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PUBLIC OPINION IN CANTERBURY

ON THE

ABOLITION OF THE PROVINCES.

1873 - 6.
INTRODUCTION - The Constitution Act, 1852; Canterbury and the General Assembly; the Canterbury Provincial Council; Summary.

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General Assembly - public meetings, Vogel's policy, Provincial Loans Empowering Bill, railways, tariff.

Canterbury Provincial Council's second session - ministerial crisis, immigration.

Summary.


The Provincial elections - public questions, results.

Canterbury Provincial Council - estimates, ordinances.

Summary.


2. Outlying Districts - Timaru, Waimate, Peninsula.


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PART II. THE STORM.

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estimated, ministerial crisis, education, immigration, municipalities, constitutional changes. Summary.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY.
"The degree to which public opinion will actually approximate rational and critical social judgment upon vital issues will depend upon such general conditions in the social population as homogeneity, social equality, education and literacy, objective research for facts and expert guidance, freedom of expression, possibly of publicity, and freedom in inter-communication." (1)

The aim of this work is to describe the attitude of the Canterbury public towards the question of the abolition of the provinces. For purposes of clarity and continuity I have dealt with the subject in three parts - the position up till 1874, the abolition proposals and their reception in Canterbury, and the final stages of provincialism with some notice of its political successor, the county system. The Introduction is somewhat lengthy and detailed, but this is necessary for the understanding of the situation in 1873.

The authorities I have used in preparing this study are listed in the Bibliography on Page 126. Although a number of chapters centre on the sessions of the Canterbury Provincial Council and the General Assembly, at all times I have discussed only legislation which affected the attitude ultimately adopted by the people of the Province towards the provincial system. For the reaction of the public towards the measures carried through in the Provincial Council and in the General Assembly public meetings, and the addresses of representatives to their

(1) Barnes "Sociology and Political Theory" p 204.
constituents, I have relied mainly on the newspapers "The Lyttelton Times", and "The Press." The Provincial Council did not publish a report of its debates, but only minutes of its proceedings. The attitude of the municipalities, the outlying districts, the runholders and the newspapers has been discussed in some detail.

From the inauguration of the provincial system there were in Canterbury, and in New Zealand as a whole, two parties, provincialist and centralist; and the events and conditions, economic, social and political, of the years 1873-6 were really the culminating factors in the struggle between these two parties, and the ultimate success of the centralists.
NORTH ISLAND

AUCKLAND (1853)

New Plymouth
TARANAKI (1853) or NEW PLYMOUTH

HAWKE'S BAY (1859)

WELLINGTON (1853)

NELSON (1853)

MARLBOROUGH (1859)

WESTLAND (1873)

CANTERBURY (1853)

SOUTH or MIDDLE ISLAND

SOUTHLAND (1851-70)

OTAGO (1853)

Dunedin

Invercargill

STEWART ISLAND

PROVINCIAL NEW ZEALAND
INTRODUCTION.

1. The Constitution Act, 1852.

After a period of autocratic rule, New Zealand was granted a generous measure of self government by the Constitution of 1852. The Constitution Act, based largely on the recommenda-tions of Sir George Grey, was passed by the Imperial Parliament, 30th June, 1852. It divided New Zealand into six provinces, Auckland, New Plymouth, Wellington, Nelson, Canterbury and Otago, each with a Superintendent and a Provincial Council of not less than nine members elected by the people of the province. The franchise was given to every adult male who possessed freehold property to the value of £50, or leasehold to the clear annual value of £10, or who occupied a tenement of the clear annual value of £10 in a town or £5 in the country. The same qualification made persons eligible for the Superintendency and for membership of the Provincial Councils. The Governor exercised a right of veto over the legislation of the Council and Superintendent; and was empowered with the authority to disallow within three months the election of a Superintendent, or to dissolve the Council - whereupon the Superintendent would have to go out of office.

The legislation of the Superintendents and the Councils was subject to certain limitations. The following matters were

(1) Governor of New Zealand 1845-53
       1861-68
Prime Minister of New Zealand 1877-79
reserved exclusively for the General Assembly: customs duties, establishment or abolition of courts of judicature except courts of summary jurisdiction, coinage and currency, weights and measures, post-office, beacons and lighthouses, dues on shipping, bankruptcy and insolvency, marriage, Crown lands and Native lands, laws concerning the Maoris, criminal law except as regards summary jurisdiction, inheritance and wills. The Superintendent was given the power of initiating all money bills, submitting drafts of laws to the Council, suggesting amendments to bills, and of assenting to or withholding his assent from bills, on behalf of the Governor.

For the Colony as a whole, the Constitution Act provided for a General Assembly consisting of a Legislative Council of not more than twenty members nominated by the Crown and holding office for life, and a Lower House of thirty-seven representatives elected, for a period of five years, on the same qualification as that for the Provincial Councils. The Assembly, in addition to exclusive legislation on the thirteen subjects mentioned above, had the power to render null and void any law or ordinance made by the Provincial Councils inconsistent with or repugnant to any Act of the Assembly. Further, it was given the right to alter any of the provisions of the Constitution Act, and any laws relating to the qualification of electors and election of members of the House of Representatives, provided that such a bill were reserved for the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure. The Governor might assent, or refuse his assent, to
any Acts, while the Crown might, by Order in Council, disallow any Act within two years.

Superficially the Constitution resembled the Federal system of government, where the States which form the component parts of a federation, e.g. the United States of America, have supreme jurisdiction in their own sphere, that is, in all matters not specifically allotted to the federal government. But it will be observed that the provincial governments of New Zealand were restricted in their powers of legislation and were subject to the over-ruuling authority of the General Assembly in all matters. Such a situation is not consistent with the true federal principle.

The original settlement of the colony at various points separated by mountains or sea, the rough nature of the surface, the difficulty and uncertainty of communications made it necessary to grant the provinces a liberal measure of local government, if representative institutions were to be granted at all. But Sir John Pakington, Secretary of State for the Colonies, intended the provincial governments to act merely as municipal bodies, not as miniature states. The General Assembly was to be supreme in its exercise of the functions of government over the people of New Zealand.

2. Canterbury and the General Assembly.
1853 - 72.

Sir George Grey left New Zealand on 31st December, 1853 after he had authorised the election and meeting of the
the Superintendents and Councils. Colonel Wynyard, Administrator until the arrival of Colonel Gore-Browne in 1855, was reluctant to take upon himself the responsibility of summoning the General Assembly. He waited for instructions from the Colonial Office, so that it was not till May, 1854, that the Assembly was opened. Grey's action in calling the Provincial Councils into operation before the General Assembly has been severely criticised. It stimulated the early growth of a provincial sentiment which was to make it difficult to develop a really national spirit in the Assembly. However, at that time local government affected the colonist much more intimately than central government; and serious delay would have been caused by deferring the inauguration of provincial government until after the meeting of the Assembly. (2).

In Canterbury, the powers of the Canterbury Association, the chartered company which had established the settlement, were transferred to the Provincial Council which was elected in July, 1853. Many people, including Fitzgerald, the energetic and versatile editor of "The Lyttleton Times", Tancred, President of the Christchurch Colonists' Society, and E.J. Wakefield, a son of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, were dissatisfied with the extent of the Provincial Government's jurisdiction. The extremists of this section of the community demanded a constitution, similar to that of the American States, by which the provinces would be independent in matters within provincial jurisdiction.

(2) Shrimpton and Mulgan "A History of New Zealand", P. 174
Another section of the public regarded the provincial system, from its inauguration, as being only a temporary measure. Godley, in a lecture on 'The New Zealand Constitution Bill' (3) said: "The question between federalism and Unionism is, in my mind, entirely one of geography, where there are no essential differences of race, or other social peculiarities which forbid amalgamation. Unity is best where you can have it, and the tendency of things is towards making political unity more and more possible among people hitherto divided. Electricity and steam are among the most powerful of political amalgamators." However, he recognised the necessity for provincial institutions at the present stage of the Colony's development. On the whole, Canterbury at this time was in favour of maintaining the supremacy of the General Assembly while obtaining wide powers of self-government for the provinces.

The location of the seat of government at Auckland aroused considerable resentment in the southern provinces. Canterbury and Otago were insistent in their demands for a more central position. This dissatisfaction was accentuated by the feeling during Stafford's ministry (1856-61) that southern interests were being neglected, despite the fact that the "compact" of 1856 (4) had strengthened the financial position

(3) At Lyttelton 1852. Godley, Founder of the Canterbury Association, was the practical ruler of Canterbury 1850-2.
(4) Waste Lands Act (No. 22.)
of the provinces by handing over the land revenue to their control. The New Provinces Act (1858) which has generally been regarded as an astute move in strengthening the authority of the General Assembly, received little or no support from Canterbury members. Three years later the fear that Timaru would claim the right to secede probably influenced Sir J.C. Wilson to advocate an amendment (5), which was eventually adopted, hindering the application of the New Provinces Act.

About this time prominent Canterbury men, including Sewell, who had led the first responsible ministry in New Zealand, and Crosbie Ward, then editor of "The Lyttelton Times", expressed their fear that the northern provinces as a result of their relations with the natives, might seek to rob the southern land fund. They consequently favoured a separation of North from South. Although in 1860 public opinion supported the North on the outbreak of war, a year later, the generally unsatisfactory state of affairs strengthened the demand of the southerns for separation.

The original denominational (Anglican) character of the Canterbury settlement, a character which had been undermined by the arrival of Australian squatters in 1851, and in 1853 as a direct result of Grey's land regulations, was completely changed by the influx of gold-diggers in the early sixties. Gold was discovered in Otago in 1861 (and in Westland in 1865) (5) New Provinces Act Amendment Act.
and the increase in population and economic prosperity in the two southern provinces was enormous. But the newcomers, mainly Australians, displayed a restless disposition and impatience with a political situation they had already experienced and reacted against in their own country. They demanded a "hiving-off" of the southern provinces, similar to the action of Victoria and Queensland in separating from New South Wales.

The movement was more pronounced in Otago. In Canterbury it was somewhat distrusted. The elections of 1866 had shown the attitude of the public, and in the session of that year, the majority of Canterbury members - Moorhouse (Westland) and Ward (Avon) were two notable exceptions - both spoke and voted against separation.

By now the issue had become confused with that of the struggle between the centralists and the provincialists. Referring to the debates of 1865 "The Press" had declared that the provincial governments must sooner or later pass away and that separation would hasten the crisis. In 1867 a suggestion that the needy provinces should be abolished was rejected by "The Lyttelton Times" on the ground that in such an event Canterbury and Otago must expect similar treatment. That it was desirable to modify the provincial system was admitted, and emphasised by the speeches at three bye-elections during the year - (Christchurch City, Avon and Kaiapoi.) However, the attitude of Canterbury representatives varied when the Local Government Bill was introduced in the House on 30th July. Seven members voted for, and four against the measure, which was
lost by nine votes. The Timaru and Gladstone Board of Works Bill, against which "The Lyttelton Times" made a vain attempt to arouse adverse feeling in Canterbury, was passed during the same session.

The hostile criticism levelled against the Provincial Government during these years was a result of the depression following the early prosperity caused by the Public Works Policy of the Superintendent, Moorhouse. It was suggested that in the interests of economy and uniformity the provinces should surrender control of certain departments, e.g. police, gaols, hospitals, asylums and education, into the hands of the Central Government at Wellington. (6). Provincial Councillors were called upon to defend their actions in public, and two, Hawkes and Wynn Williams, agreed that provincial institutions had outlived their utility. The municipalities and road boards had, to a large extent, absorbed their functions. Retrenchment and reform were urged by the Superintendent in a Memorandum to the Provincial Council early in 1868. When Moorhouse resigned, Rolleston, whom "The Lyttelton Times" regarded as "essentially a safe man" was elected in his stead, and pledged himself to a policy of strict economy and reform.

Proposals, voiced by E.C.J. Stevens (Selwyn) and supported by Travers (Christchurch City), in favour of abolishing the provincial system were defeated in the General Assembly (6) The seat of government had been changed in 1865.
the next year by thirty-three votes to twenty-two.

The leading men of Canterbury may be classified into four groups according to their views on the question of abolition:—

a. The ultra-provincialists who were not very strong in this province.

b. Those who did not wish to abolish provincial institutions until there was something better to take their places. Fox was the leader of this group in colonial politics, Moorhouse and Reeves, the chief proprietor of "The Lyttelton Times" being the local leaders.

c. The moderate reformers, of whom the most influential at this time was Rolleston.

d. The out and out abolitionists headed by Travers and Stevens (the chief proprietor of "The Press."

The renewed hostilities in the North following the escape of Te Kooti were responsible for a revival of the separation cry, and a Middle Island Association was formed in Christchurch. But towards the end of 1870 the Council rejected a proposal from the Otago Provincial Council that the two provinces should amalgamate.

The Public Works Act of 1870 presaged a more complete centralisation of power. In 1871 the General Assembly took over the entire control of immigration; and in the same year Vogel (7) proposed a simplification of the provincial system. This aroused a storm of resentment in the southern provinces which were reluctant to admit their diminishing importance in

(7) Colonial Treasurer.
-10-

governmental functions. Rolleston in 1872 condemned the centralising tendency and referred to the "inability displayed by the present Government to reconcile central responsibility with local administration." (8).


The Canterbury Provincial Council increased its membership during the period under discussion from twelve to thirty-nine members. At first provincial politics excited more public enthusiasm than colonial. The main questions at issue were the relative merits of nominated or elected Superintendents, and the responsibility of the Provincial Executive to the Council. The latter question was a particularly vexed one.

Fitzgerald, the first Superintendent, declared his intention of working with an Executive, but until Brittan became Provincial Secretary in 1855 there was no stability in the government. Executive after Executive falling because it didn't inspire the confidence of the Council. Moorhouse preferred to act as an independent agent in his negotiations for a railway loan, and in so doing was severely criticised by Fitzgerald, then editor of "The Press." The question of responsibility was raised in the struggle between the next Superintendent, Bealey, and his Executive, 1863-4. The (8) "Parliamentary Debates", Vol. XII, P. 697.
principle was vindicated and the new Executive, with Rolleston as Provincial Secretary, was much more efficient than that which it had replaced. But the optimistic note of "The Lyttelton Times" in declaring that in future nothing less than a really good governing, responsible Executive would satisfy the country, was shattered by the election of Moorhouse in 1866. Two years later, on the election of Rolleston, the principle was once more asserted, although this Superintendent "whilst accepting an Executive Council, never waived his right to exercise an independent influence" (9).

We will now proceed to a brief survey of the legislation of the Provincial Council and the difficulties it encountered during this period.

**LAND.**

On 1st December, 1849, the Canterbury Association executed an agreement with the New Zealand Company whereby two and a half million acres were to be reserved for ten years for optional purchase by the Association, the land being sold at £3 an acre to selected emigrants adhering to the Church of England. When provincial institutions were established, Fitzgerald, who advocated "dear land and cheap labour", was elected as Superintendent. The feeling in Canterbury was solid in regard to a high price for land and the localisation of the land fund. This feeling was intensified by Grey's Land

Regulations of March, 1853, by which the price of land was reduced to 10/- and under certain conditions to 5/- per acre (with the laudable idea of establishing the small farmer.) Although the Regulations did not apply to the Canterbury- and Otago-Block, they were responsible for the large sheep-runs of the squatters in South Canterbury. (10).

In 1854 the Provincial Council passed an Ordinance claiming control of the land revenue, a claim which was confirmed by the agreement of 1856. From this time the land fund was jealously guarded by the southern provinces - Canterbury and Otago. The "compact" had been definitely a bad bargain for the North with its native difficulty and its scrub and bush. The New Provinces Act, which created provinces with insufficient resources, the Maori Wars and consequent heavy expenditure and borrowing by the General Assembly, were instrumental in causing the financial confusion of the late sixties. Thus, Canterbury and Otago, prosperous by virtue of the gold discoveries and the "sufficient" price of land, and progressive, especially in regard to immigration, public works, and education, feared an encroachment on their land fund in favour of their poorer brethren in the North.

This inequality of North and South, rendered more glaring by the localisation of the land revenue, was an important factor in provincial and colonial politics of the period.

(10) The Canterbury Block was bounded on the south by the Ashburton river, and so did not include South Canterbury.
FINANCE:

It has been noted already that the "compact" of 1856 placed the finances of the provinces upon a more secure footing. The Appropriation Act provided also that not less than ¾ of the gross customs receipts were to be paid over to the provinces. The prosperity of Canterbury in the fifties was due, of course, to the maintenance of the high price of its land which did not deter settlers because of the small expense involved in occupying the land and the good market for produce provided by the Australian goldfields.

This province, by the success of the borrowing policy pursued by Moorhouse in order to defray the cost of the Lyttelton Tunnel, encouraged others to follow its example. But they were in a much less favourable position - Canterbury had been strengthened by the effects of the discovery of gold in Otago - and were shortly reduced to a state of financial chaos. In 1863-4 circumstances, both economic and political, rendered the provincial debentures practically unsaleable in the Home market. A conference between ministers and representatives of the provincial governments resulted in the promise of a colonial guarantee for all provincial loans, but the provinces were to be debarred from borrowing in future unless authorised by an Act of the Assembly. The proposals were carried into effect by Fitzherbert, the Colonial Treasurer, in the 1867 session. (11).

Nevertheless the financial condition of the provinces became steadily worse. Canterbury had not only lost her gold-fields by the County of Westland Act, but also suffered a substantial drop in the land revenue. In 1868 Hall, Acting-Colonial Treasurer, on the suggestion of E.C.J. Stevens, advocated the abolition of provincial charges on the general revenue. He was unable to persuade the House to sanction his scheme, and the financial problem remained unsolved.

In Canterbury the general desire for retrenchment and simplification of the provincial machinery found expression in the vigorous economy measures of the Rolleston government. So successful was this policy that in 1873 the Provincial Treasurer, in his Statement to the Council, was able to point with pride to Canterbury's "teeming treasury chest."

EDUCATION:

In the early years of Canterbury's settlement education was largely denominational. A Provincial Council Ordinance placed public schools under the control of a Board of Education in 1863 while the next year another Ordinance authorised the creation of education districts and the appointment of school committees. Previous legislation was consolidated by an Ordinance of 1871. This, afterwards amended, provided for the establishment of borough schools in Christchurch, Lyttelton, Kaiapoi, and Timaru. The various education districts contributed to expenses and in addition the Board received a grant
from the Provincial Council. (12).

Education, primary and higher, in New Zealand at this period depended upon the financial position of the respective provinces, and Canterbury and Otago, with large land reserves placed aside as educational endowments, were able to boast of flourishing institutions.

PUBLIC WORKS:

"After 1864 the Road Boards and municipalities had taken over the management of roads and local works, the Provincial Government being left with the district supervision of railways and harbour works." (13). By 1873 there were fifty-five miles of railway in Canterbury, the Christchurch-Lyttelton line had been completed in 1867, at a cost of £254,964; the northern railway had been extended as far as Rangioma, and the southern line was in course of construction. All the principal towns were connected by coach traffic and the West Coast Road connecting the goldfields of the West Coast with Canterbury had been completed in 1866 at a cost of £150,000. The Rangitata and Rakaia had been bridged, while the Waitaki, and many other smaller bridges, were under construction. The Provincial Government had spent large sums of money in breakwaters, jetties, and general harbour improvements at Lyttelton, although it was alleged in this respect the requirements of Timaru were neglected.

(12) On 30th June, 1873 there were 78 district schools, 176 teachers, and 7,132 pupils.

DECENTRALISATION:

As early as 1856 John Ollivier, a member of the House of Representatives and the Canterbury Provincial Council, had advocated less legislation in the Provincial Councils, and suggested that they might be far better conducted upon the less costly and more reasonable system of municipalities (14). The Provincial Council passed a Municipal Councils' Ordinance in 1860, giving local powers, in regard to drainage, water supply, roads and pavements, public institutions, and the levying of rates, to municipal councils elected yearly in Christchurch and Lyttelton. Timaru and Kaiapoi were created municipal boroughs eight years later. The Municipal Corporations Act (1867) placed the municipalities in virtual independence of provincial legislation - although the Superintendent had the right of veto over byelaws.

Road Boards were established by the Road Districts Ordinance of 1863 and were given "local control over public works not of primary importance." Ten years later there were thirty-eight road districts in Canterbury each with an elective board possessing the power of levying rates to supplement the yearly Council subsidy, for the purpose of making roads and bridges. The Highway Boards Act brought Road Boards more under the control of the Central Government, and once again the powers of the Provincial Councils were usurped.

(14) Ollivier "The System of Provincial Government considered in a letter to a Friend."
The extent to which decentralisation had advanced in New Zealand may be gauged by the following statement: "Not only municipal councils and road boards, but harbour boards, river boards, and other local bodies steadily grew in number and importance, and to a growing extent provincial funds were 'pledged in permanent charges for works of local benefit'". (15).

OUTLYING DISTRICTS:

The northern districts of Canterbury appeared to acquiesce in the management of their affairs by the Provincial Government, but in South Canterbury there were early manifestations of discontent and hostile criticism. The main grievances, which Moorhouse at a public meeting in Timaru (1861) promised to redress, were these: inadequate representation in the Provincial Council, neglect in the matter of roads, bridges, and harbour works, lack of money for educational and ecclesiastical purposes, enforced share in the railway loan, the refusal to recognise Timaru as a port of entry. Continued agitation during the next few years resulted in a demand for separation from Canterbury, and petitions to this effect were forwarded to the General Assembly (1866-7). Although Christchurch newspapers admitted neglect on the part of the Council, they deprecated such a hazardous step.

In 1867 Cox, the member for Timaru, supported by Jollie (Gladstone) introduced a Bill in the General Assembly, advocating (15) Morrell "The Provincial System of Government in New Zealand" P. 254.
the constitution of the Timaru, Waimate, Levels, Mt. Cook, and Geraldine road districts under a central board, each district being endowed with 25% of the land revenue raised within its borders. The Timaru and Gladstone Board of Works Act was passed without much opposition. Indeed, a public meeting in Christchurch, called by Moorhouse with the idea of condemning the measure, heartily endorsed it, although a meeting at Lyttelton on the same day disapproved of the proposed interference in provincial affairs. The Act received a mixed reception from the electors of Waimate, another South Canterbury centre, where considerable jealousy of Timaru was becoming evident.

In January, 1869, the Board of Works sent a petition to the House of Representatives asking that South Canterbury be made a county. The Bill in which this request was formulated was rejected by thirty-one votes to eighteen. There still remained a great deal of disaffection in the southern districts.

Many colonists did not appreciate South Canterbury’s desire for separation; but they certainly admitted that there was some justification for the attitude of the settlers and diggers, who numbered 50,000 in 1866, in the western portion of the province. It was realised that geographically, Westland was a distinct unit. The natural channel for trade was by sea, with Otago and Australia. The West Coast road, for which they had to bear half the cost, was, to the Westlanders, an unnecessary burden. In 1867 the discontent culminated in the County of Westland Act which was passed in the House by
twenty-seven to twenty votes, many Canterbury members supporting the bill. It is interesting to note here that, after the law officers of the Crown intimated that the bill was "ultra-vires", and an Imperial Act with a general application was passed to validate the measure, the ministers were now armed with power to destroy the provinces if they wished. (16).

Westland, saddled with a heavy debt to Canterbury, continued its precarious existence as a county until 1873, when it was constituted a province - with a difference. The popularly elected Superintendent was to be a member of the Council, a principle which had been favoured, on various occasions, by Rolleston.

SUMMARY:

Canterbury, a pastoral province with a population of approximately 52,000 people, was by the end of 1872 divided in opinion as regards the utility of provincial institutions. Their impending fate had been discussed by prominent politicians, notably Vogel in his Financial Statement of 1870, in the General Assembly, in the Provincial Council, and in the newspapers. "The Lyttelton Times", the mouthpiece of Reeves, favoured Reform; "The Press", controlled by Stevens, and "The Timaru Herald", edited and controlled by Belfield, both clamoured for abolition. These newspapers frequently deplored the apathy of the public and endeavoured to arouse interest.

in political affairs. The centralising policy of the General Assembly and the multiplicity of local bodies had greatly curtailed the powers of the Provincial Councils. The outlying districts were disaffected; the growth of a "liberal" spirit in the Councils made runholders apprehensive of provincial legislation. To many people who regarded the system as an anachronism, the time seemed opportune to deliver the "coup de grâce".
Chapter I: The Provincial and General Governments, 1873.


Commenting on the gloomy views of the fate of provincial institutions, particularly those views recently expressed by the Mayor of Christchurch and certain provincial councillors, (1) "The Lyttelton Times" maintained that reform, and not abolition was the fundamental question. In a letter to "The Press", (2) E.J. Wakefield emphasised the need for economy, especially in regard to provincial departments and services.

At Rangiora, despite the activities of a prospective candidate who advocated the reduction of provincial councils to the status of central road boards, T.W. Maude was elected unopposed to the vacant seat on 1st May. The following day the Superintendent opened the thirty-ninth session of the Canterbury Provincial Council.

Among the string of notices of motion following Rolleston's Address was a proposal to revive the Immigration Agency - for which purpose £50,000 was to be appropriated. Members, including the Hon. Col. Brett M.L.C., expressed satisfaction that the Provincial Government had determined to take active steps in this matter. "The Press", however, raised strong objections and pointed out that Canterbury would still have to bear its share of the general colonial charge. After some

(1) 4th February, 1873. (2) 5th February, 1873.
delay, Kennaway, the Provincial Secretary, submitted an amended proposal to the Council. An agent, nominated by the Provincial Government, was to represent Canterbury in the United Kingdom. Failing assistance from the General Government in regard to salaries and other expenses connected with the agency, the Council was to appropriate a sum not exceeding £20,000, "to be used for the purpose of promoting immigration to the Province." (3).

Early in August, Andrew Duncan was appointed Immigration Agent, and a free nominated system was initiated.

Education policy was a matter of premier importance in provincial affairs. The defenders of the denominational system, which had been a feature of the early settlement in Canterbury, viewed with alarm the establishment of secular schools. In Kaiapoi the new borough school had opened under the former teachers of the respective denominational schools. But in Christchurch the attempt to bring the city under the Education Ordinance met with organized opposition. Unwilling to accept responsibility, the Board of Education decided to remit the question to the further consideration of the Provincial Council.

Early in the session, therefore, a new Education Ordinance was introduced. It abandoned the denominational question, and provided that any district containing more than twenty-five

(3) v: "Press", 27th May, 1873.
children of school age (4) should be declared an education
district by the Superintendent, by proclamation in the Provincial-
government 'Gazette'. In other respects this new
Ordinance was largely a repetition of that of 1871. A
resolution that aid should not be withdrawn from denominational
schools was defeated by twenty-three votes to nine. (5). This
was reconsidered, but on 3rd June a motion for continuing the
grants to denominational schools was rejected on the casting
vote of the Chairman of Committees. The secular party had
 gained a narrow victory which 'The Press' described as a
"poor triumph." Incidentally, it may be mentioned that both
'The Lyttelton Times' and 'The Press' were anti-denominational
in sentiment. It was held too, by many people, that im-
portant subjects like education should be entrusted to the
General Assembly.

The finances of Canterbury were in a flourishing condition.
In his Address to the Council on 2nd May, Rolleston remarked
on the fact that receipts from land sales during the past
seven months had exceeded the total estimate for the twelve
months by £100,000, and were at the rate of £400,000 a year.

In spite of the material signs of prosperity, it was only after
a great deal of hesitation that the Provincial Council assented
to a scheme for spending £150,000 on harbour works at Lyttelton.
£100,000 was to be raised by loan, £50,000 to be supplied from

(4) 5 - 13 years.  (5) "Press", 14th May, 1873.
provincial revenue.

In this thirty-ninth session, although education and immigration were the main topics of discussion, public works were not neglected. Proposals were made to build bridges over several rivers. The ignorance displayed by Kennaway and other councillors concerning bridge construction in South Canterbury caused sarcastic comment in the newspapers, where the administration of provincial affairs was severely criticised.

(2) The Canterbury Members and the General Assembly, 1873.

With the single exception of E.W. Stafford, no Canterbury member of the General Assembly had met his constituents since the election of 1871. The indifference of the electors was probably due in some measure to absorption in provincial politics. Stafford, addressing his constituents at Timaru, reviewed the legislation of the past two sessions. In the course of his speech he urged that definite relations be established between the General and Provincial Governments, and hoped that Vogel would introduce - as he had promised - a measure satisfactory to both parties.

Press criticism and Stafford's example evidently stimulated more Canterbury members to account their constituents for their actions in the House of Representatives. Reeves (Selwyn)
addressed public meetings at Leeston and Courtenay. At the
former his speech was largely an apologia for his work as
Resident Minister for the Middle Island. A resolution dis-
approving of the "unqualified support he rendered to the
unsatisfactory Fox-Vogel administration" was carried by
twenty-three votes to sixteen. At Courtenay Reeves obtained
a more cordial reception. He condemned the immigration
policy, particularly in its application to Canterbury, as the
weakest point in the administration of the Government; but
he did not agree with the suggestion, supported at the same
meeting by Bluett (Coleridge), that the Provincial Council
should again take over immigration.

The Lyttelton seat, vacated by J.T. Peacock's elevation to
the Legislative Council, was contested by Murray-Aynsley and
H.R. Webb. The latter, who was the successful candidate,
announced his support of the Vogel Government, and his
opposition to the squatting interest.

The Colonial Treasurer, Julius Vogel, had developed from
virtual into actual Premier. On 15th May "The Press" sounded
the alarm. It warned the Canterbury people that the Govern-
ment was essentially an Auckland-Otago one. "We all know
what that combination means; and there have been many signif-
icant hints that the old projects of the predominance of
Auckland in the North, and the "annexation" of Canterbury,
Nelson, and Westland to Otago in the South, are not forgotten."
The immigration proposals before the Provincial Council were denounced by the newspapers as encouraging the indifferent and dilatory attitude of the General Government. "The Press" (6) declared that the majority of Canterbury members subordinated everything to the one consideration of keeping Vogel in power. Vogel associated with incompetent colleagues, with the result that a Minister of proved incapacity (7) was suffered to mismanage immigration without remonstrance, while the land fund of Canterbury was taxed to supply his deficiencies.

On 5th July, before the opening of the 1873 session, G.B. Parker (Gladstone) addressed his constituents at Waimate. His condemnation of the Government met with general approval.

Vogel's policy, as set out in his Budget speech of 29th July, may be arranged under three heads: (1) a revival of provincial borrowing; (2) the taking of land as security for the cost of railways; (3) alterations in the tariff. In accordance with his "search after equilibrium" Vogel suggested that local works should be left to the provinces, while the General Assembly retain full control of colonial works. To enable the provinces thus to share in the work of colonisation it was necessary to permit them to borrow. But loans were to be confined to the Australasian colonies; and security in the shape of rates, dues, or blocks of lands, was to be given in each case.

(6) 27th May, 1873. (7) O'Rorke.
During the debate on the Provincial Loans Empowering Bill, Rolleston (Avon) (8) defended provincial constitutions against the attacks of Reader and Wood (Parnell). The prediction of "The Lyttelton Times" was correct: "We shall probably find when the Provincial Borrowing Powers Bill comes on for discussion, that the Superintendent-War MY (the ultra-provincial party) though not so formidable or compact as before, is still in existence and full of fight." Rolleston was described by Vogel as the most malignant opponent of the Central Government.

The Bill was passed by fifty votes to twenty-two, seven Canterbury members voting with, and four (Rolleston, Stafford, Wakefield and Sir J.C. Wilson) against the Government. In the Legislative Council one Canterbury member, the Hon. Col. Brett, voted for the Bill which was rejected by nineteen votes to twelve. The speech of the Hon. J.B.A. Acland (Canterbury) is significant: "I have no faith whatever in Provincial Councils..."

Between the second and third readings of the Provincial Loans Bill, a whole flood of Provincial Borrowing Bills was poured into the House of Representatives. It seemed that, finding the Loans Empowering Bill was certain to pass, the provincialists (10) had decided to help it through, and to take all possible advantage of it for the benefit of their own

(9) 25th August, 1873.
(10) Rolleston was an exception.
provinces. Canterbury was the only province which did not avail herself of the opportunity. The Legislative Council, however, summarily rejected these "little Loan Bills."

To return to the second feature of Vogel's policy, i.e. the taking of land as security for the cost of railways; this was strenuously opposed by Canterbury and Otago. "The Press"(11) pointed out that in Canterbury the railways would be constructed out of the Canterbury land fund, in Auckland out of money borrowed on the credit of the colony. A caucus of Canterbury and Otago members (12) resulted in the alternative proposal that a loan, charged on the colony, be raised for the purpose of purchasing a landed estate for the North Island provinces. This suggestion was accepted by the Government. Vogel relinquished the idea of requiring landed security for railways and volunteered to restore that exacted from Wellington and Hawke's Bay.

The tariff proposals suffered a similar fate. As a result of universal opposition - in the House, in Chambers of Commerce, and in the press - the projected scale of duties was unanimously repudiated. (13).

In this session J.E. Brown (Ashley) introduced a Disqualification of Provincial Officers Bill. The principle of this Bill found favour with a few ardent anti-provincialists; and it was no new feature in the House. It would have deprived (11) 8th August, 1873. (12) v "Press", 23rd August, 1873. (13) An amended Tariff Act was passed.
the electors of the services of many capable men - Superintendents and other provincial office-holders - and even "The Press" (14) signified approval when the bill was rejected by fifty-four votes to twelve.

There was some talk, after the rejection of the Provincial Loans Empowering Bill by the Legislative Council, of a second session and of reforming the Upper House; but in the end these projects were dropped. "The Press" (15) characterised the session thus: "In open abandonment of principle for place on the part of Ministers, in the utter demoralisation of the House of Representatives, in intrigue, caucuses, wire-pulling, and log-rolling it stands pre-eminent." This condemnation was reiterated in public by Sir J.C. Wilson (Heathcote) and J.W. Brown (Ashley.)


1873.

On 15th November the Superintendent opened the fortieth session of the Canterbury Provincial Council. He announced that the total revenue for the year, including the Lyttelton Harbour works loan, was estimated at £1,004,869. His Honour suggested the establishment of a Harbour Trust, with a landed endowment to meet the interest on the loan. "The Press" (16) considered this proposal to be the plainest possible.

(14) 25th August, 1873. (15) 4th October, 1873. (16) 17th November, 1873.
avowal of the inutility of provincial institutions. The same sentiments were expressed in regard to the proposed Railway Commission; and the criticism of the Executive was particularly scathing.

The general dissatisfaction in regard to the management, or rather mismanagement, of the railways found its outlet in the columns of the newspapers. "The Press" (17) hinted that the Executive was holding Marshman, the General Manager, as a scapegoat. Rolleston had refused to exercise his power of appointment and dismissal, and the Executive had thereupon appealed to the Council. This course was denounced: "It degrades and dishonours the Provincial Council by forcing it into the ridiculous position of treating as grave political questions the silly squabbles which for the last three years have made the Provincial Council of Canterbury the laughing stock of New Zealand." The papers placed before the Council seem to indicate that the Executive's demand for Marshman's dismissal was unwarranted. After the debate on the question a division was called for. The result was the defeat of the Government, on the casting vote of the Speaker. Marshman's resignation did not affect the issue, and Montgomery, who had been elected unopposed for Heathcote (18) on 22nd September, was called by the Superintendent to form a new Government.

(17) 26th November, 1873.
(18) In place of Andrew Duncan.
As it appeared that agents from other provinces - which had followed Canterbury in this matter of immigration - were paid by the Colonial Government, the Canterbury authorities immediately applied for the same assistance. This was refused, but the General Government offered to assist the Agent if the provinces paid him. Although at first opposed to the idea of free nominated immigration the General Government had ultimately decided to permit Canterbury to carry out the system. These negotiations, which gave rise to puzzling contradictions and entanglements, were the subject of much curious speculation and criticism in the newspapers.

SUMMARY:

Canterbury's prosperity enabled her to act independently of the General Government in regard to immigration. It explains also her disinterested attitude when other provinces were clamouring for loans. Her representatives combined with those of Otago to resist successfully Vogel's railway proposals, which menaced the land fund. Canterbury members were divided in their allegiance to the Government and their actions aroused no great interest among the electors. People were more concerned with local affairs. The Education Ordinance 1873 was condemned by denominationalists and praised by their opponents. General dissatisfaction regarding the administration of the provincial railways led to an inquiry in the Council and the defeat of the Government.
In view of the Provincial Council elections members hastened to address their constituents at the close of the session. The newspapers constantly urged electors to register on the electoral roll, and in many ways endeavoured to arouse public interest. This was achieved in one constituency at least. The appearance of E. W. Stafford, who had been Superintendent of Nelson and three times Premier of New Zealand, as a candidate for Heathcote, produced a minor sensation. Here the contest was fought on the question of education. Stafford favoured grants to denominational schools, whereas Montgomery, Fisher, Sir J. C. Wilson, and Dr. Foster, the other candidates for the three seats, all supported the Ordinance. The result of the poll was decisive:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Votes</th>
<th>Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Montgomery</td>
<td>483</td>
<td>elected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fisher</td>
<td>315</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilson</td>
<td>230</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foster</td>
<td>221</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stafford</td>
<td>163</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

In addition to the education question, the chief topics of discussion at the various meetings were: the relations between Superintendent and Executive, the renewal of runholders' licenses, and, in Christchurch, the endowment of municipalities.

The Provincial Government, in its desire to end the possibility of deadlocks arising from disagreements between the
Superintendent and the Executive as in the Marshman case, proposed to alter the Executive Council Ordinance so as to enable the Superintendent to dismiss his Executive during a session. This was opposed by many candidates who regarded with disfavour the extension of the Superintendent's power. (1)

In the municipalities and the agricultural districts public opinion was unanimous in condemning the renewal of squatters' licenses. As the leases did not expire till 1880, and therefore would not concern the 1874-8 Council, the newspapers and many candidates considered that discussion of the question was premature.

The candidates for Christchurch, with the exception of Inglis (2), were emphatic in demanding an endowment for the city, the control of licenses and taxes amounting to £2500, or a grant similar to that enjoyed by the road boards. The Mayor, N. B. Hart, intended to ask for 40,000 acres as a permanent endowment, and expressed the hope that Timaru and Kaiapoi would support Christchurch in pressing similar municipal claims.

At Ashburton another prominent public man came forward - Alfred Saunders, who had been a member of the Nelson Provincial Council for twelve years, twice Superintendent of that province, and a member of the House of Representatives. He supported the proposed amendment of the Executive Council Ordinance; and in regard to the runholders, "when it came to the question 'sheep

(1) See p 12 - responsible government. (2) He considered the case was hopeless.
or settlers he would know how to act to benefit all classes instead of a favoured few." (3).

The southern candidates, notably Kennaway (at Timaru) and Selby Tancred (at Geraldine) dwelt upon the injustice towards their districts and were consistent in their advocacy of harbour works for Timaru.

William Rolleston was elected unopposed to the Superintendancy. Although there had been some talk of a contest - and Rolleston himself would have welcomed it - public opinion acclaimed him as the best man for the position. At Port Victoria, Lyttelton, Rangiora, and Oxford, the former members were also returned without opposition.

There were ten new members elected to the Council. Of the others, in some cases the members did not represent the same districts as before dissolution. The squatting interest, though not as powerful as formerly, retained about a third of the seats. The Christchurch members were pledged to support the claims of the municipality. Andrews, who headed the Christchurch poll, received the support of the working men, an event which was hailed with satisfaction by "The Press". (4).

The agricultural community also was well represented on the Council, while it was generally recognized that the elections had been a triumph for the anti-denominational party. (5).

(3) v "Press" 31st March, 1874. (4) 21st April, 1874. (5) v Appendix A.
There was a rumour after the elections that, having no business to do, the Provincial Council would not meet. "If we are to have a session, let it be without Select Committees. The £3,000 or so per annum which the late Government used to expend on Commissions, whose reports were invariably so much waste paper, can be applied to better purposes......In every other province, north and south, we see the Provincial Councils assembling in hot haste in view of the approaching session of the Assembly, to pass Loan Bills. But Canterbury, singular among them all, does not need or wish to borrow......If provincial affairs supply no theme for discussion there are the affairs of the colony, or of the Empire. The House can resolve itself into a debating club." (7).

At the opening of the forty-first session of the Provincial Council on 29th May, His Honour the Superintendent spoke of liberal subsidies to road boards, of the cheapening of railway traffic, of a permanent endowment to municipalities, of the construction of the Timaru harbour works, of draining Lake Ellesmere, of the irrigation of the Ashburton and Rakaia districts, of local immigration depots, of further grants to public libraries. He pointed out that in the years 1871-4 the population had increased from 45,000 to 59,000 (8). The area of cultivation was doubled, and the

(6) The Kennaway Government. (7) "Press" 15th May, 1874. (8) v Appendix B.
value of exports had reached a sum exceeding £1,000,000. The land revenue estimated for September 30th, 1874 was eight times that of 1871, while the railway receipts were also showing a substantial increase compared with those of the previous year.

The main part of the estimates (9), submitted to the Council on 9th June, was composed of re-votes. There were, however, a few notable additions. The grant to the road boards was raised from £30,000 to £100,000. For school buildings the estimate provided for a further vote besides the unexpended balance, of about £22,000. The hospital, lunatic asylum, and public libraries were to receive £11,500. Large sums were to be voted for roads, bridges, water-supply, railways, and the Timaru breakwater. It seemed that, blessed with an overflowing Treasury chest, the Government had decided to make an equal distribution of its favours.

Yet, in the midst of this prosperity "The Press" (10) sounded a warning note. The editor urged the endowment of hospitals and kindred institutions. If they were not provided for, a financial depression would inevitably mean additional taxation. It was pointed out that the chief source of revenue for 1874 was the land fund, and that there were no grounds whatsoever for believing that in after years the income from this source would be maintained at the same level. In effect, Canterbury seemed to be intoxicated with prosperity.

(9) E. Jollie, Provincial Secretary and Treasurer.
(10) 12th June, and 4th July, 1874.
During the session the councillors incurred the wrath and indignation of the public by voting themselves free passes on the railways.

There were various proposals for altering the system of education. Some members desired the abolition of the Board and the appointment of a political minister of education with a seat in the Provincial Council. Others advocated the retention of the Board with a paid Chairman. No attempt was made to embody these proposals in a new Ordinance. The Council agreed to reserve 200,000 acres as an endowment for primary education, but this required an Act of the General Assembly for final sanction.

The Executive Council Amendment Ordinance, introduced early in the session, was ultimately shelved, its fate regretted by few. The Municipal Corporations Revenue Ordinance, which proposed to hand over the dog tax, and publicans' and auctioneers' licenses to the municipalities, was defeated on the second reading by nineteen votes to fourteen. Before the session closed the Council voted £100,000 to be kept in reserve for the Timaru breakwater.

**SUMMARY:**

The Provincial Council elections were a triumph for the secular party in educational matters. The main cause for dissatisfaction now was the irresponsibility of the Board of Education. Political affairs, however, receded into the
background while all sections of the province - except the municipalities - shared in the general prosperity.

Chapter III: Municipalities, Outlying Districts.

Newspapers and General Public, 1873-4.

1: The Municipalities.

When the Christchurch City Council was called into existence it received a grant of 10,000 acres of Crown Lands; but the first Council, having no means to begin making streets and sanitary improvements, under pressure of necessity gave up this reserve in return for £20,000, to be paid in yearly instalments. In the early years the Provincial Council gave the Corporation a grant towards the maintenance of the main thorough-fares, but after a time this was discontinued. Christchurch was at a disadvantage compared with Dunedin and Auckland, where revenue was obtained from various licenses - auctioneers, publicans, carriages, hawkers, theatres etc. On 10th March, 1874 a correspondent, "E.G.", writing to "The Press", drew attention to the plight of the Canterbury municipalities. He suggested that they were a force in the provincial state and that they should unite, in view of the forthcoming elections to obtain recognition of their claims. The need of such a policy was stressed by the candidates for the Christchurch seats in the Provincial Council. At the same time
they urged increased representation of the city in the Council, a return to the original number of four members.

On 26th June, after the defeat of the Municipal Corporations Revenue Ordinance, "E.G." returned to the attack. The land in Canterbury was selling at a fabulous rate, and the Provincial Government, to ensure the permanency of different institutions, was endowing them with large votes of money. But why stop here? Why neglect the municipal boroughs which were steadily growing stronger, while the provincial Councils were gradually declining? Railways and telegraph were doing away with the necessity for the latter institutions. The road boards received large yearly grants. Why not the boroughs? "E.G." cited the case of Auckland and suggested that the Canterbury municipalities should appeal to the General Assembly to accede their claims.

His efforts were not abortive. On 6th July, on the motion of Cr. Lane, the City Council resolved to go to the General Assembly for power to take over the taxes and licenses refused by the Provincial Council. About a fortnight later, a public meeting was held to consider the advisability of petitioning the General Assembly to this effect. The meeting, convened by the Mayor, was but sparsely attended. Resolutions in favour of a petition were being passed unanimously, when a telegram arrived from Mr. Foster in Wellington, stating that E. Richardson, (Christchurch West) had declined to take charge of the proposed bill, and counselling its withdrawal.
The familiar question of justice to Timaru was debated in the Provincial Council on 12th June, 1873, when a motion for the repeal of certain resolutions passed in 1869 for the protection of the southern districts was rejected. These resolutions, which established partial financial separation, were considered by many people to be anomalous; but in Timaru they were regarded as a pledge, or rather, as a material guarantee that southern interests would receive equitable consideration. Although rejecting the motion for repeal, the Council resolved to amend the resolutions, so as to charge the south with a fair proportion of expenditure on all buildings and public works of a provincial character.

"In the course of another year or two, should the provincial system hold together for so long, what with the improvement in the means of communication and other causes, the north and south will be brought closer together, and the need for the resolutions will be at an end. But as things are, we have little doubt that their repeal would have been regarded in the south as an act of aggression on the part of the northern districts, and would have given rise to renewed agitation for separation." (1).

In 1873 keen dissatisfaction was expressed by a number of Waimate people at the manner in which the Road Board was carrying on its work. "The Timaru Herald" (2) hinted that the Board members, most of whom were squatters,

(1) "The Press", 13th June, 1873. (2) "Timaru Herald", 13th October, 1873.
were purposely retarding the formation of roads in order to prevent the "cockatoo" (3) from opening up the land. A public meeting in Waimate resolved to petition the Provincial Council to increase the Board to nine members, in the hope that the squatting element would be swamped. The petition was not forwarded, but conditions materially improved as a result of the agitation.

At an interview with Vogel in January, 1874, the Timaru Borough Council blamed the Provincial Government for the delay in the completion of the Timaru-Temuka railway (4) for which the contract had been drawn in August, 1871. In an election speech in April, Kennaway denied this responsibility; but maintained that the southern district had been unfairly treated by the Provincial Council in other matters. He contended that the district south of the Rangitata had been deprived of £30,000 during the past financial year.

A contrast to the southern districts is found in Banks Peninsula. Here, during the same year, 17,242 acres of land were sold; and the amount brought into the Treasury was close upon £35,000. Out of this sum £12,450 had been voted for roads, bridges and other public works. When reviewing these facts at Akaroa on 10th March, 1874, Westenra stated that he and other Peninsular members, Rhodes and Buchanan, acted together whenever the interests of their particular district were concerned.

(3) The small farmer. (4) Approximately 11 miles.
During the thirty-ninth session the Council passed a vote of £5,000 for "aiding in establishing new, and assisting existing public libraries, book clubs and institutes in the country districts." Though the suburban districts (5) were thereby favoured, this acknowledgement of the claims of culture was a fine gesture.

Two sessions later the liberal grants proved effective if not silencing, at least in reducing the demands of the outlying districts.

21. The Newspapers.

Politically, newspapers may function in two ways: in giving expression to public opinion, and in moulding public opinion. Their columns, however, are available only to a limited extent to those who wish to air their views on popular questions. But the editor has almost unlimited space in which to propagate the political opinions of the proprietors.

In Canterbury, during the period under discussion, the newspapers enjoying the widest circulation were the two dailies "The Lyttelton Times" and "The Press," both published in Christchurch (6). The former was controlled from 1867, in both the editorial and publishing departments, by William (5) Addington, Waltham, St. Albans, Riccarton, Papanui.

(6) "The Lyttelton Times" was first published in Lyttelton in January, 1851, a few days after the arrival of the first colonists sent out by the Canterbury Association.
Reeves. He was the Director of the paper's policy, although during the years 1867-74, J.M. Smith occupied the editorial chair. Of Reeves we quote: "His political views were those of an enlightened English Liberal of the Gladstonian period. Reeves was and remained a Liberal, taking, however, a most sympathetic and humane view of the rights and requirements of the working classes than was often to be found among middle-class Liberals of that period. . . . One of the most important services he did the country was to throw his weight into the scale as an ardent advocate of Sir Julius Vogel's policy of State-controlled railways and public works and State-controlled immigration. In these he supported Vogel as thoroughly as he had supported. . . . Mr. Sefton Moorhouse. He was not afraid to support the borrowing of loans in London for these purposes, although by no means a supporter of reckless Government expenditure.

"In the days when the battle for closer settlement was being carried on he was always to be found on the side of the small farmer, and always believed that the enormous pastoral estates, which then covered such an immense area in New Zealand, were an anomaly, and would have to go. . . . Mr. Reeves remained a provincialist to the last." (7)

During these years 1873-4, "The Lyttelton Times" was a constant advocate of reform and simplification of the provincial

(7) "Lyttelton Times" Jubilee No., 11th January, 1926.
system. Its proprietary established other journals, the most important being "The Canterbury Times" (8), a weekly edition, and "The Star" (9), an evening paper. The political policy expounded by these was naturally similar to that of "The Lyttelton Times."

Like its rival "The Press" also enjoyed a wide circulation throughout not only the province but the whole colony, from Auckland to the Bluff. As early as 1863, two years after its foundation, it had established agents in London. In the original proprietorship J.W. Fitzgerald, the founder, was associated with Messrs. Watts - Russell, Lane, Harman, Brittan, Geyke, Cookson, and the Rev. G. Raven and H. Jacobs. (10). Financially, "The Press" was badly crippled in 1868, when publication was limited to three days a week. More capital was brought in, and the crisis passed. From that time, it would appear, dates the connection of W.C.J. Stevens (11) with the newspaper.

In 1867 J.M. Colborne-Veel succeeded G. Sale as "working-editor." When Fitzgerald moved to Wellington, in the same year, Colborne-Veel became sole editor. He had graduated with honours at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, in 1856, and was particularly effective in dealing with educational matters.

(8) Established 1865.     (9) Established 1868.
He held his position until 1872, and during the years under review successfully conducted the campaign against the provincial system. (12). In June, 1874, "The Press" Company published the first issue of the evening paper "The Globe."

In the first editorial of "The Timaru Herald", established 1864, A.G. Horton wrote: "Situated in the midst of an immense district almost wholly unsettled, and with resources very partially developed, our primary task will be to keep the wants and claims of the district perpetually before the public and the Government." In accordance with this aim Horton eventually became a champion of separation (from North Canterbury) not as the ideal course, but as the only practicable way to obtain desired improvements in the district. This policy was followed by his successor H. Belfield, also a proprietor, and editor from 1871-4. In the latter year Wakefield was appointed editor, a position which he held until 1884. During these years he consistently and vigorously stressed the importance of providing permanent and adequate harbour works at Timaru. In politics he was a staunch abolitionist; and in E.W. Stafford, the member for Timaru, who was connected with the Wakefield family by marriage, he obtained a powerful ally. It was largely due to the energy of Wakefield that in 1876 "The Timaru Herald" became a daily, with a weekly supplement. (13).

(13) "The Timaru Herald" and some aspects of the development of South Canterbury. - E.J. Hall.
It is impossible, of course, to estimate the influence of these newspapers upon public opinion. That they penetrated to every district in the province is shown by a study of the lists of their agents. That they possessed considerable weight in the community is asserted by former editors (14), and indicated also by references to them in Parliament and the few books of the period. Their reliability as an indication of public opinion, however, is discounted by the political allegiance of the proprietors. In the advocacy of reforms, in the all-important problems of education, sanitation, public works and harbour improvements, in the reports of meetings (15) political and otherwise, and in the publication of correspondents' letters, their historical value is clear and indisputable.

4: The General Public.

That only four Canterbury representatives addressed their constituents between the elections of 1871 and the opening of the 1873 session of the General Assembly may be cited as evidence of the public's apathetic attitude towards political questions. Occasionally zealous citizens wrote to the newspapers complaining that members gave no account of their actions in the House, and editorials, in a similar strain,

(14) Their various Jubilee numbers are particularly informative on this point.

(15) Meetings and events of local interest were reported more fully then than now.
endeavoured to spur them along the path of duty.

A public meeting was called 28th January, 1873, by Wynn Williams M.P.C., in order to stimulate people to register their votes. As a result of this meeting, the "Canterbury Registration of Votes Association" was formed. The system of registration was generally condemned as being defective in many essential points. It was complicated, unreliable, and costly. Reform was constantly urged.

On 26th May, 1873, "The Press" drew attention to the "deterioration" in the quality of the House of Representatives. "This deterioration, so painfully evident after the general election of 1871, still continues." During the debate on the Provincial Loans Bill, 2nd September, 1873, Rolleston made similar observations with a reference to the causes at work. "It is a fact which I think must be admitted by every member of the House, that you cannot now throughout the country get men of a proper stamp and status to come up and spend three months of the year in this House. Men cannot afford to leave their businesses in order to come up here, and the consequence is that the choice of the people is limited in their representation."

During the session there appeared in "The Press" (16) a letter by "I think", condemning Vogel's Public Works policy and especially the railway reserves. The writer concluded (16) 22nd August, 1873.
on a prophetic note: "We are enjoying the lull before the storm, this lucid interval which seems specially designed to give humanity a last chance, and it remains to be seen whether our representatives will take advantage of it, or blindly rush after our Chameleon-like Premier, and end our provincial existence and our prosperity together."
PART II: THE STORM.

Chapter IV: The Canterbury Members and the General Assembly, 1874.

The question of forest conservation, which had been introduced into the House of Representatives by a Canterbury member, Potts, in 1868, had attracted Vogel's attention. In order to introduce a uniform scheme, and to overcome financial objections the Government proposed to select not more than three per cent of the waste lands of a province for State forests. "The Press" (1) expressed a doubt that the provinces would approve of these extensive appropriations of land. Tree-planting and the preservation of timber were desirable objects; but the price - three per cent of the land - would probably be considered too dear.

In 1874 the Canterbury Provincial Council had appropriated the sum of £13,000 for plantations. This was £3,000 more than what the Government proposed to spend. Referring to these facts in the debate on 4th August, Rolleston (2) maintained that the real aim of the State Forests Bill was to cripple provincial institutions. While he agreed with the principle of forest conservation, he considered it was his duty, as representative of the electors of Avon, and as Superintendent of Canterbury, to maintain intact the land laws of that province. Bluett (Coleridge), in voicing his support of

the measure, declared that Rolleston's attitude did not represent that of the people of Canterbury.

The provincialists rallied to repulse an attack on their landed estate and it was soon clear that the Bill was unpopular. Replying to the debate, Vogel argued that the provinces were incapable of promoting such necessary work as tree-planting and forest conservation. He quoted a mass of figures to prove his contention, showing that the Colonial Government had spent, during the preceding three years, a sum of £2,387,777 on the North Island provinces, while the total provincial revenue of the island during those years, including revenue raised from land, was only £448,849. "And when, in view of these figures, we are told that the establishment of a system of State forests in the North Island is inconsistent with the maintenance of provincialism, it seems to me that there can be but one reply "Abolish the provinces in the North Island." "(3).

"The Press"(4), while agreeing with Vogel's conclusions, denounced the abrupt change in his attitude. The North Island provinces should not be abolished merely as a penalty for opposition to the Government. The principal offenders were Canterbury and Otago. (5) There was no reason for an arbitrary distinction between the two islands, or for prohibit-

ing those parts (6) where provincialism had either died or had never taken root from availing themselves of the better system which was proposed for the North.

"The Lyttelton Times" (7) at this stage ventured the opinion that Vogel could most effectually abolish the provinces by active and careful prosecution of the policy of public works.

"Stafford afterwards asserted that he was personally responsible for Vogel's change of attitude, and, although Stafford was not a man to minimize his own part in affairs, certainly he henceforth acted in very close co-operation with the Ministry. Ultimately, however, the change was due to Vogel's disgust at the perpetual provincial interference with his plans, and at their ceaseless demands on the colonial revenue." (8)

Assured of a majority in the House, on 13th August the Premier moved that the provincial form of government in the North Island be abolished, that Wellington be declared the seat of government of the Colony, and that the land revenue be localized in accordance with the compact of 1856. During the recess the Government was to consider how best to give effect to the above resolutions. (9).

Reeves (Selwyn), (10) as an independent member, declared that the resolutions were introduced at a most inopportune period.

(10) " " " " P.641.
He believed that the people of the Middle Island would perceive that such a measure meant the total abolition of provincialism and the passing over to the General Government of the land revenues of the provinces throughout the colony. He accused the Premier of indecent haste in formulating the proposals and finally contended that the present Parliament had no moral right to deal with the question, having been elected for a totally different purpose and without any intimation that large political changes were likely to be carried out.

His charges of hasty preparation were effectively answered by Atkinson (Wanganui), who believed that the provincialists in the south knew their cause was doomed if a real system of local government were introduced into the colony. He declared that five-sixths of the people in the northern provinces would welcome such a change.

Montgomery, who, after disqualification earlier in the session, had been re-elected unopposed for Akaroa, also condemned the haste of the Government's proposals. He ridiculed the idea of a system of local self-government based on the model of the Timaru and Gladstone Board of Works which could distribute only 25% of the land fund of the district.

The member for Lyttelton, H.R. Webb, confessed that since the previous year, he had transferred his affections from the cause of provincialism to that of abolition, in order to further national progress. He denied Montgomery's
assertion that the resolutions created intense excitement in Canterbury. He intended to vote for the Government; but he saw no necessity for abolishing provincial institutions in Canterbury and Otago.

The Minister of Public Works, the Hon. E. Richardson (Christchurch west) pointed out that in Canterbury simplification of the provincial system had long been advocated, and that when public feeling was strong enough a change would be insisted upon.

J.E. Brown (Ashley) supported the resolutions on the ground that they would lead to homogeneity of the people and the elimination of provincial jealousies and log-rolling. He quoted numerous instances - including a speech by Rolleston in 1871 - of agitation in Canterbury against provincial institutions. Brown claimed that his constituents acquiesced absolutely in his views.

The resolutions were carried by forty-one to sixteen. (11) five Superintendents (of Auckland, Wellington, Nelson, Canterbury and Otago) and five members of Provincial Executives voting with the minority. Of the Canterbury members eight voted with, and three (Rolleston, Reeves, Montgomery) against the Government.

On 22nd of August "The Press" proclaimed that no organic change of the constitution ought to be made without a direct reference to the people. "The Lyttelton Times" (12) warned

(12) 22nd August, 1874.
its readers that the passing of the resolutions heralded
general abolition. The paper was extremely sarcastic towards
the Canterbury members who had voted with the Government.

Although there had been no expression of public opinion,
in Canterbury and Otago, judging by the local press, abolition
seemed to be favourably regarded in Timaru, Oamaru, and
Southland. "The Press" (13) deplored the unhealthy,
sapathetic condition of public life and endeavoured to impress
upon its readers that the proposed abolition of the North
Island provinces was in every sense a colonial question.
It rested with the people to help to mould the inevitable
change to their liking. Otherwise they would drift help-lessly into a system framed without their assistance and
possibly with very little regard to their interests. The
newspaper (14) scorned the suggestion that the Middle Island
land fund was in danger, and in this connection quoted Vogel's
speech in moving the resolutions: "I repudiate any and every
assertion that there is involved anything calculated to
attack, or to render insecure, the land fund of these provinces."

The Governor's promotion speech made similar references to
the topic. The fact that the Canterbury provincialists had
accepted the leadership of their late enemy Fitzherbert
seemed to indicate that they knew their land revenue was safe.

(13) 28th August, 1874. (14) "Press", 9th September, 1874.
In order to relieve the Government of provincial pressure in matters of colonial importance e.g. public works, 'The Lyttelton Times' advocated the exclusion from the House of all Superintendents and provincial office-holders. While citing the last session as excellent evidence of this evil, "The Press" opposed such disqualification on the grounds that it would involve too great an interference with the rights of the electors. It would be better to abolish the system which rendered desirable the exclusion of those gentlemen.

Before the end of September, four Canterbury members addressed their constituents. At Papanui Rolleston impressed a sympathetic audience with his views of the constitutional changes. Montgomery obtained an even more enthusiastic reception at Akaroa, where he contrasted the expenditure of the General Government with that of the Provincial Council, alleging that Vogel would not get less expensive or more efficient machinery than under the latter system. In Christchurch Sir J.C. Wilson spoke forcibly on the subject of abolition. He maintained that provincial institutions were of a transitory character, and that it would be time, when the land fund was exhausted, to consider abolition in Canterbury and Otago. On 21st September "The Lyttelton Times" declared "We are not and never have been ultra-provincialists." The following day Reeves made the same announcement at Leetston. If the North Island provinces were abolished, he considered that all of the provinces should be abolished. But such a change was
premature, and should not be effected without consulting the constituencies and ascertaining the opinion of the people by means of a general election.

According to "The Press" (15) Rolleston was distracted by conflicting interests. As Superintendent he was an ultra-provincialist. As a member of the House of Representatives, charged with the interests of the colony as a whole, provincialism appeared to him but a doubtful blessing. Montgomery, on the other hand, was a happier man whose view northward was bounded by the Hurunui. (16) His sympathies, his interests, his aspirations were wrapped up in Canterbury alone. Reeves was more severely criticised. He was accused of running with the hare and hunting with the hounds, and his speech described as aimless, evasive, and ambiguous.

"The Lyttelton Times" (17) retaliated with an attack on Wilson. The meeting could not be described fairly as representative of the constituency. The citizens present were favourable to abolition because the Provincial Council had refused to give them endowments to which, in the opinion of "The Times", they were justly entitled. The fact that Rolleston, Montgomery and Reeves received unanimous votes of confidence was emphasised.

At Waimate (18) the electors of Gladstone cheered Parker's declaration that he would unhesitatingly vote for the abolition

of Canterbury and Otago, and expressed their approval of the support he had given to Vogel's resolutions. "The only member who has spoken out honestly on the question is Mr. G.B. Parker. His views are quite distinct. Unfortunately, however, he belongs to the class who are most interested in getting the land fund directly applied to the payment of the interest and sinking fund on the loans, so as to save their own extensive runs, freehold, and sheep from taxation as long as possible. Those persons are therefore (unconsciously) biassed in their opinions by personal considerations."

The author of the above quotation, writing in "The Press" (19), maintained that the farmers of the Selwyn district (Reeves's electorate) were convinced that provincialism had outlived its utility. He did not share "The Press" optimism in regard to the land fund, but pointed out that Vogel would be perfectly powerless in the hands of forty determined members. Moreover, Stafford, who had announced his support of total abolition, was prepared to accept the leadership of the party. An exceedingly interesting and comprehensive review of the situation as it affected Canterbury, was concluded by the assertion: "As one who is not inclined to dash provincialism to pieces without consideration, I have still no hesitation in saying that I should prefer to join in obtaining total abolition with the (19) Letter by "Aliquis", 16th October, 1874.
best terms we can get, than in being brought into direct conflict with the North, an opposition which will, undoubtedly, generate quickly into a deadly feud."

**SUMMARY:**

The defeat of the State Forests Bill sealed the fate of the North Island provinces. With the exception of Wellington their financial condition was hopeless and for this reason Vogel proposed their abolition. In Canterbury the provincialists were apprehensive of the extension of these proposals to the whole colony. Public opinion in South Canterbury clearly favoured total abolition, but the majority of people throughout the province, reassured of the localization of the land fund, showed no particular interest in the constitutional struggle. Canterbury was not directly concerned and the intentions of the Ministry regarding an alternative scheme of local government were as yet unknown.
Chapter V: The Canterbury Provincial Council, 1875.

After the prorogation of Parliament local affairs once more received a prominent place in the columns of the newspapers. Interest centred on the repeated appeals of the Christchurch municipality for financial assistance from the Provincial Council, the numerous proposals in regard to drainage in Christchurch and the suburbs, and in the rumoured amendments to the Education Ordinance of 1873. In November "The Press" began a virulent attack upon the Provincial Secretary for Public Works (T.W. Maude.) Complaints concerning the management of railways were common during this period, and when "The Press" (1) discovered a loss of nearly £2,000 in the September returns it yielded to popular clamour and determined to expose the inefficiency of railway administration.

When nominating White to the vacant seat (Timaru) in the Provincial Council, a prominent South Canterbury resident (2) maintained that it was absolutely necessary that the southern district should be well represented in the ensuing session, because several important matters, notably the allocation of provincial revenues, would then be discussed. So strongly did he wish for an alteration in the existing system of government, that he hoped this would be the last Provincial Council election at Timaru. White was elected unopposed.

(1) Maude was a shareholder of "The Lyttelton Times."
(2) Cliff - later Mayor of Timaru.
Provincial affairs were discussed in public by Beawick at Rangiora, and by Jebson at Russell's Flat. The former eulogised the Kennaway government (3) and attributed its fall partly to the hostility of the newspapers - "The Lyttelton Times" and "The Press." Jebson considered that the Education Ordinance required amending and that the Road Board Ordinance was unworkable. The latter contention had been expressed at a conference of chairmen of road boards.

On 2nd April began the forty-second session of the Provincial Council. Rolleston's address was concerned mainly with the progress of the province - the increase (4) in the area under cultivation, the excellent yield of the harvest (5), the good prices for wool, the harbour developments at Lyttelton, the survey carried out by an English engineer at Timaru, and the development of railway construction (6). The proposed abolition of the North Island provinces was dismissed briefly on the ground that insufficient details prevented a discussion on the subject. The most serious item of news was the deficit in the provincial revenue. The estimated receipts for the nine months ending 31st March had not been realised by a sum of about £40,000. Despite this, the proposed expenditure was considerable. Improvements

(3) Beawick was Provincial Treasurer in this Government.
(4) 90,000 acres.
(5) But prices for grain were lower.
at Lyttelton, a scheme of harbour works for Timaru, the

drainage of Lake Ellesmere, a temporary bridge over the

Rangitata, liberal grants to hospitals and other public insti-

tutions, provision for education, were all mentioned in the

Superintendent's address. The requirements of the towns (7)

with regard to drainage and sanitation were to be carefully

considered. Only two acts of legislation were mentioned,

one to provide more stringent regulations for the suppression

of scab in sheep, and the other, an amended Education

Ordinance.

The publication of the Provincial Auditor's Report was a

complete justification of Maud's railway administration - it

showed a profit of £14,000. On 7th April "The Press"

presented an apology, and admitted the injustice of its

attack.

The Government lost no time in re-introducing its

Municipal Revenues Ordinance. The provision (£2,400) was

inadequate. "What Christchurch really needs is a large sum of

ready money for immediate sanitary requirements, with an

dowment in the form of land." (8) The Government was

defeated on this issue (9), and resigned.

After some difficulty Sir J.C. Wilson succeeded in

forming an Executive, consisting of himself as President,

Maskell, Secretary and Treasurer, Wynn Williams, Provincial

(7) Christchurch applied for over £100,000.

(8) "Press", April 14th, 1875. (9) 13 votes for, 22 against.
Solicitor, the Hon. J.T. Peacock, Secretary for Public Works, and the Hon. George Buckley (without office). The ministerial crisis attracted attention in other provinces.

"The New Zealand Times" (10) said: "The rejection of the Municipal Council Revenues Ordinance by the Canterbury Provincial Council is not without political significance. It very plainly shows what might happen to the large centres of population were the powers of the General Assembly abridged and the Provincial Government correspondingly strengthened."

"The Southern Cross" (11) regarded the rejection of the Ordinance as an act of self-defence on the part of a provincial party. "Had the Bill been carried it would have driven the last nail into the coffin of provincialism; for it was founded on, and was the embodiment of, a principle absolutely fatal to the existence of provincial government." It is interesting to note that the government which introduced the Ordinance was headed by a staunch provincialist, while the new Executive was under the presidency of an advocate of abolition.

The Council had been adjourned until 4th May to enable the government to prepare a programme. The financial situation (12) caused a certain amount of alarm. The cost of police, gaols, hospitals, surveys, education etc. had increased, while the profits from railways were diminishing. Drafts from the land fund had previously made up deficiencies

(10) Wellington. Quoted by "Press", 22nd April, 1875.

(11) Auckland. - "Press", 22nd April, 1875. (12) 5th May, Financial Statement
in other accounts; but land sales were declining. It was evident that the extravagance of the previous session could not be repeated. To meet the increased expenditure the Executive prepared to raise the tolls on the lines of railway, to make charges for haulage, wharfage, and craneage at Lyttelton, and to increase the rates levied under the Education Ordinance. By reducing and deferring expenditure (13) further savings were to be effected.

Charges of extravagance and irresponsibility had been brought against the Board of Education. It was abolished; and the substitution of a minister of education was sanctioned in the Provincial Council by eighteen votes to eight. Both "The Lyttelton Times" and "The Press" condemned this move, and Andrews (Christchurch) presented a petition from the ratepayers of the city praying that no further steps be taken in the Education Ordinance that session.

The doubling of the education rate and the increase in the local contribution towards the cost of school buildings aroused public opinion. On 16th June a meeting presided over by the Mayor was held in Christchurch to consider the Education Ordinance. Wynn Williams, who had introduced it into the Council and had suddenly resigned and denounced his colleagues, expressed the opinion that the action of the Provincial Council would not be forgotten at the General (13) Public Works Statement - "Press", 12th May, 1875.
elections. His resolution that the Ordinance be postponed
was supported by Andrews, Saunders, and Inglis (late Chairman
of the Education Board), and carried unanimously "amid loud
and prolonged cheering." (14)

"The Lyttelton Times" urged that the Superintendent veto
the Bill; but "The Press" considered such an act would be "ill-
advised" and even "improper."

The amendments proposed by Rolleston on 15th June were
negatived, after a prolonged debate, by twenty-one votes to
eleven. A threatened deadlock was averted by the Superinten-
dent's formal announcement (15) that he would not obstruct
the passing of the Bill, and would endeavour to make its
administration successful.

On 29th May, after a good deal of discussion in the
Council, a resolution that Canterbury ought to be represented
in Great Britain by an Immigration Agent, was withdrawn. "It
seemed the general opinion that, whatever might have been the
necessity for special exertions in 1873, the conduct of
immigration might now be safely left to the General Government." (17)

A motion that £50,000 be placed on the supplementary estim-
ates for the purchase of land as an endowment for Christchurch
was lost on June 3rd by twenty-three votes to seven. The
sum of £10,000 - £5,000 for Christchurch, £2,500 for Lyttelton,

(14) "Lyttelton Times", 17th June, 1875. (15) "Press", 19th June,
1875. (16) Andrew Duncan had returned. (17) "Press", 29th May, 1875.
£2,000 for Timaru, and £5,000 for Kaiapoi - had already appeared on the estimates (18) which were agreed to on 9th June. A long debate was conducted on Fisher's motion to grant £20,000 for the drainage of Christchurch and the suburbs. Ultimately the sum of money was struck out and the resolution simply passed that it was expedient that some steps should be taken to provide for this work. A motion for an endowment for Lyttelton was superseded by Joynt's resolution "That the Government be requested to consider the desirableness of having suitable endowments provided for the municipalities of the province."

Early in May, J.E. Brown, candidate for the seat vacated by T.W. Maude (19), had told the people of Hāngiura that the Provincial Councils would probably discuss the abolition of provincial institutions. Towards the close of the session, on 18th June, Jebson, moved "That in the opinion of this Council it is inexpedient and unconstitutional to entertain and carry into effect any proposal to abolish the provincial form of government in Canterbury, until a majority of the people of the province have clearly and unmistakably expressed the desire for such change." On this occasion Brown said he did not believe that one-tenth of the people of Canterbury cared whether provincial institutions were

(18) Class 21 Municipalities and Roads Boards. Road Boards received £40,057.
(19) "The Lyttelton Times" had taken a Provincial Government printing contract.
abolished or not. G.B. Parker was emphatic in his denunciation of provincial government, but the general opinion seemed to be that the discussion was inopportune. Accordingly Jebson withdrew his motion.

On the last day of the session Montgomery made a crushing attack upon the Government. (20) He pointed out that the land revenue of the last two months was equal to one-half of what the Executive had counted on for the whole year. Moreover, despite its avowed policy of retrenchment, the Government had passed estimates for £350,000 in excess of the estimated revenue, or £150,000 beyond what its predecessor had proposed.

**SUMMARY:**

The economies of the session, which included the refusal of a re-vote for the General Government buildings in Christchurch, were extremely unpopular. Country members were alienated by the slight check imposed upon road and bridge construction, while the representatives of the municipalities were dissatisfied with trifling sums and vague promises. The opposition to provincial government was especially noticeable in the sphere of education where the ratepayers and, through them, the school committees strenuously objected to the increased rates and the contribution for school buildings. Higher education

(20) "The Lyttelton Times", 21st June, 1875.
had also suffered, certain votes to the Museum, Canterbury College, and Christ's College, having been withdrawn. It was difficult to reconcile these drastic measures with the increase in land revenue and the large expenditure proposed by the Wilson Government.
Chapter VI: The Canterbury Members and the General Assembly, 1875.

Soon after the conclusion of the 1874 session Vogel left for England in order to negotiate another loan. Dr. Pollen, of Auckland, became nominal Premier, but the strongest man in the Government, the declared enemy of provincialism, was Major Atkinson.

Sir George Grey's return to public life as the champion of the constitution he had created, marks an almost sensational development in the struggle. "Never in the palmiest days of provincialism were theories of provincial dignity and provincial rights pushed to such extreme lengths, and maintained with such unflinching resolution." (1) Early in 1875 Grey was elected Superintendent of Auckland. His popularity was probably due to his repudiation of the compact of 1856, of which he said he was enlightened by an article in "The Lyttelton Times" of 11th October. (2) Auckland was still in financial difficulties - the centralisation of the land fund was her only salvation.

In November, 1874, C.C. Bowen, Resident Magistrate at Christchurch, joined the Government as Minister of Justice. He resolved to contest the seat vacated by Studholme at Kaiapoi. Naturally his speeches carried some weight as an

(1) "Press"; 23rd October, 1874.
(2) This happened to be a Sunday.
-70-

indication of Government policy. He declared himself in favour of partial abolition - the only point on which "The Press" differed from him. (3) Beswick, his opponent, advocated reform of provincial institutions. The election was decisive. Bowen defeated the local provincialist by 294 votes to 192.

At Lyttelton on 1st April 1875, Webb re-affirmed his intention to support the Government, but under no circumstances would he vote for a Bill which would deprive Canterbury of her land revenue. The constituents of Ashley intimated to their representative (J.E. Brown), that they considered no constitutional change should be made until after the general election. (4) At a public meeting in Timaru on 17th July, Turnbull M.P.C. moved "That in the opinion of this meeting it is desirable that the provincial system be abolished throughout New Zealand." This and two other resolutions, concerning local government and the formulation of a petition to be presented by Stafford to the General Assembly, were carried unanimously.

The condition of the provinces before the opening of the 1875 session on 20th July, may be summarised as follows: Wellington had made a slight recovery, Canterbury and Otago had voted away sums largely in excess of the estimated revenues, while Auckland and the smaller provinces - Westland, Nelson, Marlborough, Taranaki, and Hawke's Bay - were all in financial

(3) "The Press" favoured total abolition.
(4) 12th July 1875 - Public meeting.
difficulties.

The Government's announcement that the abolition proposals of last session were to be extended to include the whole of New Zealand, came as no surprise. The Abolition Bill offered lavish subsidies to local bodies - road boards, harbour boards, and municipalities, proposed to substitute for the provinces "a system of road boards which might at their own request be amalgamated into shires." (5)

The Opposition, headed by Sir George Grey, whose political broadsides had reverberated throughout the colony, concentrated on securing an appeal to the country. Reader Wood (6) and others questioned also the legality of the measure.

In the debate on the second reading, Montgomery (7) admitted that the majority of people in Canterbury were in favour of abolition. He described himself as a guardian of the Constitution until the people themselves deliberately decided that it should be altered. Rolleston desired a simplification of the form of provincial government and an extension of powers - a course more statesmanlike than abolition. He blamed the General Government for the state of surveys, gaols, and asylums. He warned the House that if the Abolition Bill passed, the land fund would become common revenue.

Bowen quoted Godley's lecture at Lyttelton in 1852 to show that even then, the ephemeral nature of provincial

institutions was recognised. Webb remarked upon the favourable reception the abolition proposals had obtained in Canterbury. A severe blow was delivered at provincialism, he thought, by the proceedings at the recent session of the Canterbury Provincial Council, when many measures having for their object the general welfare of the province were ignored — measures dealing with education and charitable aid. (8)

On 27th August the second reading of the Abolition Bill was carried by fifty-two votes to seventeen, the Superintendents of Taranaki, Nelson and Hawke's Bay voting with the Government, while the Superintendents of Auckland, Wellington, Canterbury and Otago voted with the minority. Of the Canterbury members nine supported the second reading, and three, Montgomery, Reeves, and Rolleston, voted against it.

On 4th August "The Lyttelton Times" had declared — "On all sides the opinion is gaining ground that the question of the Abolition of the provinces should not be pressed forward to an issue in the present Parliament." During that month public meetings were convened throughout the colony by the mayors of municipalities and the chairmen of road boards, for the purpose of discussing this matter. (9) Neglecting such factors as numbers present, nature and numerical strength of the opposition,

(9) v Appendix C.
and the personality of the speakers, we may make a quantitative analysis of the decisions reached at these meetings. In Canterbury, immediate abolition was supported on ten occasions, while on nine others the pendulum swung in favour of an appeal to the country (10).

Strengthened by this expression of public opinion, the Opposition resolved to obstruct the further progress of the Bill. Atkinson was forced ultimately to accept a compromise suggested by Montgomery. (11) The Abolition Bill was not to come into operation till the end of the next session.

Provincial Councils were not to meet in the meantime, but the administration was to be continued as usual, under certain restrictions and with a general power of supervision on the part of the Colonial Government. On these conditions obstructive tactics were dropped and fair discussion promised.

The Canterbury members took a prominent part in the discussions in Committee. In fact, clause 24, relating to the land fund, provoked a Canterbury "free-fight", (12) in which members indulged in personal attacks. J.E. Brown's amendment, providing that the endowment of 25% of land revenue to the Timaru and Gladstone Board of Works should cease, was finally carried.

(10) v Appendix C.
It is interesting to note that, during the debate on the third reading, E.J. Wakefield claimed that his father, Edward Gibbon Wakefield, rather than Sir George Grey, was the author of provincial institutions in New Zealand (13). The third reading was carried by forty votes to twenty-one, Rolleston, Reeves and Montgomery voting as before. The Bill passed through the Legislative Council, and received the Governor's assent on 15th October.

During the debate on the second reading in the Council, the Hon. George Buckley (Canterbury) objected to provincial institutions being swept away until there was a satisfactory system proposed to take their place. The Local Government Bill, which had received almost universal condemnation, had been dropped and the Ministry had not suggested an alternative.

The Abolition of the Provinces Act (No. 21) repealed section 2 of the Constitution Act and abolished the provinces thereby established, though the existing laws, so far as applicable, were to remain in force until altered. The powers and property of Superintendents were vested in the Government, save for educational reserves, which the Government had agreed to vest in the Boards of Education. Instead of provinces there were to be provincial districts, whose land fund was to be kept separately. It was to be charged with interest and sinking fund on the debt, including the cost of provincial railways constructed under the Public

works Policy, chargeable against the province at abolition; with the cost of surveys and of the general administration of the lands within the provincial district; and with a pound for pound subsidy on rates payable to road districts and Boards of River Conservators. The residue of the land fund within any provincial district was to be paid to local bodies and applied by them in the maintenance and construction of public works. Road Boards, in addition to their subsidy out of the land revenue, and municipalities, were endowed with license fees, etc., arising under provincial laws, and with £1 for £1 out of the consolidated fund in aid of general rates up to one shilling in the pound. The cost of police, gaols, harbours, hospitals, lunatic asylums, charitable institutions and education was to be borne by the consolidated revenue so far as not otherwise by law provided for. Until abolition came into force, Superintendents were not to enter into contracts for large works without the consent of the Governor in Council, whose consent was also requisite when their powers had to be exercised on the recommendation of the Provincial Council. By another Act provincial appropriations were, with certain provisos, extended to 30th September, 1876(14).

On 12th August "The Lyttelton Times" published a table of figures showing the revenues of road boards under the provincial system and the revenue offered by the Abolition Bill. According to these calculations abolition would result in a

loss of between £87,000 and £112,000. The figures were disputed by "The Press" and the editors and correspondents of both papers were soon engaged in a vigorous "newspaper war." Victory ultimately went to "The Press" which proved that the table had been founded "not upon facts but upon theories" (15) and that in reality it was only a conjectural estimate. Official figures were presented in the House of Representatives by Atkinson on 27th August. The estimate of the total revenue for Canterbury under the existing system was £947,777, under the proposed system £979,340 (16).

The Abolition Act provided that educational reserves were to be vested in the Boards of Education. The action of the Provincial Council in abolishing the Canterbury Education Board was very unpopular. Complaints against the arbitrary powers exercised by A.C. Knight, the Minister for Education, were numerous and to a large extent justified. The Canterbury Education Board Bill, introduced by Montgomery, was intended to redress the grievances of the ratepayers and school committees and at the same time to safe-guard the educational reserves. In the Lower House, opposition was confined to Sir J.C. Wilson, and Bluett, who stated that he had heard no complaints against Knight - and this, despite the published resolutions of the Lyttelton, East Christchurch, Timaru and other school committees. In the Legislative

(15) "Press", August 17th, 1875.
(16) v Appendix D.
Council Peacock, Brett and Peter opposed the Bill which was rejected by one vote (17).

"The Press", always ready to champion the cause of education, had maintained an attitude of strict impartiality concerning Knight's administration. The rejection of the Bill, however, occasioned the following: "Mr. Knight has had his scars; the members of the new Board that was to be have had their disappointment; the Education Minister and the School Committees are all left by the ears; and what will be the state of education in the province until Mr. Knight and the province are abolished together, is something beyond the reach of mortal ken to discover." (18)

A Municipal Corporations Bill was introduced by Richardson. It applied only to Christchurch; but the Government yielded to the demand to make its clauses general. Accordingly, an amended Bill, which embodied the recommendations of the Christchurch City Council, was brought down. The proposed changes related chiefly to an extension of the currency in debentures, from fifteen years to fifty, provisions regarding the making of bye-laws, the mode of entering minutes, and the relations between the municipal councils and the Superintendents. The whole of the amending clauses were drafted by Dr. Foster, the City Solicitor, and adopted by the Attorney-General without alteration. The Bill passed both Houses and received the Governor's assent.

(18) 21st October, 1875.
The people of Christchurch had continually agitated for increased representation. The Representation Act raised the number of the House of Representatives from 74 (exclusive of four Maoris) to 84, additional membership being given to the electors of Christchurch and Timaru (19).

SUMMARY:

Public opinion in the Canterbury municipalities favoured immediate abolition; but in the country districts there was a fairly strong demand for an appeal to the country. Undoubtedly provincial administration was unpopular, but until the ministry produced an alternative and superior scheme many people were unwilling to discard their organ of local self-government.

(19) One member each.
Chapter VII: The General Election - 1875.

In view of the approaching general election, the Canterbury newspapers returned to the old theme of arousing the people to political consciousness. "The Press" made frequent references to the Opposition's lack of a policy, despite "any amount of confabulation and caucus-holding." It pointed out that the issue was simple and straightforward - would the people confirm the Abolition Act; did they desire that abolition to be carried into effect?

On 16th November a public meeting was held at Ashburton to discuss the most important questions likely to come before the House of Representatives during the next session. The people present, among whom Alfred Saunders was the most prominent, resolved to support a candidate who would pledge himself to vote for: the public auction of runs, the exemption from further taxation of artificial or agricultural improvements, liberal support of the mere essentials of education from the consolidated revenue, and, in the event of the provinces being abolished, the election of the General Government agent. No attempt was made to discuss the great question before the public. Moreover, the resolution allowed practically unbounded license to the candidate as to his views on the matters enunciated. For example, with regard to education, he might be a denominationalist or the

(1) "Press", 15th November, 1875.
advocate of a secular policy; with regard to the future
letting of the runs, he might favour either the farmer or the
squatter. Yet, in the election, W. Wason, the man whom
Saunders and his colleagues decided to support, was the
successful candidate.

There is further evidence of public interest in the
elections. On 11th December a notice, signed by the Grand
Master of the Royal Orange Lodge, appeared in the advertise-
ment columns of "The Press." The brethren of this Order
were instructed not to promise their votes to anyone until
their respective lodges had met and decided whom to support.
"The Press" deplored this attempt to interfere with the
independence of the electors; but apparently the notice had
some effect. On 21st December, "Anti-Humbug," in a letter to
"The Press," wrote, "Every candidate's speech I read places
him in my estimation as a tuft hunter or panderer to those
gaudily bedecked demigods and their acolytes" (i.e. the lodges).

In Canterbury there were thirty candidates for fourteen
seats, excluding Cheviot, the greater part of which electorate
was in the Nelson province. The campaign began on 13th
November when W.B. Tweedie addressed the constituents of
Coleridge, at Courtney. He declared himself in favour of
a modification of existing provincial institutions; but as
real
the best means of securing local government, he preferred
insular separation. Two candidates for this seat were loud
in their denunciation of the squatter. Wason contended that Bluett was supported by squatting interests with which he associated Sir J.C. Wilson and Colonel Brett. Jebson, who advocated local government on the model of the Timaru and Gladstone Board of Works, said that seven companies and individuals held 152 runs in Canterbury, representing one-third of the public estate. It was a most significant fact that no person connected with the pastoral interest of the colony was to be found on the side of the provincialists.

On 30th November E.C.J. Stevens addressed the electors of Christchurch. In his speech, which occupied six columns in the newspapers, he summarised the activities of the Provincial Councils. "They are looking after gaols, police, hospitals, industrial schools, orphanages, charitable aid, inspection of sheep, and education; they are also for the time being taking care of the railways of the province, wharves, and contingent works." At a late stage in the meeting the firebell rang and the crowd deserted the politician. The few who remained gave cheers for the centralist cause. Richardson (2), at Christchurch on 8th December, told his listeners that the aim of the Government was to centralise legislation and to decentralise administration. He favoured free national secular education and opposed the auctioning of the runs. "The auction plan is evidently a mistake, and we observe has been virtually abandoned by its chief advocate, Mr. A. Saunders."

(2) Minister of Public Works.
(3) "Press", 10th December, 1875.
E.J. Wakefield was a candidate for one of the three Christchurch seats; but his chances of election had been ruined by his conduct in the House of Representatives during the last session (4). Wakefield characteristically made violent attacks upon Moorhouse, accusing him of representing the squatters and the "land ring." Moorhouse, who as Superintendent of Canterbury had inaugurated the borrowing policy of 1861, returned from the North Island to contest one of the Christchurch seats. He and the other candidates, Andrews and Treadwell, were all in favour of abolition.

At Akaroa Montgomery was opposed by Pillist, who joined with Bluett, Brown, Jebson and Peacock in accusing the Education Board and the Montgomery Executive of extravagance. Montgomery, assisted by "The Press", repudiated the charges.

The Hon. C.C. Bowen at Kaiapoi depicted the Opposition as having "folded their tents like the Arabs, and as silently stolen away." (5) Beswick again contested the seat, but he realised - like Maskell at Ashley and Montgomery at Akaroa - that provincial institutions were doomed and that abolition must be effected.

In the Selwyn electorate Reeves was opposed by Fitzroy, a young man who confessed that, although he supported it, he had never read the Abolition Bill. (6)

(4) The electors of Christchurch East had passed a vote of censure on him.

(5) *"Lyttelton Times", 14th December, 1875.

(6) *"Press", 20th December, 1875.*
The two candidates for Heathcote were Sir J.C. Wilson and J.T. Fisher. The latter favoured a modification of the provincial system.

On 13th December a Geraldine elector wrote to "The Press" lamenting the fact that the district hadn't an able candidate. "We do not so much care whether a man be a provincialist or an abolitionist as that he be an intelligent, able, and above all, an honest man." E.J. Wakefield, who was a candidate for this electorate as well as for Christchurch, pointed out (7) that at each of the three meetings he had held in the Geraldine district, a unanimous vote of confidence had been carried.

Early in December the "Lyttelton Times" (8) declared that the contest (the elections) seemed narrowed down to a paltry squabble about money. "It is not a question of pounds or acres that is before the country - although that in itself is a question of no mean importance - it is a question of the political life or death of a whole community. The names of provincialism and anti-provincialism misrepresent the issue. Most of the minority are as willing to reform the provinces as the Government is to abolish them. The only names that would give us the true position of the parties are centralist and anti-centralist."

On 22nd December "The Lyttelton Times" struck a more lofty note. "Finance is not the sole function of government (9);

Wealth is not the only object of national life. Intellectual and moral vigour is the true end of national life and that will only be secured by the most complete decentralisation.*

The polling (10) resulted in the election of eleven professed centralists and the three provincialists - Fisher, Montgomery, and Rolleston. In a leading article on 12th January "The Lyttelton Times" attempted to analyse the result. "The Timaru district has thought of nothing else than Timaru and its breakwater. . . . We are sorry to say that the Christchurch elections were not much higher in the political scale. . . . The Abolition Bill had made promises that looked so well for Christchurch, and the Minister for Public Works had assured the City of such substantial douceurs, that only the most pronounced abolitionists tried the contest."

The only elections of any real political meaning in Canterbury, said "The Times", were those in the country districts. There the contest was decided by the action of the candidates in the last sitting of the Provincial Council - illiberal measures, their belief in the Executive's their share in the passing of the Executive's declaration that the province was on the verge of bankruptcy, their views upon education and the charge of extravagance by the Board. Pilliet, Bluett, Jebson, Webb and Sir J.C. Wilson were rejected by considerable majorities on these considerations despite the fact that they were abolitionists. Montgomery

(10) v Appendix E.
and Fisher were returned by large majorities, and they had fought in the Provincial Council with the most unmistakable enthusiasm against the Executive's measures. Wason and Murray-Aynsley came forward with a clean bill of fare; their election therefore, was looked upon as certain from the first.

Without doubt it was the last meeting of the Provincial Council that turned Canterbury against provincialism, and not any consideration of the advantages the country would derive from abolition, continued "The Lyttelton Times." The desire for vengeance upon the Executive and Council, and anger that it should be delayed by Sir George Grey and the minority, saved Bowen from defeat, and combined with personal popularity, gave Fitzroy his seat. The Ashley election was deprived of all interest because both candidates had been identified with the illiberal measures of the Provincial Council, and both were distrusted by large sections of the electors.

It is generally recognised that the election was not conducted upon a fair system of representation. The Government had probably exercised considerable care in granting increased representation in 1875. At any rate the two Canterbury districts which received additional members were notoriously abolitionist in sympathy (11).

On 15th March 1876 "The Lyttelton Times" referred to the complication of parties. There was a provincial and an land abolition party, a local land fund and a general fund party.

(11) Christchurch and Timaru.
a Ministerial party and an Opposition. Provincialists and
abolitionists indiscriminately advocated either the localisation
or the generalisation of the land fund and opposed or
supported the government. Abolitionists favoured centrali-
isation or more or less developed local self-government (12),
while the provincialists wanted reform or insular separation.

The elections in Auckland and Otago were a triumph for
the provincialists. The old Auckland-Otago alliance was
revived through the efforts of Grey and MacAndrew; (13) and
insular separation was advocated as an alternative to abolition.

**SUMMARY:**

While we must allow for a certain amount of exaggeration
on the part of "The Lyttelton Times" it is evident that the
elections in Canterbury were not fought on the question of
abolition. The majority of the electors, confident in the
Ministerial assurances regarding the localisation of the land fund,
had already accepted abolition. They were indifferent to the
fate of provincial institutions. The questions of drainage
and sewage in Christchurch, the breakwater in Timaru, roads,
railways, and bridges in the outlying districts, the state of
education and the future letting of the runs, were of greater
significance to the people of Canterbury than the struggle

(13) Superintendent of Otago.
for existence of a system which seemed to be in a state of
decadence. The lavish subsidies promised by the Abolition
Bill had proved, too, a tempting sop to the Canterbury con-
stituencies.
Chapter VIII: The Municipalities. Outlying Districts.

Newspapers and General Public, 1874-5.

1: The Municipalities.

The abolition proposals of the 1874 session of the General Assembly intensified in Christchurch the municipal demand for a money grant, control of licenses, and a landed endowment. At the municipal elections in September, candidates referred to the probability that borough councils and road boards would replace provincial institutions. They therefore advocated the reservation of a large area as a municipal endowment. In the 1875 session of the Provincial Council attempts on behalf of Christchurch and Lyttelton were made to accomplish this end. A general motion that the Provincial Government be requested to consider the desirability of having suitable endowments provided for the municipalities of the province was agreed to.

The inhabitants of the town numbered one quarter of the total population of Canterbury. Yet the Provincial Council appropriated (July, 1874 - March, 1875) £100,946 for the road boards while the Christchurch City Council during the year ended 16th December, 1874, raised £5,877 by rates, and received only £2,250 from the Provincial Government. A deputation from the City Council to the Superintendent and his Executive on 29th April, stated that unless the city received (1)

(1) It had an overdraft of £2,200.
substantial aid, the Council would have to discharge the whole of its staff and thus allow the streets and footpaths to remain unrepai red and the filth to accumulate in the gutters. This plea was at first unsuccessful; but the supplementary estimates passed on 9th June voted £5,000 to Christchurch.

The unhealthy atmosphere of the city made imperative a large grant for the execution of works connected with drainage and sanitation. The Mayor, J. Hobbs, headed the agitation, while both the "Lyttelton Times" and "The Press" keenly interested themselves and their subscribers in the struggle. Tired of the Provincial Council's procrastination the city authorities resolved to borrow £9,000 for necessary works and to appeal to Rolleston to promote legislation in the House of Representatives "for the purpose of creating an elective body of commissioners, to be charged with the drainage of Christchurch and the surrounding country."(2) The Christchurch District Drainage Bill was condemned by a certain section of the rate-payers who claimed that they should have been consulted regarding its provision. However, after the municipal elections (3), the City Council passed a unanimous motion of approval. The Bill passed both houses of Parliament and the newly constituted Drainage Board met 4th January when Hobbs was elected Chairman.

(2) Motion by Tancred at meeting of members of City Council and road boards concerned.

(3) 14th December, 1875.
Public meetings, deputations to the Provincial Government, the introduction of municipal revenue ordinances in the Provincial Council, all show the determination of the Canterbury municipalities, and especially of Christchurch, to obtain recognition of their claims. Failure (4) in the Provincial Council led to an appeal to the General Assembly. The Municipal Corporations Amendment Act was passed in 1875, while the Abolition Bill promised generous treatment to the municipalities.

2: The Outlying Districts.

The "Southern Brigade" (5) in the Provincial Council was extremely zealous in furthering the interests of the district south of the Rangitata. Buckley, chief of the 'Brigade', and a member of Wilson's executive "could not be surpassed in single-minded devotion to the roads and bridges of his constituents, at whatever sacrifice of their educational wants or their duties as citizens." (6) Indeed, education soon proved to be a bone of contention. Both the "South Canterbury Times" and "The Timaru Herald" vigorously attacked the administration of A.C. Knight, especially in relation to his dealings with the Timaru School Committee. There was

(4) The £10,000 granted in 1875 was regarded as insufficient.

(5) Buckley, Parker, Teschmaker, White, Perry, Rayner, Turnbull, Hay.

(6) "Lyttelton Times", 21st June, 1875.
no doubt that the people of South Canterbury would support total abolition. Their views, expressed at a public meeting in Timaru in July, were confirmed two months later by the Board of Works, (7) which urged Stafford and Parker to use their influence to obtain immediate abolition.

Vogel's proposals in 1874 had aroused the public interest at Akaroa. People began to find numerous instances of Provincial Government neglect e.g. wharf repairs. A correspondent writing to "The Press" on 31st October asserted that he felt convinced that Akaroa was utterly "tired of provincialism." That this opinion was not universal on the Peninsula was demonstrated by Montgomery's election to the General Assembly and his defeat of Pilliet in 1875. "The Press" considered that Montgomery's success was a complete vindication of the charges of extravagance levied against the Board of Education. At the same time we must not overlook his political reputation, and his constant advocacy of the Akaroa-Christchurch railway project.

3: The Newspapers.

In 1875 "The Lyttelton Times" proprietary (8) consisted of three men, Reeves, Hamilton and Maude, Reeves holding the

(7) The Timaru and Gladstone Board of Works was abolished with the provincial system.

(8) Crosbie Ward, the fourth partner, had died in 1867.
majority of shares. The editor, J.M. Smith, died at the end of 1874, and R.A. Loughnan, whose articles in "The Otago Daily Times" had displayed a vivid style and marked individuality, was appointed his successor. It may be observed here that many leading articles were written by men who had no active connection with "The Times." Dr. Foster (9), the City Solicitor, and first lecturer in Law at Canterbury College, was one of these contributors (10).

Reference has already been made to the policy of "The Lyttelton Times"; but the following extract may be quoted as a summary: "We have always admitted that provincial institutions are not perfect, but we maintain that hitherto they have been admirably adapted to the requirements of the colony, and we shall continue to oppose their abolition until we have before us a thoroughly matured scheme for the establishment of a more perfect set of institutions." (11)

"The Press" attacked the provincial system on both financial and political grounds. The provincialist influence compelled ministers to study the political chess-board of provincial sympathies and antipathies and to carry on the business of the country by a system of checks and compromises.

(9) Dr. Foster had been Professor of Jurisprudence in University College, London, the successor to the famous jurisprudent, Austin.


(11) 24th July, 1875.
The habit of considering public questions in the interests of particular localities tended to debase the intellectual standard of the House of Representatives. "A system which has enabled the provinces to plunder the Colonial Treasury at will, in defiance of the Government, has loaded the colony with debts contracted for purely local objects; has again and again sacrificed the interests of the country to some fancied advantage of a particular part, has especially led the extremities of the two islands to combine for the promotion of their self-aggrandisement at the expense of the centre, which, in short, has been the source of confusion and disaster to the finances and politics of New Zealand—such a system stands self-condemned." (12)

The South Canterbury newspapers (13) supported abolition, the most important, "The Timaru Herald", giving expression to the political sympathies of the editor, E.J. Wakefield, and his relative E.W. Stafford.

4: The General Public.

Prosperity had lulled the people of Canterbury into political indifference. This was dispelled to some extent by the events of 1874-5 in the Provincial Council and in the Provincial Council and in the

(12) "Press", 12th March, 1875.
Letters on political matters became more frequent in the newspapers, and public meetings aroused popular enthusiasm.

In 1868 the Constitutional Reform Association had been founded. Its membership numbered 1,200 on 19th November of that year. The activities of this organisation are difficult to trace but six years later "The Press" asked if the maintenance of provincial government and the resumption of the land fund by the colony as advocated by Sir George Grey, were equally agreeable to the Constitutional Reform Association. "Mr. Reeves and Mr. Montgomery are, we believe, two of the foremost members of the Association. In their zeal for the integrity of the province have they made up their minds to take the desperate step of abandoning the land fund? We cannot suppose so." (14)

Despite the repeated warnings of "The Lyttelton Times" the majority of Canterbury people believed the land fund to be secure. The result of the 1875 general election has been discussed in the previous chapter. It is sufficient for our purpose here to point out that the election was contested on such issues as free education, (15) the auctioning of ruins, the abolition of pre-emptive rights, and the redress of municipal grievances. Those who professed a sentimental attachment to provincial institutions were in a minority.

(14) "Press", 16th November, 1874.
(15) Election notices.
Sir Julius Vogel, after a protracted illness, returned to New Zealand in February. The following month he addressed his constituents at Wanganui. His speech (1), obscure and unsatisfactory on many points was perfectly explicit on one—it showed unqualified opposition to a revival of provincialism. Wellington provincialists, convinced that their cause was lost, deserted to the Government. Fitzherbert accepting the Speakership of the House.

Vogel's announcement of his intention to exact "a gradually diminishing contribution of the land fund" had produced in the minds of Canterbury abolitionists "a diminishing contribution" of confidence in his Ministry. They were reassured to some extent by the Financial Statement of 4th July. The contribution from the land revenue of each provincial district was to be given towards the cost of railways constructed within the province; and the land fund of one provincial district was in no instance to be applied to the relief of any other.

Certain modifications of the financial arrangements concerning abolition were proposed in the Statement.

"Subsidies to local bodies were guaranteed for five years only. The subsidised boroughs were to contribute to the

(1) "Lyttelton Times", 23rd and 25th March, 1876.
"Press", 23rd and 25th March, 1876.
support of charitable institutions. Part (2/3) of the cost of education was transferred to the land revenue: on the other hand the colony was to accept liability for the railways, although interest at a rate diminishing from 2% to 1 1/2% was still to be charged on the provincial district;" (2) "The Lyttelton Times" regarded these proposals as a transparent attempt at deception. "Interest on provincial loans, contributions to Counties and Road Boards, the contribution of 2/3 of the cost of education, the contribution of 2% on the cost of the construction of the railways, to be levied whether or not the lines are worked at a profit - all these our land fund can and will pay." (3)

There were two sets of resolutions before the House concerning the land fund. Whitaker (Waikato) on behalf of Auckland and the unendowed provinces demanded that it should become common property. Wakefield, professing to represent the interests of Canterbury and Otago, suggested that the land revenue of each district, after deducting the expenses of the lands and survey departments, should be shared equally between the General Government and the governing bodies of the district. It was generally believed that Stafford was responsible for this proposal. Its significance lay in the fact that a voluntary offer to give up half of the land fund had been made by a Canterbury member, who, moreover, was the

(2) "Cambridge "History of the British Empire (New Zealand)", Vol. VII, part 2, Chap. 6, P. 117.

(3) "Lyttelton Times", 6th July, 1876.
representative of a constituency (Geraldine) most interested in preserving the existing arrangements. The Government condemned both sets of resolutions as incompatible with the Ministerial proposals.

An attempt was made to draw Canterbury into the Auckland-Otago alliance. With the aid of the Canterbury members, the thirty-nine representatives of these two provinces might have succeeded in defeating the Government. Wason's Canterbury Pastoral Leasing Bill, which provided for the sale of runs by auction and thus favoured the runholders, was used as a lever to move Canterbury members (4) towards separation.

Sir George Grey's resolutions (5) in this connection were debated in the House early in August. The offer to make Christchurch the seat of government in the South Island was ineffective. Wason, Fisher, and Wakefield were the only Canterbury members who voted for separation. Perhaps, as Horrell suggests, the runholder members thought that they would "get better terms from the General Assembly than from the rising democracy in the South." (6)

All the Canterbury representatives, with the exception of Wason and Fisher, voted against the second reading of the Canterbury Pastoral Leasing Bill, which was lost by 20 to

(4) A number of Canterbury members were runholders or financially interested in runs.


(6) Canterbury runholders, bankers and merchants petitioned the Government regarding the runs.

(7) "Provincial System of Government in N.Z." p244
The Government measure, the Waste Lands Administration Act, which provided for the sale of land on deferred payments, was opposed by Fisher alone.

In place of the provincial system, the Government proposed a system of counties, of which there were to be sixty-three. "Each (county) except six of the most sparsely populated, was to have a council, elected every three years by ratepayers and holders of miners' rights who were given from one to five votes according to the value of their property. County councils were to be empowered to levy rates up to one shilling in the pound, and to raise, with the consent of the ratepayers, special loans up to four times the amount of the general rates. They were to receive, in addition to subsidies, the gold fields revenue, certain licenses, and what was left of the land fund. They were to control 'county roads' and to make bye-laws, construct public works, subsidise road boards, and assist charitable institutions, museums, and public libraries." (9)

The Counties Bill was opposed by Rolleston, who considered it cumbersome, and unsatisfactory as a link between the Government and the road boards. (10) A conference of chairmen of Canterbury road boards reached a similar conclusion, while "The Lyttelton Times" (11) described it as a nebulous illusion, without substance and without principles. Many people believed

(8) Parliamentary Debates; Vol XXII; p 104.
(9) Cambridge History of the British Empire; vol VII; Part 2; Chap. 6; p 117.
that the counties were unnecessary, that the road boards, drainage boards, river boards and municipal councils provided sufficient means of local self-government. (12)

Public meetings were held throughout the colony in order to gain popular recommendations regarding the county boundaries. Certain districts, e.g. Banks Peninsula and Waimate, displayed some of the suspicion and petty jealousy which had been such a prominent feature in the Provincial Council. However, as a result of the Counties Act Canterbury was divided into six counties: Ashley, Selwyn, Akaroa, Ashburton, Geraldine and Waimate.

Whitaker's proposal to make the land fund colonial revenue was defeated by fifty-four votes to twenty-one; but the Financial Arrangements Act charged the land fund with the subsidies to road boards, municipal councils, county councils, and river boards, "the expenses of land and survey administration, interest and sinking fund on the permanent debt of the provincial district, and also with interest......on the cost of railways within the district, and for the present year with the cost of primary education, hospitals, and charitable institutions." (14) The value of public buildings and of provincially constructed railways, of which there were two lines in Canterbury, was to be deducted from the provincial debts.

(14) Morrell - "The Provincial System of Government in N.Z." P.246
The Education Boards Act re-instituted the Canterbury Education Board with the nominated members: Montgomery, Inglis, Duncan, J.M. Tosswill, Webb, Knight, and Rolleston. Education rates of every kind were abolished but the "Boards were permitted to borrow money for school buildings on the security of provincial education reserves." (15) The Canterbury Reserves Sale and Leasing Act vested all reserves made for schools of technical science and agriculture and for secondary or higher education (16), in Canterbury College.

The Lyttelton Harbour Board Act, Timaru Harbour Board Act, and Waimakariri Harbour Board Act established harbour boards at Lyttelton, Timaru and Kaiapoi. A Christchurch District Drainage Act, 1875, Amendment Act was also passed during the session; and Akaroa was created a municipality. The Bill relating to the construction of an Akaroa-Christchurch railway was discharged, but the Lakes Ellesmere and Forsyth Reclamation Act was carried through both Houses.

During the session Vogel resigned (17) in order to become Agent-General for New Zealand, in England. "The Lyttelton Times" (18) paid him a doubtful tribute. "He has advanced (the colony) a generation in public works and in public debt."

"The Times" deplored the neutral attitude of Canterbury members in the House of Representatives, and accused them of

(16) 305,500 acres (mostly pastoral land.)
(17) Atkinson - new Premier. (18) 12th September, 1876.
supporting abolition for the sake of their runs. "In this province, we have no hesitation in stating that the influence of the runholders, who thought that better terms for the settlement of their future tenure could be got from Parliament than from Provincial Legislation, caused the return, on that ground alone, of Provincial Abolitionists." (19)

Parliament was prorogued on 31st October and on that date the provinces, as a political force, ceased to exist. The executive functions of the provincial governments were to be performed by the Superintendents (20) until the end of the year, when the new system would be inaugurated. Unlike the extremists of Auckland and Otago, Canterbury provincialists accepted the situation calmly. "The Press" remarked upon their admirable behaviour and pointed out that it never occurred to the most violent provincialist to offer any opposition to the law. (21)

(19) 2nd November, 1876.
(20) Except those of Auckland, Wellington and Otago.
(21) "Press", 3rd November, 1876.
Chapter X: Provincial Government in Canterbury, 1876.

Complaints by South Canterbury newspapers that the reduction in the railway tariff would draw trade from Timaru (1) were responsible for the following comment: "The great advantage we hope to gain from the abandonment of provincialism is the destruction of those sectional feelings - of that jealous spirit and fancied antagonism of interests among the several divisions of the colony, which the provincial system has served to foster." (2) Although the Canterbury railways had yielded the substantial profit of £60,000 during the year 1875-6, there was much dissatisfaction concerning the general management and traffic arrangements. This matter was brought before the House of Representatives (3) on 30th June when J.E. Brown, alone among the Canterbury members, defended the existing administration. The Abolition Act brought the railways under the General Government control. The value of provincial lines - Christchurch to Lyttelton, and Christchurch to Selwyn - was estimated at £600,000; and it was hoped that this amount would be credited to Canterbury under the terms of the Financial Arrangements Act.

Another source of local jealousy was the Timaru claim for a breakwater and harbour facilities. Plans had been prepared by the authority of the Provincial Council and enthusiastic

(1) The Timaru-Christchurch line was opened 17th December, 1875.
(2) "Press", 14th March, 1876.
(3) Parliamentary Debates, Vol. XX; P. 252.
public meetings urged the commencement of the proposed works. Failing to gain satisfaction from the Provincial Government, the people of Timaru and the surrounding district petitioned the General Assembly, with the result that their claims were acceded to and a measure passed to ensure the construction of the coveted harbour works (4). With regard to Lyttelton, arrangements were made in April to negotiate the Harbour Works Loan (5) which had appeared on the provincial estimates for the past three or four years. The arrangements, however, were later withdrawn.

The municipalities had at last gained some recognition of their financial claims during the 1875 session of the Provincial Council. In addition to the general grant, a sum of £1,500 had been voted for the purpose of obtaining sound engineering advice on the drainage of Christchurch and its suburbs. Although it did not appear on the March-September (provincial) estimates, the General Government sanctioned a grant of £10,000 to the Canterbury municipalities, and an equal sum was approved for the remaining quarter. Despite these douceurs Christchurch never ceased to clamour for an endowment. The Mayor, it was alleged, had said that if Christchurch could obtain £50,000 in cash and an endowment of 100,000 acres, it would not support abolition. (6)

(4) Timaru Harbour Board Act, 1876.
(5) £100,000.
(6) "Press", August 12th, 1876 - Letter by "County."
The administration of the Survey department had been attacked in the Council in 1875. A "searching and strict enquiry" had been promised by the Provincial Secretary, but nothing was done. There were notorious instances of official patronage, and a number of complaints concerning the unreliability of maps and plans. Rolleston refused to agree to the Executive's request to appoint a commission of enquiry, but application to the General Government was successful.

In the sphere of education there was even more dissatisfaction. The Minister for Education found few supporters. The Superintendent yielded to public opinion and disputed the legality of his actions, especially in regard to the levying of rates. Knight's decisions were on occasion pronounced unlawful by the Provincial Solicitor; and his publication in August of the Report for the Year ending 31st October, 1875 justified a charge of tardiness and, perhaps, incompetence. The imminence of abolition accelerated the reservation of land for educational purposes. The provincial "Gazettes" of 1875-6 show that the Government was determined not to neglect education - elementary and higher (7) - in Canterbury. "The Press", a consistent advocate in the cause of education, welcomed the appointment of H.R. Webb as Provincial Secretary because, as a member of the Board of Education and chairman of the Lyttelton school committee, he seemed eminently fitted to promote an energetic policy in educational affairs.

(7) The March-September estimates voted £3,000 for a Girls' High School.
Maskell's resignation (8) from the office of Provincial Secretary and Treasurer had provoked a ministerial crisis. "The two wealthiest and most powerful provinces in New Zealand seem to be equally occupied in furnishing a justification for the Abolition Act - Otago, according to its wont, has been outrunning the constable and is seeking to get out of its difficulties by a wholesale sacrifice of its waste lands. Canterbury, also according to its wont, has revived its perennial struggle between the Superintendent and his Executive." (9) Rolleston had appointed the sub-treasurer, Jameson, to the office of Provincial Treasurer, despite the protests of Sir J.C. Wilson, who had nominated a member of the Council. The matter was referred to the Provincial Solicitor who decided that Rolleston's action was illegal. The whole administration of the province was threatened with a deadlock; but the difficulty was overcome by Webb's appointment in June. (10)

There was still some life in provincial institutions. In August a vacancy (Rakaia) in the Provincial Council was filled by the Hon. J.N. Hall M.L.C.

The pessimistic outlook of the Provincial Government and of "The Press" in regard to land sales, was proved unwarranted. For the year ending 31st March they had more than doubled the

(8) He had been appointed Registrar to the University of New Zealand.

(9) "Press", 5th May, 1876.

(10) Buckley's retirement from the Executive was gazetted at the same time.
Treasurer's estimate (11). In June they reached the unprecedented amount of £92,000. The estimates for the quarter ending 31st December expanded the appropriations of the previous six months. They provided for an expenditure of £552,115 including a grant of £1,620 to public libraries. "The Press" (12) registered approval. "It will be satisfactory to know that in changing from one system of government to another there will be at least one province in the colony which hands over its business with a clean balance sheet, not requiring to bolster it up with assistance from the common purse of the colony."

During the last three months of 1876, "The Lyttelton Times" reviewed the achievements of provincial institutions in Canterbury. "Railways, roads, wharves, and an educational system that has no rival in the country - all these speak for the attention and enlightened care bestowed by successive Canterbury Governments for the interests of the province." (13)

The press and the people united in appreciation of Rolleston's services. For nine years he had held the office of Superintendent, acting with dignity and restraint in all political difficulties. He had guided the province through a period of economic depression, and had exercised a most beneficial influence upon the conduct of education. On the

(11) "Lyttelton Times"; 31st March, 1876.
(12) 18th October, 1876.
(13) "Lyttelton Times", 30th October, 1876.
anniversary of the province, 16th December, he was given a public presentation. (14)

"The Lyttelton Times" awaited with some trepidation the enforcement of abolition. "We believe that we shall see our wants ignored by the higher authority, our affairs confused by the lower authorities, and our money wasted by both. Let the system, however, have a fair trial. We accept the situation. We believe that we have been placed in it improperly and unjustly. But we would be the last to advocate unconstitutional resistance such as is threatened in Auckland and Otago. We have great faith in the legitimate working of public opinion, aided by practical experience, and in its progressive tendency from wrong to right.

"There are many who lament the loss of the Provinces, and who now, more than ever, are mindful of their usefulness. "The Province of Canterbury" - familiar to us as a household word - is now expunged from the political dictionary. There are, we think, few even among the advocates of abolition, who will not experience at this loss some feeling of regret. And it is not unlikely that time will shortly change that feeling into one of unavailing remorse." (15)

(14) £800 was subscribed by the public.

(15) "Lyttelton Times", 6th November, 1876.
Chapter XI: Summary

The immediate cause of the abolition of the provincial system was the financial chaos resulting from the Maori Wars and the Public Works policy. But there were other factors which hastened its decline. As New Zealand became more populous, as geographical difficulties were surmounted and communications improved, the necessity for the provincial system as a means of local government disappeared. "The spectacle of nine Councils, in a Colony with a quarter million inhabitants, framing independent laws and systems on such matters as taxation and land settlement, education and licensing, harbours, and railways, approached closely to the farcical." (1) The General Government had gradually absorbed the functions of the provincial governments especially in regard to borrowing, local government, social legislation, immigration, and public works. On the other hand, provincial powers had been decentralised to a large extent. The creation of municipalities, road boards, river boards, harbour boards, drainage boards, and education boards provided sufficient machinery for local government. The extravagant procedure of the provincial councils attracted unfavourable comment. "There had grown up in most of the provinces an elaborate system of government by responsible ministries, a cumbersome parliamentary

(1) Irvine and Alpers - "The Progress of New Zealand in the Century"; P. 286.
procedure, and a pretentious and expensive mockery of government by party, which had only the effect of obscuring and destroying the original plan of a popularly elected Superintendent acting as a check upon a less popularly elected chamber."

The diversity of legislation and lack of uniformity or harmony in administration were also contributing factors to provincial abolition. This diversity was especially noticeable in land and education policies where Auckland and the poorer provinces compared very unfavourably with Canterbury and Otago. The administration of gaols, police, lunatic asylums, railways and surveys was notoriously inefficient and confused as to design or pattern. New Zealand had outgrown the period of provincialism. The system had suited the isolated communities of the early years of settlement. But the influx of assisted immigrants and gold-diggers, and the consequent breaking down of the barriers of exclusiveness, stimulated the growth of a national sentiment which envisaged New Zealand as a political, social, and economic unit.

From its inception provincial government was regarded by one section of the Canterbury colonists merely as a temporary measure. By 1873 the centralising policy of the General Government, and the multiplicity of local bodies had greatly curtailed the functions of the Canterbury Provincial Council. Public opinion was alienated from provincialism by the drastic

measures of the Wilson Government in the last session of the Provincial Council. The raising of the education rates and the increased contribution to the cost of school buildings were definitely unpopular. The arbitrary administration of the Minister of Education accentuated the discontent. In the towns people supported the municipal councils in their demand for financial aid and a landed endowment. In Christchurch assistance was absolutely necessary for the construction of drainage works. The outlying districts, in Canterbury as in other parts of New Zealand, claimed that they were neglected by the Provincial Council. The most glaring example of this negligence was the refusal to construct harbour works at Timaru. The runholders, fearing adverse legislation in the Provincial Council on the question of renewal of leases, decided to support the General Government in 1875-6.

There was considerable agitation concerning the manner in which education, surveys and railways were administered. It was contented that these important departments should be controlled by the General Assembly.

By promising to preserve the localisation of the land fund Vogel successfully allayed the fears of the Canterbury abolitionists. "The Lyttelton Times", however, predicted the General Government's absorption of the land revenue, which actually came about during Grey's administration.
(1877-9). But in 1876 it must be remembered that a Canterbury member, E.J. Wakefield, had introduced into the House of Representatives a set of resolutions offering to relinquish 50% of the land fund to the General Assembly.

Whether or not the conduct of the General Assembly was on a higher moral plane than that of the provincial councils does not concern us here. But the pretensions of the Canterbury Provincial Council and the frequency of ministerial crises were deplored and derided throughout New Zealand. Simplification of the provincial machinery was constantly urged in Canterbury.

It is necessary to point out once more that the general public were not particularly interested in political questions. Few men had the leisure to study the issues involved. In Canterbury people were more concerned with local affairs—education, drainage, railway tariffs etc. By abolition the General Government promised to redress their grievances, to provide the municipalities with subsidies, to construct harbour works at Timaru, to restore the Board of Education. Canterbury was prosperous, her land sales were increasing and the economies of the Provincial Council had proved unwarranted. Local government was assured by the numerous boards and municipal councils supported by subsidies from the General Government. The prevailing opinion throughout Canterbury was that provincial institutions had outlived their utility.

Many people testified to the splendid achievements of the Canterbury Provincial Council. On 7th March, 1894, Sir John
Hall, who had been a member of the first and last Provincial Council, Provincial Secretary and Premier of New Zealand, spoke thus:

"I think the work done in the old provincial days, and the men who did it deserve to be held in grateful recollection. The administration, at whose head were men like Fitzgerald, Sefton, Moorhouse, and William Rolleston, was characterised by honesty, ability, and intelligent dealing with the difficult circumstances of a new country.......It has been well said that the history and character of a government may be read in the monuments which it leaves behind. When we consider what our Canterbury Provincial Government has left behind, especially in the matter of public works - when we look at the roads, bridges, harbour works and even railroads by which the province was opened up; when we look on the large immigration which was secured; on the liberal education system which was erected, and on the fact, which statistics prove, that in proportion to our available agricultural area, a larger amount of actual settlement was secured and more agricultural produce was raised than in any other part of the colony, we are justified in believing that the days of the Provincial Government were some of Canterbury's best days.

"It has been said, and I think with truth, that no part of the colonial Empire, unaided by mineral wealth, ever made more progress in solid and permanent settlement than did
Canterbury in the days of Provincial Government. I will only add that if the work of the other provinces had been as well done as that of Canterbury provincial institutions might have remained in existence to the present day." (13)

(13) Quoted by Wigram - "Story of Christchurch."; P.175-7.
### APPENDIX A

The Provincial Council, 1874.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DISTRICT</th>
<th>COUNCILLOR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Akaroa</td>
<td>R. Western jun.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashburton</td>
<td>W.C. Walker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bays</td>
<td>W.H. Pillet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christchurch</td>
<td>S.P. Andrews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>H.T. Tancred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T.S. Turnbull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geraldine</td>
<td>T.O. Rayner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heathcote</td>
<td>S. Tancred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>W. Montgomery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>J.T. Fisher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sir J.C. Wilson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaiapoi</td>
<td>T.I. Joynt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln</td>
<td>J.N. Tosswill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A.C. Knight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lyttelton</td>
<td>E. Richardson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>H.R. Webb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mt. Cook</td>
<td>G.B. Parker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxford</td>
<td>R.L. Higgins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papanui</td>
<td>Wynn Williams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Victoria</td>
<td>J.T. Peacock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rakaia</td>
<td>T.H. Potts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>J. Jebson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>W. White</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### The Provincial Council, 1874 - continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>DISTRICT</strong></th>
<th><strong>COUNCILLOR</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rangiora</td>
<td>T.W. Maude</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riccarton</td>
<td>H.F. Gray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seadown</td>
<td>W.B. Tosswill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selwyn</td>
<td>W. Kennaway</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sefton</td>
<td>R. Turnbull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timaru</td>
<td>E. Jollie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waimate</td>
<td>W.J.F. Bluett</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wanui</td>
<td>M. Maskell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waitangi</td>
<td>C.J. Harper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waipara</td>
<td>G. Healey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandeville</td>
<td>G. Buckley</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---
APPENDIX B.
Census Returns, 1874.

CANTERBURY.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ELECTORAL DISTRICTS</th>
<th>TOTAL POPULATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Akaroa</td>
<td>3137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheviot (part)</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashley</td>
<td>4280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selwyn</td>
<td>3882</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coleridge</td>
<td>3266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaiapoi</td>
<td>5227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christchurch East</td>
<td>7756</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christchurch West</td>
<td>9189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avon</td>
<td>3503</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heathcote</td>
<td>6106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lyttelton</td>
<td>2902</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lyttelton Shipping and Quarantine</td>
<td>615</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timaru</td>
<td>5957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timaru Shipping</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gladstone</td>
<td>2611</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL:</strong></td>
<td><strong>58770</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of this total 14,722 were resident in Municipalities, viz.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MUNICIPALITIES</th>
<th>POPULATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Christchurch</td>
<td>10,282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lyttelton</td>
<td>1,427</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaiapoi</td>
<td>1,002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timaru</td>
<td>2,011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL:</strong></td>
<td><strong>14,722</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
-117-

Census Returns, 1874 - continued.

NEW ZEALAND.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROVINCES</th>
<th>POPULATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Auckland</td>
<td>68500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawke's Bay</td>
<td>9236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taranaki</td>
<td>5392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wellington</td>
<td>29654</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nelson</td>
<td>22521</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marlborough</td>
<td>6143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westland</td>
<td>14823</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td>58770</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otago</td>
<td>84822</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL: 299861
**APPENDIX C.**

*Decisions Reached At Public Meetings.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FOR IMMEDIATE ABOLITION</th>
<th>FOR AN APPEAL TO THE COUNTRY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grahamstown</td>
<td>Cavershame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christchurch</td>
<td>Leeston</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawrence</td>
<td>Eden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greymouth</td>
<td>Lincoln</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patea</td>
<td>Kaikorai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ross</td>
<td>Parnell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamilton</td>
<td>Onehunga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timaru</td>
<td>Rodney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexandra</td>
<td>Naseby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westport</td>
<td>Coromandel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rakaia</td>
<td>Riccarton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wanganui</td>
<td>Anderson's Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hokitika</td>
<td>Kaikoura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rangiora</td>
<td>Wellington</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nelson</td>
<td>Lincoln</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxford</td>
<td>Kaiapoi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temuka</td>
<td>Wairarapa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courtney</td>
<td>Auckland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuakau</td>
<td>Kaiwarra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pukikohe</td>
<td>Franklin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wairoa</td>
<td>Ponsonby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rangitiki</td>
<td>Kapuka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Decisions Reached at Public Meetings - continued.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FOR IMMEDIATE ABOLITION</th>
<th>FOR AN APPEAL TO THE COUNTRY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Little River</td>
<td>Devonport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wangahu</td>
<td>Hutt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawea</td>
<td>Saltwater Creek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waimate</td>
<td>Loburn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leithfield</td>
<td>Taieri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pahautanui</td>
<td>Wellington</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marton</td>
<td>Eden and Waitemata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Invercargill</td>
<td>Franklin 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waiku</td>
<td>Franklin 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hutt</td>
<td>Irwell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aparima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Forbury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S. Molyneaux</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Takapuna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Papakura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Clutha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mataura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Riverton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mosgiel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CANTERBURY.**

| Christchurch            | Leeston                     |
| Timaru                  | Lincoln                     |
| Rakaia                  | Riccarton                   |
Canterbury Decisions Reached - continued.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FOR IMMEDIATE ABOLITION</th>
<th>FOR AN APPEAL TO THE COUNTRY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rangiora</td>
<td>Lincoln</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxford</td>
<td>Kaiapoi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temuka</td>
<td>Saltwater Creek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courtenay</td>
<td>Loburn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little River</td>
<td>Cust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waimate</td>
<td>Irwell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leithfield</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---------
**APPENDIX D.**

Table Presented in House of Representatives by Atkinson.

27th Aug., 1875.

"Press", 2nd September, 1875.

**CANTERBURY.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Under Provincial System</th>
<th>Under the Proposed System</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Revenue</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total provincial revenue as estimated by the province (including £100,000 to be received out of the proposed harbour works loan)</td>
<td>Revenue as estimated by province including £100,000 to be received out of proposed harbour works loan less £28,256 taken over by colony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£891,458</td>
<td>£863,202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capitation allowance</td>
<td>£947,777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£947,777</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Expenditure**

| Provincial Departments and services as estimated by the Province | £97,457 |

**Expenses**

| Provincial Departments and services | £91,482 |

**Revenue**

| From consolidated revenue for departments | 91,482 |
| For road Boards | 10,138 |
| For Municipalities | 9,518 |
| For Outlying Districts | 5,000 |

Total: £979,340
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>From Page 121:</td>
<td>£97,457</td>
<td>From Page 121:</td>
<td>£91,482</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>46,905</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>46,905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land &amp; Surveys</td>
<td>36,989</td>
<td>Land &amp; Surveys</td>
<td>36,989</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Railway working expenses</td>
<td>144,860</td>
<td>Railway working expenses</td>
<td>144,860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest on provincial loans</td>
<td>42,372</td>
<td>Interest on provincial loans</td>
<td>6,372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest on railway loans</td>
<td>40,709</td>
<td>Interest on railway loans</td>
<td>76,709</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td><strong>£409,292</strong></td>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td><strong>£403,317</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Amount available for local public works, endowments etc.:

- Grants to Municipalities: £9,518
- License fees to Municipalities: 9,500
- Grants to Road Boards: 20,276
- Works in country districts: 536,729

**Total:** £576,023

£538,485
**APPENDIX A.**

List of Canterbury Candidates: General Election, 1875.

(Successful candidates underlined)

A = abolition (centralism); P = provincialism; I.S. = insular separation; L.G. = local government similar to Timaru and Gladstone Board of Works; p = sentimental attachment to provincialism.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>No. to be elected</th>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Poll</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ashley</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>J.E. Brown</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>W.M. Maskell</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akaroa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>W. Montgomery</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>W.H. Pilliet</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avon</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>W. Rolleston</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>unopposed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christchurch</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>E.C.J. Stevens</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>1059</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hon. E. Richardson</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>W.B. Moorhouse</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>622</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>S.P. Andrews</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>532</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>E.J. Wakefield</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>J.W. Treadwell</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coleridge</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>W.J.G. Bluett</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>W.B. Tosswill</td>
<td>I.S.</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C. Wason</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>J. Jebsen</td>
<td>L.G.</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of Canterbury Candidates, General Election.
1875, continued.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>No. to be elected</th>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Poll</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Geraldine</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>E.J. Wakefield</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A. Wilson</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>J. Hayhurst</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gladstone</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>F.W. Teischmaker</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>R. Turnbull</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>J. Bruce</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heathcote</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sir J.C. Wilson</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>J.T. Fisher</td>
<td>P_P</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lyttelton</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>H.R. Webb</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>H.P. Murray-Aynsley</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaiapoi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Hon. C.C. Bowen</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>J. Beswick</td>
<td>P_P</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selwyn</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>W. Reeves</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C.A. Fiskev</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timaru</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>E.W. Stafford</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>unopposed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheviot</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>L. Harper</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>J. Ward</td>
<td>P_P</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX F.

Net Provincial liabilities assumed by the General Government after Canterbury had been credited with £731,759 and Otago with £372,522 for their railways:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Liability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Auckland</td>
<td>£1,019,581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taranaki</td>
<td>112,477</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wellington</td>
<td>500,697</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawke's Bay</td>
<td>119,779</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nelson</td>
<td>267,838</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marlborough</td>
<td>32,192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westland</td>
<td>340,490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otago</td>
<td>1,191,621</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL:</strong></td>
<td><strong>£3,584,745</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Taken from Wigram - "Story of Christchurch"; P.179.
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