

A HISTORY OF THE BARBADOES STREET CEMETERY.

(A) INTRODUCTION.

(1) General.

A brief note on the location, division and religious composition of the three cemeteries, and the significance of the Cemetery in the history of Christchurch.

(2) Early European Settlement of Canterbury.

A brief note on the early settlement of Christchurch, Banks Peninsula and the Plains prior to the arrival of the Canterbury Pilgrims.

(3) Edward Gibbon Wakefield and an exclusive Church of England Settlement.

A brief note on Wakefield's idea of an exclusive Church of England settlement in Canterbury.

(4) The Siting and Surveying of Christchurch.

A brief note on the acquisition of land in Canterbury, the siting and Surveying of Christchurch by Captain Joseph Thomas and Edward Jollie, and the provision made for cemetery reserves.

(5) The Canterbury Pilgrims.

A brief note on the arrival of the Canterbury Pilgrims, their first impressions, conditions, religious composition and numbers.

(B) THE THREE CEMETERIES. (1851 - 1885).

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Biographical resumes of various people buried in the Cemetery with particular emphasis on their contribution to early Christchurch (and New Zealand) history and as a reflection of the conditions of the period in which they lived.

✓ 1 Bishop Henry John Chitty Harper

✓ 2 Rev. Henry Jacobs

✓ 3 Rev. James Buller

✓ 4 Octavius Mathias

5 Felix Wakefield

✓ 6 William Reeves

✓ 7 Countess of De Lapasture

✓ 8 William Deans

✓ 9 John Deans

✓ 10 Jane Deans

✓ 11 Inspector Peter Pender

✓ 12 Captain Francis George Garrard

13 Thomas Cass

✓ 14 Margaret Burke

✓ 15 Dr. A.C. Barker

✓ 16 George Gould

- 17 George Oram
- 18 H.J. Tancred
- 19 H. Sawtell
- 20 E.B. Bishop
- 21 M.B. Hart
- ✓ 22 J.T. Ick
- 23 J.G. Ruddenklau
- 24 S. Manning
- 25 H.E. Alport
- 26 John Barrett
- 27 Grosvenor Miles
- 28 Edmund Green
- 29 Cyrus Davie
- 30 William Lyon
- 31 M. Mouldey.
- ✓ 32 Joseph Veel
- 33 William Veel
- ✓ 34 William Pratt
- ✓ 35 John Williams
- ✓ 36 James Thompson
- ✓ 37 William Smith
- ✓ 38 Frances Herbert Stewart

(2) Tombstones.

A selection of tombstones, illustrated by photographs, and their significance as stone masonry memorial design.

(E) APPENDIX.

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- (2) Genealogical Society's Tombstone Inscription Transcript (1973) together with additions (1953).
- (3) Plot burial maps of Church of England and Dissenter Cemeteries.
- (4) Church of England Cemetery Prayer Book.
- (5) Report on the Condition of and Proposals for the Restoration and Rehabilitation of the Historic Barbadoes Street Cemetery as submitted by the Barbadoes Street Cemetery Action Committee, together with accompanying plan.
- (5) Schedules of Burials:
 - (a) Church of England burials.
 - (b) Dissenter burials.
 - (c) Roman Catholic burials.

(2) Early European Settlement of Canterbury

"'Putaringamotu' -

Here it all began, in the Place of the Echo.
We can follow that echo back
Into the past of forest and raupo,
Of Maori chant and Maori track.
Then came the Scots and the English ..."

Graeme Ash

Though the Canterbury Plains became the site of an extensive Church of England settlement in the middle of the nineteenth century, "the Presbyterians had actually been on the spot before the Anglicans arrived, and grew to have an important influence upon the cultural life of the settlement". (i)

Since the beginning of the nineteenth century a few whaling stations were established on Banks Peninsula. Later, successful farming ventures were to be established by a few enterprising British families who had come to Canterbury after dissatisfaction with the New Zealand Company's first settlement at Wellington. At Akaroa, of course, the little French colony had been founded in 1840. The Plains themselves, however, remained without inhabitants from the time of Te Rauparaha's raids, about the end of the twenties, until 1840, when a little-known group headed by a Presbyterian minister, the Rev. William Purves, formerly a minister of the Church of Scotland in New South Wales, each took up land in the vicinity of what is now Hagley Park. They believed, wrongly, that the money they had paid to a whaling firm in Sydney gave them a fair title to the land. For a year and a half this strange little colony remained, sowing seed and harvesting one crop of more, until in 1841 all except a Mr. McKinnon and his family returned to Australia. One of the last, a Mr. Herriot, declared that the district was "the most God and man forsaken place on the face of the Earth".

It was two years after this, in 1843, seven and a half years prior to the arrival of the Canterbury Pilgrims, that William and John Deans, came from Wellington to take up their residence at Putaringamotu

(i) W.H. Oliver, The Story of New Zealand, Faber & Faber, 1960, page 70.

'Place of the Echo' (or 'Place of the Severed Ear') which they named Riccarton after their native parish in Ayrshire, Scotland. The Otakaro stream they renamed the Avon, after the Avon in Ayrshire, where they had fished as boys and which formed one of the boundaries of their grandfather's property. The Deans brothers were not alone for they brought with them John Gebbie and Samuel Manson, with their wives and families. The women and children, under Gebbie's care, were left at Port Levy, a settlement of old whalers and Maoris, until the first house to be built on the Plains was erected. When the little community was diminished by the withdrawal of the Gebbies and Mansons after two years to take up land at Teddington, William Todd, with his wife and children, came to occupy their place. About a month after the arrival of the Deans, Ebenezer Hay and family, together with the Sinclair family settled at Pigeon Bay.

These Presbyterian families can justly claim to be the first permanent settlers in Canterbury and the impressions of Captain Joseph Thomas, surveyor for the New Zealand Company of the Deans brothers' farming success at Riccarton undoubtedly influenced him in his ultimate choice of this site for the Canterbury Association's settlement.

(3) Edward Gibbon Wakefield and an exclusive Church of England Settlement

"The new Canterbury was to be as genuine a reproduction as possible of the old country. 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 ..."

The idea of an exclusive Church of England settlement in New Zealand was inspired largely by the enthusiasm and energy of one man, Edward Gibbon Wakefield (1796 - 1862). Wakefield had been instrumental in forming the New Zealand Company whose purpose was to found colonies in New Zealand which had not been formally adopted as part of the British Empire. The active process of colonisation had begun in 1839 with the departure of the Wellington colonists for Wellington in the 'Tory', an event which precipitated the British Government to proclaim sovereignty over New Zealand in 1840. The colonies of Nelson, Wanganui and New Plymouth soon followed.

It was an opportune time for colonisation, as England was in the doldrums economically, and for many it was a case of emigrate or perish. However, Wakefield's scheme was not just emigration, "It was organised colonisation - whole slices of an English community taken in comfort across the seas. It was emigration raised to saloon-cabin standards, and having the patronage and support of the gentry of England". (ii) The essence of the scheme was the appeal to the better classes of English people: and to secure their response, he promised comfortable ships to take them to their new homes, and the amenities of cultured life when they got there. There were to be adequate funds for churches, schools, ministers and teachers; and roads and other public services would be provided in advance. To finance all these essentials a "sufficient price" was to be charged for the land.

In 1843, chiefly at Wakefield's instigation, the New Zealand Company announced its decision to found two further colonies in New Zealand, for Presbyterian (later Otago) and Church of England (later Canterbury)

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- (i) T.H. Purchase, Bishop Harper and the Canterbury Settlement, Whitcombe & Tombs Ltd., 1909, page 32.
(ii) Stephen Parr, Canterbury Pilgrimage, Simpson & Williams Ltd., 1951, page 14.

settlers respectively. Wakefield was, as he admitted, influenced by the religious basis of some of the original American colonies; but his experience of the denominational difficulties in New Zealand, especially in regard to education, no doubt led him to favour religious exclusiveness for his later colonies. To him the colonies were the main consideration, religion was a means to attain his goal, and it has been suggested that he would have negotiated with the Grand Lama of Tibet if it would have helped to establish a colony.

Although Wakefield had conceived the idea of an exclusive Church of England settlement in New Zealand as early as 1843 it was not until he met John Robert Godley (1814 - 1861) in 1847 that it was possible to develop it. Godley, a man with similar ideas on colonisation became, under Wakefield, the founder of Canterbury. He was the son of an Irish landowner, an Oxford graduate, an ardent Churchman and a magistrate in Ireland. Godley approved the idea that "none but persons of good character, as well as members of the Church of England shall form part of the population, at least in its first stage; so that the settlement may begin its existence in a healthy moral atmosphere (iii). The scheme which Wakefield and Godley hammered out, and described by Wakefield in his "Art of Colonisation", involved the purchase of land from the New Zealand Company, and the formation of a new association of "bishops and clergymen, peers, members of Parliament, and intending colonists of the higher class, to launch and establish a colony in New Zealand". Wakefield worked behind the scenes while Godley was the public organiser. Within three months support was gained of men whose names were household words in England and in 1848 the first meeting of the Canterbury Association was held under the presidency of the Archbishop of Canterbury and included the Archbishop of Dublin, the Duke of Buccleuch, two earls, seven bishops, Lord Lyttelton, Lord John Manners, Archdeacon Hare, Sir John Simeon, and a large number of influential and wealthy gentlemen. In the plan as affixed to the 'Canterbury Papers' subsequently issued by the Association, occur these words: -

(iii) Canterbury Papers, page 19.

"We intend 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 discipline and ordinances ..."

The main principle introduced in Wakefield's 'Art of Colonisation' was that a fixed portion of the price of land should be set aside for educational and religious purposes, and another fixed portion was to be employed in opening up the country and securing good internal communications. The original intention was that the Canterbury Association should purchase at 10/- an acre from the New Zealand Company, an area of 1,000,000 acres, later increased to 2,400,000, and then to 3,000,000 acres. Every purchaser of rural allotments of 50 acres and upwards in the settlement would pay, in addition, £2.10s per acre into the Canterbury Association's Fund. Of this sum, £1 per acre was to go to the Religious and Educational Fund, £1 to the Immigration Fund, and 10s. to a Miscellaneous Fund. It was presumed that the sums thus raised would not only ensure the material prosperity of the young colony but also the high price of land would prevent undue dispersion of settlement and, by discouraging men of small means from becoming landowners too soon, would ensure an adequate supply of farm labour. The Association thus offered to intending colonists the special advantages in religious and intellectual training from which settlers in an uncivilised country are usually debarred. After dealing with the advantages of such an emigration, the plan of settlement proceeds: -

"Supposing, even, that there be not opportunities for making large fortunes, the class of whom we speak do not aspire to make them; they would be satisfied with living in comfort and plenty without care for what is to come, on a level in point of income with their friends and neighbours; enjoying a quiet and happy life in a fine climate and a beautiful country, where war is unknown, and listening from afar, with interest indeed, but without anxiety, to the din of war to the tumult of revolutions, to the clamour of pauperism, to the struggle of classes, which wear out body and soul in our crowded and feverish Europe." (v)

In his farewell speech on leaving Canterbury, Godley himself admitted that "I often smile when I think of the ideal Canterbury of which our

(iii) Canterbury Papers, page 19.

(iv) Canterbury Papers, page 8.

imagination dreamed, yet I see nothing in the dream to regret or be ashamed of, and I am quite sure that without the enthusiasm, the poetry, the unreality, if you will, with which our scheme was overlaid, it would never have been accomplished. Besides, I am not at all sure that the reality though less showy is not in many respects sounder and better than the dream."

Although Wakefield's hoped-for vision of a cross-section of English society, headed by bishops and gentry, and shading off to artisans and labourers, never really eventuated, Canterbury attracted a disproportionate share of talented and educated men - not wealthy, yet with enough money to buy land, build homes, and pay wages. These men were to provide a leadership in provincial and national affairs and which allowed Canterbury to progress more quickly than any other colony.

(4) The Siting and Surveying of Christchurch

"... the survey appears to have been completed in the most perfect manner. The state of the land office, the perfection of the maps, the unanimous approbation of owners and occupiers of land, are irrefragable proofs of the truth of this statement." (i)

Much preparation was needed in New Zealand before the first colonists and emigrants could leave England. The immediate task was to find a site for Canterbury. The locality first fixed on was the Wairarapa Valley, but several circumstances, notably the good account of the Canterbury Plains previously submitted by Captain Daniel and George Duppa, in 1841, induced the promoters to change their purpose. An important determining factor was the letter sent in 1847 to the agent of the Association in London by the Deans brothers, already for some years settlers on the Plains. Land in Canterbury was bought from the Maoris ... with the Crown's approval ... by the New Zealand Company in 1848 which granted the Canterbury Association an option to purchase. In July 1841 Captain Joseph Thomas was despatched by the Association to choose a site for the new settlement and survey the land. He had been a pioneer Wellington settler in 1840 and had surveyed from one end of New Zealand to the other, including Wanganui, Otago, and Hawkes Bay. He was given clear instructions by the Association who wanted one million acres, of which at least 300,000 must be available for cultivation. If the land was on the coast, there should be a good harbour. A thousand acres had to be set aside for the capital, Christchurch, named after Godley's college at Oxford. In laying out the capital ample reserves were to be made for all public purposes, such as a market place, probably public buildings, and parks for the convenience of the future inhabitants. The traditional view is that these instructions were based on Felix Wakefield's treatise, "Colonial Surveying with a View to the Disposal of Waste Land", the first draft of which is thought to have been utilised by Thomas.

There was doubt in Thomas's mind as to where the settlement should go. He originally intended to place the capital of Canterbury at the head

(i) Mutual Relations Between the Canterbury Association and the Purchasers of Land in the Canterbury Settlement, Savill & Edwards, 1953, pages 78 - 79

of Lyttelton Harbour, reclaiming sufficient of the mudflats to provide 1,000 acres. He soon decided that this would be too costly and switched to the plains with the capital being linked to the harbour by a Bridle Track across the hills. Thomas saw also that a third town would be needed, since in those days trade and travel required easy access to the sea. The surveying of the three town sites - Lyttelton, Christchurch and Sumner - was commenced and by September 1849, Thomas wrote from Lyttelton as follows: -

"We have now over 110 men on surveys, roads, and buildings. Lyttelton resembles a country village in England, such is its decency, its order, its regularity, and sobriety. The Town is surveyed, and we have got the trigonometrical stations fixed and extending over 30,000 acres. By Christmas we hope to complete the trigonometrical surveys of half a million acres, and the surveys and maps of Christchurch, and the town at the mouth of the Avon."

The preliminary survey to the laying-off of Christchurch was under way by the beginning of October. Apparently Thomas has originally intended to lay off the towns of Christchurch and Sumner himself, but it was left to Edward Jollie to do these surveys and draw up the plans. Jollie had arrived at Lyttelton on August 12, 1849, to take up the position of surveyor which had been offered by Thomas. Jollie and Thomas had previously worked together in Otago. Jollie has described the surveying and planning of Christchurch as "pleasant, easy work". It should be noted, however, that although Jollie played the active role in laying out Christchurch and implied in his "Reminiscences" that he was totally responsible for it, Thomas certainly had the final say as to its form. When the map of Christchurch was completed in March, 1850, Jollie wrote: -

"He approved of it except as to one or two points in which I had indulged in a little ornamentation such as crescents. These were pronounced "gingerbread" and I was not sorry to give them up for something more practical, but Thomas made one change I have always regretted. I had proposed that several of the streets instead of being one chain wide, should be wide enough to admit of their being planted with trees. Thomas would not agree to this, but afterwards when the work was nearly finished he gave me leave to widen one

(ii) Captain Joseph Thomas, letter dated 11 September 1849, in New Zealand Journal, 23 March 1850, Volume 10, page 68.

or two of the principal streets if it could be done without materially delaying the completion of the survey, but it was then impossible to do it." (iii)



Jollie's plan of Christchurch comprised a central portion of 500 acres of quarter-acre town sections, streets and reserves. This was surrounded by 400 acres of 'Town Reserve' land on the northern, eastern and southern sides with a larger reserve (later Hagley Park and the Botanical Gardens) on the western edge. The central portion was the area initially intended for settlement and was bounded by Salisbury Street in the north, Barbadoes Street on the east side, St. Asaph Street in the south and by Antigua Street (later Rolleston Avenue and Park Terrace) on the western side. The Avon River enters this grid near the southwest corner and winds through it, to leave it near the northeast corner, thus diagonally cutting the central portion into two halves. A central square was included roughly in the shape of a cross, with two other

squares, one on either side of the river. A further square to the north of the central one was to contain a market place. In the conventional grid pattern, all streets except those round the river and leading to Papanui and Sumner, running either north and south or east and west. Provision was made within the central portion for government offices, survey office, Association store and barracks, Mechanics institute, hospital, jail, and four schools, to three of which a church site was attached. During the early 1850's, however, changes were made to Jollie's plan. Some were swapped to other more suitable sites, Some were utilised until later and a few were sold.

Outside the central portion, the 'Town Reserve' land was bounded by the 'Town Belt' (roads enclosing the reserve land), originally one chain wide, later widened to two chains. This marked the division between the town itself and the 50 acre rural sections outside it. This 'Town Belt' survives today as Bealey Avenue in the north, Fitzgerald Avenue to the east and Moorhouse Avenue in the south. The southern part of the belt (Moorhouse) runs south of the western reserve (Hagley Park), continues northward up the western boundary of this reserve (Dean's Avenue) and was then supposed to follow the river round to the northern part of the belt. This river portion was never formed. The 'Town Reserve' land itself (designated Reserve 24 on the accompanying map) contained the following: -

- C Church of England Cemetery
- N Cattle Market
- O Abattoir
- 21 Botanical Gardens
- 42 Roman Catholic Cemetery
- 43 Dissenter's Cemetery

Likewise, several of these suffered a change of use. The western reserve which was to contain the Government Domain is not the Botanical Gardens.

The system of surveying adopted by the Association, reputed to be the only instance of the plan of a complete survey having been carried out in a new country, produced most satisfying results. With the completion of the plan, Christchurch was ready to receive the Canterbury Pilgrims.

5. THE CANTERBURY PILGRIMS

*"They came to no infertile waste;
They came not to a cruel land,
To wrest its fruits in troubled haste,
With careworn brow and weaponed hand;
The land of hope lay crude and bare,
But only welcoming gifts were there."*

Mary Colborne-Veel

The Canterbury Pilgrims sailed from Plymouth on September 7 and 8, 1850, in a fleet subsequently known as the "first four ships". The "Charlotte Jane" with 154 passengers and the "Randolph" with 210 passengers arrived in Lyttelton Harbour on December 16 1850, the "Sir George Seymour" with 227 passengers the following day. "It was an historical arrival, with the usual mixture of delight and disappointment for those who had come safely to the end of their voyage". (i) "When we entered", wrote one of the passengers, "and sailed, as it were, into the bosom of the encircling hills, who was there who did not feel at the time that he could have gone through the fatigues of the whole voyage, if it were only to enjoy the keen and pure gratification, and the lifelong memories of those few last days". The "Cressy" with 155 passengers did not arrive until December 27, 1850, having been delayed by bad weather.

Immediately after the Pilgrim's arrival, and temporary accommodation had been established at Lyttelton, the settlers went to see the site of the future capital. At this time it must be remembered that Lyttelton was the only township in the new colony. When Warren Adams visited the settlement in 1851-52, he was surprised at the appearance of Lyttelton with its "wide streets, neat houses, shops, stores, hotels, coffee rooms, emigration barracks, a neat seawall, and an excellent and convenient jetty with vessels discharging their cargoes upon it ..."
(ii) But his first view of Christchurch, or rather of its site, was of a very different nature. "The mountains in the distance were completely hidden by thick rain; and the dreary swampy plain, which formed the foreground beneath our feet, might extend for aught we could

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- (i) New Zealand Heritage: The Canterbury Pilgrims, Volume 2, Part 20, page 536
(ii) Cyclopedia of New Zealand, Volume 3, Horace J. Weeks Ltd., 1903, page 68

see, over the whole island. The few small woe begone houses, which met out view increased rather than diminished the desolate appearance of the landscape." (iii) In a Canterbury Centennial publication it is stated that:

"No moment in the 100 years' story of Canterbury, New Zealand, holds more drama, more historical significance, than the arrival of the first settlers at the top of the Bridle Path on the Port Hills, the point from which they had their first view of the plain which was to be their future home. They had spent many weary months at sea, with each long day taking them a little further from their ancient homeland, to what was almost the unknown. They arrived in December, 1850, at the immature port of Lyttelton, and began to climb the path which would close one chapter in their lives and open another.

The Port Hills, to these people, fresh from the gentle English countryside, were mountains. The New Zealander of today might smile on hearing that they were greatly impressed with the range which cut off the port from the plains, but the wilderness that stretched before them as they gazed from the top of the Bridle Path gave them little cause for laughter. They saw tussock and swamp, relieved only by small scattered patches of bush and an occasional glimpse of silvery stretches of rivers.

One source of encouragement they had ... the knowledge that on the plain there had prospered for seven years two Scots, whose favourable report had been a major factor in the decision to establish a Church of England settlement there." (iv)

Although the appearance of the Pilgrims' new home must have been uninviting, for the first weeks after their arrival they enjoyed good weather and those not able to find accommodation in barracks and huts camped in tents or built V huts of raupo, flax and pieces of sail. The only means of communication by land with Lyttelton was the Bridle Path and it was over this rocky path and through the swamps that fringed the Heathcote and the Avon, that the settlers had to carry their belongings to their chosen allotments on the plains. The heavier cargoes could of course be taken by boat past Sumner, up the Avon as far as "the Bricks", the old landing place near the present Barbadoes Street Bridge. The plains and the banks of the streams were densely

(iii) Cyclopedia of New Zealand, Volume 3, Horace J. Weeks Ltd., 1903, page 68

(iv) A Centennial Presentation, Photo Offset Lithography at Weeks Ltd., 1950

covered with flax, toi-toi, fern, and raupo and many lost their way in the swamps and wandered about trying to find the new city. One of the best known tales is that of a settler who, early in 1851, was hailed by a man struggling through the high scrub in Cathedral Square, and indignantly demanding to be shown the way to Christchurch.

Among the Pilgrims (3,500 immigrants eventually arrived on ships chartered by the Canterbury Association) there were two broad groups, "emigrants" and "colonists". The emigrants were, according to Wakefield's plan, the tradesmen and labourers ... carpenters, blacksmiths, masons, printers, bakers, butchers, plumbers, domestic servants, shepherds, agricultural workers ... who had travelled steerage and who had been chosen for their capacity to work. The colonists were to be the elite of Canterbury in its formative years ... men like James Edward Fitzgerald, Charles Bowen, Benjamin Mountford, George Gould, Alfred Charles Barker ... and who with their families on the voyage out travelled as cabin passengers. The colonists were thus men of substance who wanted to buy land. Priority of selection of land was reserved for the "first body of colonists", consisting of those who applied for land before August 25, 1851. Each of the "first body" of colonists was entitled to receive, two land orders: one for a rural section of 50 acres, the other for a town section in Lyttelton, considered to be more valuable initially, or in other towns. Later, when the first auction sale for town sections in Lyttelton and Christchurch on behalf of the Association was held in April, 1851, most of the Christchurch sections sold at £24 or more, while one Lyttelton section sold for £40.

A very good idea of the impressions and conditions experienced by the Pilgrims may be obtained by reading extracts from a journal written by Mary Ann Bishop, set out on pages of this report, a passenger on the "Charlotte Jane". According to the plan of settlement of the Canterbury Association, set out earlier in this report, religion was to play an important part in the foundation and the development of the colony. The colonists were, according to the plan, to be members of the Church of England. It was found, however, impossible to confine the settlers to Church of England members and "... no scrupulous selection of emigrants was carried out, and social stratification did

not survive a sea change". (v) Instead the emphasis was that "They were good honest church people, who gave religion a high place in their lives", (vi), and in the "first four ships" there were a few of other denominations. There were Wesleyans among the first colonists, and in the population of Canterbury before their arrival were Presbyterians and Roman Catholics as well as Anglicans. In 1854, according to the first official census, there were approximately 200 Wesleyans, 300 Presbyterians, 200 Roman Catholics and 3,000 Anglicans. Three years later out of a total population of 6,700 there were 4,800 Anglicans. Of a total population of 12,784 in 1859, 72% were Anglican, 10% were Presbyterian, 8% were Methodist and 4.08% were Roman Catholic. The initial privileged position enjoyed by the Church of England was ended by the Provincial Council, set up in 1853, when it announced its policy of treating all churches alike. The setting-up of the Canterbury Provincial Council also marked the end of the Canterbury Association, its affairs being wound up and its property transferred to the Council by Henry Sewell. As for Canterbury's distinctively "English" character, 73% of the overseas born population of the province at the census of 1861 were born in England. The English element among later immigrants to the province diminished and of the 13,700 assisted immigrants brought out by the Canterbury Provincial Government between 1857 and 1870, some 45% were of Irish or Scottish birth. Thus although the settlement of Canterbury was initially founded upon a religious basis and although time gave rise to conditions which modified this basis, nevertheless, the original conception of the founders led to many distinctive effects in the character and history of the province. The distinctive character of early Canterbury was to be mirrored in the Barbadoes Street Cemetery by the settlers to be buried therein, the settlers who with:

"... great energy and foresight, and amid hardships and some discontent on the part of a few, ... made roads and bridges, drained the swamps, built their homes, churches and schools, ploughed and cleared the land and established their flocks and herds. Many of the settlers were men of culture, and some possessed wealth; while all had boundless courage and vision. Canterbury was fortunate in the quality of the men and women who laid the foundations of the provincial

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- (v) A.H. McLintoch, An Encyclopedia of New Zealand, Volume 2, Government Printer, 1966, page 85
(vi) Stephen Parr, Canterbury Pilgrims, Simpson & Williams Ltd., 1951, page 21

life, and we should not withhold from them our tribute of respect and praise." (vii)

(6) Christchurch City Council's Plans for Redevelopment

(1980)

"The Christchurch City Council has decided on admirable measures to improve the Barbadoes Street Cemetery. The plan to remove useless railings and masonry that obstruct the maintenance of the ground and to retain recognisable memorial stones is a sound compromise. The continuation of the present dismal and disrespectful disorder cannot be acceptable to citizens, and least of all to those whose relatives or forbears are buried there. The plan may even induce some to renovate surviving headstones. It is unlikely to evoke protests and, if it does, the scheme is sufficiently flexible to accommodate any reasonable requests from persons with an interest in the cemetery ... The council is seeking much less authority than is available to it under the Burial and Cremation Act, which provides for the total clearance of closed cemeteries. No-one should be displeased that anything of demonstratable importance will be preserved. All graves, named and unnamed, will be retained in a tidy reserve that should inspire the respect the present cemetery fails to induce." (i)

With the transfer of the Church of England Cemetery to the Christchurch City Council in 1948 "attention was given to cleaning up and the care of the grounds; dead and damaged trees have been removed, fences repaired and renewed, hedges trimmed and untidy corners cleaned out".

(ii) The responsibility for the upkeep of individual graves remained that of relatives. After an inspection of the Cemetery with representatives of the Church Property Trustees and the Canterbury Pilgrims' and Early Settlers' Association the Parks and Reserves Committee presented a report to Council on February 20, 1950. This report, which was adopted by Council, had been initiated with the purpose of improving the appearance of the Cemetery and the utilisation of an unused portion of it, behind the Sexton's house, for a children's playground. Among the Committee's recommendations were that: -

1. All broken headstones and those where the inscription had disappeared or was indecipherable should be removed.
2. All useless railings enclosing graves, all kerbing and other masonry, provided that they were not an integral part of the memorial over any grave should be removed.

(i) "Press", 21.7.1966, page 14
(ii) "Reserves Committee Report", 20.2.1950

This was not to apply to those graves which had been receiving regular attention by the next-of-kin.

3. After the removal of broken headstones, railings and kerbing, the grounds throughout the Cemetery, where possible, should be levelled, graded and sown down in lawn grass. By this means much of the area being cut with a scythe and hand-mown could be more frequently mown and more economically attended to with a motor-mower.
4. Further ornamental trees, but not stiff and sombre conifers should be planted.
5. In the north-east corner of the Cemetery and to the rear of the Sexton's house there was a vacant area providing sufficient space for a children's playground and that this space should be cleared, levelled and put down in lawn.
6. Along the Barbadoes Street and the Cambridge Terrace frontages the boundaries which were defined with hawthorn hedges should be removed and a low stone or concrete wall should be constructed.

As the Committee stated, "The intention is to convert the Cemetery insofar as it is possible to do so without the removal of all the headstones, into a pleasant, restful spot with well-kept lawns and shady trees, open to the view of all who pass by and open to all who wish to enter. At the present time the hedges mainly serve to provide cover for the undesirable and the vandal." (iii) Within a month the Council had received numerous correspondence, some from persons who had the mistaken idea that the whole Cemetery was to be converted into a children's playground, and some from persons who were under the impression that all tombstones and memorials were to be demolished. Others suggested that the Cemetery should be converted into a "garden

of memories" which the Committee felt was "an excellent idea, but one which would be costly to bring into being and costly to maintain". These initial attempts to redevelop the Cemetery met with such hostile criticism that the Committee had reason to note, "Had the people who are now taking such an interest in the Cemetery shown some practical regard for its welfare in the past, there would have been little need for the Council to have shouldered the responsibility".

As a result of criticisms to the initial plans for redevelopment of the Cemetery, future plans were not revived until 1966 when public opinion on the future of the Cemetery were again tested. At a Council meeting held on July 18, 1966 the Director of Parks and Reserves (Mr. H.G. Gilpin) recommended similar proposals to those propounded in 1950. The Mayor, Mr. George Manning, stated at the time, "If we could get the public behind us the Cemetery could become something beautiful and an asset for Christchurch". (iv) As there had been no serious opposition to these new proposals to redevelop the Cemetery by August 15, 1966 the Council approved the Director's recommendations.

An unforeseen difficulty arose and delayed the Council's plans for implementing redevelopment of the Cemetery. Before the Burial and Cremation Act came into force in 1964 authorities had no statutory right to interfere with grave markings and monuments, no matter how ancient, neglected or even unsafe, they might be. Special legislation had to be passed to permit clearing proposals. With the passing of the Act it was possible to remove broken and neglected headstones. As is explained in more detail in the following section of this report the Council discovered that through a legal technicality the original Order in Council closing the Cemetery in 1885 was invalid and it became necessary to reclose the Cemetery and vest the control and management of the Cemetery in the Christchurch City Council before plans for redevelopment could take place. This was not achieved until 1979/80. Embodied in submissions to the Minister of Health applying for the closure of the Cemetery, the Council provided plans of its intentions for the redevelopment of the Cemetery, and in this regard the Barbadoes Street Cemetery Action Committee played an active part.

The Barbadoes Street Cemetery Action Committee originated from the Canterbury Pilgrims' and Early Settlers' Association under the chairmanship of a Christchurch architect, John Hendry. Formed on November 9, 1976 it comprised the following societies and organisations who were interested in the preservation and rehabilitation of the Cemetery: the Anglican Church, the Methodist Church, the Roman Catholic Church, the New Zealand Historic Places Trust, the New Zealand Founders Society, the New Zealand Genealogical Society (Canterbury Branch), the Christchurch Beautifying Association and the Canterbury Pilgrims' and Early Settlers' Association. The Action Committee not only conducted working bees (the first of which took place on March 26, 1977 at which 50 workers attended) but also submitted a report entitled "Report on the Condition of and Proposals for the Restoration and Rehabilitation of the Historic Barbadoes Street Cemeteries" (set out overleaf) which concurred with many of the proposals set out in the Council's submissions to the Minister of Health. The Council's plans for redevelopment, initially set out by the Parks and Recreation Committee on May 3, 1977 and endorsed by the Council on May 23, 1977, include the retention of many headstones together with the planning of a Court of Memories and a Biblical Garden.

Retention of Headstones: Many headstones in the Cemetery are either of historic significance or visual importance and where these are in good repair, are to be left in their present position. However, those which are damaged or of a lesser visual quality should be removed, so that more open space will be available for passive purposes. Removed headstones could be situated around the perimeter of the Cemetery or incorporated in the Court of Memories or some other like purpose.

Court of Memories: Planned for a central position within the Cemetery is a Court of Memories consisting of a feature brick panel containing the names of all those buried within the Cemetery. This feature would be roofed in a style representing early colonial form and linked to a further two side walls to create a sense of containment. Also included would be a water feature combined with paving, a pergola and forms of seating to provide a restful setting.

Biblical Garden: In association with the Court of Memories, a formal garden featuring plants, that is, trees, shrubs and perennials of the

Bible, is planned. A collection of biblical plants would be unique to New Zealand and it is felt would provide a fitting link between the renewal of a Cemetery and the preservation of sanctity which should prevail within a place of burial.

At the Parks and Recreation Committee meeting held on May 3, 1977 the Director of Parks and Recreation (Mr. H.G. Gilpin) advised the Committee that it was his opinion that the general appearance of the area would be greatly enhanced if Cambridge Terrace was closed between Barbadoes and Churchill Streets, the existing road removed and suitably landscaped. This suggestion was referred to the Works and Traffic Committee. The Acting City Engineer reported on June 8, 1977: -

"Although this section of Cambridge Terrace is not a vital link in the City's traffic network and no insuperable difficulties are foreseen in the re-routing of traffic to other streets, it is however, a pleasant and useful link east of Salisbury Street and has an average daily traffic at the moment of about 1,200 vehicles per day. Cambridge Terrace is also valuable as part of a recreational route and is one of the last remaining riverside drives within the belts. The river bank in this area is relatively flat and I believe should remain readily accessible to the public by car.

Both Salisbury Street and Barbadoes Street will continue to be important and busy traffic streets and consequently access and parking associated with the development of the Cemetery could be relatively inaccessible to vehicles and it would consequently be difficult for police, in particular, to supervise the area. This may lead to an increase in vandalism and other offences.

Irrespective of what action is taken on the use of the street for motor traffic, it is important that it remain available to both pedestrians and cycles."

The recommendation was, therefore, that Cambridge Terrace, between Barbadoes Street and Churchill Street, remain open.

(B) THE THREE CEMETERIES (1851 - 1885)

"The Church of England cemetery is beautifully situated on a gentle eminence, on the prettiest part of the winding Avon; it is tastefully laid out, and well kept. Within the enclosure is a chapel, in which are several handsome memorial stained-glass windows, some of them of beautiful design and perfect execution. There are divisions in this cemetery set apart for Roman Catholics and Dissenters. The Scotch church has a separate cemetery of its own elsewhere." (i)

(1) INTRODUCTION

When the settlers arrived on the "first four ships" the Canterbury Association had set aside three Cemeteries, collectively known as the Barbadoes Street Cemetery, for the Church of England (Reserve 20), the Roman Catholics (Reserve 42) and the Dissenters (Reserve 43). Although the Canterbury Association had declared that Reserve 20 was reserved for "the Cemetery", containing 22 acres 2 roods, by a deed dated September 9, 1851 (No. 1D/207), it was not until a deed dated March 14, 1856 (No. 14D/69) that this land was formally transferred to the Church Property Trustees who administered all Church of England property. By a deed dated February 8, 1855 (No. 1D/640) the Provincial Superintendent transferred Reserve 42, containing one acre, to Members of the Church of Rome for a Cemetery. By a deed dated August 27, 1855 (No. 27D/292) the Provincial Superintendent transferred Reserve 43, containing one acre, to the Dissenters of the Town and District of Christchurch for a Cemetery. Thus provision was made for burial for three of the four main religious groups from the outset.

(a) Early Burials

Soon after the arrival of the "first four ships" among the many matters concerning the settlers was the burial of the dead. In Lyttelton a Cemetery had been set aside and the first burial registered was that of John Williams who died on December 18, 1850, while climbing the Bridle Path. As is explained in a later section of this report his remains were subsequently disinterred and buried in the Church of England Cemetery in Barbadoes Street. Mary Bishop, in her journal previously referred to, not only records this death ... "One poor man fell down a corpse going

(i) Mrs. Charles Tomson, Twelve Years in Canterbury, Sampson Low, Son & Marston, pages 11-12

over the mountains; he, wife and eight children came by the 'Randolph'" ... but also records two of the earliest deaths in Christchurch itself:

"Two more deaths have taken place ... children, the father of one at XChurch has had the body buried in his own ground because the land, called the cemetery, is a perfect swamp. It is to be drained, it is to be hoped soon, too. It has to be cleared up ..." (ii)

A month earlier, in April 1851, the Church of England recorded the first burial in the Barbadoes Street Cemetery. The entry in Volume 1 of the Church of England burial register records only the person's surname, "Brown". The second and third burials took place on April 9, 1851, being that of "Henry Nipress" and "Alice Kent".

It is uncertain when the first burials took place in the Roman Catholic and Dissenters' Cemeteries. The oldest recorded burial in the Roman Catholic Cemetery took place on September 4, 1860 when Father Seon "... performed the funeral rites on the body of Michael McNamara, about 30 years old, which was buried in the Catholic Cemetery". A day later Father Chataigner "... performed the funeral rites on the body of Margaret Ann Ryan, female child nine weeks old, and she was buried in the Catholic Cemetery of Christchurch". The oldest headstone still standing in the Roman Catholic Cemetery is that of Charles Murray who died on March 20, 1865. Other burials must have taken place, however, prior to the first recorded burial in 1860. The oldest record of a burial in the Dissenters' Cemetery is to be found in Rev. William Morley's book "The History of Methodism in New Zealand", in which he wrote "In 1854 a small section of ground in Barbadoes Street had been granted for cemetery purposes, and a funeral from a Methodist family followed within a day or two". (iii) This funeral was possibly that of Mary Ann Philpott who died on July 1, 1854 and whose headstone is the oldest still standing in the Dissenters' Cemetery.

(ii) Mary Ann Bishop, Journal of M.A. Bishop, Emigrant to the Canterbury Settlement, New Zealand, in the Charlotte Jane 1850 - 1851, 15.5.1851

(iii) Rev. William Morley, The History of Methodism in New Zealand, McKee & Co., 1900, page 412

(b) Presbyterian Burials

During the early 1850's burials took place in the Church of England Cemetery of persons who were not Anglicans, most notably being the burial of John Deans, a Presbyterian. The Presbyterians of course had no Cemetery set aside for themselves and for some years after the arrival of the "first four ships" had no Presbyterian minister to baptise their children, bury their dead or administer to other ordinances of their religion.

"Many evils resulted ... A child, in days of no minister, died and was buried unbaptised. When the surveyors came to lay off the ground for a cemetery at Christchurch, they proceeded to exclude the little grave of the infant that had done neither good nor evil, and about whom the thoughts of father and mother were,

*'Early bright, transient, chaste, as morning dew,
She sparkled, was exhaled, and went to heaven.'*

We can guess the feelings of relatives and friends. It was only when Mr. William Deans strongly remonstrated that the design was not carried out. Can a man be saved without baptism? was then the question of the hour." (v)

This strange reference to an unbaptised child's grave raises the question whether the "surveyors" in the above quotation were the original Canterbury Association's surveyors who sought to exclude the child's grave prior to the first recorded burial in the Church of England Cemetery in April 1851. It should be pointed out that William Deans died on July 23, 1851. It would indeed be a coincidence that the child was buried on the very land Edward Jollie selected as the site for the Barbadoes Street Cemetery. It could be possible of course that Jollie selected the site because it had already been used as a burial ground. It is perhaps more probable that the reference to the "surveyors" relates to surveyors employed by the Church of England after 1851 to resurvey the Church of England Cemetery for its future development. However, the fact remains that the first recorded burial in the Church of England Cemetery in April 1851 only occurred some three months before William Deans' death and it is quite possible that the unbaptised child's grave controversy predated this, making

(v) Rev. John Dickson, History of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, Wilkie & Company, 1899, page 149

the child's burial the first, or one of the first, burials in the Church of England Cemetery. Whatever the answer is to this puzzle, Presbyterians were permitted for a number of years to use the Church of England Cemetery for burials until the practise of interment there with a Presbyterian service was disallowed. Not wishing to bury their dead in the Dissenters' Cemetery (Presbyterians never regarded themselves as dissenting from the established Church of England) the St. Andrews congregation in 1858 obtained five acres of land, subsequently to be known as the Addington Cemetery. "Getting possession of it afterwards, they declined to follow the example set them, and generously threw it open to all who should pay the required fees." (vi) A brother of Jane Deans, George M'Illraith, who was killed by a fall from a horse, was the first person to be buried there.

(c) Infant Mortality

Even from a casual inspection of the Barbadoes Street Cemetery it is patently obvious that among the early burials by far the largest proportion were those of children. Tragically children fell ready victims to the ravages of scarlet fever, infantile diarrhoea, diphtheria, typhoid and influenza. In 1866, after the death of her son aged 10 weeks, Lady Barker wrote:

"... we are still in the first bitterness of grief for the loss of our dear little baby. After I last wrote to you he bacame very ill, but we hoped that his malady was only caused by the unhealthiness of Christchurch during the autumn, and that he would soon revive and get well in this pure, beautiful mountain air ... he got another and more violent attack about a fortnight ago, and after a few hours of suffering was taken to the land where pain is unknown ... Our loss is one too common out here, I am told: infants born in Christchurch during the autumn very often die. Owing to the flatness of the site of the town, it is almost impossible to get a proper system of drainage; and the arrangements seem very bad, if you are to judge from the evil smells which are abroad in the evening. Children who are born on a station, or taken there as soon as possible, almost invariably thrive, but babies are very difficult to rear in the towns." (vii)

Charlotte Godley's "Letters from Early New Zealand 1850 - 1853" also contains numerous references to the fate of infants:

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- (vi) Rev. John Dickson, History of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, Wilkie & Company, 1899, page 160
- (vii) Lady Barker, Station Life in New Zealand, Whitcombe and Tombs Ltd., 1950, pages 55-57

"I hear, poor thing, she (Mrs. Rose) is just going to be confined; like everyone else, I think who comes out; and then the babies almost always die ... I am very sorry to hear from Mr. Simeon that ... his youngest little girl was lying so ill from scarlet fever as to be given over ... I cannot say how sorry I am to hear that the baby is so ill, the doctor does not think it will live. They scarcely ever do, born soon after the voyage, but this one has lived five months, and though it was not a very fine one, I was in hopes it would be an exception." (viii)

In order to illustrate statistically infant mortality during the latter half of the nineteenth century in Christchurch we find that in the Church of England burial register for 1859, of the 34 entries where the ages are recorded, 16 burials were of children under 15 months of age. For 1864, of the 128 entries where the ages are recorded, 61 burials were of children under 15 months of age. We find in the Dissenters' burial register for 1879, of the 58 entries where the ages are recorded, 29 burials were of children under 15 months of age. We find from Roman Catholic burial records that for 1883, of the 78 burials, 44 were recorded as infants. Even towards the close of the nineteenth century "The incidence of death among the new-born babies was very high, and there were more little graves in the churchyard than there were pairs of little feet pattering in the home". (ix)

Because of the high infant mortality rate, in the Church of England Cemetery, a special area was marked off into quarter and half plots for the burial of infants as is shown in the photograph below. At the northern end of this area there is The Dollan family plot wherein are

(viii) Charlotte Godley, Letters From Early New Zealand 1850 - 1853, Whitcombe & Tombs Ltd., 1951, pages 253, 283, 329, 330

(ix) E.M. Somers Cocks, A Friend in Need ... Nurse Maude: Her Life and Work, Whitcombe & Tombs Ltd., 1951, page 100

buried John Dollan and his wife, Margaret Fleming Baillie Dollan. This plot, more than any other, illustrates vividly the high infant mortality rate. A headstone, illustrated by the photograph below, was erected by the family not only in remembrance of the parents but also of their nine children who died during an 11 year period. The inscriptions of the headstone record their births and deaths.

'Sarah Dollan	Born	Dec. 23	1864	Died	June 4	1875
Andrew "	"	July 10	1870	"	May 18	1875
Robert "	"	Feb. 18	1872	"	June 24	1872
Margaret "	"	July 5	1876	"	Jan. 25	1877
Helen "	"	July 10	1877	"	Mar. 20	1878
Charles "	"	Jan. 26	1880	"	Feb. 21	1880
Ethel "	"	May 28	1881	"	Dec. 15	1881
Alice "	"	Aug. 5	1882	"	Jan. 21	1885
Arthur "	"	Nov. 1	1885	"	Jan. 11	1886'

(d) Early Undertakers and Headstones

The population of early Christchurch, despite the alarmingly high death rate, could not support specialised undertakers. The undertakers who attended to funeral arrangements were therefore cabinet makers, carpenters, builders and upholsterers who found in coffin making a much needed and profitable sideline to their usual trades. In 1852 the following advertisement appeared in the "Lyttelton Times":

"MESSRS. TAYLOR & HOWARD

RESPECTFULLY inform the Public that they are now enabled to execute any Orders as Builders, Carpenters, Joiners, Cabinet Makers, and Undertakers, and trust by their punctuality, with reasonable terms, to merit a share of public patronage.

N.B. Funerals furnished on the shortest notice." (x)

In an 1864 Christchurch trade directory an Alfred Osborne, of Cambridge Terrace, is described as a "cabinet maker, upholsterer and undertaker" with "a large assortment of first-class English-made furniture always on sale", while a G. Cliff is described in an advertisement as a "builder and Undertaker" who had on sale "all kinds of building materials, slates, doors and window sashes". As well as coffin making these early undertakers also would have fashioned wooden crosses and constructed picket fences and railings to adorn the graves. As no monumental masons arrived on the "first four ships" many of the older headstones must have been erected by the surviving families many years later. Those who could afford elaborate headstones were required to have the same commissioned in England or Italy and transported out to New Zealand at considerable expense.

2. THE SETTING UP AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CEMETERIES

(a) THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND CEMETERY

(i) The Early Years

As Canterbury was to be a Church of England settlement and as Anglicans were to comprise by far the larger proportion of the population, Edward Jollie, the Association's surveyor had laid off 22 acres 2 roods in the north-east corner on his plan of Christchurch (Reserve 20) for a Church of England Cemetery. This Cemetery was bounded by what is now Bealey Avenue on the north, Fitzgerald Avenue on the east, Cambridge Terrace on the south and Barbadoes Street on the west. In its original state this site for the Church of England Cemetery was, like many parts of Christchurch, "a perfect swamp" and heavily covered with flax, tussock, toi-toi, fern and raupo. The siting of the Cemetery in the "very heart of the city" and the inherent drainage difficulties which plagued its history were eventually to lead to the closure of the Cemetery in 1885. The diagram overleaf illustrates the positioning of the Cemetery and the centre of Christchurch in relation to the main swamp areas.

Little is known of the early years of the Cemetery from 1851 when the first burials took place, until 1867 when the Church of England Cemetery Board was set up to administer the Cemetery. During these years over 1,000 burials took place, these being confined to the southern portion of the Cemetery of about two acres as is indicated by the diagram overleaf. The remainder of the Cemetery Reserve was leased to a Mr. Bowron who ran sheep and cattle on the land. At later dates, as the need arose to extend the original portion, further areas were set aside for burials making a total area of 5 acres 2 roods and 14 perches as is evident today. As is explained in a later section of this report, the original Church of England Cemetery Reserve was progressively broken up for roading, road widening and sale.

The early administration of the Cemetery was carried out by the local parishes (St. Michaels, St. Johns and St. Lukes) and at an early date the Cemetery was "... securely fenced, and laid out with considerable taste" (i). From a photograph taken in 1863 when the Cemetery and chapel were consecrated (see page) trees were already well established and a picket fence erected.

(i) Robert Bateman Paul, Letters from Canterbury, New Zealand, Rivingtons, 1857, page 82.

(ii) Construction of the Church of England Mortuary Chapel

One of the first requirements for the Church of England Cemetery was the building of a suitable Chapel. On January 16, 1856 the following advertisement was placed in the "Lyttelton Times":

"It is proposed to erect a Chapel in the Cemetery at Christchurch, with proper fittings, etc., for the more decent performance of that portion of the Burial Service which is ordered to be performed in the Church.

The following subscriptions have been already received towards this object: -

<i>The Ven. the Archdeacon Mathias</i>	<i>£ 5</i>
<i>His Honor the Superintendent</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>Mrs. Margaret Beecham, of Hawkhurst, Kent, (per Rev. H. Jacobs)</i>	<i>20</i>
<i>The Rev. Henry Jacobs</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>Mr. H.B. Greeson</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>G.A. Ross</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>A.C. Barker</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>Burrell Parkerson</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>T. Rowley</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>A Friend, per Rev. H. Jacobs</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Mr. B. Woollcombe</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Mr. J.C. Watts Russell - the proceeds of the sale of a large supply of books etc. purchased from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.</i>	

It is proposed to commence the building so soon as subscriptions shall have been promised to the amount of £100." (i)

From the subscriptions received, timber was purchased, plans were procured and incidental expenses incurred. It is not known, but thought, that the Church commissioned and obtained from the Provincial architect, Benjamin W. Mountford's preoccupation with the Gothic style which was experiencing a revival in Britain while he was training. Mountford later lent to the Church of England Cemetery Board a book containing designs for tombstones. The subscriptions received, however, after the above expenses had been incurred were insufficient for the immediate building of the chapel and it was not for another six years that the Church placed another advertisement in the "Press":

"The Curate, Churchwardens, and Vestry of the Parish of Christchurch have decided to make a public appeal to the members of the Church of England to assist them in building a Chapel in the Cemetery, for the due performance of that portion of the Burial Service which is appointed to be read in Church ...

It was intended to build the Chapel some years ago, and subscriptions were collected for the purpose, which were expended in the purchase of timber still lying in the Cemetery, in procuring a plan, and other incidental expenses; but, the subscriptions being insufficient for the erection of the building, it was not thought advisable to commence it until a sufficient sum could be raised by payments for plots of ground for family burials. Unforeseen and continued delays have occurred to prevent the prosecution of the design up to the present time; but the Vestry have at length determined to suffer no longer time to elapse without making an effort to carry it out.

The established cost of building the Chapel is £250 ... Towards this amount ... the Vestry have in hand the sum of £120. For the remaining ... they have constrained to appeal to the liberality of their fellow-churchmen.

The Chapel will be ... commenced immediately with the funds already in hand. All who value the solemn and beautiful Burial Service of the Church of England are aware that, except under the most favourable circumstances of weather, it loses much of its solemnity and soothing character where there is no Chapel. In pouring rain, or under the burning sun, the Service must either be mutilated or performed with serious risk to both minister and people.

When it is further considered that this Cemetery has been used, not only by persons residing in Christchurch and its neighbourhood, but by residents at Sumner, on the Ferry Road, at Oxford, on the Halswell, on the Ashburton, and many other parts of the Province both far and near, the Vestry feel that they may appeal with confidence to Churchmen generally, as well as to the parishioners of Christchurch, to assist them in raising the moderate sum proposed." (ii)

The Chapel was completed in June 1863 and consecrated by Bishop Harper on June 23, 1863. The "Press" reporting on its consecration mentions that "It is a small wooden building of some architectural pretensions, but we confess we do not understand the design". (iii)

(ii) "Press", 25.10.1862, page 8
(iii) "Press", 24.6.1863, page 3

Since at this time the Provincial Chambers were well on the way to completion, it is difficult to understand what might be objected to in the chapel, which was also of Gothic design. The chapel which was simply built, had good lines, and a shingle roof. The interior was unexpectedly striking with dark panelling rising to the high beamed roof. The "Lyttelton Times" also reported the consecration and stated that:

"The Chapel is a small but neat structure, capable of accommodating thirty or forty persons, and terminated at the east-end by an apsidal sanctuary, with three lancet windows running up into dormers in the roof. There are two similar windows in either side-wall of the Chapel, and at the west-end is an ample porch communicating with the building by large folding doors. This entrance and apsis are paved with handsome encaustic tiles, brought out twelve years ago in one of the first ships from England. It is hoped, that before the end of the year, all the windows will be filled with painted glass, orders having, we understand, already been sent to England for execution by one of the best makers. The windows will all be memorials to departed friends, put up at the expense of the survivors. The Chapel has yet to be lined, and contributions for this purpose will no doubt be gladly received by the churchwardens." (iv)

Included in the chapel were seats, a closet, a table and worked cloth. The chapel was lined in 1867 and all woodwork oiled and varnished periodically.

The impressive stained glass windows which were placed in the chapel, the earliest dated 1864, were skillfully wrought in England. The centre window was placed in the chapel by Bishop Harper in memory of one of his sons. The "Press" at the time reported that: -

"The treatment is strictly mediaeval in character. Vested in a jewelled robe of dark purple, judiciously relieved by the introduction of other vivid colours, wearing an aureole, in which the cross is artistically introduced, and bearing on his hands the sacred 'stigma', the Redeemer is represented miraculously walking on the angry waves of a troubled sea, in all the majesty of divinity. The design is remarkably good, and the difficulty so great in any pictorial representation of depicting water in motion, especially with such a material as glass, has been successfully overcome, whilst the bright blue sky above brings the whole subject into strong relief. The colours, though brilliant, are not gaudy, and there is nothing meretricious in the general effect. It is a pity that the execution of the mechanical portion of the work is not equal to the pictorial. There is a certain amount of coarseness and incompleteness in the lead-work in which the design is placed which mars the otherwise pleasing representation. A little attention to detail and finish would have obviated this. The background is skilfully managed, and the perspective has been elaborately and carefully arranged at the base of the window is the quotation ... "And the sea shall give up the dead that are in it". On a brass tablet affixed to the panel work below are written these words ... "Edward Paul Harper, aged nineteen, lost at sea in 1863". The work was executed by an English firm, and is one of the handsomest in the chapel. All the windows with one exception, and we believe the vacant place is engaged for a similar purpose, are now filled in with painted glass." (v)

The chapel which stood for over ninety years was demolished on November 1, 1955 when it had been found to be badly infested with borer and considered financially not worth repairing. The demolition of the chapel is considered in a later section of this report.

"if it's in such a shocking state ... we should draw the city's attention to it". Mr. Beaven suggested that the Board should meet in the Cemetery the following Saturday morning, commenting "Nine o'clock's a splendid time to visit a cemetery, with the mist coming up". "Yes", said Mr. Oakley, "when the dew's on the grass".

Before members of the Christchurch Civic Trust Board visited the Cemetery the Council's Director of Parks and Reserves, Mr. H.G. Gilpin, carried out an inspection and said that the present condition of the Cemetery was good: -

"considering the difficulties encountered with dilapidated and neglected headstones and graves, such as that apparently of Mrs. Hennessy's grandfather. A thorough inspection showed no open graves and the only bones found within the cemetery were three animal bones lying on the top of a sealed surface of a grave, these presumably being the remains of a dog's meal. There is a regular grass mowing schedule carried out and a weed control spraying programme which is due again within the next week. We feel that before members of the Civic Trust make statements such as this they should at least take the trouble to verify their facts." (iv)

Mr. Gilpin said the Council had been trying for a number of years to close the Cemetery with the idea of making it a "passive area" - one which would be open to the public to use and enjoy. For that, he explained, the headstones should have to be removed to the perimeter.

Although five members of the Christchurch Civic Trust Board visited the Cemetery on the following Saturday morning, no mention of human bones was made, and the Board limited their criticism to disagreeing with the Council's plan to move the headstones to the perimeter and turn the Cemetery into a "passive area". The Council's plans for redevelopment are discussed in a later section of this report.

Over recent years the general maintenance of the Cemetery has been greatly improved. In general the responsibility for neglected graves, which have not been tended to by next of kin, have been accepted by the Council. Various voluntary organisations such as the Barbadoes Street Cemetery Action Committee, the New Zealand Society of Genealogists

out that some three years previously attempts were made by the Council to improve some of these private sections, but that exception was taken to the fact. In one case, the Council removed dead shrubs which, although devoid of all beauty, were still treasured by the owner for sentimental reasons. Although the Council was reluctant to take any further steps regarding private sections, attempts were made not only in general maintenance of the Cemetery but also in contacting the owners of the private sections in order to ascertain their thoughts on the maintenance of their sections. This action was conveyed to Reverend Rugby Pratt and he acknowledged "the action already taken to put the said Cemetery in order".

It was some 32 years later that the neglect of the Barbadoes Street Cemetery was again aired. By this time, the Church of England Cemetery had come under the control of the City Council. At a meeting of the Christchurch Civic Trust Board on April 18, 1966, Mrs. G.T. Hennessy had complained that some of the graves in the Cemetery were open and that "You can see the bones of people". The condition of the Cemetery was first raised by Mr. P.J. Beaven, who said it was a complete disgrace and no ornament to the city in any way at all. The "Press" reported the meeting, during which the following discussion took place: -

Mrs. Hennessy: *"It's just shocking. I'm ashamed to say that my grandfather is buried there, and it's a disgrace."*

Mr. Beaven: *"Is his headstone standing proud and clear?"*

Mrs. Hennessy: *"Can't find it. The marble's gone. Even some of the graves are open and you can see the bones of the people. It's a shocker, really."*

Mrs. Hennessy: *"Yes, bones. It's disgraceful." " (iii)*

Mrs. Hennessy drew the Board's attention to the fact that the graves were in two sections. "The Anglicans are on one side and the Non-conformists on the other - that's the worst side." "Where's your grandfather?" asked Mr. Beaven. "On the Non-conformist side, I'm sorry to say", replied Mrs. Hennessy. The President of the Board, Mr. W.J. Oakley, agreed that

Two examples of neglect at the Barbadoes Street Cemetery found by a "Christchurch Star" photographer on April 19, 1966. In the top picture a tree has grown from one of the graves. In the bottom picture the Cemetery extends into the backyard of a house next door because of the collapse of the fence.

ascertained, however, people of other denominations have also been buried there during the past seventy years.

Largely owing to the efforts of a sexton, who has been working there for several years, this portion of the cemetery presents a more tidy appearance. But although the grass between the plots has been scythed and mowed, many graves are full of weeds, and some of the headstones cut from sandstone are breaking away in large flakes. There is a whole line of graves without any distinguishing mark or division between them, while others present a neglected appearance. The ground has sunk in several places and in one cleared spot there are a number of hollows.

Valliant efforts have been made to keep graves tidy, but the task is beyond the efforts of one man, especially in summer, and the grass is at least a foot high in that part of the cemetery running parallel with Cambridge Terrace.

"Nobody cares". That seems to be the official attitude towards one of the oldest and most neglected cemeteries in Christchurch. The Reserves Department of the City Council maintains the western half, but although a number of relief workers are said to have been employed there several months ago, the grounds look as if they have not been touched for half a century.

The Church Property Trustees maintain the Anglican portion of the cemetery, using the income from a vested fund derived from the sale of plots for that purpose. Last year this income amounted to approximately £230, receipts from burial fees amounting to only £5.10s. The wages of the sexton were £170, leaving very little for extra expenses. At present, the trustees can not employ the two extra men who would be needed if the cemetery were to be kept in proper condition." (ii)

The publication of the above report not only drew criticism from the public at large but the Reverend Rugby Pratt, Minister of the Durham Street Methodist Church, wrote to both the "Christchurch Times" and the Town Clerk reminding them of the fact that by an Order-in-Council of 1916 the Dissenters' and Roman Catholic Cemeteries had been vested in the Christchurch City Council "on condition that they be maintained in good order by the said Council as public reserves and open to the public" and asking the Council to fulfil its trust in this regard. The Town Clerk replied, after a meeting of the Reserves Committee, that during the past few years the Dissenters' and Roman Catholic Cemeteries had had considerably more attention paid to them than previously and that the principal cause of the untidiness was the neglected state of many of the private sections. In this regard, the Town Clerk pointed

present condition. Surrounded by a high and untidy hawthorn hedge and a paling fence, it contains the graves of many of the Roman Catholic and Methodist faiths.

Those who wish to visit it, can enter the grounds by a gate without hinges, which is held up with a makeshift contrivance. A second entrance is in the same neglected state, for the gate has been broken off its hinges, and pieces of it lie rotting in the thick grass. The lower half of the ground which is on the same level as the road is covered with long grass, and there are no paths through it. Visitors have to use the tracks made by small boys, or push through the wilderness at the risk of tripping over a hidden headstone.

Wild pea has gained a firm hold in many parts of the cemetery, and thick masses of it have would round the iron railings protecting the graves, and the headstones. Time and the weather have done much damage to the graves in this part of the cemetery, while it is alleged that larrikins have been responsible in the past for breaking many of the headstones. In one plot the stone supports of a low iron fence surrounding a grave have been smashed, and all that remains are some broken pieces and a rusty bar of iron.

Some of the damage wrought during the last sixty years seems almost incredible. All that remains of another grave is a bent and broken iron railing covered with a luxuriant growth of wild pea. Lumps of broken stone hidden in the long grass are the only clue to three or four other graves in the strangely neglected cemetery.

The portion where the Methodist graves are situated is in a shocking state of neglect, since it is on a level with the road, it takes the drainage from the higher portion, and consequently the growth is more luxuriant. Most of the headstones are well hidden in the thick undergrowth. Under one tree can be found four pieces of stone with a broken headstone standing at an angle beside them. Another tree in this part of the cemetery has actually pushed its way between two graves, and now it is almost impossible to place a hand between the trunk and one of the headstones.

The portion occupied by the Roman Catholic graves is better cared for and visitors can walk between the plots. But broken headstones are just as plentiful and there are even more striking examples of neglect. Two headstones have been clothed in a thick covering of ivy so at first sight they might be mistaken for tree trunks. Another has been broken into three pieces, which have been piled at the head of the grave with a marble cross propped on top. Strangely enough a wooden headstone has lasted for fifty years, and seems in better condition than others cut from soft sandstone. It has broken off at the base, however, and is beginning to split and rot under the stresses of the weather.

Across the road is the other half of the cemetery which contains the graves of members of the Church of England. As far as can be

(3) Public Outcry Over Neglect of the Cemeteries

"The pioneers of Canterbury sleep in neglected and forgotten graves. Broken and chipped headstones, rusty iron railings, dying bushes, and sturdy thistles mark the last resting place of many of the city's earliest residents." (i)

Since the closing of the Barbadoes Street Cemetery in 1885, maintenance of the Cemetery was gradually neglected and on two occasions, the first in 1934 and the second in 1966, the neglect was brought into the public eye and those responsible of its upkeep severely criticised.

The quotation above was written by a reporter of the "Christchurch Times" on January 4, 1934 at the commencement of an article entitled 'Neglected Graves - Broken Headstones - Barbadoes Street Cemetery'. The rest of the report is set out below as it gives a vivid picture of the condition of the Cemetery at the time.

"'Sacred to the memory of' ... These familiar words appear on headstones over many graves, but in the Barbadoes Street Cemetery, time and neglect have hidden them beneath a riot of weeds, tall wild pea, and thistles.

Yesterday a correspondent wrote to the "Times" pointing out that this cemetery had been neglected for years, and suggesting that it should be cleaned up. A reporter visited the cemetery and found striking and incredible evidence of neglect, and ample reasons for the suggestion advanced by the correspondent.

Beneath the long grass which covers a great part of the grounds can be found in one spot three lumps of concrete, a twisted rusty iron bar, and a large chip of marble, all that is left of a grave and its headstones after sixty years. In a wilderness of grass and weeds lie other broken headstones. The paths in many cases are almost wholly overgrown, and many of the graves are cloaked with a strong growth of thistles.

The Barbadoes Street Cemetery, which is one of the oldest burial grounds in the city has been closed for many years, and is only opened upon the death of a member of a family which owns one of the plots. Largely owing to lack of funds, and the fact that the relatives of many who lie buried there have died or left the city, the graves have been neglected, and the cemetery allowed to degenerate in parts into a tangle of undergrowth filled with broken headstones and rusty iron railings.

The western part of the cemetery, which is situated on the left hand side of Barbadoes Street, is a disgrace to the city in its

(i) "Christchurch Times", 4.1.1934, page 10

Christchurch City Council "in trust for public purposes" as is illustrated by Certificates of Title 371/293 and 397/275 (see pages). This portion was never utilised for burials.

The present day area of the Church of England Cemetery of 5 acres, 2 roods and 14 perches is contained in Certificate of Title 518/291 (see page).

Diagram 2 illustrates the first three steps in the reduction in size of the Cemetery.

Step 1: By a deed dated August 25, 1879 the Church Property Trustees transferred a southern portion of the Cemetery to the Christchurch Drainage Board for storm water purposes and whereby the eastern end of Salisbury Street could be extended to connect with Cambridge Terrace.

Step 2: By a deed dated August 24, 1887 the Church Property Trustees transferred the southern "island" of the Cemetery containing 15 and 7/10 perches to a person by the name of Mansfield. The present Certificate of Title is Volume 249 Folio 109 (see page).

Step 3: As early as 1880 the Christchurch City Council had approached the Church of England Cemetery Board seeking to obtain one chain on the Bealey Avenue and Fitzgerald Avenue boundary of the Cemetery in order to make the Avenues uniform. It was not until 1892 when the Council gave notice to the Cemetery Board to eradicate the gorse fence on this boundary that the Church Property Trustees, by a deed dated November 11, 1892, transferred this portion of the Cemetery to the Council. By April 1893 the gorse fence had been removed by the Council and a wooden fence erected, thus enclosing the remaining Cemetery Reserve.

Diagram 3 illustrates the two further steps in the reduction in size of the Cemetery.

Step 4: Between the years 1896 and 1903 the Church Property Trustees sold the portion of the Cemetery, which had never been utilised for burials prior to closure of the Cemetery in 1885, containing 13 acres and 37 perches. The present Certificate of Title is Volume 159 Folio 229 (see pages) and illustrates the various sales in this portion and leaving the balance, Churchill Street, originally formed in 1896.

Step 5: In 1926 the Church Property Trustees transferred the remaining southern portion of the Cemetery of 1 rood, 9 and 7/10 perches to the

(C) LATER CEMETERY DEVELOPMENTS

(1) The Break-up of the Church of England Cemetery Reserve

The original area of the Church of England Cemetery (Reserve 20) as laid out by Edward Jollie in his plan of Christchurch (see page) was 22 acres and 2 roods. The present area of the Church of England Cemetery is 5 acres, 2 roods and 14 perches. This reduction in size of the Cemetery has been brought about through a five step process and culminated in the transfer of the Cemetery to the Christchurch City Council in 1948.

Diagram 1 illustrates the original area of the Church of England Cemetery in 1850 bounded by Bealey Avenue on the north, Fitzgerald Avenue on the east, Cambridge Terrace on the south and Barbadoes Street on the west.

from the Linwood Town Board. The Linwood Cemetery was opened in 1884, the first interment taking place on July 10, 1884, when the Mayor and City Councillors were present. Later a tramline was laid from the city to the Linwood Cemetery for the purpose of running a horse tram hearse which was designed to carry four coffins at a time. The venture was not particularly successful and in 1887 the tramline was extended to the sea coast at New Brighton.

Pursuant to a Government Gazette notice dated September 25, 1844 (set out overleaf) the Barbadoes Street Cemetery was closed from and after April 1, 1885. Pursuant to "The Cemeteries Act, 1882" near relatives of persons already buried in the Cemetery could still be interred.

Section 76 stated: -

'Notwithstanding any Order in Council made as aforesaid, where any person has been buried in a cemetery or burial-ground previously to the closing thereof, any survivor of such person being within the degrees of relationship of husband, wife, parent, child, brother, or sister to the deceased may be buried in the same plot of ground with the said deceased.'

I have not perceived any unpleasant smell from these grave-yards although I have been assured by others that they have frequently observed them. It is however universally recognised that the air of grave-yards is prejudicial to health and that it is not advisable on sanitary grounds that cemeteries should be situated in towns. It is stated on authority that dwelling houses should be at least 500 yards distant from them. The houses in Bowen Street are within a few yards of the Catholic and Wesleyan burial-grounds and the graves are within a few feet of the footpath.

In a short time there will probably be a large population living close to these cemeteries; I would therefore recommend that after a convenient period the further disposal of the dead should not be permitted in the city. I would further recommend that the planting of trees and shrubs of rapid growth should be encouraged with the double object of absorbing dampness from the soil and noxious exhalations.

From what I am given to understand from the Sanitary Committee of the City Council the ground selected for a cemetery at the sandhills in addition to being very inconvenient of access is quite unsuited for such a purpose. The soil consists of sand, and the ground water is less than four feet from the surface. Bodies interred under such circumstances would be inconveniently slow in undergoing decomposition.

For a burial ground a site conveniently placed on a line of railway should be selected where the subsoil water is at least 10 or 12 feet from the surface and where the ground is dry and porous with a sufficient covering of vegetable mould to assist in neutralising the organic impurities which so plentifully exist in such places. The land moreover should be most efficiently drained so as to permit of its free permeation by air to hasten the decomposition of the interred bodies.

In connection with this subject I would point out that probably the smells complained of in the vicinity of the cemeteries may have arisen from the heaps of refuse and sump accumulations which are being deposited on the banks of the Avon opposite the Church of England Cemetery. This is a bad place to bury filth and I would strongly advise that the practice be discontinued."

The Sanitary Committee, when presenting the above report to the Council, recommended that "... further interments in such Cemeteries should be discontinued and that prompt action should be taken to close them as early as possible". Prompt action was indeed taken, for within a year of the Council having forwarded its recommendation concerning the closing of the Cemetery to the Government, the Council had decided upon a suitable site for a new Cemetery in Linwood and purchased land

"In accordance with your instructions I have the honour to report on the present condition of the cemeteries which are situated in Christchurch with special reference to the effects which they are likely to exercise upon the health of the surrounding inhabitants.

The following information I have obtained:- The Church of England burial-ground comprises a block of 23 acres. Only 8 acres of this however have been set apart for interments. From 1851 up to the end of the first quarter of the present year 3,693 burials had been made in it.

The Wesleyan Cemetery contains about three-fourths of an acre of ground in which there have been already 638 sepultures.

The Catholic graveyard is only about $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres in extent, the number of dead in which I have ascertained is 640.

The grounds occupied by all the cemeteries slope towards the river Avon above which they are at their highest parts elevated 10 or 12 feet. The soil consists of peat and sandy clay and is in spots quite swampy. It has never been drained and consequently retains a great deal of surface water. I am informed that in digging graves the ground water is not reached at eight feet although in winter time the surface water has to be bailed out to enable the grave diggers to reach this depth but in some parts of the cemeteries I suspect the ground water is much higher than is even stated. Today I found a new dug grave where the water came to within three feet of the surface.

From the Church of England cemetery I observed that two drains emptied into the river. One is supposed to drain surface water from the unoccupied land which lies to the north-west of the graves, and the other that overflow from an artesian well. The water from these sources as it falls into the river appears perfectly clean and uncontaminated.

As there are no drains to catch the rain? water so as to insure that the soil is kept dry at all season of the year the process of decomposition will not be so rapid as it should be and in consequence the ground will tend to become offensively saturated.

The cemeteries being on a higher level than the streets which surround them complaints have been made with regard to the soakage into the footpaths and side channels, and it has been stated that it largely consists of decomposing animal matter. I have been unable to discover any such nuisance. The water, however, which issues from this land is strongly impregnated with iron. It leaves a deposit which looks nasty and smells nasty. To prevent leakage into the footpath from the Wesleyan and Catholic cemeteries the city surveyor laid a rubble drain between the fence and the footpath but I am not quite certain that it acts as intended.

springs draining and percolating from the graveyards into the river. People living on the banks of the Avon, between the cemetery and the sea, and who are in the habit of using the water, little know the danger that lurks in the mephitic and poisoned stream that flows past their doors.

It is time the Cemetery Board took steps to close the burial places. Population is gradually building them in on all sides, and it is well in a case of this kind to observe the maxim of prevention being better than cure. If we must continue to practice the present system of inhumation, in preference to that of cremation, then let us have our burying places far removed from town. If I mistake not the Board have already secured a reserve somewhere out on the sandhills; let them utilise that and so assist in keeping the town healthy.

Personally, I believe cremation to be the better mode of disposing of our dead; but before one can approach that question the first thing is to disenchant the world with burial. With people in general this will never be a question of health or utility first; but first a question of sentiment. Overcome, if we can, the prevailing prejudices in favour of burial, and the way is made easier for the discussion of that system, which in the distant future is to supersede inhumation, and which at the present time is known as cremation." (ii)

Following the City Council's referral of the petition, mentioned earlier, to the Sanitary Committee, its Medical Officer, Dr. Nedwill, prepared a report (dated September 1, 1883) which was presented to a meeting of the Council on September 11, 1883. This report, set out below, was to be of vital importance for it heralded the steps for the closure of the Cemetery. As well as giving a good description of the Cemetery as it appeared in the 1880's, it also gives the total number of interments in the Cemetery as at September 1, 1883. Of the total interments of 4,971, 3,693 had been carried out in the Church of England Cemetery, 638 in the Dissenters' Cemetery, and 640 in the Roman Catholic Cemetery. The figures for the Dissenters' and Roman Catholic Cemeteries would, however, have been obtained from the respective burial registers and would presumably not have included burials prior to the establishment of the Dissenters' Cemetery Board in 1875. The report is also of importance since it correctly states the approximate size of the Roman Catholic Cemetery as one and a half acres and that of the Dissenters' Cemetery as three quarters of an acre, and not as one acre respectively as surveyed on Jollie's original plan of Christchurch. Dr. Dedwill's report reads as follows: -

(ii) "Lyttelton Times", 25.8.1883, page 6

from which is fit to create a pestilence". Another, likewise, called for a remedy to "the terrible stench existing between the two cemeteries in Barbadoes Street ... It is of such a nature that one has to hold his nose while passing, in order to escape inhaling it. Among these many letters, was one written by a Mr. C.M. Gray, a member of the Hospital Board. His letter is set out below in full as it not only relates to the health hazards in point but also gives an early impression of the Barbadoes Street Cemetery and burials in general.

"The present unsatisfactory sanitary condition of the neighbourhood immediately contiguous to the Barbadoes Street Cemeteries is fraught with direr consequences than the majority of people are prepared to credit. In the first place, the situation of the burying ground is unfavourable to the purpose for which it is caused. Cemeteries have ever been ruinous to health. Under the best conditions they are not without danger; and all experience shows that the best conditions are every year more difficult of realisation. Read the conditions (Baker p.292): - "Light porous soil, secluded, yet ample space, dry neighbourhood, etc., etc., which alone fit ground for wholesome burial. These conditions are seldom, if ever, met with; and then the very light porous soil, which most promotes speedy decay, is the most poisonous to the neighbouring houses." My earliest recollection of the Christchurch cemetery is that of a swampy 'terra incognita', where we boys from school were wont on a Saturday to proceed on an exploring expedition. At the present day it is little better than a damp, boggy place, full of springs, and abounding in aqueous clay. These conditions, it will be observed, are diametrically opposed to the rules which ought to decide the selection of a burial ground for the dead, and are calculated, on the other hand, sooner or later, to breed a pestilence in the neighbourhood. The living have, over and over again, been poisoned by the buried dead. Many grave diggers in crowded cemeteries have been overpowered on commencing to dig. Let us realise, if we can, the effect of such gases not concentrated, but diffused through the air. We may not smell the gases; but they are there. Dr. Belmi, of Mantua, has lately taken the trouble to bottle the air of some cemeteries in calm weather. He finds it to contain an organic corpuscle, which he calls 'septo pneuma'. This corpuscle, administered in a solution to a pigeon, developed putrid fever and destroyed the bird on the third day. We may breathe the air without smelling it, just as people may drink clear, sparkling cholera water without tasting it, but it may be poison for all that. And water brings me to wells and springs. There is no limit to the poisoning of these in the vicinity of graveyards. In the case of our own cemetery we have not only objectionable odours, offending the olfactory nerves of the passers-by and poisoning the air that is breathed by a large number of the living, but we have also numerous indications of the presence of

"I find that there is an unexpended vote in the late Provincial Estimates of £1,500 for sites for Cemeteries. I think this might hopefully be directed to the purchase of a new Public Cemetery and will point out this to the new Government ... I would recommend your writing direct to the Provincial Secretary and citing my opinion - the application will no doubt be referred to me - and I should recommend that the Government should not itself make any more futile attempts to buy land at a reasonable price in a suitable position but that it should say that the sum will be payable as a subsidy in and of such a sum as would suffice with the subsidy to buy a sufficient area. The City and the several religious bodies are all interested and it would be easy to borrow what was required and secure this subsidy. My idea of a suitable locality is near Bealey's farm on the North Road or near the Middleton Station on the South Line."

Although a meeting was held on April 25, 1878 at the late Provincial Council Chambers, including representatives of the various Christchurch Municipalities, Road Boards and the religious bodies concerned, it was not until 1883 that public pressure was sufficiently aroused to bring about the eventual closing of the Cemeteries and the obtaining of a more suitable site for a new Cemetery.

On August 21, 1883 a petition was read to a meeting of the Christchurch City Council, signed by 41 people in the vicinity of the Cemetery. The petition, set out overleaf, commenced: -

"We the undersigned most respectfully call your attention to the very bad smell arising from the Cemeteries in Barbadoes Street. We think you will agree with us that this must be very hurtful to the health of those that live in their immediate vicinity and also to the general public that have to pass that way. We trust you will do all in your power to relieve us of this very great and serious nuisance."

The City Council referred the matter to the Sanitary Committee and also passed a resolution condemning burials within the city.

The local papers of the day carried many 'Letters to the Editor' criticising the condition and resulting health hazard of the Cemetery. One writer, using the pseudonym, 'Typhus', urged "the importance of inspecting our cemeteries, for at the present time the drainage of one of them is flowing into the side channel in Barbadoes Street, the stench

(3) The Closing of the Cemeteries (1885)

"The living have, over and over again, been poisoned by the buried dead." (i)

Although the pressure for a new Cemetery did not begin in earnest until the early 1880's, the existing site of the Cemeteries in the very heart of the city, were causing concern as early as February 1874. In its Annual Report, forwarded to the Superintendent, the Dissenters' Cemetery Board reported that: -

"The Managers anticipate that at no distant date the Cemeteries within the City will be closed and hope that the subject will continue to receive the attention of the Government with a view to establishing Rural Cemeteries, at as early a date is practicable."

Again, in April, 1875, the Board reported that: -

"... the question whether interments should continue much longer within the boundaries of the city. The Board are strongly and unanimously of opinion that one subject calls for early and serious consideration and respectfully press upon your Honour the advisability of the Government securing a suitable site for a Cemetery even though the cost exceed the sum originally considered to be sufficient. If selected in a convenient locality there is no doubt the fees would recoup a large part of the outlay, beside removing from the populous neighbourhood what may soon become a prolific source of sickness."

At a meeting of the Dissenters' Cemetery Board held on October 1, 1877, the Board considered in length the crowded state of their Cemetery and the necessity for further provision for burials being made. It was resolved that the Treasurer should write to the late Provincial Superintendent, William Rolleston, asking him to place the subject before the Government with a view to promote the purchase of a new site for a Cemetery, and reminding the Government that a sum had been set aside by a vote of the late Provincial Council for this purpose. George Gould also promised to write to Rolleston as well. On October 9, 1877, Rolleston replied stating: -

(i) "Lyttelton Times", 25.8.1883, page 6

(v) Loss of Roman Catholic Cemetery Records

Little is known of the Roman Catholic Cemetery. This is because the majority of records relating to the Cemetery were kept in the Roman Catholic Church in Barbadoes Street which was destroyed by fire on June 3, 1903. The fire was described in the "Tablet" at the time as follows: -

"Shortly before one o'clock on the morning of Tuesday June 3, 1903, the city firebells rang out an alarm, when it was discovered that the Catholic club room, situated near the episcopal residence, Barbadoes street, was in flames, the fire was reducing to ruins the billiard room, a new portion of the building erected about two years previously, and was making its way into the library. This portion of the structure possessed an historic interest, as it was in reality the first Catholic church erected in Christchurch ... Among the many uses the building had been put to, besides the original one, was a school (St. Leo's Academy), residence for the Marist Brothers, library (parochial), societies' meeting place, and the scene of numerous gatherings in which subjects of great interest to the Catholic community had been discussed and settled."

The fire must have destroyed the Cemetery Board's Minute Book, burial registers, Sexton returns, maps and other documents relating to the Cemetery. These records would have provided answers to many questions such as the first recorded burial and the total number of burials in the Cemetery, the reason why a portion of about a quarter of an acre on the northern extent of the Cemetery was never utilised for burials (see page), the reason why the actual size of the Cemetery is approximately one and a quarter acres and that of the Dissenters' Cemetery is approximately three quarters of an acre (see page). The records would also have provided information as to the early years in the development of the Cemetery, the laying out and maintenance of the Cemetery, the Board's enforcement of the rules and regulations, funding, Sextons, the location of graves and the steps taken by the Board on the closure of the Cemetery. The records which have survived relating to the Cemetery and their accuracy are set out in the Appendix to this report.

5. Applications for plots of ground may be made to the managers or the secretary or other person authorised by them to receive the same.

6. All railings or erections of any kind, together with monuments, and inscriptions thereon, to be approved of by the managers.

(iii) Rules and Regulations

The rules and regulations of the Roman Catholic Cemetery Board as published in the Provincial Gazette in September, 1875, and set out below and overleaf, are similar to those of the Dissenters' Cemetery Board. The rules contained fourteen clauses and included provision for the size of graves, the obtaining of exclusive plots, the transfer of plots, a plan of the Cemetery showing burial plots, the keeping of a book of plots sold and a register of burials, burial fees and the giving of notice for burials. It is interesting that the requirement for twenty-four hours notice for burials could be relaxed in cases of epidemic diseases to six working hours. Railings, erections and inscriptions had to be approved of by the Board. There was provision for the remitting of the burial fees in the case of pauper funerals. Not surprisingly there was provision that burials could only take place according to the laws of the Roman Catholic Church and in the presence of a Roman Catholic Priest. There was no express provision for the upkeep of graves but the Board no doubt subsequently provided for the upkeep of graves upon payment of a fee and no doubt added to and altered the rules as the occasion arose.

"Regulations for the Management of the Roman Catholic Cemetery, Barbadoes Street, Christchurch: -

- 1. The Managers appointed by the Superintendent under "The Cemetery Reserve Management Ordinance, 1870", shall have the entire control and management of the said cemetery.*
- 2. The Cemetery shall be divided into burial plots. A plan of the cemetery shall be made showing the plots as laid off, each plot having a separate number.*
- 3. Every grave shall be at least five feet in depth, and in the event of a greater depth being desired, an extra charge of two shillings and sixpence shall be made for every additional foot.*
- 4. Persons desirous of obtaining an exclusive right for twenty-five years in any plot of ground in the cemetery for the purpose of making a grave or vault or erection monuments, may do so at the rate of ten shillings and sixpence per square yard, or the said plot may be bought in perpetuity for the sum of twenty shillings per square yard, each plot of ground, however, shall be used only for interment according to the laws of the Roman Catholic Church.*

(ii) The Setting Up of the Cemetery Board

With the "Cemetery Reserves Management Ordinance 1870" (see pages)
coming into force steps must have been taken by various members of the
Church to initiate the setting-up of a Board to manage the Cemetery for on
September 9, 1875 the following notice was gazetted in the Provincial
Gazette: -

"Provincial Secretary Office
Christchurch, 3rd September, 1875

*HIS Honour the Deputy-Superintendent directs it to
be notified that he has been pleased to appoint the
under-mentioned persons to be Managers of the Cemetery,
situate upon Reserve No. 42, in Barbadoes Street,
Christchurch, viz: -*

Count G. De Lapasture

*Messrs. Charles Bonnington
Alfred John White
William Miles Maskell
James Taafe
John O'Neil
Thomas O'Connell
Joseph Bernard Sheath*

W.M. MASKELL
Provincial Secretary" (i)

The above eight Managers must have been all men of standing in the Catholic
Church. Biographical details of Count Gerard de Lapasture, whose wife is
buried in the Cemetery are set out on pages

in the Lyttelton Cemetery. In his book, "The Church in New Zealand", J.J. Wilson not only states that Bishop Viard blessed and opened the first Catholic Church in Barbadoes Street in 1864 (although he wrongly cites the date and from a reading of the local papers reporting the event Bishop Viard is not mentioned as being present) but also states that "During his stay in the city Bishop Viard blessed the block of land acquired by Father Chataigner for a cemetery in Barbadoes Street north". (ii) Roman Catholic Church law required that cemeteries under the control of the Roman Catholic Church were to be blessed (according to the "Pontificale Romanum"), more commonly referred to as consecration. Once blessed, usually by a bishop, the care and control of the cemetery was then the responsibility of the local Catholic Church whose bishop or religious superior saw to it that the epitaphs, memorial tablets, and memorials reflected the Church's belief that not only the souls but also the bodies of the faithful departed were destined for immortality.

(ii) J.J. Wilson, The Church in New Zealand, The New Zealand Tablet Printing and Publishing Co. Ltd., Dunedin, 1910, page 74

(c) The Roman Catholic Cemetery

(i) The Early Years

According to the first official census in 1854 there were approximately 200 Roman Catholics in Canterbury. Of a total population in 1859 of 12,784, 521 were Roman Catholics. Prior to 1860 "a priest would now and then come from Akaroa, and subsequently from Wellington, in order to keep the lamp of faith burning among the few scattered Catholics in the bays and on the plains". (i) Later immigrants, especially Irish, brought out by the Canterbury Provincial Government substantially increased the number of Roman Catholics so that by 1881, of a total population of 112,182, 12,946 were Roman Catholics.

Roman Catholic religious history in Christchurch can be said to have been started in 1860 when the Right Reverend Dr. Viard, S.M., was consecrated Bishop of Wellington, and in early August of the same year he sent two Marist Fathers to establish a Catholic Mission in Christchurch. They were Father Seon, as Superior, and the Rev. Father Chataigner, as assistant.

On Edward Jollie's map of Christchurch of March 1850 one acre had been set aside for a Roman Catholic Cemetery (Reserve 42) and by a deed dated February 8, 1855 the Provincial Secretary transferred this Reserve to the Members of the Church of Rome for a Cemetery. Although the majority of Roman Catholic records relating to the Cemetery were destroyed by fire on June 3, 1903 (see page), there are still some records in existence and from one of these (in diary form) the oldest recorded burial in the Cemetery took place on September 4, 1860 when Father Seon "... performed the funeral rites on the body of Michael McNamara, about 30 years old, which was buried in the Catholic Cemetery". A day later Father Chataigner "... performed the funeral rights on the body of Margaret Ann Ryan, female child nine weeks old, and she was buried in the Catholic Cemetery of Christchurch". The oldest headstone still standing in the Cemetery is that of Charles Murray who died on March 20, 1865. Other burials must have taken place, however, prior to the first recorded burial in 1860. Burials of Roman Catholics had also taken place

(i) J.J. Wilson, The Church in New Zealand, The New Zealand Tablet Printing and Publishing Co. Ltd., Dunedin, 1910, page 69

(vi) Funds

The Dissenters' Cemetery, because of its small size, aptly illustrates the funding of Cemeteries of the period. At the outset the only regular method of raising funds for the maintenance of the Cemetery came from burial fees and the additional fees obtained from purchasers of exclusive plots. Later, surplus monies could be invested and at a Board meeting held on April 5, 1878, the Treasurer reported having invested £173.4.3 in the Mutual Benefit Building and Investment Society bearing interest at 7%. A Balance Sheet for the year ended December 31, 1874, which was required to be forwarded to the Superintendent, illustrates the financial position of the Cemetery: -

Balance Sheet December 31 1874

1.1.1874 Balance in hand	63.08.05	Fees paid to Sexton	56.12.06
Receipts for interments	71.15.00	Surveyor for plans	7.07.00
Extra fees for exclusive rights	34.17.06	Paid for 1300 loads of earth and labour for spreading	53.02.04
Keeping graves in order	5.00	Stationery and advertising	1.13.08
Refund from Sexton	1.05.00	Sundries, including tools, etc.	7.07.02
		Balance in hand	45.08.03
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	£171.10.11		£171.10.11
	<hr/> <hr/>		<hr/> <hr/>

Balance 1.1.1875

Street Cemetery in 1883 (set out later in this report) he states: -

"The Wesleyan Cemetery contains about three-fourths of an acre ... The Catholic graveyard is ... about 1½ acres in extent ..."

The present-day boundary between the Dissenters' and the Roman Catholic Cemeteries is evident on the Barbadoes Street frontage by the enclosure of the Countess de Lapasture on the southern extent of the Roman Catholic Cemetery and by the Heath family plots on the northern extent of the Dissenters' Cemetery. How the Dissenters came to occupy only about three-quarters of an acre and the Roman Catholics about one and a quarter acres is not known. It is most unlikely that the two religious bodies mutually agreed on a reduction and increase in size of the Cemeteries set aside for them. The boundary question is also interesting in view of the fact that a portion of about a quarter of an acre on the northern extent of the Roman Catholic Cemetery has never been utilised for burial and even today remains laid in lawn. The reason for this is unknown, although it is possible that a chapel was to be erected on this land.

The diagram set out overleaf illustrates the original boundaries of the Dissenters' and Roman Catholic Cemeteries, the actual present-day boundaries and the unused portion of the Roman Catholic Cemetery.

(v) The Boundary Between the Dissenters' and Roman Catholic Cemetery

The present-day boundary between the Dissenters' and Roman Catholic Cemetery does not coincide with the legal descriptions of the Cemeteries. When Edward Jollie laid out Christchurch the Dissenters and Roman Catholics were provided with one acre respectively for burials. The legal description of the Dissenters' Cemetery is: -

'All that parcel of land in the Provincial District of Canterbury, containing by admeasurement 1 acre, more or less, being Section No. 43 (in red), situate in the Borough of Christchurch. Bounded towards the North by Reserve 43 (in red), 200 links; towards the East by Barbadoes Street, 500 links; towards the South by Salisbury Street, 200 links; and towards the West by Lot 157 of the Christchurch Town Reserves, 500 links: as the same is delineated on the plan deposited in the District Survey Office, Christchurch.'

The legal description of the Roman Catholic Cemetery is: -

'All that parcel of land in the Provincial District of Canterbury, containing by admeasurement 1 acre, more or less, being Section No. 42 (in red), situate in the Borough of Christchurch. Bounded towards the North by Lot 158 of the Christchurch Town Reserves, 200 links; towards the East by Barbadoes Street, 500 links; towards the West by Lots 157 and 158 of the Christchurch Town Reserves, 500 links; and towards the South by Reserve 43 (in red), 200 links; as the same is delineated on the plan deposited in the District Survey Office, Christchurch.'

In actuality the area of the Dissenters' Cemetery is less than one acre and more like three-quarters of an acre and the area of the Roman Catholic Cemetery is more than one acre, being more like one and a quarter acres. While Jollie's map of Christchurch accurately depicts the one acre areas for the Dissenters' and Roman Catholic Cemeteries, a map of Christchurch dated 1862 (set out in "Peninsula and Plain" (i)) which was produced by a Christchurch architect and surveyor, C.E. Fooks, illustrates that by that date the area of the Dissenters' Cemetery was smaller than that of the Roman Catholic Cemetery. In Dr. Nedhills' report on the Barbadoes

"The Board of Management of the Barbadoes Street Cemetery beg to report for the information of your honour that there have been 88 interments during the year 1874 (62 children 26 adults) and the accompanying Balance Sheet furnishes a statement of the receipts and expenditure for the same period. The extent of the land is so limited that very nearly all the available portion is occupied and though the Board endeavoured to raise that part which was too low for use by having a quantity of earth (1300 loads) carted thereon, yet it is far from being satisfactory for the purposes required and it is doubtful if it can now be used unless further improvements are effected which would entail considerable expenditure. The Board would have entertained the idea of securing the adjoining section of land and thus enlarge the cemetery, but it is unsuitable and moreover it is a question whether interments should continue much longer within the boundaries of the city ..."

The Cemetery, of course, was never extended and the overcrowding in the Dissenters' Cemetery was of major concern to the Board who took the most active part in calling for the closure of the Barbadoes Street Cemetery, discussed in more detail in a later section of this report.

and Ilex aquipolia. Five hundred Hawthorn quicks were also planted around the boundary of the Cemetery. By 1874, in a copy of the Board's Annual Report forwarded to the Superintendent, the Board was able to report: -

"For the information of His Hon. the Superintendent, the Managers of the Barbadoes Street Cemetery have to report that the condition of the grounds is greatly improved and that they have been marked off for a more regular arrangement of the graves than formerly. The fees received will be devoted during the current year to making further improvements and maintaining all necessary conveniences. The outlay thereon will be regulated by the amount at disposal, but there is every prospect of the funds being equal to any ordinary requirements."

The matter of erecting a boundary fence between the Dissenters' and the Roman Catholic Cemeteries was first raised on June 8, 1872 by the Board and a letter was to be written to the Roman Catholic Cemetery Board asking to join in the expense. No action was taken for on April 15, 1876 the Board was to obtain an estimate of the cost of a boundary fence and that tenders would be considered when particulars were approved. Although large amounts of timber were obtained in the following years, this is thought to have been utilised in erecting fences on the Cemetery's street frontages. The strongest evidence that no boundary fence was ever erected is that the southern extent of Roman Catholic burials is the Countess de Lapasture's enclosure and the northern extent of Dissenters' burials is that of the Heath family plots and that the concrete bases for both would have left no space for a fence to have been erected. It is possible that with the imminent closure of the Cemeteries the Board may have decided that a boundary fence would have been superfluous.

New gates were placed at the entrance of the Cemetery by October 1, 1877 and a picket fence was erected and painted on the ground fronting Salisbury Street by 1879. In August, 1880 William Gimblett, a nurseryman, planted 50 Laurels.

The Cemetery was becoming overcrowded by 1875 and at a meeting on April 15, 1875 in its report to the Superintendent it was stated: -

(iv) The laying-Out and Maintenance of the Cemetery

One of the first steps taken by the Dissenters' Cemetery Board at its first meeting was to obtain from a local architect, S.C. Farr, a plan with details of the existing burial plots occupied. This was prepared for the next meeting on May 11, 1872, and a further more detailed plan was requested to be prepared with suggestions as to general improvement. One of these plans is still in existence (Farr received £7.7.0 for the preparation of the plans) and held by the Methodist Church of New Zealand Archives.

Another step taken at the first meeting was the placing of an advertisement in the local newspapers requesting parties having buried relatives or who may be otherwise interested in the Cemetery or who may be desirous of purchasing grounds to communicate with one of the managers. The advertisement read: -

"BARBADOES STREET CEMETERY
(Lately known as the Wesleyan Cemetery)

PERSONS having Graves, or who may be wishful to Purchase Ground, will please communicate with a Member of the Committee before SATURDAY, 11th, inst., measures being in contemplation for the re-arrangement and improvement of this Cemetery". (i)

In support of this advertisement it was also decided to have a notice placed at the entrance gates requiring all persons wishing to inter to make application personally. Circulars were also printed and distributed.

One of the Board members was the local nurseryman, T. Abbott, whose nursery was on Papanui Road. It was Abbott who was entrusted to undertake the landscaping of the Cemetery - trimming fences, removing trees, clearing paths and the planting of trees. It was from Abbott's "Exeter Nursery" in 1872 that many of the larger trees, many of which are still surviving, were planted. Overleaf is an account forwarded to the Dissenters' Cemetery Board for work carried out by Abbott and among the trees planted were Cypresses, Red Cedars, Lauristinus, Erxicas, Pinus insignis, Variegated Holly, Variegated Euonymus, Ilex catipolia

(iii) Rules and Regulations

At the first meeting of the Dissenter's Cemetery Board held on April 27, 1872, it was resolved, pursuant to the "Cemetery Reserves Management Ordinance 1870", that the rules and regulations of the Cemetery should be in the form set out overleaf. These rules, which were based on those already adopted by the Timaru Cemetery Board, were forwarded to the Superintendent for approval and subsequently published in the Provincial Gazette. The rules contained twelve clauses and similar to the rules of the Church of England Cemetery included provision for the size of graves, the obtaining of exclusive plots, the transfer of plots and the giving of notice for burials. Fuller details of burial fees were set out and the Board had a wide discretion as to the railings or erections of any kind. There was provision for the remitting of the burial fees in the case of pauper funerals or persons in poor circumstances. Pursuant to the Ordinance a plan of the plots was to be kept and numbered, together with a book for every plot sold and a register kept of burials which was to be open for inspections. A portion of the Cemetery was also to be set aside for general interment to the various religious denominations requiring the same. There was no initial provision made for the upkeep of the graves.

At subsequent meetings of the Board in 1872 the rules were expanded and defined. It was decided that the price of plots was to be 7/6 per square yard, graves were to be to a depth of six feet and the top of a coffin was not to be less than four feet from the surface. No headstone or enclosure was to be allowed except on plots purchased for exclusive use. It is interesting to note that no enclosures would appear to have been erected at all, for none have survived - in contrast to the iron railing enclosures found in the Church of England and Roman Catholic Cemeteries. The Board, after visiting the Cemetery on May 25, 1872, set aside a portion of ground to be used for general interment. Persons wishing to have the turf, shrubs and flowers around any grave kept trimmed and in good order were accommodated by the Board upon the payment of 5/- or by special agreement.

convenience, however, the writer has adopted the names the "Dissenters' Cemetery" and the "Dissenters' Cemetery Board" for the purposes of this report.

(ii) The Setting Up of the Cemetery Board

The informal management of the Dissenters' Cemetery came to an end with the enactment of the "Cemetery Reserves Management Ordinance 1870", set out overleaf, which regulated the management of Cemetery Reserves vested in the Provincial Superintendent. Steps must have been taken by various members of the Methodist Church to initiate the setting up of a Board to manage the Cemetery as on August 11, 1871, the Provincial Secretary forwarded to George Gould a copy of the Provincial Gazette notice confirming the appointment of a Board of Managers. The notice stated: -

"I, WILLIAM ROLLESTON, Superintendent of the Province of Canterbury, in pursuance and exercise of the powers vested in me by 'The Cemetery Reserves Management Ordinance 1870', and with the advice of the Executive Council, do hereby appoint the undermentioned persons to be Managers of the Cemetery situated in Barbadoes Street, Christchurch, being Town Section numbered 43 on the Map of Plan of the Chief Surveyor of the said Province: -

GEORGE GOULD

JAMES PURVIS JAMESON

FRANCES JAMES GARRICK

GEORGE BOOTH

THOMAS ABBOTT

Given under my hand at Christchurch, this third day of August, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-one.

WILLIAM ROLLESTON

Superintendent" (i)

The five Managers were all men of some standing and were to look after the Cemetery's interests until its closure, the only substitution being that of Frances Garrick for E.C. Mouldey in 1874. (ii) The Board held 14 meetings between April 27, 1872 and November 28, 1884. At the first meeting held on April 27, 1872 George Gould was elected Chairman and it was in his office, known as 'Cookham House', that the board met from time to time. The first resolution passed at this meeting was that the name of the Cemetery should be "The Barbadoes Street Cemetery". For

(i) New Zealand Government Gazette, Province of Canterbury,
Vol. XVIII, 9.8.1871, No. XXXIV, page 204

(ii) New Zealand Government Gazette, Province of Canterbury,
Vol. XXI, 2.6.1874, No. XXVII, page 162

(b) The Dissenters' Cemetery

(i) The Early Years

Although Edward Jollie, in laying out Christchurch, had set aside one acre as a Dissenters' Cemetery (Reserve 43), it was not until a deed dated March 14, 1856 that the Provincial Secretary transferred this land upon trust for a Cemetery to the Dissenters of the Town and District of Christchurch. It was realised as early as 1849 that there would be Dissenters in the colony. In a leading article in "The Times" on December 19, 1849, this was pointed out:

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

Until the Dissenters' Cemetery Board was set up in 1871 and until burials were recorded by the Board, commencing June 26, 1872, very little is known of the early years of the management of the Cemetery and of how many burials took place. As is pointed out earlier on page the first funeral was probably that of Mary Ann Philpott who died on July 1, 1854. From reading tombstone transcripts up until the first recorded burial of William Unwin (buried June 26, 1872) at least 38 funerals took place. Obviously, though, a great many more funerals had taken place.

The early management of the Dissenters' Cemetery must have been informally controlled by members of the Wesleyan and Methodist Church and as is evident by the Dissenters' burial register the following denominations were buried there: Methodist, Wesleyan, Primitive Methodist, Congregationalist, Baptist, Christian, Church of England, Church of Christ, Presbyterian, Plymouth Brethren, Independent, Christian Israelite, Free Methodist, Disciple of Christ, Non-conformist, Bible Christian, Salvationist.

regulation depth. Two years later at a Board meeting on October 9, 1876 not only was no minister in attendance when the coffin was brought to the Cemetery but because of the state of the ground the grave collapsed and protracted the ceremony. The Board decided that as the deceased had not been interred by his brother at the required depth an additional plot adjacent should be given to him without payment.

Corpses in the Chapel

At a Board meeting on January 4, 1875 the Board had to consider whether a corpse could be placed in the Chapel on the evening prior to interment. The Chairman replied that as the situation was not covered in the Rules and Regulations the Board would not hold themselves responsible for its safe custody.

Preaching in the Cemetery

At a Board meeting on June 7, 1871 the Secretary reported that a Mr. Binstead, a stationer of Cashel Street, was in the habit of conducting religious dissertations and distributing pamphlets in the Cemetery on Sundays, these being not always in accordance with the teachings of the Church of England. It was resolved by the Board that the Secretary should write to Binstead requesting him to discontinue the practice.

Burials in Wrong Plots

The burial of persons in plots reserved for other people was not an uncommon occurrence and on November 25, 1867 the Board received a complaint from a Mr. Pratt that his child was mistakenly buried by the Sexton in a plot allotted to himself. It is not known quite why he objected to this, but object he did, and he sought the consent of the Board to disinter the remains of his child to another plot. The Board resolved that the Chairman and Secretary should call and explain the Board's reluctance of disintering the body and offering another plot to Pratt free of charge. Pratt refused to accept the offer and it was not until almost two years later that the Bishop consented to Pratt's application for disinterment. At a Board meeting on October 11, 1869 the Secretary confirmed that the disinterment had taken place under his supervision and that Pratt had given the sum of £3.3.0 (the value of the original plot) for charitable purposes, which had been expended upon labour in the Cemetery.

Collapsing Graves

Because of the poor drainage in the Cemetery there were many occasions when prepared graves either collapsed prior to a funeral or became filled with water. At a Board meeting on October 8, 1874 a minister complained of the want of sufficient drainage in the Cemetery and cited the case of a funeral at which he officiated recently where the grave collapsed and was half full of sand and water before the coffin could be lowered. The Chairman stated that on receiving information of this from the Sexton he went to the Cemetery on the following morning and reinterred the coffin at the

she took them. The police knew nothing about her; but he felt bound to tell the Bench that several persons were complaining very bitterly about robbery from graves. The Rev. E.A. Lingard said this kind of thing had been going on for a long time ... there were continual thefts every week. As to the present case, he believed this young woman had only been here a short while. She had been a servant in the employ of the Rev. Mr. Hoatson, Congregational Minister, and he believed she was engaged to be married on Saturday next. He asked the Bench not to imprison accused. The Rev. Mr. Hoatson said he could not give accused a very good character as to speaking the truth, but he believed with a home and husband to look after her she would do well. She had been recommended to him by the Agent-General when he left England, and he was bound to say he had not been satisfied with her. He felt sure, however, that she could not have been to the Cemetery for this purpose before, as she had only just left his employment. The Bench said this larceny from graves was very distressing to relatives. It had been going on a long time, and if they were not convinced from Mr. Hoatson's statement that accused had not been guilty previously, she would have been severely dealt with. As it was, a conviction would be recorded, and she would be released on her own surety to come up for sentence when called upon. If she offended in any way again this would be remembered against her. The accused, who had been crying bitterly while in the dock, was then removed, exclaiming that she did not know what persuaded her to do it, and begging Mr. Hoatson to forgive her." (iii)

Pauper Funerals

The cost of pauper funerals was usually borne by the Government on application by the Cemetery Board for reimbursement. In 1869 the Church of England Cemetery Board had reason to write to the Government complaining of the fact that the Contractor for Pauper Funerals did not always bury paupers of the Church of England in the Church of England Cemetery. The Contractor of Pauper Funerals in Christchurch during this period was an undertaker, W. Fuhrmann, and an occurrence on February 25, 1870 at the Cemetery gave rise to a further complaint. At a pauper funeral the coffin immediately burst as it was being taken from the hearse with the result that the coffin together with the remains of the pauper could not be taken into the Chapel for the Service. As this was not the first occasion on which this had occurred "the Board instructed the Secretary to write to Mr. Fuhrmann ... and to inform him that a complaint would be made to the Government if the same thing happened again".

(ix) Problems and Complaints

In the management of the Church of England Cemetery the Board had to deal with a variety of problems and complaints which periodically arose. Set out below are a number of such instances in which the Board was involved.

Stealing from the Cemetery

The first reported case of an offence committed in the Cemetery was reported in the "Press" in 1866:

"Elizabeth Wright and Sarah Middleton, two well-known characters in Christchurch, who have been convicted before, were brought up in custody charged with wilfully destroying property in the Cemetery. From the evidence, it appeared that the prisoners were found picking the flowers off the graves in the Cemetery. The Resident Magistrate fined prisoners £1 each, and remarked that in all other cases of a similar nature, he should inflict the highest penalty. In default of payment prisoners were sentenced to 96 hours' imprisonment, with hard labour." (i)

Three years later a Richard Lewis, who was charged with larceny, did in fact receive "the highest penalty". Joseph Snell, the Sexton of the Cemetery, found Lewis walking round the Cemetery and, suspecting from his manner something was wrong, he stopped him as he was leaving. In Lewis's possession were found several plants, some of which had just been planted. The "Press" reported the Magistrate's finding that as "this was the prisoner's second appearance before him on a charge of larceny, ... he would now be sentenced to three months' imprisonment at hard labour". (ii)

A third, and most interesting, case of stealing from the Cemetery occurred in 1884 and was fully covered by the "Lyttelton Times":

"Emily Cane was charged with stealing a tumbler, a jug, two flower-pots, and a vase, value 4/-, the property of the Church of England Cemetery Trustees. Accused pleaded guilty. She said she knew she had done wrong, and begged for forgiveness. Inspector Pender said the girl had been seen by some men to take away the articles above mentioned from a grave in the Cemetery. When charged at the time she said she did not know what brought her there nor why

(i) "Press", 31.10.1866, page 2

(ii) "Press", 10.2.1869, page 2

superimposed on the diagram by the writer. The recommendation of the design and siting of the Cottage was adopted by the Board but the actual building was deferred until there was sufficient funds in hand. This occurred on May 23, 1871 when the plans and specifications prepared by Mr. Anthony were adopted and tenders were called for. Of the eight tenders received, ranging from £127.5.0 to £230.0.0, the lowest was accepted as submitted by Thomas Greig. Mr. Anthony prepared the building contract and supervised the work which was completed in December 1871 for which he received £10. A kitchen range was installed in the Cottage as an extra at a cost of £10 and the Cottage was insured for £150. The first Sexton to occupy the Cottage was Robert Laycock, and, suprisingly perhaps, the house rent previously paid to the Sextons was continued. This Cottage stood for approximately 50 years until it was demolished and a new house built on the same site in the 1920's.

Diagram illustrating siting of Sexton's Cottage

(viii) Sexton's Cottage

When the advertisement, previously set out, was placed in the "Press" on October 25, 1862 calling for subscriptions for the building of a Chapel in the Cemetery, it was also pointed out that the monies received would be used:

"... in the erection of a Cottage to be occupied by a keeper of the Cemetery ... The Established cost of building ... the Cottage £150. The latter is much needed as the residence of a person whose duty it should be to keep the ground in order, and prevent the occurrence of mischief, trespass, and disorderly conduct." (i)

Subscriptions received, while sufficient for the erection of the Chapel, were insufficient for the building of a Sexton's Cottage and it was not until the tenth meeting of the Cemetery Board that the matter was raised again when a Sub-Committee was appointed to select a design for a Cottage. In the meantime the Sexton received an additional £25 per annum for house rent. During the next three years the matter of a Cottage was delayed until February 25, 1870 when the Sexton's Cottage Sub-Committee was instructed to consider what further steps should be taken in regard to a Cottage for the Sexton. On March 7, 1870 the Sub-Committee reported that they "strongly recommended that the building of the Cottage be proceeded with at once" and that they had examined "the Schoolhouse on the Ferry Road, and recommend the Board to accept Mr. Anthony's tender for £180, for a similar Cottage for the Sexton; and that it be built as a Lodge, immediately within the Entrance Gate of the proposed Cemetery, on the right hand side". The Sub-Committee's reference to "the proposed Cemetery" refers to its suggestion as to the taking-in of further Cemetery land for burials as the original portion of two acres was becoming overcrowded. The Sub-Committee supplied a diagram setting out the proposed site of the Cottage together with further land for burials. Only a portion of this further land (marked "A" and "B" on the diagram overleaf, photocopied from the Board's Minute Book) was actually utilised for burials and this is illustrated by a dotted line

(i) "Press", 25.10.1862, page 8

gratuitous payment of £5 to Mrs. Aldridge, the Sexton's wife,
"for her attention and care at the Cemetery on various occasions,
especially in protecting the flowers from the hand of spoilers".

Throughout this period he suffered from ill-health and in 1872 the Board received a letter from Dr. Deamer, Physician at the Christchurch Hospital, stating: "I hereby certify that Mr. Laycock is still suffering from the effects of his late severe illness and that at present he is not fit to dig graves as it puts too great a strain upon his body. I am likewise of opinion if he is relieved from this duty for a few months he will be able in all probability to regain his strength and be enabled to carry on his work as usual." Due to his absence from work the Board advertised for an Under-Sexton in 1872 and of the 22 applicants William Mannings was selected. When he resigned six months later W. Freeman was chosen from 18 applicants. Laycock's health must have improved during this period for he was not only appointed a special constable but also entered into many arguments with Under-Sexton Freeman, the end result of which both resigned in July 1875. When Laycock subsequently applied for a testimonial from the Board the Chairman was "instructed to give R. Laycock a testimonial in general terms" only. Later, in 1878, when the Board was informed of Laycock's bad health he was given the sum of £10, "he being an old servant and in bad health". On the resignation of Laycock and Freeman the positions of Head Sexton (with a salary of £150 per annum and a Cottage) and Under-Sexton (with a salary of £120 per annum) were advertised. From the 39 applications for Head Sexton, John Guntrip was selected and from the 31 applications for Under-Sexton, Joseph Wolfreys was selected. In 1876 Guntrip resigned and John Bunt was appointed in his place.

When the Cemetery was closed in 1885 three Sextons were employed but by November 24, 1886, with the resultant decline in burials, the Board decided to terminate their employment and advertise inviting "applications for a Sexton to undertake the duties of occasional grave digging and the keeping the Cemetery in order to the satisfaction of the Board ... £150 together with Cottage". From 46 applications Thomas Aldridge was chosen. His salary was reduced by £25 in 1888 presumably as a result of the still declining demand for burials. The last reference to Sextons in the Board's Minute Book appears on April 10, 1890 when the Board made a

(vii) Sextons

The Church of England Cemetery Board's Minute Book evidences that the Board spent a disproportionate amount of time in advertising for, selecting, dealing with resignations, and controlling Sextons. Even minor matters such as the amount paid for a new spade (4/-) for the Sexton, "he having accidentally broken a new one two days after being purchased", and the provision of boots for the Sexton for use in wet graves and unfavourable weather, "to remain the property of the Cemetery Board", are dealt with. Generally the Sexton's duties included the preparation of graves before and after burial, the upkeep and maintenance of the Cemetery and the collection of burial fees. As well as a salary the Sextons were paid an additional amount, usually 5/-, for grave digging on Sundays. Sextons were also regulated by Clause 12 of the Church of England Cemetery Rules and Regulations, 1867, which provided that:

"The Sexton is not permitted to receive any gratuity, on pain of dismissal; and all complaints of inattention or incivility are to be made to the Secretary."

Prior to the establishment of the Cemetery Board in 1867 a part-time Sexton had been employed. At the third meeting of the Board held on May 10, 1867, the Board informed the part-time Sexton, Mr. Sheriff, that his agreement was to be terminated and proceeded to advertise for a new Sexton who was prepared to devote the whole of his time to the Cemetery. The advertised salary was to be £100 per annum with an additional £25 for house rent until a Sexton's Cottage had been built. The position of Sexton must have been an attractive one for 48 applications were received. Six of the applicants were personally interviewed and on June 6, 1867 Joseph Snell was selected. When he resigned in 1869 (he was offered a £5 gratuity which he later desired "might be given to him in the shape of a watch") the Board again advertised the position, this time receiving 49 applications. The successful applicant was Robert Laycock, who was the first Sexton to occupy the Sexton's Cottage built in 1871, and who served for six years until he resigned after continual disagreements with the Under-Sexton.

Linked with the extensions made to the Cemetery was the necessity for the preparation of accurate maps of the Cemetery. The maps prepared not only showed burials but also those plots reserved for later interment. By 1869 the Secretary submitted to the Board a new map of the Northern portion of the Cemetery and stated that he was engaged upon a map of the Southern portion, which was completed in 1870. At a Board meeting on October 7, 1872 the Secretary stated that there had been, prior to the establishment of the Board in 1867, 300 persons buried for which the position of the graves was unknown. As it was considered desirable to have a complete set of maps showing the position of these unknown graves an advertisement was placed in the local newspapers calling the attention of friends of any deceased person to provide information to the Secretary. In 1873 the Board advertised for a permanent Secretary and Treasurer and from the 30 applicants J. Arthur Templer was chosen. One of Templer's duties was of course to continue the keeping of accurate maps as extensions were made to the Cemetery. Templer proved to be less than satisfactory and in 1876 the Board appointed Messrs Thomson & Meddings to examine whether the records kept of burial plots were sufficient to guard against mistakes. Mr. Meddings reported three months later and "attached much blame to the Secretary for his mismanagement of the maps of the Cemetery". Templer's employment was terminated in 1877 and the Board authorised the Chairman "to employ a competent person to complete the Cemetery maps". Fourteen of these maps of the Cemetery are still in existence (11 held by the Christchurch Public Library and three held by the Christchurch Anglican Church). The maps, particularly those of the original southern portion of two acres, illustrate the curved pathways no longer distinguishable, the position and shape of the Chapel and the ornamental areas planted in trees. Of more practical importance to many, the maps show the position of graves where headstones no longer exist.

This "annexed plan" which the Committee refers to is set out on page of this report. This fourth portion (numbered 4) of approximately one and a quarter acres was laid out for burials in 1870 and a path and fence was constructed connecting the two Cemeteries. The area of land between was leased and in 1871 a Sexton's Cottage was built on the eastern boundary of the Cemetery. The area behind the Sexton's Cottage was never used for burials. The construction of a second Chapel on this fourth portion was mooted at this time but nothing ever eventuated. At a Board meeting on January 6, 1873 "the Secretary submitted to the Board a plan for enlarging the Cemetery to the extent of about 1½ acres and stated that it was absolutely necessary that the work be proceeded with at once". Tenders for the levelling of this fifth portion (numbered 5) were called for and the successful tenderer, Dell & Rhodes, completed the work by April 1873 at a cost of £55.7.6. At a Board meeting held on January 6, 1879 it is recorded "that for the enlargement of the Cemetery, the Chairman should cause to be taken in a square Hoch of land of about one acre, commencing West of the land taken in". This proposed sixth portion (numbered 6) was never set aside for burials as by this time it was obvious that the Cemetery was to be closed in the near future.

of grass seed for sowing down the Cemetery since it had been levelled ... Tenders to be invited for sinking artesian well in the new Cemetery ... nine chains of the gorse fence on the Reserve had been accidentally burnt and would have to be replaced ... £10 to be expended in draining the new ground ... New seats in Chapel to be stained and varnished ... Two large blue gums and any willows that were in the way to be cut down ... Attention was drawn to the neglected state of the Cemetery Chapel, more especially the cobwebs on the roof-boards."

Of particular concern to the Board up until the closure of the Cemetery in 1885 was the continual need to make provision for extensions to the Cemetery for burial purposes. It must be pointed out that of the original area of 22 acres and 2 roods set aside for the Church of England Cemetery Reserve only 5 acres, 2 roods and 14 perches was actually utilised for burials. What happened to the balance of the Cemetery Reserve is discussed in more detail in a later section of this report. The diagram set out overleaf illustrates the five steps by which the Cemetery was extended for burials. The first portion of the Cemetery to be set aside for burials (numbered 1) consisted of a southern area of one acre south of the Chapel. This area catered for burials between 1851 and 1864. The second portion to be set aside (numbered 2) and utilised for burials between 1864 and 1869 was an area of one acre to the north of the Chapel. By the time the Cemetery Board was established in 1867 these two areas were overcrowded and on July 12, 1869 the Board resolved that "The piece of ground on the East side of the Cemetery between the Chapel and the tool-shed be used for the purposes of burial". This third portion (numbered 3) was by October 1869 marked off for burials. As this third area was only approximately a quarter of an acre, at a Board meeting on March 7, 1870, a special Committee stated that:

"Taking into consideration the fact that more ground is required immediately for the purpose of burial, the Committee recommend that the whole of the Paddock (now leased to Mr. Bowron), situate North and East of the present Cemetery, and marked "A" on the annexed plan, should be put into use for burial purposes, and the plots of ground regularly marked out."

(vi) The Maintenance of and Extensions to the Cemetery

By the time the Church of England Cemetery Board was established in 1867 the Cemetery had already been "tastefully laid out, and well kept". Burials in the elevated southern portion of the Cemetery of two acres amounted to over 1,000, fences had been erected, paths laid and trees and shrubs planted. At a preliminary meeting to the establishment of the Cemetery Board held on March 22, 1867 among the immediate matters discussed were the question of enlarging the Cemetery, the obtaining of the terms of lease granted to Bowron for the unused Cemetery lands, the obtaining of a book with sketches of a gate for the Cemetery entrance on Barbadoes Street and an advertisement to be placed in the local papers giving notice to persons holding reserved plots that the same should be paid before April 20, 1867 otherwise the plots would be reallocated. It is not possible to detail all the measures taken by the Board throughout the period of its management of the Cemetery in maintaining the grounds but a random selection of actions, gleaned from the Board's Minute Book, is set out below:

"Secretary to apply to the City Surveyor to put pegs marking the boundary of the Cemetery on Barbadoes Street prior to fence being altered ... Secretary to purchase 2,000 one year old quicks, tool shed put up and sundry work done ... Recommendation of lynch gate for entrance at the established cost of £26 to be erected ... Rev. Hoare to obtain designs of headstones and railings ... Letter to be forwarded to City Council requesting the repair and metalling of that part of Barbadoes Street near the cemetery ... Rev. Hoare promised to purchase some shrubs at a sale ... Secretary to have a board affixed in the Cemetery warning persons not to bring in dogs ... five posts to be placed on the edge of the footpath in Barbadoes Street for the purpose of tying up of horses ... Approved improvements ordered by the Secretary (removal of trees on East side, slope bank, plant same with shrubs) ... Steps to be placed in the Cemetery grounds on the terraces ... Thanked Mr. Wilson for Cypresses planted in Cemetery ... Secretary to have a path made along the western side of the Cemetery in the centre of the present burial ground and have the plots readjusted accordingly ... Flax on the piece of land adjoining the Cemetery on the North side to be cleared ... a gate to be placed on the East side of the Cemetery in the new fence ... Mr. Wilson had given 80 lbs

of railings, originally two feet six inches, was increased to three feet and the size of posts, originally three feet, was increased to three feet six inches. The size of headstones, originally four feet, was increased to six feet. Although originally the height of headstones was strictly adhered to - in one case where an application had been made to erect a headstone in memory of a Mr. C. Turner, the Board stated, "The Rule having been enforced in other cases must be enforced in this" - the Board, as is evident from the many large headstones and memorials still standing today, allowed headstones and memorials to be erected far in excess of the rules. Of some interest is the Board's consideration of applications for inscriptions to be placed on headstones. In 1871 the Board, after considerable discussion, agreed to an application for the following inscription to be placed upon a headstone:

*"She is gone from this valley of fears,
T'was Jesus that called her away;
She is gone to the Lord her Redeemer,
From night to the splendour of day."*

In 1872 James Flint desired the following inscription placed on a headstone in the plot of ground allotted to him:

*"God my Redeemer lives
And even from the skies
Looks down and watches all my dust
Till He shall bid it rise."*

The Chairman, through the exercise of a casting vote, postponed consideration of the above application which was subsequently declined. It is interesting to note that in 1872 an application for a photograph to be inserted in a headstone was considered but rejected.

(v) Rules and Regulations

One of the first duties of the clerical members of the Christchurch Cemetery Board was to agree upon rules and regulations for the future management of the Cemetery. These were drawn up, agreed upon and forwarded to the Diocesan Secretary in Wellington for the approval of the Standing Committee. Once approved, the rules were printed and widely publicised. The rules (dated June 10, 1867), set out overleaf, contained twelve clauses and included the necessity for a correct Church of England burial service, burial and sexton's fees, the obtaining of exclusive family plots, the size of graves, the giving of notice to the sexton, memorials, inscriptions and the size of headstones, and various other clauses concerning the preparation and upkeep of graves.

These rules served the Cemetery, with alterations being made occasionally and approved by the Standing Committee, until the closing of the Cemetery in 1885. These new rules, also set out overleaf, were printed and publicised incorporating the important new clause 12.

"12. As the Cemetery is "closed" under the provisions of "The Cemeteries Act 1882", no person who is not within the degrees of relationship of Husband, Wife, Parent, Child, Brother or Sister of a deceased person who was buried in this Cemetery before the closing thereof, the date of which was the 1st April, 1885, may now be buried therein."

In general there was very little difficulty in enforcing the rules and regulations. Of the alterations made to the rules and their application the most important were the size of infant graves, the size of railings, posts and headstones and the consideration given to applications for inscriptions to be placed on headstones. At a time of high infant-mortality it soon became apparent to the Board that if full-sized graves for infants were insisted upon the whole of the present Cemetery would soon be taken up. Although there was a portion of the Cemetery where infants were generally buried, this was not always acceptable to surviving parents, and the Standing Committee sanctioned the marking-off of half and quarter plots. The size

(iv) The Setting Up of the Cemetery Board

In 1867 the informal management of the Church of England Cemetery by the local parishes came to an end and a Board was established for the future management of the Cemetery. A preliminary meeting was held on March 22, 1867, at the City Council Office to initiate steps to constitute a Board. Those present were the Dean of Christchurch Henry John Chitty Harper, Rev. Henry Jacobs, Rev. O'Brien, Rev. Hoare, Rev. Maps, Rev. Lowther, Rev. March, Rev. Gordon and Doctor Deamer. The first meeting proper was held eight days later at the City Council Office on March 30, when the Board received a copy of a resolution agreed to by the Diocesan Standing Committee in Wellington at a meeting on March 26 whereby the Christchurch Cemetery Board was formally constituted. For convenience the Christchurch Cemetery Board is referred to in this report as the Church of England Cemetery Board. Future meetings of the Board were held monthly, alternatively in the parishes of St. Michaels, St. Johns, and St. Lukes, until May 1868, when it was decided to hold quarterly meetings. The final meeting of the Board took place on July 10, 1900 at which date the control and administration of the Cemetery was handed over to the Church Property Trustees. At the commencement of each meeting prayers were read and at the conclusion of each meeting "Visitors" were appointed from the Board to visit the Cemetery to ensure that the Board's directions were carried out.

of graves, having been quite recently laid out and sown with grass; the other half is already thickly studded with tombstones, beside which droop tall willows, weeping over the mortal remains of the relatives and friends of some of our earliest settlers. Many of the graves are carefully kept and strewn with fresh-gathered flowers, the tribute of loving hearts to the memory of their dead.

At 12 o'clock, the Bishop, attended by the Archdeacon of Akaroa, the Rev. H. Jacobs, curate of Christchurch, and four other clergymen, met the parishioners of Christchurch at the entrance of the Chapel, where a petition was read in their name by the curate, praying his Hordship to proceed to the consecration. A procession was then formed of the clergy and parishioners, two and two, headed by the Bishop, and in this order all walked round the Cemetery enclosure, repeating alternatively with the Bishop, the verses of the XVI., XC., and other appropriate Psalms. Returning to the Chapel, the whole party entered the building, and after the deed of consecration had been duly read and signed, the prayers of consecration were offered, and a suitable address made by the Bishop, in the course of which he referred to the sanctity which has ever attached to burial places in all ages and countries, as far back as the times of the Patriarchs, and impressed in earnest language the solemn lesson conveyed by the surrounding tokens of mortality. After the Old Hundreth had been sung, more heartedly and better than we have heard it for years, the Holy Communion was administered to about twenty-five persons, the Rev. H. Jacobs officiating on the south side of the altar. The collection at the offertory, to be applied to the lining of the building, was between six and seven pounds." (ii)

(iii) Consecration of the Cemetery

Although burials had taken place in the Church of England Cemetery since 1851 the Cemetery was not in fact consecrated until June 23, 1863 by Bishop Harper, and then only on very short notice. A day before, the following advertisement was placed in the "Press":

"The Lord Bishop of Christchurch proposes (weather permitting) to consecrate the portion of the Church of England Cemetery of Christchurch at present enclosed, and the Cemetery Chapel, on Tuesday, the 23rd instant. The service will commence on the ground at half-past 11 a.m. The Holy Communion will be administered.

*Henry Jacobs
Curate."*

The clergy who attended the consecration were the Bishop of Christchurch, Bishop Harper, the Archdeacon of Akaroa, the Venerable Octavius Mathias, the Rev. Messrs. Jacobs, Dudley, Harper, Bowen and Fearon. A report of the consecration in the "Press" commented tersely on the fact that so few of the parishioners were present:

"The attendance of laity was very small. It is to be regretted that when this cemetery has remained unconsecrated since the foundation of the settlement, it should have been thought necessary to perform the ceremony in the middle of the winter, when many were of course prevented from taking part in an out-of-door service, who would otherwise have attended." (i)

The fullest report on the consecration of the Cemetery appeared in the "Lyttelton Times":

"On Tuesday, the 23rd of June, the Lord Bishop of Christchurch performed the ceremony of consecrating the enclosed portion of the Church of England Cemetery, together with a small chapel which has recently been erected on it. The day was gloomy and threatening, and this, along with the muddy state of the roads after the late heavy rains, probably prevented a large number of persons from attending. The enclosure comprises upwards of two acres of ground, and is well situated on a high ridge overlooking the Avon, just outside the eastern boulevard of Christchurch. One-half is empty

(4) DEMOLITION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND MORTUARY CHAPEL

"The little old chapel stands peacefully in the centre of grassy lawns and shady English trees, the Avon river, bordered by weeping-willows, runs behind it and all about it are the remaining headstones of the Barbadoes Street Cemetery --- the oldest in Christchurch". (i)

So wrote a reporter of the "New Zealand Free Lance" on an inspection of the chapel a year before its demolition. By 1954 the old story of no funds and the concern of too few people had resulted in all sections of the Cemetery being neglected and subject to vandalism. The chapel porch was the scene of many "bottle parties" which was an annoyance to residents. Five years previously the chapel had been found to be infested with borer and not worth repairing, with the result that the City Council on the recommendation of the Parks and Reserves Department proposed to demolish it. Prominent citizens and an architect protested vigorously against the destruction of the chapel:

"... for its modest walls enshrine so much of the history of the settlement of the Canterbury Province. Within its walls, the final rites of the Church were given to many of the earliest pioneers to whom the city of Christchurch owes so much". (ii)

In November 1954 the City Council adhered to its decision, the Parks and Reserves Department reporting that earlier representatives of the Church Property Trustees, the Canterbury Pilgrims' and Early Settlers' Association and councillors present at an inspection had decided unanimously the chapel was not worth repairing. However, Mr A. Wall advised the City Council of an architect's opinion that for about [†]£300 the chapel could be preserved for at least another 50 years. "I, and several other citizens with whom I have discussed the matter would welcome your assurance that this interesting and beautiful little monument will not be allowed to perish by neglect and we look forward to its early

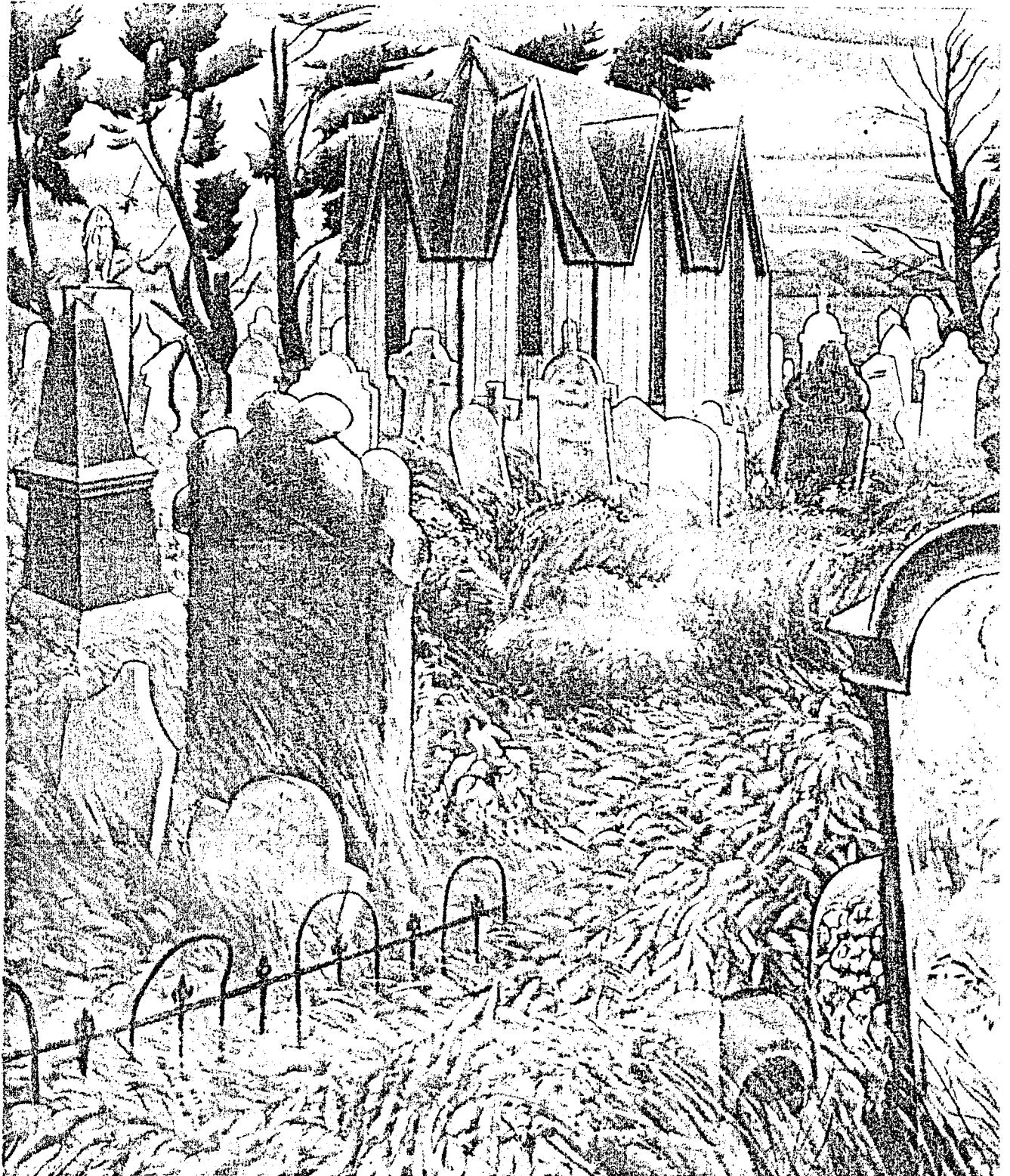
(i) "New Zealand Free Lance", 3.11.1954.

(ii) "New Zealand Free Lance", 3.11.1954.

and even on one occasion, girl guides, have given valuable practical assistance, but in the main, the basic problem of coping with a large number of neglected graves and deteriorating headstones, remains.

Concurrent with this is the attention the Cemetery receives from vandals and over the years, headstones have been defaced, toppled, broken and in other ways damaged. As part of a Council programme to upgrade the Cemetery, in 1970 decrepit Hawthorn hedges were removed and replaced with a combination of Halswell stone walling and bollards, to be in keeping with the general surround of the cemetery. In Cambridge Terrace a plaque was placed in the stone wall in memory of the early settlers.

Many of the chapel tiles, mentioned in an earlier section of this report and thought to have been brought out in the First Four Ships, were collected by the late Mrs A.V. Oliver when the chapel was demolished. In an article in the "Star" on April 27, 1966, Mr Oliver of 173A Springfield Road is reported to have said: "My wife brought them home and they are in the shed. If anyone wants them, they can come and get them". Unfortunately this offer does not appear to have



restoration", wrote Mr Wall.

In January, 1955, the City Council had stayed its hand to the point of meeting citizens outside the chapel. Although the objectors submitted that only a few of the rafters were in need of replacement, and that the chapel could be preserved for £300, the feeling of councillors was that £1,000 would not cover the cost. The Director of the Parks and Reserves Department, Mr M.J. Barnett, pointed out extensive borer in the principals, the sagging foundations, the dry rot in the vertical



weatherboards and barge boards and the unknown cost of reroofing. The chapel which was originally roofed with shingles had been covered with iron and the iron, like the rest of the chapel, was now in bad condition. Not one leadlight window was intact. The informal representations of the objectors opened rather unpromisingly when a woman, on being told that the Council proposed ultimately to make the cemetery a garden of rest, replied that once the chapel was demolished the Council would turn the Cemetery into a factory site. "That is only incensing us", Miss Mabel Howard M.P., replied. "If you are going to talk that way, well ---". The chapel was described as "a little architectural gem", which if repaired, would add culture to any future garden area. One woman said that she was sure that if an appeal were made for subscriptions to preserve the chapel the public would respond. When Mr Barnett and others, using pocket knives and hands, demonstrated that the timbers were rotting in many places, one woman made the suggestion that the chapel should be reconstructed in stone. The objectors held that because of its historic interest the chapel should be preserved, as was being done in England. Mr Barnett replied that he did not know of one old wooden chapel in England which was preserved; they were all of stone. Miss Howard, in concluding, said that "If a group of citizens feel that they can raise the money, they should be given the opportunity". No harm would be done in postponing the carrying out of the decision to demolish the chapel until the National Historic Places Trust was formed in April.

Unfortunately, nothing eventuated, and later in the year, on the recommendation of the Parks and Reserves Department, the Council decided to demolish the chapel. On November 1, 1955, the chapel was destroyed.

The stained glass windows in the chapel, which were memorials to the early pioneers, were offered to the Canterbury Pilgrims' and Early Settlers' Association, who accepted the offer and stated that it would offer them to the St. Mark's Church in Opawa.

Bishop Henry John Chitty Harper

Henry Harper (1804 - 1893), the first Bishop of Christchurch and the second Primate of New Zealand, was born at Gasport, Hampshire. His father, Tristram Harper, was a physician, and belonged to a Worcestershire family. Educated in the first place at Hyde Abbey school, Winchester, Harper went on to Queen's College, Oxford, where he graduated B.A., in 1826, and M.A. in 1834.

After his first degree Harper went as 'conduct' or chaplain, to Eton College (where his coadjutor was Selwyn). At Eton he showed characteristics which pointed him out as a man for high preferment. He was the leading instigator in many reforms at the College, and when he left he received testimonials from the authorities, and from the people of the parish of Eton, which showed the high esteem in which he was held. He was at Eton College from 1831 to 1836, and curate in charge of the parish till 1840. Meanwhile Harper was ordained deacon in 1831 and priest in 1832. In 1840 Eton College presented him with the living of Stratfield-Mortimer, in Berkshire, where he remained until he was designated Bishop of Christchurch. At the close of his incumbency an English journal described that Harper "combined in a remarkable degree the most spotless integrity and pureness of life, firmness and sweetness of temper, largeness of views, and unflagging zeal, ever accompanied by prudence and moderation". It was on Selwyn's advice that he read for holy orders, and years later Selwyn strongly recommended Harper as the man for the bishopric of Christchurch. Accordingly a meeting of churchmen, held in Lyttelton in 1855, decided to petition the Queen asking that Harper should be appointed. The Royal letters patent were duly issued, and on August 10, 1856, he was consecrated by Archbishop Sumner in the chapel at Lambeth Palace. At the same time he became a doctor of divinity.

With his wife and family Harper sailed in the ship 'Egmont', which on December 23, 1856 arrived in Lyttelton. The scene at the meeting of Selwyn and Harper is depicted in one of the sculptured panels of the pulpit in Christchurch Cathedral. On Christmas Day Harper was enthroned in the Church of St. Michael and All Angels, which became the pro-cathedral of the diocese. By letters patent of the same date as Harper's, Selwyn

was appointed Metropolitan of New Zealand: and before he left Christchurch he discussed with the new Bishop his project of a constitution for the Church in New Zealand. Harper lived first in a house in Cambridge Terrace. On January 24, 1857 he consecrated the Church of Holy Trinity at Avonside. Six months later he laid the foundation stone of Christ's College, of which he was first warden. In the organisation of his vast diocese he travelled long journeys on horseback between the Hurunui in the north and Stewart Island. Almost every year he visited the farthest settlements of Otago and Southland and, like Selwyn, he spent many nights in the open, sometimes with only a saddle for a pillow.

In 1869, after Bishop Selwyn had left New Zealand and became Bishop of Lichfield, Bishop Harper was elected Primate of New Zealand, and continued as such till 1890, when he retired through failing health. He died at Christchurch on December 28, 1893, leaving behind in the moral consciousness of the people, the work of the Church and the provision made for education, much lasting good due to his wisdom, his high character and public spirit. The "Lyttelton Times" the following day reported that:

"No man has been more identified with the history of Canterbury for the past thirty-eight years than Bishop Harper. Coming to New Zealand in the fifties he has gone through all the hardships to which the early settlers were subjected, any many of the pioneers have cause to remember the cheery words spoken by him and the good advice tendered to them on their arrival in what then was a wilderness." (i)

On Sunday, December 31, 1893 the Bishop's body was taken to the Cathedral and laid in state throughout the afternoon "... during which time over 2,500 persons were admitted to take a last look at the deceased prelate ... Upon the lid of the coffin being removed, the body was seen to be in full episcopal vestments; the hands were crossed, and the repose seemed more that of sleep than that of death." (ii) In the Cathedral seats had been reserved for clergy and lay members of the Church and in the admission of the general public, special preference had been given to old colonists. The coffin was then relayed to the Church of England Cemetery by sixty volunteers for burial, where "... the only

(i) "Lyttelton Times", 29.12.1893, page 5
(ii) "Lyttelton Times", 1.1.1894, page 6

thing that marred the proceedings being a rush by some of the public to the grave before the mourners had left it". (iii) Unfortunately the cross which once marked Bishop Harper's grave is shattered, as is that of his wife, Emily, who died on June 10, 1888.

2

Henry Jacobs

The Very Reverend Henry Jacobs, sometimes Dean of Christchurch, who was a well-known figure in Canterbury for about fifty years, was born in 1824 at Chale Abbey, near St. Catherine's, Isle of Wight. He was educated at Charterhouse School, London, where he became captain of the school, and obtained an open exhibition, leading in due course to a scholarship. He matriculated in 1841, subsequently took his B.A. and M.A. degrees and became a Michel Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, in 1848. He was ordained deacon in 1847, priest in the following year, and became curate of All Saints, Poplar, London. Jacobs was appointed in 1850 classical professor in the college which the Canterbury Association proposed to found in Christchurch, and arrived at Lyttelton on December 17 of that year. The following Sunday he conducted the first service in Canterbury, and in July, 1851, preached the sermon and conducted the service at the opening of the first church in Christchurch, afterwards St. Michael's. Dean Jacobs opened Christ's College Grammar School on April 21, 1862, as its first headmaster, and became Sub-Warden in the Deed of Foundation of the College on May 21, 1855, and shortly afterwards Watts-Russel Professor. Resigning the headmastership in 1863, he was nominated incumbent of the parish of Christchurch. In 1864 having declined the bishopric of Nelson, Jacobs was appointed archdeacon of Christchurch, which office he resigned on being made dean of Christchurch in June 1866. From 1865 to 1895 Dean Jacobs was one of the clerical representatives of the General Synod by the vote of the clergy of the diocese. He received in 1873 the cure of St. Michael and All Angels, Christchurch, was appointed for a second time archdeacon of Christchurch in May 1876, and held the office for seven years in conjunction with that of dean. In 1878 Jacobs was commissary while the Bishop was attending the Lamberth conference, and at that time he was created a doctor of divinity. He was for some years editor of the "New Zealand Church News", and in 1889 published his history of the Church in New Zealand. He was a distinguished classical scholar, and wrote a good deal of verse, a sample of which is set out overleaf. He was much interested in philanthropies in Christchurch and was associated for many years with the St. John Ambulance Association. When Jacobs died on February 6, 1901, the "Lyttelton Times" commented: -

*"There is no name among those of the hardy band of pioneers
who came here fifty years ago inspired by the highest*

aspirations of their race that is more intimately associated with the foundations and progress of the province than that of the good Christian and good colonist who has just passed to rest." (i)

Dean Jacobs' grave in the Church of England Cemetery lies beside that of his first wife, Charlotte Emily, who died in 1870. After her death the Dean married Emily Rose Thompson, the young daughter of a teaching colleague at Christ's College.

3. James Buller

James Buller (1812 - 1884) was born in Cornwall and as a young man felt drawn towards the Church and acted as a Wesleyan local preacher. In October 1835, with his wife, he sailed for Australia in the 'Platina'. In Sydney he met the Rev N. Turner who engaged him as a tutor to his young family about to return to New Zealand, and they continued their voyage in the 'Patriot', arriving at Hakianga on April 27, 1836.

During the three years that Buller spent at Mangungu he thoroughly mastered the Maori Language, in which he was able to preach after 12 months residence in the country. He showed such aptitude for mission work that he was accepted by the London conference on the recommendation of the missionaries. Buller experienced many dangers, but throughout evinced unflinching courage. On the occasion of the attack on the native teachers at Rotopipiwai (1837) he went at once to the spot with his colleagues and interviewed the murders. In the following year he was appointed to take charge of a station at Tangiteroria where, mainly under the protection of Tirarau, he spent a useful 15 years. In 1839, in view of the expected arrival of emigrants, he made a long journey on foot to Port Nicholson to secure a site for a mission. There on January 21, 1840, he found the 'Cuba' at anchor and met Wharepouri and other local chiefs. The 'Aurora' arrived on Sunday, January 26. Returning to Bay of Islands by the 'Atlas' Buller reached his station on the Kaipara before the meeting to consider the Treaty of Waitangi.

During Heke's war he rendered important service to the Government. In these years he paid periodical visits of Auckland to minister to the Wesleyans resident there. In 1854 he was removed to Wellington. There

his duties extended to Wairarapa and Wanganui, where he opened the church in Ridgway Street. He had also six native churches to visit, and was chairman of the district. In 1861 he was posted to Christchurch, with charge of the Canterbury circuit. On several visits to Timaru he launched the work of the church in South Canterbury. He opened the Durham Street Church in Christchurch, and added 10 places of worship to the circuit. Before his term expired he was called upon to supervise the establishment of the Church in the new mining districts of the West Coast (1865). He rode from Christchurch to Hokitika and with the Rev G.S. Harper (who went by sea) he established Methodism in the west. Returning to Auckland (1866), his organising genius was again requisitioned in connection with the Thames goldfields. He opened a church in October 1867, two months after his arrival, and was delighted to find many miners from his native county amongst the worshippers. Thames was erected into a separate circuit in 1870 with Buller as superintendent, and a young minister as assistant at Coromandel.

In 1864 Buller presided at the Australian conference in Melbourne. For twenty years he was chairman of one district or another: and in 1875 he was elected President of the New Zealand Conference. In 1876 Buller went to England, where he spent the next five years lecturing and publishing his well known book "Forty Years in New Zealand (1878)". He returned to New Zealand in 1881 and settled in Christchurch, where he died on November 6, 1884. Mrs Buller died on December 23 of the same year. Buller was a man of great mental power, a fine preacher and a capable administrator. He had a thorough knowledge of the Maori people and their language and a sympathetic understanding of their modes of thought. Apart from his distinguished service as a missionary, he was always an active citizen, interested in all social movements, and in the politics of both races. He was at different periods a Governor of Nelson and Canterbury Colleges.

At the times of James Buller's death the "Lyttelton Times" reported that "By the death of the Reverend James Buller ... in his 72nd year, the Wesleyan Church loses one of its most distinguished ministers, and the Colony one of its oldest residents Many Canterbury residents who knew Mr Buller in the by-gone years will feel that

by his removal another link connecting them with the past has been broken, but they will long remember his services". (i) The funeral..... "was the occasion of a gathering such as has not been seen in connection with the Wesleyan Church since the time of the memorable Tararua disaster. The members of the Church assembled from nearly all parts of the Province to show their respect for one who was looked upon almost as a father, and several ministers and members of other Churches showed, by their presence, that the respect in which the deceased was held was not confined to persons of his own religious denomination". (ii)

The headstone erected to the memory of James Buller in the dissenters Cemetery records that he was:

"..... for nearly fifty years a Minister of the Gospel in New Zealand: one of the early band of missionaries to the Maori people: afterwards Superintendent of various European circuits and President successively of the Australian and New Zealand Wesleyan Methodist Conferences ..."

The headstone also records that his wife, Jane Tonkin Buller, died on December 24, 1884, '.... having survived her husband only 6 weeks'.

(i) "Lyttelton Times", 7.11.1884, page 6.

(ii) "Lyttelton Times", 10.11.1884, page 3.

4

Octavius Mathias

The Venerable Octavius Mathias, Archdeacon of Akaroa, was born at Maudham, about nine miles from the city of Norwich, England, on February 27, 1805. He was descended from a French Protestant family and graduated at Corpus Cristi College, Cambridge, B.A. After his ordination he left England for Algeria, later returning after an attack of fever where he was presented to the incumbency of the Parish of Horsford, about three miles from Norwich. He held this position for twelve years until his departure for New Zealand. Arriving in Lyttelton in August 1851 on board the "Dominion" his first wife Marianne, died in childbirth a few days later, leaving him with eight children under the age of thirteen. During the years 1853 - 1856 he became the sole Commissary of the Bishop of New Zealand, and in that capacity administered the affairs of the Church in Canterbury until the arrival of the Bishop of Christchurch in December

1856. Later, and by now Archdeacon of Akaroa, he married 21 year old Herriet Bowron, who was governess of his children, and by whom he had another seven sons. The Archdeacon has been described as "bluff, strong and hearty, not very tall, but broad shouldered and deep chested, carrying himself erect, with a solid walking stick and wearing a good top hat and a long frock coat". He became President of the Board of Governors of the Christchurch Hospital, President of the Horticultural Society, besides being one of the working supporters of the Acclimatisation Society. When he died on June 18, 1864 the "Lyttelton Times" reported the funeral: -

"The funeral of this lamented gentleman took place on Tuesday last. The cortege left the residence at Riccarton at 1.45p.m., passing along Riccarton Road, through Oxford Terrace, and down Hereford Street, where it was joined by the Masonic body, who headed the procession during the remainder of the way. The late Archdeacon was Deputy Grand Master of the Freemasons of Canterbury, and a large number of members assembled, as is usual in respect to a high officer of the craft, in order to pay the last tribute of honour to his memory. They represented the four different lodges of the province, Lyttelton, Christchurch, Kiaipoi and Rangiora, and were accompanied by the officers of the Grand Lodge, wearing the clothing and insignia of the order, covered with black crape. The shops and stores not only along the line of the procession, but throughout the town generally, were closed, and this, together with the vast concourse of persons assembled, bore testimony to the regard and esteem felt towards the deceased by all classes of the community. Besides those on foot, extending half-a-mile in length, about thirty carriages were also in attendance. The pall was borne by the following dignitaries of the Church: The Lord Bishop of the Diocese, the Revds. C. Bowen, J.C. Bagshaw, G. Cholmondely, H. Torlesse, and W.W. Willcock. Arrived at the Cemetery gate, the coffin was removed from the hearse, and was met at the entrance by the Rev. the Curate of Christchurch, who commenced the solemn service of the Church of England ... a service which speaks at once the language of sadness, resignation, and hope. At the conclusion of the ceremony, the persons present slowly dispersed." (i)

As is illustrated by the photograph overleaf, the Archdeacon of Akaroa lies buried in the Mathias family plot, with his two wives on either side.

5

Felix Wakefield

Felix Wakefield (1807-75) was a son of Edward Wakefield, and brother of Edward Giddon Wakefield. He was trained as a surveyor and engineer. About 1830 he joined his father in a silk business at Blois, in France, and while there married Marie Felice Eliza Bailley. A year or two later he settled in Tasmania, where he farmed without success for about 16 years. Returning to England in financial straits, he was assisted by his brother Edward Gibbon who undertook the education of his family of seven. Careless in money matters, he was appointed in 1849 emigration agent for the Canterbury Association, but his brother, fearing embarrassment as the result of his irresponsible nature, persuaded him to go to New Zealand and bought him a farm on the road from Lyttelton to Christchurch. His notes on surveying and the disposal of waste lands in colonies were edited by his brother and published in London (1849). The first draft was communicated in the form of instructions to Captain Joseph Thomas.

Wakefield sailed for New Zealand in the 'Sir George Pollock' (1851). In 1852 he returned to England. Coming again to Canterbury in 1854, he tried to promote a scheme to improve the mouth of the Avon and open up navigation with the plains for vessels of 50 tons. He was a keen horticulturist, and in later years imported deer and pheasants to Nelson. In 1854 he returned to England with several of his family, volunteered for the war in the Crimea and was employed as a superintendent of army works (with the rank of lieutenant-colonel) making the railway from Balaclava to Sebastopol. After the declaration of peace he visited Syria, Turkey, Russia and Egypt, and returned to New Zealand. He was secretary to Bradshaw as government agent on the Otago goldfields (1867 - 70). In 1870 he published 'The Gardeners' Chronicle for New Zealand'. Wakefield died on 23 December 1875.

6

William Reeves

William Reeves (1825-91) was born at Chapham, London, his father being in the civil service. He received his education at a private school in London and entered the service of Kennard's Bank as a Clerk. After a few years there he went on the stock exchange, where he was fairly successful.

Reeves married (1853) Ellen, daughter of John Ross Pember, of Clapham Park. They sailed for New Zealand in the 'Rose of Sharon', and reached Lyttelton on January 25, 1857. His first occupation was as a clerk in the customs, followed by farming at Fernside, Rangiora, in company with C.O. Torlesse, for whom he managed the place for a year or two. He was associated with Hamilton Ward for a while, and then returned to Christchurch and started a carrying business. Most of the merchandise for Christchurch was taken by sea over the Sumner bar and landed in the river at Ferrymead, where it had to be carted into Christchurch. After a year or two Reeves joined Crosbie Ward and W.J.W. Hamilton in taking over Bowne's interest in the 'Lyttelton Times'. He and Ward were actively associated with the paper, and when it was formed into a company Reeves became manager. He wrote regularly to the leading columns in a plain, straightforward style, simple, clean and grammatical. Ward and Reeves were personal friends, and generally saw eye to eye on public questions. When Ward resigned from Parliament (1867) Reeves won the seat (Avon) but resigned in the following year in order to give his whole time to the paper. Early in 1871 he stood for Selwyn against (Stevens (in the protection interest), the main issue being the duty of sixpence a bushel on Australian wheat, which the farmers of Canterbury felt to be essential to their welfare. Reeves won by a single vote, and had the satisfaction of seeing the duty reimposed during his term in Parliament. He was a strong supporter of the Fox Government, and when the office of Resident Minister for the Middle Island was instituted (in 1871) he was appointed to the post, which he held until the defeat of the Government in the following year. When Vogel came to power in 1872, Reeves declined to take office or the

chairmanship of committees. He supported Vogel's railway policy, but in a year or two definitely fell out with Vogel on the question of the abolition of the provinces, and crossed the floor of the House, in company with O'Rorke, as a protest against the proposed changes. "It is a shameful thing", he said, "that such a measure as this can be introduced in a fit of temper, and that great constitutional changes may be due simply to the passing humours of the head of the government". At the general election in 1875-76 Reeves was defeated by Fitzroy by a narrow majority on the abolition issue. He did not again stand for Parliament, but was called to the Legislative Council by the Stout-Vogel Government in 1884. Though a natural orator, he was nervous and diffident when speaking, and he had a reserve which did not assist him with the public. He recognised that he had entered politics too late in life to be successful. He was always a Liberal, and lived to see his son, William Pember Reeves, holding office in a Liberal Government.

In the life of the city of Christchurch, Reeves took his part. He did much to encourage education, and was on the board of governors of Canterbury College (1879-91). He was passionately fond of music, and was president of the Christchurch Musical Society. His interest in native fauna and flora was lifelong. In the Legislative Council he spoke strongly against the importation of stoats and weasels as likely to prey on bird life. At the Canterbury Jockey Club meeting in 1876 Reeve's horse Daniel O'Rourke won the New Zealand Derby and the New Zealand Cup for Patrick Campbell.

A very good business man, Reeves assisted to promote a number of companies in Christchurch. For years he was a director of the New Zealand Shipping Co., which he helped to form. He was chairman in 1875, but disagreeing with the introduction of steam, he resigned from the board (1882). He was a promoter of the Union Insurance Co., and on the board throughout, and was also on the local board of the Mutual Life Association of Australia from the time it started business in Canterbury. As managing director of the Lyttelton Times Co., he took a great interest in the welfare of its employees. He

was the first chairman of the United Press Association of New Zealand, and presided till his death on April 4, 1891.

In an Obituary published in the "Canterbury Times" it was stated: -

"In some other respects a not too friendly critic might perhaps be tempted to class his life as a failure. He, indeed, had troubles enough and to spare. With great abilities he did not win any wide renown. His remarkable oratorical powers were never developed. His undoubted business capacity did not bring him riches. Fame, riches and even unhappiness are not, however, the sole measure of success. A man may serve others better than himself ... the memory of his fine character will not soon be forgotten. For a more brave, must, honourable, Christian man never drew breath in this land." (i)



The funeral of William Reeves was one of the largest Christchurch has ever witnessed and the extracts below, published in the "Canterbury Times", not only illustrate the manner in which such funerals were conducted but also illustrate the high regard with which Reeves was held both locally and nationally.

(i) "Canterbury Times", 9.4.1891, page 21.

"... Needless, however, is it to tell of all the sorts and conditions of folk who made that farewell gathering. Men and women, old and young, rich and poor, were in it, inspired by one purpose - to honour an upright man.

"Three in the afternoon was the hour fixed for the funeral to leave Risingholme, and when that hour came the road leading to the house was thronged with the carriages which were to follow the hearse. Within the gates were the coaches for the members of the family and other mourners, and on the lawn stood the employees of the 'Lyttelton Times' Company and others who had elected to follow afoot. The hearse, a plain vehicle with glass sides drew up before the door of the house, and four men bore forth the coffin, of polished rimu and kauri, covered with a violet pall and heaped high with wreaths, crosses and bouquets. It was placed in the hearse and slowly the procession passed out of the gates. Closely following the hearse were the carriages with the chief mourners, the pall-bearers, and a few other intimate friends of the deceased ... After these carriages, marched, in fours, upwards of a hundred of the employees of the 'Lyttelton Times' Company and other mourners. Then came a long line of carriages and other vehicles, some sixty or thereabouts. Along the Opawa Road and Gasworks Road the funeral train passed to Barbadoes Street, by which it went to the Church of England Cemetery. Along the whole route it was met by tokens of respect. The blinds were lowered in nearly every house; shop shutters were put up; men at work ceased and doffed their hats, and passengers on the street uncovered their heads as the hearse passed. Waiting to receive the corpse at the Cemetery gate was the revered Bishop Harper, with the Ven. Archdeacon Cholmondeley by his side. In a voice whose broken accents showed his grief and agitation, he uttered the solemn words with which the burial service opens, while the body of his old friend was borne into the chapel. As many of the mourners as could find room followed, while the 'Times' office staff passed behind the building to the southern side of the cemetery, where they formed a hollow square about the open grave. Outside stood a very large crowd of people of all classes and ages. Soon the coffin was borne within the square, divested of its pall and its wealth of floral adornment, and lowered into the grave; while the Bishop read the concluding part of the service, and the assembled people joined reverently in the responses. After the Benediction many pressed forward for a last look into the grave. What they saw was a polished wooden lid, with a small silver plate, bearing the words "William Reeves, died April 4, 1891; aged 66". On the lowered coffin flower sprays were cast by members of the family and personal friends. There were, too, some sprigs of acacia thrown into the grave, for the deceased gentleman in long ago years joined the Masonic fraternity in company with Crosbie Ward; and by his strong desire one of his sons recently became a member of the Craft ...

"The gathering in the Cemetery was, as has been said before, of a thoroughly representative nature. All the public bodies and business companies with which Mr. Reeves was connected, had members there, The Hon. R.J. Seddon, Minister for Public Works, at the special request of the Premier, officially represented the Government. The Legislature was represented by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Major Steward, and by several members of both Chambers. The Bench, the Bar, and various learned professions, the Christchurch Musical Society and the Canterbury Jockey Club, all had their members there ... Many other gentlemen well-known in the community were present, but it was difficult to distinguish individuals in the dense throng." (ii)

William Reeves was buried in the Reeve's family plot in the Church of England Cemetery. The headstone, which was erected by the staff of the Lyttelton Times Company, gives a brief resume of his career: -

'He became a New Zealand Colonist in the year 1856 and for more than thirty years took an active share in the public affairs of the country. In addition to his works as a journalist he was a Member in turn of each House of the New Zealand Parliament and a Minister of the Crown.

*"Who broke no promises, served no private end.
Who gained no title, and who lost no friend" '*

Countess De Lapasture

In the Roman Catholic Cemetery there is an enclosed grave, the tombstone of which bears the following inscription:

*'To my ever beloved wife
Lilly Countess of Lapasture
B. 12th February 1843 M. 4th July 1864 D. 8th April 1869'*

Little is known about the Countess. The "Lyttelton Times" on April 9, 1869 recorded her death the day before at Springfield. A search of the death register at the Registrar's office of Births, Deaths and Marriages reveals little except that her husband was a sheepfarmer and that the cause of death was congestion of the brain. It has been written that the Countess had given birth to a daughter the day before her death. It is no doubt a reflection of the times that so little is known of the Countess and that more is known of her husband.

Her husband, Gerard Gustavus Ducarel, Count De Lapasture, together with his brother, Henri Philip Ducarel De Lapasture, arrived in New Zealand in 1860 and until 1877 farmed in the Amuri district on the St. Helens and Glynn Wye stations. The Count played an active part in the life of the district, as steward at the first Amuri races. Although the Count lived in Christchurch, a local farmer of the times, Edgar Jones, stated that when he came up to that stations "... he roughed it, as so many did in those days, having his meals in the kitchen with the station hands". The Countess paid at least one visit to the Amuri, commemorated by the Countess Creek, "so named because the Count De Lapasture when driving up in a flood-time upset his buggy and the Countess who was in it". The Count leased the Jollies Pass Hotel for a time, was elected a member of the Christchurch Club in 1866 and was one of the first managers of the Roman Catholic Cemetery in Barbadoes Street. The Count was sometimes humourously referred to as "Count De La Marquis of Grass" or "Count Damn and Blast You". Four years after the death of Lilly (Leontine), the Count married Georgina Mary Loughnan, a member of a well-known

Christchurch family, in May 1873.

The Count's title was French, but was recognised in Great Britain. About 1304, an ancestor named Thomas De Lapasture was granted a title of nobility. In 1776, Pierre Franqois De Lapasture was created Marquis and Count, and emigrated from France in 1791, during the French Revolution. Gerard was the fourth Marquis. The Count died in 1916.



10
William Deans, John Deans, Jane Deans

The Deans brothers were sons of John Deans, of Ayrshire, and were born in the parish of Kirkstyle, Riccarton. Both were intended for the law and had already entered their father's law office when they became interested in the plans for settlement in New Zealand. They were accordingly placed on good Scottish farms to prepare them for colonial life.

William Deans (1817 - 1851) bought his land orders from the New Zealand Company in 1839 and, sailing in the "Aurora", reached Wellington on January 21, 1840. He found on his arrival that the Company had not completed its purchases and was much behind with its surveys. He set out on various expeditions and after visiting all parts of New Zealand decided that, if his brother would join him, he would settle on the Canterbury Plains. John Deans (1820 - 1854) had bought his land orders in the Nelson settlement and arrived in the "Thomas Harrison" on October 25, 1842. He was much dissatisfied with the quality of the land and the arrangements for settlers, and readily agreed to join his brother in the new venture.

Trusting to be able later to exchange their land orders for a similar area in Canterbury, William left Wellington on February 11, 1843 (having obtained the consent of the Governor to his plan), in Sinclair's schooner "Richmond". He was accompanied by Samuel Manson and John Gebbie with their families, some live stock and provisions, and timber prepared for a house. They left the women and children at Port Levy in the care of Gebbie and took a whaleboat up the Avon River to a spot where later settlers landed their bricks. In a small canoe they continued some distance further up the river and its tributaries. They brought with them tools, provisions, poultry and joinery for the house but unfortunately the nails having been left behind, the timber had to be joined with pegs. In the meantime John had crossed to Australia to buy seeds and stock, and on June 17, 1843, arrived in Lyttelton Harbour in the "Princess Royal" with 61 head of cattle, three mares, and 43 sheep. William had shown great judgement in selecting the spot where they were to settle. The small bush, now known as Deans Bush, afforded them shelter and

plenty of timber for their needs, and the ground was rich and intersected by streams which not only provided a source of water but served to keep the stock in different lots and off their cropping land. Within the year the Deans brothers erected two other houses on their property. Other shipments of stock were imported in 1847 and 1850. For the rest of the forties the brothers steadily improved their holding. In 1844 they were milking 20 cows and making cheese and butter for the market in Wellington and Sydney. They had also vegetable gardens and an orchard, raised oats, barley and wheat, threshed with flails, and ground wheat into flour for their own needs in a small hand flourmill. In 1845 they clipped 130 pounds of wool. In 1846 they produced a crop of wheat, 60 to 70 bushels to the acre, and over 30 tons of potatoes from two and a half acres of ground. In 1846 the brothers obtained consent from the government to lease further land from the Maoris. In 1848 the New Zealand Company having purchased most of the surrounding land from the Maoris for the Canterbury settlement, the Deanses were able to exchange their land orders for land in their own district, and thus obtained a total of 400 acres freehold at Riccarton. There was much more trouble over exchanging what was to become known as their Homebush run. Godley took a hard attitude over early settler's claims but eventually allowed them to take up the run of 33,000 acres. In response to Captain Thomas's request, they furnished a report on the seasons, yield of crops, stock, implements necessary, price of food and timber --- everything a prospective settler could wish to know. This report, set out overleaf, and the farming success of the Deans brothers undoubtedly influenced Thomas in his ultimate choice of Christchurch for the Canterbury Association's settlement.

In 1851 William left for Sydney, via Wellington, in the schooner "Maria" to obtain more stock. Tragically William was lost at sea with twenty-eight other persons when the vessel was wrecked off Cape Terawhiti on July 23, 1851. Charlotte Godley wrote in a letter to her mother on August 20:

"It appears that they were in a tremendous gale and in trying in the night to get into Wellington Harbour they struck on a rock a little to the North, and the ship went to pieces. Seventeen bodies have already been

washed on shore. Poor Mr Deans is a great loss to us here. Not only from his unfailing kindness and good nature, but from the assistance that his advice for example, in all agricultural matters, gave to all the newcomers. His brother will feel his loss sadly; they were so united and so happy together; indeed I cannot tell what Mr John Deans will do now; he was only waiting his brother's return from his voyage to Sydney to get some fresh stock, cattle and sheep, to go home and be married in Scotland". (i)

Partly for his parent's sake, but more importantly to renew his acquaintance and marry Jane McIlraith (1823 - 1911) with whom nearly ten years previously he had "become attached but not officially engaged". John travelled to Scotland, arriving late in April, 1852. They were married on September 15, and a month later sailed in the "Minerva" for Canterbury, arriving early in February 1853. After disembarking they set off on horseback over the Bridle Path until they reached Rev. Puckle's parsonage at Heathcote Valley where Jane, exhausted from the voyage out, stayed the night. John continued on to Riccarton and returned the next day in order to collect fifty cases of baggage left at Lyttelton. Included in the baggage were furniture, linen, a water-wheel and a dog-cart, the first vehicle on springs in Canterbury. Jane, although still frail from the journey, and pregnant, settled happily into her new home at Riccarton, decorating, cooking, entertaining the many visitors and conducting services every second week. She was a devout Presbyterian and of the Sunday services she wrote "We were of one mind and spirit in our reverence and devotion to our Maker and our Saviour, and our Sabbath service were the sincere homage of our hearts".

John's health was, however, deteriorating --- a legacy from a chill he caught in a deluge while crossing the Panama Isthmus. In a letter to his father on March 21, 1853, he wrote:

"The cough which occasionally troubled me when at home has not quite left me, so I have placed myself under the care of Dr Barker for the last eight days. He made

(i) Charlotte Godley, "Letters from Early New Zealand 1850 - 1853". Whitcombe & Tombs Ltd., 1951, page 225.

me apply a blister to my chest and gave me some medicine which has relieved although not yet entirely removed it. In a few days more I hope to have it shaken off. I like New Zealand more than ever, but I do not intend to work myself quite as hard as I did in the earlier days of my sojourn". (ii)



John Deans died on June 23, 1854, ten and a half months after Jane gave birth to a son, named after himself. During the period leading up to his death John had discussed with his wife whether or not she should return to Scotland after his death. Jane preferred to remain and subsequently the farm at Riccarton and the leasehold property at

(ii) John Deans, "Pioneers on Port Cooper Plains", Simpson & Williams Limited, 1964, page 80-81.

Homebush was worked in trust, until the son was able to take it over. During this period Jane arranged to have a new house erected, now known as Riccarton House, and supervised the planting of trees which surrounded it. Her son proved to be a progressive farmer and judge of stock, and constantly improved his herds and flocks by importations. He was President of the Canterbury A & P Association, Chairman of the Christchurch Drainage Board and the Riccarton Road Board, and a Governor of Canterbury College. After a long illness he died at Riccarton on June 19, 1902, leaving eight sons and three daughters. Jane Deans died on January 19, 1911. Her funeral was reported by the "Lyttelton Times".

"The funeral of the late Mrs Jane Deans, which took place on Saturday, was an occasion for a very large gathering of those who desired to pay a last respect to the head for many years of a well-known family. Many of those who took part in the funeral ceremonies belonged to the slowly thinning ranks of pioneer settlers, among whom Mrs Deans received deep and general respect as the widower of one of Canterbury's earliest settlers.

From Riccarton the funeral proceeded to St Andrew's Presbyterian Church At St Andrew's Church, of which Mrs Deans had been a member for over fifty years, a brief service was conducted by the Rev. J. Mackenzie "Slowly but surely", said the Rev. J. Mackenzie in his address, "death thins the ranks of the pioneers, of those whose brave souls who faced their labour and sorrow in a far land, and were not afraid of what the years might bring. To-day we lay in dust all that is mortal of one whose long life ran parallel with the history of this province for nearly two generations, one who played her part nobly through all the years, and who gathered to herself as the years passed the honour and affection of a multitude of friends".....

Those who had known Mrs Deans intimately knew how simple and beautiful her life had been. Left a widow soon after her arrival in the colony, it had been her destiny to suffer once and again the pangs of cruel bereavement, and yet through it all she had preserved the calm serenity of her spirit. She carried her sorrows in the secret place of her heart, but she did not speak of them. She had ever been ready to hear the tale of another's grief and her hand had not been slack on service to those who suffered. Her frail body had been the tabernacle of a resolute and of an indomitable will.

The interment was made at the Barbadoes Street cemetery, the body being laid to rest at the side of Mrs Deans late husband" (iii)

Over her grave in the Church of England Cemetery a tombstone was erected as a tribute of respect and affection by her Ayrshire friends in Canterbury. Beside her grave is that of her husband, John Deans, over which a tombstone has been erected which has the following inscription: "In Memory of the Brothers, William and John Deans, of Riccarton, the Pioneers of Colonisation on the Canterbury Plains ..." It must be remembered that William was drowned and his body never recovered so that his burial is not recorded in the Church of England burial register. John Deans burial was the 39th to be recorded while Jane Deans was the 4,789th to be recorded. It should also be pointed out that while it was common for Presbyterians to be buried in the Church of England Cemetery prior to its consecration in 1863, Jane Deans burial in this cemetery is one of the rare and fitting exceptions to the rule that "no body shall be interred in this Cemetery without the burial service of the Church of England, read by the Incumbent of the Parish to which the deceased person belonged, or some other clergyman authorised by him; and no other religious service shall be performed over bodies buried in this Cemetery".

// Inspector Peter Pender

Peter Pender, for many years Inspector of Police in Canterbury and Wellington, died at Redcliffs on October 5, 1911, at the age of 84. He had a very adventurous life. Born in Wexford, Ireland, in 1827, he joined the Royal Irish Constabulary as a boy, and was soon after sent on a special mission to England and Wales. Shortly after his return he was promoted to the rank of sergeant, and served in some of the disturbed districts at the time of the Smith-O'Brien troubles. In 1854 he joined the Mounted Staff Corps, known as Lord Raglan's, and went with the company to the Crimea, where he was present at the taking of Sebastopol and the battle of Tchenere. Later Pender was sent to Turkey, where he assisted in organising the Turkish Contingent Cavalry. Returning to Ireland, he rejoined the Irish Constabulary, and in 1856 came out to the colonies. Subsequently he joined the Victorian police as a constable, serving with O'Hara Burke, who afterwards became famous as a Central Australian explorer. Pender served for over five years in the Kerry Country, New South Wales, and in 1862 he came to New Zealand, with the rank of sergeant-major, to assist in organising police in Canterbury. In 1864 he was promoted to the rank of Inspector, and for thirty years was stationed in Canterbury. He was in charge of the South Canterbury district at the time of the Timaru riots of 1868 and 1869. Returning to Christchurch in 1874, he remained until 1892, when he was transferred to Wellington, his departure being marked by the biggest send-off that had ever been accorded to a New Zealand police officer. Three years later he was sent on a special mission to England in connection with the Harper case. In 1902 Pender retired and took up his residence at Redcliffs where he lived until his death.

During his career as a police officer Pender had many exciting adventures, including several with busgrangers in Australia, and in many goldfield riots. He was in charge of the famous "Severed Hand" case, the "Hutt Murder", by Boshier, and many other equally well-known and perilous cases. During his long

service he made a very large number of friends amongst the police and public. His fairness was a marked trait in his character, and every criminal who fell into his hands knew that he would be fairly dealt with and that every good point about him would be emphasised. At the time of his death, then Inspector Dwyer and M.M. Cleary, ex-governor of Lyttelton Gaol, spoke in terms of him, and characterised him as "a model officer, loved by police and public alike for his fine character, his winning personality and his fair play". In an 'In Memoriam' in the "Lyttelton Times" it was written:

"To me the most striking features of Mr Pender's inward life were: deep religious feelings (broad as well as profound) and tender-heartedness. The character of his external life was a remarkable union of dignity and simplicity. No show of uniform or glitter of medals ever made that man strut, no exclusiveness of office ever stopped him from the smallest acts of kindness.

One evening, after the fall of darkness, he found a young girl of good upbringing, trying to end her life in the River Avon. The old story of wrong and grief --- the old passionate struggle to end it all in the river's embrace. The Inspector took the girl gently and half secretively to the house of a 'Rescue Worker', and hushed up the story by sternly bidding that that lady never to divulge the poor girl's name and family.

On another occasion --- it was a Carnival Week, I remember --- he sent me a message by one of the detectives that a certain woman --- alas! of most notorious evil report --- had left Mount Magdala and was loose on the town. He wanted to save her. Could I help. "Tell him", I replied, "to find her and at any hour of day or night I will receive her", and with acquired wisdom, I added, "be she drunk or sober".

With a pleased grin the messenger retired. That night a little past midnight a cab drove up to my door. The Inspector and Sergeant D. brought in the derelict. It seems that this man, head of the Christchurch Police, himself went down to a house of well-reputed infamy, pleaded with the woman, half sternly, half tenderly, urged her, not in the name of the law, but by the love of God, to adjure here evil ways, to repent and to come back to her religion and her womanhood. And it was all done with such an air of simple dignity". (i)

(i) "Lyttelton Times", 7.11.1911, page 4.

Peter Pender was buried, at a private funeral, in the Roman Catholic Cemetery. The headstone inscription records that he is buried with his wife, Anatasia Mary Pender, who died on December 28, 1891. It also records that the headstone was erected by the members of the Police Force in the Canterbury and North Otago District, as a tribute of respect to her memory.

12 Captain Francis George Garrard

Francis George Garrard was captain of the 'Tararua', an intercolonial steamer, which struck a reef at Waipapa Point, Southland on the 29-30 April 1881, less than three-quarters of a mile from shore. A total of 131 men, women and children lost their lives and the wreck stands as the worst civilian maritime shipping disaster New Zealand has known. "Few, if any, wrecks on the coast of New Zealand have been attended by such tragic incidents as those connected with the loss of the steamer 'Tararua' - hours of what must have been heart-rending suspense, as those on board waited for the succour which never arrived; ever-increasing danger as the seas rose and swept the decks, until, in the hours of darkness, death mercifully ended their sufferings" (i). Of the 'Tararua's' total complement of 151 passengers and crew only 20 survived.



The wreck of the 'Tararua' by an artist of the period.
Alexander Turnbull Library.

(i) C.W.N. Ingram, New Zealand Shipwrecks 1795 - 1970,
A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1972, pages 199 - 200.

The 'Tararua' had sailed from Port Chalmers at 5 p.m. on April 28, bound for Melbourne via Bluff and Hobart, under the command of Captain Garrard, a highly respected and experienced mariner, although only 29 years of age. James Mills, then Managing Director of the Union Company, described him as "a zealous officer and a strict abstainer". He was engaged to a Melbourne girl and was to be married after the April sailing. Garrard had become master of the 'Tararua' in March 1881, replacing Captain Muir, who was relieved of his command after a gold robbery on the ship in 1880 on a voyage from Dunedin to Melbourne. Following the robbery, when it was obvious that someone on board was responsible, the crew from the captain down to the cabin boy were transferred from the vessel. Thus the crew on the 'Tararua's' final voyage was relatively new to the ship.

Soon after 5 a.m. on April 29 the 'Tararua' struck the reef at Waipapa Point. An article in the "Lyttelton Times" takes up the story:

"The captain and chief mate are reported to have been below at the time when the steamer struck. The engineer tried to reverse the engine, but broke his leg. The women rushed on deck in their night-dresses, but the heavy sea soon washed most of them off. Three boats were out, but they were swamped; one got away to seaward, and one came ashore, landing five or six men. The steamer then parted amidships, and numbers perished; several are still clinging to the wreck. A man with a child in his arms is lashed to the rigging. A number of settlers on the beach are anxious to render assistance, many turning away heartsick at seeing their fellow creatures perish before their eyes and unable to help them." (ii)

Heavy seas and pounding surf made rescue work impossible and by noon on April 29, when the sea became even rougher, no help could be given either by land or by sea. Observers reported that at about 10 p.m. a voice, supposed to be Captain Garrard's, was heard calling: "A boat! For God's sake send a boat." At 2.30 a.m. on April 30 they heard shouts of "Help!", and a crash. At dawn the 'Tararua' was gone.

Of the 131 people who lost their lives from the 'Tararua', 65 bodies were recovered. A number of identified bodies were claimed by relatives

(ii) "Lyttelton Times", 2.5.1881, page 4.

and friends, including that of Captain Garrard, and taken for burial elsewhere. Due to the difficulty of transport to Fortrose and the mutilation and decomposition of remaining corpses, the coroner ordered their immediate burial in the vicinity of the disaster. An area behind the sandhills on Otara Beach, about half a mile from where the wreck occurred, was surveyed as a cemetery, and they were buried in what has since been known as the 'Tararua Acre'.



An impression from a contemporary periodical showing the wreck of the 'Tararua'. The caption quoted: "They were washed away one by one till at last only one man with a child in his arms remained". State Library of Victoria.

Even though the Court of Inquiry was of the opinion that the immediate cause of the wreck and loss of life was the negligent failure of able-bodied seaman John Weston to keep a proper lookout (the broken water must have been observed some minutes before the vessel struck and in sufficient time for the danger to be avoided), nevertheless, the Court found "That such wreck and loss of life was primarily caused through the failure of the Master, Francis George Garrard, to ascertain the correct position of his ship. The simple use of the lead would have told the distance off shore". When Captain Garrard came up on the deck at the appointed hour, without hauling in the log and using the lead, he assumed that he was the proper distance from land and that the ship had run the distance necessary before shaping a course for the entrance of Foveaux Strait for the bore-up to the Bluff. Notwithstanding the Court's finding, Captain Garrard's courage and coolness during the tragedy was unquestioned. Comments in the "Lyttelton Times" of May 2, 1881, that:

"The captain and his officers did all that cool intrepid men could do to save the lives committed to their keeping ... The captain stuck to his post of danger like a true sailor. He cared for the helpless, he placed them in the best position, he attended to their wants. Bereft of boats, battered by the sea, his ship grinding slowly to pieces, he did his duty bravely." (iii)

were echoed by the second mate, Edward Maloney, to the Court of Inquiry:

"Captain Garrard did everything he could to procure the safe despatch of the passengers from the ship by seeing that the boats were properly got off, and that the best crews were put in them. There was confusion when she struck, but the captain did all he could to give the people confidence." (iv)

An exquisitely sculptured headstone was commissioned in England and erected over Captain Garrard's grave in the Church of England Cemetery. It depicts a ship's anchor nestled against a background of craggy rocks. Inscribed on the headstone are the words: 'To the memory of Francis George Garrard, Master of the S.S. Tararua, who perished at the wreck of his vessellon the Otara Reef, 30th April 1881, aged 29 years'.

(iii) "Lyttelton Times", 2.5.1881, page 4.

(iv) "Lyttelton Times", 2.5.1881, page 5.

One can probably assume that this headstone was erected by the Company which Captain Garrard served. What seems strange, however, is that he was buried in the Church of England Cemetery for he was reported to be a Methodist by religion. The burial arrangements were made by his family, of which he had a married sister in Christchurch, a brother in Wellington and a brother in Nelson. Of the funeral the "Lyttelton Times" reported:

"The remains of the late Captain Garrard, of the ill-fated Tararua, were interred in the Church of England cemetery on Saturday. In Lyttelton the flags on the various vessels were lowered to half-mast, as a last token of respect to the memory of the deceased, who was very popular. The officers and crew of the S.S. Tairaroa, which was in harbour on Saturday, had intended to be present at the funeral as well as several others in Port, but advices were received to the effect that the funeral was to be a private nature only, so they were not present. Captain M'Gee, of the Tairaroa, and Mr. R. Pufflett, the local agent of the Union Steamship Company, were amongst those present." (v)

The private funeral is not surprising in view of the anticipated findings of the Court of Inquiry. Despite the criticism of Captain Garrard by the Court, a poet of the time urges people to: -

*"Upbraid not harsh, her crew, in grief,
But rather to their feelings lean
Speak kindly of her gallant chief
For deserts have their spots of green."*



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- (v) "Lyttelton Times", 23.5.1881, page 4.
(vi) George Scott, When One Hundred and Thirty Souls Perished,
May 26, 1881.

13 Thomas Cass

Thomas Cass died on April 17, 1895, and "... the respect which the deceased was held was shown by the large number of old colonists who followed his remains to the Church of England Cemetery, Barbadoes Street". (i) At the time of his death the "Lyttelton Times" reported: -

"To some of the present generation the name of Cass is associated only with a river and a halting place on the West Coast Road, but to those whose memories carry them back to the sixties or earlier the name awakens reminiscences of the days - stirring days, in many respects - when Canterbury and the colony itself were in the making." (ii)

Thomas Cass was born in Yorkshire in 1817 and educated at Christ's Hospital where he was in the Royal Mathematical Foundation for four years. He then went to sea and served in the East India trade. After three years he gave this up and studied architecture and surveying, and on qualifying was employed as an assistant in the Tithe Commission Office, Somerset House. The newly founded colony of New Zealand attracted him and he obtained the post of assistant surveyor with the New Zealand Company. The 'Prince Rupert', in which he left England, was wrecked at the Cape of Good Hope, and with it went most of his belongings. He continued his voyage in the 'Antilla', reaching Auckland in December 1841. He was employed in laying out part of the city of Auckland, at the Bay of Islands and to the northward where he surveyed the town of Kororaraka and prospected road lines to Hokianga and Whangaroa. He then surveyed the north shore of Auckland and after that was again at the Bay of Islands until late in 1844 when the New Zealand Company discharged him owing to the reduction of the survey department. It was then that his service at sea stood him in good stead. He became second, later chief, mate of the Government brig 'Victoria' and was present at the destruction of Kororaraka in 1845, and at the operations against Te Rauparaha in Cook Strait in 1846. Other adventures included the transport in custody from Otago to Wellington of Langlands and Davis, two of Canterbury's first bushrangers who had robbed the Greenwoods at Purau in 1845.

(i) "Lyttelton Times", 20.4.1895, page 5
(ii) "Lyttelton Times", 18.4.1895, page 6

In 1847 Cass returned to England to press his claim for compensation for the loss of his position as surveyor. The formation of the Canterbury Association led, in July 1848, to the dispatch of an advance party under Captain Joseph Thomas, with Cass and Torlesse as assistant surveyors, to select a site for the proposed Church of England settlement. They sailed in the 'Bernicia', reached Wellington in November, hired a cutter, the 'Fly', and with William Fox, the New Zealand Company's agent, and five survey hands proceeded to Port Cooper, landing at Purau on December 15. Cass began by making the first detailed survey of Lyttelton Harbour, previously roughly charted by M. Fournier of the French corvette 'Heroine'. When the site for the Canterbury settlement had been decided, he made the first trigonometrical survey of the Christchurch district preparatory to the laying off of the town itself. He next surveyed the Lincoln and Ellesmere districts. In January 1851, on Captain Thomas's precipitate departure, he became Chief Surveyor in Canterbury, a position which he held until March 1867 when he retired on account of his health - he suffered from chronic asthma. He played a prominent part in the life of early Christchurch. In 1853 with Sewell and the Rev. R.B. Paul, he fixed the site of Christ's College. He was one of the members of the first Provincial Council of 1857. He was in the Executive Council under Moorhouse and again under Bealey. For 10 years he was a member of the Canterbury Waste Lands Board, and served on various commissions connected with the development of communications in the province.

In 1867 he revisited England and succeeded Crosbie Ward as immigration agent for Canterbury. While he was there, Samuel Butler painted a portrait of him which is now in the Canterbury Museum. Cass returned to Christchurch in 1868. He was a member of the Church of England and served as churchwarden at St. Michael's. He married the widow of David Theodore Williams in 1856. They had no family and after his wife's death in 1885, he lived quietly with his stepson, C. Hood-Williams, until his death.

Thomas Cass filled the post of Chief Surveyor with distinction, and brought to the deliberations of the various bodies of which he was a member a profound knowledge of the province. "The extent of his work as surveyor and explorer is shown by the number of times his name recurs in the nomenclature of the district - a river on the West Coast

Road, a peak in the Port Hills, and a bay in Lyttelton Harbour, have all been named after him." (iii) He was a kindly and delightful character, known affectionately to all as Tommy, and was noted for his benevolence.

It is perhaps of some interest to note that Cass was acquainted, in the early days of the colony, with a very old Maori of Mercury Bay, who asserted that, when a boy, he had seen Captain Cook, and who supported his claim with a detailed description of the great navigator's appearance, dress and astronomical observations.

14

Margaret Burke

On January 9, 1871 "An occurrence unequalled in our provincial annals, and fitted to be classed amongst the worst deeds of personal violence startled the city from its wonted equanimity ..." (i) when a young Irish domestic servant, Margaret Burke, was stabbed to death in a Christchurch home before the horrified gaze of her mistress, her mistress's two daughters, and a man visiting the house. Great publicity was given to the murder and the subsequent trial and the execution of her assailant, Simon Cedeno. A local legend grew up that the mark of a blood-stained hand appeared periodically on the face of the headstone erected to Margaret Burke's memory.

The murder took place in a home situated on the corner of Cambridge Terrace and Salisbury Street. The owner of the house, William Robinson, a bluff, genial man whose habit of paying cash for large landholdings, race horses and stud bulls had earned him the nickname of "Ready-Money Robinson" was out on business. In his absence, his wife and daughters entertained a guest in the dining room, Mr. Patrick Campbell. Suddenly, at about 4.00p.m., Margaret Burke ran out of the kitchen into the dining room, screaming. After her ran the butler, Simon Cedeno, a long, pointed bread knife in his hand. Before the "...guest was able to restrain the crazed assassin from his diabolical purpose" the butler reached the girl, caught her hand and pulled her towards him. As she collapsed on the floor, Campbell caught the butler around the wrist of his knife-hand, but was unable to prevent Cedeno from plunging the knife several times into the girl's left side, one of the thrusts having penetrated her heart. Mrs. Robinson walked calmly up to her servant and took the knife from his unresisting hand. "I give the knife to you, Ma'am", he said. Campbell, after a brief examination announced that Margaret Burke was dead. "Yes", said Cedeno, "I kill two girls", indicating that the murdered girl was not the only one attacked and that the girl was the butler's second victim within a few minutes. He was wrong, for in an upstairs bedroom the young maid, Catherine Glenn, hid in terror, blood streaming from a wound in her chest. Cedeno had

(i) "Lyttelton Times", 10.1.1871, page 2.

attacked her in the scullery and leaving her for dead pursued Margaret. "The blow, aimed at her head; was diverted so that it fell upon her face and breast, the breastbone happily preventing fatal results" (ii). A doctor was called, and Cedeno, now quiet, was taken off to the local police station. His only comments there were to the effect that he had "been after Ready-Money Robinson" and that "in his country, killing girls was nothing".

"Simon Cedeno was a Negro with a trace of the Zamba blood in his veins and was a native of Sante Fe Bogata, the capital of New Granada in South America. He was 28 years of age, slightly built, and, for a man of colour, somewhat good looking" (iii). Normally quiet and pleasant, his manner had appealed to Robinson when they met at Panama about four years earlier and had been brought to New Zealand to work as butler in the Robinson household. In general, he had proved a good servant and appeared to get on well with the other staff. However, some months before January he had started to exhibit rather alarming attacks of violence and began to resent the slightest criticism from Robinson, and when the servant girls teased him, as they always had, he would become irrationally excited. In statements made through an interpreter (though his own English was quite good) Cedeno claimed at the inquest into Margaret Burke's death, that Robinson had "insulted him", calling him "nigger" and telling people that he had a black heart. He made no complaints about the girls he had attacked except that they sometimes teased him particularly about a white girl he was to marry.

In the hysteria following the reports of the murder (500 people had attended Margaret Burke's funeral), there was such a deep-rooted desire for revenge amongst the public that Mr. Joynt, appointed counsel for Cedeno, claimed that he had been censured "by people who should know better" for undertaking the defence. It was in this atmosphere that the trial began in the Christchurch Supreme Court on March 8, 1881. After Patrick Campbell's evidence, and that of Mrs. Robinson, the defence could hardly claim that Cedeno had not struck the fatal blow

(ii) "Lyttelton Times", 11.1.1871, page 2.
(iii) "Lyttelton Times", 6.4.1871, page 3.

and Catherine Glenn, who was still recovering from her wound, had testified that for some time before the murder, Cedeno sat, quietly cleaning the cutlery, but looking at Margaret "in the most awful way". In spite of this, Joynt claimed that the murder had been unpremeditated, committed on impulse, and was therefore "without malice". No question of provocation or insanity was raised - in fact Cedeno's counsel was at pains to point out that his client was neither "lunatic, insane nor a monomaniac". "The general impression had been that Cedeno attacked the girls in revenge for some personal affront, but nothing appeared on the evidence to show what the real cause of the crime, and the only defence set up ... was, that Cedeno had been overcome by a sudden uncontrolled ebullition of frenzy". (iv) The "Lyttelton Times" reveals something of the atmosphere generated at the time as the Crown prosecutor concluded his final address to the jury: -

Mr. Duncan: "I say, gentlemen of the jury, that man is not worthy to exist in society, and it is your duty to find him guilty of the crime with which he is charged." (Applause)

The Sheriff: " Silence, silence."

Mr. Joynt: "Would your Honour kindly excuse me for five minutes?"

His Honour: "Oh, certainly; longer if you wish." (v)

The jury retired for only 10 minutes. They found Simon Cedeno guilty of murder and Mr. Justice Gresson passed sentence of death.

Simon Cedeno was hanged in the Lyttelton gaol on April 5, 1871, he being only the second person to be executed in the history of Canterbury. The grizzly details of the execution were reported in the "Lyttelton Times", a portion of which records that: -

"He ascended the scaffold with perfect steadiness and remained quite firm during a slight delay in adjusting the black cap, which was all but too small for use. Previous to the latter being finally drawn over his face, he shook hands with his reverend attendants, and kissed the cross with fervour. At two minutes past eight o'clock, the bolt was drawn, and the unfortunate man was launched into eternity. Death appeared to ensue very quickly, and without any struggling. There was an appearance of one or two very deep inspirations but the hands remained open, and none of the limbs moved with more than a slight tremor ... From this it would appear that the executioner had done his work ... in a very expert manner." (vi)

(iv) "Lyttelton Times", 6.4.1871, page 3.

(v) "Lyttelton Times", 9.3.1871, page 3.

(vi) "Lyttelton Times", 6.4.1871, Page 3.

The brutal murder of Margaret Burke caused such a sensation in Christchurch that it remained a vivid memory with the generations living at that time, a memory which was perpetuated by the fact that the mark of a blood-stained hand appeared periodically on the face of the headstone over her grave in the Roman Catholic Cemetery. The headstone was erected by the family she served, Mr. and Mrs. Robinson and their daughters. Engraved on the stone were the following words: -

"Sacred to the memory of Margaret Burke, who was murdered on the 9th of January, 1871, in the 22nd year of her age. She was loved in life and mourned in death. Erected by the Hon. William Robinson, Mrs. Robinson and the Misses Robinson as a mark of respect."

Robyne Jenkin has written that "The bloodstained tombstone became a great talking-point and a rather gruesome tourist attraction, and many were the stories and theories put forward to account for the stain. Some said it was a fungus, particularly as it seemed to show up more clearly after a shower of rain. Others suggested iron deposits, and even the Fenians - a revolutionary faction in Ireland at that time - came under suspicion. In later years the stone bore a decidedly scrubbed appearance over the stained area, from the repeated attempts at its removal. There is also a story that after some superstitious folk toppled the stone and broke it, a second stone was carried over the bridle path from Lyttelton and erected in its place, only to develop the same stain a short time afterwards." (vii) There is nothing to support the latter story and the legend of the blood-stained hand, which had appeared only a month after the murder, was shattered in 1962 following desecration of the cemetery by acts of vandalism by youths. The stone was broken into five pieces whereupon it became evident that the apparent 'blood-stain' was caused by a rust-coloured sandstone stratum, about the size of a man's hand, in the granite. The coincidence of the rust-coloured flaw in the centre of the stone undoubtedly gave rise to the legend. The stone remained in the cemetery until it was removed by the Christchurch City Council Parks and Reserves Department to be wired together and replaced. Unfortunately, however, it was mislaid.

(vii) Robyne Jenkin, New Zealand Mysteries, A.H. & A.W. Reed, page 129.

Alfred Charles Barker

In 1873 the "Lyttelton Times" announced that "We deeply regret to record the death of Dr Barker, one of the Pilgrim Fathers of the province, and a gentleman who enjoyed the highest possible measure of esteem from all who knew him". (i)

Alfred Charles Barker was born in London, the son of Joseph Gibbs Barker, of Birmingham. During his childhood his parents lived at Hereford, Cambridge and Kenilworth, and for a while in the Vintners' House at Holborn. The boy received most of his education in a private school at Hereford, and went to King's College, London, to study medicine. After qualifying as a surgeon he practised at Matlock, Bath and Rugby. He married Emma, daughter of Samuel Outram Bacon.

Becoming interested in the Canterbury scheme, Barker was one of the original land purchasers and was appointed surgeon to the 'Charlotte Jane'. On arrival in Lyttelton (16 December 1850) he was in the first boat which went off and found rooms at Day's Hotel, Sumner, where he left his family until their home was ready. At Christchurch he lived in a dugout in the park while he erected his first shelter, a V hut covered with a sail from the ships. The hut was used by the land office for the convenience of the land purchasers at the selection of sections in January 1851. The garden of his permanent home stretched from Cathedral Square to the terrace in Worcester Street. Barker has given us an idea of how the settlers lived:

"When first we came we used to club together and buy a sheep from Mr Deans at 5d. a lb. and when it was killed divided it; but in a week or two a regular butcher set up and he now calls for orders not only in the town but in the country within four miles. Meat has, however, risen and is now 7d. a lb. Flour just now is very high. At first we made damper of flour and water baked in an iron pot with a cover, called a camp oven; there are all sorts of scones and cakes; but now we make as good bread as you can get in England, and next door to me is a baker who has built an oven that will bake 200 loaves at a time. Potatoes are now about £6 a ton and very good I have been obliged to get a horse and have also two cows, one of which is in milk, and the other, a young heifer, is in calf".

(i) "Lyttelton Times", 21.3.1873, page 3.

Though a member of the Council of the Society of Land Purchasers from 1852 to 1854, Barker was too much engaged in his practice to take part in politics. For years he was one of the few medical practitioners on the Plains, and he had to ride long distances. In 1855 he was returned to the Provincial Council for Christchurch City, which he represented until 1857. He had no taste for public life, but had strong opinions which he often expressed in the press. His wife having died in 1858, Barker gave up his practice in 1859 and devoted himself more and more to his hobbies. His tastes were studious and scientific. Throughout his life he corresponded with Owen, Huxley and others on geology, botany and other phases of science. He studied the Darwin theories deeply, and in 1872 and 1873 contributed papers to the Canterbury Philosophical Institute. Many sketches which he made in the early days of the settlement are preserved in the Christchurch museum, and his skill as an amateur photographer furnished valuable historical pictures. He was a trustee of the museum and assisted every intellectual and literary movement in the province. He was also a fellow of Christ's College, and the College Library was built from his plans after his death. Barker died on 20 March 1873.



Of Dr Barker's funeral the "Lyttelton Times" reported that:

"The obsequies of the late Dr Barker took place yesterday, and the province may be said to have testified its respect for the memory of one of its earliest and most respected settlers in a fitting manner. As a public event it stands prominent above all other funerals that have taken place for many years, and the depth of feeling was quite equal to the display". (ii)

Dr Barker was buried in the family plot in the Church of England Cemetery, his wife having predeceased him on October 2, 1858. The ashes of his grand-son, Herbert McPherson, were interred in the family plot on May 9, 1973, this being the last recorded interment in the Barbadoes Street cemetery.

(ii) "Lyttelton Times", 25.3.1873, page 2.

16. George Gould

George Gould (1823-1889) was born at Hambledon, Oxfordshire. His parents gave him a sound education and an apprenticeship in commerce. Early in 1850 he married Hannah Lewis and on July 14 they sailed in the barque 'Camilla' arriving in Wellington on December 12. Having selected his section at the corner of Armagh and Colombo Streets, Gould erected a building as a dwelling and general store. The facilities for transport from the port were primitive, and he often carried merchandise either over the bridle path or from the landing at Ferrymead. In 1855 Gould took Grosvenor Miles into partnership, and the business, under the name of Gould and Miles, was moved to premises in Colombo Street. Owing to the insufficiency of silver currency in circulation, cardboard counters were improvised bearing the legend 'I.O.U.' Gould and Miles. Having the agency for Cookham boots, Gould in 1866 opened Cookham House as general outfitters on the opposite side of the Street. He was now deeply engaged as a squatters' agent in Canterbury and a large shipper of wool to England. He also established a chemist's business as Gould and C., which continued for years after he retired. About 1875 he sold the retail business to his managers (Chisnall and Stewart taking over Cookham House), and devoted himself to the financial and export business. He had started with very little capital, but in less than 20 years he had amassed a considerable fortune. This he invested largely in city, suburban and country lands. During a wool slump several Mackenzie Country stations fell into his hands, but he held them only until he could find a sale. In 1869, the Springfield estate, of about 16,000 acres in the Methven district, was offered for sale by Hill and Bray. Gould advertised for a manager, and appointed Duncan Cameron, thus establishing a long partnership which yielded a large fortune to Cameron, who after Gould's death bought the estate out for £65,000. Gould had a farm of 100 acres at the top of Colombo Street, 250 acres on the Lincoln Road (the site of Mount Magdala), and 1,000 acres at Springston. He imported shorthorns and Lincoln sheep from England, and in the sixties was a frequent prize-winner at the Canterbury shows.



Though debarred from public life by extreme deafness, Gould associated himself with nearly every movement for the advancement of Christchurch. He was the second president of the Agricultural and Pastoral Association (1869 - 74). He was President of the Poultry Association, the Union Rowing Club, and the Horticultural Society. He was Chairman of the Wesleyan Cemetery Board. He was an original shareholder and director of the Christchurch Gas Co., the New Zealand Shipping Co., and many others. He was a member of the first Christchurch town board (1862); a commissioner of the Domain Board and of the Board of Education, and a Governor of Canterbury College. He took a part in promoting building societies and insurance companies, and financially assisted many

struggling clubs and societies. Many pieces in the fine collection of statuary and pictures in the Canterbury Museum were presented by Gould. When George Gould died on March 28, 1889, a Memorial Service was held at the Durham Street Church in which Rev. W. Moreley preached:

"His memory would be blessed to the community, for men honoured a man not because he had amassed wealth in his life, but because he had recognised the rights of others He would be missed in many ways; by our own public institutions, by the Church, and most of all, in the homes of those whom his benevolence had assisted. He gave not only money, but time and thought, and many a poor and struggling man had, by following his wise advice, been 'placed on his feet'". (i)

Similar sentiments were preached by Rev. W.J. Williams of St. Albans:

"Though successful in the acquisition of wealth, he had not been spoiled by it as many men were, but had realised that his money was, to a large extent, a trust for the benefit of his fellow men". (ii)

The "Lyttelton Times" reported the funeral.

"The body of the late Mr George Gould was buried on Saturday afternoon in the Wesleyan Cemetery, Barbadoes Street. The widespread respect felt for him was shown by the large concourse which attended his funeral, by the flags hoisted at half-mast in all parts of the city, and by the tolling of the great bell of the Cathedral during the funeral ceremony. Shortly after half-past two o'clock the funeral procession left Hambleton, North Belt. Before the hearse walked a number of ministers of the Wesleyan Church, and immediately following it were over a hundred mourners on foot, headed by some thirty members of the Union Rowing Club (of which the deceased was President for many years) wearing on their left arms the club colours covered with crape. A train of seventy private carriages and other vehicles bearing mourners followed. The 'cortege', which was about half a mile in length, proceeded to the cemetery by way of Durham and Salisbury Streets, surrounded and followed by a large number of the public. The blinds in the windows of the houses in the streets were, mostly, drawn down as the procession passed. On arriving at the cemetery, the coffin, which was polished wood, was borne from the hearse to the grave, preceded by the Rev. John

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- (i) "Lyttelton Times", 1.4.1889, page 3.
(ii) "Lyttelton Times", 1.4.1889, page 3.

Aldred reading the opening words of the burial service. There was no pall, but on the coffin were laid beautiful wreaths and crosses of white flowers. The chief mourners were Mr Gould's three sons, Messrs Joseph, George and Charles Gould, and the two Messrs Lewis. Around the grave were arrayed a profusion of flowers. The service at the grave was conducted by the Revs. J. Aldred and W. Moreley. The gathering at the cemetery was one of the largest and most representative ever seen at a funeral in Canterbury. The churches, public bodies and other institutions which have benefited by Mr Gould's liberality were represented by their principal ministers and members, and nearly every man whose name stands high in the estimation of the public of Christchurch was to be seen in the crowd around the grave". (iii)

17 George Oram

George Oram (1826 - 76) arrived in Christchurch in the early 1860's. He had been a butler in London and in May 1862 was engaged as a steward to the Christchurch Club and later managed the Club successfully until he ran foul of two members who complained continually. His writing of a long complaint in the Club's complaint book led to his leaving, whereupon he leased what is now the Clarendon Hotel which he transformed into the finest in Christchurch and regularly reserved for royal visits. He was Chairman of the Licensed Victuallers' Association and in 1865 was one of the original founders of the Canterbury Brewing, Malting and Distilling Company, being appointed director and chairman at the first meeting in May 1867. A keen horseman, Oram was a steward at the Papanui Steeple Chase Meeting in 1867 and used to ride at the early paper-chase hunts, breaking his ribs in a hunt in July 1872. He retired from the Clarendon Hotel in 1873 and a year before his death on April 3, 1876, he bought the New Brighton Hotel. Oram was given a full military funeral due to his close association with the Canterbury Yeomanry Cavalry. The "Lyttelton Times" reported the funeral: -

"The funeral of the late Mr. George Oram, well and favourably known from his business with the Christchurch Club as manager, and later as proprietor of the Clarendon Hotel, took place yesterday, and was attended by his late comrades of the Canterbury Yeomanry Cavalry, the Licensed Victuallers, and a large number of private friends, the whole numbering about twelve hundred. The funeral 'cortege' left the New Brighton Hotel at a quarter past one o'clock, and was met at the Stanmore Bridge by the Cavalry, under the command of Lieutenant Slater, and members of the Licensed Victuallers' Association, of which the deceased was President for four years in succession. The procession, headed by a firing party and the band of the Canterbury Yeomanry Cavalry, playing the "Dead March in Saul" with the horse of the deceased properly caparisoned, in advance, proceeded to the Church of England Cemetery, where the burial service was performed by the Very Rev. the Dean of Christchurch, after which the firing party discharged three volleys over the grave. The body was borne by Messrs. D. McGuinness, C. Green, H. Haddrell, and J. Hadfield, old friends of the deceased." (i)

(i) "Lyttelton Times", 7.4.1876, page 2

Henry John Tancred

Henry John Tancred was a member of the Legislative Council from 1856 to 1866, and held office in three ministries. He was a son of Sir Thomas Tancred of Boroughbridge, York, where he was born in 1825. Educated at Rugby, he entered the Austrian Army, serving in Hungary and in Italy. In 1851 he migrated to Canterbury, "... and a reference to the journals of those days shows that he very early began to exercise that influence amongst his fellow colonists to which his character entitled him". (i) Two years later he was elected to the first Provincial Council. Tancred became Speaker of the Canterbury Provincial Council in 1866, and retained the office until the abolition of the provinces. He took a deep interest in educational matters: was a member of the Canterbury Board of Education, a governor of Christ's College, Christchurch, and of the Canterbury College. He was the first chancellor of the New Zealand University, a position which he filled with distinguished ability from his appointment in 1871 to the date of his death, April 27, 1884. As the "Lyttelton Times" stated: -

"The University is now a great national institution; it has made its way in the country and is solidly established. One main feature of its work is that it is accessible to all, rich and poor, great and small; and for its purpose and utility, and chiefly for this last great benefit, New Zealand is enormously indebted to Mr. Tancred." (ii)

Henry Tancred was buried in the Church of England Cemetery, together with his wife, Sarah Maria Tancred, who died on February 8, 1897.

(i) "Lyttelton Times", 28.4.1884, page 5
(ii) "Lyttelton Times", 28.4.1884, page 5

22 Charles Thomas Ick

Charles Thomas Ick was Mayor of Christchurch in 1879 and in 1880, and proved himself to be a man of enlightened public spirit. He arrived in Christchurch in 1870, and soon began to take an active interest in matters bearing on the progress of the city and the well-being of its people. Ick was a member of the Christchurch City Council for many years, and during his first year of the mayoralty he was instrumental in organising the Christchurch Benevolent Aid Society, and was also connected with the Hospital and Charitable Aid Board. He was born on January 9, 1827, in Salop, England, where his father, Joseph Ick, was proprietor of a well-known estate "Lady Halton". After receiving a sound education in Shropshire, he entered the drapery trade, which he followed after his arrival in New Zealand for a short time in Dunedin. He landed at Dunedin in 1857, and, on leaving business, took up land at Waikouaiti, where he farmed until 1870, when he came to Christchurch. Ick carried on business in Christchurch as an auctioneer up until the death of his wife, Jane Ick, on December 3, 1883, when he retired into private life. "The loss of his wife ... was a great shock from which Mr. Ick appears never to have recovered", (i) and two years later on April 27, 1885, he died after a painful illness, leaving a family of six daughters and two sons. Charles Ick was buried in the Church of England Cemetery.

(i) "Lyttelton Times", 28.4.1885, page 4

29.

Cyrus Davie

Cyrus Davie (1821 - 71) who was to hold the position of Chief Surveyor of Canterbury during the years 1867 - 70, holds the distinction of being the only person to arrive in Canterbury on two of the "first four ships". "He was booked on the Randolph, but lingered so long of the wharf saying goodbye to his sweetheart that the ship sailed without him. He caught the Sir George Seymour which sailed on the next day, and when the two ships came within sight of each other a month later, he was transferred by rowing boat". (i) Subsequently his sweetheart, Emma, was brought out and whom he married on November 30, 1854. Cyrus Davie died at the age of 50 on June 18, 1871, the "Lyttelton Times" reporting his funeral as follows: -

"The remains of the late Mr. Davie was conveyed to their last resting place in the Church of England cemetery, yesterday afternoon. The funeral cortege left the deceased gentlemen's residence a few minutes after the appointed time - half past two o'clock. As a token of respect to his memory, the Government offices were closed at one o'clock, so as to enable the officials to take part in the ceremony. The Freemasons mustered in considerable force, and, altogether, about 300 persons attended the funeral, including many of the oldest and most prominent residents in the province, some of whom came from a considerable distance to attend the sad and closing event in the career of one who was universally liked and respected. The burial service was performed by the Rev. E.A. Lingard, Incumbent of St. Luke's parish." (ii)

Cyrus Davie is buried with his wife who died on April 12, 1902 at the age of 78.

(i) "Press", 26.4.1980, page 16
(ii) "Lyttelton Times", 22.6.1871, page 2

Joseph Colborne Veel

Joseph Colborne Veel, who was Secretary and Treasurer of the North Canterbury Education Board from April, 1878, to the time of his death in 1895, and who also held the office of Principal of the Normal School for about five or six years, was well and popularly known in connection with educational matters in Canterbury. He belonged to an old Gloucestershire family and was born in 1831. He received his education at Kidderminster and Magdalen College, Oxford, where he graduated and took his M.A. degree in 1857, coming out to New Zealand in the same year. Veel was originally intended for holy orders, but preferred to follow other pursuits. After settling in Christchurch, he joined the staff of the "Press" newspaper, as sub-editor and, subsequently, became leader-writer and eventually editor. With a short intermission, Veel continued his journalistic career in Christchurch till 1873. In 1875, he was elected a member of the Board of Governors of Canterbury College. In his college days at Oxford he was known as an athlete, and in his later career, took a great interest in the game of chess, of which he was a strong player. Veel succeeded the Rev. Habens, as Secretary of the North Canterbury Education Board, on Habens's appointment as Inspector-General of schools for the Colony, and became principal of the Normal school about the year 1890.

Joseph Veel's headstone in the Church of England Cemetery records that he was '...for many years Secretary of the North Canterbury Board of Education, and for some time Principal of the Normal School, Christchurch'. The headstone was 'Erected as a tribute of respect and friendly friendship by his fellow workers in the field of education'. The headstone, as well as recording that his wife and family are also buried there, evidences that one of his sons, William, drowned at Sumner on February 25, 1883.

33

William Colborne Veel

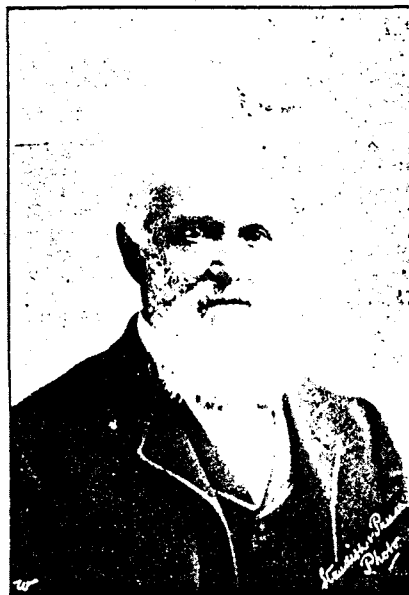
The accidental drowning of William was reported in the "Lyttelton Times". William, aged 14, accompanied by Frank Hart, aged 11, were walking along Summer beach when they came across a punt tied up to a jetty. The boys got into the punt and shortly afterwards the rope came undone. The "Lyttelton Times" takes up the story: -

"The tide was running out with great strength, and the punt having drifted from the shore was carried into the stream. In the boat were one oar and half a paddle. Master Veel tried to scull the boat in, but unfortunately dropped the oar overboard. He wished Hart to jump in and recover it, but Hart, fortunately for himself, had not sufficient confidence in his swimming powers. The deceased then endeavoured to make shift with the half paddle, but his efforts only resulted in the punt getting athwart the stream with imminent danger of being capsized. The deceased then sprang out with the intention of swimming ashore, where he might give the alarm, but was unable to hold his own against the tide. Young Hart, seeing him sink, whistled for Mr. Milner's black dog, which was on the beach, and the intelligent creature seemed at once to understand what was required. Swimming out to where deceased sunk, it caught hold of him, seized his coat collar. The weight of the body and the strength of the stream was too much for it, and after being dragged beneath the surface for a foot or two it was compelled to let its hold. Deceased was seen to rise to the surface several times before finally sinking." (i)

Subsequently, a local resident, Mr. Monk, saw Hart in the punt drifting rapidly towards Shag Rock. Taking his boat he rowed out and rescued him. Veel's body was found two hours later about three hundred yards from where the accident had originally happened.

34 William Pratt

On October 16, 1905, the "Lyttelton Times" reported that "The death is announced, at the age of eighty-two years of Mr. William Pratt, one of the oldest of Canterbury's earlier settlers ..." (i). William Pratt, who had been a Member of the Christchurch City Council, was born in 1823, educated at a Board School in Durham, and brought up in the drapery trade. He was for some time employed as a draper's assistant in London before deciding to come out to New Zealand in 1843, in which year he arrived with the early settlers in Nelson.



After undergoing many of the hardships of those early days, Pratt moved to Wellington in 1848, and was engaged as a bookkeeper in a store for about twelve months. In December, 1849 he settled in Lyttelton, in a storekeeping and bakery business, the first that was established in that port. This business was conducted for five years, during which period he witnessed the landing of most of the Canterbury pilgrims. In 1854, Pratt moved to Nelson, where he was engaged in farming for the following nine years. Returning to Canterbury in 1863, he purchased a drapery business which he conducted successfully until 1872. He was chairman of the Board of Directors of the original Christchurch Tramway Company, and was several times solicited to contest the Mayoralty and seek political honours, but these has not attracted him, and he consistently declined to entertain them. He published a most interesting volume, entitled "Colonial Experiences in New Zealand, by an Old Colonist", in which he describes the struggles of the early Nelson and Canterbury settlers. William Pratt was married in 1851 in Lyttelton to a daughter of James Farmer, of Riwaka, had five sons and three daughters and died on October 15, 1905.

(i) "Lyttelton Times", 16.10.1905, page 8

John Williams (Senior and Junior)

Although John Williams (Senior) was not the first person to be buried in the Barbadoes Street Cemetery, his remains are the oldest to be buried there.

John Williams and Isabella Williams arrived with their family of two sons and five daughters in the 'Randolph' on December 16, 1850. John Williams was a baker and confectioner by trade, and before emigrating to New Zealand had been in Dumfermline. He was a stoutly built man, and possibly this may have been responsible for his sudden death when climbing the Bridle Path on December 18, 1850. Also he would have had very little exercise for four months on the voyage from Plymouth.

The "Lyttelton Times", in its first edition, reported that: -

"... one of the steerage passengers from the Randolph, named John Williams, who had been walking out to Riccarton and Christchurch, was found lying dead near the bridle-path, on the top of the hill above the town, by some other travellers on their return. Medical assistance was quickly procured, but it was ascertained that life had been for sometime quite extinct. The cause of his death appears to have been of an apoplectic nature, and was probably hurried on by the excessive heat of the weather, and the unusual fatigue, to which, in his praiseworthy endeavours to find a suitable spot on which to locate his family, the deceased had exposed himself. The remains were brought into town, and buried in the cemetery on the following day by Rev. E. Puckle. John Williams bore a high character with all who had an opportunity of knowing him." (i)

Although John Williams was buried in Lyttelton, his burial being the first in the Lyttelton Burial Register, at a later date his remains were removed to the family plot in the Church of England Cemetery in Barbadoes Street.

The sudden loss of the breadwinner must have been a great shock to Mrs. Williams and her family of eight, more especially as they were left without any funds in a strange country. Evidently John Williams was depending on his trade to provide money for his wife and family. Following advertisements placed in the "Lyttelton Times" Mrs. Williams

(i) "Lyttelton Times", 11.1.1851, page

received some assistance from her fellow passengers, and also made yeast for sale, which brought in a small income. She had communicated with an uncle in Scotland and asked him to forward softgoods, which enabled her to open a drapery shop in Victoria Square, known as Glasgow. Mrs. Williams carried on business for a number of years with the assistance of her daughters. When she retired from business she lived in Lichfield Street, eventually dying on August 8, 1872.

John Williams (Junior), seventeen years of age at the time of his father's death, joined the Lands and Survey Department in the Provincial District of Canterbury in 1852. He remained in this department for forty-one years, until his death in August, 1893. After a few years he had worked up to the position of chief draughtsman, and remained in that position until promoted to the position of Receiver of Land Revenue. The work in this office was greatly increased when the Seddon Government cut up large stations for closer settlement. To show the deep respect John Williams was held in by his fellow officials in the Lands Department, they erected a tombstone to his memory at his grave in the Church of England Cemetery. It is this tombstone which has inscribed on it the names of John Williams, Senior and Junion, Isabella and family.

On January 2, 1883 the "Lyttelton Times" reported that:

"Accidents of a serious or fatal character on the Canterbury railways are, fortunately, not of frequent occurrence, but yesterday furnished a melancholy exception to our usual freedom from casualties. After the train that left Lyttelton at 12.20 p.m. had passed Hillsborough, the stationmaster noticed something which he at first took to be a swag lying on the line, about 200 yards in the direction of Christchurch. Examination showed that this was the body of a man fearfully mangled, the skull split open and crushed at the back, both legs cut off below the knee, and cut to pieces by the wheels of the train". (i)

The body, which was taken to the police morgue, posed identification problems. The deceased was dressed in a dark coat, light tweed trousers, and a black hat ... the only clue to his identity was that given by an account found in his pocket and made out to a 'James Thompson'. The body was, however, identified later by the deceased's wife and daughter, who confirmed that it was Charles Thompson, a farmer, of St. Albans. It was also confirmed that Thompson had recently sold his property and had made arrangements to proceed to Invercargill.

At the Inquest into Thompson's death it was thought that he had slipped in endeavouring to step from one carriage to another while the train was moving. "There are marks between the rails, with occasional patches of blood, for a distance of about a chain below the spot where the body was found, evidently showing that after falling from the platform, deceased had been dragged along by the train before he was finally disengaged". (ii) Although the guard "... did not observe that he was the worse for liquor ...", Thompson's wife stated that:

"He had been in the habit of drinking a good deal lately. Last Sunday he seemed to be suffering from the effects of drink; he said he was not well". (iii)

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- (i) "Lyttelton Times", 2.1.1883, page 4.
(ii) "Lyttelton Times", 2.1.1883, page 4.
(iii) "Lyttelton Times", 4.1.1883, page 3.

Charles Thompson's tombstone in the Church of England Cemetery records that he "... met with his death January 1st, 1883, while travelling by train from Lyttelton to Christchurch, aged 47".

William Smith

William Smith died on March 15, 1879 as a result of injuries sustained in a railway accident. On his tombstone, in the Church of England Cemetery, are inscribed the following words:

'William Smith, aged 24 years, late engine driver of the New Zealand Railways who met with his death whilst in the execution of his duty, March 15, 1879. Erected by the Locomotive Department'.

The accident occurred on February 27, 1879 when Smith was bringing in a heavy Dunsandel goods train at Middleton station. Leaving his position in the engine room, he walked along the engine plate in order to put down the brake of the leading truck. He stepped on the buffer and lifted the brake handle out of the iron socket, but when he was about to put his weight on it he slipped and was thrown onto the railway line. The "Lyttelton Times" takes up the story:

"The truck wheels passed over his right leg between the knee and ankle. The train was fortunately going very slowly at the time and the stoker and guard, who saw the accident, were thus enabled to pull up almost immediately. Smith was placed in the guard's van, and on the arrival of the train was conveyed to the Hospital. Drs. Prins, Frankish, and Bell Hay were quickly in attendance, and after a short consultation decided to amputate the leg. The patient was then put under chloroform, and the operation successfully performed by Dr. Prins. Smith bore his suffering bravely all through, and we were glad to learn on inquiry at a late hour last night that he was going on admirably. He has been on the line here between six and seven years, is a steady young man, and respected by his superior officers and associates". (i)

Unhappily, however, Smith's amputation was not a success and he died some two weeks later. Railway accidents were not an uncommon occurrence in early Christchurch for two years earlier in Christchurch, Tola Peachy, a shunter, suffered a similar accident at the Christchurch Railway Station. His tombstone in the Church of England Cemetery records that he "... died from injuries received on the railway, April 9th, 1877, aged 28 years".

(i) "Lyttelton Times", 28.3.1879, page 5.

Francis Herbert Stewart

In the Church of England Cemetery there is a tombstone to the memory of Francis Herbert Stewart who was drowned in a boating accident on the Estuary on February 29, 1896. The "Weekly Press" referred to the occasion as follows: "Never has anything occurred at the popular seaside resort which has created such a profound sensation". The "Press" reported that "Seldom has such gloom been cast over Christchurch as was the case on Saturday morning, when the news spread of a fatal yacht accident, by which three persons had been drowned". An account of the multiple drowning upon which the following notes have been based, has been written by Richard Greenaway in an article entitled "A boating accident", "Press", 19.6.1976, page 13.

On Friday night, February 28, 1896, Harry Hawker, James Murray and Francis Stewart travelled by tram from New Brighton to Christchurch. Stewart was a young employee of the New Brighton Tramway Company. In Christchurch the group was met by the commodore of the New Brighton Sailing Club, William Francis Warner, an experienced seaman and explorer and owner of Warner's Hotel. The party intended to sail Hawker's newly built yacht, "Waitangi", in preparation for a race the next day. At about 11.00a.m. they arrived at Monk's Bay where "a strong nor'wester was then blowing, and Mr. Monk advised them not to make the attempt to take the boat to New Brighton". (i) By 11.30p.m. the wind had moderated sufficiently for the party to undertake the short trip. Soon after a strong gust of wind hit the boat broadside, the boom striking the water, and the yacht capsized leaving the men clinging to the upturned craft. A short discussion ensued, after which it was decided that Hawker should attempt to swim ashore with a length of rope between his teeth. The rope, which proved to be too short, was discarded by Hawker, and he continued swimming until striking sand with his feet. Unable to communicate with those on the yacht he crawled and rolled over the mudflats until he reached shore and alerted a local named Nankivell. The two then returned to the scene in a punt but no sign of the yacht or the men could be found. On Saturday morning news of the accident spread and parties from New Brighton and Sumner searched the area. The yacht was discovered in eight feet of water at low tide

(i) "Lyttelton Times", 2.3.1896, page 5

with all sails set, and shortly after 1.00p.m. the body of James Murray was found lying face downwards. It was thought that he had managed to swim from the yacht but having reached the mudflats was too exhausted to continue and drowned. William Warner's body was found at noon on Sunday floating in the water. It was not until almost a week later that Francis Stewart's body was found and it was thought that he, although a strong swimmer, had had no chance to escape, being jammed and held down by the rigging.

By the time Stewart's body had been recovered the Inquest and funerals of Warner and Murray had already taken place. Another elaborate funeral was arranged with a special train being chartered to take New Brighton residents into Christchurch so that they might attend the service. The "Lyttelton Times" reported the funeral.

"The funeral of the late Mr. Stewart, who met his death in the yachting accident on Saturday week, took place at the Church of England Cemetery, Barbadoes Street, on Saturday afternoon. The 'cortege', which was a large one, including a number of residents of both New Brighton and Christchurch, left the former place soon after noon and came up to the residence of the deceased's parents, and went from thence to the cemetery. Amongst those following were members of the New Brighton Tramway Company. The pall-bearers were Messrs. R.C. Bishop, G. M'Intyre, S. Hardie, C. Curtis, A. Thomas and J. Thompson, and the bearers were Messrs. Irving, E. Sefton, A. Robb, J.W. Malcolmson, Keats and Hannah, two of each representing the Fishing Club, and Sailing Club and the residents of New Brighton. The service was performed by the Ven. Archdeacon Lingard, assisted by the Rev. W.A. Pascoe. The coffin was covered with the flags of the Fishing and Sailing Clubs, surrounded by a number of beautiful wreaths, one of which was from the Sailing Club, whilst the Fishing Club sent a handsome floral anchor." (ii)

Not only was the floral anchor a fitting gesture, but inscribed on Francis Herbert's tombstone are the words: -

*"Out of the deep have I called unto
Thee, O Lord, Lord, Hear my voice."*

Mary Ann Knapman (nee Bishop)

In the Church of England Cemetery there is a headstone to the memory of Mary Ann Knapman who died on August 21, 1877 at the age of 66. Mary Ann Bishop (who married Edward Knapman on December 8, 1858) arrived on the "Charlotte Jane". The Canterbury Public Library has a typed copy of her diary entitled "Journal of M.A. Bishop, emigrant to the Canterbury Settlement, New Zealand, in the 'Charlotte Jane' 1850 - 1851". Her diary is in two parts, the first commencing August 29, 1850 to January 6, 1851 covers the voyage on the "Charlotte Jane" and the first three weeks in Canterbury, the second commencing April 2, 1851 to May 16, 1851 covers her early impressions of Canterbury settlement. Extracts from her diary, referred to elsewhere in this report, are set out on the following pages.

15 December 1850

"Sunday a beautiful day; service twice, text taken from 101st Psalm, 2nd verse; a very good address. We were off Akaroa Bay about four or five miles. We had to tack about all day, the wind being contrary. The mountains are high and have a brown appearance. Several caves were seen and many birds ..."

16 December 1850

"A most lovely day. I am now writing on deck amidst all the people, in the greatest state of excitement. Have passed Banks Peninsula and going down or up whichever it may be called the bay which leads to Port Lyttelton. We have high hills on both sides of us; round them is a little wooden hut may be seen; seaward floating about, birds flying; everyone talking but myself ... We cast anchor at 10 o'clock a.m. and how can I describe it, the vessel trembling; all staring about. When we were a little calm we had a special service, the 'Venite' Psalms 107th, from 23 to 36 and 144 and the prayer for unity and Augustus came on board. Ed and Charles went on shore as did many others. At 4 o'clock p.m. the 'Randolph' arrived. There was great cheering, our good Capn. not a little pleased at reaching the haven first. Messrs Le Cren and Longden came on board and drank tea with us - in the evening Lord and Lady Grey (the Governor) hearing our bell for prayers, came from their vessel, the 'Fly' to join us with several others, we were introduced to them ..."

17 December 1850

"Very fine; Fred and Emma went on shore; I busy packing all the morning; tired myself and went to bed. Mr. and Mrs. Kingdon went on shore, They went to some cottages; one woman told him she had not been to Church for eight years! Quite time a church was established; they have a Catholic Priest; They are sure to find out every place. Mr. Kingdon will have service directly, though there is no church being built as was reported in England. The 'Sir George Seymour' is come in and where they are all to be put no one knows. There is not the accommodation for the first arrivals as the Association made out. The Governor has promised to arrange everything as quickly as possible, but many are disappointed; in fact it is deceiving the public. The boys are to have a room over Augustus's store and Charles and family the other; we are to be in Susan's parlour, but here we are and must make the best of it. Susan expects to be confined in Feby. We have had a good passage of 98 days - no quarelling or angry words; all united except in the steerage where misunderstandings have taken place; but on board the 'Randolph' they had a mutiny. No one would work; the Capn. obliged to take the helm, the binnacles cut off; a fight in the Cuddy etc. etc. On board the other vessel there were unpleasant occurrences; we have a custom house officer on board! Thus taxes are begun - I have written in haste, badly and have made no doubt plenty of blunders, but you must - my much loved friends - excuse all. Had you seen the queer positions I was placed in often, you would wonder how I could have written at all. I shall remain quiet for a year and if by that time England is uppermost I return to you - I enclose you a few ferns and the wing of the black Petrel; more I will send you when I make a collection. Our good Captain will take this; will you send it to others? Some may like to scan it

over; it is a most unstudied affair; but I will write no more apologies, I know the goodness of your affectionate hearts. Adieu, may you all enjoy a happy new year and many more added to it - accept my thanks for your prayers. I thought of you always in mine; I knew your thoughts of me and mine; may God bless you and shower down every blessing on you for all the great acts of generous kindness you have shewn me; thanks again thanks are yours - the plain that is to be Canterbury is over the mountains to our right going up to Lyttelton about a mile in descent and can be made a good place in years to come. I still say to all, pause before you emigrate. It is a serious undertaking, only fit for men to contend with and men when a living can be had in England be contented; if you could hear the remarks of disapprobation already expressed, you would be thankful to be where you are. Mr. Godley has been remaining at Wellington seven months, doing nothing in consequence of which the works have been stopped here. They will be again begun now; the road is not finished, so that our heavy goods must go round by water up the river. Some of the gentlemen are gone to the plain to build mud huts to live in until they can have land; there is not room in the barracks. I have just had a lettuce leaf with my tea. I must tell you of a few of the impositions; we are close to the shore, but the boatmen charge 2/- and 3/- each person - each way. Milk which is in reality 4d per quart, one shilling. Flour yesterday morning, 12/- a sack, is now upwards of £1; and butter 1/4 per pound; eggs 2/- a dozen. Thunder occurs, but seldom earthquakes Mr. Wakefield says are unknown here."

18 December 1850

"A most lovely day; very warm. We have been busy packing up. A petition is going to be sent to Governor Grey asking permission for all to choose their land before two months are passed; for it is a great waste of time, particularly as the Association have not made places for us to go to. Another thing - it was promised we might stay on board 28 days after our arrival; but here we are expected to leave the vessel as soon as possible ... The emigrants are sent on shore to make hast in building houses at the rate of 7/- per day with their food ..."

19 December 1850

"Early this morn we were awoke, it being calm it was a good opportunity for us to come on shore ... There are several wells, a good Jetty with crane; carts and horses are wanted and how we are to get our things over the mountains I cannot think. So many vessels coming in at once prevents the people from being accommodated. Houses are being built as quickly as possible ... One poor man fell down a corpse going over the mountains; he, wife and eight children came by the 'Randolph'. A subscription is to be raised for them. Another man is most seriously hurt by the blasting of the rock."

20 December 1850

"... Today the Capn., Mr. Ward, the Honble S. Wortley called on us besides others; society will be here as in England, and in appearance we must keep our position in life. I am very glad of this, for this is one thing I had an objection to; Susan has a servant, and we shall have one also, for the heat is so great that it would be impossible for us to do hard work in a climate like this. The Maori women smoke; they place a pipe if their ear, give the ear a twist which confines the pipe fast; they

go about begging baccy - when they look at us, if we say 'Terequica', how do you do, they are satisfied. They are the queerest looking set of things that ever were wearing loose dresses, turbans heads etc ..."

21 December 1850

"Very hot and fine; wind gone down. We are as you may suppose in a muddle, our things are coming on shore on Monday. It is really strange to see how little huts, canvas cots and small wooden houses spring up; today five are built; people glad of any small place to lay their heads in; eight families have been stowed into one small room."

25 December 1850

"Christmas Day; a lovely day but windy. We went to Church and stopped to the Sacrament. I felt an inward degree of satisfaction and at the same time I was sorrowful; this day last year I was with you dearest cousins, and would that I could know how you were passing this day, I fear in sorrow; for if Mrs. Huntley be alive, her sufferings must make you anxious and if she be gone to her Heavenly home, you think of her and her poor babes. Many here are in trouble too, for Mr. Godley has been on board the vessels and stopped the provisions, telling all that they are to pay each 5/- each day and their servants 2/6 for every day they remain on board. He has done this in the name of the Association; shame on them all in England; they said we were to remain on board 28 days after our arrival, to give us time to seek for shelter; no, they get us out and send you adrift. What matters as long as they have your money? In going to Sumner (unless you go over the stupendous hills) you are obliged to go round by water. In doing so there is a bar which when rough and at all times is dangerous. Mr. Barker has tried to get his goods round in a boat and after an absence of three days all came back. Charles and the two Mr. Fishers went; they were obliged to jump into the water to save their lives, besides injuring the goods they took with them; others have tried and cannot succeed. This dangerous spot has been known for years and yet the Association have not continued with the road, there it is begun and how we are all to get our goods over these mountains we cannot imagine. There is one cart and horse to let in this place at 10/- per day. Had the road been made, part of our difficulty might have been avoided; but I always said "divide by two what you hear of Canterbury"; people are better in England, particularly if they can get a living. Tell E. Adams and the Tiffens that here there is no chance of their being able to rough a life of toil or to get anything to do likely to suit them.

27 December 1850

"As usual wind and dust ... The 'Cressy' is come; the banker, poor fellow, is gone mad and is confined in his cabin. I wonder what they will do with him here. Thus our good 'Charlotte Jane' is the only vessel come without trouble. Her men still continue with her. Five of the 'Randolph' sailors have run away' several in prison on board the 'George Seymour' and the chief mate of this 'Barbara Gordon' by which Mr. Longden came, threw himself overboard. Have we not cause to be thankful ..."

29 December 1850

"Fine windy and dusty. After church I went for a short walk over the hills. My legs not yet accustomed to walking were tired. The hills are patched here and there with flax, tall grass and fern ..."

4 January 1851

"Dreadfully oppressive. Ther: 75. The Bishop (Selwyn) landed early this morn, breakfasted with Mr. Godley, took a walk to see the roads etc., etc. After dinner went with the four clergymen of the vessels to be introduced to their separate companions during the voyage. We had a long conversation with him. He has a musical voice and very pleasing countenance. He regrets that we were led to believe that a church was begun to be built; many other things he would have arranged differently ... You would be so pleased to see the Maoris flock after him; the place has been crowded with them today. A chief with many attendants called up him at Mr. Godley's. This man shook hands with Emma and me. He is very old, tattooed all over his face. He has a ruffle round his neck like a great boa, a mat over his shoulders made of flax - very pretty; ..."

13 April 1851

"Sunday. Fine but cold. After morning service we went with Mr. Longden half way up the Bridle Path and back, and after service in the afternoon we went with Mr. Fisher to the top. It is very steep. We met Mr. and Mrs. Godley. I saw the plains for the first time - a large tract of flat land, in the distance one patch of trees to be seen, and here and there a tent or warry; two winding rivers, a swampy place, a sea beach of 45 miles, a long way off more mountains and this is the much talked of fertile spot of land which may perhaps some day be decked with human beings, gardens, fields etc., etc. ..."

16 April 1851

"Very wet and cold. Ther: 56. The first sale of land took place today; great competition; one gentleman from Sydney, Mr. Atkins, bought to the amount of £600; some of the quarter acres sold for £50. Augustus was the auctioneer. He had his Qr acre for £24. Altogether this sale will bring in the Association £15000. The lowest price given for one Qr acre was £19. There is a vessel of emigrants coming here from Adelaide and as soon after their arrival as possible a sale of land is to take place, as some rich folk are expected to come who will want to build. I hope they will not be disappointed. It is very certain unless a person has money it is useless emigrating except for the labourer. People have an idea that abroad you can do any thing; not so, pride, the position in life you are accustomed to move in and follow you there and the one may do many things never done before, yet you cannot forget what you are ..."

17 April 1851

"Ther: 56. Fine, cold and dirty. I am not very bright today, but I do not have spasms so often and I am thankful. Diarrhoea and a low fever are very much about. People do not look strong or healthy. Perhaps the great change which affects European plants tries us too."

6 May 1851

"Very fine. We were busy during the morning packing up. The week after next we are to go to the plains. The house will not be finished, but a room will be ready for us. Should the wet weather set in, we might be here all the winter, which for some things we do not wish. My brothers are uncomfortable as they are; but I shall greatly miss our little church. Three miles we shall be from XChurch - no roads and the very sudden changes in the weather make me afraid to go far off. This is called "the poor

man's country". Fresh butter is now 5/- per pound; salt Do 1/6 - meat 9d a lb; bread 1/- per qn; everything else in proportion. Tea is cheap: 2/3 per pound, salt, 2d per lb; mustard 3/6 a lb; pepper 1/4 per lb. A labourer at present gets 4/- a day; a carpenter 1/- per hour! These and the man with a certain income may do, but those who come with only a small sum do badly. Our clergymen have £70 per year! The schoolmasters who were sent out with a promise to have employment, are all, but three, thrown upon their own resources. Disappointment brings discontent and unhappiness ..."

12 May 1851

"Fine and very cold. Busy all the morning getting things ready for Fred to take with him. He has taken 10 more young fruit trees and our cat. The rats are so numerous that the cat is taken over to do some mischief among them. Edward has let a little peice of his land to one of the men now working for him. By this means the land will be improved and a man, handy and willing to assist without being a regular servant. Farming servants' wages are very high: 4/- per day. They have found another skeleton - that of a child. We went part of the way with him, but the bridle path is so steep, one cannot get far without being greatly fatigued.

14 May 1851

"We have heard that the cuddy cook of the 'Charlotte Jane' died at Sydney in three hours of a poisoned thumb, touching - it is presumed - beef which is so diseased that there has been quite a to do in the place; how shocking."

15 May 1851

"... Ellen finds it very dull at XChurch; so shall we, I dare say. I never did like being away from a town. I spoke to a Mrs. Mason the other day. She is going away in October to a place where she will not see a soul out of her own family, her nearest neighbour being 20 miles off; and their land is at present in a wild, uncultivated state. A highway robbery was committed over the Sumner road on Saturday and an attempt to throw the poor man over the cliff. The men are in custody. An accident has happened to Mr. Parkinson, a friend of ours and a Kentish man. His horse has thrown him, broken his leg and injured his collarbone. Two more deaths have taken place - children, the father of one at XChurch has had the body buried in his own ground because the land, called the cemetery, is a perfect swamp. It is to be drained, it is to be hoped soon, too. It has to be cleared up ..."

16 May 1851

"Very fine day, but very cold. Ther: 48. We came home last night at 12 o'clock. It was a brilliant night and the snow lying very thick on the opposite mountains, which - with the moon shining on them - looked grand. We spent a very pleasant evening - 14 of us. We had some good music and singing ... You will perceive that I am not unhappy, but that my own inclination and wishes are still in England; in the land of my fathers would I dwell. This is denied me for some wise end. I must be submissive. It is a happiness to see Edward well and happy. Fred has not enjoyed such good health as in England, but I trust when once he is acclimatised he will be healthy. Emma is stouter than when she left. I am better, because my mind is more at ease. All the rest are well. Do not smile when I tell you that our infant colony is going to have a Regatta on the 24th, to celebrate our Queen's birthday. Climbing a

greasy pole, a race in sacks, etc., etc., etc., are to be the amusements of the day. On Monday there is a grand party given by Messrs. Stoddart, Aitken and Templar (Sydney Gentlemen) to all the grandees of the place. We are invited, but as we have to cross the bay, and not being quite so fond of boat pleasuring as my dear Cousin Davies, I have declined - which will not be accepted; so whether we go or not, can't say. And now my beloved Relations and friends, accept our best love. We hope you are all in the enjoyment of good health. Write to me soon, tell me all you can - everything, ever so trifling, is to me most interesting. God bless my Aunts, Uncle Charles and you dearcousins. My poor heart is full in thus parting with you. You have no idea what pleasure I feel in scribbling to you the events of each day. It seems a kind of chatting with you. Will you send this from me to the others as directed. I cannot afford to send to all I would separately - believe in the sincere and deep affection of your grateful and affectionate

16 May 1851
Port Lyttelton"

M.A. Bishop

Joseph Garland

In the Church of England Cemetery there is a tombstone to the memory of:

'Joseph Garland of Heathcote Farm who was drowned crossing the Rakaia, November 15, 1862...'

Joseph Garland was at the time of his death one of the oldest settlers of Canterbury. He farmed on the lower Port Hills. On the day of his death he had, in the company of Isaac Mawson, mustered some cattle in the vicinity of the Ashburton Gorge and was bringing them home. Other parties had attempted unsuccessfully to ford the Rakaia River, which was swollen by the rain, and they advised Garland not to attempt crossing the river for some time. Garland, however, was anxious to return home and determined to proceed, crossing some of the smaller streams. The "Lyttelton Times" recounts the events which led to Garland's death:

"Up to this point he was accompanied by Isaac Mawson, who feared to cross the main stream, and sought to persuade Garland to return; but he appeared somewhat chagrined at this, said he had crossed cattle there before, and was determined to go on. Mr Garland was trying to head his cattle, 16 or 17 in number, which seemed averse to cross over, and continued going down stream. At one point the cattle turned back, and Mr Garland strove to turn his horse to follow them, but his beast rolled over, and Mr Garland disappeared. Mawson rode down the bank, cooeing and looking for him. About half-a-mile below where he had sank, Mawson saw the body lying at the bottom of the river, and jumping in, pulled it out, but life was then quite extinct Mr Garland was one of our oldest settlers, and had long carried on farming operations under the Port Hills. He was a man respected by all who knew him, and leaves a widow and two young children to mourn his untimely end". (i)

(i) "Lyttelton Times", 19.11.1862, page 5.

John Stevens

In the Dissenters' Cemetery there is a tombstone to the memory of John Stevens who was:

'Accidentally killed in Lyttelton Tunnel, 27 March 1873..... Erected by his friends and fellow workmen'.

Stevens had been working as a miner in the Lyttelton tunnel for about eight weeks prior to his death and was described by a fellow-miner as a "strictly temperance man". On March 27, 1873, there was a special late train from and to Christchurch. It was common practice for the miners to remove their equipment and leave the tunnel by 10.30 p.m., two miners being left to keep watch at both ends of the tunnel so as to prevent persons from entering it until the train had passed. Stevens was one of the miners chosen to keep watch. Although the miners were given strict instructions to remain outside the tunnel, the weather in Lyttelton that night was misty with occasional rain, and Stevens obviously had gone into the tunnel for shelter. At an inquest into Stevens's subsequent death, Inspector Pender, who conducted the proceedings, had no difficulty in reconstructing the sequence of events leading to Stevens's tragic death.

"My opinion is that the deceased being hot on coming out of the tunnel (for the work makes the men warm), and feeling chilled went into the tunnel to a place near where he was found. From examination of the spot, I believe the deceased sat down, and being drowsy rested his head on his hands and knees, and fell off to sleep. Startled by the near approach of the train, he made an attempt to rise, and bent forward in so doing, and his head was caught by the step of the engine, and he was killed The brains were scattered over the walls of the tunnel". (i)

The funeral of John Stevens took place on March 30, 1873. A train left Lyttelton, especially provided by the railways authorities, with the body and a number of friends on board. They were joined, on their arrival in Christchurch, by other friends of the deceased. At Lyttelton the flags were flying at half-mast as a token of respect.

(i) "Lyttelton Times", 31.3.1873, page 2.

William Carr

In the Church of England Cemetery there is a tombstone in the memory of William Carr who died on February 15, 1882 at the age of 27 and "whose death was caused by a fall at the building of the Canterbury College". The "Lyttelton Times" recorded his death: -

"An accident which was unfortunately attended with fatal consequences occurred at the Canterbury College buildings yesterday. The man employed on the new buildings had just begun work and shortly after 8 o'clock, a stonemason, named William Carr, was standing on some scaffolding about twenty-five feet high. Just as he was in the act of pulling some timber up endways from the ground to the top of the scaffold, the board on which he stood gave way, and Carr fell head first to the ground. His head struck upon some loose stones underneath, and he was picked up bleeding and insensible and taken by his fellow workmen to the hospital. On examination it was found that a serious fracture of the skull had been inflicted. The man lingered till a quarter to two in the afternoon when he expired." (i)

William John Warburton Hamilton

William Hamilton was born at Little Chart Rectory, Kent, in 1825, and was educated at Harrow, Brussels, and Paris. At the age of 18 he left for Sydney in the 'Bangalore' with £50 in his pocket, which was all he ever received from his father, Rev. John Vesey Hamilton. Among the passengers was Captain Fitzroy on the way out to take up the appointment of Governor of New Zealand. The Wairau affray had just taken place. His private secretary having resigned on account of ill health, Fitzroy offered the post to Hamilton, who accepted it. He now entered upon a period of extreme activity, drafting dispatches and entertaining guests for the Governor.

"The Secretary was the hardest worked official in the Colony. He had to bear the brunt of the despatch writing - anyone who has seen those despatches can guess what a task it was - and of the accounts so tangled and unsatisfactory; he had to make things agreeable for the Governor's guests, he had to be on duty early and late, he had to submit to the freaks of martinetship aggravated by failure of health and failure of policy." (i)

He visited settlements and native strongholds, and saw fighting during Hone Heke's rebellion as a member of the Auckland Militia. When Fitzroy was recalled late in 1845 he continued for a time to serve Sir George Grey, and then sailed for England in 1846. Two years later he returned to New Zealand as a survey officer in the survey ship H.M.S. 'Acheron'. In 1849 he made an inland exploration of North Canterbury, climbed Mount Grey and made a plan showing the open country visible up the Hurunui and Waiau Rivers. When the 'Acheron' was in Foveaux Strait, he explored far to the westward and he and Captain Stokes ascended the Oreti and Makarewa Rivers in the ship's jolly boat. He visited the site of Invercargill and in May 1850, with Lieutenant Spencer, made the first overland expedition from Invercargill to Dunedin. Later he thoroughly examined the coastline from Banks Peninsula to Cape Campbell.

In August 1850 he was appointed Resident Magistrate at Wanganui and during this time made journeys far inland, increasing thereby his already considerable knowledge of the Maoris and their way of life. His integrity and fairness commended him to both races.

(i) "Lyttelton Times", 7.12.1883, page 5

In 1853 he settled in Canterbury and in November 1855 married Frances, eldest daughter of James Townsend, who had arrived on the "Cressy". He made his home in Dampier Bay and his family was born there. His first official post in Canterbury was that of Collector of Customs at Lyttelton. At the first elections for the Provincial Council Hamilton was elected for Lyttelton, which he represented between the years 1853-57. An active and useful member, he was shortly appointed Provincial Auditor in the first Provincial Government. In 1856 he was appointed Resident Magistrate in Canterbury, and was called upon to clear up outstanding difficulties with the South Island Maoris. His early knowledge of the native question was extensive, but he insisted that a competent interpreter should accompany him, and the Rev. J. Aldred was appointed. The negotiations in one district resulted in an area of 50,000 acres being purchased for £150, with £45 additional for expenses. North of Kaiapoi Hamilton purchased 1,140,000 acres for a payment of £200. Much of this area had already been let or sold to Europeans in the belief that it had been duly purchased from the natives. Hamilton strongly advised the Government to send a competent person to visit the South Island Maoris every few years, and Sir Donald McLean agreed. In the Provincial Council, in his official capacity, and in the press Hamilton set his face firmly against the "gridironing" of Canterbury lands by wealthy people, to the detriment of the working settlers. Several cases of evasion of the law were brought into the courts. He was for some years a Commissioner of the Land Board. In 1863 he was a member of the Provincial Commission which recommended the improvement of Lyttelton Harbour. After leaving the Customs he was appointed Receiver of Land Revenue, a position which he held until his retirement in 1874.

Hamilton was for some time manager in Lyttelton of the Union Bank and a director of the Trust and Loan Co. He was also for 25 years a part proprietor of the "Lyttelton Times". Hamilton was many years a governor of Christ's College, and was on the Board of Governors of Canterbury College (1875-83). He was a deeply religious man, a keen churchman and a lay member of the Synod. When Hamilton died on December 6, 1883, his subsequent funeral, as reported in the "Lyttelton Times", is one of the most illustrative of the period.

"Yesterday afternoon the last sad rites of respect and affection were paid to the late W.J.W. Hamilton ... On

the previous evening the Cathedral bells had sounded muffled chimes, and again yesterday from the belfry of that noble structure, of which the deceased gentleman had been so proud, the tolling of the "passing bell" announced the departure from this life of one who had been a prominent member of the Church of England in this diocese. Shortly after two o'clock the mourners assembled at the late residence of the deceased, in Latimer Square ...

The procession ... after leaving Latimer Square went up Madras Street as far as Cambridge Terrace, then along the Terrace to Barbadoes Street, and thence to the Church of England Cemetery, where it was met by the Rev. H.C.M. Watson, incumbent of St. John's, of which parish the deceased was a member. The body having been borne into the mortuary chapel, the usual solemn but hopeful service was given by his Lordship and Mr. Watson, the beautiful Psalms, and the hymn, "Days and moments quickly flying", being most devotionally sung by members of the Cathedral choir. From the chapel the body was then borne to its final resting place, a grave dug in the north-east portion of the Cemetery, almost under the shadow of the poplar trees planted near the Avon. Here the Primate read the concluding words of the service, so full of consolation to the bereaved. The hymn, "I heard the voice of Jesus", was feelingly sung, and all joined earnestly in the Lord's Prayer.

When the ceremony of casting earth upon the coffin had been performed by those who thus bade farewell to husband, father, friend, some time was occupied in allowing many present to take a last view of the coffin. This, in deference to the known tastes of the deceased gentleman, who disliked the free use of the black plumes and trappings generally seen at funerals, was of plain varnished rimu, without any black about it whatsoever. It was neither coloured nor covered with cloth. The furnishings were of silver. The plate simply bore the inscription, "Wm. J.W. Hamilton, died Dec. 6, 1883, aged 58". Following out the wish which had directed the use of a plain coffin, no black was to be seen among its other appurtenances. The pall was of a somewhat unusual colour - violet with a white cross - and on it were laid some beautiful floral crosses of white peonies and yellow roses, with white pinks, together with wreaths of a similar character ... Since the funeral of the late William Sefton Moorhouse, there has been seen no such gathering together of early settlers, and of the stout-hearted colonists who worked so hard to establish the various institutions of Canterbury from its Provincial government downwards." (ii)

It is worth noting that the six pall bearers were H.J. Tancred, C.C. Bowen, T.W. Maude, R.J.S. Harman, the Rev. Croasdaile Bowen, and the Hon. William Reeves. Men from the "Lyttelton times" carried the coffin in relays all the way from his house to the Cemetery.

'Murdered Man' and 'Bones Body of a Man'

Page 74 of Volume 1 of the Church of England Burial Register records the burial of two unknown men in February, 1867:

'Feb. 22 Murdered Man ... Found on the West Coast Road.
Feb. 26 Bones Body of a Man ... Found in the Riverbed of
the Rakaia.'

The officiating minister on both occasions was Rev. Henry Torlesse.

By a reading of the "Lyttelton Times" it is possible, but by no means certain, to establish their identity.

'Bones Body of a Man'

The identity of the man found in the Rakaia riverbed, numbered 901 in the register book, is possibly that of Walter Wilson. On February 10, 1867, a John Campbell, who lived on a farm near the Rakaia River, was walking on an island in the Rakaia riverbed when his attention was drawn to the shining of a patent-leather gaiter. On investigating further he found that the gaiter was attached to a skeleton and part of a pair of trousers. On his arrival in Christchurch five days later he informed the police and returned to the spot with a constable who collected the bones and brought them to the Christchurch Hospital in preparation for an inquest. On February 23, the Inquest was held and reported in the "Lyttelton Times".

"An inquest was held on Saturday last, at the Hospital, Christchurch, at 10 a.m., before Mr. J.W.S. Coward, the coroner of the district on the remains of a body found in the Rakaia. Mr. George Jones was chosen as foreman of the jury. Sergeant Horniman was the first witness. He deposed that on the 17th inst. he went to the north branch of the Rakaia in company with a man named John Campbell, who pointed out to him the remains of a human skeleton. Witness gathered the bones together and searched the shingle and found the knife produced. Witness brought the remains to the Hospital at Christchurch. He found some clothing, the fragments of Bedford cord trousers, and a patent-leather gaiter. These were on the remains. The body was found about twelve miles below the South Road ferry, towards the sea. He remembered Mr. Walter Wilson and a young man named Macdonald being drowned in the Rakaia about twelve or eighteen months ago.

Macdonald's body was found but that of Mr. Wilson had not been recovered. He witness had made enquiries, and had found that no one had been drowned since that time. The clothing found on the remains corresponds with those usually worn by Mr. Wilson. The remains had been shown to Mr. J.C. Wilson, who through they were those of his son." (i)

The remains were buried in the Church of England Cemetery the following Monday, February 26, 1867.

'Murdered Man'

The identity of the man found murdered on the West Coast Road, numbered 900 in the register book, is possible that of a 'Jem' Oldham. His identity, together with how he met his death, is still however shrouded in mystery. On February 18, 1867, the "Lyttelton Times" published the following report: -

"We are indebted to a passenger by Saturday's coach from Hokitika, for the following information as to the finding of a body of a man at the One Tree Creek, sixty-six miles from Christchurch, and about eight miles on this sign of Craigieburn. It appears that a few days ago a traveller on foot, passing the accommodation hut at the One Tree Creek, went in there to rest for the night. Whilst there he perceived a strange smell, and on searching about outside the hut, he found in the creek close by what appeared to be part of a human being sticking out of the shingle bed. This caused a further search, and a human body was exhumed, bearing marks of having been brutally murdered. The corpse had a shirt on only, the trousers being found buried on the banks of the creek near the spot where the body was discovered. The head exhibited two or three frightful cuts, the left temple over the eye was completely knocked in, and a gash which appeared to have been inflicted by a sharp instrument was discernible over the right eye. The bed in the hut in which the unfortunate man seems to have lain, exhibited marks of blood and close to the creek a tomahawk was found which, judging from the nature of the injuries on the head of the murdered man, is the weapon which had been used. The affair at present is a mystery. We understand Dr. Turnball, Mr. Duncan, Inspector Pender, and some of the police started on Saturday to hold an inquest and make an inquiry ... The man appears to have been dead some weeks, the lower part of the body being very much decomposed." (ii)

(i) "Lyttelton Times", 25.2.1867, page 2
(ii) "Lyttelton Times", 18.2.1867, page 2

The man who first gave information of the body having been found was taken into custody on suspicion of the murder, but his evidence at the initial Inquest held at the Christchurch Hospital on February 22, showed him to be quite insane and in view of the length of time the body had been in the river-bed he was unable to have committed the murder.

When the adjourned Inquest was resumed on February 22, at the Royal Hotel, it was necessary to establish with some certainty the time of death as the police had suspects in mind. Dr. J.S. Turnbull judged that, after carrying out an examination of the body, "... when a man has died a violent death, fourteen days would suffice to bring about a similar state of decomposition to that in which I found the body of the deceased". (iii) In carrying out his examination he was able to give a description of the deceased and the degree of decomposition: -

"The remains were those of a man 5 feet 6 or 7 inches in height, and of medium build. The body was so much decomposed that it was almost impossible to distinguish the features ... The scalp was much swollen and on dividing the connecting piece of scalp, I found that the whole of it had been pushed forward by the maggots collected beneath ... The inside of the skull was filled with maggots ... The walls of the abdomen and chest had given way and were filled with maggots. The arms were very putrid. The bones of the forearms were exposed and the right hand was missing." (iv)

Sergeant Felton, who was stationed at Bealey, observed that the deceased's "... forehead was a high open intelligent one; the hair on the head brown; the beard and moustache were of a sandy colour and rather thin and strait". From police investigations it was found that the deceased had been travelling from the West Coast to Christchurch in the company of a miner, William Kerr. At the Inquest he stated that he had travelled "with a man named 'Jem'" and that he "saw some Chinese on the road" who "travelled sometimes in our company". He confirmed that 'Jem' was the only European travelling with the Chinese and that 'Jem', a native of Liverpool, was about five feet six or seven inches in height, with brown hair, light sandy beard and moustache. Kerr found employment at the Cass River while "'Jem' went on with the Chinese". This evidence placed 'Jem' in the company of the Chinese two weeks before his body was later discovered.

(iii) "Lyttelton Times", 27.2.1867, page 2

(iv) "Lyttelton Times", 27.2.1867, page 2

Thomas Smith, a farm employee at a farm near the Selwyn River gave evidence that he had seen 15 Chinese travelling south about this time but that there was no European in their company. After Inspector Pender gave information to the effect that the police in Otago had been instructed to watch the movements of the Chinese on their arrival, the Inquest was adjourned again until March 12.

The remains of what was thought to be 'Jem' were buried in the Church of England Cemetery on February, 22, 1867.

On February 23, the Chinese were arrested near Cromwell and brought up before the resident Magistrate in Oamaru and remanded. One of the Chinese, George Tenue, who acted as interpreter for the group and spoke fluent English, stated that a man named 'Jim' had accompanied the Chinese from the West Coast, initially with another European. On reaching the Canterbury Plains "... Jim, being foot sore and knocked up, left them at a public house, about six miles from where the line of telegraph posts branches off from the Christchurch road". (v)

When the Inquest resumed again on March 12, the full statement of George Tenue was read to the Court. In a portion of his statement, set out below, George Tenue not only confirmed again that 'Jim' had arrived safely on the Canterbury Plains but also that when in the area where the murdered man's body was subsequently found they had in fact found a body.

"We had not gone far when Jim came up, we walked along until we came to the Black Ball creek, we saw a hut and we all went up; seeing the hut empty, we all said it would be a nice place to camp, we stopped there and had some tea; after tea the Chinese were knocking about, some having a wash in the river, etc., when we got a smell, we first said it was a dead bullock, some say dead horse, some say perhaps it is a dead man, we looked about and saw the stones heaped up against the bank. I called Jim ... and asked him to come look at it; there were big flies at the place. Jim came down, and took a piece of stick and scraped the stones away; we saw flesh, it was dark colour, and I think there was maggots in it ... I asked Jim what he think it was, he say he do not know; I say think it dead man, he say very hard to tell ... About twenty-five to thirty miles from Rakaiia river Jim was sitting on a spring cart in a shed as it was raining. I said come on Jim. He

say, "Wait until the rain is over". The Chinese say, "Come on". We all go on, and Jim stopped sitting on the cart with his swag on it, and his "billy" by his side. We walked on, I look behind, Jim no come ... I never see Jim any more. Jim was very nice man, Chinese like him." (vi)

If this was all evidence put forward at the Inquest, and to the Court in Oamaru, it is possible that the Inquest may have arrived at a verdict implicating the Chinese in the murder. However, police investigations revealed two additional pieces of evidence which threw the investigation into further mystery. Inspector Pender stated that it appeared from the evidence of a man named Bob, a roadman employed at Porter's Pass, that the description of the man who passed there in the company of the Chinese did not correspond with that of 'Jem'. The Inspector also stated that it had been ascertained that a man had purchased some moleskin trousers, similar to those found on the murdered man, in a store in Hokitika and that the man's name was also 'Jem'. The police also believed that the murdered man's surname was Oldham. Faced with the above evidence the Inquest jury returned a verdict that "the deceased was found murdered, but that by whom there was evidence to show". A reporter in the "Lyttelton Times", not being impressed with the verdict, wrote: -

"The police are actively engaged in endeavouring to ascertain who were the perpetrators of this crime, which is present involved in greater mystery than ever. Notwithstanding the protest of innocence on the part of the Chinese said to be implicated in it, as contained in their statement at the police court at Oamaru, we believe that they will be brought to Christchurch, in order that the matter may be fully investigated." (vii)

As no further mention is made in the Christchurch papers of the day, one can assume that the police, in view of the conflicting evidence, released the suspected Chinese. From February 17, 1867 until October 15, 1867 a notice of the murder and a description of the murdered man were printed in the Canterbury Provincial Police Gazette, after which time the notice disappeared without any mention of any further arrests or developments.

Overleaf is a photocopy of a portion of a plot burial map in the Church of England Cemetery indicating the plot of the "murdered man" (plot 300).

(vi) "Lyttelton Times", 13.3.1867, page 2
(vii) "Lyttelton Times", 14.3.1867, page 2