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Canterbury University College.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE CANTERBURY SETTLEMENT

by

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Note: The following is a copy, slightly revised in form but uncorrected in substance (the sources not being at hand) of a thesis presented in 1914 for the degree of Master of Arts in the University of New Zealand. The original text, which contained ~~a number of maps,~~ ^{(and a list of the sources used,} has been lost.

The thesis was based on researches into such published material as was available in Christchurch at the time, and the following material, then unpublished, placed at the disposal of the author by the Curator of the Canterbury Museum, and the Librarian of Christ's College:

Minute Books and Despatch Books of the Canterbury Association.

Despatch Books and correspondence of J.R. Godley.

Despatch Books of Captain Thomas.

Various correspondence and records kept in the archives of the Canterbury Museum.

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CHAPTER I.

THE BACKGROUND.

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(a) In New Zealand.

The years which followed the rediscovery of New Zealand by Captain Cook in 1769 were the darkest in British colonial history. The principles of the old colonial policy, embodied in the Navigation Act, had not saved the falling Empire, and it is not surprising that in New Zealand as elsewhere the work of systematic colonisation, of which the foundation of Canterbury is a conspicuous example, should have to await the day when confident views of the possibilities of colonies once again prevailed.

These new ideas, of which the essence was ^{that} colonies could and should be the product of intelligent design and not of chance, found their first clear expression, chiefly in their economic aspect, in Edward Gibbon Wakefield's "Letter from Sydney", of 1829, while their political consequences may be traced in Lord Durham's Canadian report of 1838. In the actual practice of Colonisation Wakefield insisted on two leading principles: that in order to provide sufficient labour, colonial waste lands should be sold at a uniform and not too cheap price; and that part of the proceeds should be spent in assisting immigration. After an attempt in South Australia, he turned his attention to New Zealand, which in evidence before the House of Commons in 1836 he described as the "the fittest country in the world for colonisation." In 1837 the New Zealand Association was formed of those who held these principles of colonisation, some of whom, incidentally, were the political opponents of Lord Glenelg, the Colonial Secretary. The Government looked with disfavour upon the Association, of which the "only object was to bring the subject before the public and Parliament," but offered to constitute it on certain conditions a chartered company. This offer the Association refused, and in 1838 it dissolved itself. In the following year many of the intend-

1. Wakefield, Evidence before Committee, 1840.

ing New Zealand colonists, including some members of the Association, formed themselves into a "New Zealand Land Company" and, failing to obtain a charter, decided to negotiate with the natives for land. A vessel, the *TORY*, was sent by the Company to Port Nicholson at the end of 1839, with the intention, which proved successful, of forcing the hand of the British Government. Captain Hobson was sent out to negotiate for the cession of the islands, and on February 6th. 1840, was signed the Treaty of Waitangi, by which the Queen's sovereignty over New Zealand was acknowledged. From May to November 1840 New Zealand was a dependency of New South Wales under a Lieutenant-Governor: but by Letters Patent under the Great Seal of November 16th. it was made into a separate Colony with a Governor and nominated Legislative Council.

The Treaty of Waitangi having been signed at the Bay of Islands by forty-six chiefs, Hobson sent Major Bunbury to obtain the signatures of the chiefs of the Middle Island and Stewart Island. At Stewart Island Major Bunbury, on June 5th. 1840 proclaimed the Queen's sovereignty by right of discovery and on June 17th. at Cloudy Bay (Middle Island) in virtue of the Treaty of Waitangi. Though British sovereignty over the Middle Island had thus already been established, it was long believed that it was at Akaroa, a few hours before a French frigate, whose captain intended to proclaim French sovereignty, sailed into the harbour, that the proclamation was made. The facts, as recently established, are these. In July there arrived at the Bay of Islands a frigate, *L'AUBE*, sent out to escort another French ship, the *COMTE DE PARIS*, which carried fifty-seven immigrants. These had been despatched by a French Company, the Nanto-Bordelaise Company, to settle in the thirty-thousand acres which it claimed to have purchased from the natives of Banks's Peninsula. In order

to leave no doubt as to the reality of British sovereignty over the Middle Island, Hobson immediately sent Captain ^{Stanley} in the BRITOMART to Akaroa, for the purpose of holding courts there under the British flag. On August 11th. Stanley hoisted the British flag at Akaroa. On the 15th. L'AUBE, and on the 16th. the COMTE DE PARIS, arrived. The commander of the frigate did not dispute the claim of the British to the Island, and assented to Captain Stanley's proposals as to the site of the settlement for the emigrants. the claim of 30,000 acres was not rejected, but in 1849 the Nanto-Bordelaise Company transferred all its rights to the New Zealand Company for the sum of £4,500. In the previous year native land claims in this area had been settled by the apportionment of reserves, and the New Zealand Company now had a valid claim to this part also of the future property of the Canterbury Association.

After the annexation of the Islands, trouble arose between the Governor and the New Zealand Land Company. The original claim of the Company to 20,000,000 acres which it alleged to have purchased from the natives had been given up when the Company was incorporated in February 1841, but even its more modest later claims, based on titles which it supposed the Government to have recognised, were impugned by a special Commissioner sent out to investigate them. The difficulties of the Company however, which bulk so largely in New Zealand ^{justice} of the forties, did not seriously affect the fortunes of the Canterbury Settlement, owing to the sparsely settled character of the land which the Canterbury Association bought from the Company.

In August 1846 a constitution for New Zealand was framed by Earl Grey, the Colonial Secretary; but Governor Grey, deeming it unsuitable, and likely to place excessive power in the hands of "land sharks", suspended its operation. The wisdom of this act

of insubordination was ultimately recognised, and on March. 7th. 1848, a Suspending Act was passed, which suspended for five years the operationsof the most objectionable portions of the Act of 1846. By a proclamation of the Governor of March 10th. 1848, the colony was divided into two provinces, New Ulster and New Munster, which lay respectively north and south of a line drawn due east from the mouth of the Patea River. Each of these provinces was placed under a Lieutenant- Governor. New Zealand remained under the autocratic rule of the Governor and his Council until the introduction of the Parliamentary and Provincial system in 1853.

(b) In England.

After the Peace of Vienna in 1815, many social evils to which during the wars temporary remedies had been applied, again demanded attention. The desire for greater population during the wars had been met by the system of granting rewards to large families. This practice, and the indiscriminate application of Poor Law Relief had placed a premium on thriftlessness, and the temporary benefit afforded by these measures was now eclipsed by growing pressure of population and increased social distress. Unemployment and extreme poverty prevailed in both the industrial and agricultural classes. High protective duties and corn laws kept prices high in the interests of a powerful minority of landholders and manufacturers, while the evils of the factory system and of child labour left little hope that the new generation would be less unequal to its fortunes than the old. Though the grosser forms of Parliamentary corruption no longer flourished as they had in the eighteenth century, yet the electoral system remained such as to place all political power in the hands of the wealthier classes.

These evils, with the still greater misery in Ireland caused a steady flow in the tide of emigration, which continued

in spite of the attempts made towards the middle of the century to alleviate them by certain legislative measures, such ^{as} the Reform Bill of 1832, the New Poor Law of 1834, and the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846. Hitherto the emigrant had been regarded with disfavour, even with suspicion. Tradition had it that none but wastrels went to the colonies, the association of which negro slavery and transportation increased their ill repute. It had not always been so. "Plantations", said Bacon, "are amongst ancient primitive and heroical works." Now, thanks to the indefatigable efforts of Wakefield and his school, the good name of colonisation was restored. In contrast to the penal establishments that had been the first English settlements in Australia, the Wakefield system of high priced lands and assisted immigration was applied, though not to the satisfaction of its author, in South Australia in 1836. Several of the settlements in New Zealand, including the important Free Church of Scotland settlement in Otago, which was made in 1848, were ^{on} the same lines.

Another circumstance which throughout this period greatly favoured emigration was that increase in facilities for locomotion, which played so significant a part in the economic development of the nineteenth century ~~generally~~. "As the greatest industrial fact of the eighteenth century is the application of steam to production, so the most important commercial circumstance ² of the nineteenth century is the application of steam to locomotion."

Thus when in the late forties the Canterbury ~~scheme~~ was first talked of those general incentives to emigration which had been operative for the last two decades had not lost their force. On the contrary, as will be seen in the next chapter, they were to be strengthened by the political upheavals of the middle of the century. To them was added that influence which gave to the Canterbury ^{Scheme} its distinctive character. The founders of the province

¹ Bacon, Essay on Plantations.

² Spencer Walpole, History of England, Vol.V.

shared a common zeal for the Church of England. To understand how new was such a state of mind it must be remembered that for a century and more the Church had enjoyed that "healthiest state" in which, careful of soberness, decency and sense, it neglected dogma and ~~depreciated~~^{depreciated} enthusiasm, even enthusiasm for itself, did the problem ever arise. This was now changed. The religious revival which began at Oxford in 1833, reach^{ing} across the indifference of the eighteenth century to the zeal of the seventeenth, and thence back to the first centuries of ~~Christianity~~^{Christianity}, sought to revive in the minds of Englishmen an energetic faith in the supernatural character of the Church, and other dogmas long fallen into neglect. The Establishment, waking up to find itself taken seriously, succumbed to the virus of enthusiasm, and Wesley was ~~avenged~~^{avenged}. That any large number of the founders of Canterbury were Tractarians in the party sense there is little to show. Godley himself appears to have been deeply influenced by the Movement, and his years at Oxford were those in which Newman's persuasive voice was still to be heard in its defence. Others were of the opposite school, but by what they sought to bring about in Canterbury all confess themselves heirs of the Oxford Movement, which, even if it exasperated more ~~than~~^{than} it convinced, quickened the whole Church. The idea of propagating the Church of England, which in the previous century would have as seemed as curious a motive as that of transplanting the Bank or the Post Office, was in this revival of the Church militant powerful to inspire and sustain a considerable enterprise.

1. J. A. Froese. The Oxford Counter-Reformation.

12. 9 a.

CHAPTER II.

THE CANTERBURY ASSOCIATION.

There was no novelty in the idea of religious colonisation. The Puritan colonies of New England were the result of a determination to find a place where a persecuted religion could flourish unmolested, and they retained for many years, with much of their intolerance and sectarianism, their religious character. It was not, however, until a new colonial system, informed by distinct principles of its own had emerged from the disillusionment which followed the loss of the American colonies, that religion again became a motive for colonisation. In 1832 the Bishop of Norwich published an essay advocating colonisation on a religious basis. Towards the end of 1843 Edward Gibbon Wakefield conceived the idea of a Church of England settlement in New Zealand, under the auspices of the New Zealand Company. Two circumstances combined to postpone this project. The Wairau massacre had inaugurated a period of native hostility; and the Colonial Office and missionary bodies in England were opposed to further action on the part of the New Zealand Company. However the idea of the Church settlement was not abandoned; and in the autumn of 1847 Wakefield met John Robert Godley.

Godley was born in County Leitrim, Ireland, in 1814. After leaving Harrow, he was educated at Christ Church, Oxford, where, as has been indicated, he had been influenced by the Tractarian Movement then at its height, and had made many friendships of importance to his future work. A deep thinker on imperial problems, and a forceful writer, he had travelled widely, and had been much struck by the difference between the roughness of the backwood settlements of the United States and the religious and civilised atmosphere of Lower Canada. He had foreseen the horrors of the

Irish famine, and had proposed a scheme of emigration to Canada, which, if adopted, might have saved many lives. Godley welcomed with enthusiasm Wakefield's idea of a Church settlement, and the idealism of the one combined with the practical experience of the other, were soon to make such a settlement a reality.

The central object of all the ambitious schemes connected with the name of the Canterbury Association was the foundation, on a Church of England basis, of a colony attractive to the upper orders of the people. Accordingly, Godley, whose power of commanding enthusiasm and co-operation was the life-blood of the Canterbury project, secured the sympathy of many men amongst the aristocracy and clergy, who, in March 1848, formed themselves into "an association for founding a settlement of members of the Church of England in New Zealand." A Committee of Management was formed, of which the Bishop of Oxford, Lord Lyttelton, and other prominent men, were members. It was resolved "That the name of the proposed settlement be Canterbury, and the name of the chief town Christ Church: and that a letter be transmitted to the New Zealand Company proposing to them a plan of colonisation in conjunction with the Association." X (The actual site of Canterbury was not yet determined.) The Association then proceeded to make its scheme public by advertising in the better known journals, by public meetings, and by short articles setting forth the principles of the intended settlement.

X Minutes, Canterbury Association, March 27th, 1848.

The unattractive nature of previous English colonisation was first emphasised. Colonisation had been equivalent to exile, and had been undertaken only under the pressure of dire necessity. Accordingly, the emigrants had been of only one class - the class which was compelled to emigrate in order to provide the bare necessities of ~~material~~ existence. In their colonial homes they had found themselves without provision for their intellectual and religious needs, and colonial society had in consequence exhibited some ugly characteristics. "How could it be otherwise? Let us consider the position of the poor and uneducated emigrant in his adopted country..... He has children old enough to go to school; he needs religious rites and consolations; the clergymen and schoolmasters are few in number and widely dispersed. In short, no care had been taken to make due provision for the cravings of his moral nature; we have thought of our colonists chiefly as of so much flesh and blood requiring to be renewed by food and covered with clothing; the food of the heart has received but secondary care." ^X With this neglect was contrasted the spiritual endowment of the New England colonies, and the solemn sacrifices with which a Corinth would send out a complete segment of her society to colonise a Corcyra. The latter comparison was repeated with a rather monotonous frequency by the erudite fathers of the Canterbury province.

For these reasons, so the argument ran, men of station and character, and the more refined elements of society, had been deterred from colonisation

^X Canterbury Papers I.

They were unwilling to expose their children to the risk of growing up without education or religious influence. To obviate these difficulties it was now proposed to "form a settlement to be composed entirely of members of our own Church, accompanied by an adequate supply of clergy, with all the appliances requisite for carrying out her ordinances, and with full provision for extending them in proportion to the increase of population. As, by preserving unity of creed the difficulties which surround the question of education are avoided, we shall be enabled to supply amply and satisfactorily for that object The purchasers of Land would have the selection of labourers to be recommended for a free passage, such labourers to be also exclusively bona fide members of the English Church." X

The time seemed ripe for such an undertaking. A wave of revolutionary feeling and of social disturbance was then passing over Europe. "The future was dark and troubled. Men's hearts were failing them for fear." X Pressure of population and uneasiness regarding the future were producing evil and menacing results. Not only were the poorer classes affected but many clergymen and country gentlemen were being forced by poverty into a lower station in life. All these discontented elements would, it was thought, find scope for their energies in the proposed colony, which would be handicapped by none of the disadvantages that formerly beset colonisation.

X Canterbury Papers I.

The Association had fixed upon New Zealand as the most appropriate field for their enterprise. Its advantages, attested by many witnesses, were threefold. The soil was fertile, and the land was rich in other resources, especially coal, timber and water power. The climate was excellent. The geographical position and conformation of the country were favourable, and there was easy access to markets as well as good natural harbours.

The details of the scheme were then explained. It was proposed to apply to the New Zealand Company for one million acres (an area afterwards increased to 2,400,000 acres). The price of rural land was to be £3 per acre. Of this sum, 10s. was to be paid to the New Zealand Company as the price of the land: £1 per acre to the religious and educational fund: £1 to the Immigration Fund; 10s. to the fund for miscellaneous purposes, including surveys, roads and bridges. When the whole of the land had been sold, the following sums would be allotted to their respective objects:-

	£
New Zealand Company	500,000
Religious and Educational Fund	1,000,000
Immigration Fund	1,000,000
Fund for miscellaneous purposes	500,000
	<u>£3,000,000</u>

Thus the Wakefield principle that high-priced land was really the cheapest was fully observed. It afforded a field for sound investment while the price deterred speculation. Part of the proceeds was to be spent in assisting the immigration of labourers, who would be prevented, owing to the high price of land, from immediately taking up land themselves,

and leaving the labour market empty - an evil which had greatly retarded the progress of colonies where land had been sold at a nominal price.

But the most attractive feature of the whole proposal and the one which was destined to be the most changed by the course of events was the scheme for the religious and educational endowment of the colony. In spite of its apparent extravagance, this was not a hasty and ill-considered intention but was carefully matured by the choicest intellects among the friends of Canterbury. There was to be a Bishop who would exercise a quasi-patriarchical authority over the colony in its initial stages. The following sums were to be spent on churches and schools:-

20 churches at £1,000 each	£ 20,000
20 Parsonage-houses & glebes at £500 each	10,000
20 Schools at £100 each	2,000
A College and Chapel	6,000
Residences for a Bishop, the Principal of the College, and an Archdeacon,	<u>3,000</u>
TOTAL	<u>£41,000</u>

Salaries were to be apportioned as follows:-

To a Bishop	£ 1,000
To an Archdeacon	600
20 Clergymen, each £200	4,000
20 Schoolmasters, each £70	<u>1,400</u>
TOTAL PER ANNUM	<u>£7,000</u>

An elaborate scheme for a college was also worked out. It was to possess its own Warden, Fellows and Tutors, and to consist of two departments: a public school department for boys from seven to seventeen, and a collegiate department for students above the age of seventeen. These two departments were to be the Canterbury Public School, and the University

respectively; and it was intended that young men from India and Australia should also receive their education at Christ Church College. In the original plan, a space was set apart in the capital city, Christ Church, to be occupied by the Cathedral surrounded by the College buildings. This was in imitation of Christ Church, Oxford, to which foundation many prominent members of the Canterbury Association, such as Godley, and Sir John Simeon, had belonged.

Emigration was to be closely controlled by the Association, which would exercise a power of selection among all those who should apply for permission to enter the settlement, either as buyers of land or as immigrants desiring assistance. Every class and profession was to be represented in that proportion in which it ought to exist in a prosperous colonial community. The Association would ensure that none but persons who were of good character, as well as members of the Church of England, should be admitted.

Such was the plan of the proposed colonial society - a society which should be a complete segment of English life, and in which what were considered to be the best elements of civilised existence should be harmoniously blended. "An English county, with its Cathedral city, its famous university, its Bishop, its parishes, its endowed clergy, its ancient aristocracy, its yeoman farmers, its few necessary tradesmen, its sturdy and loyal labourers; and all this with no crime, no poverty and no dissent - this was the ideal which their imagination suggested."^X

^X

H.T. Purchas, Bishop Harper and the Canterbury Settlement.

CHAPTER III.

THE FIRST DIFFICULTIES.

The proposals of the Association were at first favourably received by the public and by Earl Grey, the Colonial Secretary, and it was decided that application should be made for a Charter of Incorporation. In May 1848 an advance of £25,000 was obtained from the New Zealand Company for preliminary expenses. In July, Captain Thomas was sent out to the Colony as the Agent, until the Association should be incorporated, of the New Zealand Company. He was instructed to choose a million acres in the Wairarapa Valley as a site for the settlement. On his arrival in New Zealand, Thomas immediately put himself into communication with Governor Grey and Bishop Selwyn, and made a most careful search for a suitable site. He rejected the Wairarapa Valley, owing to the difficulty of obtaining land there from the native owners. He then explored Banks Peninsula and the Port Cooper Plains. These extend for about a hundred miles north and south by about forty-five miles east and west, being terminated by the Southern Alps on the West and the Pacific Ocean on the east. A hilly peninsula, called Banks peninsula, projected from the plains on the east. Port Cooper is the most northwesterly of the harbours with which the peninsula is indented. The hills of Banks Peninsula were thickly wooded, but the plains, apart from a few patches of forest, were open tussock country. This territory had, in 1841, been rejected as a site for the Nelson settlement. In 1844 it had been again explored, this time by Captain Tuckett, who was engaged in choosing a site for the proposed Church of Scotland settlement. Tuckett reported favourably on the plains, but considered that the height that separated them from the Port was a serious obstacle. Having reached Port Cooper, Thomas

was impressed by the depth and safety of the harbour, and the favourable aspect of the surrounding plains. He obtained a report on the country, dated January 30th, 1849, and written by the Deans Brothers, Scotsmen who had settled on the plains in 1842. The report dwelt on the climate, the fertility of the soil, the prospects for stock, and the various resources of the country. The plains did not require clearing, and were ready for immediate occupation. There was ample room for the extension of the settlement; and there was no likelihood of any native trouble to vex the intending settlers. Thomas was well satisfied that Port Cooper and the plains provided the most suitable site and through Mr. Fox, the local agent of the New Zealand Company, he made application for the territory to Governor Grey. In May, having received the assent of the Governor and of the Bishop, Thomas proceeded to Port Cooper to carry out the survey and preliminary works as directed by the Association. He fixed on the site of three towns, Lyttelton (the port) Sumner, and Christ Church. At first he had intended to place the chief town, Christ Church, at the head of the Harbour of Port Victoria,^x but the difficulty of reclaiming the mud-flats subsequently caused him to choose the plains as the site of Christ Church. Accordingly he undertook the construction of a road over the hills from the port to the plains.

Meanwhile, the Association in England was not prospering as well as had been hoped. Many of its

^x Port Victoria was the name used by the Association, but Port Cooper was the more familiar name in New Zealand.

members, such as Sir William Molesworth, belonged to the party of colonial reform, and their eagerness to secure self-government for the colonies, provoked the opposition of the Colonial Office. Most virulent charges against that department appear in the letters of Wakefield, and all allowance being made for any overstatements into which official obstruction may betray the enthusiast, it is evident that the opposition of the Colonial Office and of its servant, Governor Grey, to the system of self-government which the Canterbury Association demanded, was a real obstacle to the progress of the Association. The New Zealand Company also was in bad odour with the public. Moreover, the Association was confronted with the attacks of a large section of the community, which inveighed against its scheme as being "a regular Puseyite affair", and detected^{w/}the future Canterbury "a priest-ridden colony". It was stated, in refutation of these charges, that Puseyites formed only a section of the Association, and that it was by the help of the Church rather than for the Church that the colony was to be established. Nevertheless, towards the end of 1849, when the first enthusiasm of the scheme had cooled, there appeared a very real danger of its being entirely abandoned. The administration of John Hutt, Chairman of the Committee of Management, was notoriously weak. He is accused by Wakefield of having "done nothing but cut holes in the bottom of the ship". However, the news from Thomas in New Zealand was an encouragement, and the Association decided to proceed. In October 1849 it resolved to send Godley to the colony, as he had already been ordered to leave.

England owing to ill-health: and on December 2nd he left in the LADY NUGENT. The negotiations which had taken place with a view ^{to} ~~of~~ obtaining a Charter, bore fruit in the granting of the Royal Charter of November 13th, 1849, by which, the Canterbury Association was incorporated. On December 1st an agreement was made with the New Zealand Company, by which the latter was bound to reserve 2,500,000 acres for the Canterbury Association for ten years, provided that £100,000 worth of land should be sold by the Association before the 30th April, 1850: the Association undertaking to sell the land at not less than £3 per acre, and to pay the Company 10/- per acre. In default of the requisite sales being made, the Association's power over the Canterbury settlement was to cease and the land revert to the Company. Terms of purchase were now fixed: the land was open for sale in January 1850 and intending colonists were asked to submit their names. Felix Wakefield, as agent for the sale of lands, proceeded on a tour through the South of England to invite land purchases, and expressed confidence that the required amount of land would be sold by the specified time.

The ineffective administration of Hutt as Chairman of the Committee of Management still continued, and it was only the thought that Godley was already on the way to New Zealand that prevented the plan from being dropped. Trouble again arose with the Colonial Office over the subject of the sale of lands. The Association desired that priority of choice should be determined by ballot. Earl Grey considered that the ballot was a lottery, but a compromise was finally arranged which preserved the principle of the ballot in a form which evaded the Act against lotteries. Moreover, the possible contingency of failure referred to in the

agreement with the Company was a deadweight upon the progress of the land sales, while the terms of the agreement forbade the extent of the land sales to be made known before 30th April. Accordingly intending purchasers delayed their purchases until the last moment, and many refused to purchase at all while there was a possibility of failure. While progress at Home was thus laborious, it was impossible for the agent in the colony to proceed effectively with the work of preparation. Requests were made by the intending colonists that the date of sailing of the first ships should be definitely fixed, and that a new agreement should be made with the New Zealand Company extending the time limit of the land sales.

Hitherto, practically all the work of the Association had been left to the Chairman. Now, in the spring of 1850, the other members of the Committee of Management began to put their hand to the plough in real earnest. Hutt found the co-operation of his fellow-committee men distasteful and resigned. At the end of March 1850 Lord Lyttelton became Chairman of the Committee of Management, and the chief director of the Canterbury scheme. Negotiations were carried on with the New Zealand Company, and on April 16th, a new agreement was made. "The arrangement so made was in substance similar to the former, except that instead of a forfeiture of power in default of the sale of land on 30th April, 1850, to the extent of £100,000 in value, the condition imposed was that sales should be made to the extent of £50,000 in value by the 31st December, 1850, and should be continued annually at the same rate, in default whereof the powers of the Association were to cease".^x

^x H.F. Alston (Sec. Canterbury Assn.) to J.R. Godley, September 7th 1850

At the same time the 30th June was substituted for 30th April as the last day on which applications for land orders from the first body of colonists should be received. This agreement was conditioned by a personal guarantee of Lord Lyttelton, Sir John Simeon, Sir Richard Cavendish, and Edward Gibbon Wakefield, whereby they bound themselves to the extent of £3750 each to pay to the Company the amount it would have received if the £100,000 worth of land had been sold by April 30th, 1850. This guarantee, which saved the Association, is a striking testimony to the public spirit of the founders of Canterbury and may be held to atone for a certain lack of business ability, which, with an excess of eloquence, was their chief failing. It also shows the attractive personality of Godley, for it was confessedly out of devotion to him that these personal liabilities were incurred. The Association announced that the first ships would sail in the Autumn of that year, and the now assured certainty of the undertaking led to an increase in the land sales and to more cheerful feelings generally.

Godley, who had been sent out to New Zealand in December, with instructions to prepare for the reception of the Colonists, and to superintend the establishment and progress of the settlement, arrived in April. The news which he heard on reaching Wellington had been despatched from England when the prospects of the Association were most gloomy, and anticipated that the settlement at Port Cooper would be abandoned. Godley decided to communicate with Thomas, and see what could be done, and he arrived at Port Cooper on April 11th. His diary records his first impressions. "The harbour is very fine, both from a picturesque and a utilitarian point of view. The Captain and all the nautical men on

on board were delighted with it On surrounding the bluff, I was perfectly astonished with what I saw. One might have supposed that the country had been colonised for years, so settled and busy was the look of its port. In the first place, there is what the Yankees call a Splendid jetty On each side of the road there are houses scattered to the number of twenty-five, including two hotels and a custom-house." X Again he writes: "No first body of colonists will find so much done to prepare for and welcome them as ours will find." Godley was no less impressed by the fertility of the plains, and took a sanguine view of their advantages for agriculture, grazing and sport. But he was annoyed to find that Thomas had exceeded his credit with the New Zealand Company by £4,000, and had carried on the works on a much more extravagant scale than the precarious state of the Association's fortune could warrant. He had built Emigration Barracks, and expended large sums on the native labour required for the survey and the roads. The agent of the New Zealand Company was prepared to advance to Thomas an additional £3,500, but Godley directed that for the present no new arrangement should be made. Though pleased with the thoroughness and efficiency shown by Thomas, who had completed the topographical survey of 213,000 acres, and the trigonometrical survey of 680,000 acres, and though he saw that the completion of the road from the Port to the Plains was a work of the first importance, Godley reluctantly ordered the abandonment of this work as soon as Thomas should have exhausted his credit. The winter of 1850 he passed in Wellington, chafing at his enforced idleness, and learning all he could about the Port

X Diary of J.R. Godley, Wellington, April 22nd, 1850.

Cooper district. On the 22nd October he writes:

"The people here are quite mad about Port Cooper.

All agree that taken altogether it is the best district in New Zealand for colonisation." When,

at the end of the year he heard that the Canterbury settlement was destined to be a reality, he returned to Port Cooper, ordered the resumption of the survey, and prepared for the first expedition of colonists,

who were already on their way. Though he observed strict economy, and reduced his own salary from

£800 to £600 Godley throughout his whole tenure

of the office of Chief Agent, was seriously hampered by lack of funds.

CHAPTER IV.

THE DESPATCH OF THE FIRST BODY OF COLONISTS.

The summer of 1850 was spent in preparations for the departure of the first body of colonists, who were to be despatched at the end of August. The administration of Lord Lyttelton gave new life to the Association, and although the land sales did not proceed as rapidly as had at first been expected, the idea of the new colony began to take a firm hold on the public mind. In May, James Edward Fitzgerald, a brilliant, if difficult, Irishman was appointed Superintendent of Emigration to the Association, while tenders were asked for the hire of ships, which were to be ready to sail at the end of August. In the choice of the emigrants to whom assisted passages should be given, the Association laid down that except in special cases the age of the emigrant was not to exceed forty years. Preference was given to young married couples as emigrants, and as ship's surgeons to those who were married and intended to settle in the colony. Minute preparations were made for the physical and spiritual welfare of the passengers during the voyage. Lists were published giving the minimum of clothing and other necessaries which the intending emigrant should take with him. Chaplains and schoolmasters were appointed to carry out their respective duties on board ship. Every emigrant was to bring a certificate from the clergyman of his parish, certifying his bona fides and good character. In June, Fitzgerald was able to write to Godley that the ships were filling fast, and that the colonists were of a good stamp; and commenting on the divisions then existing in the church at home, he wrote: "It is my consolation that the Church of England is putting forth vigorous scions in foreign lands when the time of her glory, as far as human eyes can judge, is departing from her" This sentence suggests

⁶ J.E.Fitzgerald to J.R.Godley, June 5th. 1850.

what was the main attraction of Canterbury in the eyes of some of its principal founders. Though the Association alone exercised any real power in the direction of the Canterbury scheme, the land purchasers thought it advisable that an informal society should be constituted, which, however unauthoritatively, could voice the opinion of the colonists. This desire was realised through the formation, on April 25th 1850, of a "Society of Colonists", under the leadership of W. Guise Brittan. The Society was composed of those who intended to be the first colonists, admission being granted by ballot. It had as governing body a Council, which was also the medium of communication between the Society and the Association. It was resolved that after July 1st. every land purchaser in the colony should be a member of the Society. The Society could thus claim to represent the colony in some real degree, and its opinion was frequently taken into account by the Association. This informal organisation was useful in joining the colonists into a corporate union, and in preparing for the self-government which the colony was afterwards to enjoy.

When the result of the ballot for the sale of land up to 30th. June was made known, it was found that only 8050 acres had been sold. This small amount could be explained by the vicissitudes through which the Association had passed, and the time for the sales-----

was extended to August 29th, by which date it was expected that a largely increased amount of land would be sold. On July 5th, the New Zealand Company surrendered its Charter to the Crown. The liabilities of the Company were £236,000, and its assets 1,000,000 acres of land in New Zealand. The Company renounced all claims on the land and received a lien for £268,000 on all the land reserves in New Zealand. As the title of all the unsold lands in New Zealand reverted to the Crown, the Canterbury Association now had no legal power of effecting land sales. As soon as the decision was made known, a Bill drawn by H. Sewell (Deputy Chairman of the Committee of Management) was introduced into the House of Lords by Earl Grey, and having rapidly passed through its various stages, became law on August 14th, 1850, under the title of "The Canterbury Settlement Land Act". The Act practically embodied the agreement between the Association and the Company. The price of land was definitely fixed at a minimum of £3 per acre: of this sum, one-sixth was to be paid to the Crown: and land was to be sold each year to the value of £50,000. But the forfeiture by the Canterbury Association of its powers, in case of failure to sell the quantity of land prescribed, instead of being absolute, as by the former conditions, was now made to depend on the discretion of the Crown. Moreover, the Act opened for pasturage the unappropriated land at a fixed annual rental of 20s per 100 acres.

By the end of August, the proceeds of the land sales amounted to £39,450 - an amount below the first expectations of the Association, but nevertheless encouraging. All was now ready for the departure. On July 30th, a public breakfast had been given to the

departing colonists on board the RANDOLPH, where the principles and aspirations of the colony were again reviewed. On Sunday, September 1st, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Sumner, preached a farewell sermon to the colonists in St. Paul's Cathedral on the text: "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost be with you all". The CRESSY (634 tons) and the CHARLOTTE JANE (619 tons) left Plymouth on the night of September 7th: the RANDOLPH (664 tons) and the SIR GEORGE SEYMOUR (730 tons), on the morning of the next day. They carried respectively 216, 151, 211, and 213 passengers. The provision that the first settlers should be entirely members of the Church of England was not observed strictly, and a few Presbyterians and Wesleyans also sailed. Such was the setting forth of those known to posterity as the "Canterbury Pilgrims".

The letters of Wakefield show what an important place in the minds of those interested in the settlement was occupied by the problems of selecting a Bishop. The Bishop was to be the heart and soul of the Colony, an Israelitish patriarch, a Greek *oikowys*, "not a propagandist, but a planting Bishop, a true colonist of the Church."^x Where was such a one to be found? Selwyn might have been the man, but he was already occupied in a sphere larger than Canterbury, and he was destined to be a hindrance rather than a help to the particular demands and plans of its founders. In the early part of 1849, Wakefield endeavoured to persuade the Rev. Cecil Wynter, Rector

^x E.G. Wakefield to J.R. Godley, September 26th, 1849.

of Grattan, Surrey, to accept the new See. Wynter, though an eager supporter of the Canterbury proposals, took^a/humble view of his fitness for the office of colonising Bishop, and in the Autumn of 1849 declined the offer. The next name recommended by the Committee was that of the Rev. Mr. Maddock, of Kingston, in Herefordshire. The immediate selection of a safe Bishop was necessary to allay anti-Puseyite suspicions, and the Association congratulated itself on its successful choice. However, in April 1850, Maddock also refused. A new choice was soon made. On June 7th, 1850, the Sub-Committee for Ecclesiastical Arrangements resolved: "That they consider Mr. Thomas Jackson (principal of the National Society's Training School, Battersea) eminently qualified to fill the office of Bishop in the settlement of Canterbury, and that it is urgent that the necessary steps should be taken without delay to obtain Her Majesty's sanction to his appointment, as soon as arrangements can be entered into for providing an adequate endowment." X As a preacher and platform orator the Rev. Thomas Jackson had earned a reputation which as a colonist of the Church he was not to sustain. Negotiations with Earl Grey for his appointment were soon ~~commended~~^{begun}. Before the Bishop could be consecrated, Earl Grey demanded that £10,000 should be legally invested with trustees as an endowment for the See. As only £8,700 was available for the purpose, Jackson began, with some success, to collect subscriptions for the Bishopric endowment, the College, and the other objects of the Ecclesiastical and Education Fund. From these subscriptions he paid, by loan,

X Minutes of Canterbury Association, June 7th, 1850.

£1,000 to the Bishopric Endowment, and the Association advanced £300 from the Emigration Fund: thus the required sum of £10,000 was raised, and invested as an endowment for the Bishopric with the Colonial Bishopric Fund under the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

There was yet another obstacle to the appointment and consecration of the Bishop. The Letters-Patent which had appointed Bishop Selwyn to New Zealand had conferred on him an indefeasible title to the charge of the whole country during his life. Hence it was only with the consent of Selwyn that the diocese of Canterbury could be cut out of the diocese of New Zealand: and there was an influential "Selwyn Party" in the Church, which strongly opposed the separation. To meet the difficulty, Earl Grey required that the whole of the Middle Island should be constituted a diocese: and to this proposal the Canterbury Association reluctantly agreed. In September, the Queen consented to the appointment of Jackson as Bishop, and it was resolved to send him out to the Colony as Bishop-Designate of Lyttelton to consult with the Bishop of New Zealand as to the best means of constituting the proposed diocese. Jackson left England in the CASTLE EDEN. He arrived at Lyttelton in February, but was unable to come to any agreement with Selwyn, and left six weeks after his arrival, having done nothing to carry out the schemes for Churches and College which he had so warmly espoused.

The fact is, that the incapacity of Jackson for business had prevented any further steps being taken towards his consecration. In England he had raised subscriptions, which presumably had been apportioned to their respective objects. But even so,

a balance of £385 remained unaccounted for, and Jackson refused to account to the Association for it. The Association was also made liable for tradesmen's bills to the extent of £1,000 incurred by Jackson, and that at a time when its financial embarrassments were severe. This remissness (no charge of dishonesty was made) was a heavy blow to the Association. Much had been hoped of the new Bishop-Designate, with whose profuse expressions of devotion to Canterbury, and of his intention to remain there throughout his life, his speedy departure from the colony was to provide so melancholy a contrast. It was with deep regret that the Association, while paying tribute to "his talent, energy, zeal, the generosity of his impulses, the kindness of his nature,"^x was in August 1851 compelled to express its lack of confidence in him, and to "request the Archbishop of Canterbury to prevent the mischief likely to result from the completion of Mr. Jackson's appointment as Bishop of the new See of Lyttelton."^{xx} An attempt to appoint the Rev. Philip Gell to the diocese also failed, and Canterbury remained without a Bishop until the consecration of Bishop Harper in 1855.

^x H. Sewell to J.R. Godley, October 21st, 1850.

^{xx} Report of Sub-Committee of Committee of Management of Canterbury Association, August 21st, 1851.

CHAPTER V.

THE ARRIVAL: THE NAME OF CHRISTCHURCH.

The first four ships arrived at Port Cooper in December 1850. The voyage of the CRESSY had been eventful, as the Captain had proved to be worse than useless, and W. Guise Brittan, Chairman of the Council of the Society of Canterbury Colonists, had been forced to take command. On Sunday, December 15th, the passengers of the CHARLOTTE JANE obtained their first view of Canterbury, when they sighted the hills that separate Lake Ellesmere from Akaroa Harbour. They were delighted with the fine harbours and wooded hills of Banks Peninsula, and with the view of the South Alps which met them when they rounded the point. They were equally impressed by the imposing entrance to Port Cooper, and the picturesque situation of the little port. The CHARLOTTE JANE anchored on the morning of Monday, December 16th: the RANDOLPH in the evening: the SIR GEORGE SEYMOUR on the next day: and the CRESSY, which had suffered most from the bad weather, arrived on December 28th. The passengers of the first three ships found Governor Grey on the Spot, awaiting their arrival. He shewed them every consideration, and allowed their goods to be landed free of duty. The almost simultaneous arrival of the three ships over-taxed the accommodation of the barrack-houses, and complaints were heard. However, though the Port was to some a disappointment, the Plains gave general satisfaction. Most of the colonists migrated to the plains, and the selection of land was soon in progress.

A question which had caused much deliberation, and has since been the subject of controversy, was in fact settled soon after the arrival of the first body of colonists. This is the question of the name of the present capital, Christchurch. Three points must be

distinguished: whence was the name taken: how came it to be applied to the Capital: and what was the site of the capital?

It has now been made clear^x that Christchurch was named after the Oxford College, Christ Church. This foundation is remarkable in several ways. The Cathedral Church of the Diocese of Oxford is the Chapel of Christ Church; the Dean is the Dean of Christ Church, not of Oxford. Now the inner circle of the founders of Canterbury were Christ Church men - Godley, Simeon, ~~Lyttelton~~ and others. It was first intended to build in Canterbury a Christ Church of the Southern Hemisphere. In the centre of the city was to be the College, and among the College Buildings was to be the Cathedral of the Diocese of Canterbury. The fact that the foundation-name of Metropolitan^{ical} Cathedral of England is also Christ Church is no more than an agreeable coincidence which probably gave additional weight to the main arguments in favour of accepting for the capital the name borrowed from Oxford.

The next question is, How was this name finally chosen for the capital? In the first Minutes of the Canterbury Association, it was resolved that "the name of the chief town be Christ Church." This name, though precious to the Christ Church men in the Association, for whom a chief attraction of Canterbury was to be the College, did not seem so suitable to the remainder of the colonists. Their views of the new capital pictured a commercial and

^x See Article by Canon H. Purchas, The Press, Christchurch, April 19th, 1913.

agricultural, rather than an academic centre. They considered that the name was "too churchy", if not actually profane. (It is noticeable that both sides in the debate referred the name Christ Church to the Oxford College.) A desire was expressed that the name given to the chief town should be a "good sounding English name", such as "Lyttelton". At a meeting of the Society of the Canterbury Colonists, on June 13th, 1850, it was resolved to write to the Association, expressing the earnest desire of the Society that the name of the capital of the settlement should be "Lyttelton". Accordingly, the Committee of Management, on June 18th, resolved "That the Committee, although they do not themselves see the necessity or expediency for the change of name, in compliance with the expressed wish of the intending colonists, will readily assent thereto: - it being understood that the College which will be established in the settlement will be called Christ Church."^X The following comment on the change is found in a letter from Wakefield to Godley, dated June 22nd. Speaking of the Society of Canterbury Colonists, he writes: "It (the Society) is not without its uses. For example, there was a pretty general opinion against the name of Christ's Church for the capital of the Canterbury Settlement, the main objection being that the application of this sacred name to a commercial and political metropolis savoured either of profanity or cant, or both. You will hardly understand this objection, because the name is associated in your mind with cricket, rowing,

^X Minutes, Canterbury Association, June 18th, 1850.

drinking, smoking, swearing, etc; but most of those to whom the name is not profanely familiarised by College recollections preferred that the place should be called "Lyttelton".^x

Thus when the colonists arrived in December, it had been decided by the Association that the capital should be called Lyttelton. But where was the capital? Captain Thomas had fixed the site on the plains, and had called it Christ Church; ~~and~~ and because the capital was on the plains he had been anxious to make a good road over the hills from the Port (Lyttelton) to Christ Church. Selwyn, too, alludes to Christ Church as the intended capital. But the latest suggestion which Godley had received from the Association when the colonists arrived was that the capital should be at the Port. Thus the port would be called by its accustomed name, Lyttelton, and would also be the capital. Christ Church would be merely the name of the College, whether built on the plains or at the capital. On December 20th, 1850, four days after the arrival, a meeting of the Society of Canterbury Colonists resolved "That of the two sites offered to their selection by the Association for the capital, that marked by the name of Christ Church is the more eligible, and that Mr. Godley be requested to declare immediately that the capital of the settlement will be fixed at that site." The Agent complied with the wishes of the colonists, as the Port, Lyttelton, was without fresh water.

^x E.G. Wakefield to J.R. Godley, June 22nd, 1850.

The name of both the towns was now officially Lyttelton, and great confusion arose in the documents of the Land Sales. The knot was finally cut by the decision taken by the Society of Colonists,, on June 10th, 1851, to retain for the chief town the name of Christ Church ^x, as fixed by Captain Thomas and the Surveyors.

^x Now spelt Christchurch.

CHAPTER VI.

THE INFANCY OF THE SETTLEMENT.

The selection of Land by those colonists who had purchased before July 1st, 1850, took place on February 17th and 18th, 1851. The result was considered satisfactory. Nearly all the land selected lay within a circle of four or five miles diameter, which proved that the fertility of the whole block of land appeared to be so nearly even as to make a slight advantage of position turn the scale in favour of any particular allotment. Owing to lack of funds, the College could not be started on the scale at first proposed. Nevertheless, a temporary building was secured at Lyttelton, and the Principal, the Rev. Henry Jacobs, assisted by Mr. Calvert, as Mathematical Tutor, opened the College in both departments in March 1851. But the necessities of colonial life were hard and only a few pupils presented themselves.

In other respects also the reality fell far short of the high hopes of the pioneers. Another body of colonists was sent out from England in the summer of 1851. Emigration continued, but with a decreasing flow, throughout the two years that elapsed between the arrival of the first settlers and the institution of Provincial Government. Some colonists were disappointed on their arrival. "They expected the plains to resemble an English Park, with hill and dale, wood and water, blended in precisely the proportions favourable to utility."^x Probably emigrants of this temper existed in no greater proportion in Canterbury than in the other settlements, but the Utopian promise of the Canterbury scheme brought into relief any deficiency in its realisation. The worst of the misfits were

^x J.R. Godley - despatches to Canterbury Association, October 24th, 1851.

persons with pretensions to gentility, but with little else, who were unable to buy land, and who, at the same time, despised manual labour. In his despatches to the Association the Agent insisted that the emigrants should either possess capital or be prepared to work with their hands. Worse still, that plentiful supply of clergy, the thought of which had so warmed men's hearts at Home, turned out to be a doubtful blessing. Of the twenty clergymen who arrived in the first year, ten returned. Godley, hampered by lack of funds, was unable to provide adequately for the remainder, and most were compelled to support themselves by secular callings.

No work was of greater importance to the material progress of the settlement than the road from Lyttelton to Christ Church - the means of communication between the Port and the Plains. Thomas had underestimated the cost of the road and the Agent had no money to spend on it. Most of the goods brought to the settlement were carried in small craft over the Sumner Bar and landed at the Heathcote Ferry. By April 1851, the road from Christ Church to the ferry was completed, but the problem of the completion of the road to Lyttelton still remained. In March 1852 Governor Grey put at the Agent's disposal £2000, the balance which had accumulated from the surplus revenue of the settlement. On the advice of the land purchasers, the sum was spent not on the Lyttelton road (for which it was inadequate), but on roads over the plains.

Events had occurred in 1850 which were destined to affect profoundly the whole progress of Canterbury. The discovery of gold in Australia began to draw the more venturesome spirits away from

the slow-growing agricultural and pastoral settlements to try their fortunes at the diggings, and scarcely had Canterbury been founded than many of its settlers left for Australia. The labour resources of the new settlement were in consequence severely taxed, while the discoveries also caused the cost of provisions in the southern colonies to rise enormously. But eventually the discoveries were almost as great a benefit to the agriculturalist and pastoralist as to the successful speculator; and those who resisted the lure of gold were enabled to sell the produce of their farms and runs at a high profit. Godley and the more provident of the Canterbury pioneers did their best to prevent emigration from Canterbury to the diggings, contrasting the instability of mineral wealth with the steady progress of a pastoral and agricultural community. However, some fifty or sixty colonists left. But for Canterbury the most important problem resulting from the discoveries was not so much the emigration of its labourers, as the influx of Australian squatters into the settlement, which followed the inevitable disappointments of the mining camp. The question of the terms on which these squatters should be admitted led to the disagreement which was the central feature of all the dealings between the Association and the colony for the rest of the former's existence.

The Canterbury Act of August 14th, 1850, contained regulations for the disposal of land within the Canterbury Block. Clause 11 Sec. 4 of the Act reads: "That all land for the time being remaining unsold shall be open, under license, for pasturage purpose at the

rate of 20s per annum for every hundred acres.^x The amended terms of purchase, dated September 27th, 1850, contain the following provisions:

"Clause 4: All land for the time being remaining unsold shall be open, under license, for pasturage purposes, at the rate of 20s per annum for every hundred acres. And until one hundred thousand acres, being the quantity of land originally appropriated to the first body of colonists, shall be sold, every purchaser of rural land, and no other person, will be entitled to a transferable license for pasturage, renewable by such purchaser from year to year in the proportion of five acres of pasturage to one acre of land purchased.

"Clause 5: Holders of pasturage licences under the last condition will be entitled to a pre-emptive right of purchase of the lands comprised in such licences, subject to the conditions herein contained....."

Thus rights of pasturage were given to two classes of settlers, but on different conditions:

(1) Those who bought land in the colony were entitled to pasturage rights over five times as much land as their own freehold, at a rate of 20s per hundred acres (the rate for those who had bought before August 29th, 1850, was 16s.8d), and over this land they had also a pre-emptive right; (2) To others, not owners of land, pasturage rights were given at the rate of 20s per hundred acres, but without any right to lease or pre-emption. In enforcing these restrictions against squatters and unlicensed

^x 13 and 14 Vic. cap. LXX.

pastoralists, the Association professed to be considering the interests of the land purchasers of the colony, which they intended to be agricultural rather than pastoral. As the land was sold in England, they were unwilling that any advantages should be given to non-owners of land which would tend to impede purchase. The selling of land was vitally connected with the fulfilment of the intentions of the Canterbury scheme.

No member of the Association had been more eager to give effect to these intentions than the Chief Agent. Yet when the settlers had arrived and taken up their lands Godley came to see the harm which strict obedience to the Association's instructions would work in the Colony, the chief need of which was capital. Nothing, he saw, would attract population and capital into the district more rapidly than facilities for grazing. The terms of purchase, with their discrimination against unlicensed pastoralists, were an effective bar to the introduction of what alone could save the colony - stock and stock-owners. At the moment the gold discoveries were preventing the emigration of Australian squatters to New Zealand; but Godley foresaw that there would be a reaction, and that many who had flocked to the diggings would be compelled to leave. Early in 1851, he wrote to the Association, requesting that the rent of one hundred acres of pasturage should be reduced from 20s to 10s, and that even for squatters the occupation of pastoral land should entail the right of pre-emption. He also advised the immediate transfer of the administration of the Land Fund to the colony, whether to the existing local board (the less desirable alternative), or to the land purchasers

on the spot, who could all be appointed members of the Association, and empowered to hold the next meeting of the Committee of Management in Canterbury itself. The members of the Association, however, refused to modify their instructions. They felt that the policy advocated by the Chief Agent was opposed to all the principles on which Canterbury had been founded; it would fill the land with squatters; it would prevent further sales in England; and it would destroy the Church of England atmosphere of the colony.

Meanwhile the Agent was bound to impose restrictions which he felt to be mischievous; and he found his position intolerable. In reply to the plea of the Association that it had no authority to let pasturage to others than purchasers of land, Godley pointed out the provision of the Act of August 14th, which legalised the occupation of unoccupied land under any regulation which the Association thought fit; and he indicated that the Association had delegated to him as agent its whole authority in the matter. Godley's interpretation of the powers given by the Act was thus at variance with that of the Association, but the encouragement which he gave to the Stock-owners undoubtedly saved the colony. Finally, his disagreement with the Association on this vital point led him to denounce the whole system of government by the Association in London. Referring to the difficulties of his position, he writes: "The simplest action is misconstrued; hidden motives are most unjustly attributed; everything is looked at the worst point of view and this not merely from jealousy or from irritation or

or from fancied mismanagement, but really from the want of mutual confidence."^X Seeing the impracticability of the system, he had proposed that every purchaser of land in the colony should be ipso facto a member of the Association. The Association, he contended, had existed simply to plant a free colony and temporarily to administer the land fund. "I thought", he writes, "that the Committee would have confined itself to selling land, collecting emigrants, and chartering ships, and that all the rest would have been done here." In a long despatch to Lord Lyttelton, dated June 10th, 1851, Godley begs the Committee to accept his "resignation on general and abstract grounds, and the impossibility of fulfilling satisfactorily the duties of an officer under the system to the fundamental principles of which he was opposed:" As reasons for his dissatisfaction, he mentioned the numerical excess and destitution of the clergy and schoolmasters, the objection to altering the pasturage regulations, and the interference of the Association with the civil government of the colony. Lord Lyttelton replied to Godley, requesting him to reconsider his resignation. The recommendations of the Association were to be regarded as laying down not intangible rules, but merely the general principles to be followed. He suggested that Godley had been too conscientious in interpreting his instructions. Though the Association was opposed to the transference of its powers to the land purchasers in the colony, it had always intended to resign those powers when a proper local

^X J.R. Godley to Lord Lyttelton, January 27th, 1852.

government for the Canterbury settlement should have been realised. Until such a government was established, the Association was bound by its responsibility to the public, and by the terms of the Charter, not to abandon its functions. Godley consented to remain as Agent until the transference of the powers of the Association should take place, - an event the necessity of which he repeatedly urged.

Apart from the conflict of principle between the Association and its Agent, the history of Canterbury in the year 1852 is a record of the ordinary uneventful progress of a new colonial settlement. The amount of land under cultivation, the population and stock, increased steadily, though the non-completion of the Lyttelton road remained a hindrance. The first Canterbury newspaper, THE LYTTELTON TIMES, was published at Lyttelton on Saturday, January 11th, 1851. On April 24th, 1852, the ^{foundation} stone of the first Church in Canterbury was laid at Lyttelton. In the winter of 1851, Governor Grey made an attack on the principles of the Canterbury settlement in the Legislative Council. The Governor, alarmed by some recent proposals to grant an extension of the Canterbury block, attacked the whole enterprise as a "new scheme of taxation." He regarded the high price of land in Canterbury as an obstacle to the purchase of land by poor settlers, and protested against the excessive endowments made for ecclesiastical purposes. Though Grey might with some reason object to the price of Canterbury land, he was hardly justified in accusing the Association of discouraging settlement, merely because it attempted to carry out its scheme in

accordance with certain definite ideas. In fact, many labourers had acquired land in Canterbury, but no one was compelled to settle there in preference to any other part of New Zealand. "*Volenti non fit iniuria.*"

From the inception of the scheme, the colonists had had reasonable grounds for expecting that Canterbury would soon be made a separate Province. In answer to Lord Lyttelton, who had written to enquire about the possibility of a separate Provincial Government being granted to Canterbury, Earl Grey wrote on May 31st, 1848, "I shall be prepared to instruct the Governor of New Zealand to report to me whether the District which may be ultimately selected for your settlement can be formed into a distinct Province in the manner in which you recommend." These instructions were sent to Governor Grey, but the decision as to the limits of the Province was left in the Governor's hands. The Governor was at first unwilling to grant Provincial Government, but as the settlements in New Zealand grew in size and importance, this demand for local government could no longer be ignored. The constant burden of complaint raised by Canterbury in the years 1851 and 1852 was the delay of the authorities in granting local government. In 1851 the Governor himself framed a measure for the government of New Zealand, which Earl Grey embodied in a bill he was preparing to bring into Parliament. The Provincial Councils were to be single-chamber legislatures, and they were to elect two-thirds of the members of the Upper Chamber of the bicameral legislature of the colony as a whole body, the other third being nominated by the Crown.

However, Earl Grey fell from office before the Bill could be made law. The new Secretary for the Colonies, Sir John Pakington, found the heads of the Bill already prepared, but at the suggestion of Mr. Fox, former Agent of the New Zealand Company, he made some important alterations. The New Zealand Constitution Act, which received the Royal Assent on June 30th, 1852^x, made provision for six Provinces in New Zealand: Auckland, Taranaki, Wellington, Nelson, Canterbury, Otago, each possessing a Provincial Elective Legislative of one chamber, and a Super~~int~~endent nominated by the Governor. The General Assembly was to consist of two Houses, the members of the Upper House being all nominated by the Governor, and those of the lower House being elected by the voters. The suffrage qualification was the possession of a freehold of £50, or of an annual lease of £10 in the town or £5 in the country. The Act gave the New Zealand Government control over all the waste lands of the colony, subject to the liquidation of a debt of £268,000, due to the New Zealand Company, and secured on the unsold lands of the colony. The Act was proclaimed in New Zealand on January 17th, 1853.

The Canterbury Association, in accordance with its expressed intention, took steps for the abandonment of its functions as soon as an effective local government had been provided for by law. A clause had been inserted into the Constitution Act, permitting the transfer of the powers of the Association to the Provincial Government of Canterbury. On July 15th, 1852, the Association^x 15 and 16 Vic.cap.LXXII.

resolved to send out Henry Sewell as its Agent to arrange the transfer of the powers and properties of the Association to the local Government, and to wind up the affairs of the Association. This object was finally attained by a Deed dated September 30th, 1852. The preamble mentioned the Charter of Incorporation of November 13th, 1849: the powers over the disposal of lands, with which the Association had been invested; and the passing of the Act constituting Canterbury a separate Province. It then made provision for the transfer. "The said Association for divers good causes and reasons... do by these presents sealed with the Common Seal, resolve and determine to transfer and do transfer to the Pronincial Council of the said Province of Canterbury immediately after the same shall have been constituted, such transfer to take effect in manner and subject to the provisions hereafter mentioned: ALL functions and authorities whatsoever in any way vested in the said Association by virtue of the said letters patent and Acts of Parliament respectively . . . " In return for the powers, reserves and property of the Association, the Province also had to accept its liabilities of about £20,000. Mr. Sewell, on his arrival in Canterbury, succeeded in arranging this transfer in accordance with the wishes of the Association.

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Canterbury had been founded, quantum mutata. "One million pounds for the church and school fund, one million pounds for the emigration fund, and five hundred thousand pounds for miscellaneous purposes" said the prospectus of the Association. "Twenty thousand pounds deficit", said its modest balance sheet. The stable, hierarchical society of landed gentry, middle classes, dutiful and contented labourers saw many of its labourers leave, its clergy leave, and was glad to admit Australian squatters to save it from ruin, estimable men no doubt, but not quite in the picture. Instead of the "twenty churches, twenty parsonages and glebes", a single church built by subscription: instead of the College which was to have been an Eton and Christ Church in one, a wooden room at Lyttelton. It was a prospect which might well discourage the hopeful founders of the colony. If indeed they could have looked into the future, they would have seen some of the promises in a measure made good, a Public School early established at Christchurch, whose graceful casual aspect is ^(at this day) the best external reminder of the England they hoped to transplant, and not long afterwards a University College and Cathedral worthy of the name.

The immediate failure, and such the purists must have considered it, was due to no obscure cause. The promoters of the Canterbury scheme, who doubtless deserved to be called, as Gladstone called them, "the glory of our Church and Nation", were not on that

account good business men. Their calculations had all the charm of pure mathematics, but the facts interfered with them. The proceeds of the land sales, on which all depended, had been grossly over-estimated, while in the most critical period of the Association's existence the incompetence of the Chairman of the Committee of Management nearly wrecked the whole plan. Instead of abounding in wealth from the start, Canterbury had to contend with severe financial and economic difficulties. The ambitious proposals for educational and ecclesiastical establishments were necessarily abandoned, though land was reserved for their future, and, as the proud if uninspiring motto ^X of Canterbury University College testifies, lasting endowment.

The particular social temper which it had been hoped to reproduce in Canterbury yielded no less than its institutions to the corrosion of ^{circumstances} ~~reality~~. That relationship of mutual confidence between a class fitted by nature and ^{training} ~~circumstance~~ to rule, and a class disposed to behave lowly and obediently to it, had little chance of enduring in a new country where the lack of cheap native labour and the independent character of the settlers, combined to make straight the paths of democracy. The disturbances of 1848, which had been the birth-pangs of democracy in Europe, were adduced by the founders of Canterbury as a reason for leaving a troubled hemisphere, and it was an ironical trick of fate that directed them to a place where democracy was soon to wear so confident a

^X Ergo tua rura manebunt.

mien. Men may not change their mind who cross the seas, but they often change their manners. So in Canterbury farm labourers left for the diggings in ungrateful forgetfulness of the fact that the price of land had been fixed high largely in order to encourage them to remain in their employment. The ideal of a purely Church settlement also fared ill in the rough and tumble of experience. This ideal had been the most deeply cherished of all, though it had been recognised from the first that it could never be completely realised, as is shown by the following quotation from a despatch dated October 1st, 1850, from the Association to Godley. "They (the Association) therefore do not desire to establish the Church in the colony in a position of secular authority, nor to give it the aid of the secular arm in enforcing her own doctrines to the exclusion of dissent by forcible means, nor to endow her with any compulsory provision..... All which can be done in securing the first foundation of the Church is to ensure as far as can be, the Churchmanship of the individuals who will plant it." But the Churchmanship of the individuals who came from the Australian diggings? Would Dr. Pusey, would Dr. Arnold even, in all cases have approved of it?

On December 18th, 1852, a farewell breakfast was given to John Robert Godley, four days before he left Canterbury for England. With his memory resting on the grand schemes of five years before, and his eyes on the little wooden town by the flax~~ed~~-edged river, he would confess, one would suppose, that

there had been a great ado over very little. He said:

" Looking back on our enterprise as a whole, not dwelling on this or that detail, not indulging in the plaintive truism that we might have done it better if we had had more experience- but looking on it, I say, as a whole, I am prepared to maintain not only that it was a great and noble enterprise, but that it has been successfully carried out." It is impossible to think of Godley, even on so moving and convivial an occasion, saying what he did not believe to be true; so that we must assume these words to have expressed his deliberate judgment. It was a judgment which may have seemed bold at the time, but which was borne out by the part played in the following decades by the youngest settlement in the political, economic and cultural life of New Zealand.

Farewell speech of J.R. Godley to the Canterbury Colonists.

Lyttleton Times, December 19th, 1852.