887 more people left Canterbury than arrived from Britain. There was the continuity of a close link between Fendalton School and the Anglican Parish Church. Samuel Bullock, the headmaster since 1884, was a staunch parishioner and Vestry member; and the Vicar of Fendalton from 1888 to 1898, Canon James Stack, was also both a scholar and a

41 Parish of Fendalton St Barnabas Church 1876-1926. p.5
42 Parish of Fendalton St Barnabas Church 1876-1926. p.6
43 SBAGM 14 April 1899
45 Wise's Directory 1893.
47 Rice p.48
missionary with a lifetime of teaching in New Zealand.\textsuperscript{48} Mrs. Bullock was headmistress of the infant department of the Normal School in Cranmer Square.\textsuperscript{49}

The Fendalton community had only one church. Small colonial communities had neither the resources nor the willingness to allocate them in the early days of settlement to multiple church buildings nor to paying the stipends of several clergy. St Albans early in its settlement attracted a number of Wesleyan Methodists. Consequently the Methodist Church was supported and grew in that suburb.\textsuperscript{50}

If Clyde Road was appropriate for the side school of Riccarton, why was it not appropriate as the site of the chapel-of-ease in the community? Some of the earliest subdivision had taken place on RS 60 in the vicinity of the glebe land. One might suppose that more of the residents expected to be walking to the Anglican Church than patronising the village school. The residents may also have had more control over the choice of the site for the church than that for the public school. Whatever the reasons they must have reflected the opinions and reality of the time. In 1875 the leaders of the small community in Fendall Town perceived the heart of the suburb as being in the centre of RS 18 and a chapel there to be within easier walking distance for most of the residents. In 1873 James Crawford was leasing 'Milford' in Fendall Town\textsuperscript{51} and the influence of Charles Bowen was no longer there to support the use of the glebe land adjoining his property.

With hindsight this rejection of the glebe land seems to display an acute lack of vision. For twenty-three years there was five acres of land available and reserved for the church, and yet when the decision was made to construct the first chapel, a piece of land of only 22 chains square was used. This kind donation of land by Daniel Inwood has been recorded in Vestry

\begin{thebibliography}{1}
\bibitem{48} Macdonald Biography S657
\bibitem{49} Cyclopaedia p.175
\bibitem{50} NZFW p.99
\bibitem{51} New Zealand Government Gazette Province of Canterbury Electoral Roll for the District of Christchurch 1872-73
\end{thebibliography}
minutes and the short church history written at the time of the 1926 consecration of the stone church. The only brief explanation given was that the five-acre reserve was believed to be too far west and too distant from most of the potential congregation. Neither in 1875 nor in 1883 was there a sufficiently large community to engender the notion of a populous suburb requiring the extensive church site. A beautiful setting, similar to the church square and village green at Addington, or the wooded triangle of land of St. Peter's Upper Riccarton, could have been created on the glebe land at the junction of Clyde and Fendall Town Roads. The picturesque setting of Tai Tapu Church springs to mind. The Waimairi Stream, flowing on the southern boundary, could have been landscaped to add to the ambience. In 1883 when Fendalton became a separate parish the suggestion was again made about the construction of a new church on the glebe land, but at that stage the cost seemed prohibitive. However in 1886 the two-storey vicarage was built there out of heart kauri, and at a cost of £750, and in 1896 a Sunday School room was erected nearer to the intersection of Fendalton and Clyde Roads. St. Paul's Papanui and St. Peter's Riccarton had graveyards around the parish church, but in the 1880s graveyards were considered unhealthy and new cemeteries were usually located away from residential property. The only cemeteries in Christchurch were at Barbadoes Street until 1857 and then at Avonside. Linwood was opened in 1884.

The individual character of each suburb was obviously created by its residents. This was achieved by the image that they collectively portrayed as people and became more strongly pronounced with the onset of social zoning in the suburbs. Also this character was created as a consequence of the local environment they constructed both in buildings and landscaping. It is by identifying a representative sample of the residents and buildings from 1850 to 1950 that the changing character of Fendalton into a distinct and fashionable suburb may be identified. The importance of 'fashion' in attracting new residents should not be underestimated. Property developers and city planners were often in the vanguard of change by promoting 'leaders of fashion', who

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52 Parish of Fendalton St Barnabas Church 1876-1926.
53 R. C. Lamb From the banks of the Avon: the story of a river Wellington,1981 p.71
may be conspicuous and influential residents. Sales plans in many Christchurch suburbs from the 1860s frequently referred to a subdivision being adjacent to the residence of a notable citizen. Initially this was an important aid to location, before the advent of street addresses, but it also had a very important role in socially defining that location. This traditional practice was still evident in Fendalton sales plans through to the late 1930s.

Members of the Rhodes family were conspicuous leaders of Canterbury society. Arthur Edgar Gravenor Rhodes purchased nine acres in Merivale and built 'Te Koraha' in 1884. He and his wife, Rose Moorhouse, added extensively to the house in 1894 and in 1901.54 As a Christchurch lawyer, politician, property investor and 'society leader', his choice of site for his new family home is significant. After the death of George Gould (senior) in 1889 the 'Hambledon' property on Bealey Avenue was subdivided in the 1890s. His youngest son, George, purchased the eleven-acre property of 'Avonbank', situated where Fendalton Road leaves Hagley Park.

John Macmillan Brown was Professor of English and Classics at Canterbury College. After years of a bachelor life in the inner city, on becoming engaged to be married he leased and then purchased land with a house at Fendalton in 188655. There is no suggestion in his autobiography that Macmillan Brown bought the house on Wairarapa Terrace because of other homes in the area, the reputation of the suburb itself or the propinquity of particular neighbours. However, Macmillan Brown often conspicuously 'name-dropped' in his autobiography so it is quite possible that the proximity of 'Te Koraha' may have had some influence on his choice of home. In fact he writes:

I liked its position, its seclusion along with comparative proximity to the college....we were delighted with the bend of the rippling, rapid broken stream on which it was built....Bit by bit I added till I had five acres between the river and the Wairarapa Road. They were divided into three paddocks. And as there was a stable I had to get a horse

55 Brooks ed. p.181
and trap and ultimately two cows.\textsuperscript{56}

Professor Macmillan Brown was able to add to his original purchase as the land was still mainly rural, had not been subdivided for residential sections and land prices were reasonable. He and his bride, Helen Connon, represented the early advent of the modern professional couple with delayed marriage, dual professional income, no children in the early years of marriage, and a 'lifestyle' property. John Macmillan Brown features on Jim McAloon's list of wealthy based on probate records and was worth £70,000 when he died in 1935\textsuperscript{57}. However when he bought the house and property in Fendalton in 1886 he leased it initially then arranged a mortgage on good terms 'that brought the annual expenditure considerably below the rental'\textsuperscript{58}. Helen Connon is particularly remembered as the first woman in the British Empire to gain an honours degree, and as the popular and successful headmistress of Christchurch Girls' High School.

The professional elite played a significant role in providing employment. As Macmillan Brown reminisced: 'There followed the necessity of having a young man to milk the cows and attend to the horse and trap.'\textsuperscript{59} Unfortunately he did not specify who the young man was, nor where he lived. Professor Brown speaks of purchasing the cows from the herds that were being driven past his home down Wairarapa Terrace on the way to the sales yards in Addington, thus emphasising again the very rural character even of this part of Lower Fendalton in the 1880s and 1890s. When he writes that he and his wife 'made our own butter'\textsuperscript{60} he may indeed have meant this literally, or this may have been another task of the domestic staff. Fendalton in the 1880s had a significant number of professional families, many of whom it would still be appropriate to refer to as gentry. These residents lived on properties of five to ten acres employing several domestic staff. They generally exhibited a 'genteel' social lifestyle reflecting their British origins.

\textsuperscript{56} ibid
\textsuperscript{58} Brooks ed. p.181
\textsuperscript{59} ibid
\textsuperscript{60} ibid p.182
In his *Memoirs* John Macmillan Brown reveals several insights into his expectations of genteel behaviour, his contempt for the 'parvenu' and the 'pigsty aristocrat', and his pleasure in even tenuous associations with 'old English families'. Writing about his experiences living at the Christchurch Club in the early 1880s, Macmillan Brown noted that:

Some of the frequenters of the club were as good as a show. One wealthy squatter who had the manners of a stable boy and the scorn and hauteur of a parvenu frequently perched in the club. When I came down to the dining room I found this pigsty aristocrat stretched in front of the one fireplace that had fire in, his hat on the back of his head. He did not deign to say good morning or move to give me even a corner of the fireplace, though it was a bitterly cold morning, and when Peter, the Norwegian waiter, came with my breakfast, my unclubbable lord of tens of thousands rose and sat down to it.

Had any of his Fendalton neighbours been equally as annoying one would expect a caustic reference to have been made to them in his book. Receiving visitors at his home on Sunday afternoons was a particular pleasure. Macmillan Brown speaks of the qualities of character that he appreciated. J. Colborne Veel, the editor of the *Press* 'was a man of vigorous but gentle character and culture', and his company was welcome 'since the departure of an equally strong and gentle character, the Rev. W. J. Habens'. Gentle being interpreted as a quality of a gentleman.

The characteristics that Professor Macmillan Brown wanted to encourage in his students prompted him to invite them in small groups to breakfast at 'Holmbank'. This practice was influenced by his own experiences at Balliol College, Oxford. 'It influenced both character and manners, developed conversational capacity and brought students into intimate relationships, if not friendship.... The Sunday morning breakfast revealed the manners and social attitude.' Professor Macmillan Brown thought deeply about theological matters, but regular church going whilst living in Fendalton does not seem to have been a part of their lifestyle. John and Helen Macmillan Brown were married very quietly according to the rites of the Presbyterian

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61 ibid p.136  
62 ibid p.134  
63 ibid p.182  
64 ibid p.183
Church. Although not apparently contributing physically or financially to the local Anglican community, Macmillan Brown was confident he promoted the 'gentility' of the suburb.

John Barton Arundel Acland exhibited the socially expected and accepted qualities of both gentleman and colonist. He was also a life-long supporter of the Anglican Church. Acland had purchased a town house and some land along Fendaltown Road in 1874. He gave the name of 'Willowbrook' to his property, after his wife's family home in England. The Aclands were at 'Willowbrook' in 1876 as they gave a luncheon there to celebrate the opening, on adjoining land, of the small wooden chapel-of-ease of St. Barnabas. Acland purchased a further 5 acres of land bordered by Clyde Road and the Waimairi Stream in 1877, giving a total property of about 15 acres.

John Holland Baker, a surveyor, moved to Upper Fendalton in 1880. He was the fourth son of the Vicar of Chilcomb near Winchester, England. His mother was sister to Archdeacon Mathias, incumbent of St. Michael's, who had a farm at Upper Riccarton and in 1857, aged 16 years, John Baker was sent out to New Zealand to join the Mathias family. These family associations and social connections were very common in early Canterbury and provided a social framework that denies generalisation of the 'atomisation' theory. Baker learned to milk Octavius Mathias' cows and planted English trees around St. Peter's Anglican Church. He spent a month with Cyrus Davie's survey team, enjoyed the work and trained as a surveyor. Onboard ship on his first visit back to England in 1876 he met his future wife, Isabel Strachey.

The social migration from Opawa to the northwest is illustrated by John and Isabel Baker. They made their first home in Opawa and made friends with neighbours, including Mrs. Tipping, 'the Wm. Reeves's', the Wildings,

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65 ibid p.181
the John Studholme's.\textsuperscript{67} The Macdonald Biography says Baker 'had to move from Opawa' so perhaps the house was leased. John Holland Baker bought the house and land of 'Coldstream', the former home of Edward Jerningham Wakefield, along Burnside Road just past the Clyde Road intersection, for 1750 pounds in 1880.\textsuperscript{68} He renamed it 'Chilcomb' (without an e - the current street sign is incorrectly spelt) after the village in Hampshire where he was born. He wrote:

I built a new wing and planted a drive up to the house, laid out a new lawn and planted a kitchen garden. It had a good stable and coach house, as well as good grass paddocks for our horses and cows, so we now considered we had established a permanent home for ourselves in what was deemed the favourite district of New Zealand.\textsuperscript{69}

It would be interesting to know if John Holland Baker was thinking in terms of Canterbury or Fendalton when he recorded this thought in his diary. There were only open fields between the Bakers at 'Chilcomb', the Neaves at 'Okeover' and Leonard Harper, who was leasing 'Ilan', and the three families were close friends. The Stracheys of 'Lismore Lodge', on Fendalton Road near Wairarapa Terrace, were related by marriage and were also frequent visitors at 'Chilcomb'. In 1891 Baker was promoted and moved to Wellington. He initially leased out the house, but then returned to Canterbury and sold up before retiring in 1896. There is evidence that Baker worked extremely hard in his position as chief surveyor and Commissioner of Crown Lands in Canterbury. By birth and association he was part of the gentry. He was assisted initially to embark on his apprenticeship, where he started as an ordinary survey hand, but his success as a surveyor in Canterbury was the result of conscientious and sustained effort.

By 1879 'Burnside' was about 1700 acres of fine agricultural land. William Boag realised early on the importance of good stock and he imported cattle and Clydesdale draught horses and bred fine animals. His reputation spread through the Australasian colonies as a stockbreeder. William Boag was a member of a number of prominent committees and clubs. He was on the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{67} Macdonald Biography B66
\item \textsuperscript{68} Macdonald Biography B66
\item \textsuperscript{69} ed.N. Baker \textit{A Surveyor in New Zealand 1957 - 1896. The Recollections of John Holland Baker}. Christchurch, 1932. p.174
\end{itemize}
Riccarton Road Board from its inception, the Waimakiriri River Board, a member of the Agricultural & Pastoral Association and the Caledonian Society and he was an elder of St Andrew's Church, for like the Deans from Scotland, he was Presbyteriian.\textsuperscript{70}

The small number of people resident in Fendaltown before the turn of the century needs to be reiterated. From 1883, when the separate parish was established, marriages numbered between one and four per year. There were no weddings in St. Barnabas Church in 1894. In 1901 there was a 100 percent increase to eight marriages, six in 1902, one in 1903 and eight in 1904. Baptisms from 1883 to 1900 average 13.2 per annum with a maximum of 18 in 1885 and 1888.

Before 1900 a proportion of baptisms had parents' residence outside Fendalton and Bryndwr. In 1885 this was 50 per cent being 9 of 18 baptisms, but in most cases, as would be expected, the majority came from Fendalton and Bryndwr. Some baptisms, with residence given as outside the parish, were farming families from such places as Coutts Island (near Belfast). More usually they were rural relatives, possibly visiting parents in Fendalton at Christmas and Easter and making the most of a local church and the opportunity of a family get-together to christen a child. Sometimes a godparent was the link with the parish of Fendalton.

In the 1880s and 1890s there is still a mixture of fathers' occupations: gardeners, grooms, labourers and the miller mingle with the gentlemen and barristers in the baptismal registers. In 1888 there were 18 baptisms of infants. Seven families gave their residence as Fendalton. These fathers gave the following information on occupation. Mr. Melville, groom; Mr. Pudney, engineer; Mr. Martin, merchant; Mr. Bruce, clerk; Mr. Coxon, civil engineer; Mr. Williams, barrister and Mr. Strachey, a gentleman of 'Lismore'. There was a gap for Mr. Healy, which can be a problem for interpretation. A gap usually meant 'gentleman'; that is, financially independent and not desiring (or qualified) to claim a profession or occupation. The second Vicar of Fendalton, Rev. James West Stack (1888 - 1898), frequently left a gap if the father had no

\textsuperscript{70} Macdonald Biography B538
specific occupation, or was socially recognised as a 'gentleman', but he was not always consistent.

Three families in 1888 came from Bryndwr; one was a labourer and two were 'gaps', so possibly gentlemen of some degree. From outside Fendalton, George and Mary Rutherford's son, George, was baptised on 4 April 1888 - father's occupation, sheepfarmer of Dalethorpe, Malvern. Mary Rutherford was born a Gerard of Snowdon Station, and so her presence in Fendalton is explained by a family gathering for the christening. Edward Latter was a farmer of Barry's Bay, but this must have been about the time the family moved to Fendalton. Gardeners from Riccarton and Sumner, a blacksmith from Christchurch, a labourer from St. Albans and an illegitimate child with benefit of neither father nor his occupation complete the cross-section of society.

In 1889 there were 14 baptisms. Four of the previous families have a further infant baptised; Strachey, Bruce, Coxon and Melville. Mr. Strachey is again referred to as a 'gentleman of Lismore' but there are gaps for Messrs. Bruce and Coxon, although the previous year they had occupations listed as clerk and civil engineer. Mr. Melville's occupation in 1889 is gardener rather than groom. In many houses in colonial Canterbury the same employee was obliged to fill several roles and functions such as gardener and coachman. After the turn of the century the gardener is seen to double as the chauffeur, as the motorcar started to make an appearance.

The term 'gardener' covered a range of situations from a casual employee, to a person responsible for the care and cultivation of very extensive grounds with the aid of several subordinates, and also to a person with his own freehold or leased property, self-employed and engaged in market gardening. Mr. Chick and Mr. Hawthorn were both described as

71 This information can often be verified from other sources if the person was a middle-class householder.
72 When George and Mary Rutherford separated she built a house on 2 acres of Gerard land on Clyde Road near the Waimairi Stream.
73 J.G. Denniston A New Zealand Judge Sir John Edward Denniston Dunedin, 1939 pp.91-92
gardeners in 1889 and there was also a gardener from Bryndwr. Mr. Coventry is a coach proprietor. Mr. Shaw is a 'gentleman' and there is a gap next to Mr. Grierson's occupation.

The local industries are represented in the baptismal register of 1889. Mr. Bisset is a brewer and Mr. Purvis is a miller. The range of occupations continues through the 1890s but in 1893 of 12 baptisms there is only one person identified as a labourer from Strowan. Of course many of the labourers could be single, with older families or with families resident in other parishes. Of six families resident in Fendalton, Mrs. Strachey of 'Lismore' has presented her husband with another child. Messrs. Coates, Milikin and Badderley have gaps under occupation. Mr. Davie is a surveyor and Mr. Harris is a barrister. There are also gaps for Messrs. Tosswill, Boaz and Tully of Lower Riccarton, Papanui Road and Lyttelton. Mr. Wadsworth is a sheepfarmer (residence illegible). Mr. Tikao is a farmer from Rapaki, possibly a friend of Rev. James Stack, who was a renowned Maori scholar and former missionary. The baptismal registers reflect a small population in which already by 1889 gentlemen, professionals and farmers are predominant.

The age of couples marrying in late nineteenth-century Fendalton was noticeably delayed. Of 53 marriages in the period 1883 to 1905 forty-two bridegrooms were 25 years of age or over. Thirty-two of the brides were over 25 and there were four whose age was recorded as 'full'. In English parish records of the period this usually meant over 25, rather than over 21 years, particularly for a woman. The only person under 20 years was a female domestic servant aged 18.

Marriage of males over 25 years of age usually reflected the perceived need to complete qualifications, establish a career and accumulate some savings prior to marriage. This was clearly apparent in the nineteenth century with 'middle class' men who had studied at university and entered the professions, usually law, medicine or holy orders or who had pursued a career as a military officer. This was the normal pattern and is visible in the Fendalton parish records. But there were exceptions. Where wealth was inherited, marriage may take place at a younger age, such as the 1898
marriage at St. Barnabas' of James Grant Ogilvy-Grant, Earl of Seafield who married Mary Elizabeth Nina Townend, the daughter of a doctor of Park Terrace. They were 22 and 21 years old. Seafield was born at Oamaru, the son of the late Earl of Seafield, Peer of the United Kingdom. He had attended Christ's College, and his name is on the Roll of Honour in the College chapel as he was killed in the Great War.

In 1893 Wise's Directory records seven householders living on Fendalton Road between Cuddon's Lane (Straven Road) and Clyde Road. William Cuddon, described as the miller, but who was also the brewer and maltster, had lived in the district since 1869. Thomas G. Russell was a lawyer and was called as a barrister of the Supreme Court in 1884. He sold his house 'Quamby' and five acres of land to the McLean Institute in 1909 to become the home for elderly gentlewomen, 'Holly Lea', probably once he realised that the subdivision of Tui Street was progressing. John F. Miles, of Miles and Company, stock agents, held 5 acres of land that was subdivided in 1864 and would next be subdivided by James McCombs to become Tui Street in 1907. The wooden church of St. Barnabas sat by the roadside on its small section, 2 chains square, donated in 1875 by Daniel Inwood. John Edward Denniston, Supreme Court Judge, leased the next house and five acres, the site of the present Makora Street. William Gerard of Snowdon Station had the townhouse of 'Willowbrook' and some 16 acres of land, where Fendalton Park is now located. Charles Barker had a house next to Nicholas Ellis, clerk of the Riccarton Road Board who lived on the corner of Clyde Road and Fendalton Road.

Residence equated less to home-ownership in the nineteenth century when renting and leasing were more frequent residential options. Judge Denniston and his family rented a house next to St. Barnabas' Church for nine years from 1889 to 1898. 'The Judge in March 1898, gave up the Fendalton house and rented Linwood House, Avonside. This was nearer town and as a

74 In 1900 Dr Joseph Henry Townend married Annie Quayle Moore, who in 1905 as a widow purchased 'Karewa' and renamed it 'Mona Vale'.
75 Penney p.68
76 ibid
rule he walked in to Court-a little over a mile. The Fendalton house was next door to the Church of England vicarage and church: the vicar, Canon Stack, was a man of congenial literary tastes, and a friendship grew up between the two families. The Dennistons were not members of the Anglican Church and their own church affiliation had rather lapsed while they were in Dunedin, but now they attended 'this Fendalton church'. Judge Denniston, however, was content 'to direct his life by ethical principles with scanty attention to revealed religion' while 'Mrs Denniston enjoyed the services there and though she kept up her attendance at the Congregational Church once a month, she became a regular attendant at Fendalton and-Canon Stack being tolerant-even attended communion service there. Their children attended Church Schools and became members of the Church of England. The two girls attended Mrs. Richards' school in Christchurch and the three boys went to Christ's College.

A glimpse of the social life within the larger 'genteel' homes of Christchurch, including Fendalton, is afforded by Denniston's diary. These were the days even in New Zealand of formal dinner parties, with six or eight guests each side of the table, all arranged strictly in order of precedence and entering the dining-room in correct procession arm-in-arm. This social life was made possible by sufficient income to afford such hospitality and to maintain a certain level of domestic service. The dinner party was one benchmark of 'gentility' and 'Englishness' that was a significant feature of certain Fendalton homes well after the turn of the century.

The population of Fendalton was limited by the lack of public transport into Christchurch and by the extent of local employment opportunities. Horses predominantly provided the means of transport or the motive power before the turn of the century. Gentlemen rode horses and their

77 Denniston p.99
78 This is an error as the vicarage was on the glebe land on Clyde Road.
79 Denniston p.89
80 ibid p.90
81 ibid
82 ibid
83 ibid p.91
families had carriages or a pony and trap. A number of self-employed gardeners, horticulturalists and craftsmen in Fendalton would also out of necessity have had their own transport, of some description. Bill Bayliss purchased land on Jeffreys Road in 1899 and established the Bryndwr Nurseries to meet the burgeoning demands for garden plants in Canterbury. Most workers would have been obliged to walk to their place of employment.

Judge Denniston's diary 'records with satisfaction but a certain shame-facedness the extravagance of the purchase of a second-hand brougham for L94 10s 0d...This brougham was the conveyance of ceremony and was used in the evenings; but Mrs Denniston drove a low-built phaeton.

During the nine years that he lived in this house, Denniston's custom was—when the weather and his health permitted—to ride into Court and back, with occasional longer rides. The distance to town was between two and three miles, a good portion of which lay through the beautiful trees of Hagley Park, so it was a delightfully refreshing ride.

After about 1895 the bicycle made a significant appearance. In the last years of his time in Fendalton even the Judge took to a bicycle:

though even as much of a machine as that was quite alien to his tastes and he never became confident in managing it. He would hop the whole length of the drive with one foot on the step before committing himself to the seat, and there was an historic encounter on a footpath by a hedge with a labourer, also on a bicycle, who shouted as they met, "Keep to the 'edge,"—but the Judge kept to the edge.

There is some evidence of a horse coach which ran into town in the afternoon at 3 p.m. and which passed Fendalton School. The vicar from 1898, Rev. Thomas Hamilton, referred in his memoirs to Delamain's coach which brought children to Fendalton School from outside the district. It would seem that before the advent of the tram that there was some coach transport to Fendalton by the late 1890s.

84 Press 30 October 1999 Weekend Gardening 'Firmly Rooted in History'.
85 Denniston p.80
86 ibid p.92
87 N. Smythe "The Early Days" in Fendalton Open Air School Centennial Celebrations, ed. John Packard. Christchurch: John Packard, 1975
88 T.A. Hamilton The Years That Are Past. Christchurch, 1937 p.203
The women of Fendalton became more visible in the late nineteenth century. As single householders they featured in the Wise's and Stone's directories, and widows such as Mrs Hanmer and Mrs Inwood contributed to delayed subdivision by their occupation of the large blocks of land under the terms of their late husband's will. Women feature as individuals on the lists of subscribers to the Anglican Church. Most significantly for women in New Zealand, Kate Sheppard lived in Clyde Road and the Sheppards were included in the 63 families on the subscription list of the Anglican Church in 1898-9. 89 The Female Suffrage Petition of 189390 was signed by 38 women who gave their address as Fendalton and 2 in Bryndwr. Others simply put Christchurch and are consequently more difficult to locate as Fendalton residents. Kate Sheppard, and several others in Clyde Road, identified themselves as living in Riccarton. Names like Marianne Cuddon, Jane Ellis and M.H. Denniston provide the female face of partnerships that were generally recorded under the male.

'Working men' (and women) were also well represented in the Fendalton population. It is a truism to say that their homes were less visible and their lives less likely to be recorded. It will probably be the recording of family memories and anecdotes by individuals in the community, whilst researching their personal family history, which will gradually create some picture of individual servants in Fendalton. This information will have to be sourced very soon as the number of people who can remember their grandparents speaking of their youthful years around the turn of the century is reducing annually.

What should have been the most democratic record of all residents, the census of population, is frustratingly impersonal and lacks the vital details of similar records in the United Kingdom. However, glimpses of the identity and presence of working class residents are possible through individual family histories, parish records, employers' memoirs and occasionally in the newspaper. In 1900 there was an advert for a property in the Braco Workers'

89 SBAGM published annual report Easter 1899
90 Transcript of Female Suffrage Petition 1893 Canty. Branch National Archives G:/DOCS/INDEX/PETITION/PE01.DOC
Settlement in Fendalton. It was in the Estate of W. J. Brandon and was lots 24, 25 and 26 on the Plan of the Braco Settlement in Fendalton, containing 3 acres 1 rood 35 perches, held on Lease in Perpetuity at a rental of L3 9s 6d per annum. The land was well fenced and subdivided and the orchard contained 90 fruit trees. The Buildings comprise a 2-roomed Cottage, small lean-to, washhouse, workshop, and rough sheds for stable. This is a rare opportunity for a working man. Further evidence of less-visible residents comes in a Fendalton sale notice for nearly an acre with a 'Good House of 6 rooms, etc.; also a Cottage of 4 rooms, both always well let; owner desirous of selling; a good investment.'

Each of the large houses in Fendalton would have had between one and four live-in domestic servants, possibly more in the largest homes. Many of these residents remain unknown unless captured momentarily in other records. Most very large sections would have had a cottage for the gardener cum groom, possibly near the gate like a lodge, such as at 'Avonbank' on Fendalton Road. A cottage could be attached to the coach house or rooms built over the stables. A successful attempt to tally and identify these residents would partly depend on the length of time they lived in Fendalton and the correlation of minute snippets of evidence from a number of sources. 'Old family retainers' are more likely to be recorded and have family historical records than transient unskilled labourers and domestic servants. Labourers and gardeners in Fendalton were also sometimes proprietors of their own small holdings, and these were usually recorded on the Wise's and Stone's Directories. Labour would have been required for fencing, market gardening, farming and animal husbandry, particularly milking the dairy cows, although family labour was very common on small holdings. The wages of a small number of farmhands, including James Edwards and Johnny McLeod, who were employed in the 1870s at 'Willowbrook', feature in the books of 'Mt.Peel'. There is evidence of labouring class upward mobility through higher wages in New Zealand and the consequent ability to purchase some freehold land. Douglas Graham, who worked on the Deans' estate, succeeded

91 *Press* Saturday 6 October, 1900 p.12
in purchasing his own farm in Fendalton in 1871.

In the 1880s there was a whole hierarchy of the domestic servant class in England. There was not the surplus wealth in most colonial families to employ as many servants as in England. 'For instance a family here keeping *four servants* (though this is somewhat rare) would keep nearly double that number at home.'\(^{93}\) 'But for general servants or good plain cooks, prepared to rough it, there is a certain demand, and wages are better, but they have to work very, very hard...'\(^{94}\) The higher wages were frequently remarked upon and good servants were in demand. However, 'middle class' households had to be able to afford these wages and it is clear that more servants would have been employed if the wages had not been so high. Denniston's situation provides a good illustration:

For the outside work of the house Denniston had only one man, with occasional assistance in the garden: for several years a loyal family-retainer named Blair worked hard in the post....But even with some work on Denniston's part with the roses it was too much for one man to keep two horses in trim as well as being coachman and gardener.\(^{95}\)

It would have been more convenient to employ a second man, but reading between the lines it is clear that the expense of leasing the property, providing for a family of seven, educating five children and providing an appropriate level of hospitality, was not conducive to maintaining a larger household.

Fendalton residents often gave many years of practical service to the community. Nicholas Ellis was born and educated on the Isle of Man. He and his brother served in the Crimean War before emigrating to New Zealand. Ellis was clerk of the Riccarton Road Board from 1868 (when he was 23 years old) until his death in March 1901 aged only 55. He also served for a number of years as Churchwarden and on the St. Barnabas vestry and was chairman of the first school committee at the Fendalton School in 1883-4. His son was educated at Christchurch Boys' High School.\(^{96}\)

\(^{93}\) Hopeful *"Taken In": being A Sketch of New Zealand Life*. London, 1887. p.172

\(^{94}\) ibid p.173

\(^{95}\) Denniston pp.91-92

\(^{96}\) Macdonald Biography E97
There is some evidence towards the end of the nineteenth century of a number of older people retiring to Fendalton, as the 'young colonists' of the 1850s and 60s reached retirement age. Henry Barnes Gresson was a Judge of the Supreme Court of New Zealand from 1858 until 1875 when he retired. He was widowed in 1889. For many years he was a churchwarden and subscriber to the Parish Church. Judge Gresson died in Fendalton in January 1901 aged 90 years. Edward Latter bought land in the parish when 'Bryndwr' was subdivided in 1880. A farmer from Barry's Bay, Akaroa, he later retired to his Fendalton property. He was organist at St. Barnabas' Church. Those who had been farmers or runholders often preferred to retire to several acres in Fendalton, with its semi-rural atmosphere, rather than relocate to a quarter-acre town section. Other retired farmers, however, did not find life in Fendalton sufficiently challenging. Henry Anderson was born in Stirling, Scotland and came to New Zealand with his wife in 1859. He bought some land and developed a farm at Yaldhurst. In 1890 he retired in favour of his sons. Mr. Anderson bought a handsome residence at Fendalton, where he resided for four years, but he found the life unsuited to his active disposition, and bought four hundred acres at Prebbleton.  

Population growth and subdivision in Fendalton between 1875 and 1900 reflected the fluctuating nature of the economic situation in Canterbury. Christchurch had grown rapidly in the early 1870s, benefiting from the prosperity derived from wool and wheat exports, and the immigration policies of Julius Vogel. The pace of population growth was slower in Fendaltown, but by 1875 it had a small but sufficient community to justify a chapel and side-school, and by 1883 a separate parish and school. This growth in the northwest suburbs was paralleled by the first subdivision of a portion of Deans' 'Riccarton' land, adjacent to Hagley Park, which proceeded from 1879. In 1878 John Deans conveyed to the Crown the land for the formation of what was then Hagley Road, now Wood Lane, off Fendalton Road. This land was also subdivided in 1879.

97 Cyclopedia p.242
98 ibid p.655
The demand for individual residential sections in Lower Fendalton was clearly not overwhelming and the slow response would seem to reflect the economic downturn, or 'Long Depression' of the 1880s. Thirteen lots gradually sold over the next three or so years; 5 large sections in Wood Lane and 8 fronting Fendalton Road. They were numbered 100 to 113. 103, 4 and 5 were all sold to Mr. Lake in Feb. 1880 assisted by a mortgage provided by the Deans. Lot 103 reverted to the Deans and was resold to a Mr. Jones on 23 December 1882. Lots 100, 101 and 102 were also sold together to Mr. Jones at the same time, over three years after they were initially marketed. Lots 104 and 105 at the end of Hagley Road were sold to Mr. Wood in 1890 and from this purchase we see the origins of Wood Lane. The mill operated by Mr. Wood was on the Riccarton side of the Avon, on land originally leased from the Deans. (see fig. 4)

The Depression delayed subdivision in Fendalton. Nine years after they were put on the market, Lots 107, 8, 9 and 10 were all sold by Mrs. Deans to Rev. Williams in 1888. But it is possible that some houses were built and leased, because it is land ownership that is being recorded. A small strip of land along Fendalton Road was conveyed by the Deans to the Riccarton Road Board in 1881 for road widening! What is also very interesting to note is that when the land was subdivided the authorities secured the ten foot (approximately 3 metre) narrow strip along the river bank. This strip is marked on the land records (and is visible elsewhere along the Wairarapa in early maps.) When the land was sold the narrow strip was specifically mentioned.

Subdivision was also delayed by the residential longevity of a number of the early inhabitants of Fendalton. In the map of 1884 Johnstone is noted as the resident on RS 697. His family inherited the land in probate records in 1894 and the land was conveyed to Mr. Lake in 1897, after over thirty years in the same hands. It was on a section of this land overlooking the Wairarapa Stream at 'Mona Vale' that Oscar Alpers built 'Linburn' in 1911. Across the Avon on the Deans' estate a block of twelve and three quarter acres between the Avon and Matai Street East was sold in February 1896. Mr. R. Allen had a

99 Rice p.46
house on part of the land about 1903. It was on about four acres of this land that Frederick Waymouth built his gracious home in 1899 called 'Karewa', renamed 'Mona Vale' in the early twentieth century. Access was from Irvine Street, Lower Riccarton.

In the 1880s the encroachment of high status houses from Merivale is apparent with further subdivision along Holmwood Road and Wairarapa Terrace. This subdivision was still into sizeable properties as Macmillan Brown was able to secure five acres of land on the Wairarapa Stream. The area was identified as Holmwood. The choice of street names is significant. Wairarapa Terrace, the original track along the stream, acknowledges the geographical presence of the river terrace. 'Holmwood' was the name of the property through which Holmwood Road was surveyed in 1873.

But the large property of 'Avonbank' remained intact. From January 1880 to the end of 1882, George and Stephen Clissold, two sons of E. M. Clissold of 'Avonbank' Fendalton, were at Christ's College. Clissold is shown as the resident on the land on the map of 1884. George Gould purchased the 10 acres and house of 'Avonbank' in 1897. For the next sixty years this ten-acre property, so close to Christchurch, remained intact despite the number of subdivisions taking place from about 1905 further west along Fendalton Road. The members of the Gould family were not only influential in the commercial life of Christchurch, but were undoubtedly in the ranks of the social elite. The social life centred on 'Avonbank' from 1897 contributed to the growing perception of Lower Fendalton as 'elite' and 'genteel'.

Mary Ward selected RS 80 to the east of Fendall's section and the first subdivision of this land took place in 1860. Daniel Inwood purchased a sizeable block of land in 1862 and after his death in 1878 his widow continued to live on the land. Mrs Inwood subdivided some of the land to the east of Straven Road in April 1907 in the same month that the tramway was opened along Fendalton Road to the railway line. 'Daresbury Rookery', was the mansion built by George Humphreys on Deans' land just south of RS 80, across the Waimairi Stream, at the turn of the century. The name derived from
The Deans family subdivided Wood Lane in 1879. George Gould's ten-acre property of 'Avonbank' was not subdivided until the late 1950s.
the raucous birds that nested in the huge stand of Australian gum trees planted by Jane Deans.

Of major importance in the development of Fendalton was the subdivision of the 'Bryndwr' farm of Charles Jeffreys in 1880. Two hundred acres of farmland, described on the sales plan as 'Bryndwr' in Fendaltown was subdivided into lots varying in size from farm paddocks, lots of about 2 and a half acres near the stream, to regular half acres along Plynlimon Road and the eastern end of Glandovey Road. 60 lots of varying sizes were subdivided out of R.S.190 with some quite large rural paddocks. 121 sections were divided out of R.S. 188 with sections that included potential gentlemen's estates to workers' sections. A few houses clustered beyond Idris Road were identified on the location map of the subdivision as the 'village of Strowan'. The subdivision of the land between Idris and Garreg Roads into smaller sections reveals a plan to develop this nucleus of a 'village'.

On 24 June 1881 the access road to the Bryndwr homestead was conveyed to the Crown as a public road, Glandovey Road, in preparation for the subdivision of the Bryndwr estate. Charles Jeffreys' homestead was called 'Dol-llys' and still exists at 32A Glandovey Road. The original house burnt down in the early 1870s and a second house, largely of matai timber, was built on the site. The second storey was built in the early 1900s. Many names attached to 'Bryndwr' reflected Charles Jeffreys' Welsh origins. Glandovey was the Anglicised version of the Jeffreys' family home in North Wales. Penhelig, the head of the willow, was the name for Clyde Road north of the Wairarapa Stream, where it was on the 'Bryndwr' farm. Later the name was preserved in a cul-de-sac off Clyde Road north. Garreg means stony and Plynlimon and Idris are names of Welsh mountains. The choice of the name for Snowdon Road in the 1920s was the English name for the highest Welsh mountain. When 'Bryndwr' was subdivided in 1880 Snowdon Road was known as Hamner's Lane, and it was never on the Bryndwr estate. The Hamner family, however, also came from North Wales. At 60 years of age

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P.Bennett et al *Living With The Past. Historical Buildings of the Waimairi District.* Christchurch no date (c.1985?) p.22
Charles Jeffreys was ready to retire and consolidate his interests in North Wales. He died in Wales on 19 February 1904 aged 82.\textsuperscript{101}

Charles Jeffreys made provision for his two nephews. On 21 November 1881 Charles Jeffreys conveyed to Stewart [sic] Athelstone Meares of Christchurch, Gentleman, ten sections of half an acre each numbered 38-42 and 53-57 between Plynlimon and Glandovey Roads for ten shillings in hand. Seven months later Meares took out a mortgage on this block of ten sections from Richard Fereday then in 1889 he sold them to Alice Waymouth, the wife of Frederick Waymouth of Christchurch, Accountant. £200 was paid by Mrs. Waymouth to Richard Fereday in payment of money owing and also £150 paid to S. A. Meares. Five acres in Fendalton was sold for L350 in 1889, including five half-acre sections on Glandovey Road. Although subdivided on paper this remained one parcel of land.

In 1896 Mrs Waymouth sold this block of land to Jane Mary McDowall "of Bryndwr near the said City of Christchurch, Widow" for L400. (L80 an acre) Mrs McDowell died in July 1902. In her will she left to her son, Robert, a Lay Missionary at Totara Flats, Westland, 1 acre 3 roods with house and stable, fenced off from the rest of the five acres. Lot 2 of almost an acre was sold to another family member for L61. The balance of the 5 acres was put on the market.

Charles Jeffreys also made a generous grant to his other nephew, Charles Maurice Meares. Lots 71 and 72 being over 7 and a half acres on the Wairarapa Stream to the south of Glandovey Road were sold for "the consideration of the sum of Ten shillings in hand." This land included the Jeffreys homestead of 'Dol-llys' on Glandovey Road.

There was some minor profit made. George Gordon Esq. who had already purchased lots 60 - 62, also bought four half-acre sections from Charles Jeffreys in February 1882, two fronting Idris Road and two on Plynlimon Road for L170. Two months later he sold the two Plynlimon Road

\textsuperscript{101} Macdonald Biography J85
sections to William Mander of Bryndwr, Gardener for £100.

Some people speculated and overreached themselves, being ahead of their time in this suburb. Henry Wilkin Row of Christchurch, Chemist purchased ten sections each of approximately 2 roods 30 perches, 3 fronting Garreg Road and 7 fronting Bryndwr Road. He also purchased at the same time lot 111 of 1 acre 2 roods and 14 p on Bryndwr Road back towards the Wairarapa Stream. For this package of about 8 and a half acres he paid £591. 11s. 6d. He took out a mortgage of £500 from Edward Chapman of Drayton Station, Rakaia, Sheepfarmer and William Palmer Chapman as above Gentleman. A year later Row owed Charles Francis Reed, Gentleman of England, a mortgage of £650. But he sold two sections about 1 and a quarter acres to Arthur William Winter, Accountant of Christchurch for £200. In July 1883 Henry Row the Chemist (plus Reed) sold lot 111, 1 and a half acres, to Ebenezer Brown, Draper, for £191. So that was £391 recouped. But by 1887 the property was all in the hands of Charles Francis Reed of Devonshire, England, who sold the half acre lot 80 on Bryndwr Road to Anne Elizabeth Bigwood wife of John Bigwood of Christchurch in the Colony of New Zealand, Gas Fitter, for £70.

A bargain was possible from a deceased estate, especially with an elderly widow in England. In 1896, Alice Cecilia Augusta Reed, the widow of Charles Francis Reed of Devonshire sold lots 81 - 84 and 98 - 100 (7 lots), each of over half an acre, as one lot of 4 acres 3 roods and 13 perches to William Wickens, Gardener, for £150. Half-acre sections were not in high demand in Bryndwr, albeit almost in Fendalton, before the turn of the century.

On 21 November 1881 Nicholas Ellis of Riccarton, Surveyor purchased 5 lots from Jeffreys being 5 acres 1 rood and 14 perches from R.S. 190 and 3 acres 3 rood and 15 perches from R.S. 180 on Penheilig Road either side of Jeffreys Road. £568 in hand was paid for the 5+ acres north of Jeffreys Road. The following February 1882 Ellis sold the two lots between the Wairarapa Stream and Jeffreys Road to James Bickerton Fisher of Christchurch, Solicitor, being 2 acres 3 roods and 15p for £426-11s-3d. James
Fisher died in 1910 and these two lots were sold to Helen Morley, wife of William Morley of Christchurch, Manager for £500. The corner section is today the site of the Fendalton Service Centre. Lots 118 and 119 were sold to the Selwyn County Council and this prime site has emerged like a swan from the ugly duckling of the bus depot and Waimairi County Council Works Yard to become Jeffreys Park and the Waiwetu Reserve. Nicholas Ellis was the clerk of the Riccarton Road Board in 1881 and when he bought the neighbouring 5 acres he must have had the foresight to suggest the purchase of this land for the county.

Lot 117 of 2 acres 3 roods and 1p was sold by Charles Jeffreys to Thomas Douglas Esquire of Newlands, Amberley in the County of Ashley New Zealand for £220 on 24 November 1881. Ten years later in July 1891 Douglas was now resident near Tunbridge Wells in Kent, England and sold the section to Rose Florence Humphreys wife of George Humphreys of Christchurch, Merchant for £275. A mortgage of £200 was arranged with Neil Thornthwaite Pattison of Tunbridge Wells at 6.5 per cent interest.

Sections of two and a half acres were subdivided between Glandovey Road and the Wairarapa Stream. Lot 69 was purchased by Arthur Haylock of Timaru, Clerk and lot 70 to George Wascoe of Little River, Storekeeper. Both of these men were still the owners in 1900 when they received certificates of title. Edward Circuit Latter purchased lots 67 and 68 when he retired from some of his many commitments at Akaroa and Barry's Bay and was still resident in Glandovey Road in 1893. His daughters married local young men an Inwood and a Williams from across Fendalton Road.

Some purchasers must have seen this as an investment opportunity. Five sections, lots 101 - 105, of about an acre each were purchased as one lot by David Brown Howden of Wellington in October 1881 for £615. This prime block was on Glandovey Road to the north (LHS) after crossing the Wairarapa Stream from Fendalton Road. The sections were sold off in 1891. Mr Joynt bought lots 101 and 102 nestled between the Wairarapa Stream and Glandovey Road. William Cuddon bought 104 on the corner of Bryndwr.
Road. George Humphreys purchased land here and with his wife's property as well was able to create a beautiful setting for 'Thornycroft'. In the 1890s George Humphreys built 'Thornycroft' on land by the Wairarapa Stream. He then built 'Daresbury' and George Gerard of Snowdon Station bought 'Thornycroft'.

Some Fendalton neighbours also bought up other sections. William Cuddon, the brewer, bought lots 24 and 25 at the far end of Glandovey and also 3 sections on Garreg Road. Charles Clark, the auctioneer of the Bryndwr estate, bought the balance of what was left in December of 1883 after two years on the market.

Four acres of R.S.190 lots 16 and 17 in the far north eastern corner on Webbs (Ilam Road) were purchased in 1882 by H.S. Richards on behalf of his father, Joseph Richards, one of the Canterbury Pilgrims. He built the east wing of the house and laid out the gardens. The house was called 'Deuxhill' (pronounced Dukeshill). In 1887 the house and land was bought by George Anderson, Managing Director of the Christchurch Meat Company. He then added the tower and the west wing. In 1910 Mrs Helen Boag bought the property for £4000.102

Beyond Webbs Road (Ilam Road, Fendalton North today) was rural land, not granted by the Canterbury Association in 1851. It then became part of the Coringa sheep run, and later was divided into smaller farms. Webbs Road was the edge of the rural sections of the Canterbury Association, as was the Wairarapa Stream. The original aim of the Canterbury Association was to restrict settlement to encourage social and cultural interaction within a Cathedral city, acting as the educational centre and market town for the surrounding agricultural community. Webbs Road formed an outer boundary to subdivision around the 'Bryndwr' estate and effectively restricted the northward expansion of high status housing. The Government subdivided the land beyond Webbs Road after the Second World War.

102 A.J.Mair Homes of the Pioneers. Pen and Wash Drawings by A.J.Mair with text by J.A.Hendry. Christchurch, 1968. no. 20
In line with the philosophy of the Advances to Settlers Acts of 1894 the Liberal Government purchased blocks of farmland for what were known as settlements, on the fringes of the suburban area, which included Fendalton. Workers were informed that:

full information can be obtained in Christchurch with respect to the Government Advances to Settlers Act, which was passed in 1894, with the object of affording relief to a numerous class of colonists who were believed to be struggling under the burden of high rates of interest and heavy legal expenses for mortgages.103

In 1898 William Pember Reeves remarked that the leaders of rival political parties admitted one main principle:

It is that a young democratic country, still almost free from extremes of wealth and poverty, from class hatreds and fears and the barriers these create, supplies an unequalled field for safe and rational experiment in the hope of preventing and shutting out some of the worst social evils and miseries which afflict great nations alike in the old world and the new.104

It was under the terms of the Lands for Settlement Act of 1894 that twenty-seven acres of Fendalton land on the city side of Ilam Road and fronting Burnside Road (Memorial Avenue) were sold by William Boag to the Government. Tay Street (Hamilton Avenue) and Lothian Street were surveyed and land in three to five acre lots on perpetual lease was auctioned in 1895 and 1898. Braco was William Boag's home in Scotland and was the name given to the settlement.105 The Cyclopedia noted in 1903 that part of Mr. Boag's estate has been purchased by the Government as working men's settlements, and disposed of on perpetual lease, in areas from two to five acres. These settlements are situated at Fendalton, and are thriving and prosperous.106

Up Fendall Town Road towards the northwest (modern Memorial Avenue) residential subdivision was delayed because of the rural character, lack of population and market demand and consequently very limited public

103 Cyclopedia p.146
105 A.Grayburn, Burnside Park Its History, People and Sports. Christchurch, 1994 p.10
106 Cyclopedia 1903 p.356
1892
fig. 5

PLAN OF
GRAHAM'S ESTATE
SITuate AT
Fendalton

TO BE SOLD BY AUCTION BY
MESSRS. H. MATSON & CO.
ASSOCIATED WITH THE
NATIONAL MORTGAGE & AGENCY COMPANY, OF NEW ZEALAND, LIMITED
AT THEIR
LAND SALEROOMS, CASHEL STREET
On Saturday, 26th March 1892, at 2 o'clock p.m.

LOCALITY PLAN.
transport. There was an important subdivision and sale of 'Springbank', the farm belonging to the family of the late Douglas Graham, on the death of his widow in 1892. Since the untimely death of Douglas Graham in 1872, William Boag had leased and farmed much of the land, and when it was put on the market in 1892 he succeeded in purchasing all the land. It was a section of this land that was sold to the Government for the Braco Settlement. Other subdivision of the 'Burnside' farm in the twentieth century was mostly into smaller dairy farming units on which farmhouses were also built.

Aspects of 'Englishness' visible in Fendaltown in 1875 would have been those being created by the landscaping of the natural environment. The basic geometry of rectangular fields and straight roads were English implants. The English grasses of lawns and paddocks were well established and they brought English greens into the rural landscape. Hawthorn and gorse hedges would have grown over the early decades and have been flowering prolifically in their season. Some English trees in Riccarton and Fendalton were at least twenty-five years old and gardens around homesteads and cottages were colourful with English flowers. A few hardy varieties of English birds sang in gardens and paddocks. Rooks multiplied in the gum trees of Riccarton and sparrows became a pest in the fields. Increasing numbers of stock in the fields and horses in the paddocks would have added to the English ambience. Willows along the streams and riverbanks evoked comparison with English meadows. The very aspects of order and colour were seen as attractive, but even in their profusion it is arguable to what extent they were 'English'.

Published in 1887 under the title *Taken In*, 'Hopeful's observations of New Zealand provide some fascinating, if at times scathing, insights:

You may see pretty little gardens attached to the most humble shanties, and sometimes a scarlet geranium growing all up the house and blooming magnificently or sometimes it is a fuchsia, climbing in full bloom higher than the windows, and the richer houses in the suburbs and elsewhere have larger and more cultivated gardens attached to them, and splendid creepers up the house…

The colonial-style 'Burnside' homestead of William Boag 'boasted... beautifully tree-planted grounds with expansive lawns on which strutted

107 Hopeful p. 80
peacocks and guinea fowl, plus a large conservatory stocked with exotic plants.\textsuperscript{108}

On the subject of trees Hopeful wrote:

At present English trees are very scarce in New Zealand, but should the country continue another fifty years, they ought to be numerous....The willow, the poplar, the Australian blue-gum or Eucalyptus are the chief trees. A few young oaks are seen here and there...\textsuperscript{109}

The country did 'continue for another fifty years' and English trees grew fast and tall in the climate and soil of Canterbury. Holm is of Old Norse origin and refers to the evergreen oak tree or alternatively to an islet in a river or stream. Macmillan Brown’s residence was 'Holmbank' and Sir George Clifford's 'Avonholme' retaining the theme of Englishness and trees in the vicinity of Holmwood in Lower Fendalton.

The land in Fendalton continued to be tamed and transformed in the late 1880s. British notions of landscaping, order and beauty motivated the endeavour. In the latter part of the nineteenth century there was also considerable planting or conservation of indigenous species. Macmillan Brown records that:

\begin{quote}
[\textit{E}]very morning I got up early and worked hard in my garden, building up and shaping the banks of the Wairarapa Stream that flowed through it. One paddock was an accumulation of shingle and I dug a great pit in the highest part and out of it I filled a large barrow and wheeled barrowloads into the swamp that in parts edged it. By this means I had soon a fine walk along the whole length of the stream and this I shaded with trees.\textsuperscript{110}
\end{quote}

From the 1880s onwards and particularly in the twentieth century these trees would increase property values within the perimeters of Fendalton. It took vision to plant deciduous trees like oaks and elms that would grow to maturity more gradually, for the real benefit of the following generations. The climate of Canterbury did assist by speeding up the growth rate of trees.

\textsuperscript{108} Grayburn p.6
\textsuperscript{109} Hopeful p.105
\textsuperscript{110} Brooks ed. p.186
In the 1880s and 1890s many of the beauties of England, yearned for by successive waves of nostalgic migrants, were either not yet created in Christchurch and her environs, or else, like the ruins of antiquity, never could be. Hopeful advised:

[...]those who love the highly cultivated scenes of their native land, to ramble through lea[y] lanes and to gather the sweet primrose and violet - those who love to gaze upon the stately mansion, the charming homestead, the rustic cottage or the ruins of antiquity, should not come here! Those who love to hear the chiming bells of some well loved church, ringing sweetly over pleasant fields and walks, on a summer's evening, should not come here!\textsuperscript{111}

But it was some of these picturesque reminiscences of England and an English appreciation of natural beauty that were part of the vision and were gradually recreated in Fendalton in the twentieth century.

The educated stratum of Canterbury was augmented by migration from the British Isles, and principally from England. Samuel Bullock, headmaster of Fendalton School from 1884, was educated at Shrewsbury. Such influential people in the community reinforced English perceptions and priorities. Professor John Macmillan Brown, albeit a Scot, brought English university methods and expectations into the Canterbury College and into his home in Fendalton. By the 1890s the 'English' character of Fendalton would have been encouraged by the appearance of an increasing number of gentlemen on horseback (and bicycle) and of various carriages, such as Judge Denniston's; not to mention the immaculate dress of certain local identities like Norman Hanmer and the Honourable Ernest Townshend.\textsuperscript{112}

The constructed landscape of buildings in Fendalton, however, was not English in the nineteenth century. The small wooden church of St. Barnabas, even when enlarged with transepts and apse in 1883, was very much a colonial building. The essential features were naturally reminiscent of their English origins but the representation was in a colonial context. The single bell calling Fendaltonians to worship was not a peal of bells from an English church tower. The narrow wooden bridges over the Wairarapa and Avon

\textsuperscript{111} Hopeful p.176
\textsuperscript{112} Penney p.68
streams did not have the appearance of permanence and timeless beauty of the solid stone bridges of many English villages.

Nor was Fendalton conspicuously highly favoured in the construction of gracious mansions before the turn of the century. Wooden colonial houses replaced the few cob cottages of the 1850s. The weatherboard construction and corrugated iron roofs were American in appearance rather than English. The verandahed bungalows of the 1880s and 1890s reflected Australian design. Several homes in Fendalton illustrate this period of colonial architecture such as 'Turawai' and 'Waitaitama'. A number were given Maori names, capturing the surge of interest in New Zealand identity towards the end of the last century. Some large colonial style villas were built in the late 1880s and 90s as the Canterbury economy improved. Hodgson writes:

[T]here was also the villa style. Quite tricky to pin down, the word villa has always meant different things to different people. Until the arrival of the small bay villa to our country's streets from about the 1890s, the word villa tended to mean a substantial house, more often than not set in acres of grounds, more suburban than city. It may well be that the word describes more a style of living than an actual architectural style, yet for all that, the word as used by clients, architects, and newspaper reports around the 1880s would probably conjure up a picture of something solid, double-storeyed, probably with verandas to both floors, and bay windows rising through the elevations to end up with their own roofs.113

These houses had a New Zealand appearance and quite often-Maori names.

Flax and other examples of swamp vegetation continued to thrive along some of the streams and riverbanks. When the streams flowed through paddocks this was often because the cost of clearing was not yet warranted. Some nineteenth century residents retained flax bushes for ornamental reasons. John Macmillan Brown illustrates the interest of the 1880s and 90s with a distinctive New Zealand identity in his planting of native species in his property along the Wairarapa Stream.114 This is the same period that saw the incorporation of some distinctly New Zealand features in colonial architecture, including decorative motifs and stained glass. Certain properties and Pakeha children were endowed with Maori names, such as 'Karewa' (later 'Mona

113 Hodgson p.34
114 Brooks, ed. p.182
Anglican Church of St Barnabas, Fendalton.
The nave of the wooden church was constructed in 1876. When Fendalton became a parish, independent of Riccarton, in 1883 the apse and transepts were added.

Rev. Canon James West Stack
Vicar of Fendalton 1888-98
Turawai was built about 1800 on the banks of the Wairarapa Stream.

'Waitatama' One of the first houses on Clyde Road, built in the late 1800s.

Photo: Simon Hepplethwaite
Vale') and 'Te Koraha'; Ngaio Marsh, and Tahu and Maire Rhodes. It is interesting to speculate on the possible influence of the Vicar, Rev. James Stack, with his knowledge of Maori language and culture.

The essential culture of Christchurch society, however, was perceived as 'English' by many visitors who recognised in the lifestyle many of the familiar characteristics of England. E.H. D'Avigdor visited Christchurch in the 1880s and several references in this account could well pertain to certain homes in Fendalton:

English society, as we understand it, is to be found almost exclusively in this province...nowhere else in New Zealand do we find anything like the same number of representatives of English county families. Yorkshire, Cheshire, Devonshire, Hampshire, and many others have sent contingents of younger sons. Acland, Ennys, ...Bowen, ...Aynsley...are names well-known in Christchurch; their bearers are merchants, sheep-farmers, or lawyers. They have reproduced near the city the memories of the old country; the historical names of some of the oldest county mansions are transferred to picturesque wooden houses situated on the lovely willow-clad banks of the Avon, surrounded by roses and hydrangeas, now overshadowed by trees, of which the seeds were brought from England thirty years ago....on Sundays the whole family attends the village church, which is as homely and home-like as tall trees and green grass can make a new building115

The approach of the Jubilee of 1900 was greeted with an air of confidence and enthusiasm. The Vestry minutes recorded the decision to add a Jubilee room to the Sunday School to mark the occasion and the 'Englishness' of Canterbury was restated and reinforced by reference to the ageing 'Canterbury Pilgrims' in the community and a celebration of their achievements.

Subdivision in Fendalton was delayed in the nineteenth century. This was due to a slower growth of the Canterbury population in the 1880s and the 'Long Depression'. The related factors of a dearth of population, industry, commerce and public transport all combined to preserve Fendalton as a rural enclave between the faster growing sectors along Papanui Road and Riccarton Road. The few residential subdivisions that were surveyed, such as 'Bryndwr' in 1880, had many sections on the market for several years. Land was usually

held in three to five acre lots. Widows contributed to delayed subdivision by the retention of large holdings of family land intact.

The seeds of gentility were sown in all Christchurch suburbs in the 1850s but were able to steadily flourish uninterrupted in Fendalton. A semi-rural, suburban or 'genteel' lifestyle continued to grow, unimpeded by the impact and demands of industrialisation. The geographical location of Fendalton, upstream and upwind to the west of Christchurch, ensured no seriously polluting industry would be located there. The concentration of educational facilities in the northwest quadrant of Christchurch encouraged the movement of professional families closer to schools. In the nineteenth century this concentration of professionals was still predominantly within the Town Belts and spreading north up Papanui Road into Merivale. Fendalton was neither perceived nor advertised as being conspicuously 'fashionable' in the nineteenth century. The population of Fendalton as a whole was occupationally diverse and socially mixed, but lacking the broad industrial component.

The 'Englishness' of Fendalton was shared by many Christchurch suburbs and was largely based on the appearance of English fields and hedges, grazing stock and the growth of English trees. Much of the constructed landscape of buildings was not English in appearance until around the turn of the century. American and Australian colonial influences were paramount and an emerging interest in an indigenous New Zealand culture is visible in the late 1880s and 1890s, illustrated by the planting of indigenous species and the choice of Maori names for dwellings.

In 1900 Fendalton was still a funnel of largely rural land supporting a scattered and occupationally diverse community. Residential subdivision, principally into sections of several acres, had taken place predominantly closer to Hagley Park and Merivale. There were homesteads and some very gracious villas set in beautiful gardens. Much of the land carried dairy herds for town milk supply although some land supported grain crops, particularly barley for the brewery. There were other small holdings, market gardens, more modest
'genteel' homes and a number of small cottages. The Braco Workers' Settlement was a Liberal Government initiative near Ilam Road. A significant proportion of the community supported the Anglican church of St. Barnabas, the Sunday School and local primary school. There was no inn or smithy in this nineteenth century 'village', although there was a brewery. Fendalton went some way to being a colonial reflection of the 'English village' of the Canterbury Association's plan but clearly set in a New Zealand context.
Chapter 4 Welcome to Suburbia 1901 - 1925

The gradual transition of the heart of Fendalton from 'village' to residential suburb took place during the first twenty-five years of the twentieth century. The first decade of the twentieth century displayed a degree of continuity of residential status. Until at least World War I many of the professional elite of Christchurch preferred to reside within the Four Avenues. Certain run holder town houses also existed in Christchurch proper. Many of the addresses of influential people in the Cyclopedia and Who's Who were still within these boundaries. Outside the inner city, there were few distinctive aspects of Fendalton that gave it the appearance of being significantly more affluent and fashionable than comparable suburbs around the city. The process of industrialisation was gathering pace and at the beginning of the twentieth century changes were becoming apparent in urban and suburban residential status in Christchurch. The advent of public amenities in Fendalton both reflected change and motivated the increased pace of suburban development and subdivision, which noticeably accelerated from 1907. The examination of salesplans of these subdivisions, and a study of the professional background of the increasing number of new residents, illustrates the changing constitution of the Fendalton population, resulting in the gradual overwhelming of the 'village' by a predominantly middle class suburb. By 1925 the most obvious and tenacious characteristic of this community is portrayed by its self-conscious qualities of 'Englishness'. The early movements of 'high status' out of the Four Avenues was adjacent to the tram routes, especially along Victoria and Papanui Roads, and towards the Merivale, St. Albans and Papanui shopping centres. The presence of the elite would also have encouraged further development of such shops. Between approximately 1920 and 1950 the movement then followed the tram route through Merivale and along Fendalton Road.2

Henry Wigram gives a chronology of 'Notable Events' as an appendix to The Story of Christchurch3. The opening of the first line of the tramway

1 Webster p.95
2 ibid
system from the railway station to Cathedral Square is recorded on 11 December 1879, the tramway to New Brighton on 10 January 1887, and the tramway to Cashmere on 1 December 1898. The tramways to Upper Riccarton and Papanui were obviously too normal to be notable and Fendalton is never 'notable' in its first sixty-five years. Fendalton was also not in Christchurch, which excludes it from mention in some books on Christchurch.

Cashmere developed despite the potential 'barrier' between the hills and Christchurch of industrial and increasingly working class suburbs to the south of the city. The extension of the tramway network facilitated the growth of Cashmere but the opportunity to partake of the views from the hills was very appealing. The fresh air of the hills was also seen as healthy. This became a major social concern from the early 1880s and becoming increasingly a relevant factor in residential location.

Outside the inner city there were no distinctive aspects of Fendalton that gave it the appearance of being significantly more affluent than comparable suburbs around the city such as St. Albans, Opawa, Avonside and Upper Riccarton. Indeed St. Albans, incorporating Merivale, contained the most prestigious of Christchurch homes such as 'Te Koraha', 'Strowan' and 'Elmwood'. These are specifically identified by Terence Hodgson who argues:

The golden age of big house building in New Zealand was the period 1880 to 1910, but this is not to say there were none built out of these decades. And by the term big house, I have chosen to look at those houses that aspired to a measure of extravagance; an extravagance of appearance, size, furnishing, grounds, domestic staff, and social performance. Big houses with none of the above need not apply.4

Ngaio Marsh's description of 'a very big house with a long drive, a lodge at the gates, a horse paddock, carriages and gigs, a motor, grooms, servants and a nanny...'5 has been mistaken6 for 'Daresbury', but was in fact 'Te Koraha' in Merivale, the home of her childhood friends, Maire and Tahu Rhodes.7

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4 Hodgson p.4  
5 Marsh p.36  
6 Canterbury Library Fendalton Local History Fact File 1997  
7 M. Lewis Ngaio Marsh: Wellington, 1991 p.16
The lingering prestige of Opawa being still regarded as a most attractive suburb is apparent. The Cyclopaedia of 1903 noted that 'At the other end of the city, Opawa, with its drooping willows and narrow lanes that follow the course of the pretty Heathcote stream is, in its own way, no less attractive than Fendalton.' Opawa had the early Anglican church of St. Mark which was consecrated in 1865. The Anglican Parish of Opawa was formed in 1870, thirteen years earlier than Fendalton. 'Risingholme' the beautiful house built in 1864 by William Reeves, the father of William Pember Reeves, was only one of many gracious homes in the suburb. Large sections were still available for gentlemen's residences at the turn of the century but the northwest movement, discussed in Chapter 3, became increasingly apparent after 1900.

Cashmere, the hill suburb that would come to challenge Fendalton in popularity in the 1920s, was still only in its infancy in the first decade of the twentieth century. The foundation stone for St. Augustine's Anglican Church was laid in 1907, as a chapel of Sydenham parish. Cashmere became a separate parish in 1923, reflecting the growth of the suburb in the 1920s. The Cashmere Hills enticed a significant number of artists, poets and writers from the city and horizontal suburbs, including Fendalton, as well as professional and retired residents and those seeking an improvement in their health.

At the turn of the century a number of parish vestries were discussing the state of repair of their colonial wooden churches and giving some thought to the erection of a permanent stone building. The Anglican church of St. Mary, Merivale was ten years older than the wooden church of St. Barnabas' Fendalton and concern was being expressed:

By 1900 the old church was beginning to lose its Victorian charm and many began to think it was time to invest in a new building. In 1901 one parishioner wrote to the paper - "Can nothing be done in the direction of building a new church in this parish? The present structure is almost a scandal considering it is situated in probably the most

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8 Cyclopaedia p. 57
9 Mair Homes of the Pioneers, item 11 St. Mark's Vicarage.
10 ibid item 51 Risingholme, Opawa.
11 Ogilvie p.157
12 ibid p.159
wealthy parish in the diocese."^{13}

The perception of the correspondent of the wealth of the Merivale parish in 1901 is significant.

In 1903 St. Barnabas Church, Fendalton was 'a modest wooden building, with bell-tower' and 'with seats for 220 persons'. 'The parish is singular having only one church and one clergyman.\textsuperscript{14} The Vestry of St Barnabas turned its attention at this time to the future construction of a permanent church building in stone, but it was almost another quarter century before the population and the financial situation made this dream a reality. However, already the tradition of good church music had been well established, as the Cyclopedia notes that there is a fine pipe organ that cost 400 pounds, and a well-trained choir The close links between the Anglican parish church and the public school are affirmed, in that the Vicar attends the school on a daily basis and 'a Bible class has been daily held for the last eighteen years, with the very best results.' The Sunday School had an attendance of ninety-five pupils.\textsuperscript{15} The Vicar of Fendalton from 1898 to 1919, Canon Thomas Hamilton, had himself been a headmaster at East Oxford, Carleton and West Eyreton Schools before being ordained in 1881. He was a great advocate of Sunday Schools and Bible in Schools.\textsuperscript{16}

Most houses in the Fendalton area were rather more substantial than ostentatious. Some houses, like 'Willowbrook', provided a home near Christchurch for sheep farming families from more remote parts of Canterbury, such as the Gerards of Snowdon Station. But even Sir George and Lady Clifford's townhouse of 'Avonholme' in Lower Fendalton was never remarked upon as being an opulent architectural gem.

Increasingly, new homes reflected the buoyant New Zealand economy of the turn of the century and the new prosperity of the late Victorian and Edwardian professional middle class. Successful middle class merchants,

\textsuperscript{13} NZFUW p.108
\textsuperscript{14} Cyclopedia p. 195
\textsuperscript{15} ibid
\textsuperscript{16} Macdonald Biography H88
managers and commercial entrepreneurs built the large, new homes within Fendalton at the turn of the century, the most visible and outstanding examples being 'Karewa' built by Frederick Waymouth in 1899 and 'Daresbury' constructed by George Humphreys in 1901. They also enlarged earlier homes, like George Gould at 'Avonbank' who made additions with windows in the roof and other alterations about 1903.17

The development of Edwardian Fendalton was not restricted to the middle classes. The open space and rural character of much of 'Upper' Fendalton in the Edwardian years both permitted and attracted lifestyle settlement of large sections of land by a relatively diverse range of Cantabrians. Some would identify themselves as professional middle class, such as solicitors, architects and bankers and others who were in commerce, insurance or shipping. But householders also included those such as builders, carpenters, small dairy farmers and market gardeners. This was at a time when skilled, self-employed craftsmen, such as carpenters, stonemasons and builders retained a deep sense of 'respectability' and great pride in their mastery of their craft.

With the continued and growing presence within Fendalton of large gentlemen's residences, usually on correspondingly large sections of land, there was an obviously related presence of employees. A considerable number of residents were from the various tiers of domestic service. There were also employment opportunities for gardeners, cowmen, coachmen and grooms, the latter sometimes mutating into chauffeurs during the war years. Mr. Prettejohn was recorded as a groom in 1913 and a chauffeur in 1918 on the occasions when his children were baptised.18 In rural northwest Fendalton there were also government settlements for workers from the 1890s.

There was industry in Fendalton from as early as 1852. Cuddon's brewery was established in 1869 and in 1903 he held ten acres of land on which the maltworks were situated as well as 'a large and convenient

17 Family photographs and information. Mrs. P. Chapman April 1999.
18 St. Barnabas, Fendalton Parish Records of Baptism 1913 - 1918
residence'. There were 'two malthouses and two kilns each of two stories [sic] built in brick and stone. The mill is a three storey-building of iron, erected on concrete foundations four feet high.\textsuperscript{19} This group of buildings would have been a very prominent industrial landmark at the corner of Fendalton Road and Cuddon's Lane (now Straven Road). The brewery had been leased since 1890 by J. McNamara and was known as the Fendalton Brewery. The brewery and malthouse moved from Fendalton about 1903 illustrating both the differentiation of urban areas into specific zones and the expanding suburban character of Fendalton in the early twentieth century.

At the turn of the century the population figures in Fendalton are small and steady. Church records of births, deaths and marriages show little significant alteration in twenty years from about 1890 to 1910, suggesting a fairly stable community. In the neighbouring parish and community of Upper Riccarton certain similarities like farmers and labourers, and differences, such as jockeys and grooms, owing to the proximity of the Riccarton racecourse, are evident in the population and parish statistics about 1901.

The more populous and industrialised character of certain Christchurch suburbs is reflected in a comparison of the baptism registers of the Anglican churches. For the year 1901 there were 42 baptisms in Sydenham, 52 in Addington and 131 at St. Michael's. The growth in population to the east of Christchurch is shown in the 52 baptisms at Holy Trinity, Avonside. St. Mary's Merivale recorded 29 baptisms, but in Opawa there were only 10.\textsuperscript{20} The number of baptisms at St. Barnabas does not rise to 24 until 1908 and 25 in 1909, but actually drops again to 10 and 14 in 1910 and 1911. A marked and steady rise in numbers occurs after World War I. With infant baptism such an accepted social norm in Victorian and Edwardian society these figures may be taken as a reasonably reliable indicator of the numerical presence of families within Fendalton. After 1907 there is a noticeable overall increase and there are fewer baptisms of children from families resident outside the parish.

\textsuperscript{19} ibid p. 291
\textsuperscript{20} Transcripts of Anglican Parish Registers. Canterbury Public Library.
‘Daresbury’  Designed by Samuel Hurst Seager in an English Tudor style, this 50 room, three-storey house was built in 1901 for George Humphreys.
The range of occupations of fathers recorded in the registers is a graphic illustration of the growth of industry in the southern suburbs of Christchurch. The traditional occupations such as farmer, fruitgrower, labourer, baker, bootmaker and blacksmith are now joined in Sydenham by machinist, cycle mechanic, moulder, rivetter and printer. Addington attracted a number of farmers from the countryside beyond, a drover and quite a number of labourers, as well as boilermaker, fitter, cutter and carpenter and retail occupations like florist and hairdresser. The most distinctive feature was the number of baptisms of illegitimate children of unmarried mothers in the Samaritan Home; eight out of fifty-two in 1901. St. Michael's, as the central mother-church, has the whole colourful range of Christchurch society encapsulated in its registers: gentleman, sheepfarmer, medical practitioner, manager, engineer, accountant, schoolmaster, jeweller, police constable, carriage-painter and coach-builder; the old and new crafts and industries and such interesting offerings as whip thong maker and billiard maker. The register of St. Mary's Merivale has twenty-nine baptisms and records two gentlemen, and two 'gaps' who are almost certainly of that status, a clerk in holy orders, three solicitors, three manufacturers and an auctioneer. Four builders, a butcher and two coachbuilders are represented along with five labourers and a domestic servant. The strong Methodist presence in St. Albans, with its special appeal to the working classes, has to be remembered when looking at Merivale records. However, it is clear that social zoning was well advanced in Christchurch by 1901, but Fendalton still displayed a small but interesting mix of rural occupations and urban professionals.

Some evidence of an ageing stratum of the population in the Fendalton district comes from the call of Vestry to the Riccarton Road Board to set aside land for a cemetery. It was thought that the graveyards at St. Peter's, Riccarton, and St. Paul's, Papanui, would soon be closed and it was seven or eight miles to Linwood.\(^{21}\) In response to this request a cemetery was established on Grahams Road. Many of the young 'Pilgrims' of 1850 and early settlers were now nearing 70 or 80 years. Several writers of the time mention the loss of many of the early pioneers. Canon Stack was succeeded by Rev.  

\(^{21}\) SBAGM 10 April 1902
Thomas Hamilton in 1898 and he was to lead Fendalton Parish through to the end of the First World War.

In the Street Directory of 1908-9 there were six roads listed in Bryndwr: Garreg rd, Jeffreys rd, Plinlimmon[sic] st E, Strowan rd, Wairarapa rd and Webbs rd. Bryndwr road was actually listed under Fendalton, but between Glandovey road and Webbs road there was a total of six householders: John Hurst, a farmer; and Michael Coffey, a labourer, between Glandovey and Jeffreys; and Andrew Wallace; William Brandon, a carpenter; Edmond Marriott Dawe; and Robert M. Adair, a fruitgrower.22

It is therefore not surprising that most of the public amenities of early twentieth century civilisation, such as gas, electricity, trams, telephones and sewerage, were later arriving in Fendalton than in other northwest suburbs, such as Lower Riccarton and St. Albans. Because they were not available in Fendalton as early as other popular suburbs this acted to further delay the development of Fendalton, as the availability of such amenities were major attractions to potential professional residents.

Gas was connected to St. Barnabas Church at a cost of L28 in July 1907.23 The gas pipes were laid up Clyde Road from Riccarton in 1907 and it was reported to Vestry that the Schoolroom could be connected anytime.24 The Sunday School Room in Clyde Road was being hired for public meetings regarding the extension of the tramway.25 When gas lighting was installed the kerosene lamps were 'handed to the Rev. C.A. Fraer for use in the proposed Maori Girls' School at Ohoka'.26 A considerable number of financial donations and gifts of this nature are recorded in the Vestry minutes making it apparent that the parish is comparatively prosperous although not ostensibly wealthy at this stage. The convenience of more efficient lighting and heating was an impetus to further property development. Residents were still very tied to

22 Stone's Street Directory 1908-9
23 SBVM 12 July 1907
24 SBVM 15 October 1907
25 SBVM 3 May 1907
26 SBVM 9 April 1908
nature and many meetings of various sorts in the community were still set for
nights when there was a full moon. Water provided a useful source of power
in Fendalton into the 1920s. Families had wells or bores for household supply
but waterwheels and rams continued to be used on some properties to raise
water to header tanks.

Electricity, generated at Lake Coleridge on the Upper Rakaia River,
provided the first cheap household electricity in to Christchurch in April
1915.27 In 1920 ELECTRIC LIGHT captured the reader's attention in a
Riccarton advert, and St. Albans had 'electric light throughout', but Fendalton
could only offer 'h. and c. service, gas and fittings and the usual modern
conveniences'.28

The Christchurch telephone exchange was on the first floor of the Post
Office building in Cathedral Square and opened in 1881 with 30 subscribers.
On 31 March 1902 there were 1164 subscribers. The connection cost for a
private subscriber not more than a mile away was five pounds per annum, with
an additional two pounds per mile general charge beyond this.29 Most of
Fendalton lay two to three miles from the Square. William Cuddon's
malthouse and mills at Fendalton had telephone number 39530 and Henry
Cotterill, a solicitor living at the Hagley Park end of Fendalton Road, had
number 45131, one of the very few to list a private number. The listed private
residences of solicitors in 1903 included Madras Street and Crescent Road, St.
Albans; Durham Street, Sydenham; and 'Avebury', Richmond, although most
offices were in the central city. There was certainly no conspicuous preference
for Fendalton. Telephone and gas were not connected to the Vicarage until
1912.32

House numbering reached Fendalton in 1909. The House Enumerator
for the Riccarton Road Board wished to know whether the Vestry would

27 Rice p.73
28 Press 18 October 1920
29 Cyclopedia p. 147
30 ibid p. 291
31 ibid p. 244
32 SBAGM 12 April 1912
accept the no.(149) allotted to the Vicarage. The Vestry declined desiring to have the Vicarage known by its distinctive title and not by a number.\textsuperscript{33} House names may be criticised as an example of elitist ostentation, but they were equally an affirmation of individuality and in this instance also a rural resistance to urban encroachment.

In 1906 Ken Smith was driving a 12 horsepower 16 seater Stirling bus to Fendalton.\textsuperscript{34} 'The omnibus service of Christchurch is a most useful supplement to the tram system.\textsuperscript{35} Ngaio Marsh writes of waiting with 'other Fendaltonians' for the teacher to see them 'on the bus' when they 'heared a clatter of hooves in the quiet street' and it was the Governor in his carriage escorted by mounted policemen. Marsh obviously was anticipating a motor bus.\textsuperscript{36} The information that the omnibus ran every 20 minutes to Papanui\textsuperscript{37} was deemed worthy of specific mention in the Cyclopaedia. It was a motor bus that provided public transport to the Braco Workers' Settlement in 1908.\textsuperscript{38}

A transcript of the interview with a tenant of the Braco Settlement by a Parliamentary Commission was published in 1905.\textsuperscript{39} Charles John Wood was a New Zealand-born carpenter who held 3 acres of land at Fendalton under lease in perpetuity at a rent of L8 a year. He had been there since the beginning of the settlement and was supportive of the scheme. Wood believed that the scheme was useful and if anyone decided to sell out then they 'have very little trouble disposing of their section.' Wood's responses are thoughtful, perhaps a little reticent, but also informative. When asked whether he thought that the rents in the cities had increased out of all proportion to the increase in wages, he replied that he thought that the reason for the increase in rents was 'that people are building a better class of house than they used to.' And as to whether he thought that 'excessive rent is becoming a serious handicap to the city dweller' Wood replied that he couldn't say for certain because he did not

\textsuperscript{33}SBVM 2 December 1909
\textsuperscript{34}Vintage Car Club Canterbury Branch Archives.( verbal info. 6 December 1999)
\textsuperscript{35}Cyclopaedia p. 63
\textsuperscript{36}Marsh p.44
\textsuperscript{37}Cyclopaedia p. 62
\textsuperscript{38}N.Z. Census of Population 1908
\textsuperscript{39}AJHR, 1905, C-4 pp.618-619
live in the town. Charles John Wood was satisfied with his three acres and a cow, but only because he also had a trade: 'it is impossible for a man to make a living off three acres'. Wood has been able to erect a four-roomed house with verandah on his land. In the street directory for 1908 15 householders in the Braco settlement are listed. Two are women. By occupation, 4 are farmers, 4 labourers, 1 carpenter (C.J. Wood) 1 woolclasser, 2 gardeners, and 1 not described. Children from the Settlement attended Fendalton School.

There was a horse and dray that brought children to Fendalton School, stopping outside the Old St. Barnabas Hall on the corner of Clyde and Burnside Roads. It was familiarly known as the 'Fendalton Drag'. There was no school northwest of Fendalton so the school served the rural areas, as well as the growing professional suburb. But the personal and professional reputations of Samuel Bullock and Ray Blank (from 1923) as headmasters, attracted pupils from outside the immediate school district. Rev. Thomas Hamilton referred to Delamain's coach bringing children from outside the district to the school and this business was apparently sited in Victoria Square.

In 1906 Fendalton was included in the Riccarton Riding of Selwyn County for the Census of Population. Fendalton was described as a 'village'. There were 32 people living in the Braco Settlement, and 56 in Bryndwr. 42 people lived along Fendalton Road. Only 13 people lived along Queen's Avenue and 33 in Holmwood Road. There were a number of large properties, like 'Mona Vale', 'Avonbank' and Sir George Clifford's property, 'Avonholme', that resisted the trend to closer settlement and increased population. The population of Lower Fendalton was predictably more numerous than the rural northwest, given the relative proximity of the city. However, it is significant that despite this relative proximity, development is still later in Fendalton than in St. Albans, Papanui and Lower Riccarton.

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40 Fendalton School Centennial Celebration 1975
41 Hamilton p.203
42 Macdonald Biography F.W. Delamain
43 Census of Population 29 April 1906 p. 20.
44 Census 1906 p. 73
A remarkable transition started to take place in Fendalton from about 1905 and this change was accelerated after 1907. The decision of the Tramway Board to extend the tram network along Holmwood Road and Fendalton Road to the railway line in April 1907 was both the result of a perceived need, but even more so a catalyst for further development. Mr. George Witty, M.H.R. for Riccarton, noted in his address that it 'was tramways that make a success of the district'. George Humphreys was on the Tramways Board and was recognised as the 'moving spirit in getting Fendalton its tramline'. The inaugural trip in a 'double-decker drawn by one of those powerful steam engines' made the journey from town in twenty minutes. George Humphreys had built 'Daresbury Rookery' just beyond the railway line and there was already residential development in Wood Lane and Holmwood Road. George Humphreys also owned some land along Fendalton Road near Idris Road that he and the joint owner H.D. Meares were subdividing in May 1905. It was very clearly also in Mr. Humphreys' interests as a property developer to promote the extension of the tramway.

The tramline that had reached to the railway line in 1907 was extended to the Clyde Road-Fendalton Road corner in 1909. There was a subdivision of land on the northwest corner of this intersection in 1908. The extension of the tramline clearly encouraged the subdivision and development of land in the heart of Fendalton and provided convenient access to the commercial and educational facilities of the city. There was neither demographic nor economic incentive for the tramline to be extended further west into the rural farmland before 1914. Coldstream was subdivided in 1916 during World War I, and by the time Chilcomb was subdivided in 1924 motorbuses and private cars were challenging the tramway network.

The inner-city network of sewers was completed by 1903. In the suburbs there was an extension of the network, particularly after 1909. Earth closets and night soil collection continued until sewer pipes were laid which was in the late 1920s in some areas of Upper Fendalton and Bryndwr. Being

45 Press 11 January 1969
46 SBVM 18 May 1905
47 Rice p.72
connected to the sewer was an advertising point in some sales notices. Many of these signs of modernity were occurring in concert and provided an increasing impetus for change and the outward expansion of housing development.

Many runholder town houses had been constructed on small farms or at least very spacious blocks in a variety of suburbs around the city, including St. Albans, Avonside and Opawa. The Papanui Road locality was the preferred venue for many beautiful and imposing residences, such as 'Strowan', 'Elmwood' and 'Te Koraha'. It is interesting to note that the Presbyterian independent schools of St. Andrew's College and Rangi Ruru Girls' School have preserved the heritage buildings of 'Strowan' and 'Te Koraha' on the school grounds, while the architectural gem of 'Elmwood' was 'obliterated in 1954 and an intermediate school now occupies the site.48 Most 'Grand Houses' in Christchurch were not particularly ostentatious relative to their English counterparts, but in the New Zealand context such houses were the 'opulent' homes of the elite. 'Te Koraha', 'Fitzroy', in Merivale and St. Albans, and McLean's mansion of 'Holly Lea' may be placed in this category. None of these was in Fendalton because when they were constructed preferred sites for such gentlemen's residences were closer to town or Papanui Road.

It was around 1900 that a new fashion in large house construction became visible in Fendalton. Many of the larger homes throughout the suburbs of Christchurch may be described as a colonial reflection of English 'middle class' residential aspirations, but in the 1880s and 1890s colonial style architectural features and quite distinctive New Zealand motifs were often included in their design. 'Thornycroft', built by George Humphreys in 1893 on former 'Bryndwr' land by the Wairarapa Stream, was a fine example of this New Zealand colonial two-storey villa. Most of these homes were built of wood, and frequently in Fendalton such homes had even more spacious grounds than equivalent homes in the fashionable suburbs of English Victorian towns. At the turn of the century two large homes were constructed on the boundaries of Fendalton out of permanent materials and in an architectural

48 Hodgson p.23
style that proclaimed Canterbury's English heritage. Both these homes were constructed on large sections of land purchased out of the Deans' 'Riccarton' estate. 'Karewa' was approached from Irvine Street, Lower Riccarton, and was the home of Frederick Waymouth until purchased by the recently widowed, Annie Quayle Townend in 1905, and renamed 'Mona Vale'. This Lower Riccarton home was reminiscent of an English manor house, but with a Maori name and grounds that reflected both European and indigenous landscaping and planting. The name change to 'Mona Vale' came from Britain via Australian links, but illustrates the start of a cultural shift at this time back towards personally significant overseas and predominantly English names for homes. Annie Townend also changed her address. She purchased a further nine acres to add to the original four acres of land.\textsuperscript{49} By having a new gatehouse or lodge constructed beside Fendalton Road and the main access to 'Mona Vale' now being a sweeping driveway beside the Wairarapa Stream from Fendalton Road, the house and grounds were now described as Fendalton. The second such home was 'Daresbury'.

George Humphreys purchased several lots of land out of a subdivision of 'Riccarton' in the late 1890s to provide the landscaped site for his beautiful new home of 'Daresbury', which was completed in 1901. Designed by Samuel Hurst Seager this house is the clearest statement of the early English architectural heritage of Fendalton at the turn of the century. 'Daresbury' was very much in the vanguard of a cultural expression that was to flower most prolifically in the 1920s. This cultural expression revealed itself in that decade through the building of a significant number of large English-style homes, set in beautiful 'English' gardens, and in the construction an 'English village' stone church in Fendalton. However, the largest proportion of homes built in this large and diverse suburb of Fendalton in the next forty years would be suburban wooden villas, varying in size from very spacious to quite modest, on sections of complementary proportions.

The prosperity of the first decade of the twentieth century in Christchurch enabled more families to enjoy the perceived benefits of

\textsuperscript{49} Greenaway p. 11
suburban life. In 1908 R.A. Loughnan wrote that:

the suburban element is a striking feature of the town life of Christchurch. The labour of the day over, the merchant retires to his villa in the suburbs, and the banker and the professional man are with him in train or tram, each bound homewards. These villas are roomy houses, handsome for the most part, centres of a graceful hospitality, for which the ample reception-rooms are specially suited. Spacious lawns, gardens, plantations, and shrubberies are about them, and often there are fields. 50

Certain Fendalton properties for a long time resisted the pressure and enticement to subdivide. 'Avonbank', the Fendalton home of George and Helen Gould, was built by earlier owners and the property originated in the first decade of Canterbury settlement. George Gould bought the property in 1891 and made his home there. 51 It was enlarged and upstairs windows added in the earliest years of the twentieth century. It was a very pleasant and spacious gentleman's residence on about eleven acres. A house on Fendalton Road, adjacent to the driveway was home to the gardener cum chauffeur and a number of domestic servants 'lived-in'.

The subdivision that started in earnest about 1907 brought professional couples to Fendalton. These couples frequently delayed marriage until their late twenties and early thirties and families were often limited to only two or three children. Large families like the Canon Hamilton's twelve children were a Victorian fashion and persisted generally only in labouring families, such as the O'Callaghan's from Bryndwr in the St. Barnabas records. Consequently the tragic death of any son in the First World War was an even greater loss to these smaller nuclear families. Professional families were the first to reduce family size and their sons were among the young men killed in Gallipoli and in France. The Fendalton parish community made a concerted effort to raise the necessary funds to build the stone church in 1926 as a Memorial Church for those killed in the Great War.

In a number of locations in Fendalton property was retained intact for many years in the hands of a widow. Mrs. Inwood, widow of Daniel Inwood,

50 R.A. Loughnan New Zealand at Home. London, 1908 p. 45
who had died in 1878, did not subdivide land on the corner of Fendalton Road
and Straven Road (Brewery Lane) until 1907. The land had been in the family
since 1862 and the property remained intact for some fifty years from 1862 to
1907. The advertisement in the newspaper\(^\text{52}\) emphasised this aspect of the
ownership. The Hamner holding was not subdivided until 1922 over forty
years after the death of Philip Hamner, and a ten acre block of RS 102,
occupied by Helen Gould at 'Avonbank' until the late 1950s, remained largely
intact for a hundred years. Unmarried daughters also retained family land
intact for an extended period of time. The Misses Kate and Rose Gerard at
'Willowbrook' prevented the earlier subdivision of the estate and made a
significant contribution to the local community by making available the
present Fendalton Park.

Having bought 'Willowbrook' from the Acland family of Mt. Peel, the
Gerards of Snowdon Station were also influential in Fendalton and the
Anglican Parish of St. Barnabas. Four Gerard sisters, Kate, Rose, Mary
(Rutherford) and Blanche (Murray Aynsley), all lived as neighbours. These
women were influential members of the Fendalton community. All were on
the subscription list for St. Barnabas Church, some giving regularly for many
years. Blanche Murray Aynsley donated a quarter acre of land behind the
wooden church in 1906\(^\text{53}\), which was fundamental in the consolidation of
property on that site and the later construction of the stone church in 1926.
Kate Gerard taught in the Sunday School for some forty years and the
donations of Kate and Rose Gerard assisted in the construction and
embellishment of the stone church.

Reeves noted in 1898 that 'Though the National School system is
secular, it is not anti-Christian' and '11,000 persons teach 105,000 children in
Sunday-schools.'\(^\text{54}\) This commitment was not limited to the gentry and
professional middle class but to the 'respectable' skilled working class too. The
attendance of women and children at St. Barnabas' Anglican church, even in
the face of a father's abrogation of his responsibilities, is attested by Ngaio

\(^{52}\) \textit{Press} 3 April 1907
\(^{53}\) SBVM 12 June 1906
\(^{54}\) W. P. Reeves p.401
Marsh, who notes that 'In spite of his anti-religious views my father can have made no objection to my being taken to our parish church or taught to say my prayers.'\textsuperscript{55} Her mother 'certainly respected and subscribed to the Anglican faith but she was not an ardent churchwoman.'\textsuperscript{56} From Loughnan's perspective the churches were full on Sunday morning, with families in their 'best "bib and tucker"'.\textsuperscript{57}

The Anglican Church of St Barnabas was the natural centre of community social activities. At times a confidence and community spirit is recorded. At the Easter Parish meeting in 1901 Mr T.W.N. Beckett added, "When anything was wanted in Fendalton, Fendalton did it." Where there are references to parish socials and a Dramatic Society in the nineteenth century the scope for voluntary associations grew dramatically with both the new interest in group activities and the increase in the Fendalton population. In 1908 Vestry received an application from 'a Mr. A. Wilson and others representing 50 boys who desired to form a "Young Men's Club" and meet regularly in the Sunday School room. Vestry approved the suggestion on condition that members take care of the property and 'discourage larrikinism in the Club and outside'.\textsuperscript{58} Fendalton School lacked a large hall and used the St. Barnabas Sunday School room for a number of meetings. Residents remember the wooden building serving as a community hall until the late 1950s.

The noticeably growing local population was remarked upon by Vestry. 'In view of the large influx of parishioners it was agreed that the Vicar and Churchwardens compile a card of Services and other information for distribution to new parishioners.'\textsuperscript{59} In time these newcomers also motivated the creation of a number of voluntary associations in the parish community. At the parish meeting in 1910 the Vicar identified the groups that had started up, including Boy Scouts (with twenty-eight members), Girls' Peace Scouts and the Fendalton Girls Guild. Smaller families gave Edwardian ladies scope for

\textsuperscript{55} Marsh p. 18  
\textsuperscript{56} ibid p. 67  
\textsuperscript{57} Loughnan p. 47  
\textsuperscript{58} SBVM 20 February 1908  
\textsuperscript{59} SBVM 23 November 1908
greater social participation. The Mothers' Union was also founded in Fendalton in 1909 in keeping with the contemporary emphasis on homes and families. A Sunday School kindergarten had been started and this was the first of its kind in the diocese. Young professional families with their concerns for education were making an impact in the community.

The Jubilee Room, which had been added to enlarge the Sunday School in 1903, held eight infants under eight years in 1910. The next year the Vicar was calling for new facilities to be built as at Christmas fifty-four infants 'were crammed into the Jubilee Room "like herrings in a sardine box" and in utter defiance of all laws sanitary and scholastic'. 'A small outlay (such as would suffice to buy a new motor-car - "an absolute necessity!" would enable the room to be built.' In 1912 the Vicar's report also draws attention to the changing face of Fendalton. The population of the parish is increasing very rapidly indeed, and whole streets have sprung into existence in the last three of four years. The increasing number of children in the district prompted the calling of a special meeting 'to consider the question of building a small Mission Room and Sunday School in the vicinity of Wroxton. Heaton Rhodes was subdividing land on Straven Road and offered a quarter acre section number 56 at £125 with a £25 subscription to the church to offset the cost. Vestry expressed thanks for what they saw as a 'liberal offer'.

As was the case with many of the prosperous colonial families, donations and contributions to the ecclesiastical and spiritual well-being of the local community was seen as a responsibility that was inextricably linked with their social position and reinforced by their education and expected norms. The extent of the giving and the personal motives have been variously interpreted by social historians. Richard Greenaway records that Annie Quayle Townend, as a memorial to her father, gave £30,000 to the Anglican diocese to acquire land for a church and vicarage and to endow a vicar's stipend at

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60 SBAGM 28 April 1910
61 SBAGM 21 April 1911
62 SBAGM 12 April 1912
63 SBVM 20 December 1910
64 SBVM 6 April 1911
Glenmark. However as 'the newspapers castigated the wool baron', George Henry Moore,' as "mean, barbarous, hard-hearted, blasphemous" this gift from his long-suffering daughter was possibly intended to go some way to expiate his sins! Annie Quayle Townend nee Moore was married in 1900 at St Barnabas. Although she purchased 'Mona Vale' and undertook several important additions and alterations to the grounds it was only one of several homes Annie Townend owned when she died in 1914.

The purchase by the McLean Institute of 'Quarnby' retained a large section of land intact in the heart of Fendalton. Under the terms of the will of Allan McLean provision was made for the establishment of the McLean Institute. He wanted his mansion of 'Holly Lea' in Manchester Street to be a home for 'women of refinement and education in reduced or straitened circumstances.' His housekeeper had the use of the house for her lifetime so the trustees looked for another property. That the Board of Governors decided to purchase a property in Fendalton in 1909 suggests that a large house and land was available at a reasonable price in an area that was thought appropriate for such indigent gentlewomen. T.G Russell's 9 room, two-storey, wooden home 'Quarnby' on five acres at fronting Fendalton Road, with porter's cottage and outbuildings was purchased for £5142.6 The tramline was shortly afterwards extended along Fendalton Road to the Clyde Road intersection. This five-acre block was one of those first subdivided in 1864 after Walpole Fendall sold up Rural Section 18. It was immediately next to the five acre 'Heathfield' property that was subdivided in 1913. The name 'Holly Lea' was transferred to the 'Quarnby' property in 1957.

Churches other than Anglican were peripheral to Fendalton. Sir George Clifford of Stonyhurst had a town house in lower Fendalton. Coming from an ancient and staunch Roman Catholic family with links in Yorkshire and Lancashire, England, he gave much support to the construction of the

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66 ibid p. 11
67 quoted from his will in Fendalton Local History Fact File no 5 Canterbury Library 1997
68 Fendalton Local History Fact File no. 5 1997
Cathedral of the Blessed Sacrament in Barbadoes Street and later encouraged the growth of St. Teresa's in Riccarton. William Boag and the Deans family both encouraged Presbyterian church development in Papanui and Riccarton. When land was divided on the Riccarton estate in 1903 Mrs Deans allocated a quarter acre section in Puriri Street for the Presbyterian church of St. Ninian.

A person's education contributed greatly to their social standing. The rapid development of business, commerce and industry in Christchurch required a literate and numerate population. In 1898 William Pember Reeves wrote that less than 'two percent of the Colony's children go to the secondary schools.... It is her primary education that is the strength and pride of New Zealand.' A considerably higher proportion of boys from Fendalton were attending Christ's College and Christchurch Boys High School.

The cultural and educational character of the north west quadrant of Christchurch which already housed Christ's College and Canterbury University College was enhanced by Christchurch Boys' High School along Worcester Street, Christchurch Girls' High School, the Normal School, Cathedral Grammar and St. Margaret's College around Cranmer Square, as well as Teachers' College in Peterborough Street. The educational centre of gravity was therefore sited in the west of the city. The existence and gradual evolution of this cultural and educational nucleus across Hagley Park from Fendalton created a growing attraction for professional families to the inner northwestern suburbs.

During the second and third decades of the twentieth century there was a movement of both independent and state educational facilities from the city towards the northwest. Christchurch Boys' High School was relocated from Worcester Street to Straven Road, Riccarton in 1926, St. Andrew's College was re-established in Hagley Avenue in 1915 but thanks to a legacy from Duncan Rutherford, was able to purchase George Stead's house and property of 'Strowan' on Papanui Road in 1917. St. Margaret's College,

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69 Macdonald Biography C385
70 Reeves p. 407
established near Cranmer Square in 1910 acquired boarding facilities in Merivale in 1922, but did not finally relocate to Winchester Street until 1959.\textsuperscript{71} Rangi Ruru Girls' School, established in Webb's Road, St. Albans by the Gibson sisters, relocated to 'Te Koraha' in 1928.\textsuperscript{72}

Primary education was always an important consideration in the Fendalton community. In 1903 Fendalton District School was a single storey wooden structure of four rooms, standing on two acres of land on Clyde Road. It could officially accommodate about 260 children. The roll number was 275 with an average attendance of 230. There were three certificated teachers and a pupil teacher in addition to the headmaster.\textsuperscript{73} Samuel Bullock came from Shrewsbury in Shropshire, England, and arrived in Canterbury in 1884 with teaching qualifications, and experience gained in three British schools. The infant headmistress was Miss Catherine Mary Tulley, who had been born in Canterbury and educated at Riccarton School. In 1903 she used to cycle over from her home at 'Middleton'. She had been appointed to Fendalton School in 1879\textsuperscript{74} and in those days rode on horseback to the Clyde Road School. The continuity of years of service of these members of staff illustrates the stability and rural-community character of Fendalton at the turn of the century.

The very close bonds between Fendalton School and the Anglican Parish Church continued into the twentieth century. Samuel Bullock, the headmaster from 1884 to 1908,\textsuperscript{75} was a staunch parishioner and Vestry member; and the Vicar of Fendalton from 1898 to 1919, Canon Thomas Hamilton, had himself been a headmaster at East Oxford, Carleton and West Eyreton Schools before being ordained in 1881. He was also a great advocate of Sunday Schools and Bible in Schools.\textsuperscript{76} Mrs Julia Bullock was headmistress of the infant department of the Normal School in Cranmer Square.\textsuperscript{77}
Fendalton School was a moderate-sized country school with few modern facilities in the first two decades of the twentieth century. The increasing roll was evidence of the growing local population and also the popularity of the school within the neighbouring district. Mr. T. Irvine was appointed Headmaster in 1912 and a house across the road from the school, 157 Clyde Road, was purchased as the new schoolhouse. There was still night soil collection and in 1916 there was discussion about the necessity of installing septic tanks. In 1917 two further acres of land were purchased next to the school for £900 but in 1919 the School buildings were reported to be in a bad state of repair and there had been no painting or maintenance for more than ten years. 1921 saw funds raised for a piano and a library, but there was still no electric light. The school roll now stood at 214. In 1923 Ray Blank became the headmaster of Fendalton District School and was able to take advantage of the interest in education of the time to become the key player in the provision of the remarkably improved facilities for which the school became renowned after 1924.\footnote{M. Lawrence 'History of Fendalton Open Air School' 1975}

Fendalton School was a suitable choice for the new Open Air Classrooms because it was an older school with a growing roll and desperately in need of new buildings and upgraded facilities. In 1924 it was not just because it was 'Fendalton' that the school was selected for upgrading. However, the growing influx of local residents included many that were themselves well educated with numerically small families. These parents of the 1920s were very keen to enhance the educational opportunities for their two or three children.

Education and Health had been very prominent public issues in Canterbury since the 1870s and they gained a new momentum after the First World War. The new Vicar, Hugh Leach, launched a Parish Magazine in April 1920 and its contents give several insights into the life and interests of Fendalton. The Vicar wrote that "Educate, educate, educate" is the cry of our age' and within a few years several important educational initiatives had been undertaken within the Fendalton district; Medbury School was opened in
1923, Fendalton District School on Clyde Road was transformed into the Open Air School in 1924, and Christchurch Boys' High School moved in 1926 from the 'academic precinct' in Worcester Street into the new architecturally-distinguished buildings and spacious playing fields on the former Riccarton estate.

Medbury School, an independent preparatory school for boys, was established in a large house in Fendalton in 1923. 'Medbury' was the name of Mrs. Chennells' family home in Surrey.\textsuperscript{79} The house, on almost five acres of land, was built for Mrs. T. Ballantyne in 1900. It was then owned by Wilfrid Hall, whose family named it 'Rua-Taniwha', reflecting the use of Maori names for several homes in the Fendalton area at the turn of the century. The next occupant was Mr E.P.H. Burbury, whose occupation in the Baptism Register in 1915 was 'runholder. He renamed the house 'Ripsford' 'after the site of his family's church in Worcestershire, England, reinforcing the nostalgic family link with 'Home'. 'Ripsford' was a two-storeyed house of about twelve rooms with extensive stables and outbuildings set on a property of four and three quarter acres on Clyde Road, 'which was still a semi-rural gravel road along which horse-drawn traffic made its way from surrounding homesteads and farms...'. 'Rough hedges of gorse and hawthorn enclosed a horse paddock of about three acres which could be improved to make a suitable playing field.' The price was £5000.\textsuperscript{80} In comparison, the Fendalton Vicarage, and almost five acres of land, immediately over the Waimairi Stream from 'Medbury', had sold in 1919 for £3500. The Chennells chose this site for their school in the belief that by 1923 Fendalton was growing as a prosperous and populous suburb that would naturally provide a local source of dayboys, who may be destined for Christ's College. It was hoped that the healthy, semi-rural aspect of this location, on the outskirts of Christchurch, would also attract boarders from Canterbury and other South Island farms.

Some delay in the provision of public amenities was due to politics. Fendalton was not a part of Christchurch city and would not in fact become so

\textsuperscript{80} Winnicott p.12
until 1989. Under the provisions of the Waimairi County Act 1909 the Riccarton and Avon Road Districts together with a portion of the Selwyn County constituted the new Waimairi County Council in 1910. In 1910 there were nine ridings in the new county of Waimairi: Styx, Belfast, Marshland, Avon, Papanui, Harewood, Fendalton, Middleton and Riccarton. One member was elected for each riding. It is interesting that the ancient term of 'riding' from Yorkshire was introduced for the new districts, particularly as riding means *thirding* and there are only three in Yorkshire! Perhaps the logic was that there were three times three in Waimairi! It is worthy of note that at the very time when subdivision and population growth were becoming apparent in Fendalton, and the suburb's links with Christchurch have just been strengthened by the tramlines, that it was still incorporated within the rural county boundaries.

It is significant that the perception of Fendalton’s best interests was with a County Council. There were letters to the Press concerning a petition calling for inclusion with the city and raising fears of higher rates. Higher property values, lack of urban amenities and a rural awareness seem to have guided the decision to remain aloof from the city. In consequence some of the amenities enjoyed in the city were delayed in their arrival in Fendalton. By the First World War Fendalton portrayed many embellishments of urban sophistication and gentility and yet the appeal of the rural English village remained. This is probably one of the keys to the lasting appeal of Fendalton: close to the culture of Christchurch and yet within its large tree-lined and stream-bounded gardens there are still havens of rustic tranquility.

The first meeting of the Waimairi County Council took place on 17 May 1910 in the former Avon Road Board office in Marshland. Samuel Bullock, the long serving headmaster of Fendalton School (and former Churchwarden at St. Barnabas Church), represented Fendalton Riding. The affairs of Fendalton had up to that date been decided in the Riccarton Road Board office that had been for many years beside the Waimairi Stream on

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81 *Press* 2 April 1907
82 National Archives of NZ Agency Documentation 14
Clyde Road. Fendalton was not sufficiently influential to retain the offices in its district in 1910. It was resolved that future meetings should be held at Papanui and in 1911 new chambers for the Waimairi County Council were opened on the Main North Road near the Sawyers Arms Hotel.\textsuperscript{83} When Riccarton Borough was established in 1913 part of Riccarton and Middleton went from the County to the Borough.

By 1911 Fendalton was one of the nine ridings of Waimairi County and had a population of 1668 compared with 2889 for Riccarton, 2291 for Middleton and 2013 for Papanui. Of the residents in the riding 1263 lived in Fendalton Village and 61 lived in Bryndwr. Seven roads were also specifically listed as part of Fendalton Riding including Holmwood, Iiam and Clyde. In the Harewood Riding there were also 27 people who lived in the vicinity of Fendalton, which would have been the northwest end of Burnside Road.\textsuperscript{84} By 1916 the population of Fendalton was still only 1796, but a number of the young male population would have been absent overseas.\textsuperscript{85} With so many young men overseas during the War there had been a need for elderly clergy to continue their ministering in the diocese. On the declaration of the Armistice in November 1918, Canon Hamilton felt free to announce his retirement.

It was an appropriate time for a change and the transition reflected a wider social transition about 1919. Canon Thomas Hamilton was a bearded gentleman with a large Victorian family. For twenty-one years he and his wife had resided, with their abundant family, in the robust two-storey Vicarage, with its acres of glebe land, stable and paddocks. They were all great patrons of the bicycle.\textsuperscript{86} The young generation of Hamiltons married into local families.\textsuperscript{87} The Vicar and his extended family provided a strong sense of continuity in the Fendalton community in spite of the concerns and relative insecurity of the War years. Canon Hamilton would have preferred to live in Fendalton in his retirement. He wrote that '[W]e had deep roots in Fendalton

\textsuperscript{83} ibid
\textsuperscript{84} Census of Population 1911 p. 80
\textsuperscript{85} Census of Population 1916 p. 30
\textsuperscript{86} Hamilton p.210
\textsuperscript{87} ibid p.203
and would have liked to end our days there, but owing to the Great War properties had gone up to unbelievable figures and we could not manage it.\textsuperscript{88}

The appointment of Rev. Hugh Leach in 1919 heralded a clean-shaven, modern, suburban age in Fendalton. The Vicar and his family moved into the modern bungalow on the corner section on Fendalton Road and Tui Street. The automobile age was well advanced and 'motor sheds' were being erected on smaller, regularly shaped suburban sections. Not that the old era had disappeared; it was slowly merging into the new in Fendalton. On the recently purchased section, between the old wooden church and the new Vicarage on Fendalton Road, there was a motor shed and nearby someone was unlawfully grazing a cow in 1919\textsuperscript{89}

Post-War inflation was illustrated in 1919 in the allocation of an increased stipend to 300 pounds per annum from 250 to the Vicar 'and it was felt that the amount should be increased as the parish was well able to pay.\textsuperscript{90} The Vicar's stipend had remained at 250 pounds since 1902. At the first Vestry meeting in 1920, after the arrival of the new Vicar, Rev. Hugh Leach, the stipend was again increased, this time to 400 pounds.\textsuperscript{91}

Changes in the residential population of the parish were clearly evident by 1919. The Vicar, Canon Thomas Hamilton remarked in his address to the Easter Annual General Meeting of the Parish of Fendalton that 'newcomers scarcely know the names of those who took part in the formation of the parish in 1884\textsuperscript{92}. But it is also evident from the negotiations for land for the new church site that the parish had to be careful with its funds, as the suggestion of a church with seating for 450 was altered to 350\textsuperscript{93}, despite the steadily increasing population of the district. The Vicar noted that a number of parishioners were transferred quite frequently in their professional careers.\textsuperscript{94}

\textsuperscript{88} ibid p. 211
\textsuperscript{89} SBVM 12 September 1919
\textsuperscript{90} SBVM 15 May 1919
\textsuperscript{91} SBVM 29 April 1920
\textsuperscript{92} SBAGM Minutes 29 April 1919
\textsuperscript{93} SBVM 15 May 1919
\textsuperscript{94} SBAGM Minutes 20 April 1921
Fendalton Vicarage
The two-storey wooden vicarage was constructed in 1886 of heart kauri on the five acres of glebe land bordering Clyde Road.

Rev. Hugh Leach
Vicar of Fendalton 1919-1929

Rev. Canon Thomas Hamilton
Vicar of Fendalton 1898-1919

The New Vicarage 1919
This house on the corner of Tui Street and Fendalton Road was purchased by the Parish in 1919, when the original vicarage and glebe land was sold.
Whereas before the turn of the century there was quite a remarkable stability in the population of Fendalton, there is increasing evidence of residential transiency in the twentieth century as the growing numbers of young professional men were transferred by their employers or chose to change location in the pursuit of career advancement.

The decision was made in 1919 to sell the five acres of glebe land on Clyde Road. This was Reserve 51 that had been set aside by the Canterbury Association in 1852 for the site of a church, vicarage and school. Approval had been given by the Church Property Trustees to put a road through the land, where the driveway to the Vicarage left Clyde Road. This future road was later named Hamilton Street (then renamed Avenue) after the Vicar. Sections had been surveyed and at the September meeting the Vestry had suggested that the asking price of 225 pounds should be reduced to 200 pounds for certain sections to 'affect a quick sale'. The general preference was for the sale of the land and Vicarage intact (minus the Sunday School Room) for the asking price of 4000 pounds. At the December meeting it was announced that Mr. Bates had purchased the property for 3500 pounds. This was a property of almost 5 acres with a 20 year-old solid kauri two-storeyed house. It was probably an opportune time to sell, as there was widespread financial depression in 1921 to 1922 noted at the Easter 1922 annual parish meeting.

Advertisements of times in the Press of Religious services in 1900 were limited to the Non-Conformist churches. In October 1910 the Cathedral advertised times and there was a special festival at St. Mary's Addington. Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist and Gospel church services were all listed. By 1915 'Religious Services' had become 'Sunday Announcements' and there were thirty-five announcements of all sorts of groups, sects and meetings. Heading the list under Anglican was the Cathedral, a special Church of

95 SBVM 21 October 1919
96 Land Information NZ ID232
97 SBVM 12 September 1919
98 SBVM 21 October 1919
99 SBVM 12 December 1919
100 SBAGM 28 April 1922
England Men's Society Meeting at St. Michael's and again the festival of St. Mary's Addington. The pattern was repeated in 1920 but there is a noticeable expansion of listings by 1925.

In 1925 the Anglican Church still headed the list of religious services in the *Press*, and the Cathedral understandably led the Anglican section, followed by St. Michael's, St. Luke's and St. John's within the city. St. Mary's Merivale came next followed by St. Mary's Addington, and the last of the seven Anglican churches, whose services were advertised, was New Brighton Anglican Church. St. Barnabas Church at Fendalton was consistently conspicuous by its absence, if one were seeking a fashionable church in a populous suburb. 1925 may be explicable in that the new stone church was in the process of construction behind the smaller wooden church. But advertising the times of services may have attracted a larger congregation thus contributing to the new building expenses. It would seem more plausible that in 1925 St Barnabas, Fendalton was still a church serving its own semi-rural parish.

Questions have been recently raised about how a gentleman might fall from grace and be excluded from the 'elite'. Reeves commented that '[I]n his own small world his social standing is a settled thing and cannot be injured otherwise than by his own folly or misconduct.' Some of that folly or misconduct may of course be simply the perception of others. In the 'genteel' or professional middle class world of Fendalton, in the early decades of the twentieth century, social position was still evident. James McCombs was advancing through social mobility by the purchase for £1000 of the five-acre block and house of 'Adare' on Fendalton Road next to St. Barnabas Church in 1904. It was a good move both socially and in potential land speculation. It was at this very time that the Vestry was considering the acquisition of a little more land around the wooden church on the Fendalton Road site. Vestry were aware that McCombs was planning to subdivide and decided to make overtures about purchasing a small piece of land on the eastward side of the

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101 Dr. Jim McAloon November 1997 Seminar
102 Reeves p. 408
church, measuring 33 feet by 19 feet.\textsuperscript{103} James McCombs had the opportunity in 1904 and 1907 to display a measure of generosity and to go down in Fendalton history alongside Daniel Inwood and Blanche Murray-Aynsley as donors of land for the local parish church. He also would have gained the appreciation and respect of a number of neighbours. Instead his offers of small sections of land at a high price were declined.\textsuperscript{104}

Reeves gave a definition of 'society'. As a rule, he said:

\begin{quote}

it is not dictated to by "mere money". It is made up of people with incomes mostly ranging from £500 to £2000, with a sprinkling of bachelors of even more modest means. Ladies and gentlemen too poor to entertain others will nevertheless be asked everywhere if they have either brightness or intellect, or have won creditable positions. You see little social arrogance, no attempt at display.\textsuperscript{105}
\end{quote}

Ngaio Marsh's parents come into this category of being well connected.\textsuperscript{106} Rev Canon Thomas Hamilton only had an annual stipend of £250\textsuperscript{107} but as a clergyman of standing would have been welcome and received in most homes but not necessarily invited into the social \textit{milieux}. As we saw in the first chapter William Boag of Burnside, was toasted by the gentlemen of Christchurch for his character and contributions to the Canterbury community.\textsuperscript{108}

E.W. Elkington, a visitor from England, writing in 1906 observed a more reserved and exclusive side of Christchurch and maintained that it was much more difficult to 'get into the swim' than in Auckland or Wellington. 'You might live there for six months and know no one...'\textsuperscript{109} Fortunately he had a social contact who introduced him into society. 'If this hadn't happened I should have been clean out of it, because they have prejudices...for no one in Christchurch would speak to a 'bus driver or a carter though they would in Auckland.'\textsuperscript{110}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[103] SBVM 25 November 1904
\item[104] SBVM 26 November 1907
\item[105] Reeves p. 412
\item[106] Marsh p. 24
\item[107] SBVM 10 April 1902
\item[108] LT 18 January 1875
\item[110] ibid p. 220
\end{footnotes}
James and Elizabeth (Betty) McCombs exemplified a number of trends of their generation in that they were married in their late twenties and had only two children, Terence in 1905 and Patricia in 1910. James was serious minded; a man who studied economic matters, religious theories and dogma, and was working class.\footnote{D. Gee My Dear Girl. A biography of Elizabeth McCombs, New Zealand's first woman member of Parliament, and her husband, James McCombs, member of Parliament for Lyttelton for twenty years. Christchurch, 1993. p. 25} James McCombs attended Sydenham and Christchurch East Schools and left school to go to work in 1888 after passing Standard 6.\footnote{Ibid p. 19} James also maintained a mild interest in the Anglican Church and introduced his children to a local church in Fendalton.\footnote{Ibid p. 20} Both children were christened at St. Barnabas Anglican Church, and James McCombs did feature on the subscription list in 1911. 'Adare', purchased in 1904 and named after the birthplace of Betty McCombs' mother, Mrs. Henderson, was home to an extended family.\footnote{Ibid p. 31} In the cottage behind the house lived a 'couple' who were employed by the McCombs; 'the man did the garden and his wife was cook-housekeeper.\footnote{Ibid p. 40} At this time in the early 1900s the future Labour Members for Lyttelton saw no problem with purchasing a home in Fendalton, subdividing the balance of the five acres into eighteen sections for profit, and employing servants.

The McCombs family was at times caught in the dilemmas of social mobility and politics. 'I think perhaps he was a lonely man, isolated from the working men and from our neighbours in Fendalton'.\footnote{Ibid p. 41} James McCombs' anti-conscription stance was seen by many as disloyal and unpatriotic and he was frequently attacked in the Press.\footnote{Ibid p. 81} The conscription debate illustrates how the general opinion in the heart of Fendalton was imperial, patriotic and conservative.

'The whole debate certainly stirred up the community and it was not without harm to McCombs' own family. Patricia says she and her brother Terry, were persecuted to some extent. She was sent home from the Tomlinsons in Fendalton Road ....After that incident
she rarely played with other children. She was also kept away from school during the war years because of what happened to Terry. Terry was clever and in a class with boys two or three years older than himself. At the height of the conscription row boys carried him the three quarters of a mile from Fendalton School to Adare, dropping him every couple of paces. He was taken away from Fendalton School...but the persecution continued.\textsuperscript{118}

In comparison Hurst Dowling, writing in the Fendalton School Centennial History, noted how he could well remember from 1914 to 1918 'how lustily we sung such patriotic songs as "Three cheers for the Red, White and Blue", "Tipperary" and "Keep the Home Fires Burning."\textsuperscript{119}

The \textit{Press} provided an opportunity for individuals to insert notices about their travel arrangements, holidays and visits to inform their social circle in Canterbury. By scanning these inserts at intervals over the period of study it is possible to gain an insight into the background and residential location of people who considered it of importance or value to insert such personal notices. In 1900 the three or so notices were placed under 'Personal Items' and usually only gave a name and destination; 'Mrs. Robertson and Mrs. Renwick returned to Nelson yesterday'.\textsuperscript{120} By 1910 the Personal Items has noticeably grown to ten or fifteen items. It has moved to page 2 and although still Personal Items has a variety of advertisements intermixed with other items of travel and arrival in Christchurch. The change comes after the War as in 1919 there is a 'Women's Corner' amidst advertisements, weddings and items considered to be of interest to women.

By 1925 the 'Women's Corner' on page 2 of the Press gives a glimpse of several elements of Canterbury society. The Governor General of course came first, as their Excellencies were visiting Christchurch and staying in Riccarton. Seventy-five years, and over two generations since the founding of the Canterbury Settlement, a number of the 'Pilgrims' and early settlers' names are again very visible in the social scene. The Studholmes were staying in Harakeke Road, Riccarton. 'Mrs Arthur Grigg (Longbeach) is staying with her

\textsuperscript{118} ibid p. 67
\textsuperscript{119} ed. Packard, John \textit{Fendalton Open Air School Centennial Celebration}, Christchurch, 1975.
\textsuperscript{120} \textit{Press} 13 October 1900 p.7
mother, Mrs J. Cracroft Wilson (Cashmere). Mrs Henry Bowen had been visiting Mrs. W. Helmore; and the Rutherfords were staying at Warner's Hotel. In 1925 residents were very happy to acknowledge that they lived in Riccarton and the 'myth of Fendalton' was not overwhelming geographical location. Fendalton was certainly present, but not overtly so. For example, Mr. and Mrs. B.A. Bagshawe, Fendalton, informed Canterbury that they had returned from Hanmer Springs. There was a clear and practical value in utilising the press as a means of communication for those Canterbury families who perceived themselves as part of the social network. Most people living in Christchurch would have no cause to go to the expense of inserting a notice concerning their whereabouts. It is significant that a number did.

The residential subdivision of Fendalton started in earnest about 1905. James McCombs had purchased 'Adare' a property of five acres next to St. Barnabas Church in 1904 and was in the process of subdividing eighteen sections to form Tui Street. A saleplan (fig. 7) dated c. 1905 shows the subdivision of a block of land at the corner of Idris Road and Fendalton Road, with the creation of Stratford Road. This road was renamed Kenilworth Road for a number of years before reverting to Stratford Street. There are 41 sections of which the vast majority are approximately quarter-acre lots. Advantages mentioned on the saleplan include the quality of the soil and the distance to the railway station. Idris Road was being widened along the frontage of the sections. Fendalton Road has been widened to the east of the Idris Road intersection but is still a narrow road to the west. The land was being sold on behalf of George Humphreys and H.D. Meares. Humphreys was to be one of the prime movers in the extension of the tramway network from Merivale to the Fendalton railway line.

Mrs. Inwood took advantage of the extension of the tramline to put some of her land on the market in April 1907. The land had been held by the Inwood family since 1862 and formed part of the original Rural Section 80. The saleplan (fig. 8) shows eight lots of land for sale on the southeastern corner of Fendalton Road and Idris Road. The two largest lots near the

121 Press 7 November 1925 p. 2
Waimairi Stream and the mill-cutting (referred to as a creek on the plan) are each over one and a quarter acres, there are two half-acre lots and four quarter acres fronting on to Fendalton Road. What had been Brewery or Cuddon's Lane from Fendalton Road, south to the Waimairi Stream has been renamed Idris Road to correspond with the road to the north. Straven Road has been created on the Riccarton estate beyond the Waimairi Stream, although in 1907 the two roads are not in alignment. Once aligned the name of Straven Road is extended up to Fendalton Road. This subdivision proved very popular and sold within a week.

The next year in 1908 land (fig. 9) on the corner of Clyde Road and Burnside Road was subdivided into 20 lots and put on the market. The largest section of an acre was that containing the original home, usually referred to on plans as 'the homestead block'. The sections varied in size with some half dozen being about half an acre, most about a quarter acre and some down to 35 and even 31 perches. The half-acre sections sold for about £185, the smaller sections £165 and the corner site by the intersection sold for £250. On the location map the two prominent features are Fendalton School and the store near the intersection. An important selling point in 1908 was the site of the proposed tram terminus at the Clyde Road intersection.

Several acres of land between Idris Road and the Wairarapa Stream were sold about 1911. (fig. 10) The opportunity is taken to purchase land for the widening of this section of Idris Road. Stratford Street is known as Kenilworth Road and Wroxton Terrace is Selwyn Road. Eleven sections are for sale with the homestead block being the largest at almost three quarters of an acre whilst the smallest vary from 31 to about 37 perches. The narrow width of the bridge across the Wairarapa Stream is visible with the line of widening marked on the map. Several neighbours are identified on large sections, especially across the Stream on what was the 'Bryndwr' farm. The suburb of Fendalton is described as 'picturesque and popular'. The homestead is described as a three-storey, nine-roomed dwelling 'with all usual modern conveniences'.

1907
fig. 8

CASHEL AND MANCHESTER STREETS

TITLE-AND-LAND TRANSFER ACT

LOCALITY PLAN

TERMS OF PAYMENT:
10 per cent deposit; 10 per cent in six months
10 per cent, in installments, balance within 10 years, or complete payment at any time during said period or giving one month's notice; balance on said payment to be at the rate of 5 per cent, payable half-yearly, or at time of settlement during said term.

Do, 10 per cent deposit, balance on completion of property, within one month from date of sale.

Sala Saturday, April 6th.

CM 1391
Eighteen sections on Jacksons Road and Selwyn Road (Wroxton Terrace) were sold in about 1912. (fig. 11) Sir George Clifford is a neighbour across the railway line and George Humphreys in 'Daresbury' lives across Fendalton Road. The two large blocks of Waimairi County land on Fendalton Road are interesting. The tram has been extended to the Clyde Road intersection and it is the '2d section of the electric tram' near the railway line that is the selling point. Quite a number of sections had already been sold. Prices for a quarter acre section are about £210 and with £250 for the corner section. Some of these sections possibly sold together to make a larger block of land. The land had been rather low-lying and the railway had to be raised on an embankment in 1871 but the land had been very fertile.

The Heathfield property had remained as a five-acre lot since 1864. William Cuddon, the brewer and maltster in Fendalton, purchased this block in January 1870. The home of 'Heathfield' was built in 1907. Along with some three acres on the opposite side of Fendalton Road, and fronting Snowdon and Idris Roads, this land was subdivided and sold at auction in August 1913. (fig. 12) Most of the 32 sections at auction were about 33 perches in size and sold for about £200 in the Heathfield block and between £170 and 190 on the northern side of Fendalton Road. A half-acre section between Snowdon Road and the Wairarapa Stream sold for £355. The house of 'Heathfield' and its grounds were purchased in one lot in five titles for £2,200. The sale plan was endorsed:

SPECIAL NOTE. THIS BLOCK OF LAND is situate in the very choicest part of the favourite Fendalton District, and the subdivision affords a unique and last opportunity to purchase in this locality.
THE NEW ROAD affords excellent drainage to the sections, and is equal to any road construction in the district.
THE TRAM runs through the block.
THE SOIL is of unsurpassed quality for gardening purposes.

Subdivision in Fendalton slowed during the First World War but there

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122 LINZ C18/304
123 Sunday Star Times 12 September 1999, p. C4
124 CM 1389
125 CM 1389
TERMS:

10 per cent. Deposit.
10 per cent. on September 10th, 1908.
Balance on September 10th, 1909,
with right to pay off the whole of the purchase
money at any time by giving one month's
notice.

Interest, 5 per cent.

H. MATSON & CO.,
LAND AND ESTATE AGENTS,
104 CASHMEL STREET,
CHRISTCHURCH.

NOTE: Areas and dimensions are subject
to slight revision on survey.

SCALE: 1 CHAIN TO AN INCH.
**Terms of Sale.**

10 Per Cent. Deposit.
10 Per Cent. In 6 Months.
Balance in 12 Months.
Interest: 5 Per Cent. per Annum.

The Sections are to be selected from the following choices:

ALL THE SECTIONS that complete the proposed subdivision are shown on this map.

THIS SECTION is shown as a curved line running down to the sea, and has the great change to this road.

FOR BEAUTY OF LOCATION and Future use the has been added into public use in the present and future of Fendalton.

THIS IS THE LAST OPPORTUNITY of acquiring land in

SATURDAY, OCT. 22
AT 10 O'CLOCK.

CRADDOCK, McCROSSTIE COMPANY.

1000 FENDALTON ROAD, SUB-DIVISION.

ELEVEN
Choice Allotments

SOLD BY PUBLIC AUCTION
AT OUR LAND SALE ROOMS

FENDALTON.
IDRIS ROAD SUB-DIVISION.
was an important subdivision of the 'Coldstream' property of R. O. Duncan along Burnside Road in 1916. (fig. 13) Interestingly he had reverted to the use of the name 'Coldstream', the original name given to the estate by Edward Jerningham Wakefield. The property was bordered on two sides by the Braco Workers' Settlement on Ilam and Burnside Roads and around Tay and Lothian Streets. Part of the Ilam estate between Ilam Road and Creyke Road had in the past been added to 'Coldstream' and ten sections had been created out of this Ilam land to the south of the Waimairi Stream. The smallest of these sections was over half an acre and most were well over two and three acres. Most have a stream boundary. This was a different type of subdivision, targeted at a different clientele, from the Jacksons Road subdivision of 1912. The homestead block and fifteen acres were sold as one lot. The tram terminus is a sale point and the store is also the telegraph office. Photographs of the property show a white picket fence and gate, a curving tree-lined drive, tall trees (several clearly eucalyptus) and a beautiful two-storey homestead, looking very 'English' across the neatly fenced paddocks.

The estate of the late Bryndwr farmer, Joseph Taylor, opened up a large number of 'choice building allotments' along Jeffreys Road and Taylors Avenue in 1920. (fig. 14) The sale was arranged by the New Zealand Farmers' Co-op Association. They are half and quarter-acre regular sections, and the Bryndwr Railway Station on Wairarapa Road (Wairakei Road) is one of the few sales features. This type of regular subdivision, and the style of houses that were constructed on them, to the north and northeast of the high status residential area of Fendalton effectively capped expansion in that direction for the remainder of the twentieth century.

Quarter acre sections could also support some very fashionable homes in the vicinity of 'Te Koraha' and 'Milbrook' and with close proximity to Christchurch. The estate of the late J.C. Helmore
109, Ilendon, on Thursday, 28th August, 1913, at 2 p.m.

To be sold by auction by CHARLES CLARK, at 101, Bedford Street, on

THURSDAY, 28th AUGUST, 1913

at 2 p.m.

TITLE: LAND TRANSFER.

TERMS OF SALE:

10 per cent. Cash
10 per cent. In 6 Months
10 per cent. In 12 Months
Balance in 3 Years
Interest 6 per cent.

SPECIAL NOTE: The block of land is situated in the popular part of the fashionable district, and the public division offers a unique and high opportunity to purchase in this locality.

THE NEW ROAD offers excellent facilities to the section, and is paid to any road constructed in the district.

THE TRAM runs through the block.

THE SOIL is of first-class quality for gardening purposes.

CM 1389
SALE PLAN

"COLDSTREAM LODGE"

FENDALTON

Comprising Over 40 Acres, the property of R. O. Duncan Esq. to be Sold by Public Auction at the Land Sale Rooms of Craddock McCrostie Company Limited on

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 25, 1916

at 12 Noon

TERMS OF SALE

- Payment to be made on the day of sale
- Site to be viewed in person

DUNCAN, REED & CO.

CRADDOCK MCCROSTIE

1916

FIG. 13
CHOICE BUILDING ALLOTMENTS

Bryndwr - Fendalton District

IMPORTANT SUBDIVISION

TO BE SOLD IN THE

NEW ZEALAND FARMERS' CO-OP.
ASSN. LTD.

Land Sale Room, Cashel Street
CHRISTCHURCH.

Friday, 16th April, 1920
at 2.0 p.m.

In the Estate of the late JOSEPH TAYLOR

LAND SALE ROOM, CASHEL STREET, CHRISTCHURCH.

TERMS OF SALE. To be set out on the Plan of the sale and on
which will be shown the terms of sale, and also a plan of
the lots to be sold. All offers must be in writing and
received by the auctioneer by 5.00 p.m. on the day of sale.

NEW ZEALAND FARMERS' CO-OP. ASSN. AUCTIONEERS

fig. 14
was subdivided and marketed in 1921. (fig. 15) Some of the houses constructed on this subdivision reflected the English style of architecture that was now becoming increasingly fashionable. (illus. 18). Helmores Road (now Lane) was made a public road. Desmond Street ended at the boundary of the 'Avonbank' property of George Gould. One and a half acres were retained as the homestead block but most other sections were about half or quarter acre. The Milbrook Reserve was created for public access to the Avon River. These sections are able to offer sewer connection, gas, and (hopefully) high-pressure water, although the words were crossed out on the plan! The lots were planted with 'choice trees and shrubs', the soil was 'very suitable for gardening purposes' and 'the subsoil is perfect from a health point of view'. The property was within the 2d section of the tram. What could have been mentioned was also the proximity to schools both in town and Merivale. This part of the original Rural Section 7 is now clearly seen as part of Fendalton and its property values from the 1920s would endorse the wisdom of the early selection of this land in 1851.

The death of Mrs Hanmer, the widow of the late Philip Hanmer, in 1921 resulted in the subdivision of the 'Glanyrafon' estate on Snowdon Road (Hanmer's Lane) in 1922. (fig. 16) Philip Hanmer died in 1878 but the land remained intact in Mrs. Hanmer's name under the terms of his will. The original one-acre sections subdivided by Walpole Cheshyre Fendall in 1852 are still clearly visible in this subdivision. Quarter acre sections were subdivided off the lots leaving back sections with stream boundaries to the Wairarapa Stream. Lot 7 was the homestead block. The opportunity was taken to widen Snowdon Road.

In 1924 part of the 'Coldstream' homestead block that was retained intact in 1916 was sold and subdivided to form Chilcomb Street off Burnside Road (Memorial Avenue). (fig. 17) The six sections fronting Burnside Road were 37 perches and the balance were well over a quarter of an acre. Drainage was, as ever, a feature in Christchurch subdivisions and the sections were described as 'high, level as a bowling green, well drained, sunny and warm aspect, pleasant surroundings, beautiful garden soil, wide footpaths, fine
metalled streets and channelled'. There was no mention of gas - but electric light was available. Tay Street was not yet united with Hamilton Street (Avenue), which had been extended from the Clyde Road direction.

The establishment of Medbury School in 1923 adds a further sale point on the subdivision plan of property on Clyde Road opposite Medbury School in 1925. (fig. 18) The 'new road' was Kotare Street. The previous route had been along Medbury Terrace beside the Waimairi Stream. This land was originally part of Rural Section 12, the 'Ham' estate up to the point where Puriri Street came closest to the Waimairi Stream. By 1925 this was considered part of fashionable Fendalton. The sales plan is full of praise for the locality, with its 'Remarkably Open and Pleasant Surroundings'. The land along Creyke Road was still farmland. The Fendalton tram comes just ahead of the fact that it is the highest part of Christchurch. The sections are handy to both private and state schools, there is excellent garden soil, and both sewer and electric light are important features. Seven sections that have not yet sold have frontages to a 'clear stream'. All the main interests of the 1920s are here including education, gardening, drainage and modern conveniences.

In 1925 the front page of the Saturday newspaper prominently featured certain rather prestigious houses for sale, alongside shipping news and other public notices. Fendalton does indeed feature, but is often somewhat overshadowed by St. Albans North (rather than Papanui), Merivale and the hill suburbs of Cashmere and Clifton. St. Albans North had a 'beautiful' two-storeyed bungalow for sale for £2250, displaying 'artistic taste' throughout. Merivale properties for sale included for £3350 a 'MAGNIFICENTLY BUILT Two-Storey Art Bungalow' in an exceptionally fine locality, with brick motor garage and concrete paths. A similarly 'charming residence of 8 rooms' was for sale at 'Cashmere Hills (foot of)'. There was a wonderful description of the house and garden and the double motor garage. The motor shed of the early days has long been abandoned for the bourgeois term 'garage'! Fendalton had a seven-roomed bungalow with

126 Press 7 November 1925 p. 1
127 Press 31 October 1925 p. 18
SALE PLAN OF
"MIL BROOK"
Helmore's Road, Fendalton
In the Estate of the late J. C. Helmore
TO BE SOLD BY PUBLIC AUCTION
AT
JONES, McCRostie Co.'s LAND SALE ROOMS
Cashel Street, Christchurch
On TUESDAY, DECEMBER 6th, 1921, at 2 p.m.
JONES, McCRostie Co. Ltd. Joint
CHARLES CLARK
ACTIONERS

SPECIAL NOTICE
SLOPES CONSIDERED to be suitable for lots 1 to 31 inclusive.
GAS MAINS AND MAINS-OVERGROUND-WATER SUPPLY will be available for
every lot.
The property is in the Wakapuaka County, and situated in a beautiful locality
due to Higley Park and River Avon.
A number of the Lots are planted with choice trees and shrubs.
Four open lane frontages on River Avon.
The allotment is very suitable for audacity purposes.
There is good drainage for every Lot, and the soil is perfect from a health
point of view.
The property is within the 6th Section of Town.
Every Lot will be sold subject to the restrictions that it must be used for indi-
nual purposes only.

TERMS OF SALE
FOR ALL LOTS EXCEPT LOT 14—
10 PER CENT Deposit
10 PER CENT within 3 months
10 PER CENT within 12 months
BALANCE on 1st December, 1922, with
right to pay all of any lot
INTEREST—2 per cent per annum
POSSESSION—9th December, 1921
FOR LOT 14 (the Bakery)—
10 PER CENT Deposit
10 PER CENT on 10th January, 1922
10 PER CENT on 10th January, 1923
BALANCE on 30th January, 1924, with
right to pay all of any lot
INTEREST—2 per cent per annum
POSSESSION—20th January, 1923
Land Transfer Title is of the late

HELMORE AND VAN ARCH,
31 Bond Street,
Christchurch,
Relations for the Vendor.

CM 767
This house on Holmwood Road was designed by Collins and Harman in 1920. Although not in a classic English style the overall impression of the home is reminiscent of England.

The red bricks and slate roof of this Desmond Street house enhance the English Georgian revival style employed by the architect Cecil Wood in 1922.
1922
fig. 16

PLAN OF THE
GLANYRAFON ESTATE
Snowdon and Idris Roads, Fendalton
To be Sold by Auction by CHARLES CLARK
At his Rooms, 109 HEREFORD ST., on TUESDAY, JAN. 24th, 1922
At 2 p.m.
On Account of the Trustees in the Estate of the late Philip Hanmer

TERMS—
15 per cent. deposit
15 per cent. in twelve months
Balance in 3 years
Interest 6 per cent.

CM 778
SALE PLAN
Coldstream Lodge
SUBDIVISION
Burnside Road, Hamilton Street Extension, and New Road (Chilcomb Street)
Auction Sale, Monday Night, March 23rd, at 7.30 p.m.
In the Land Salerooms, Corner Cashel and Manchester Streets

20 SECTIONS
Ranging in Areas from 37 perches to 1 rood 27 perches

AUCTIONEERS' NOTES:
Exceptional Terms Generous Finishes
The Sections are high, level on a bowling green, well drained, sunny and warm aspect, pleasant mansardings, beautiful gardens and walks fronting, fine metalled streets and channelled. Electric Light available.

Within 5 minutes terminus Fendalton tram.

TERMS: 10 per cent. deposit, 5 per cent. in one month, 5 per cent. in 12 months balance within three years. Interest 6 per cent., or if Land Transfer Title can be given at any time upon giving one month's notice.

Messrs. Charles Clark
Messrs. Jones, McCrostie Co. Ltd. Joint Auctioneers
Corner Cashel and Manchester Sts.

1924
fig. 17

CM 686
Beautiful Fendalton Subdivision

20 Sections 20
The Best in the District

To be Sold by Public Auction on Account the WAIMAIRI COUNTY COUNCIL

on Monday Night Oct. 17th, at 7.30 o'clock
in Charles Clark's Auction Room, 109 Hereford Street

ATTRACTION FEATURES—Fine Residential District; Remarkably Open and Picturesque Surroundings; Very Close to Fendalton Train; Highest Port of Christchurch; Handy to both Public and Grade Schools; High Level Sections; Excellent Garden Soil; the Seat of Drainage, sewer area; Electric Light; New Road; Elev. Sections having Freehold to clear stream; no Narrow Front Vents: A RUSTY BLOCK FREE FROM COLD WINDS.

SPECIAL TERMS TO SUIT BUYERS—10 per cent. Deposit: 5 per cent. in six months; 10 per cent. in twelve months; Balance in three years. Interest 6 per cent. Right to pay off on short notice. Clear Land Transferring Title obtainable on short notice.

H. G. Livingstone & Co.
Auctioneers 152 Hereford Street Phone 4731

CM 1386/2
garage set in tastefully laid out grounds and in a very select locality reduced to
the LOW PRICE of £1850. Large sections of about an acre 'with ample room
for tennis courts, lawns, gardens etc.' are still available in Fendalton. 128

Exchanging properties was a popular option in the 1920s. A 'first class
residence situated in Fendalton with three acres best of land' was offered in
'exchange for 5 to 6-roomed Bungalow, in good locality' with about a quarter
acre of land 129.

The motorcar was well established by 1925 with the Ford Five Seater
being advertised for 151 pounds. 'You can step into your Ford Touring Car
after work on Saturdays and take the family for a wonderful sixty mile spin in
the country.' 130 The small, middle class suburban family was the happy ideal
illustrated in advertisements throughout the newspapers.

But Fendalton was not merely a residential suburb. 'Upper Fendalton
Glasshouses' advertised nine and a half acres of rich land for sale for £2275.
Four acres were in onions, one acre in lucerne, two and a half acres in grass
and the balance ready to crop. There was a good new three-roomed house on
the land, with electric light and range and hot water, two glasshouses with
tomatoes, garage and fowthouse. 131

The Eighth Subdivision of the Riccarton Estate was advertised in
October 1925. Only twelve sections in the subdivision remained unsold and
they were the 'cheapest and best sections on the market today'. There was
ample room for a tennis court in most of them, the soil was 'splendid', and they
were sheltered from the east wind and close to the 'car'. Prices ranged from
£225 to £400. 132 John Deans I's vision of land as an investment close to the
city bore fruit for his family in the twentieth century.

128 Press 7 November 1925 p. 1
129 Press 31 October 1925 p. 18
130 Press 31 October 1925 p. 4
131 Press 31 October 1925 p. 18
132 Press 31 October 1925 p. 18
The Latin term *cum*, meaning with, was borrowed from rural English usage to describe a property in that fluid zone which can claim to be both Riccarton and Fendalton. Riccarton-cum-Fendalton, only £2500 for a 7 roomed two-storey bungalow on three quarters of an acre - 'a perfect home at a low price'. Linwood-cum-Opawa was another use of this picturesque linkage.

A Fendalton Bungalow in Stratford Street was on sale for £1650, but featured on the front page of the Press beside two St. Albans and Merivale properties. The bungalow had 10 foot studs, 6 rooms, p. and p. [plastered and papered], and every convenience, porcelain bath and basin, garage and e.l. [electric light], fine sun verandah; good section, long frontage.

A quarter acre section in Fendalton near Fendalton Road was advertised for sale amongst five other 'cheap sections' at £350, but just below was an advertisement for a quarter acre section in Merivale at £600, being light and dry and partly fenced, 'surrounded by the beautiful homes in the vicinity of Rossall Street and Merivale Lane'. The finest situation in Merivale. On the same page a section of over half an acre (2 roods 22 perches) with 'long stream frontage situate just off Clyde Road' was for sale for £550. The section was exceptionally high, well drained, very private, charming surroundings, fenced, level as a bowling green and ready for building. Merivale still had the edge on fashion and sophistication, but Fendalton had the space and the streams.

Substantial or unusual properties were often put up for auction. There was to be an auction on 10 October 1925 of Mr. E. Newall's property at the corner of Jackson's [sic] Road and Fendalton Road. There is a note of the six rooms, sun porch and panelled dining room with inglenook, and a comprehensive list of such things as built in cupboards and wardrobes, copper and coalbins. Interestingly there is a septic tank, as the main sewer has not

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133 *Press* 17 October 1925 p. 19
134 *Press* 17 October 1925 p. 1
135 *Press* 5 October 1925 p. 1
136 *Press* 5 October 1925 p. 1
been connected in this part of Fendalton. There is a good water supply with ram and tank. Set on just over a quarter acre with a 'LARGE DOUBLE GARAGE' it is a fascinating mixture of old and new technology and priorities.\textsuperscript{137}

There were aspects of Canterbury, and indeed Fendalton, in the first quarter of the twentieth century that were certainly not reminiscent of England. The majestic Southern Alps in winter, the tussock-covered Port Hills, dark-green Riccarton Bush and the deep-blue summer sky remained as the New Zealand backdrop for the unfolding pageant of Canterbury. Within Fendalton weatherboard houses, verandahs and colonial architecture, wooden bridges and deep drainage channels at the sides of the metalled roads were all distinctively New Zealand. The Maori-named Waimairi and Wairarapa Streams defined the boundaries of the heart of Fendalton and there were flax and toe toe and cabbage trees still visible in both the natural and planted landscape. Fendalton girls became Peace Scouts, rather than Girl Guides, and the children ran barefoot in the summer and spent holidays in bachs at the beach. Blue gums and wattles were still very prolific and made an Australian statement. Photographs from the turn of the century and up to the First World War reveal gum trees near the wooden church of St. Barnabas and next to the wooden Fendalton Road bridge across the River Avon in about 1910.\textsuperscript{138} The Rev. Thomas Hamilton, Vicar of Fendalton from 1898 to 1919, told a tale about a large wattle branch falling onto the bicycle shed at the Vicarage and of the row of gum trees between the church and the property of James McCombs that required Professor Bickerton's chemistry expertise to blast out the large tree stumps when the land was cleared for subdivision in 1907. James McCombs' daughter, Patricia, recalled the wattle tree in the grounds of 'Adare'.\textsuperscript{139} Many of the new motorcars were American, and the grocery store was much closer to its American than its English counterpart. And yet visitors had remarked on an 'Englishness' visible in the created landscape from the earliest days of the colony. Up until 1900 it was really the regular fields and

\textsuperscript{137} \textit{Press} 3 October 1925 p. 18
\textsuperscript{138} J.A. Ince \textit{A City of Bridges: A History of Bridges over the Avon and Heathcote Rivers in Christchurch}, Christchurch, 1998. p. 82
\textsuperscript{139} Gee p. 40
orchards, hedgerows and deciduous trees that gave the ambience of England to several of the Christchurch suburbs, as well as the dress and carriage of the well-to-do residents.

In promoting the idea of a drive in the vicinity of Christchurch, the Cyclopedea (1903) maintained that 'the suburbs offer a considerable variety of pleasant drives.' At the turn of the century Fendalton was recognised as an attractive suburb with a distinctly English appearance. An example proposed by the Cyclopedea was:

One delightful trip is a drive up the Fendalton Road between the high hedges, flower gardens and lofty trees of this English looking quarter of the town; then across by Bryndwyrr [sic] to Papanui and back to town by Papanui Road - about eight miles in all.

In the suburbs there was a lack of the neo-Gothic stone buildings of the central city that bestowed an 'English' elegance on the academic quarter. Aspects of Englishness suddenly appeared in a grand way in Fendalton buildings at the very turn of the century, with the construction of 'Karewa' and 'Daresbury'. Elements of English Tudor architecture in these two gracious mansions were in the vanguard of an architectural movement that ensured that 'Englishness' became the most distinctive characteristic of Fendalton of the 1920s.

This 'Englishness' was an ambience that was created by the sum total of a myriad of cultural and lifestyle choices. Essentially it was the 'Englishness' of confident, middle-class prosperity. This was combined with a deeply ingrained and nostalgic love of English village and provincial small-town life. A spacious home and a large section of land permitted the creation of a self-contained, tranquil and private haven. Before the First World War this included land for horse paddock, stables and possibly a cow. In the 1920s the motor shed, whose name was soon changed to the 'more euphonious' garage, required less space. A similar tranquil haven could be created on an acre, and even half an acre, and then the ubiquitous quarter-acre section.

140 Cyclopedea p. 57
141 Cyclopedea p. 57
There was a perception of Fendalton as 'genteel' and 'English'. Fendalton, in the Edwardian era, was described by Ngaio Marsh, as 'genteel' and English.142 Her autobiography, Black Beech and Honeydew, was not published until 1966, when Fendalton was indeed recognised as a fashionable and wealthy suburb, and the then current perceptions may have had some influence on her writing. Although some beautiful and substantial homes were built on the large lots of land, Fendalton was not out in front as the leading Christchurch residential area in the early 1900s. But 'genteel' does seem a most apt and appropriate description of early twentieth-century Fendalton. Ngaio Marsh recounts that:

[Large Edwardian houses stood back in their own grounds masked by English trees. Small houses hid with refinement behind high evergreen fences. Ours was a small house. There was a lawn in front and an orchard behind...I don't suppose they amounted to more than a quarter of an acre.]143

Inside the house, apart from modern conveniences as they came on the market, 'Englishness' required a fashionable decor, adequate space for hospitality, a library or study, and if possible, a billiard room. Some employed assistance with the house and garden was a necessity as well as a luxury, but uniformed domestic servants added to the ambience in the larger homes.

An English-looking home was surrounded by a landscaped garden. Where many American homes were on public display from the street, 'English' homes were approached up a curved drive, lined with trees and further hidden from view by a hedge. The home was for the enjoyment of family and friends, a place of peace and refuge from the bustling world of business and commerce. The landscaped garden inevitably required an outer planting of beautiful deciduous trees and flowering shrubs, a smooth, green lawn, roses in beds and bowers, an herbaceous borders and plenty of seating, so placed that the home and garden might be viewed and enjoyed from several prospects. Water played a significant role, particularly in Fendalton.

Water gardens, lakes, duck ponds, lily ponds, fountains and bird baths

143 Marsh p. 12
all had their various places in the English garden, but the *piece de resistance* in Fendalton was the proximity of all the streams. A stream boundary changed during the first seventy-five years of Fendalton from being an important source of water for stock, and a useful source of power for the mills and homes, to an aesthetically-pleasing and property-value enhancing pleasure. Nearer the headwaters a stream was a pleasant feature of the garden landscape; downstream, closer to Hagley Park, the depth and width of the Wairarapa and the Avon permitted boating activities.

A weir on the Avon created a boating lake to add beauty to the grounds of 'Karewa' ('Mona Vale')(illus. 12) and there was a lily pond and boat shed on the Wairarapa within the ‘Avonholme’ property of Sir George Clifford.(fig. 21) As subdivision progressed in Fendalton an increasing number of families had access to the streams for recreation. Ngaio Marsh recounted memories of boating on the river in Fendalton:

> These expeditions alternated with boating on the quiet river where one glided through unknown people's gardens, under willows and between the spring-flowering banks of our curiously English antipodean suburbs. The oars clunked rhythmically in their rowlocks, weeping willows dipped and brushed across our faces....Sometimes our keel grated on shingle or sent up a drift of cloudy mud. One trailed one's fingers and felt grand and opulent.\(^{144}\)

E. Way Elkington remarked about the River Avon in 1906 that '[H]igher up, outside the town, the willows droop over its water and give you shade from the blazing sun...'.\(^{145}\)

The Waimairi Stream also enhanced the grounds of 'Ripsford' on Clyde Road that became the site of Medbury School, the new boys' preparatory school for Christ's College in 1923. Education was always a priority in the planning of Canterbury and was strongly built on its English foundations.

> 'Public school life after the best English pattern flourished early, in quaint picturesque establishments, under men of University experience and sound scholarship.' The Eton jacket ...appeared early...and with it all that it implied: the serious study, the athletic

\(^{144}\) Marsh p. 39  
\(^{145}\) Elkington p.215
excellence, the free speech, the manners easy and at the same time deferential, the high standard of honour, the respect for seniors, the hatred of meanness...146

The qualities that Loughnan has identified are in some way significant in explaining the priorities of the communities that were evolving in several Christchurch suburbs, including Fendalton; the traditional concern with education and the emphasis on patriotism and the Empire. Christ's College claims its roots in the classes conducted on board ship in 1850. Despite an inevitable and valuable adaptation to the colonial and New Zealand environment, education in Canterbury flourished and not least in the 1920s in Fendalton.

Several aspects of gentility are reflected in Ngaio Marsh's account. Her parents were not wealthy, but were well connected, well-read and well-mannered. Through her parents' background and later her own education, Ngaio moved confidently amongst Christchurch's so-called elite. Even a daughter's education was seen as worthy of the sacrifices involved in making the expenditure on private school fees.147 This education included such English middle-class accomplishments as music, elocution, art and drama and were extended, often by parental request, into the state schools of Christchurch, particularly Boys' and Girls' High.

The 'Englishness' of Fendalton was promoted by the uniforms of the growing number of schoolchildren. The school roll of Fendalton District School continued to rise but the influx of professional families ensured a growing number of private school uniforms being visible on bicycles and in the trams. The panama hats of the young ladies of St. Margaret's College and Rangi Ruru Girls' School (not to mention the gloves!) and most particularly the conspicuous black and white striped jackets and boaters of the 'young gentlemen' of Christ's College combined to add much to the 'Englishness' of the suburb. On Wednesdays and Saturdays the boys would be seen in the park or on the courts in their cricket flannels or tennis whites, and little could have appeared more English.

146 Loughnan p. 94
147 Marsh p. 69
'Room for a tennis court' was an important sale point in Fendalton. Private tennis courts overtake the popularity of croquet lawns in a number of Christchurch suburbs from the late 1880s, but by the 1920s they are prolific on the large garden sections of Fendalton. Tennis parties were part of the social scene often matched with strawberries and cream for afternoon tea. Team sports and athletics became important opportunities for parents and former pupils to meet and socialise as well as to very seriously encourage the breaking of former sporting records. Sports' days were important in every school but those of the leading private schools were opportunities for parents to have lunch with a glass of wine on the spacious lawns, in the shade of magnificent trees and rejoice in the foresight of the Canterbury Pilgrims.

Jane Deans is well known for her arborial contributions to the Riccarton estate. In time they enhanced both Riccarton and Fendall Town, and a few favoured and now regal specimens still flourish in Fendalton. Her line of oak trees, planted along the south bank of the Waimairi Stream, was remembered by Ngaio Marsh. A few surviving oak trees remain on the stream boundary of gardens in Weka and Rochdale Streets. The large stand of some 150 to 200 blue gum trees, that are believed to have been planted by Jane Deans on the northern side of the Riccarton farmlands, formed a local landmark and contributed to the name of George Humphreys' property of 'Daresbury Rookery'. The plantation of gums became home to a noisy and prolific flock of rooks. A newspaper article in 1974, about the Daresbury rookery, correctly located the property in Riccarton, but then proceeded to add to the modern myth of Fendalton by describing rooks as being 'somewhat fussy and aristocratic creatures (in keeping with their Fendalton heritage?)'!

Where houses, such as 'Lintrathen' and 'Greystones' were sited near streams the banks were usually cleared and the area landscaped in gardens reflecting the European perception of beauty. (see illus. 20 and 21) Many more of the English trees of Fendalton were planted during the subdivision, which started in earnest about 1907, accelerated up to the Great War and surged

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148 Marsh p. 12
‘Lintrathen’  The English style of the Elizabethan period was adopted by the architect, J. G. Collins, in 1926.

‘Greystones’  Situated on the banks of the Wairarapa Stream, amidst beautiful gardens, this characteristic English-style home was built in 1926.
forward again in the 1920s, before the recession of the 1930s applied the brakes to rapid development. The availability of large residential sections, often in excess of the popular 'quarter acre', permitted the planting of tall deciduous trees and such conifers as the redwood. In the planning of the Memorial Church of St. Barnabas in 1925 the landscaping was of significance.

The Anglican church was the essential heart of the English village. It had usually stood through the ages as a symbol of continuity and timelessness. It marked the rites of passage of most members of the community and provided a resting place for the passing generations. It was the social centre of the community. The clock on the church tower was a public timepiece and the sound of the churchbells, pealing across the countryside, was a comfort and pleasure to many, even those who rarely set foot inside the church itself. In Fendalton, the little wooden church, which served the small but growing community for fifty years, had an obviously colonial parentage in its structure and decoration. The permanent replacement of 1926 was the epitome of neo-English village church design. Each Sunday the 'English' scene was reinforced by the sight of the 'Medbury boys' in their caps and suits walking along Fendalton Road to church.

For Christchurch, with Fendalton in the vanguard, the 1920s was the 'English' decade par excellence. The First World War was a watershed in many ways, and it is significant that in 1915 Mr. Trewin of Karori Road was the last parent in a baptism at St. Barnabas, Fendalton, to list his occupation as 'gentleman'. Fendalton residents, however, retained some of the interests and expectations of the nineteenth century 'gentry'. Although it is legitimately claimed by a number of historians that the New Zealand identity was consolidated through the experiences at Anzac Cove, it is also evident that one of the major trends of the post-Great War decade in New Zealand was an English influence in fashion and architecture. Amongst the returned servicemen the middle-class officers in particular, who had spent leave in England with relatives and friends, brought back from their 'Overseas Experience' a keen interest in both English suburban living and the nostalgic ideal of the English village. These young men also had an awareness and
understanding of the worldwide British imperial network and this Erik Olssen perceived this in the writing of contemporary historians. 'Those historians of the 1920s with their emphasis on politics and the imperial system, not to mention their recognition of contingency, personality, and moral choice, still provide a useful perspective.'150 There was a noticeable increase of interest in early Canterbury history, and the traditional relationship with England, as the province approached its Jubilee in 1925.

150 Olssen 'Where to from here?' p. 74
Chapter 5 The Fashioning of Fendalton  1926 - 1950

By 1925 much of the subdivision of Fendalton from Hagley Park to the Clyde Road intersection had taken place. A few houses still existed on large blocks of land of about ten acres, while other large sections of several acres had been subdivided into streets of regular, though generally spacious, residential lots. Many homes were still on spacious properties that had not yet succumbed to closer settlement. High status subdivision extended up to Clyde Road on the banks of the Avon in the late 1920s, but was then restrained from further northwest expansion by farmland. Along Burnside Road to the south, as far as Ilam Road, there was an interesting parallel development of government housing projects, and high status housing near the Waimairi Stream. Sections fronting Burnside Road were subdivided off certain farm paddocks, but essentially the land northwest of Clyde Road remained rural in character until after World War II.

Throughout this period to 1950 it is appropriate to include the land between Clyde Road and Russley Road in 'Fendalton'. The Anglican Parish of Fendalton reached its greatest extent in the 1950s and included all the land between the Waimairi Stream and Wairakei Road out to the northwest, where it had a boundary with Harewood. Children from this rural area attended Fendalton School, took the Fendalton tram to town, and many were baptised at Fendalton Parish Church. The name of William Boag's extensive 'Burnside' farm gradually became applied to that district, but more particularly to differentiate the residential suburb that was constructed from the 1950s.

The differentiation of suburbs became noticeable in Christchurch from the 1880s as the pace of industrialisation accelerated. Early industrial enterprises in Fendalton were few, and the malthouse and brewery were removed in Edwardian times. This coincided with the gradual expansion of high status residential subdivision through Merivale and Holmwood, into the heart of Fendalton and as far as the vicinity of Clyde Road. This burst of expansion was intimately connected with the two stages of the extension of the tramway network and was largely completed before the First World War. At
this time Fendalton was perceived as 'genteel' and 'English' in appearance. Evidence strongly suggests, though, that the Merivale district still retained the edge on wealth and 'fashion'. Subdivision in Fendalton was somewhat delayed by the social and economic circumstances of the War years, but of even greater moment was the longevity of owners of certain large properties. Fendalton witnessed a further spate of development in the 1920s and the 'English' character of the suburb became increasingly exemplified.

The 'English' character was exhibited not only through the choice of residential architectural styles, but through the numerous lifestyle choices of the residents themselves. These choices included house decor, clothing, garden plants and landscaping, schools and motor cars. After an economic slump about 1922 there was a prosperity in Canterbury which was reflected in the confidence of the community. There was expansion and innovation visible in housing and lifestyle in general captured in the tone of advertisements in the Press. The onset of the Depression restricted residential subdivision in Fendalton. There was some more activity in 1936, a lull during the Second World War and some further activity at the end of the 1940s when Makora Street was subdivided.

The relocation and establishment of a number of schools in Merivale in the two decades of the 1910s and 1920s highlights the pre-eminence of this suburb in terms of high status population. Once established, however, the private schools in particular were a major factor in the retention of this stratum of population in the surrounding suburb. Although the motor car permitted the transport by parents of children from quite distant locations to school by the second quarter of the twentieth century the presence of certain schools enhanced and maintained the appeal of northwestern suburbs. In Merivale, Rangi Ruru Girls' School, established in Webb's Road, St. Albans by the Gibson sisters, relocated to 'Te Koraha' in 1928.1 Rangi Ruru Girls' School and St. Andrew's College provided a Presbyterian presence in private education in northwest Christchurch. It was noted in *St Albans from Swamp to Suburbs* that:

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1 Hodgson p.118
The development of education in St Albans from its earliest days reflects the concern of its residents for their children's growth and welfare in the new colony. Education was the key to opportunity and advancement.²

In comparison Roman Catholic Schools were established in less fashionable or high status localities, near the Cathedral of the Blessed Sacrament in the south east of the city, in Shirley, northern Papanui and Upper Riccarton. This was despite a noticeable Roman Catholic presence amongst the city's lawyers and other professionals recorded in the Cyclopedia in 1903, and the patronage of such members of the elite as Sir George Clifford of 'Stonyhurst' (and 'Avonholme' in Fendalton).

Selwyn House School, following the philosophy of the Parents' National Educational Union (PNEU) was established in Merivale Lane in 1929. It was not specifically a church foundation but Christian principles underpinned the educational philosophy and boarders attended Sunday service at St. Mary's Anglican Church, Merivale. There was a slight claim of New Zealand identity in these schools modelled on English lines. Rangi Ruru had its Maori name and Selwyn House had 'tribes' such as Arawa, instead of houses within the school.

There was no comparable private school for girls in Fendalton and so a close link formed between Selwyn House School in Merivale and Medbury School in Fendalton. Located amidst close subdivision in Merivale Lane, Selwyn House School did not have the luxury of space for playing fields enjoyed by Medbury School in semi-rural Fendalton. In 1935 the Press carried a photo of the Selwyn House annual sports day being held at Medbury School in Clyde Road.³ The keen interest in primary education so clearly visible in Fendalton in the early 1920s continued after 1925. The private Fairleigh Kindergarten was founded in 1929 in Garden Road, Fendalton and was still active and flourishing in 2000. The proximity of schools started to be listed amongst the features in the property sales advertisements in the Press.

² NZFUWp.129
³ Press 18 October 1935 p.20
The fortunes of Medbury School matched those of the economy, making steady progress before the Depression and having to survive by living 'prudently' and with 'thrift' during the early 1930s. The Medbury School archivist recorded the concern expressed in the Editorial of the Medburian for the plight of the unemployed. Alan Winnicott reflected in the Medbury School history:

Although they were written with great feeling and sincerity in 1931, more than sixty years later there is an almost patronising ring to such sentiments, as the Medbury community from its comparative security looked out into a harsh and very real world.

It was the dilemma of prosperity and wealth that sincere attempts to assist those suffering the misery of unemployment so easily appeared patronising. Anecdotal information would also suggest that many families in Fendalton also suffered in various ways during those years. Others were able to take advantage of builders who were desperate for work and construct new homes at budget prices.

Anglican Church links with Fendalton School continued through this period with regular notes in the School Committee minutes thanking the Vicar for coming into the school to teach Scripture. By 1928 there were six open-air classrooms and a school roll of 400. The semi-rural character of the school is still visible when Mr. Joe Taylor offered to supply milk to the school for the two worst months of the year so that the children could have hot cocoa. Named trees and shrubs planted in the grounds of the school included pines and willows, but also ribbonwood and other native species, showing an interesting balance between exotic and indigenous. In 1930 two more acres were added to the school grounds indicating that at that date there was still open land available that had neither yet been closely subdivided, nor become so highly priced on the open market as to be unobtainable for educational purposes. The house and property had formerly been owned by Mr. Blackburn.

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4 Winnicott p.32
5 M. Lawrence in Fendalton Open Air School Centennial Celebrations, 1975
6 L. Thadey "Memories of Ray Blank" in Fendalton Open-Air School Centennial
The school roll in 1939 was 583 and by 1943 it was 670 and there was urgent need for further accommodation. In 1945 advice came from the Education Board not to enrol children from outside the district. Miss G.A. James who taught at Fendalton School for 26 years noted in the *Centennial Celebrations* that 'The School was so popular that there weren't enough rooms to house everybody'. The school had to resort to 'a tent with a wooden floor' for several years.\(^7\) This is continued evidence that Fendalton School attracted 'out-of-zone' children almost from its inception in 1875.

There were attempts from the 1920s and 30s to emulate the 'English' private schools like Medbury School and Selwyn House School, which had been established in Fendalton and Merivale in 1923 and 1929. Miss James comments about school uniform:

> The school had a uniform that it was compulsory to wear—even to hats and gloves for the girls, and caps for the boys. No one was to be seen outside the gates improperly dressed.\(^8\)

In 1947 there was the purchase of approximately another quarter acre of land giving access to Waiwetu Street. The roll was now 810. In April 1949 Ray Blank tendered his resignation at the end of Term 1 as he was retiring after 45 years teaching, the last 28 at Fendalton School.\(^9\) The same headmasters had been at Fendalton and Medbury Schools for virtually all of the period 1926 to 1950. The important place and influence of individuals must be emphasised. Fendalton was Ray Blank's school and an extension of his beliefs and personality. A man of his generation, he had an enormous enthusiasm and vision for education. Mr. A. B. Simpson was appointed to the staff of Fendalton School in 1928 and taught there for the next 29 years.\(^10\)

Wairakei Road School was opened in 1949 and this reduced the

\(^7\) G. A. James in *Fendalton Open-Air School Centennial Celebrations*, 1975
\(^8\) ibid
\(^9\) M. Lawrence in *Fendalton Open Air School Centennial Celebrations*, 1975
\(^10\) A. Hudson in *Fendalton Open Air School Centennial Celebrations*, 1975
school roll by 163. The school was to reach its largest number of 883 in 1953. Burnside Road School was established in 1956 and in 1958 the suggestion of an intermediate school was announced and it was suggested that Fendalton be a contributing school. The new Fendalton Community Hall was built on school grounds at the suggestion of the school giving the school access to an assembly hall. In 1963 Cobham Intermediate School opened and the Fendalton roll in 1964 stood at 370 pupils, similar to that of 1928. The growth of the Fendalton school district and the Fendalton Anglican Parish reached a zenith in about 1950. Subsequent subdivision and consequential population growth in the northwest area caused the construction of subsidiary schools and churches to service the district. The wide, embracing umbrella of Fendalton District School and St. Barnabas' Anglican Parish gave way in the 1950s and 1960s to quite diverse suburban population centres having varying needs and resources and to a multiplicity of religious and educational establishments to service those needs.

A selection of issues of the Press for the month of October was referred to at five-year intervals, in 1930, 1935, 1940, 1945 and 1950. In particular the property sales were studied for evidence of any suburban preference, higher property values and the content of the sales rhetoric. Also of value for a comparative study of Fendalton was the Women's News on page 2. The Situations Vacant column was also a potential source of evidence for the supposition that fashionable Fendalton predominated in the quest for domestic servants. Other occasional evidence was accumulated in transit. No wedding at St. Barnabas' Anglican Church was reported in any of the sample newspapers, but there was a Silver Wedding in 1940, which had been celebrated on 12 October 1915 by Canon Thomas Hamilton. The bride was Emily Selwyn of Fendalton and the groom came from New South Wales.

On no occasion were services at St. Barnabas advertised in the Religious Services column of The Press. Anglican services in the Cathedral and the city churches of St. Michael's, St. Luke's, Manchester Street and St.

11 M. Lawrence in ed. J. Packard Fendalton Open Air School Centennial Celebrations, 1975
12 Press 12 October 1940, p.2
John's, Latimer Square were always present, but so also were St. Mary's, Merivale and St. Matthew's in St. Albans. These were obviously more populous and popular and justified the expense of advertising. It would seem that St. Barnabas' was conspicuous by its absence. The Non-conformist churches' advertisements, however, were plentiful and varied.

In September and October of 1930 snippets of news of people's whereabouts were still published alongside engagements and other items of social interest. On 27 September 1930 Mrs. Deans of Riccarton House headed the list on the 'Women's Page' of 'items of social or personal news'. Fendalton certainly featured with the names of Mrs. Kenneth Macdonald and Mr. and Mrs. Geoffrey Kingscote, and an interesting connection is made: 'Mrs. Ben Howell (South Canterbury) is visiting her parents, Mr. and Mrs. George Rhodes, "Beverley", Fendalton'. Bealey Avenue, Papanui Road and Cashmere feature in the same list. Many of the names occur consistently for decades, such as 'Mr. and Mrs. George Gould ("Avonbank", Fendalton').

By 1935 the Women's Page was headed 'Current Notes'. The content continued certain threads in the same vein as 1925 and 1930, with glimpses of Canterbury 'polite society' and visits to town by members of established Canterbury farming families, often for the purposes of cementing family relationships. Traditional Canterbury connections between the Anglican establishment, sheepfarmers and commerce are linked with certain Christchurch suburbs:

Mrs. Arthur Elworthy (Holme Station, Timaru) will arrive in Christchurch today to pay a short visit to her daughter, Mrs. Derrick Gould, Fendalton. Mrs. Percy Elworthy (Gordon's Valley, South Canterbury) will also arrive in Christchurch today to visit her father and sister, Archbishop and Miss Julius, "Cloudsley", Cashmere Hills.

Being on the 'Women's' page there is understandably some evident gender bias given to reported items. Female role models and women of interest receive attention from the 'lady editor'. But the most discernible

13 Press 3 October 1930 p. 2
14 Press 1 October 1935, p.2
leaning is towards middle class values and perspectives. Interests revealed in the 'Current Notes' are family, education, university, church, theatre and golf.

The British women's golf team was touring New Zealand and whilst in Christchurch 'will be the guests of Miss. D. Humphreys and Mrs. Geoffrey Kingscote (Fendalton) and Mrs. J.F. Cracroft Wilson (Cashmere Hills').

University women were also represented in the 'Current News':

Miss A.M.F. Candy, M.A., lecturer in history at Canterbury College, was appointed lady warden of Helen Connon Hall by the Canterbury College Council at its meeting yesterday.

Mrs. Ross Moodie, Misses Magdalene Hall, Neonie Enright, Betty Cotterill, Judith Barker, Dr. Robinson Hall, Professor L.G. Pocock, Messrs. Roy Twyneham, Guy Cotterill, H. Taylor-Smith, and N.S. Batchelor are members of the cast of the play "Exit, Sir Derek", which will be produced tonight by Miss Ngaio Marsh...

The annual Diocesan Synod of the Anglican Church drew some noteworthy people to Christchurch:

The Rev. N. Friberg and Mrs Friberg (Leeston) and the Rev. E.E. Malden (Amberley) will be the guests of Canon and Mrs. Stephen Parr, College House, during the meeting of the Anglican Diocesan Synod, which will open in Christchurch on October 14.

The Rev. C. Mountfort (Temuka) will be the guest of the Rev. and Mrs. A.K. Warren, St. Mary's Vicarage, during the meeting of the Diocesan Synod. The Rev. C.L. Sparrow (Kaiapoi) will be the guest of Mrs. H. Fitch, Snowdon road, Fendalton.

Lists of names were still immensely popular. It was clearly very significant to be reported as having been amongst the guest list of any social function or event. Although Fendalton clearly appears as a name to be cited as an address, Merivale and Cashmere feature as frequently in 1935. These three have undoubtedly taken the lead as the fashionable Christchurch suburbs with which to be identified; others are conspicuous by their absence. Merivale

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15 ibid
16 ibid
17 ibid
18 ibid
19 ibid
arguably from the evidence still has the leading edge.

The 'For Women' heading to Current Notes in 1940 has a sketch of a very stylish woman reading the newspaper. Being Synod week there are ecclesiastical references in some of the notices, and private school sports feature as a reason for certain people to be coming to town. Most of the residential locations given are out of town such as Hastings, Oxford and Timaru, but of the few Christchurch locations the three from Fendalton are relatively conspicuous. Old Canterbury families are still in evidence: 'Mrs. Derek Studholme (Coldstream) who has been visiting Mrs. John Studholme, Middleton Grange, returned home yesterday, accompanied by Miss Laura Bowen, who will be her guest for a few days.' But most of the notices have a distinctive air of practicality to do with the War, as far as women in Christchurch could be involved; coffee and condensed milk, balaclavas and mittens for the men on the minesweepers and contributions of wool for the knitting of peggy squares for blankets to be 'sent to England for children in distressed areas'. The 'Englishness' of Christchurch is being exhibited in quite a different context, and the bonds were visibly strong.

Whilst in Christchurch, in October 1940, Mrs. Derek Studholme had attended the annual meeting of the Canterbury and Westland Girl Guide Association. Mrs. Cracroft Wilson was elected president, and the vice-presidents were Lady Acland, Mesdames George Gould, A.K. Firth, Helmore and Heathcote Gray. The continuity of Canterbury family names in leadership roles in voluntary associations parallels the stability and continuity of the society of Christchurch and the more prosperous suburbs. Fendalton, Merivale and Cashmere are represented by these guiding ladies. The sincerity of their commitment must not be underestimated, as they had each inherited a strong sense of public duty and responsibility. In 1945 and 1950 the New Zealand Woman, Current Notes has become a short, straightforward practical list of notices. There is information about talks and meetings in the more serious and

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20 Press 26 October 1940 p.2
21 ibid
22 ibid
uniform post-war world.

In 1930 there were of course a number of mortgagee sales and generally forced sales in the *Press*. A house in Fendalton was described with amenities including the main sewer and garage and every possible modern convenience. The house was a tiled-roof bungalow on a thirty-four perch section and the asking price was £1345. It had just been reduced £200 'because the owner must sell'. A small holding of two acres headed FENDALTON GLASSHOUSES had a five-room house with electric light, hot and cold, electric range, two and a half miles from the Square and was 'a very cheap little holding'.

Front page sales notices are a good indication of current fashion and preference. The owner of the property at 21 Kotare Street perceived herself as living in Fendalton in 1935, although Kotare Street was subdivided out of the Ilam estate. The subdivision which created the 'new road' part of Kotare Street in 1925 was indeed advertised as being in Fendalton by the land agents. H.W. Heslop was advertising seven houses to let. A furnished bungalow in Papanui with five rooms, electric range and garage was 35 shillings per week; a 2 storey bungalow in Merivale with six rooms, electric range and garage was 37/6d, and is described as 'handy'; while a six-roomed bungalow with garage in Fendalton was available for 32/6d. The following day there was a list of six properties available for rent and again the preeminence of Fendalton and Merivale is visible:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Rooms</th>
<th>Rent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Linwood</td>
<td>Bungalow</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>23s 6d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spreydon</td>
<td>Bungalow</td>
<td>sun porch</td>
<td>22s 6d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fendalton</td>
<td>Bungalow</td>
<td>garage</td>
<td>25s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fendalton</td>
<td>6 rooms</td>
<td>garage</td>
<td>32s 6d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merivale</td>
<td>6 rooms</td>
<td>garage</td>
<td>25s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Albans</td>
<td>5 rooms</td>
<td>garage</td>
<td>26s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

23 *Press* 10 September 1930
24 CM
25 *Press* 1 October 1935, p.22
26 *Press* 2 October 1935, p.21
Selling points in 1935 for FENDALTON SACRIFICE were that it was a splendid bungalow with every possible modern convenience; two verandahs, a beautiful section of fifty perches, motor garage, situated in the best part of Fendalton and only one minute from the tram. It was for sale in 1935 for £1170 indicating the problems of property owners in every suburb.

Adverts in 1940 and 1945 were much smaller and uniform and tend to repeat the same information about rooms, panelling and sometimes if it has a kitchenette, breakfast room and sun room. Each house of a certain style now has 'all modern conveniences and a garage'. There is no doubt that the exciting period of creativity and innovation was in the 1920s and to really enjoy the 1930s and 40s required a financial buffer against the worst effects of the Depression and the War.

There were some signs of an improving economy prior to the 1935 election to be held on November 27 1935. At a meeting of the Christchurch Tramway Board it was noted that there had been a profit recorded and:

...as soon as funds were available new rolling stock would be obtained for the Opawa-Fendalton and St. Martins services. The making of a shorter route to Opawa could not be considered at present.27

Births in Christchurch were increasing. There had been 190 in 1935 compared with 160 in 1934.28 But there was a continuing decrease in the size of the average household. Whereas in 1921 the average had been 4.28 it was down to 3.90 in 1936 and 3.57 by 1946.29

The Depression had resulted in a dramatic downturn in the number of urban building permits issued in New Zealand. 7179 were issued for the year ended 31 March 1927, but only 1496 in 1933.30 There was an acute shortage of housing particularly in the lower socio-economic suburbs. Consequently some landlords who owned rental property took advantage of the situation to

27 Press 1 October 1935, p.8  
28 Press 1 October 1935, p.18  
29 C.Firth, State Housing in New Zealand. Wellington, 1949 p. 5  
30 ibid p.67
charge exorbitant rents. This problem was addressed to some extent in 1936 with the pegging of rents initially for twelve months.\(^{31}\) There was certainly the perception that there was a degree of exploitation by wealthy owners of rental property and that in Christchurch a number of these landlords chose to live themselves in Merivale or Fendalton.

The original principles of state housing were very fine indeed. The homes were not to be 'what are usually called "workers' dwellings" but the aim was the provision of 'good new homes at least up to the standard of, and preferably better than, the houses inhabited by ordinary typical citizens'. The designs were 'not to be used to the extent that they would be labelled as "Government mass-produced houses".\(^{32}\) The Government already owned the Braco Workers Settlement in Fendalton and a number of state houses were constructed on this site along Lothian and Tay Streets. It is clear from a map of 1935 that there was already land owned by the Government marked as the Otara Settlement. The streets of Otara and Karo were formed on this land, adjacent to the former glebe land. The Maori name (Te Kai o te Karoro)\(^{33}\) for the Avon was never correctly recorded, although John Deans had written it as Otakaro. It was mistakenly written as Otarakaro in official correspondence and hence the word was split to form Otara and Karo Streets. The location of this state-housing development further served to restrain the expansion of high-status housing beyond the vicinity of Clyde Road. Further state housing was introduced into Fendalton in Thornycroft Street and Glandovey Road and on the northern side of Jeffreys Road. The intermixing of houses was moderately successful and some of these very-soundly-built state-houses have since been modified and landscaped almost beyond recognition. But the property market over time within Fendalton developed an acute awareness of precise location of a property, such as along Hamilton Avenue. The name of Tay Street was altered and it became the extension of Hamilton Street - whose name was changed to the more 'euphonious' Avenue.

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\(^{31}\) ibid p.8
\(^{32}\) Firth p.6
\(^{33}\) Christchurch City Council - Avon River Bus Tour 24 October 1999
Webster observed that 'the outward expansion of the high status area of the northwest, failed to keep pace with the general population growth' from the 1930s. High status area growth was marked by consolidation of the existing pattern, accompanied by a gradual decline on the inner areas and expansion on the outer. Fashionable areas began to lose their peripheral contact'.

Fendalton, and particularly Upper Fendalton, had always been on the rural periphery of Christchurch. Large sections of land had been available in Fendalton for professional 'lifestyle' properties, with large pleasure gardens and tennis courts, intermixed in the locality with market gardens and horse paddocks and bordering onto dairy farms. Subdivision beyond Clyde Road was largely delayed until after 1945. The Depression of the 1930s and the priorities of the Second World War generally reduced demand and finance for housing. There was some housing construction in Fendalton during the Depression. In the late 1930s there was a boom of house building and the 'Avonholme' subdivision of the Clifford property took place in 1936. The movement then continued in a westerly direction, but the rate of growth of the population and the market demand for high status sections on the rural periphery was not sufficient to apply pressure for the subdivision of the 'Ilam' farmland. An 1890 map of the district reprinted in 1935 shows roads surveyed off Clyde Road on the present University campus, which would have been the next logical site for high status housing.

After 1950 the westerly movement continued, 'leap-frogging' over both the recently acquired site of the new University campus at Ilam, and the state housing blocks at Otara and Karo Streets, just west of the Clyde Road intersection with Burnside Road (Memorial Avenue). But post-1945 housing in Ilam served the requirements of a new generation of affluent 'middle class' and was in a different category from the earlier high status housing of much of Fendalton. Houses were generally smaller, corresponding to smaller, regular section size. Garden trees and shrubs were usually smaller due to both necessity and youth, than the gracious mature trees of the heart of Fendalton.

34 Webster p. 91
35 CM Map no. 723
Although motor car ownership was becoming increasingly widespread, it was not until after 1950 that the importance of public transport, and particularly the trams, started to diminish. Housing development continued to take place largely along the communication lines of public transport and within easy walking distance of them. Until at least 1950 considerable areas of land in the heart of Fendalton remained in large sections in comparatively wealthy hands, where individual transport was less of a problem. Subdivision and infilling of such properties therefore did not generally take place until after 1950.

House-building activities were seriously restricted during the Second World War. Many key building materials came from overseas such as steel, copper, zinc, electric cable and ingredients for paint. Many of these materials were also vital for the production of munitions and so these goods were subject to many regulations after 1939. Certain types of construction were prohibited and buildings were limited to essential projects.36 The new Sunday School beside the stone church in Fendalton must have been regarded as an important community building, as the foundation stone was laid in 1940 and construction was completed in 1941.

Because of Government regulations regarding materials, few large houses were built in Fendalton during the Second World War. However the architect, Heathcote Helmore when designing an 'attractive two-storey home for himself in Helmores Lane 'overcame wartime building restrictions governing size by incorporating part of an existing house.37 The land to the west of the Church was subdivided after the War in the late 1940s, when Makora Street was formed. It is interesting that the motif of Maori names of trees and birds that had been introduced on the Deans' 'Riccarton' estate during subdivision in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was extended into the original Fendall Town in the form of Tui Street and Makora Street. These streets were extended beyond the Waimairi Stream to link up with Weka Street on the former 'Riccarton' estate.

36 Firth pp.44-45
37 Bennett et al p. 76
In the 'Situations Vacant' column a number of potential employers give private addresses and a significant number are in Fendalton: 'WANTED immediately, Girl about 20, for light duties; and help with children. Apply 21 Kotare street, Fendalton.' A number of the advertisements were for rural positions at such places as Methven and Mt. Thomas. Wages for a live-in 'Cook/General' were about one pound per week. The place of the motor car is clearly established in the north-western suburbs by 1935.

By 1925 the outward expansion of high status subdivision had reached and continued on Clyde Road. Some rural subdivision, with a row of residential sections fronting onto Burnside Road took place about 1927. The balance of 27 acres was advertised as ideal for dairy farming. (fig. 19) At about the same date J.C. Clarkson subdivided four acres of his property on Clyde Road for high status development. (fig. 20) This land between Clyde Road and the Avon River was originally part of Rural Section 12 and so should accurately be described as being in Ilam. Subdivision of the Riccarton estate had already taken place across the Avon, with properties fronting Hinau and Puriri Streets. Interestingly the subdivision is described as being on Clyde Road, Riccarton-cum-Fendalton. The Latin term *cum* was still in use in 1928 for those parts of the district that fell between two nuclei of population and sources of amenities, such as schools and trams. Being bounded by the Avon River, the subdivision was just inside the Fendalton Anglican parish and within the Fendalton Riding of the Wairnairi County. The device was also useful in linking the subdivision to the increasingly fashionable suburb of Fendalton.

Auctioneers' remarks, notwithstanding the expected hyperbole, are nonetheless illuminating. 'Charming Garden Sub-division' at the head of the section plan portrays the image of Fendalton. The subdivision 'is situate in one of the most exclusive localities and is surrounded by what are known as some of the finest residential properties in or around our city'. The plan prominently identifies the owners of the two neighbouring properties; F.M Warren and J.C.

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38 *Press* 1 October 1935, p.21
39 CM Map no.774
Clarkson. The 'charming subdivision' of eight sections lay between their properties in 'Clyde Road, Fendalton', 'practically opposite the well-known property "Beverley"'. Of the eight sections two smaller front sections were 32 perches and two were just over a quarter acre. The four back sections were the gems each being over half an acre with 'long frontages to the River Avon' and 'space for tennis court, orchard etc.' The special features listed included:

- Splendid Garden Soil.
- High, well drained, get all the sun that shines.
- Lovely surroundings.
- Highest part of Christchurch.
- Very close to Riccarton tram and terminus of Fendalton tram.
- Close to Medbury and Fendalton Schools.
- Electric light and Gas available.
- Sewer is now being laid in Clyde Road.

The Clifford property of 'Avonholme', bordering the Wairarapa Stream in Lower Fendalton, was auctioned in February 1936. (fig.21) The Canterbury economy was expanding after the years of the Depression and it was a propitious time to put housing sections on the market. 37 sections were surveyed, the largest being number 37 of almost an acre around the house. The lily pond, boat house and tennis court are clearly outlined on the salesplan. Clifford Avenue was formed for this subdivision, although the lower sweep of the road was the former driveway to the house. Lot 30 was a half acre reserve. Most of the sections were about a quarter acre and fifteen had some frontage to the Wairarapa Stream, four back sections in the curve of the river being particularly attractive. Across the stream, residents on Wairarapa Terrace would have lost their view of the extensive grounds and paddocks of the Clifford property, which for some fifty years had retained the semi-rural character of this rather more populated district of Lower Fendalton. Many of the homes built on Clifford Avenue after 1936 were rather typical New Zealand weatherboard bungalows.

By 1950 the University of Canterbury had purchased a large portion of the original Rural Section 12 at Ilam. It would be twenty-five years before

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40 Canterbury Museum Map no. 774
41 Canterbury Museum Map no. 723
Important
Fendalton Auction Sale

11 BUILDING SECTIONS
And Over 27 Acres of Heavy Land.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 7, at 2 p.m.
IN OUR AUCTION ROOMS, 131 WORCESTER STREET.

The sections are perfectly situated, and will make grand building sites. Also over 27 acres of heavy dairy land. This area is most suitable for Sub-division.

FORD & HADFIELD LTD.
CM 1357
CHARMING GARDEN SUB-DIVISION
Auction Sale, 8 sections
CLYDE ROAD, Riccarton-cum-Fendalton
FOUR WITH FRONTAGES TO THE BEAUTIFUL RIVER AVON

To be sold
BY PUBLIC AUCTION
In Our Land Sale Rooms
Corner of
Cashel and Manchester Streets

Monday Night
March 19th, 1928
at 7.30 p.m.

On account of
J. C. CLARKSON
Eq.

Extraordinary Easy Terms:—
Namely 10 per cent deposit, 5 per cent in six months, 10 per cent in twelve months, balance in three years, interest six per cent. Clear Land Transfer Title obtainable at any time.

Auctioneers' Remarks:—
We consider this one of the most charming sub-divisions that we have ever had the pleasure of submitting to public competition, as it is situated in one of the most exclusive localities and is surrounded by what are known as some of the finest residential properties in or around our city.

PLANS POSTED TO ANY ADDRESS or Obtainable on Application to the Auctioneers:—

Jones, McCrostie Company, Ltd.
the whole campus moved from the town site to the Ilam campus, but the academic centre of gravity was moving further towards the northwest. Was Fendalton perceived as an academic suburb and what associations were there with the University? These are some of the many questions that await answers in future studies.

George Gould died in 1941 and there was a strip of subdivision along the Fendalton Road frontage. Helen Gould lived to be over 90 and this longevity of a widow on the family property delayed subdivision. Mrs. Gould had featured as a prominent and energetic participant in Christchurch society since the turn of the century. 'Avonbank' was demolished and the land was subdivided in the late 1950s and 60s.

After the death of Annie Quayle Townend in 1914 there were several owners of 'Mona Vale' until in 1939 it became the home of Mr. and Mrs. Tracy Gough. After Tracy Gough died in 1954 his widow continued to live in the house until it was sold to the Church of the Latter Day Saints in 1962 and then purchased by the citizens of Christchurch. 'Mona Vale' is very much a part of the current 'English' image of Fendalton.

Basil Dowling composed a poem\(^{42}\) that captured some of the rural character of Fendalton in the inter-war years:

\[
\begin{align*}
'Good-looking Shirley Coop, the farmer's son
From far up Burnside Road' ... \\
'Homeward along Clyde Road with that old friend,
Call (be sure) at Mr Scarse's store
For tuppence worth of jubes or "conversations";
Dawdling and kicking stones by Archer's gate;
Then saying slow goodbyes at "Hatherley".\
\end{align*}
\]

Arthur Grayburn's book, *Burnside Park*, is a source of further information about landowners in the area since the 1920s. Names such as Coop, Flay, Royds and Harrow to mention but a few farmed in this area. The land in Upper Fendalton was still predominantly used for dairy farming.

\(^{42}\) Basil Dowling 10 June 1975 12, Mill Road, Rye, Sussex, England.
1936
fig. 21

AVONHOLME SUBDIVISION

TO BE SOLD AT AUCTION
ON
MONDAY, FEB. 17th, 1936
AT 7.30 P.M.

At H. G. Livingstone & Co.'s Auction Rooms
109 Herford Street

TERMS — 10% in Cash. Deposit, 10% per cent, in 3 months,
balance 3 years, or 1/4 per cent., with right to pay off.

C. G. McKellar
43 Herford St., Yeast

Messrs. Wilding & Acland
17 Herford St., Solicitors

H. G. Livingstone & Co.

Plan

Scale — One eighth to one inch

Note: Areas and Measurements subject to survey

CM 723
The streams were increasingly landscaped within private properties to add to the English ambience, particularly with lawn to the river's edge. However, cabbage trees, flax and toe toe are visible in photos well into the 1920s, such as in the Wairarapa the river scene on Sir George Clifford's property in 1926. These New Zealand elements had been planted and blended into the ordered English landscaping of the 'colonial garden'. In his 1992 article, 'Where to from here?', Erik Olssen commented on the 'more English than the English cliche'. This has frequently been applied to New Zealand, to Canterbury in particular and, one could say, most fervently to Fendalton.

One of the most distinctive features of a person is the way they speak. Speech and the emerging New Zealand accent was a major educational concern during the first half of the twentieth century. Ngaio Marsh, in the Edwardian period, writes of her mother's insistence on 'correct' pronunciation. 'My father was English and my mother a New Zealander. She was the one, however, who doggedly determined that I should not acquire the accent. "The cat, I was obliged interminably to repeat, "sat on the mat and the mouse ran across the barn." In this way, she notes, 'the accent was kept at bay.' Elocution and speech and drama were an integral part of education in the private girls' schools in particular. What is noteworthy for the development of Fendalton as the perceived 'fashionable' suburb is that in the 1920s and 30s the rather affected vowel pronunciation of certain 'ladies' is recognised in the study of linguistics at the University of Canterbury as the Papanui vowel. The 'received pronunciation' of residents' speech went a long way to perpetuating the notion 'Englishness' of Fendalton.

In 1926 the most visible focal point of the Fendalton community was constructed - the 'English' stone church of St. Barnabas on Fendalton Road. (see frontispiece) The expressed desire of the parish recorded in the Vestry

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43 The Sun, Christchurch 27 December 1926. Canterbury Museum
44 E. Olssen 'Where to from here? pp 54-77.
45 Marsh p.18
46 information from Associate Professor E. Gordon, 29 September 1999
minutes was to construct a 'village' church, that would be sited in the very heart of the suburb and the community. The church was to be built of stone, in order to be a permanent place of worship and to serve the district for many generations. It was also to visibly identify two very deep emotional bonds with England: the familiarity of the appearance of the village churches of 'Home'; and a memorial to the many young men of the district who had fought and died on behalf of the British Empire. The intensity of such feeling in the Fendalton community revealed itself in the response of many of the local residents, not only active parishioners, towards fundraising for the Memorial Church.

One of the leading Christchurch architects was commissioned to turn these dreams into reality. The first issue of Fendalton Parish Magazine declared that 'Mr. Cecil W. Wood, our well-known architect has drawn us a plan of a beautiful village Church....' The site selected for the new stone church and the proposed tree planting was described in some detail. Identified as Mr. T.D. Harman's scheme this exotic tree planting was to enhance the setting of the stone church and establish the church precinct as a heritage site of the future. The proposal was that:

[T]he approaches to the Church will take the form of two drives with sweeping curves, the one entering from the present western entrance and the other from a point some distance to the east of the present eastern entrance. At each entrance a clump of four copper beech trees will be planted, which, when fully grown will make an imposing entrance. The drives will be 17 feet in width, broadening out to 25 feet in front of the Church, and a suitable stone wall will be built along the road frontage between the two main entrances. Along the eastern boundary of the Church grounds, suitable trees which will not attain to large dimensions, and thus exclude the sunshine from the Church, Vicarage or School, will be planted; such as Rowans, Golden Ash and other trees or shrubs specially selected for the beauty of their foliage; whilst along the western and southern boundaries large forest trees will be planted, carefully spaced to allow of their attaining full growth, and eventually topping the Church and forming a magnificent wooded background. Such a setting is in keeping with the design of the proposed new Church. With a view to future extension of the Church, if found necessary, the contour of the ground and extra space available have been carefully considered....the new Church will have a dignified and beautiful setting, in full harmony and keeping with the beauty of its design. 

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47 Fendalton Parish Magazine April 1920. Vol.1 no. 1
48 ibid
Several significant images are captured here. Many of the early English trees that were planted in Christchurch were English oaks; a popular symbol of England and the Royal Navy, as portrayed in the chorus line of a patriotic ditty, "Heart of oak are our ships". But in the 1920s the beauty of the foliage of a variety of trees was being extolled. The autumn beauty of these fully-grown trees is visible in both the aerial photo and the photo in the newspaper. (see frontispiece and illus. 22)

The *Press* in 1935 noted that the streets, parks and streams of Christchurch were being beautified with English trees and shrubs. In the same year Alan Mulgan wrote this impression of Christchurch:

The development of the town into a city was guarded by men with ideas and taste. The plan of a society and county ordered on Anglican lines could not be carried out in its entirety: inevitably the outside world broke into this rich estate. But English ideas were planted deep and have persisted. The Cathedral is a real Cathedral and not a mere Cathedral Church. Christ's College is a Church of England school for boys, with a quadrangle that, despite its mixture of architectural styles, recalls English public schools and Oxford and Cambridge. Canterbury College recalls still more strongly such haunts of ancient learning and peace. In this garden city, where on a spring morning that 'dainty lady', the silver birch, wears her 'satin gown' with a difference, there is nothing more beautiful than the lines of flowering chestnuts in Rolleston Avenue, backed by the dark dignity of the Museum doorway, the quadrangle of Christ's College, and the grey charm of the University block. You will think of Cambridge rather than Oxford, and you will be reminded still more strongly of it here by the winding Avon. Christchurch has made the utmost of this little stream. It has defined its banks and planted them with grass, willows and spring flowers....the Avon runs between shaven banks and drooping willows...All this gives Christchurch an air of maturity and old-world distinction that you do not find in Auckland and Wellington. It is so English - so very English.

The celebration of the Canterbury Centennial in 1950 was an appropriate occasion to reflect upon the English heritage of Canterbury, and much of what was recalled would be appropriate to Fendalton at this stage in its history:

The first settlers came to Canterbury with the intention of settling down to a life of steady work...it was to be the home of a community representing the best elements in English society of their day. The result is that Christchurch gives the impression that very little has been left to chance; it has something of the stability that comes from respected tradition...

49 *Press* October 1 1935, p.18
Modern concrete buildings are rising up where the old pioneers built of stone. Yet one feels that all these old buildings are an essential part of Christchurch; they help to form its character just as do the parks and gardens...

There is still in Christchurch a great deal of reverence for the past ... if something of the spirit of the early days is retained it is perhaps not altogether amiss in these times.\textsuperscript{51}

The seventy-five year old copper beech and horse chestnut trees around St Barnabas Church in Fendalton Road are on the Christchurch City Council’s list of heritage and notable trees.

Source: Christchurch Mail 28 May 1998
Chapter 6 Conclusion

Fendalton was not endowed with exceptional geographical attributes that predetermined its popularity. Elite preference until the turn of the century was for residence within the Four Avenues, although gentlemen's residences and gardens graced every Christchurch suburb. A steady polarisation of the elite towards the northwest quadrant of Christchurch is perceptible from the late 1870s when industrialisation started to make an impact on residential preference. The burgeoning number of professionals, who had greater freedom of choice in their residential location, gradually moved outwards from the city along the main lines of communication, most noticeably north towards Papanui, and west along Riccarton Road. Public transport, in the form of the steam and then the electric tramway, both followed population growth and motivated further residential development. Lower Fendalton enjoyed close proximity to Christchurch, but subdivision in all parts of Fendalton was delayed for a variety of reasons, including location, lack of public transport and amenities and the longevity and residential stability of landowners.

Important points of transition in the growth of Fendalton are visible in 1883 with the creation of the independent Anglican Parish of St. Barnabas and the Fendalton District School, and about 1907 and 1919 linked to the advent of the tram and the proliferation of the motor car. The 1920s and 30s saw the establishment of the heart of Fendalton as one of the high status localities most favoured by the Christchurch elite. Large sections, mature trees and the meandering streams were natural advantages and of equal importance was the proximity to the schools, colleges and University of northwest Christchurch. Private car ownership made Fendalton even more easily accessible. Gradual subdivision of large properties ensured that sufficient land was available to satisfy market demand until after 1950.

Immediately after World War II several factors curtailed on-going outward expansion to the northwest of high-status subdivision in Upper Fendalton. Widespread middle class prosperity led to the consequent rapid growth of regular small-section suburban development in Ilam and 'Fendalton North', the acquisition of much of the 'Ilam' estate for the new university
campus, and the very large area bordering Fendalton commandeered for state rental housing, all combined to consolidate the boundaries of Fendalton and inflate property values within this picturesque 'English' locality. As property stock surrounding Fendalton becomes dated its demolition is allowing the gradual expansion of some high status housing to resume, but necessarily as town houses on smaller sections. The boundaries of Fendalton were matters of conjecture in the late 1990s.¹

The 'Englishness' of Fendalton is a subject that invites much further research. For much of the period of study covered by this thesis qualities of 'Englishness' were regarded as positive attributes. Canterbury was intended to be an English colony and so when the province started to be clothed in English grasses and trees, 'beautified' with English flowers and dignified by buildings reflecting an ambience of England this was cause for celebration as signs of successful settlement. From the turn of the century, and particularly in the 1920s, the vogue for English-style architecture has bequeathed a legacy of gracious homes in permanent materials. 'Mona Vale' is the supreme example of such an attractive home that is now shared by the greater community. (see illustration**)

Although Fendalton was recognised from quite early in the history of Canterbury as the location of a number of 'gentlemen's residences' it was not until the noticeable onset of quite rapid residential subdivision after 1905 that Fendalton started to acquire a predominantly professional population. But within the boundaries of Fendalton there were opportunities for 'working men' to acquire land and to be successful in various occupations such as market gardening. Throughout the period of study Fendalton still had a wide variety of rural occupations represented within its boundaries, and there was an appreciation in the 'heart of Fendalton' of being on the edge of the countryside. Consequently, I would argue that it is after 1950 that the perception in the wider community of Fendalton as 'posh' becomes entrenched. Much of this is in reaction to the type of post-war suburban development throughout Christchurch, and particularly to the north and northwest of Fendalton and the

¹ Press 2 October 1999 'Suburban Myths' by Bridget Carter
'egalitarian' 'working class' ethic of the 1960s.

In 1968 Maurice Shadbolt queried the extent of Christchurch's 'Englishness':

But typically English? Travel beyond the central city area and such an affectation becomes quaint and then comic. Leave behind the cathedral, the university, the law courts and the willows along the Avon, and you are in suburbs indistinguishable from those of any other New Zealand city. The suburbs couldn't be much less English.²

Fendalton is, however, the one suburb that legitimately has some claims to reflect certain qualities of English 'middle class' suburbia in its houses and gardens, and perhaps some traces of rural England in the streams and occasional little wooden bridge that survives. The Anglican Church and deciduous trees add a beauty and maturity to the suburb. Shadbolt conceded '[B]ut in Spring - with the blaze of daffodils in gardens and parks - the city still echoes and honours the homeland of its pioneer fathers.'³ Some of these English attributes are relatively recent additions to Fendalton, but the daffodils that have flowered in the lawns in front of St. Barnabas since the 1980s perpetuate this theme.

'One stereotype of the Christchurch citizen is decorously Anglican and conservative...'⁴ remarked Shadbolt, and perhaps these have been attributes of Fendaltonians. Yet it was by being in the vanguard of fashionable architecture in the 1920s that Fendalton acquired its 'English' style homes. The stereotype of being conservative in Fendalton may actually be a strongly held preference for the older, more spacious and more gracious architecture of the inter-war years than that being constructed in the decades after the Second World War. The 'good taste' of Fendalton then may be rather traditional and conservative. This extended to education and has been one of the lasting characteristics of the suburb. Many of the residents of Fendalton have consistently sought over five or six generations certain qualities of excellence in the education of their

children. A considerable number still choose to pay for those schools with a
non-secular foundation. If, as Shadbolt proposed, 'Christchurch is the one city
- at least in its English externals - in which the ghost of Edward Gibbon
Wakefield might take some pleasure, \(^5\) then possibly some aspects of Fendalton
may make him smile.

A wealth of oral and documentary history urgently awaits to be
gathered from the 1930s. Questions of how the Depression affected families in
Fendalton needed to be addressed. There are many topics arising out of the last
50 years of Fendalton history that beg to be investigated. Many Fendalton
residents have made an impact on Canterbury life and their contributions
justify an appropriate record. There is also a remarkable sense of community
in Fendalton which has contributed to the interest and enthusiasm exhibited
for heritage issues in recent years.

Canterbury must take up the challenge to create a more egalitarian
city without leveling to mediocrity. The 1950s and 60s, a period promoted by
sociologists as being most egalitarian in New Zealand, is also a period of soul­
destroying grey mediocrity in architecture with functional, boring suburbs and
the commencement of the concrete towers of Ilam. Was this the spirit of the
1860s and 70s with the vision to create the Provincial Chambers, the Museum,
Christ's College and the University College? Fortunately Nature has taken a
hand at Ilam and the landscaping of the campus reflects the same spirit that set
aside Hagley Park and the other city reserves and planted trees that future
generations would see grow to maturity.

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