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Part One: Education

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My name is John Barrington. I am a graduate of the Victoria University of Wellington (Ph.D; MA Ist Class Hons) and the University of Canterbury (BA.) Previously an Associate Professor at Victoria University, I am now a Research Associate at the University and work as a self-employed consultant. The history of Crown education policy for Māori and the Māori response has been my major research interest. I co-authored (with Professor T. H. Beaglehole) the history *Māori Schools in a Changing Society*: *An Historical Review of Policies and Provisions*, and am currently working on a new history. I acted as a researcher and expert witness in the Ngai Tahu Inquiry (Wai 27) and the Northern South Island District Inquiry (Wai 566).

INTRODUCTION

The main focus of this report is an examination of the Crown's policy with regard to the schooling of Northern Māori, in schools established specifically for Māori, namely the Crown-assisted mission schools to 1866, the Native Schools (renamed Māori Schools in 1947), the Māori District High Schools and the Māori denominational boarding schools.

However the enrolment of Northern Māori children in primary schools in Northland under the administration of the Auckland Education Board, and in state secondary schools, is also examined.

The report concludes with the transfer of the administration of the remaining Māori primary schools from the Department of Education to the Auckland Education Board in 1969. Education in the North from then until 2005 is being examined elsewhere.[1]

Chapter 1: 1814-1866

This chapter examines the role played by the missionary bodies in the schooling of Northern Māori up to the 1860s, and the Crown's decision to limit its involvement to that of assisting the missionary efforts, rather than providing its own schools for Māori during this period.

Chapter 2: 1867-1929.

This chapter begins with the *1867 Native Schools Act*, which established the legislative framework for a national system of Crown primary schools for Māori. It begins, as do Chapters Three and Four that follow it, with an examination of the Crown's language policy for the schools, involving an emphasis on English and exclusion of Māori, as a central focus of the assimilation policy. Other ways in which this policy manifested itself, as in the texts used in the schools, and contemporary views about race, are also examined, as are examples of racism and prejudice affecting the schooling of Māori children.

[1] See for example *Northland Twentieth Century Overview Part 2, 1945-2004,* Project Briefs, Northland Research Programme, CFRT, May 2005.

Two of major findings of this research are also discussed in this and subsequent chapters: the massive contribution of land and other resources required by the Crown from Northern Māori as a precondition of its approval of the establishment of schools, and the long-term negative effects for Māori schooling in the North of the administrative structure adopted by the Crown for the national system of Native/Māori schools. This involved central administration of the schools from the Wellington-based Department of Education, rather than the regional administration under education boards established for the parallel national system by the *1877 Education Act*.

This and subsequent chapters examine the extent to which this system, coupled with such matters as the difficulty of accessing schools in the North, and the absence of opportunities for further schooling beyond the primary stage, meant many thousands of Northern Māori children either did not enter schools, or entered them much later in time than should have been the case, or were limited in their opportunities for further education.

An analysis also begins here, and is continued later, of the enthusiasm of Crown officials responsible for Māori education for the idea that Māori, as a race, were particularly suited for a practical rather than academic type of schooling.

The position of Northern Māori children in Auckland Education Board Schools in the North is also examined, as is the academic progress of pupils through the schools.

Chapter 2: 1930-1945

This chapter examines the influences that led to some changes in policy in 1930, and their effects, with particular reference to the schools attended by Northern Māori. The continuing preoccupation of officials with the idea of a practical education in both the Māori primary Schools and Māori denominational boarding schools as preparation for a life on the land, is analysed, as is its influence on the curriculum of the new state Māori District High Schools established after 1940.

Chapter 4: 1946-1969

This chapter continues the examination begun earlier of language policy, discusses examples of racism and prejudice relating to schooling, the effects of the administrative structure, the contribution required of Northern Māori for their schooling, and opportunities for further education beyond the primary stage. Aspects of stereotypes held by teachers about Māori children, teacher expectations, disciplinary methods, and aspects of the Department of Education/Education Board interface are also analysed.

SOURCES

These are cited in full in the Bibliography. Sources for the missionary period included the *British Parliamentary Papers*, *Papers of the Colonial Secretary* and the *New Zealand Company*, *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives, An Ordinance for Promoting the Education of the Youth of the Colony of New Zealand, The 1858 Native Schools Act, NZ Parliamentary Debates, the Missionary Register*, *The Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden***,** *Laws and Regulations of the Church Missionary Society*, *Church in the Colonies, McLean papers*

Books, theses and articles dealing with aspects of the period are also cited in the Bibliography and include studies by Armitage, Belich, Binney, Brown, Davidson, Earle, Elder, Fitzgerald, Jackson, Kawharu, Maunsell, May, Morell, Old, Owen, Parr, Purchas, Rutherford, Salmon, Standish, Wright and Ward,

After 1867, the Annual Reports to Parliament of the Native Department, and from 1877 the Education Department, were essential for most aspects relating to the role of the Crown in relation to Māori education generally and in the North. They included the reports of Resident Magistrates and School Inspectors on schools in the North.

The extensive records at Archives New Zealand Wellington cover a wide variety of matters relating to Crown policy for Māori education in schools of all types attended by Northern Māori children. These include the state primary schools, denominational secondary schools and Māori district high schools. The Department of Education files contain discussion of

language policy and aspects of arts and crafts, directives for teachers on a wide range of school and community matters, inspection reports on the denominational boarding schools, the education of Māori pupils in Board Schools, and much else.

The Department of Māori Affairs files held in Archives Wellington also contain relevant material, including discussion of language policy, the teaching of arts and crafts, and the transfer of the administration of the Māori Schools from the Department of Education to Education Boards.

Archives New Zealand Auckland contains the files on individual Māori primary schools in the North. These were an essential source for an examination of how Crown policy was actually implemented at the school level, and the reaction to it of Northern Māori on bodies such as School Committees to it. The records are extensive, covering the life of individual schools from their establishment. They include inspection reports on the teaching and learning in the schools, correspondence between Department of Education Officials in Wellington and Head Teachers and Chairman of Māori School Committees in the North over a wide range of matters. The records also demonstrate the impact on pupils and schools of such matters as difficulty of access in some areas, illness, and poverty.

Archives Auckland holds log books for some of the schools, in which Head teachers were required to record such matters as physical punishment, important events in the school and local events affecting it. They provided another school-based perspective on the work of the schools in their communities. It also holds the records of the Auckland Education Board which were consulted in relation to the attendance of Northern Māori children in Board Schools.

Details of the large number of books, theses, reports and articles consulted for the period after 1867 are also listed in the Bibliography.

The report mainly uses English language sources. However there are exceptions to this, including the extensive use made of letters written in Māori from people like Chairmen of

Māori School Committees to officials in the Department of Education. These were translated, not always perfectly, within the Department.

CHAPTER ONE: MISSION SCHOOLS, THE CROWN AND NORTHERN MĀORI

1.1 MISSION SCHOOLS

In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the Church Missionary Society (CMS), a Church of England organization, expanded its activities in Africa, India, Australia and New Zealand. The aim of the CMS was to 'promote the glory of God by the promulgation of the Gospel of Christ according to the doctrines and disciplines of the Church of England amongst the heathen'.[2]

In 1814, the Committee of the CMS reported that they had 'Opened a Separate Fund for the Establishment and Support of Schools Among the Heathen', which was described as an act of considerable importance and 'peculiar promise'.[3] The schools were to play a key part in the Society's work as the means by which the children could be 'trained up in the knowledge of those divine Truths, by which under the blessing of God , they will be rendered useful members of society, and heirs of glorious immortality'. [4] Moreover it was hoped that the children, so schooled, would also influence the parents. God revealed those Truths in the Bible; therefore one must learn to read. So, in New Zealand, as in all their other fields of labour, the missionaries, after creating the conditions to make it possible, sought to set up schools and teach the heathen to read.

Thomas Kendall, a teacher, and William Hall, a ship builder, arrived at Rangihoua in June 1814. They had been sent out by the CMS on an exploratory visit, carrying a letter from the Rev. Samuel Marsden to the Northern Māori Chief Ruatara. [5]

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[2] Laws and Regulations of the Church Missionary Society, Part 2, London, 1833,p.7.
[3] *Missionary Register(MR)*,vol.1 1814,p.29.
[4] Ibid.,p.20.
[5] Kendall's journal is cited in Anne Salmond, *Between Worlds. Early Exchanges Between Maori and Europeans 1773-1815,*Auckland, 1997, p.439. See also Judith Binney, *The Legacy of Guilt. A Life of Thomas Kendall*, Auckland, 1968.

Kendall opened the first missionary school at Rangihoua on 12 August 181. The CMS had hoped that he would introduce European knowledge of agriculture, study the Māori language, and instruct the children. However his knowledge of farming was only slight, he was ignorant of the country, and had been given no training.

His school lasted only a comparatively short time. Bitter personal feuds and growing animosity which bedevilled the tiny missionary settlement provided an insecure foundation for a school, and the problem of supplies which lay behind so many of it difficulties, was perhaps the main reason for its failure. Yet Kendall's school revealed much that was characteristic of later missionary efforts and of the Māori reaction to them and is, therefore, worth some further comment.

The school opened with 33 children in a schoolhouse 30 feet by 18, 'with a small apartment raised seven inches above the floor for the teachers and the European children, divided off by a low partition about breast high'. [6] Kendall wrote home requesting an assortment of pictures to decorate the classroom, including 'King George and his Robes', 'Adam and Eve', 'Nativity, Death, Resurrection and Ascension of Jesus Christ', portraits of Lord Gambier, President of the CMS and William Wilberforce.[7]

'Civilization', in Judith Binney's words, 'was to be presented to the astonished eyes of the children through the pompous unrelenting exteriors of Georgian manhood'.[8] The number of pupils rose to 47 in September 1816, 51 in October, and 70 in April 1817. At first, the girls were double the number of boys, but later the numbers became nearly equal. The age of the children was generally from seven to 17.

The task of teaching was not easy, particularly for untrained teachers who had, first of all, to learn the language. Kendall found himself 'surrounded by a number of children, and

[6] Journal of William Hall, in Elder, L. and J., J.R.Elder, ed., *The Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden,* Dunedin, 1932, p.222.
[7] Kendall to Pratt, 8 December 1818, in Binney, p.41.
[8] Ibid.

perhaps while one is repeating his lesson another will be playing with (Kendall's), another taking away his hat, and another his book'.[9]

The school day began soon after daybreak, when the children arrived and were taught their lessons in 'the alphabet and monosyllables' which they learned to recite. They then went off for food while the missionaries' own children were taught their lessons. The Māori children returned to the school again in the evening. It was not a satisfactory system, but the children could be kept at school only if they were fed. After the promising start, the provisions ran out and in November and December the school closed down completely. Success, in fact, varied directly with the supply of food.

The arrival of supplies was great news. When, after the November and December shortage, the *Queen Charlotte* unexpectedly arrived on 21 December, the 'news was published throughout the neighbourhood , and the native children assembled together and manifested their joy by singing and dancing. They immediately repaired to the schoolhouse , where they remained day and night repeating their lessons with cheerfulness, and are content with what is given to them'.[10] When a supply of beads, ear-rings, combs, scissors, thimbles, knitting needles, fish hooks and small toys made of iron became available for rewards, Kendall's 'authority and influence' improved. [11]

To be realistic, the enthusiasm many of the children and possibly also their parents showed was probably due as much to the possibility of obtaining these temporal items and advantages, together with the daily handful of potatoes, as it was for education. But whatever the motive of children and parents, the schools were the missionaries' opportunity.

Before the school had started, indeed after only a few months in the country, Kendall had compiled a small book of 54 pages, *A Korao no New Zealand; or the New Zealander's*

[9] Kendall to Wood, 16 October 1816, in Elder, *ML*, p.130.
[10] Kendall to Wood, 1 February 1817, in Elder, *La*p. 139.
[11] *MR* 1819, P.464.

First Book; Being An Attempt to Compose some Lessons for the Instruction of the Natives. He sent this to Marsden, who had a 'few hundred' copies printed and bound.[12] This was intended as a first step only in reducing the Māori language to a written form. It was sadly deficient, and Kendall himself had by 1817 accepted that it was totally inadequate.[13] The book does, however, throw some light on both the content and method of teaching. Beginning with alphabets and numbers up to 20, it then goes on to syllables, short sentences, longer sentences and catechisms in Māori and English, and ends with a Māori-English vocabulary and examples of parts of speech. From this, all the children, whatever their age, learnt by repetition the same lesson daily, and it is not surprising that their teachers, and undoubtedly many of them also, found the work tedious.[14]

Later the children began to learn to write, and in 1818 Kendall had over 30 pupils who were able to do so. [15]

When supplies were plentiful, and the children no longer had to go searching for food, they could stay at school all day. The girls were set to making clothes, not as Kendall had hoped from English cloth, but out of flax. The boys were engaged in 'making fences, cultivating land, procuring firewood', and when King had constructed a rope-walk he taught some of them to spin twine and lay up small cords.[16]

By the end of 1818, the lack of supplies had brought the school to an end. Kendall felt bitterly, and with some justice, that he had never had the support needed to make it a success. On a voyage back to England in 1820 he completed a manuscript, *'Guide to the Study of the New Zealand Language.*[17] This was the embryo of the full-scale printed grammar produced by himself and Samuel Lee, Professor of Arabic at Cambridge and an Evangelical with close association with the CMS. Lee and Kendall's *A Grammar and*

[12] For a discussion of Kendall's work in the Māori language see Binney, *Appendix* 11.
[13] Binney, p. 178.
[14] Elder, p.136.
[15] Marsden to Pratt 16 May 1818, in Binney, p.42.
[16] *MR,* vol.6 1818,p.526.
[17] *MR*, vol.8, 1820,p.500.

Vocabulary of the Language of New Zealand was published by the Society, and marked a considerable advance on Kendall's first effort, though it was still far from perfect.

The arrival in 1823 of Henry Williams with his wife Marianne, a teacher, to lead the CMS mission, which until this time had been mainly confined to the Bay of Islands and Hokianga districts, brought new life to it, and renewed realization of the importance of schools. They were, indeed, the pivot of the mission under the 'new order'.[18] Marianne was charged with responsibility for 'the education of female children, and in the general improvement of the condition of women in New Zealand …(and) exhibit to the Natives, the instructive example of a happy Christian family'.[19]

By 1828, there were schools at the three stations, Rangihoua, Kerikeri, and Paihia, containing in all 111 Māori pupils, of whom 75 were men and boys and 36 women and girls. But throughout the 1820s, fortunes had varied. The children did not attend 'so regularly as could be wished', and although Hongi's benevolent protection kept the mission safe, the unsettled times generally affected attendance.[20] In 1830 a flourishing mission farm, run by Richard Davis, a farmer from Devonshire, was established at Waimate and in the following year a school was opened there taught by George Clarke, with between 70 and 80 pupils. This was an important contribution towards saving the missionaries themselves from hunger, and keeping the schools together which must otherwise have broken up.[21]

In 1822, the Wesleyans had established a mission station at Whangaroa. Within a short time, they had built schools, but faced difficulties of exactly the same nature as their CMS colleagues. Inducements of some kind seemed necessary to ensure regular attendance, yet there was not enough food in the settlement to feed the pupils. The children were found to be quick to learn, although the letters and lessons were learnt

[18] H.T.Purchas, *The English Church in New Zealand*, Christchurch, 1914, p.44.
[19] Instructions to Henry Williams 1822, quoted in Tanya Fitzgerald, 'In a Different Voice: A Case Study of Marianne and Jane Williams, Missionary Educators in Northern New Zealand 1823-1835', Ph.D thesis Auckland University, 1995, p. 12.
[20] *MR*, vol.14, 1826, p.159.
[21] R.Davis, *MR*, vol.15, 1827, p.624.

parrot fashion with little conception of their meaning, and this may have contributed to them proving difficult to control. The Wesleyans comforted themselves with the thought that, though the pupils were not making much progress in reading, they were 'rapidly growing in a Theoretical Knowledge of the Sacred truths of revelation'.[22]

But their hope of creating regular schools at the different villages around the settlement proved fruitless; quite apart from the other difficulties, conditions among Māori in the area were most unsettled.[23] In 1827, an outbreak of fighting forced the missionaries to flee to the Bay of Islands, and it was not until two years later that they settled down again at Mangungu on the Hokianga. In 1832 there were schools at Mangungu and on the Mangamuka, each with an average attendance of 30, another on the Waihou with 25 pupils, and one at Motuti with 15 pupils.[24]

The experience of the Wesleyans in the Hokianga confirmed them in their view that, if their work was to be effective, they must begin by training the young. If they could face the expense, they concluded, the children should be brought completely under missionary care, away from what they viewed as the demoralizing influence of the kainga. In a short time, over 30 pupils were gathered at a sort of boarding school attached to the mission, where they joined the mission families at worship in the morning and evening.[25]

In 1828, the first public examination of school pupils was held at Paihia. Serving both as a measure of progress and a stimulus to further exertion, the festive occasions this involved were outwardly one of the most striking achievements of the missionary schools. The missionaries and their pupils from Rangihoua and Kerikeri went by boat to Paihia. The next day, 90 pupils from Paihia, 60 from Kerikeri, and 20 from Rangihoua were examined in the catechism, reading and arithmetic. The results were considered highly

[22] Turner, quoted in J.M.R.Owen, 'The Wesleyan Mission to New Zealand, 1819-1840', Ph.D thesis Victoria University, 1969,p.127.
[23] Ibid., p.206.
[24] W. Morley, the *History of Methodism in New Zealand*, Wellington, 1900, p.45, quoted in W. Davidson, 'The Settlement of Hokianga 1820-1920' MA thesis University of New Zealand, 1948.
[25] Ibid., p.47.

satisfactory, and the day finished with a feast.[26] The following morning, after a service, the missionaries distributed prizes to the most deserving in the different classes and also to those 'who had distinguished themselves by general good conduct, skill in carpentering, tailoring, straw hat making &c, and to one man for a good plastered house, which he had erected for his family'.[27]

The gatherings involved many besides those who were formally pupils at the schools. In 1830, there were nearly 1000 spectators, including men who had shortly been fighting on opposite sides, but who were now united in 'the keenness and pleasure which pervaded the scene'.[28]

The Wesleyans held a similar gathering on Christmas day 1834, and, although they had given only four days notice of the event, over 400 assembled and were given a feast of pork, potatoes and flour from the mission's supplies. In this Wesleyan examination, it was found that 'about one hundred knew the Catechisms, so as to answer all the Questions (with a few Exceptions) without any Mistake. About 50 could read and write a little, and nine or ten could read the New Testament without spelling a Word'.[29]

The early 1830s saw Māori in several part of the country become more and more interested in reading and writing. A growing enthusiasm was noticed by the missionaries. In the Hokianga, the Wesleyans found the same reaction, the schools becoming so popular that it was clearly impossible for the missionaries themselves to teach at all of them. Although common experiments with appointing the most advanced scholars as teachers had rarely appeared to the missionaries to be successful, those who could read did pass the knowledge on to others. In 1833 Hobbs wrote, 'many of them who have never lived at any of the mission stations can read the translated portions of the Scriptures well'.[30] It was hoped to keep the boarding school at Mangungu as a central

[26] W.Williams, *MR*, vol.17, 1829, p.465.
[27] Ibid.,p.466.
[28] Purchas, p.49.
[29] Hobbes Journal, *GBPP*,1838,680, p.228.
[30] Ibid.,p227.

school, where the most promising pupils from the surrounding villages could be closely supervised and 'trained to habits of order, tidiness and regularity'.[31]

Whatever the cause, the desire to learn was as gratifying to the missionaries as it was insistent. Examples were given of offers of pigs weighing from 50 to 100 pounds in payment for a book containing translated portions of the Bible, and three bushels of potatoes for a slate and a few pieces of pencil.[32]

The examinations referred to above were additional evidence that the limitation of the missionaries' own involvement had not held back the spread of the new learning. As Māori passed through the missionary schools and went back to their homes, schools conducted entirely by themselves opened in many villages. In 1836, there were 14 schools connected with the station at Paihia alone, with an average attendance of 411 Māori. [33]

The general organization of the schools at Paihia is described by William Williams as follows:

1. The Native Boys' School is assembled from six to eight o'clock in the summer, and from seven to nine in winter, every morning. They are taught Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Catechism, &c. The average attendance is 60. The number now on the books is 71. The total taught from the beginning, 263. The general behaviour has been good.

2. The Native Girls' School is assembled from nine to twelve o'clock in the morning and from two to four in the afternoon, four days in the week. The principal attendance is in the afternoon when the average number is 40. The number now on the books is 50. Total taught from the beginning, 209. They are taught Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Catechism, and sewing. In their behaviour a very decided change for the better has manifested itself. The system of Circulating Classes, from the Islington Parochial School has been adopted in this and the Native Boys; School with much success. Most of the Native females are living in the mission families, and assist in the household duties; the remainder are under continual care.

[31] Morley, p.10.
[32] Hobbes Journal and Morley, p.47.
[33] Evidence of Mr Coates, *GBPP*,1838, 680,p.187.

3. The Infant School was commenced in January last, and contains 22 pupils, English and native. The general system of instruction used in England has been introduced…and has been found to succeed equally with Native as with European children.[34]

There were also separate schools for the English boys and girls, but not all the stations achieved this degree of organization.

Attendance still fluctuated at many of the schools, and in this and some other respects it would be misleading to paint too perfect a picture. It was usual to close down the boys school for two or three months in the potato-planting season.[35] And tribal disturbances meant pupils were still likely to disappear from time to time, as happened in 1836-7. Helen May, in her study of missionary infant schools for Māori children, points out from an analysis of the *Missionary Register* that towards the end of the 1830s there was concern at Kerikeri that the older children were leaving the schools, and there were only 12 children at the infant school.[36] By June 1840, the infant school attendance had fallen to an average of 8 children, '…provisions being so scarce owing to the great influx of Europeans that we have been unable to provide for food for the children'.[37] May comments that this trend, coinciding with the year the year the Treaty was signed and the flow of European arrivals was to increase, was one sign of the 'fragility of the infrastructure necessary for keeping the schools and missions operational'.[38] At Paihia in 1838 there were 10 infants in school together with 34 boys and 26 girls, but in the report for the year ending June 1840, the infant school was reduced to 14 attending Sunday school.[39] The death of a child attending the infant school at Waimate in 1840 became caught up in tensions relating to the recently signed Treaty, and was later described as a 'crowning blow' for the schools at Waimate.[40] The wider context of Treaty politics, land ownership and sovereignty were also therefore now evident in relation to schooling. One

[34] *MR,*vol.21 1833, p.469.
[35] H.Williams, *MR*, vol.21, 1831, p.469.
[36] *MR*,1839,p.226, in H.May, *School beginnings: A history of early years schooling. Case Study One: Missionary Infant Schools for Māori Children,1830-40,* Wellington, 2003,p.39.
[37] *MR* 1841, p.218.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid.
[40] M. Standish, *The Waimate Mission Station,* Wellington, 1962.

estimate is that by 1840, more than 14,000 acres of land in the vicinity of Waimate had been purchased, 'much of it by the missionaries themselves', and Māori were, with justification, increasingly suspicious over the issue of land.[41]

Nevertheless the thirties and early forties saw the mission schools overall reach their greatest development. By 1840, it appears that there can have been few if any villages without some inhabitants who could read and write.[42] The increase in literacy had reached a stage comparable with the 'take-off' point of the economist, and formal schooling was but one part of a vast and continuing process of education. The reasons behind this are complex, but in the belief of the missionaries it stemmed from a new-found desire on the part of the Māoris to 'read for themselves, *in their own tongue the, the wonderful words of God'*. [43]

This was inadequate as a basis for understanding what was happening, but what was unmistakeable was that the Māori enthusiasm for reading produced an enormous demand for books. 'Have you any books?' was the cry at every place the missionaries called, and copies of the Prayer Book, or for that matter any book, was frequently the most preferred payment for any labours undertaken.[44] 'It can fairly be said', Parr concludes, 'that from 1835 until nearly the middle of the 1840s the Māoris revealed a demand for the Missions' publications that was virtually insatiable'. [45]

Paihia and the Hokianga were the sites of major attempts to meet this demand. Towards the end of 1934, a printer, William Colenso, and a printing press were added to the Church Mission station at Paihia where, working with Māori assistants and much makeshift equipment, a quite astonishing amount of work was done. Just over a year later, the Wesleyans, too, established a press on the Hokianga, run by William Woon,

[41] See May p.41
[42] C.J.Parr, A Missionary Library: Printed Attempts to Instruct the Mãori.1815,1845, *Journal of the Polynesian Society (JPS)*,70,3, 1961,p.438.
[43] Ibid.
[44] G.Clarke, *MR, vol.21*,1833, p.468.
[45] Ibid, p.437.

who had recently transferred there from their mission in Tonga.[46] The orthography of the Māori language had recently been settled again, and this time more satisfactorily, by a committee of missionaries including William Williams, and the work of translation was carried on with a new vigour.

The first work through the Paihia press was William William's translation of the Epistle to the Ephesians, and in March 1836 Colenso began printing the New Testament in Māori, which was to be a volume of 356 pages, and in December 1837 an initial 500 copies were printed. So great was the demand that this supply was quickly exhausted (even when the missionaries resorted to dividing the book into parts to make it go further), and new editions were printed in England in 1841, 1842 and 1844. In the five years before 1840, Colenso turned out roughly three and a half million pages of religious material, and in 1840 alone he added over two million pages more.[47]

The efforts of the Church Mission and the Wesleyans to provide books were redoubled with the arrival of the Roman Catholics in 1838. The Catholics refused to accept any system of geographical zoning because of their conviction, and made clear by their actions, if not by their statements, that heresy was as bad if not worse than heathenism. Combined with Bishop Pompallier's insistence on their having a thorough knowledge of the Māori language , this made them, in spite of their lack of resources, the cause of considerable apprehension to the two earlier established missions.

Faced with this challenge, the protestant missions called on the help of the newly-established British and Foreign Bible Society, and in the early 1840s Bibles and Prayer Books poured into the country. Jackson points out that in 1841 the Society 'printed 20,000 New testaments; in 1843 and again in 1845 other lots of 20,000 were turned off

[46] For the Wesleyan publications in Māori see Owens, *The Wesleyan Mission*, pp.683-9.
[47] Calculated by Harrison. M.Wright, *New Zealand 1769-1840*, Cambridge, 1959, p.53.

the press. This meant that by 1845 there was at least one Māori Testament for every two Māori people in New Zealand'.[48]

In these respects the policy of the missionaries can be regarded, in their own terms, as remarkably successful. But Māori hopes of finding, through literacy, an understanding and mastery of the new world before them was sadly frustrated. The decision by the missionaries to work for literacy in the Māori language can be viewed, at one level, as an enlightened and progressive one, well suited to their purposes. And it can be compared favourably with the cultural damage inflicted later by the Crown and successive governments by rigidly excluding the language in state schools for over 100 years. (See Chapter 2 and successive chapters). But the way in which the policy was applied at the time, when all Māori were already fluent in their own language, also had a restrictive effect, one which was to have dire consequences for the missionary efforts in schooling. In 1832, Augustus Earle wrote: ' I cannot forbear censuring the missionaries, inasmuch they prevent the natives, by every means in their power, from acquiring the English language'.[49] A few years later, another observer unconnected with the mission commented that the policy of teaching the Māori no English and of giving them only the Scriptures to read had the effect of 'cutting them off…from every species of information not presented by and through the missionaries. The necessary consequence is that before they can ever be expected to make any progress in knowledge, they must yet be taught English'.[50]

By the mid-1840s, some of the missionaries were realising the justice of this criticism. But it was too late. Māori had preceded them in discovering that literacy in Māori was not going to be enough. Confident in their own mastery of Māori, many had come to the view that 'The key was the English language and perhaps other books besides the Bible'; the 'restrictive policy' of the missions therefore became a major factor contributing to their ultimate failure, because 'The Māori desire to gain the key to European knowledge

[48] Michael Jackson, 'Literacy, Communications and Social Change: A Study of the meaning and Effect of Literacy in Early Nineteenth Māori Society', in I.H.Kawharu ed., *Conflict and Compromise: Essays on the Māori Since Colonisation,* Wellington, 1975, p.33.
[49] Augustus Earle, *Narrative of a Residence in New Zealand*, ed., E.H.McCormick, Oxford, 1966,pp.133-4.
[50] W. Brown, *New Zealand and its Aborigines*, London, 1845,p.100.

and literacy was frustrated, beyond a certain point, by the fact that they were denied the English language'.[51]

1.2 THE CROWN AND THE MISSION SCHOOLS

British Colonial policy in the late 1830s was influenced by the views of the colonial reformers on the appropriate form of government for a British colony, and the evangelical humanitarians. Nineteenth century beliefs about 'race' and 'civilization' influenced the views of both groups, albeit in different ways, and contributed to a policy of assimilating Māori into European society. Within both perspectives, the 'races' of the world were perceived in hierarchical terms, ranging from inferior to superior, from 'savage' races through to the 'civilised' races, with the British believing themselves to represent the pinnacle of 'civilization'. James Belich highlights this when he states that:

> From the establishment of the first mission station in New Zealand in 1814, …the main policy of Pākehā towards Māori was to convert them into Brown Britons. Conversion was cheaper than conquest, but a humanitarian motive should also be acknowledged. To people who could conceive of no higher state than Britishness, making it available to 'natives' seemed an act of enlightened generosity.[52]

In terms of British Colonial policy, the instruction Lord Normanby gave to Hobson before his departure for New Zealand, of much relevance to this discussion, required that the civilization of Māori be promoted by the 'establishment of schools for the education of the aborigines in the elements of literature'. But with the condition that:

> until they can be brought within the pale of civilized life, and trained to the adoption of its habits, they must be carefully defended in the in the observance of their own custom, so far as these are compatible with the universal maxims of humanity and morals.[53]

The way in which Hobson was to carry out these behests was outlined by the Colonial Secretary, Lord John Russell, in instructions to him on his appointment as Governor. He was to encourage

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[51] Jackson, pp.143-4.
[52] James Belich, 'Foreword' in J. Simon and L. Tuhiwai Smith, eds., *A Civilising Mission?*, Auckland, 2001, p.ix.
[53] Normanby to Hobson, 14 August 1839, Great Britain Parliamentary Papers (GBPP), 1840, 238, p.40.

and work through the established missions and to aid, from the public revenue, the efforts of the missionaries to 'educate and instruct their proselytes'. Russell advised him that:

> The education of the youth among the aborigines is of course indispensable to the success of any measures for their ultimate advancement in social arts , and in the scale of political existence. I apprehend, however, that for the present, this is duty which could be properly undertaken only by the missionaries , or at least on some system to be formed in concurrence with them…[54]

Given the success the missionary bodies had already had in establishing schools for Māori, and publishing large numbers of the Bible and other books printed in Māori for instruction in schools and outside of them, the decision to initially limit government involvement to assisting their efforts was both practical and realistic.

Hobson's policy of preservation of Māori interests and welfare was to be carried out through the appointment of a Protector of Aborigines. This person was to be the Governor's advisor on Māori affairs, and was to arrange for the purchase of land from Māori. The CMS missionary, George Clarke, was appointed in 1841.[55] The Department thus formed was soon expanded by the appointment of Edmund Halswell as Protector for the Southern District and Commissioner for the management of Native Reserves, and Clarke was promoted Chief Protector.

Halswell had been sent to New Zealand by the New Zealand Company as commissioner for the management of their native reserves. His instructions did not mention education, indeed the view was taken that 'now that the whole of New Zealand has been officially proclaimed to be part and parcel of the Queen's Dominions, the Duty of Protecting and Watching over the Welfare of the Native Born Subjects of her Majesty in New Zealand has devolved entirely and exclusively on her Majesty's Government'.[56] But, as Protector for the Southern District, Halswell took his instructions not from the Company, but from Clarke, and he was told to confine the appropriation of the funds realized from the reserves, which were to be let by tender, strictly to the 'education and religious instruction of the Natives' until further

[54] Russell to Hobson, 9 December 1840, GBPP, 1841, 311, p. 23.
[55] NZ Gazette, 7 July, 1841, p.3.
[56] John Ward to Halswell, 13 October 1840, *New Zealand Company Records* (NCR) 102/2. NA.

instruction should reach him. This seemed to consist of fencing and repairing the churches at Te Aro and Pipitea, assisting the sick, and,- in prospect- paying a Native schoolmaster and carrying on a school for native children.[57] No such school is recorded and it seems unlikely that one was started. A few months later, Shortland, the Colonial Secretary, wrote to Halswell specifying how the proceeds, if any, were to be spent- and no mention was made of schools.[58]

In 1842, the Chief Protector was informed that in addition to the use of the proceeds of the New Zealand Company Reserves, the British Government had directed that, whenever land acquired from the Māori was sold in the Colony, a sum of not less than 15 nor more than 20 percent of the purchase money should be credited to the Protector's Department to be used for 'promoting the health, civilization, education, and spiritual care of the aborigines'. The money left after the Department's expenses had been met, was to be administered by a committee of trustees consisting of the Bishop, the Chief Justice and the Chief protector. It was to be:

> applied by them in the establishment of schools for the education of the youth among the aborigines, and a furtherance of such other measures as may be most conducive to the spiritual care of the Native race, and to their advancement in the scale of social and political existence.[59]

The Trustees planned to build in every town a hostel for visiting Māori, and to found :

> at a convenient distance from the chief tribes, boarding schools …where religious instruction and all the good and useful arts and habits may be taught, from the earliest age. The children to be fed, taught, and clothed from the produce of the native reserves.[60]

Although this was a recurring idea, and the plan upon which many missionary schools were later to be run, little eventuated directly from this committee. It did not get off to an auspicious start. The Chief Justice decided the position was incompatible with his

[57] Clarke to Halswell, 18 September 1841, H.H. Turton, Native Affairs North Island, D., p. 1.
[58] Shortland to Halswell, 24 December 1841, NZC, 3/2. NA
[59] Shortland to G. Clarke, 26 July 1842, Turton, D., pp.3-4.
[60] *Church in the Colonies-New Zealand*, vol.1, pp. 42-3.

position, and resigned, while the Protector became immersed in land purchases and claims, leaving the Bishop as effectively the only member.

As far as schooling is concerned, little or nothing was done by the Department of the Protector. While it was intended to carry out the imperial policy, part of which was the support of mission schools, the preoccupation of the protectors with the purchase of land and settlement of land claims interfered with their other duties. The annual estimates of the Protector's Department are significant in considering its activities. Apart from the salaries and travelling expenses of the officials, only £200 was allowed for the sundry expenses of the Department. The officials simply did not have time to carry out the constructive policy that the Colonial Office had intended for the civilization of the Māori.

There were those, however, who continued to advocate for the Government to do more. George Clarke reported to the Colonial Secretary in his role as Chief Protector in June 1843 that the education of the Māori had hitherto been carried out by the:

> Gentlemen of the Church and Wesleyan Missionary Societies; and as far as reading and writing go, they may generally be considered proficient; the number of individuals who have not attained these arts being comparatively very few. There is, however, a great want of a more regular system of school education, and that of a higher character than is at present in operation, in which, amongst other things, the English language might be taught.[61]

Governor Robert Fitzroy, who briefly succeeded Hobson as Governor, recognized the complete failure of the Protectors to promote the 'civilization' of Māori. His answer was to enact the *Native Trust Ordinance*, which put forward the advantages of following a policy of assimilation including instruction in the English language:

> Whereas the Native people of New Zealand are by natural endowments apt for the acquirement of the arts and habits of civilized life, and are capable of great moral and social advancement. And whereas large numbers of people are already desirous of being instructed in the English language and in English arts and usages. And whereas great disasters have fallen upon uncivilized nations on being brought into contact with colonists from the nations of Europe, and in undertaking

[61] Clarke to Colonial Secretary, 39 June 1843, *GBPP*, 1844, 2, p.344.

> the colonisation of New Zealand Her majesty's Government have recognized the duty of endeavouring by all practical means to avert like disasters from the native people of these islands, which object may be best obtained by assimilating as speedily as possible the habits and usages of the Native to those of the European population.[62]

The Board established by the Ordinance would put land and money aside to further develop schooling:

> For the instruction of the Native people in the English language, and for a systematic course of the industrial and moral training in English usages, and in providing for the relief of the sick, and generally in such a way as may be most conducive to the bodily and spiritual welfare of the Native race, and to their advancement in the scale of social and political advancement.[63]

The next Governor, George Grey did not gazette the confirmation of the Ordinance and it therefore lapsed. But the idea of rapid assimilation, so clearly embedded in it, was to remain the cornerstone of Crown education policy for nearly a century. It was, Ward suggests, its most serious flaw, because it meant it was 'emasculated by European attitudes of racial or cultural superiority'.[64]

Governor Grey turned seriously to education in 1847 when *An Ordinance for Promoting the Education of the Youth of the Colony of New Zealand* (hereafter the *Education Ordinance*) was passed by the Legislative Council. It was a comprehensive measure, applicable to both races, although Grey proposed in the first instance to apply its provisions chiefly to the education of Māori and half-caste children. Grey also refrained from establishing any new educational organization, considering that it was better to work with and through the existing three main missions, 'rather than to waste both time and money by attempting to create a system of national education to be conducted by the Government'.[65]

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[62] *Statutes of New Zealand*, 1841-1853, p.140. See also *GBPP*, 1845, p.116. Document (Docs) p.1.
[63] Ibid., p.117.
[64] Alan Ward, *A Show of Justice?: Racial Amalgamation in Nineteenth Century New Zealand*, Canberra, 1974, p.39.
[65] G.Grey to Earl Grey, 9 December 1847, *GBPP*, 1847-48, p.191.

Such an attitude reflected the English background at this time. Even by the 1850s, no Government schools had been established in England, the primary schooling which did exist being provided by essentially church-based voluntary organizations.[66]

Under Grey's Ordinance, the schools, to be superintended by the heads of the three religious bodies, would only be eligible for government assistance if religious education, industrial training and instruction in the English language was provided. Schools receiving aid would be subject to annual inspection by Government-appointed inspectors. It appeared essential to Grey, for reasons that to him seemed so obvious as not to need repeating, that all the children should be brought up to speak and read the English language.[67] The need for 'industrial training in trades and manual occupations,' as a part of education for both races, arose from the underdeveloped state of the colony; these children 'had a country to create'.[68]

The Ordinance received a mixed reception. It was welcomed by the religious bodies, but met strong criticism from many settlers who saw it as being:

> Nothing more than a means of subsidizing mission schools. As far as they were concerned, if the missionaries wanted their own children to receive schooling alongside Māori children that was their business. But the idea of invoking this as a universal practice seemed to most critics to be so absurd as to be not worth taking seriously.[69]

The wording of the Ordinance implied a measure of common schooling for the two races, something that was to remain an ideal only for at least the next two decades. But it was to re-emerge again strongly in later efforts by the Crown to provide schooling for Māori. (see Chapter 2).

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[66] W.H.Armitage, *Four Hundred years of English Education,* Cambridge, 1970.
[67] Grey to Earl Grey, 9 December 1847.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Ibid.

It was a concept which horrified many settlers at the time. A leading article in the Wellington newspaper *The Southern Cross*, stated that no system of education could work well in the Colony which proposed to:

> combine in one plan the education of children of both European and native races. The principle of amalgamation was attractive in theory…but it is absurd to imagine that European parents would at present send their children to the same school with natives…The European and native youth cannot be educated together.[70]

1.3 THE CHURCH BOARDING SCHOOLS

The passing of the Ordinance encouraged the further establishment of industrial boarding schools, which it was believed would be more successful in promoting assimilation by ensuring regular attendance and Christian habits.[71] Grey recommended that, as the mission schools were to give industrial training, a grant of sufficient land should be given to each of them to enable them to produce all the supplies they needed and become self-sufficient. At the same time, Māori would be given instruction in 'improved modes of agriculture' which, because they were viewed primarily as an agricultural-based race, would benefit themselves, the European population and the whole country.[72] When land was set aside for educational purposes it was the Anglicans who benefited most; they were granted 5756 acres between 1846 and 1853, compared with 876 acres to the Wesleyans and 513 to the Roman Catholics.[73] The Anglicans were also to be advantaged in terms of financial aid, receiving £22,364 over the same period, compared with £6,466 to the Wesleyans and £4,447 to the Roman Catholics.[74]

By the mid-1840s, the fortunes of the missionary village day schools had begun to decline, and the passing of the 1847 Ordinance reinforced the need for the missions to

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[70] 10 June 1848.
[71] R. Maunsell, *Hints on Schools Amongst the Aborigines,* Auckland, 1849, p.5.
[72] G.Grey to Earl Grey, 22 March 1849, G25/4, 49/33, NA.
[73] P.Rich, 'Sir George Grey and New Zealand Education 1845-1853', MA thesis Victoria University, 1967, p.79.
[74] Ibid., p.109.

consider changes in their approach. The growing awareness of the importance of teaching English, and some of the difficulties attached to doing it effectively, was another factor leading to boarding schools, or 'central' institutions, being viewed as a way of drawing together the most able Māori youth away from their home environment, and giving them a much more intensive education than was possible in a village day school.

Bishop Selwyn began St John's College at Waimate for Māori and Pākehā of all ages, to be the 'key and pivot' of all the Bishop's operations, 'the nursery of the ministry and the centre of all sound learning and religious education'.[75] In 1844, the CMS would not renew the lease of the Waimate buildings, and St John's was moved to a site at Tamaki. The pupils farmed, printed, worked at spinning and weaving, carpentry and shoemaking and, as was to happen many times later, the industrial activities took up far too much time to the detriment of study.[76]

In October 1844, Governor Fitzroy granted the Wesleyans six acres in trust for an educational institution, which marked the first assistance by the Crown to the education of Māori. Another piece of land was given on 1 April 1845, and, between 1850 and 1858, over 500 acres more were granted under the conditions of the Ordinance, for what became the Three Kings Native Institution. The Wesleyan Committee in London sent out the Rev. A.Reid and Mrs Reid to take charge in 1848, and soon after their arrival there were 150 pupils. In 1851, 106 acres of land were fenced and there were 30 acres of potatoes, 25 of wheat, 12 of maize, and 14 in 'pasturage'. Some of the boys learnt to plough and harrow, and others were learning carpentry, while the girls made, mended, and washed the clothes. Grey took a close interest in the institution. In 1852 he authorized a grant of £600 for new buildings, but it was some time before the Treasury was able to find the money.[77]

[75] R.Maunsell to CMS, 1843, quoted in J.A. Morell, 'The Missionary Career of Robert Maunsell', MA thesis Canterbury University,1967, p.12.
[76] H.T. Purchas, *The English Church in New Zealand*, Christchurch, 1914, p.118.
[77] I.A. (C.S) 1/95 52/1171, NA.

By 1852, there were several CMS boarding schools attached to the mission stations. In July of that year, at Waimate, a boarding school for boys began with 30 pupils. It was the intention to train the older boys as teachers and they were taught English. The afternoons were devoted to farm work and 'we have recorded the pleasure of the Governor' in directing that 'a sum not exceeding 50 pounds should be issued…from funds applicable for native purposes…to purchase a pair of horses and a plough for the use of the Native school at Waimate'.[78] There was also a girls' boarding school where the girls were trained in the domestic arts.[79]

The Rev. and Mrs Kissling also began a boarding school for girls at St Stephen's Auckland. After a setback, when the school was burnt down in 1848, the Government granted £600 for the establishment of a permanent new school. The school, later to be named St Stephen's College, but initially called 'The Aboriginal Female Establishment', was opened by Bishop Selwyn on 17 December, 1850.[80]

The grants of land made by Māori and the Government as endowments and farms for the schools amounted to a considerable area. Moreover Government grants were not the only assistance the Māori schools received. It also provided livestock and farm equipment to the schools. And in many places, Māori also contributed in other ways towards the cost of the schools, sometimes in cash, generally in food. In spite of this somewhat unsystematic financial organization, the four years from 1848 to 1852 saw some solid progress in the establishment of the church boarding schools. They had grown rapidly. By 1851, between 700 and 800 Māori attended the Government aided schools, and in the next few years further schools were begun.[81]

But the growth was not maintained. Difficulties identified by Archdeacon Octavius Hadfield in a school he established at Otaki in 1854 were to influence the fortunes of several of the other Government aided schools. They were:

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[78] C.A Dillon to C.S., 12 September 1850, I.A. (C.S.) 1/79,50/1644, NA.
[79] For Waimate reports see *MR* 1850, p.220; 1851,p.233; 1852, p.241.
[80] B.Old, 'A History of St Stephen's School 1844-1974', MA thesis Auckland University, 1974, p.20.
[81] J.Rutherford, *Sir George Grey,* London, 1961, p.220.

(1) the difficulty of getting competent teachers; at Otaki there had been three schoolmasters in two years.

(2) Sickness: at St Stephen's, deaths of pupils had been followed by others leaving, and by general disorganization.

(3) A rise in prices: Māori with means did not have the same economic inducement to send their children to school to be fed and clothed, rather they kept them at home to help in earning. This factor, combined with general disturbances, had contributed to the Waimate school not being firmly established at this time. E.Williams, [82]

(4) Improved economic conditions made labour hard to get, and more work had to be done by the schoolboys. The heavy work of breaking in a farm was disheartening to boys, and was to become a general drawback to the industrial system of missionary education. Many Māori parents, also, objected to their children spending a minimum time on schoolwork compared with many hours daily clearing land, draining and fencing. And parents were also often unhappy about being separated from their children when they lived in a boarding school, making them reluctant to send them to school.

Grey left New Zealand in 1853, but before going he sought to put the Māori schools on a sounder financial footing. Under the 1852 Constitution, the sum of £7000 was to be placed annually on the Civil List to be used by the Governor for Māori purposes. Grey proposed that the greater pat of these funds 'should be devoted towards the consolidation and extension of that system of education which after an experience of several years has worked with such very successful results'.[83] He secured the approval of the Secretary of State for the following appropriations: the Church of England £3,500; the Wesleyan Society £1,600; the Roman Catholic Church £800.[84]

Grey's decision to continue to base the Māori education system on the work done by the three established missions may well have been the only realistic choice open to him. But

[82] AJHR, 1858,E-1, pp.78-80.
[83] G.Grey to Newcastle, 16 June 1853, AJHR,1856,A-7.
[84] For a full description of the Grey plan see I.A. (C.S.) 1/144, 56/2240,NA.

the price paid was a degree of organization that was ridiculous in view of the small amount of money spent. Separate denominational school systems led to a duplication of buildings and equipment which the country could ill-afford, and which was restrictive and inflexible.

The clause of the 1847 Ordinance providing for the annual inspection of the schools by inspectors appointed by the Governor had been a dead letter for several years. But finally, in 1852, inspectors were appointed initially for the schools in the vicinity of Auckland. The first inspectors made only one general recommendation for these schools, but it was significant 'that in every case, the employment of regularly trained assistants, would have the effect of rendering the schools more efficient'.

However if the teaching was sometimes barely adequate, even that could not often be said of the physical conditions for the pupils. Lt. Colonel Russell, who inspected the Auckland schools in 1858, wrote of one of them:

> Although every energy of mind and body is devoted to it by the Missionary, his wife and family, yet they are insufficient…the pupils are not as well fed, well clothed or well lodged as is desirable…it is not creditable to a Government which professes anxiety for the education and civilization of the Native race to starve such institutions.[85]

The results of the financial provisions of the Grey plan, as disclosed in Colonel Russell's report of 1858, were far from satisfactory. The average number of pupils at St Stephen's School was 20, and the grant worked out at £15 7s per pupil. At the Roman Catholic schools in the Auckland area, St Mary's and St Ann's, the grant of £1,167 was used to keep 27 Māori pupils, which amounts to over £43 per pupil. Those schools educating the greatest number were receiving the smallest amount per scholar. Russell wrote that the result of this arrangement was that the schools which most required paid teachers could offer little or nothing beyond the services of the missionaries and their wives, while those schools which together enrolled only 27 pupils paid £415 for teaching them, and the same disparity existed as regards food, clothing, buildings, medical attention etc. The

[85] AJHR, 1858, E-1, p.64.

result was a 'strong inducement…to diminish the number of pupils, and so limit the usefulness of the institutions which it is intended to increase'.[86]

Russell's report identified many other similar examples throughout the country, and also other limitations of Grey's plan for Māori education, including the opening of new schools being left to the three established religious bodies. These results led to dissatisfaction and it was clear the plan would have to be amended.

1.4 ENQUIRY INTO THE SCHOOLS

In 1856 Grey's successor as Governor, Gore Browne, recommended an inquiry into the best method of appropriation for the schools, and suggested that if it was found that the Government grant was not spent as advantageously as it might be, 'it is our duty to interfere and cause it to be so, but that maladministration is not sufficient to justify an entire withdrawal of the most efficient means of civilizing a people.[87] A few months later, he wrote that 'it is evident that the present system reaches an extremely small part of the population'.[88]

The enquiry was carried out by a committee chaired by C.W.Ligar, the Surveyor-General, which had been appointed to make a more general investigation of the 'state of Native Affairs'. The most important of its recommendations regarding education were: firstly, that a board of education should be established to distribute all the funds to the schools, in proportion to the number of scholars who were being taught to read, speak, write and cipher in the English language; secondly, that a paid inspector should be appointed by the board, and his duties, in addition to inspecting and reporting on the schools, should be 'to organize and establish new schools, and to urge on the natives the value of education, and the necessity of giving it their support and assistance' -without which, the committee believed, no extensive system of schools could be run. [89] The proposal to make payments

[86] AJHR, 1858, E-1, p.61.
[87] Gore Browne to Labouchere, 31 May 1856, F25/6, 56/57.
[88] Memorandum by Gore Brown, 27 November 1856, G36/3.
[89] Report…on the State of Native Affairs, transmitted to the House of Representatives, 9 July 1856, BPP, 1880, 492,p. 97.

proportional to the number of pupils was also recommended by Colonel Russell, who suggested that the sum paid per head need not exceed £10.[90]

Donald McLean, who had just become Native Secretary, in a cautious memorandum written for Gore Browne, emphasized the difficulties faced in Māori schools but had no doubt 'that many of the schools under the management of each…denomination have been well conducted'. However he believed :

> that the diffusion of useful knowledge among the Natives is a subject of such importance to the welfare of the race, that while fully admitting the prior claims of the three religious bodies now receiving Government aid-other denominations should not be excluded from a share of whatever public funds may be available for this purpose.[91]

In 1854 and 1855, the £5,900 spent on Māori schools out of the £7000 reserved on the Civil List for native purposes had been supplemented by an additional sum of £1,300 placed on the general estimates and voted annually. Owing to the unsatisfactory state of the administration of the fund in the southern provinces, it was doubtful in 1856 whether the House of representatives would renew the vote. The Ministers, 'considering it undesirable to retrench the Educational Fund on account of a temporary abuse, which they proposed as speedily as possible to correct, advised that the …sum of £7,000 should be temporarily provided out of the Civil List, until more satisfactory arrangements could be made'.[92] Gore Browne's assent to this change was based on the belief that it would guarantee £7000 for education, 'not for a permanency but for a reasonable period', and give some security to the religious bodies engaged in erecting buildings and developing school farms. [93] In 1856 and 1857, the whole £7000 was, accordingly, paid out of the Civil List Fund. This meant that all the 'Native Services', other than education, which Grey had considered to be legitimate charges on the Native fund, had to be paid from other sources.

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[90] AJHR, 1858, E-1, p.61.
[91] McLean, 4 September, 1856, McLean Papers, ATL, 9/3.
[92] Memorandum on Native Affairs by Responsible Advisers, 29 September 1858, enclosed with Gore Browne to Bulwer Lytton, 14 October 1858, BPP, 1860, 492, pp17-35.
[93] Gore Browne to Bulwer Lytton, 7 September 1858, G25/7, 58/74.

During 1857 Gore Browne 'became aware the House of Representatives might refuse supplies for ordinary Native expenditure and throw the whole cost onto the Civil List, which obviously could not bear it'. He therefore proposed that the schools should be removed from the Civil List, and legislative provision be made for their support, for a suggested term of seven years. A circular was sent by E.W.Stafford, the Colonial Secretary, to the heads of the three religious bodies warning them of the impending change. Selwyn wrote expressing his dissent from the proposals on the grounds that he conceived the superintendents of the mission schools to be 'agents for the Natives themselves, with the sanction and under the control of the Governor, but…in no sense servants of the General Assembly nor responsible to it'. This 'independence of character and position' could scarcely be maintained 'if the Managers of schools are made to depend upon a vote of the general Assembly'. [94]

On 29 March 1858, C.W. Richmond, the Colonial Treasurer, outlined the Government's proposals for the appropriation of the £7,000 and for an act to provide for the Māori schools, the change in the Civil List to be made contingently on the adoption of the Act. Under the proposed Act, Government aid would be given to schools on the following basis:

> 1st. Government contributions proportionate to the average number of pupils efficiently instructed during each quarter (or other period of payment), according to a standard of instruction, to be fixed by the Government.
>
> 2nd. A standard of Instruction entitling to Government aid, which shall comprise the ordinary subjects of primary instruction in English as well as in Māori, and industrial training …
>
> 3rd. Periodical inspection of the schools by an Officer or Board, appointed or approved by the Governor.
>
> 4th. Perfect freedom of the managers of the Schools as to the course of instruction and conduct of their establishments; especially in regard to the Religious education of the pupils. [95]

[94] G.A. New Zealand to C.S., 25 November 1857, AJHR, 1858, E-1B.
[95] AJHR, 1858, E-1A; Also speech of C.W.Richmond, 10 June 1858, NZPD, 1856-58, p. 513.

With certain minor modifications, the proposals were accepted by Gore Browne and confirmed by a series of resolutions in the House of Representatives.

1.5 THE NATIVE SCHOOLS ACT 1858

The new Act, granting an annual sum of £7,000 for a term of seven years, marked the first legislative provision for the support of Māori education. It received wide general support in the Assembly, It was, after all, essentially a measure of consolidation rather than innovation, an attempt to regularize Grey's system and ensure continuity of both financial aid and of the schools already in existence. It was limited to schools 'in connection with some religious body', and aid was only to be given where pupils were both boarded and educated. 'Instruction in the English language and in the ordinary subjects of English primary education, and industrial training', were required. The recommendation of the Ligar Committee that the Inspector should take the initiative in having new schools started was not taken up, and during the debate in the Assembly regret was expressed that no provision was made for the erection of schools in areas where there were none. Richmond believed that the religious bodies themselves would find it possible to do this.[96]

The first full-time inspector appointed under the terms of the Act was Henry Taylor, in May 1862.[97] Before that, Henry Carlton had inspected the Auckland schools. J.E.Gorst, a young Cambridge graduate who had arrived in New Zealand in 1860 seeking to 'try a more active existence' than faced him at home, inspected those in the Waikato; and others had been inspected by the Resident Magistrates or Justices of the Peace. Taylor, coming at a time when the schools were being affected by the racial tension in the country, wrote extremely forthright reports on all the schools he visited. Differences of opinion between politicians, government officials and the churches regarding the most appropriate way forward for Māori education were becoming more open, and this was evident in correspondence and inspectors' reports. Taylor's reports challenged a number of areas where the missionaries had traditionally exercised control, including the

[96] NZPD,1856-58, pp. 138-9, 152. See Docs p.6 for the Aact.
[97] NZ Gazette, 1862, p. 190.

appointment of teachers, possible abolition of the denominational boards, the virtues of co-educational schooling and of village as opposed to central boarding schools. [98]

The new authority Taylor appeared to be assuming under the Act was challenged by some of the mission representatives, as when Thomas Buddle, Chairman of the Wesleyan Board, reacted strongly to a proposal for closing a Wesleyan school. [99] However there was often good cause for criticism by the inspectors. Gorst, in a report on the Waimate School in the Bay of Islands in 1861, described the school as:

> totally unprovided with the materials necessary for teaching. 10 Māori Testaments and a few lesson sheets pasted upon the war were all that were forthcoming. There were no copy books, no maps, a bad black board , no chalk, and only a few broken slates.[100]

Based on such inspections, Gorst launched into a general critique of the system. He complained that although the Native Schools Act specified requirements on which the Government's grants were to be made, such as the provision of industrial training, instruction in English and residence on the school premises, 'these regulations, sometimes from sheer impossibility, are not always practically carried out, and the Government has used no means of ascertaining or compelling their observance'.[101]

As a consequence of the grant of £6 per pupil being inadequate, most of the school managers were:

> compelled to screw down the costs to the lowest possible amount…(the pupils) clothing is ragged and sordid; their bedrooms are bare of the furniture and decencies of civilization; and over-crowded with human beings; the books are torn and dirty; simply because the managers cannot afford the children the luxuries of cleanliness, privacy and better nourishment.[102]

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[98] AJHR, 1862, E-4, p.36.
[99] Buddle to Williamson, n.d. Quoted in Maxine Stephenson, 'Karakariku School: A Revisionist History', MA thesis Auckland University, 1993, p.67.
[100] AJHR, 1862,E-4, p.10.
[101] Ibid.
[102] Ibid. Docs.p.9.

In Auckland, Carlton, in April 1862, had found St Mary's Roman Catholic School on the North Shore in a highly unsatisfactory state. The master did not know how many pupils he had, the roll' being locked up in the priest's box', and no attempt was made to keep any record. The furniture had consisted of :

> one table, a bench and a chair, with a map of the world. On enquiring for the books, we were told that the scholars had taken them to their houses…It appeared that there were no fixed school hours; occasional attendance at the school-house in the morning, but none in the afternoon.[103]

Pompallier, however, put in a new teacher and brought about some reforms, with the result that when Taylor visited the school one month later there was a marked improvement'.[104] But the improvement was only temporary ; the new teacher left , and on Taylor's next visit to the school he reported 'the whole a "perfect farce", and the sooner it is put a stop to the better.[105]

Carlton found St Stephen's to be something of a mixture. 'Viewing St Stephen's as a Public Educational Institution' he wrote:

> I cannot consider it to be on a satisfactory footing. It has no definite character; it is neither a Theological College, a School, nor yet a Boarding House, though partaking somewhat of the nature of all three. The adults, especially the females, appear wholly independent of the manager's authority. [106]

Carlton also concluded his report with some lengthy general remarks about the system of Māori education which were as critical as those by Gorst. He wrote that even after allowing for the:

> late disturbances I cannot say that the system has achieved success. A large sum being contributed in aid by Government, the question arises-how many are taught for the money? How much the scholars learn for the money ? and how far they are permanently weaned from Native habits?…It is evident that education is exceptional, that it *does not reach the masses*…The teaching of

[103] AJHR, 1862, E-4, pp. 14-15.
[104] ibid, p.23.
[105] AJHR, 1863, E-9, p. 9.
[106] 1862 Report, p.9.

> English must be pronounced almost a failure, every where…The existing system of Native education falls between two stools. Aiming at a double objective, the civilization of the race and the quieting of the country, it reaches neither end effectually. It fails to civilize the race, because, as before observed, it does not reach the masses. It fails to keep down the insurrectionary feeling , for it needs something more than school-boy's lessons to reconcile men to the idea of a lost nationality. The ordination of a single Native deacon…goes further towards the peaceful maintenance of British rule, than a smattering of education bestowed upon scores of children. Do either one thing in earnest, *or* the other…Spread a little education far and wide, or thoroughly train up a few at high class schools.[107]

Henry Taylor, in a 'Further Report on Native Schools in the Province of Auckland' in July 1862, identified 'internal causes' contributing to insufficient progress being made in many of the schools. These included (a) Insufficiency of food or clothing (2) Over-working the pupils, especially in schools called 'Industrial'(3) Excessive punishment and over strict discipline (4) Defective teaching (5) Uncomfortableness of schools.[108]

1.6 DECLINE OF THE MISSIONARY BOARDING SCHOOLS

As has already been demonstrated, none of the schools in or near Auckland was in an efficient state. Moreover the reports by resident magistrates on Native Districts, if they mentioned schooling at all, generally had the same thing to say: 'Education in this district is a dead letter…. I cannot even get the natives to converse attentively on the subject' W.B.White, R.M.Mangonui, [109] Or, 'Education is hardly thought of, and, with rare exceptions, the children are growing up unable to read and write, presenting in this respect a marked contrast to their parents, who almost without exception can read, write and cipher with fluency'.[110] By 1865, the mission schools were virtually empty, and other schools for Māori had disappeared. It was reported that the mission boarding schools which, a few years before had between 700 and 800 pupils, now had a total of 22. [111]

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[107] ibid., p.18. Docs.p.12.
[108] AJHR, 1862, E-4,p.35. Docs.p.16.
[109] AJHR, 1868, A-4,p.37.
[110] G.S. Cooper, R.M.Napier, ibid.,p.13.
[111] C.J.Parr, 'A Missionary Library: Printed Attempts to Instruct the Māori 1815-1845', *Journal of the Polynesian Society (JPS).* 70, 4, 1961, 230.

The wars of the sixties marked the end of the plan, begun by Grey, that the Government should work with the religious bodies in building a system of Māori education. Even allowing for the general disturbances, it could hardly be said that the system had achieved success, and some of the reasons for this were pointed out earlier in the inspectors' reports.

In 1861, Gore Browne wrote that with the education of the Māori entrusted to the religious bodies:

> the effect has necessarily been confined to certain districts. There is no school at all north of Auckland, no school has ever existed in many of the most populous places….Government is not less bound to care fir the secular instruction of its people than the Church is for their religious teaching. [112]

Apart from these practical reasons, the denominational system was open to objection on grounds of principle: 'The plan at present adopted', wrote Rolleston:

> of giving money to religious boards, on condition of its only being used in schools in connection with some special denomination would seem wrong in principle, and is likely eventually to lead to considerable complication…it is a serious question whether the Government ought directly to countenance religious differences to suit their own temporary convenience. [113]

As has already been mentioned, the industrial school plan had not worked out as well as had been hoped. While the school farms had played a part in introducing ploughs and mills, they had not been without difficulties. To develop a farm and school took a tremendous amount of work and required considerable capital. Indeed, Maunsell estimated that in new schools the pupils might spend most of the first two years 'making and repairing their clothes, in washing grinding, sifting flour, making and breaking bread, fencing, gardening, cooking food etc'.[114] The nature of the preliminary work in

[112] Gore Browne, Memorandum to his Council, 25 May 1861, AJHR, 1861, E-3A, p. 4.
[113] W.Rolleston, 'Notes on Reports of Inspectors of Native Schools', AJHR, 1865, E-3, p.1.
[114] Maunsell,p.9.

developing a school farm was not suitable for boys. Māori called such work *Mahi Paroa*, (Pharaoh's work, or compulsory labour) and it afforded a general reason or excuse to parents all over the country to keep their children from school, even causing the closure of some schools.

The arguments put forward in favour of the industrial system went well beyond those stemming from financial optimism. The practical activities were deemed to have great value in themselves. Selwyn hoped 'to hinder, so far as positive institutions may avail, the growth of that shabby, mean, and worthless race of upstart gentlemen, who are ashamed to dig but not to beg, whose need never excites them to industry, and whose pride never teaches them self-respect'.[115] Maunsell, more realistic than many about the speed with which racial assimilation might be achieved, and hoping to use the schools to teach at first those aspects of European civilization which Māori could most easily adopt, particularly wished to promote agriculture, for he felt that 'it most accords with the natives' previous habits, does not require an expensive or unattainable apparatus at his native settlement, and will tend to elevate him above the influence of ill-disposed Europeans'.[116]

To develop the farm before any children were enrolled, as was done at Kai-iwi, might, in the long run, have been the wisest policy even though no children were educated for some years. Under the 1858 Act, the granting of assistance on a strict per capita basis meant that it was impossible to follow this course unless financial support could be received from sources other than the Government. Even where pupils were received from the beginning, it was often impossible to keep them for the £10 per annum which was the maximum allowed per head, let alone develop a farm of several hundred acres. This fact, together with the loss by fire of a new woolshed, forced the Rev.S.Williams to close down the school at Te Aute and confine his attention to the improvement of the property, in order that it might at a future date 'better subserve the objects of the grant'.[117]

[115] *Church in the Colonies*, no.20, p.23.
[116] Maunsell to CMS, 12 June 1851, quoted in Morrell, p. 127.
[117] S. Williams, AJHR, 1869, A-5A, pp. 3-4.

The attainment of a self-supporting institution, which Grey so confidently looked forward to in describing the schools, never seemed to get any closer.

While there were, indeed, sound and obvious reasons for considering training in agriculture and useful trades a necessary part of Māori education, the attractiveness of the self-supporting idea unfortunately jeopardized the success of the industrial schools. In his report of 1863, Taylor wrote, 'I feel satisfied the sooner the system is abandoned, the better for the cause of education'. [118] Carlton, also, was not happy with the existing arrangements: 'if the main object was to *teach* the management of a farm, agriculture became a branch of education and not a means of its support. This, if desired, should have been clearly stated and 'treated as involving a proper and useful expense'.[119] If the object was to render the schools self-supporting as far as possible, the best way to achieve this would have been to rent out the school estates.[120]

Maunsell's idea of the school based firmly in the community was not generally accepted, but neither was any other coherent scheme. While this failure to clarify the real purpose of the schools, and to think out appropriate courses of instruction, was not peculiar to the Māori school system, its consequences were being noted even before the wars began. A basic fault with the whole system of education was the lack of support for primary or village schools. All the inspectors' reports showed that the idea of working downwards from central schools to primary schools was a faulty plan. The primary schools should have had first attention because, as Gorst wrote:

> Good (primary)schools are a necessary preliminary to a college. No one fit for or much benefited by admission to a college, whose education has not been carried up to a certain point in a school. Unless the country is covered by numerous and efficient Native schools, Native Colleges are an impossibility, they can only become, what most Colonial Colleges are, schools for big boys.[121]

[118] AJHR, 1863, E-9, p. 15.
[119] Carlton, AJHR,1862, E-4, p.16.
[120] Ibid.
[121] Gorst Report, AJHR, 1862, E-4, p.11.

There had been village schools, started with enthusiasm, but with teachers untrained and unpaid they rarely lasted for a few months. And the view had continued to be held by many that, unless the children were removed from the *kainga*, out of touch with their whanau and hapū, little could be done to 'civilize' and Europeanize them. Even though, at this very task, the achievements of the boarding schools, particularly those in Auckland, were extremely questionable.

The twenty years or so between the establishment of British government and the outbreak of war had seen little real achievement in Māori education. The system established had so many faults that even if the war had not come it would almost certainly have been drastically revised. But war closed the schools, and there closing can be taken to symbolize the break in relations which had occurred between the two races. It ended, too, the plan developed by Grey, by which the denominational boarding schools were to bring the Māori, or an elite drawn from among them, to the ways of Christianity and western civilization. The war, indeed, in a real sense, ended the missionary period in New Zealand.

The next focus in government involvement in Māori education would be very different, taking its place as part of a Native policy which was, at last, clearly that of the settler politicians. After the protracted struggle with Gore Browne, in which the provision for Māori schooling had, along with other aspects of Native policy, been treated as something of a political football, the settlers would now be able to implement a policy which reflected their continuing preoccupation with land, one in which the Native Land Court became the main instrument of the post-war policy of peaceful amalgamation.

By The *Native Land Act* of 1865, it was intended to convert the communal ownership of Māori land into a system of individual ownership, the court being empowered to grant rights of ownership to those Māori it judged to have valid claims, and who could subsequently retain the land for their own use, or sell or lease it to Europeans. In practice, the Act and its subsequent amendments disinherited and impoverished the Māori, and the European land buyers were more interested in the amalgamation of land

than of the two races. The granting of Māori representation in the House of Representatives in 1867 was a measure assimilationist rather than separatist in intention. This, together with the concept of a new national system of Government administered primary schooling in English for Māori, which was being planned to further the Crown's assimilationist aims, was an attempt to give effect to the promise in the Treaty to grant them the rights and privileges of British subjects, a blinkered conception of rights and privileges although it was.

There was still the need for some special form of local government in the Māori districts, the role of the Native Department being reduced in accord with the general need for retrenchment in the public service, and the settler prejudice against anything savouring of privileged treatment. But the resident magistrates were given wide responsibility and power to act essentially as mediators to ease Māori assimilation into European ways. Many of the resident magistrates shared with their religious predecessors, the missionaries, a belief in the importance of education. And their interest was to prove vital when a new system, under which the local community would be called upon to help support and run the schools, came into being, even though Māori in many part of the country were already willing to play an active part in creating a new system. Grey had envisaged District Runanga assuming considerable legislative and administrative functions. But Ministers were largely unsympathetic, and regular District Runanga only really assembled in Northland, the Bay of Island Runanga meeting at Waimate under George Clarke, for the Ngāpuhi hapū, and a Runanga of Te Rarawa and other Muriwhenua chiefs at Mangonui under W.B.White.[122]

This had relevance for Māori schooling, because the Waimate Runanga, early in 1863, 'began to organise support for secular village day schools, which the Government was increasingly favouring as a means of educating Māori children in English'.[123] And the Mangonui Runanga, also 'spent some time discussing White's proposals for village day schools', the Māori parents not having been happy about their children 'being taken away

[122] Ward, p. 137.
[123] ibid.

from their own homes to work in the gardens of church boarding schools'.[124] They would hardly have been happy with, for example, the conditions at St Stephen's, which William Fox described in Parliament as having 'degenerated into something between a hospital, a nursery, and an almshouse for the decrepit and the destitute'.[125]

In thinking about a new system, Gore Browne had suggested that a schoolmaster, having a knowledge of agriculture, should be appointed to reside in the *kainga*, taking education to the homes of the Māori 'instead of bringing the children away for a short period, and then leaving them to relapse into their former habits when they return to their own people'.[126] In the Napier district in the early sixties, a man called Donaldson worked on this plan, travelling around four Māori villages and holding a school in each, with about 70 pupils in all. There were, he reported, 'a great many people here who are interested in my plans, although the public generally makes game of them, and laugh at the idea of *teaching* the natives except by the sword…'.[127]

Clarke, the Civil Commissioner in the Bay of Islands, had criticized the existing scheme as far too expensive, and therefore leaving the mass of children in total neglect. He recommended village day schools teaching reading writing and arithmetic, to be run by a Board of Education in each district, consisting of the civil commissioner, the resident magistrate and such others as the Government should appoint. These schools would be the base, or feeder schools for 'District Central Boarding Schools'.[128] Taylor reported in 1863 that Clark had started six schools in his district but no aid was given to them, as they did not come under the terms of the 1858 Act.[129]

All of the inspectors' reports had contained, directly or indirectly, recommendations as to the form of any new system of Māori schools. In 1865, Rolleston brought together these

[124] ibid, p. 176.
[125] NZPD, 1868, 2, p. 191.
[126] Gore Browne, Memorandum to his Council, 25 May 1861, AJHR, 1861, E-3A, p. 4.
[127] AJHR, 1862, E-4, p.24.
[128] AJHR, 1863, E-9, pp. 16-18. Docs. P.19.
[129] ibid, p. 2.

recommendations in the 'Notes on Reports of Inspectors of Native Schools'.[130] The conclusion he reached was 'that the only essential and permanent features of an education system are : (1) Division into districts; (2) Formation of Boards; and (3) Active government inspection, with power to organize and suggest measures to meet individual cases'. 'This last point', he wrote, 'is really the key to success in whatever plan may be adopted'. This was taking general education out of the hands of the denominational boards and, by implication, to a large extent putting it into the hands of Māori themselves. Carlton had recommended this course in 1862:

> If we attempt to hunt them (Māori) into education as we have hunted them into selling their lands, a spirit of resistance will naturally be engendered. *Make education a part of the Runanga*; give the direction of it to themselves; let them feel it is their own work.[131]

He emphasized, accordingly, the importance of establishing numerous day schools throughout the country, 'scattering the seed broadcast over the country, instead of confining it to a few hot-beds'. [132] Carlton's suggestion had a prophetic element within it, because the idea of introducing a self-help approach as an aspect of education policy was to be one important part of the next phase in the Government's involvement in Māori education.

In virtually the final act related to the Government-assisted missionary school system, Rolleston reported to Richmond in June 1867 on an inspection he had made of several of the schools which had survived the wars, or revived after them. He inspected the school at Paihia on 1 June, describing it as having been temporarily transferred from Turanga.[133] Three classes of pupils were identified- an adult class of 17 men aged from 15 to 50, five of whom were married; a class of 13 boys and another of 11 girls. Rolleston wrote that it was not possible to form a judgment of the school's normal condition because, at the time of his inspection, it was in a 'disorganized state, and under very disadvantageous circumstances'. The school for men and boys 'did not profess to be, and certainly was not

[130] AJHR, 1865, E-3, pp.1-3.
[131] AJHR, 1862, E-4, p. 17.
[132] ibid.
[133] AJHR, 1867, A-3, p.12.

in a condition in which much beneficial education could be maintained'. However the 'manner and appearance' of the 11 girls had given him the impression they were well cared for.[134]

His report maintained the same critical view of the schools and the system evident in the earlier reports by Gorst, Carlton and Taylor. He concluded that the 'general results after a large expenditure of public funds in subsidizing Native schools, over a period of nearly 20 years, cannot be regarded as satisfactory'.[135] He criticized the attempt to develop a 'higher' system of boarding schools before a foundation in elementary schooling and learning had been established, claiming that they had received an undue share of attention which had not been repaid by results, and there had been a failure to develop primary or village schools. He described the Three Kings and St Mary's schools, North Shore, which had been endowed largely with 'Native land and liberally supported by the Government from Native Funds', as being 'principally asylums for destitute Europeans'.[136] His conversations with Māori had identified several objections they had to the schools, including their children being required to work as servants, and 'too much of the Bible taught and too little of other subjects'. Moreover they were taught in their own language, whereas they wished to learn English, and the food supplied in the boarding schools was insufficient.[137]

Rolleston recommended that the Government should not subsidize boarding schools, so far as they were training establishments for special religious objectives. He made several other suggestions. The Government should focus on the attainment of proficiency by Māori children in the subjects of an English primary education; where Māori in any district formed a Committee and granted a specific sum annually, the Government should supplement that with an equal amount; where Māori set aside land for a public school, the Government should also contribute a proportion of the costs of the school's construction.

[134] Ibid.
[135] Ibid,p.1.
[136] Ibid., p.2.
[137] Ibid.

These suggestions would be incorporated in the soon to be established new national system of secular primary schools for Māori, which would be controlled by the Crown.

CHAPTER TWO: CROWN EDUCATION POLICY AND NORTHERN MĀORI 1867-1929

2.1 THE CROWN'S LANGUAGE POLICY FOR NATIVE SCHOOLS: EMPHASIS ON ENGLISH AND EXCUSION OF MĀORI

The *Native Schools Act 1867* established the Crown's legislative framework for developing a national system of secular primary schools for Māori, located where they lived. It represented the Crown's first attempt to establish its own schools specifically for Māori, and one of the conditions for a Native School to be established was that 'the English language and the ordinary subjects of primary English education are taught by a competent teacher and that the instruction is carried on in the English language as far as practicable'[138]

Given its policy of 'amalgamation' or assimilation, it was logical from the Crown's perspective to emphasize English as a central feature of its schooling policy. From a Northern Māori cultural perspective, however, the policy of excluding te reo Māori from Crown primary schools for the next 100 years can be viewed as probably the single most damaging aspect and legacy of its schooling policies.

The Crown's emphasis on English only had begun earlier, as was mentioned in Chapter 1. The *Education Ordinance 1847* was one important measure for establishing and reinforcing its amalgamation policy, and one of its central features was that English would be the only official language. [139]

The Ordinance laid down that only those mission schools providing instruction in English would continue to receive Crown assistance, and this was reaffirmed in the *Native Schools Act 1858*.

[138] Section 21.
[139] G.Grey to Earl Grey, 9 December 1847, GBPP, 1847, NA, G 25/3,47/130.

A more strident English only approach became evident in various reports and enactments during the early 1860s. When the school inspector Henry Taylor presented a report to Parliament in 1862 he claimed several factors were impeding progress in 'carrying out the work of civilization among the aboriginal Native race through the medium of the schools', including:

> The Native language itself is another obstacle in the way of civilization. So long as it exists there is a barrier to the free and unrestrained intercourse which ought to exist between the races.
> H.Taylor, Further Reports on Native Schools in the Province of Auckland.[140]

Hugh Carlton, a school inspector in the Auckland Province and Member of Parliament for the Bay of Islands expressed a similar view:

> I consider that too much stress cannot be laid upon the acquirement of the English language… civilization cannot be advanced beyond a very short stage through means of the aboriginal tongue. The Māori tongue is sufficed for the requirements of a barbarous race, but apparently would serve for little more.[141]

As the 1860's progressed, the interest by settler politicians in the Crown becoming more heavily involved itself in Māori education grew. The Minister for Native Affairs, James Richmond, proposed that the Crown should now take schooling to Māori by subsidizing the development of a national system of secular schools controlled by the Department of Native Affairs. Speakers to the Bill which came before Parliament to implement this, emphasized that a policy of assimilating Māori through schooling in the English language was necessary to 'civilise' them. Carlton supported the Bill because, he claimed, the stage had now been reached when it was necessary 'either to exterminate the natives or to civilize them', adding that they would never be civilized through their own language, because it was 'imperfect as a medium of thought'. Civilization would only be achieved by means of 'a perfect language', i.e. English.[142]

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[140] AJHR 1862, E-4, p.35.
[141] Ibid., p.77.
[142] NZPD, 1 1867, pp.862-3. For Native Schools Act 1867 see Docs.p.23.

John Hall, member for Heathcote, claimed that learning English would pave the way for the 'civilizing of the remnants of a noble race', while for Major Heaphy, member for Parnell, 'the more the natives were educated, the less would be the future expense on police and goals'.[143]

The Native Minister, Donald McLean, appointed Lt.Colonel A.H.Russell as Inspector of Native Schools. He had been a member of the Legislative Council from 1861, and Native Minister under Stafford from July 1865 to August 1866. Resident Magistrates, including Spencer Von Sturmer at Hokianga, and E.M.Williams at the Bay of Islands, and other individuals appointed for the purpose, such as Archdeacon Clarke, assisted him with school inspections.

These officials advised teachers that the more the Māori language was excluded, and the teachers unfamiliar with it, the greater the progress the pupils would be, particularly in mastering English. For example, in a report on the Peria Native School east of Kaitaia, the Inspector commented that all lessons were 'carried on entirely in English, as the teacher fortunately knew little Māori'.[144]

The same Inspector expressed disappointment that the pupils at the Mangakahia Native School had not made more progress in the two years the school had been open, but attributed this partly to the teacher:

> unfortunately being impressed with the idea that it is useless to talk with the children in English…From what I have seen of other schools, where Māori is never spoken, except in explanation, I am convinced that this is a great mistake.[145]

The Resident Magistrate at Hokianga, Spencer Von Sturmer, assisted with school inspection and advised the Minister on schooling matters in the in the North. He praised the fact that at the Waitapu Native School 'no Māori is allowed to be spoken in the

[143] Ibid., p.863.
[144] Archdeacon Clarke to Native Minister, AJHR 1874, G-2, p.1.
[145] Ibid.

school', except when the more advanced pupils were translating a sentence into English from Māori.[146]

The following excerpts from inspection reports illustrate a similar theme in other of the Crown's Native Schools attended by Northern Māori children:

> Waimate …English alone is used in the school, except in the explanation of words and sentences.
> E.M Williams, Resident Magistrate Bay of Islands, to Russell.[147]

> Waiomio …I am …happy to report that not one word of Māori is spoken in this school.[148]

New instructions and guidance for teachers was set out in the *Native Schools Code 1880*, which a new Organizing Inspector, James Pope, had played a significant part in drawing up. The Code instituted a greatly improved organization of the schools over that of the 1870's, and the standards of attainment now introduced were a modified version of the curriculum outlined for Education Board primary schools in the *1877 Education Act.*[149]

The Code laid down specific instructions regarding the use of Māori. Despite being appointed to communities in which Māori was the language of common usage, teachers were advised that it was:

> not necessary that teachers should, at the time of their appointment, be acquainted with the Māori tongue. In all cases English is to be used by the teacher when he is instructing the senior classes. In the junior classes the Māori language may be used for the purpose of making the children acquainted with the meanings of English words and sentences. The aim of the teacher, however, should be to dispense with the use of Māori as soon possible.[150]

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[146] AJHR 1876, G-2, p.3.
[147] AJHR 1873, G-4a, p.4.
[148] H.T. Kemp to Under Secretary Native Department, 20 November 1874, G-8 p.1.
[149] AJHR 1880,H-IF,pp. 1-7.Docs.p.25.
[150] ibid.

Here, the language was limited entirely to being a pedagogical tool to assist with the more effective teaching of English, not as a language having intrinsic cultural or other value in its own right.

After 1900, towards the end of Pope's term as Inspector, official attitudes hardened even further against even this extremely limited use of the language, on the grounds that the most effective means of learning a second language was not to permit the first language to be spoken at all. Inspection reports reflected the more rigid anti-Māori language policy. Pope, referring to the modest use of Māori in the junior classes after 1880 to facilitate the teaching of English, explained that 'What was being done in 1880 was to teach English through and by means of Māori', but now the 'only way to teach English was through English'.[151] He now described any use of Māori as 'an anachronism' in his reports on the schools.[152]

Pope's successor as Senior Inspector in 1904, William Bird, maintained the rigid no-Māori policy and, if anything, reinforced it. One reflection of this was a pamphlet issued in 1917 for the guidance of teachers advising them:

> Do not speak to your pupils in Māori, and do not permit them to speak in Māori to you, or to one another if you can help it. The less they hear of Māori the better it will be for their English. Do not, however well you may speak the language, give orders in Māori, or attempt explanations.[153]

Another memorandum to teachers, in 1906, had emphasized the 'necessity for encouraging the children to talk English on the playground, and to see that this is done as much as possible'.[154]

A debate about the place of te reo Māori in the education system took place at the national gathering of Māori council representatives and other persons interested in the

[151] AJHR 1903, E-2, p.18.
[152] Ibid., p.8.
[153] The Teaching of English in Native Schools; The Direct or Natural Method, 1917, p.6
[154] Bird to Secretary, 31 March AJHR, 1906, E-2 pp.11-12.

welfare of Māori convened by the Government in 1908. The Member of Parliament for Northern Māori, Hone Heke:

> Strongly urged that the Māori tongue should be systematically taught in the native schools, as at present the people were in great danger of losing their language altogether. This must be prevented at all costs, for if the language were not retained they would lose their nationhood and be neither one thing nor the other.[155]

But Bird, as the Crown's main educational official present, disagreed, emphasizing the Government view that teaching English was of paramount importance. He again rejected entirely any idea that the Crown might have some responsibility for including te reo Māori in schools:

> Mr W.W.Bird, MA., Inspector of Native Schools, said that whatever might be the fault of the native school system; he believed that the one vital part of it had been the teaching of the English language. In such schools steps had to be taken to remove the principal bar between the two races, the bar of language. But in any case the children had plenty of time in which to practice their mother tongue, for the school day was only four hours long. He thought the proper place for instruction in the Māori language was at Te Aute, and he would be pleased to see it introduced into the syllabus there.[156]

While Hone Heke's plea for Māori to be taught in primary school was rejected, there was considerable support for it being included as an optional subject for matriculation and entry to the university. The Principal of St.Stephens, A.Wilson, moved and Hamiora Hei seconded:

> That in view of the extra labour imposed upon Māori students through being instructed in a language not their mother tongue and with a view to help conserve the Māori language, this Congress considers that Māori should be made an optional subject for matriculation at least and that a committee consisting of Dr Buck, Messrs J.Thornton and G.A.Hansard and the mover be appointed to draw up a memorial on the subject to be submitted first to the Councils and Professorial Boards of the four University Colleges and finally to the Senate of the University of New Zealand.[157]

[155] The Māori Congress was held in Wellington from 16 May 1908. MS paper 0189-173a, ATL.
[156] Ibid.
[157] Ibid.

In 1909 the Senate approved the inclusion of Māori as an optional subject. Approval by Department of Education officials who acknowledged that there was value in educated Māori boys being taught their own tongue and being able to act as interpreters for bodies like the land Court followed. The result was that from 1909 Māori was included as an optional subject for Junior Scholarship holders at the denominational boarding schools for Māori boys, with a view to assisting them to pass the Junior Civil Service examination.[158] Māori became a required subject for both boys and girls attending secondary schools on Junior Scholarships from 1931.[159]

The comment has been made that while Ministers of the Crown responsible for Education, and Crown officials within the Education Department continually emphasized the importance of English and need to exclude Māori in the primary schools, in tertiary institutions and in the final years of secondary institutions –where Māori students were few and far between-Māori language could be optional and might be academically 'interesting'.[160]

As Inspector in charge of the Native schools, and the Crown's chief advisor on Māori education, Bird continued his assault against any use of the Māori language in the schools, or any other aspect of Māori culture, well into the 1920s. In 1918 the Director of the Dominion Museum, J.Allan Thomson, acknowledging that Māori weaving and carving were in danger of dying out, supported the introduction of their teaching in the Native Schools.[161]

When support also came from several teachers in Native Schools, the Director of Education asked Bird for his advice, which was that:

[158] AJHR 1909, E-3,p.9.
[159] See Regulations Relating to Native Schools, 1931.
[160] David Williams, *Matauranga Māori and Taonga,* Wellington, 2001, p.136.
[161] Thomson to Under Secretary Native Affairs, 5 July 1918, BAAA,1001, 1092d.Docs.p.35.

> I do not see that there can be much educational benefit to be derived from including in the curriculum a scheme of instruction in the art of weaving.
>
> The purpose for which the Māoris in the old days engaged in weaving and carving no longer exists and while, from a sentimental point of view, the loss of the art is to be regretted, it has to be recognized that in its place, Māoris have acquired the art of knitting, sewing, making garments and carpentry, which their present day circumstances find of far greater practical worth…except for the places where education has not yet fully opened to them the way of civilization, Māori art as such has died out.
>
> In the same way, the language itself must pass through the Maypole Soap process of mongrelism, as it is now doing in the more civilized parts, and finally disappear as a spoken language. Then, too, its interest will consist in the same fact as does that of specimens of old Māori work, viz., that it represents a lost art.[162]

Armed with this advice, the Director replied to the teacher of the Native School at Rotorua that although the Department would not place any obstacle in the way of instruction in Māori arts and crafts being given outside of normal school hours, 'it cannot see that much educational benefit is to be derived from, nor is it prepared to agree to the inclusion of such a course of instruction in the school curriculum'[163].

Bird, who still assisted with the inspection of the schools after he had formally retired, and retained considerable influence within official education circles, continued to take the hardest possible line against any use of Māori in the schools. In a report on the Horohoro Native School in May 1930, he advised the Teacher that language lessons by the direct methods should be given each day, 'the Māori language being suppressed in schools'.[164]

Some teachers added their own approach to enforce the English-only policy. The writer of an article published in *Te Waka Māori*, the journal of the Native School Teachers Association in 1918, informed readers that her own practice was to insist that 'only English should be used within the school boundaries'. She found it difficult at first to get the rule obeyed:

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[162] Bird to Director, 24 July 1918, and Director to England, 31 July 1920, ibid.
[163] BAAA 1001,251a.
[164] Ibid.

> so to impress it upon their memories, ten stones had to be brought up from the river nearby, each time that a Māori word was used, and 20 stones for two words; while the penalty for a full sentence, or careless non-observance of the rule was a bucket half-full. The stones were put into muddy places about the yard…When the holes were all filled the same number of manuka sticks were cut down in the playground.[165]

Bird introduced other policy changes to ensure that Māori was excluded. He decided that the English examination sat by pupils in the Native Schools hoping to obtain a scholarship to one of the Māori denominational boarding schools should be in English only. This was on the grounds that 'while a boy is forbidden to use Māori in a village school he is expected to translate Māori in his English examination for scholarship'.[166]

When the New Zealand Department of Education presented evidence to the Waitangi Tribunal in 1985, it claimed that no official policy had existed that corporal punishment was used to enforce the English-only policy. But Sir James Henare, one of several respected kaumātua who had attended school in the first 25 years of the twentieth century, gave evidence to the Tribunal that:

> If there was no such policy there was an extremely effective gentleman's agreement…Then he went on to give his own experience to the time and place and the names of teachers and school inspectors concerned…Then he also told us of being sent into the bush to cut down a piece of supple jack with which he was punished for breaking the rule that te reo Māori must "be left at the school gate".[167]

From this, and the evidence of other witnesses, the Tribunal concluded that the use of corporal punishment for speaking Māori was part of official policy in the first quarter of the century, rather than 'just a practice'.[168]

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[165] E.Clarke, 'The Teaching of English' in *Te Waka* ,4, 1, 1918,p.5.
[166] AJHR 1905, E-2,p. 9.
[167] Waitangi Tribunal, *Findings of the Waitangi Tribunal Relating to Te Reo Māori,1985,p.13.*
[168] Ibid., p.14.

The effects of the rigid policy in place is recalled by pupils who attended the schools. A pupil at the Kaikohe Native School in the late 1920's, for example, recalls that 'We were not allowed to speak Māori in our school…. Got the strap'.[169]

As was mentioned earlier, Hone Heke, the Member of Parliament for Northern Māori, was one prominent Māori leader who took a strong stand against the policy. Support for the teaching of Māori also came from Henare Kaihau, MP for Western Māori, who advocated a revived Māori Parliament in a new township between Ngaruawhia and Taupiri. In an interview he identified a major reason for it being needed was that:

> unless some such scheme is brought into operation the Māori language, Māori tradition, and Māori customs will be lost to an irreparable extent before many years have gone. The real Native language was fast passing away….and if it was to be preserved it must be systematically taught.[170]

From the Crown's perspective, excluding the Māori language was a central part of the wider policy of assimilating Māori through schooling or, as officials often put it, of 'lifting Māori to a higher plane of civilization'. Commenting on the establishment of schools in the Hokianga, Von Sturmer claimed that it would be difficult to over-rate their value; the children were not only obtaining a knowledge of the English language 'but of English manners and usages, which they carry to their homes, thus conducing to the advancement of both young and old'.[171]

Reporting to the Native Minister from the Bay of Islands, E.W. Williams wrote that the establishment of schools was the 'greatest boon ever conferred by the Government upon the Native race', not just because they gained an education and knowledge of the English language 'but the regularity of school discipline and attention to the appearance and comfort of the scholars will foster in their minds a desire for cleanliness and civilized habits, than which nothing will tend more to improve their physical condition'.[172]

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[169] Interview reported in Judith Simon and Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *A Civilising Mission?* Auckland, 2001, p.142.
[170] 'Looking Back', Dominion, 31 August 1910, in MS Papers 0189-1708, ATL, Wellington.
[171] AJHR, 1876, G-2, p.3.
[172] AJHR, 1876, G-1,p.20.

2.2 OTHER ASPECTS OF ASSIMILATION

Another expression of the assimilation policy affecting schooling was an unsympathetic and disrespectful attitude on the part of officials to other aspects of their culture which Māori held dear, including tangi and hui. One of numerous examples of this which could be cited was the Secretary of Education chastising the Chairman of the School Committee of the Pawarenga Native School, situated alongside Whangape Harbour, because it had been closed on March 7th and 10th 1913 on account of a tangi. He wrote that:

> the Committee has no power to give holidays in this manner and for such purposes…the Department is quite opposed to the idea that it is necessary for all the children to stay away from school for such purpose, though there may be some excuse for the immediate relatives of the deceased doing so…Attending a tangi is not a sufficient reason (for staying away), and if the Department were to take legal proceedings it might prove a serious matter for all the parents concerned.[173]

The goal of assimilation was also expressed in a policy that the Native Schools would eventually become board schools, and the 1880 Code included a 'self-destruct' clause to facilitate this happening It stated that 'As soon as the Organizing Inspector shall report that all the children in a native school district have made sufficient progress in English to enable them to work for the 'Standards of Education' with advantage, the Native School in that district may be transferred to the Board of Education District in which the school is situated.[174]

For Board schools enrolling Northern Māori children, this meant the Auckland Education Board. Native Schools were also sometimes transferred to Boards when an increase in European settlers to a district led to their children becoming the majority in a

[173] Secretary to Chairman, 16 June 1913, BAAA,1001, 458c. Native/Māori School Data Base P4-29. (Hereafter MSDB). Material referred to in files not recorded as being in the Data Base is held at Archives Niew Zealand Auckland.
[174] Clause xviii.

Native School. Examples of this in the north were the Pakia Native School in the Hokianga , and Te Māori at Kaeo, being transferred to the Auckland Board in 1886, as a result of both 'having assumed a European character'.[175]

The Rawhia Native School situated along the Upper Waihou River was also transferred to the Auckland Board in 1886 because, according to the Inspector, it had become 'in all respects white'.[176]

Reporting on the Poroti Native School in the Whangarei area in 1912, Inspector Porteous commented that 'there were 29 Māoris and 22 Europeans at the school' and 'the presence of such a large number of Europeans indicates that the time for the transfer of the school to the Board is fast approaching.[177]

The dominance of the English background and emphasis was also reflected in the texts used in the schools and most other activities. When McLean appointed Russell as Inspector of the schools, and referred him to the English language requirement in the Act for any school receiving Government aid, he added an idea of his own, that it was

> of great importance that all games which the children are taught to play in their hours of recreation should be the same as are played at English schools, such as cricket, football and similar other athletic sports, not only for the sake of the physical benefit the children will derive from such exercises, but also in the hope that the school may thereby be rendered more attractive.[178]

McLean would have been gratified to learn that at the Oromahoe School in the Bay of Islands the Inspector found the singing of the Māori children 'very hearty, comprising The Low-Backed Irish Car, Annie Laurie and the National Anthem'.[179]

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[175] AJHR 1886, E-1 pp. xx.
[176] AJHR 1896 E-2. p.3.
[177] Porteous to Secretary, 30 June 1912,BAAA,1001, 470c.
[178] AJHR 1872, E-5, p.3.
[179] AJHR 1875, G-2, p.2.

Reporting on the Waitapu, Waima and Whirinaki Schools in the Hokianga in 1873, Von Sturmer requested from Russell cricket gear, a football and a dozen tennis balls for rounders, which would be 'beneficial to the health and morals of the children'.[180]

The Department supplied the schools with the *Illustrated London News*, the *Graphic*, or *Harper's Weekly*. The papers were to be 'kept at the school for one month for the use of the Children' and then 'handed over to the Chief of the district in order that the Māoris in the settlement may have an opportunity of seeing them'.[181] 'I am in receipt of two boxes of croquet…..I received four numbers of the London Graphic and distributed them in the pah' the teacher at the Takahiwai Native School, situated on the south side of Whangarei Harbour, informed the Secretary of Education, George Hogben, in 1905.[182]

Later in the same year he sought Hogben's advice regarding the position of teachers in 'the combating of Tohungaism or witch-craft among the Natives' ; an elderly Tohunga has been secretly practising and he claimed and that if he had not removed one patient from him she would have died she, I believe, would not have recovered and:

> I could, I suppose, have him shifted by giving a hint to the Police, but have so far refrained as he is being employed by the leading man in the settlement and I have no wish to stir up strife with the Māoris without obtaining from your Department an assurance of my position in regard to the combating of this evil. Malcolm to Secretary, 31 August 1905.[183]

The reply, based on notes supplied to him by Pope, was cautious; it was:

> not a very easy matter to give advice without in the first place having an accurate knowledge of the facts of the case…A teacher should be careful not to offend the prejudices of the Māoris unless he is reasonably sure that good will come from such action. In such a case as that referred to in your letter the teacher should continue to do all in his power to conserve the interests of the children; treating the Tohunga question with a very light hand, but endeavouring to show in a kindly manner that he considered the tohunga remedies foolish and probably dangerous. In no way should the teacher

[180] AJHR 1874, G-8 p.3.
[181] (Clause V111).
[182] G Malcolm to Secretary, 30 June 190, BAAA, 1001, 550a.MSDB T-4-37
[183] ibid.

> endeavour to bring force to bear in such a case; doing so could produce no result of a beneficial nature, and might arouse hostility that would lead to serious injury to the school.
> Secretary to Malcolm, 7 September 1905.[184]

In 1909 all the teachers were sent a copy of the *Tohunga Suppression Act 1908*, and here also the Department proceeded somewhat warily, repeating Pope's earlier comments about being careful not to ' directly offend the prejudices of the Natives' and to treat any matters which arose 'with a very light hand'. But the memorandum added that the aim should be to overcome the difficulty 'in time, by means of steady, patient, well-directed effort towards the general enlightenment of the people'. The teachers were also advised that 'the professing or pretending to profess supernatural powers in the treatment or care of any disease' was a matter which could prejudicially interfere with the role expected of them in contributing to the care of the sick in their district, and if any 'flagrant cases' of that kind came to their notice it should be reported to the Department with as much detail as possible to help determine whether a prosecution should be laid.[185]

The view of the teachers as 'moral uplifters' was also reflected in the action taken by the Secretary when word came to him that A.E.Walsh, the teacher at Te Rawhiti School at Russell, Bay of Islands, had started a racing club of which he was the Honourable Secretary. When an Inspector suggested that it was 'not in keeping with the spirit of the Code that a teacher shall promote this kind of sport', the Secretary agreed and advised the Minister that such a position was 'inconsistent with that of a Native school teacher , whose influence upon the Māoris should be of a totally different kind'. Walsh was advised that his 'acting in any capacity in connection with the racing club cannot be allowed' and should 'cease forthwith'.[186]

The Inspectors frequently had to defend the continued existence of the schools against the arguments of those wanting their immediate transfer to Boards, charges of

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[184] ibid.
[185] Circular Memorandum for Teachers in Native Schools , 20 August 1909, EW 2536, Box 1 NA.
[186] Correspondence on file 9 May and 25 June, and Secretary to Walsh, 27 June 1906, BAAA,1001, 608e.

'pampering' Māori, and excessive cost. Pope frequently used the goal of assimilation to do this. 'The Māori Schools are not only educational institutions in the ordinary sense ', he told a parliamentary committee investigating educational expenditure in 1887,'they are also centres for spreading European ideas and habits among the Māoris'.[187]

2.3 SCHOOL TEXTS, ASSIMILATION, PERCEPTIONS ABOUT RACE AND PATRIOTISM

The reading material used in the schools continued to reflect and reinforce the English cultural emphasis, while also giving the Māori pupils messages about race and culture, and inculcating patriotism. The stories in the most commonly used history and geography texts in common usage in both Native and Board schools, and in *The New Zealand School Journal* which was distributed to all schools, presented a 'pecking order' approach to race which:

> Automatically placed the white race first…there was general agreement, amongst both British New Zealand writers, that they (Māori) were members of a lesser race or racial sub-group but very worthy for all that (reflected in comments like); "Whites form by far the most important race, for they have the best laws, the greatest amount of learning, and the most excellent knowledge of farming and trade. There are five great races of men, and of these the white race is highest"; "The men of our race sometimes complain because the white people have taken away so much of their land; but I am sure that our teacher is right when he tells us that we have more land left than we can use. He says too that the white men have given us peace and order, and a thousand blessings that we could never have enjoyed but for their coming to settle amongst us" (Māori boy, speaking in a story in the *Sixth Imperial Reader*.[188]

An analysis of *The Zealand School Journal* identified how:

> A selective phraseology made careful use of adjectives, intensifiers, and metaphors to heighten images of colonial 'heroes' and Māori 'enemies'. In various situations Māoris were evaluated as 'treacherous', 'cunning',

[187] AJHR 1887, E-3, p64. See also NZPD, 1889, 66, p.171.
[188] Colin McGeorge, 'Race and the Māori in the New Zealand Primary School Curriculum Since 1877'. *Journal of the Australian and New Zealand History of Education Society*,(JANZHES), 10, 1, (1981), pp.13-23.

> ‘troublesome’, ‘distrustful’, ‘cruel’, ‘savage’, ‘wild,’ and ‘fierce’. ‘Native’ was a term synonymous with ‘Māori’ and strongly implied images of inferiority and barbarism. Also, comparative and patronising adjectives such as ‘little’ and ‘brown’ portrayed Māoris in a discreditable light to be ranked in a scale of negative value alongside the ‘white’, ‘bold’, ‘fearless’ and ‘noble’ colonial settlers. Moreover, ‘white ‘conveyed symbolic and emotive connotations of cleanliness, purity, objectivity, rationality and normality, which ‘black’ and ‘brown’ did not share.[189]

The author also points out that history was virtually non-existent outside the context of British imperialism; the Journal reinforced the notion that New Zealand’s history began with European arrival. Māori were portrayed as being completely unable to exist on their own in an orderly and peaceful manner.[190]

‘Māori Fairy Tales’ were designed to keep readers amused, and portrayed in what was meant to be a humorous tone, ‘the quaintness and antiquity’ of Māori culture, in comparison to ‘serious and solemn accounts of the Empire’.[191]

In 1916 the Secretary for Education advised teachers in Native schools of the list of books for distribution to the various classes as their course of reading for the year, pointing out that any departure from the list was ‘not desirable’:

Standards 6 and 7	Southern’s Life of Nelson; Settlers in Canada; Ivanhoe.
Standard 5:	The Cricket on the Hearth; The Mill on the Floss; A Christmas Carol.
Standard 4:	Feats on the Fiords; Coral Island; The Hawthorne Reader; Wallace and Bruce; Norse Legends.
Standard 3:	The Swiss Family Robinson; Rambles by the Riverside; Popular Norse Tales; The Anderson Reader; Hiawatha.

[189] M.Read,’Ideology, Hegemony and the New Zealand School Journal: A Comparative and Critical Analysis of Two Selected Topics 1907-1914, 1930-1940,’MA thesis, University of Otago, 1988,p.162.

[190] Ibid.,p.158.
[191] Ibid.

Standards 1 and 2: Sinbad the Sailor; Alice in Wonderland; Norse Stories; The Moorhen and the Watervale; The Owl and the Fieldmouse; The Story of the Robins.[192]

Occasionally, individual teachers resisted the policy that this should be the only kind of material available, as in the following example of a teacher commencing in her first Native school in 1928:

> When I went into this place I was shocked. I looked at the reading material and it was the old Blackie's phonic readers…the material was so foreign from anything Māori …I wrote to the Department and said…I couldn't possibly use them for reading…They wrote back and said, well, if the Department has piles of these books on the shelves you just have to keep on using them. So I burnt the lot and I just had to make my own materials.[193]

Considerable effort was put into instilling patriotism and loyalty to the Empire in the schools. The Inspector- General of Education, in a memorandum to teachers in Native schools in 1910, outlined the details for the observance of Empire day; the school was to assemble as usual in the morning, and lessons given to the children on the reign of the late King Edward VII and Queen Victoria, and the present King George V. It was suggested that the Committee and as many of the parents who wished to should also attend and, after the completion of morning school, the pupils would be dismissed for the day.[194]

The teacher at the Waima Native School recorded what was a typical and frequent occasion in the schools:

> Yesterday being Empire day most of the children came and sang the National Anthem and saluted the flag. I spoke to them about the British Empire and some of the great men it had produced. 24 May 1909.[195]

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[192] Circular to teachers in Native Schools, May 1916, EW 2536, Box 1 NA.
[193] Simon and Smith, p.108.
[194] Hogben to Native School Teachers, 17 May 1910, EW 2536 Box 1, Circulars Native Schools 1908-1916. NA.
[195] Judith Simon, *Ed. Nga Kura Māori*, Auckland, 1998, p.91.

SUMMARY

Therefore for most of the period under review, the policy of Europeanisation and assimilation meant that the Māori pupils themselves, the Māori members of School Committees, and the extremely limited use of Māori in the beginning classes for a limited period under Pope, were virtually the only sign of anything Māori in the schools at all. Moreover with the English language came other cultural forms; 'the infiltration and observation' by the Crown's educational representatives leading to Māori children being 'examined, inspected, supervised, counted, ordered, disciplined and cleaned'.[196]

Professor Ranginui Walker puts it another way, viewing the Native Schools as a potent weapon in the armoury of the Crown as coloniser. He suggests that the process of colonisation is:

> total, in that it involves cultural invasion and colonisation of the minds of the invaded as well…Beginning with the missionaries, the founding fathers of the new nation state were therefore committed to the policy of assimilation. To this end the missionaries, and later the state, used education as an instrument of cultural invasion. [197]

The eminent Māori leader and scholar Sir Apirana Ngata wrote of the effect the policy of excluding the language and arts and crafts from schooling had had on him personally:

> The chief and almost fatal obstruction was the course of education to which the policy of New Zealand committed the children of both races… The result in my case, my education in the music and singing of my own people, was short-circuited. The years that followed at Te Aute almost completed the suppression of any taste or desire for a prized accomplishment in the society to which my kin belonged.[198]

University, 1993, p.67

[196] Maxine Stephenson, 'Karakariki School: A Revisionist History', MA thesis Auckland University, 1993,p.67.

[197] R.J.Walker, Ka Whaiwhai Tonu Matou, Struggle Without End, Auckland, 1990,p.145.

[198] A.T.Ngata, *Nga Moteatea Part 1, Introduction Sir Apirana Ngata,* Wellington, 1959, pp.xxix.

The loss of Māori culture, which Ngata believed the policy of assimilation and exclusion of all things Māori in schooling had contributed to, led him to the view that it explained 'the case of thousands of Māoris old and young, who entered the schools of this country and passed out with their minds closed to the culture, which is their inheritance and which lies wounded and slighted and neglected at their very door. [199]

Even Douglas Ball, who succeeded Bird as the Education Department's Senior Inspector of Native schools, was scathing in his criticism of the official policies of his pre-1930 predecessors. Writing in 1930 he stated that:

> To the earlier administrators and educationists, quick and complete assimilation appeared to be unavoidable and the natural end of educational endeavour….In desiring to change the mental and social patterns of a people assimilation is ruthless in its repudiation of the indigenous culture…It makes no attempt to adapt, and striving, by a major operation, to substitute one culture system for another, often destroys the people it hopes to benefit. [200]

Another Inspector, Tom Fletcher, recalled that:

> when I first visited Māori Schools in 1931, there was practically nothing Māori in the schools except the Māori children. No Māori song was ever sung, there was no sign of Māori crafts or any interest in Māori history as part of the curriculum. The values in their own culture were ignored'. [201]

Yet both Inspectors were to maintain the rigid no-Māori language policy of their predecessors.

2.4 RACISM AND PREJUDICE RELATED TO SCHOOLING

A serious and negative experience for some Northern Māori parents who wished to enrol their children in schools was confronting various forms of racism and prejudice related to schooling in both Native and Board schools. .

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[199] Ibid., pp.xxx.
[200] D.G.Ball, 'Māori Education' in I.L.G. in Sutherland. *The Māori People Today,* Wellington, 1940, p.276.

[201] AJHR 1948, E-2,p.2.

In the Department of Education's Annual Report to Parliament for 1914 the Senior Inspector of Native Schools reported that there had been an:

> Intensification of the racial antipathy and prejudice exhibited towards the Māori in many parts of the North Island , and even in some parts of the South. This has led in some cases to an attempt on the part of the local authorities to turn the Māori children out of school, which has in some places actually been accomplished. [202]

The report for the following year remarked that transferring Native schools from the Education Department to Education Boards was becoming more difficult year by year, 'owing to the increase of racial prejudice. European parents exhibiting strong objections to Māori children attending public schools in common with their own'.[203]

Northern Māori children and their parents experienced their share of aspects of this attitude, as the following examples illustrate. In 1872, Inspector Russell reported that after a visit to Awarua he had made 'ineffectual attempts to establish there a mixed school of Europeans and Natives, which was defeated by the local jealousies of Europeans', and he had therefore been 'obliged to give up the present hope of immediate action'.[204]

In 1922, Departmental officials were considering requests by Māori parents at Omapere in the Hokianga for schooling for their children. Thirty eight children of school age who were not in school had been identified. Because several of their parents worked on railroad construction, and would therefore move on in due course, the Department was resistant to building a permanent school building. One suggestion raised by an Inspector was that the Public Works Department might arrange for the children to go by train each day to Kaikohe. However Porteous pointed out that the Native School at Kaikohe could not accommodate 38 additional children 'and even were accommodation available in the

[202] AJHR 1914,E-3,p.13.
[203] AJHR 1915, E-3, p.6.
[204] Russell to Native Minister, AJHR 1872, F-5, p.7.

public school, the attendance of the children would be most strenuously opposed by the European residents'.[205]

To maintain enrolments at Board Schools, Pākehā parents and school committee members sometimes encouraged Māori parents to enrol their children in them rather than in Native Schools. The wife of the public house keeper at Kaikohe canvassed in this way for the Kaikohe Board School in 1900, 'although all the parents of the European children object to it'. [206]

Trouble was still brewing in Kaikohe one year later. According to the Head of the Kaikohe Native School the 'Committee of the English schools' was approaching the Māoris through the Native School Committee with the object of getting them all to agree that the Māori School shall be entirely "brown" and the white school entirely "white". He requested the Department to clarify if the committee of a board school could put pressure on to get European children to attend a board school.[207]

The situation in Kaikohe was complicated by the location of a Board and Native School in the same town, sometimes leading to competition for enrolments and other issues also with racial overtones. The standard reply by Department of Education officials when problems arose in this respect was that the law provided for both races to attend both types of schools, but the primary purpose of the Native Schools was the schooling of Māori children, and nothing should be permitted to interfere with this.

The Te Pupuke Native School, near Whangaroa, also experienced negative attitudes. 'I should just like to ask you if you would like to send your children to a Native school after being brought up in good English society…I am quite sure my daughter is learning far more under my own teaching than under Māori tuition' wrote one Pākehā parent to the

[205] Porteous to Director 5 May 1922, BAAA,1001,395b.MSDB 03-371.
[206] Teacher To Secretary of Education, 6 March 1900, BAAA,1001,263a. MSDB K1-180-K1-181.
[207] Teacher to Director, 9 August, 1920, BAAA,1001, 265a. MSDB K1-349-K1-350.

Head, 'I cannot send my white child to a Māori School it would just break my heart. Rather than send her, I will give up my home and business.[208]

However the Director advised the Head that the Department was again writing to her and 'informing her that she must send her daughter to school without further delay…If this child remains absent after you receive this memorandum please forward the necessary form and proceedings will be instituted against Mr Ede.[209]

He then advised Mrs Ede that 'unless you send her to school without further delay the matter will be placed in the hands of the Police for the purposes of a prosecution.[210]

But that was not the end of the matter. Mrs Ede now asked if she could send 'my little daughter past this Native School to Kaeo, if not I must send her away from me altogether, taking her to Kaeo means a drive of twenty miles a day, but my husband much prefers that to her going to this school.[211]

The Director replied that the Department did not mind which school her daughter attended, but it was essential that she be sent to a school without further delay. 'Unless this matter is attended to and your daughter commences school at the beginning of next week, the Department will forthwith place the matter in the hands of the Police for the purposes of a prosecution'.[212]

Another example related to the Otangaroa Native School near Whangaroa. In 1921 an S.G. Green wrote to the Minister of Education asking him if it was possible:

> to send an English teacher to the Otangaroa School….The present teacher is Miss Mathews a Māori. This district is opening up and two Pākehā children started attending the school this week. And another two commence next week

[208] D.Ede to Director, 17 August 1927, BAAA 1049a.MSDB T3-2-T3-4.
[209] Director to Head teacher Te Pupuke, 1 October 1927, ibid. MSDB T3-15.
[210] Director to Mrs Ede, 1 October 1927, ibid. MSDB T3-16.
[211] Mrs Ede to Director, 12 October 192, ibid.MSDB T3-17-T3-18.
[212] Director to Mrs Ede, 19 October 1927, ibid.MSDB T3-19.

> with the prospect for more before very long. It is not fair to the children that they be trained among a lot of Māori children by a Native girl and I would respectfully suggest that you appoint a Pākehā teacher.[213]

The Director replied that 'Miss Mathews has done exceedingly satisfactory work, and the school has been reported on very favourably by the inspectors'.[214]

That brought the following response from Green:

> I wish to concur in your remarks re Miss Mathews. From a Māori school point of view she has been very satisfactory. The Māori element from now on will be a gradually disappearing quantity and white children will be taking their place. The Whangaroa Pork and Bacon Company Ltd have acquired a site for a factory within a few minutes walk of the school and will be employing a fair amount of labour. Several returned soldiers have sections close handy and other settlers should be coming. I am doing my best to open up this hitherto neglected district and a white teacher at the school would be an inducement for people with families to come.[215]

In 1917, parents of children attending the Oromahoe Native School in the Bay of Islands wrote to their local MP that a letter had been signed by the Europeans of their district and sent to Mr Reede M.P. It had requested that their school be turned into a Board School under the administration of the Auckland Education Board, and 'We most emphatically protest against this proposal. We desire that our school should remain a Native School so that we may continue to administer that which is necessary for our children'.[216]

No further correspondence on the matter appears in the records and Oromahoe remained a Native School. But based on experience elsewhere, such action taken by European parents could be based on several possible factors; including racism, a wish to gain control of the school committee, or to avoid their children having to travel further to a Board School to bypass the Native School, or a combination of all of these factors.

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[213] S.G.Green to Minister, 4 February 1921, BAAA,1001, 417d. MSDB O6-8O.
[214] Director to Green, 22 February 1921, ibid.MSDB O6-81.
[215] Green to Director, 14 March 1921, ibid.MSDB O6-82.
[216] Hoori P Tane to Tau Henare MP, 29 June 1917, BAAA,1001, 410b.MSDB O5-76.

In April 1897 residents at Maunu petitioned the Department for the establishment of a Native School, and Pope found the site being offered, the number of likely pupils, and other relevant factors suitable. The only possible drawback was the location of two Education Board schools, one at Maunu about three and a half miles distant, and the other at Maungatapere. Pope thought it advisable to consult the Auckland Education Board before further action was taken to establish a Native School, to see if such a move would be injurious to their enrolments. A Board Inspector had advised him that it was likely that the Maunu Board School would be moved even closer to the settlement, meaning 'all causes of complaint that the Māoris may now have would be removed'.[217] The Board advised that all necessary accommodation was already provided at the two existing schools.[218]

However it was the negative reception and lack of attention their children had received when enrolled at one of the Board Schools, not distance, which was the primary reason for Māori residents requesting a Native School. In a letter to the Education Secretary, Ishamael Poutai advised him that when he had sent his children to Maungatapere for about three months, 'the teacher's neglect of them' meant he had to reluctantly take them away. It had been because 'the attention that the white children received was not given to mine, and finding it was useless to expect any improvement in their learning', that had been the reason for his petitioning for a Native School at Maunu near Whangarei.[219]

Awareness of the potential dangers of negative racial attitudes by Pākehā towards Māori also soon arose in relation to the issue of the transfer of Māori Schools to Education Board control, an aspect of the ultimate aim of assimilation and merging of the two school systems. A related issue was what should happen to the land gifted by Māori for school sites when a school was transferred? The issue of land gifted for schools is being dealt with in a separate report. But various aspects of it relevant to this report are also discussed here and later.

[217] Pope to Secretary, 25 April 1898, BAAA,1001, 348c.
[218] Board Secretary to Education Secretary, 8 June 1898, ibid.
[219] Poutai to Secretary, 16 September 1898, ibid.

In a report on the Te Māori Native School situated at Kaeo, Whangaroa in 1885, Pope pointed out that the Europeans in the district were rapidly increasing in number and the time would not be too far distant when the school would transfer to the Auckland Education Board. He acknowledged the 'great public spirit' of Heremaia Te Ara in presenting the Government with a site for the school, and suggested it would be:

> Very hard if, in two or three years time, this became a European school, with a Committee hostile to the Natives, and perhaps doing their best by indirect means, to exclude Native children from the school altogether. I would suggest therefore that before a Native School is handed over to a Board, the Natives who have given the site should receive its value at the time of transfer as compensation. Unless some regulation of this kind can be made, the Natives will hesitate about giving a school site, because they will fear that a time will come when the children of their race will quietly be prevented from attending their own school, while they themselves have given away their land to the Pākehā without receiving any compensation.[220]

However this is really being wise after the event. Why was it not thought of by the architects of the 1867 Native School Act which enshrined the requirement that Māori wanting a school must first guarantee an area of their land for the school site ?. Or by the designers of the 1880 Native School, including Pope, established the transfer policy? No action was taken subsequently, either, regarding Pope's suggestion; Māori hapū wishing to have a school continued after 1885 continued to be expected to gift land free to the Crown as a prerequisite for having one established.

In 1929 another Inspector, reporting on the Kaikohe Native School, stated that :

> I may say that in educational matters, and in other matters as well, there is fairly strong racial antipathy in this particular district. A good deal of feeling was engendered when, with other sites available, a large area of Māori land was taken, under the Public Works Act, as a site for the new public school.[221]

One of the very limited responsibilities given to the School Committees of Native Schools by comparison with their Board counterparts was organising the pupils so that

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[220] AJHR 1885, E-2, p3.
[221] Porteous to Director, 3 August 1929, BAAA 100, 941d. MSDB K1-629-K1631.

'the schoolroom may be cleaned every night, and scrubbed out at least once a month'.[222] In return for this, and the provision by the Committee of firewood for the school, they were provided with free stationary requirements. But when Pākehā pupils enrolled in the schools, their cleaning by the pupils sometimes became another site of racial tension. Pākehā parents sometimes objected on the grounds that it was beneath the dignity of their children, or not the activity they had sent them to school for, or an activity not required of pupils in Board Schools.

'Our school committee are feeling that the parents of the European scholars should take a turn with the school cleaning', the Head of Takahiwai on the south side of Whangarei Harbour advised the Secretary of Education in 1911, so 'will you please inform me what is usual in such cases'?[223]

The official reply was that all children attending Native Schools were expected to take a share in the cleaning the school, 'and it is not usual to make any distinction between Europeans and Māoris –nor would it be fair to do so-seeing that the children of both races participate equally in the benefits.[224]

Dr A.G Butcher's comprehensive 1930 history of New Zealand education, regarded as a seminal study at the time, generally adopted a triumphal approach to the development of state education in New Zealand. But even he was moved to write, as a contemporary observer, that the work of the Native Schools and their teachers:

> …was often made more difficult by Europeans who should have been trying to help instead of to hinder the splendid work upon which they were engaged. That there was an ignorant old world racial antipathy which persisted in spite of all that was done, and which constituted one of the greatest difficulties the Department had to face is a regrettable fact. It operated not only in places where, as has been previously mentioned, new white settlers in Māori districts made trouble about their children having to attend school and conform to the rules of the native Schools; but also in places where the European population having increased so as to be the majority, the Native Schools were handed over to the Education Boards.

[222] 1880 Code, Clause XV1 (4).
[223] Teacher to Secretary, 25 June 1911, BAAA,1001, 551a.
[224] Secretary to Teacher, 3 July 1911, ibid. MSDB T4-89.

Butchers then quotes the section in the Department's 1914 official report to Parliament on the schools referred to earlier, regarding 'the intensification of the racial antipathy and prejudice exhibited towards the Māori in many parts of the North Island,' resulting in attempts by Board authorities to turn Māori children out of schools.[225]

2.5 THE CROWN'S REQUIREMENT OF CONTRIBUTIONS OF LAND AND OTHER RESOURCES TO SCHOOLING BY NORTHERN MĀORI

A clause of the 1867 Native Schools Act involved what could be called the Crown's 'self-help' policy; requiring considerable contributions of land and other resources from Northern Māori as evidence that they really wanted Crown schools established. Carlton had described the philosophy behind this earlier, in 1862, when he recommended putting:

> …confidence in the Natives, to induce them to take the initiative. So long as people have all done for them they remain listless and helpless. Give them a difficulty to overcome, a task to perform. Oblige them to seek us, in place of our seeking them. If we attempt to hunt them into education, as we have hunted them into selling their lands, a spirit of resistance will naturally be engendered. Make education a part of the Runanga, give the direction of to themselves, let them feel that it is their work.[226]

The 1867 Act required 'any considerable number' of the adult Māori males of a locality wishing to have a school established by the Crown to write to the Colonial Secretary requesting one, to declare that they were willing to offer 'A site in extent not less than one acre', and 'provide a proportion of the expenses of the establishment and maintenance of a school'. This involved guaranteeing one half of the cost of the school buildings and one quarter of a teacher's salary. The residents were to elect a Committee of not fewer than three or more than seven persons which would be responsible for collecting these local contributions.[227]

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[225] A.G.Butchers, *Education in New Zealand*, Wellington, 1930, p.285. For further examples of racism on the part of Pakeha parents leading to Northern Māori children not being admitted to Board Schools see later examples such as Te Rawhiti and Omapere.
[226] AJHR 1862, E-4, p.17.
[227] *1867 Native Schools Act*, pp.2-3.

In the years immediately following the passing of the Act, these requirements proved too rigid in some districts, and were preventing schools from being established. As a result a Bill to amend the Act, *The Native Schools Amendment Act, 1871* was passed on 14 November. This gave the Governor new power to expend money where it was needed.

However the main features of the Act were retained, including all the obligations on Māori to provide land for a school site and a proportion of the cost of buildings and teacher salaries. These requirements were to make huge demands on Northern Māori for resources of land, finance and labour for many decades.

The 1880 Native School Code involved putting in place a more comprehensive and systematic organization of the schools than had existed previously. But it retained the requirement that Māori wanting to have a school established had to 'promise, further, to make such contribution in money or in kind towards the cost of school buildings as the Minister may require'. A request for a school now had to be made by 'at least 10 Māori', and the offer of Māori land for a school site was increased to 'at least two acres'.[228] The evidence will show that, in practice, Māori were often required to gift considerable more than two acres as more pupils enrolled, and schools needed more space as a result. Another change, made in the *Native Schools Sites Act 1880*, required Māori to provide the Crown with 'a proper title to the site'.

A very serious inequity for Northern Māori, one which lasted for several generations, was involved here. This was that the demanding requirements and obligations placed on Māori wishing to have Crown schools were not placed on parents who enrolled their children in Education Board primary schools after the passing of the *Education Act 1877*. The only obligation placed on them was to send their children to school, because the Act guaranteed 'free' primary education in Board Schools.

Examples from the Northern Māori experience related to these requirements by the Crown are recorded below.

[228] 1880 Code (Clause 1)

> Friend Mr Mclean, salutations to you. We have seen your letter to Mr Von Sturmer relating to schools, and we now consent to hand over a piece of land fifteen acres in extent, at Te Waitapu, as an endowment for the school, at any time that the Government may think fit. The boundaries of this reserve (gift) for the school commence at the mouth of the Hokianga River on the North side, along the Western bank to Herekino, then to its source where it turns to Motu Kauri, down to the river, and on to the mouth. The persons whom we have appointed as a committee to arrange about this are Mr Von Sturmer, Wi Tana Papahia, Herewini Mangu Mangu, Hone Harimana. Mr Von Sturmer to be Chairman (Followed by 42 signatures).[229]

E.M.Williams, the Resident Magistrate at the Bay of Islands complained to the Native Minister in 1872 that Māori in his district were discussing schooling 'with an earnestness which promises success', and recognized the need for it , but 'not the duty of contributing towards the funds necessary for providing that tuition, being too much led away by the idea that all should be done for them'. However he thought that those who had contributed towards the establishment of places of worships might be equally ready to assist in the establishment of schools for their children.[230]

Russell, the Inspector of Native schools, advised the Native Minister in 1872 that Māori 'have not themselves been backward in endowing with land and giving their best personal assistance to the schools which were established in their neighbourhood, and though such endowments have not yet, as a rule, proved of any great actual value, I believe that fact arises rather from the unsettled state of the country during the last 12 years, the deficiency of capital with which to improve them, than from any want of intrinsic value in the lands so given'.[231]

In his extensive 1872 report Russell recorded that he had proceeded:

> from Auckland to the Bay of Islands, and then to Waimate, the neighbourhood of Wiremu Katene, the member of that part of the Island. This being a comparatively populous part, I was called upon to arrange for the establishment

[229] AJHR 1872, F-5, p.26.
[230] AJHR 1872, F-3, p.6.
[231] AJHR1872, F-5,p.4.

of no less than five schools, within a radius of 20 miles, and as I found every disposition on the part of the Natives to contribute land and money in fair proportion, according to their ability, I arranged with them for the erection or establishment of schools, each to contain fifty pupils at ….Ohaewai….Pakaraka, and Punakitere.[232]

I found the land to the north of Auckland much poorer than in the south, and as from that and other causes, the Natives did not appear to have as good money resources as they have in those parts of the colony, where they have more intercourse with Europeans, I did not as a rule feel justified in requiring them to furnish so large a proportion as one half of the expenditure.[233]

I proceeded from Waimate to Whangaroa where I made preliminary arrangements for establishing a school at Kaeo, where there is a Native church (not now used as such) available, and where also an experienced schoolmaster already resides, who is desired by the Natives and is willing to undertake the duties. I…..hope soon to have the school in operation.[234]

From Mangakahia I proceeded to Hokianga…..I was able to arrange for the establishment of a school at Waitapu….a schoolmaster (Mr Fletcher Watkins) was nominated by the Committee and approved by me. And although I have met with great and unexpected delay in supplying the school with books &c, owing to the unfrequent communication between Auckland and Hokianga, I hope to hear very shortly that the school has been opened. I had applications from other localities at Hokianga (as indeed is generally the case in all districts) but I thought it necessary rather to repress the desire rather than to encourage the Natives to enter upon engagements of which they had not quite realized the importance.[235]

I find the Natives north of the Bay of Islands comparatively poor….deriving their support chiefly from kauri gum digging…there are partial exceptions to this extreme sterility, as at Whangaroa and Kaitaia…but, as a rule, I have found that whilst it would be unwise to remit all contributions from the Natives for the education of their children, they ought not in such districts as I have named, to be called upon for more than one fourth of the Schoolmaster's salary. Accordingly, I have fixed the master's salary at Awanui at £80 a year, £60 of which to be furnished by the Government and £20 by the Natives.[236]

[232] Ibid., p.6.
[233] Ibid.
[234] Ibid.
[235] Ibid., p.7.
[236] Ibid., p12.

I proceeded to Mangakahia …and the following day held meetings with the Natives, and found them willing to contribute, so far as they were able, to the establishment of a school.
They proposed to give the kauri trees required for timber; to draw it to the school site; to find the blocks; to assist in the erection; to give five acres as a school site, and to contribute £30 a year towards the schoolmaster's salary. As it will require some months to saw and season the timber, the Natives undertook to devote their runanga house to school purposes until the new school can be completed.[237]

I proceeded the next day with Mr Von Sturmer…to Waitapu, near Hokianga Heads, the proposed site of the school applied for by Wiremu Tana in his application to the Government. That chief was unfortunately away, but the other members of the committee were present, and I arranged with them the following terms which are substantially those proposed by Wiremu Tana…..Fifteen acres of good land to be conveyed to the trustees as school site and endowment. A school to be erected by the Natives, to contain fifty (or more) scholars. The Natives to contribute 3s per quarter for each of forty scholars-certain, and at the same rate for all above that number. The Government to erect a schoolmaster's house at a cost not exceeding £65, and to supplement the Native contribution with such a sum as will pay the schoolmaster's salary,…..if the school is a success. This arrangement seemed quite satisfactory to the committee, who propose at once removing a large house which they intend for the school from Rawene to Waitapu.

…..The Natives of Waima and Mangamuka had both expressed to the Resident Magistrate a desire for schools, but now wished to see how that of Waitapu succeeds before taking further action themselves.[238]

In the case of Mangamuka, I apprehend the Natives are willing to receive a school or anything else which the Government will pay for, but are scarcely prepared to contribute to it themselves. As I consider it unwise to force on the school movement I have assented to the delay.[239]

…..I held a meeting in the court house …which was attended by all the leading men of the district, including Wiremu Katene, the member for the Northern Native District…. A long discussion ensued, and apparently resulted in a perfect understanding and an appreciation of our wish to join heartily with them in their efforts to educate their children in our language. I arranged with them for the establishment of schools at the following places:

[237] Ibid., p14.
[238] Ibid.
[239] Ibid., p.14.

> Ohaeawai. They are to give one or more acres, to find all the necessary timber, and to place it on the ground. The Government to find all other material and to erect the school-the expense not to exceed £60.
>
> Kaikohe….the land (here) is very valuable. They are to make over one acre, and they asked what remission of their contribution (which we fixed upon the same scale for salary as at Waimate) would be made if they gave four additional acres as endowment. I told them for every additional acre, £1 of annual contribution should be remitted …The same arrangement as to building was made here as at Ohaeawai.[240]
>
> ..with reference to your letter …informing me of the offers made by Wiremu Tana Papahia for the establishment of a school at Hokianga…I request you to apprise that chief that I consider his proposals very liberal…and they should be carried into effect with as little delay as possible….in the case in point, the offers made do away with the necessity (in the 1867 Act) of considering the proportion to be borne by the Government for the erection of a school house, and the latter are prepared to comply with the request that they should build the teacher's residence. It must, however, be clearly understood that the endowment of 15 (fifteen) acres as proposed is to be vested in Trustees, as set down in Section 2 of Clause 8. [241]
>
> I have since ascertained that the number of children represented by the signatures on that letter will be upwards of 60, between the ages of 6 and 16 years. The piece of land set aside for the reserve is a portion of the Otuaka block, which has been surveyed and passed through the Native Land Court, and is …rich land, with a constant supply of water. Von Sturmer to Native Minister.[242]

The reports detailing contributions to schooling by Northern Māori continued in subsequent years.

> The question of education is at the present time occupying the attention of the Natives…school established at Waitapu last year initially with 20 pupils now exceeding 40 with 'very gratifying' progress' made by the pupils…Another school at Waima with 'upwards of sixty pupils…It is also in contemplation to establish schools at….Waimamaku, Whirinaki…In the schools already established the English language alone is taught, the Māori language not being allowed to be spoken during school hours.
> Von Sturmer to Native Minister.[243]
>
> Waitapu…The Native portion of (the teacher's salary)is regularly

[240] Ibid., p16.
[241] Ibid.
[242] Ibid.
[243] Ibid. Russell to Native Minister, AJHR 1873,G-4, p.3.

paid.[244]

Waima…The schoolhouse at present in use is quite unfit for the purpose, without windows (only wooden shutters), no desks or forms of any description; the children are unable to write, except on slates which they hold in their hands or on their knees, but the Committee are about to erect a new schoolhouse, at a cost of £150; in fact I have given them to understand that, unless they do so immediately, I shall recommend the Government to discontinue their aid. Mr Moore tells me that the Native portion of his salary is not regularly paid , and I have spoken to the school committee on the subject, who have promised to see to the matter. The Committee seems to take great interest in the school, and are doing all they can to forward the erection of the new building.[245]

The Committee paid me their quota of the schoolmaster's salary…[246]

Three Native schools are now in active operation in this district, viz at Waima, Whirinaki and Waitapu, the average attendance at which exceeds 100 scholars, but upwards of 150 are on the school rolls. These three schools are conducted at an annual cost to the Government of a little over £300, of which sum the Natives are supposed to return £72 in the shape of school fees, which I am sorry to say have not been collected in every case…it is probable that more pupils would attend these schools were they admitted free of all charges, as some of the parents, rather than pay the fees, keep the children at home , or take them to assist in the gum fields or cultivations. Two new school houses are in course of erection, at Pakia and Rakau Para,…the Native subscription of £50 for each building having been placed in my charge.[247]

Whirinaki….considering the circumstances of the teacher, having no proper school building-Mr George Leef's house being used as a school-and no school books or material of any sort, except a few books and slates procured in Hokianga by the master at his own expense, the progress of the children has been good.[248]

The progress of the schools in this district (Hokianga) during the last 12 months is, on the whole, satisfactory, and the progress made by the children good; but the school fees due from the Natives have not been as regularly paid as they should be. This refers more particularly to the Waitapu School. There are also

[244] AJHR 1873, G-1, vol3. p.2.
[245] Ibid., p.9.
[246] Chairman Oromahoe School Committee to Russell, 12 June 1873, G-4A 1873, p4.
[247] Von Sturmer to Native Minister, AJHR 1874, G-2, p.2.
[248] Ibid.

fees due from the Whirinaki School; but as there has been no proper schoolroom or supply of books, I think this is in a great measure excusable.[249]

Statement showing list of Native Schools, Number of children receiving education, with cost of expenditure thereon.[250]

	Boys	girls	salaries	erection of school buildings	schoolbooks, incidentals
Hokianga					
Waitapu	42	12	144 13 4	15 6 0	…….
Waima	50	11	88 0 0	120	21 17 0
Whirinaki	20	14	75	100	…….
Bay OI					
Waimate	15	3	72	------	2 11 0
Oromahoe	20	5	76 13 4	------	--------
Mangakahia	30	5	118 6 8	-------	--------
Kawakawa	35	15	75	-------	1 17 0
Kaikohe-----		---	--------	13 16 8	----------

At Waikare the Natives have given five acres of land for a school site and placed in my hands the sum of £50 towards the cost of a building. At Ohaewae the Natives are making similar preparations , and the Waitangi and Rawhiti Natives are anxious, if possible, to have a school established at Te Rawhiti.[251]

The amount of school fees paid to me during the year ending the 31st of March has reached the very respectable sum of £96 9s. 2d.[252]

In a report on the Kaikohe Native School in 1879, an Auckland Inspector of Schools, Ponsonby Peacock, wrote that :

[249] Ibid., p.3.
[250] 1873-74 AJHR 1874, G-8, p.23.
[251] Von Sturmer to Native Minister, AJHR 1876, G-1, p.20.
[252] Von Sturmer to Under Secretary, ibid, p.8.

> For all practical purposes this school has no existence. I found the teacher absent, and he had been absent for weeks …The building in which the school is supposed to be held is little better than a ruined shanty, originally belonging to the teacher, since sold…..There is a large Native population at Kaikohe which is a flourishing settlement; and were a school built here, and a competent teacher appointed, the attendance would be numerous...The Natives here, as elsewhere, recognize the necessity of a school, and are willing to grant land for that purpose. In the event of a new school being built, and another teacher appointed, I should judge the attendance would not be less than 40.[253]

The Secretary of Education reported to the Minister that a 'very satisfactory meeting' had been held 'with a large number' of Māori at Kaikohe:

> The chiefs Leonard Puri and Hone King …were present…they all expressed an earnest desire for the establishment of a school….I promised to inform Government of their desire for a school and to advise the establishment of a village school under a very competent teacher on the understanding that they would undertake to support the school by a large attendance of their children, and that they would convey to Government a suitable school site. They very cordially agreed, and volunteered to grant not only five acres for a school site, but an endowment reserve of 300 or 400 acres of good land.
> I recommend that approval be given once details are completed.[254]

By contrast with the free gifting of land the Crown expected from Māori, when the sites of existing Native Schools needed enlarging, and adjacent land required from Pakeha owners for this purpose, it financially compensated them.

In 1919 a long-serving Headteacher at the Kaikohe Native School informed the Secretary for Education that a strip of land nearly 2.5 acres in area adjoining the school was being offered for sale. During his time at Kaikohe he had allowed the children coming from a distance to run their horses on the school glebe which was also used as the playground. Purchase of the land would also enable the teacher to run a cow or horse which he was

[253] Inspection report, 28 June 1879, BAAA 1001, 262a
[254] Secretary to Rolleston, 22 November 1879.Ibid.

currently unable to do. The owner of the land, a Mr Dickison, wanted £150 for the land.[255]

Inspector Bird advised the Director of Education that the existing site at the Kaikohe school was 'much too small, there are upwards of 120 pupils at the school. The land in question fits in beautifully with the school site, and would be a most desirable acquisition. The price is high but not out of the way in Kaikohe at present ….I suggested to Mr Green that the Committee, the people, and he should consult as to providing say £50 towards the purchase money, and this is to be done'.[256] The Director agrees to this subject to the £50 being raised locally. [257]

In 1926, the Department proposed to negotiate directly with the owner of land between the Otaua Native School Site, 10km southwest of Kaikohe, and the road near the Otaua River with a view to purchasing the area required to provide road access and an addition to the existing school site. The owner, a Mrs A. MacIntryre, now lived in Scotland, and the Department approved paying her agent, Mr Bell, £40.[258]

During the discussion over this between officials reference was made to a suggestion by Inspector Porteous that, 'we would probably be buying land which, according to the general belief, rightfully belongs to the Māoris and which they would be prepared to give us'. This ultimately led to the matter being referred to the Native Department.[259]

A matter of great importance to Māori was what was to become of land they had gifted for the site school for a school when the school closed. The following example relates to the Motukaraka Native School, and demonstrates the lengthy proceedings, in this case covering 15 years, from the initial request by Māori for the return of land on which a school had been built to its actual return after the school closed.

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[255] Grace to Secretary, 6 April 1919, BAAA,1001, 263c.MSDB K1-344.
[256] Bird to Director, 15 April 1919., ibid.
[257] Director to Grace, 16 August 1919,ibid.
[258] Director to Head teacher, 21 December 1926, BAAA,1001, 420a.MSDB O7-143.
[259] Director to Minister, 1 February 1929, with memorandum to Bird, 14 March 1930.Ibid..

In September 1909, F. Hare and others wrote to the Native Minister notifying him that if the Motukaraka School on the north side of Hokianga Harbour was permanently closed, the Government was to return the school site and all of the buildings standing upon it to him, 'because I gave that land in the first instance as a site for a Māori School…Mr Carroll, I want you to consider this matter without loss of time.[260] The Secretary of Education replied that the Minister of Education had directed him to advise 'that the Crown holds a clear title to both land and buildings, and that you are not recognized as having any interest in them at all'.[261]

Particulars of the title of the Motukaraka School site are produced on the file, showing that under Native title N. Hare and others were the owners of the land identified. This is followed by details of the conveyance of the land to the Crown, whereby the Māori owners 'make an unconditional gift of the land to the Crown as a Native School reserve'. The Secretary has added a hand written note to the Minister on the file stating that 'Our title is good'.[262]

However that was not the end of the matter. In August 1910 the Secretary of Education wrote to the Under Secretary of Lands advising that:

> There is at Motukaraka in the Hokianga district, a disused Native School site comprising an area of 2 acres 1 rood, which I shall be obliged if you will arrange to have leased in accordance with the provisions of the Public Reserves and Domains Act 1908 The title of the Crown is a conveyance from Frank Harris and others (Deed 1241,Auckland) dated the 24th December 1880.[263]

Tipene Hare continued to request that the former Native School site revert to the Māori owners, and in 1922 the Department was still making inquiries with a view to ascertaining the position and the possibility of acceding to this request. The area of the site was now calculated as 'being 2 and a quarter acres-not 5 acre as represented by Mr

[260] F Nui Hare to Native Minister, 20 September 1909,BAAA,1001, 365b.MSDB M4-356.
[261] Secretary to Hare, 19 October 1909, ibid.MSDB M4-367.
[262] 14 October 1909, ibid. MSDB M4-368.
[263] Secretary to Under-Secretary of Lands, 22 August 1910, ibid. MSDB M4-382.

Tau Henare's correspondent'.[264] Inquiries revealed that the site had been leased to a Mr Thomas Hancy for five years from the March 1 1917, at an annual rent of 10/-, the 'lease having been terminated at the end of last March on account of the tenant being so unsatisfactory'.[265]

Porteous now recommended to the Director that 'the site …should be returned to the Māoris interested', and the Director recommended accordingly to the Minister.[266] The Under Secretary of Lands and Survey was advised that 'as it is not at all likely that the above mentioned site will again be required for school purposes, it has been decided to hand it back to the Natives. Legislation will be required to effect this purpose and a draft clause is attached'.[267]

The next action in this long-running episode was the Under Secretary advising the Director that Section 139 of the Reserves and other Lands Disposal and Public Bodies Empowering Act 1922, 'cancels the reservation as a site for a Native School over the above land', and 'declares it now to be set aside for the use and benefit of the original Native owners or their successors and authorises the Native Land Court to determine the ownership thereof'.[268]

The final act, in July 1924, was the Under Secretary advising that the report of the Native Land Court has been received recommending that the land should be granted to Frank Harris, Ngahia Hare and Himi te Uruti in equal shares.[269]

Circumstances surrounding the Otangaroa Native School 20km west of Kaeo provide another example highlighting the Māori contribution to schooling, and the cost savings resulting to the Department of Education. In this instance, a school was opened by way of an experiment in a building offered as a schoolroom by Māori in 1915. They then built

[264] Director to Minister, 1 August 1922, ibid. MSDB M4-398-M4-399.
[265] Under Secretary Lands and Survey to Director, 18 August 1922, ibid. MSDB M4-402.
[266] Porteous to Director, note on file 15 August 1922, note on file 18 August, ibid.
[267] Director to Under Secretary, 15 September 1922, ibid. MSDB M4-404-M4-405.
[268] Under Secretary to Director, 29 January 1923, ibid. MSDB M4-406-M4-407.
[269] Under Secretary to Director, 22 July 1924, ibid.MSDB M4-408.

a schoolroom themselves and a teacher's residence. Four years later, Inspector Porteous informed the Director that:

> The only expense incurred by the Department was that involved in the supply of a tank, a range for the residence and a stove for the school. The Māoris who are not at all well off spent upwards of £70 on the buildings, and have loyally supported the school.[270]

Eight years later, on the 29th of March 1928, the teacher, a Miss Mathews, was advised that the school was to be closed and she was to be transferred to the Pawarenga Native School, on the grounds that a convent school had been opened in the district.

Inspector Porteous advised that:

> I have to draw the Department's attention to the fact' wrote Porteous to the Director, 'that Miss Mathews has been in this school for between 14 and 15 years, and the provision by the Māoris of a residence saved the Department £30 a year for the period mentioned.[271]

The Director accepted this view and recommended to the Minister that 'In view of the large amount which the Māoris saved the Department by the provision of the buildings for this school it is recommended that the school site and the buildings thereon….be now returned as they stand to the original owners'.[272]

The circumstances surrounding a decision by the Auckland Education Board to establish a Board School at Otangaroa, which opened in February 1929, provide a striking contrast with the above. One significant difference was that the Board would pay rent to the owners of the building which was to be used for school purposes, and that for a school with an initial enrolment of only 15 pupils

[270] J Porteous to Director, 5 November 1919, BAAA 1001, 417d. MSDB O6-69.
[271] J Porteous to Director, 16 May 1928, ibid. MSDB O6-117.
[272] Director to Minister, 21 May 1928, ibid.

'I now have to state that the settlers have made application for payment of rent for the building used for school purposes', the Secretary of the Auckland Board advised the Director; 'The matter was considered by the Board at its last meeting, when it was resolved to apply for authority to pay a rental of 5/- per week for the building.[273]

Consideration was given to the establishment of a new school building for the 20 children attending the school in 1935,('9 Europeans 11 Māori or half caste)', with another 23 children under school age in the district. Two sites were offered for school purposes, one of two acres by Mr H.K. Ururoa for £20 and another of 2 acres by Mr K Kayser for £50. Now a Board School was involved, with a nearly 50 percent enrolment of European children, payment would be made to the owners of the site for it. In 1936, £561.12.0 was approved for the acquisition of a new site and erection of a school building.[274]

A new teacher was appointed, and 'owing to an increase from 8 to 12 in the number of children eligible for conveyance', it was necessary for him to buy a larger car. He therefore asked for a payment of 6/6d per day, and this was subsequently approved with the Board applying to the Department for approval.[275] In 1945, when the roll at Otangaroa reverted to being 100% Māori, the status of the school changed back from the Auckland Board to the Department.

This writer had never, up until this point, heard of an equivalent payment in relation to attendance at any Native School.

By way of further explanation of some of the discussion above, subsidised or half-time schools had been introduced in the 1877 Education Act as a means of providing some schooling for children in remoter districts where the number of pupils normally required to commence a school could not be guaranteed. The Government provided a limited grant, related to the number of pupils enrolled, and the parents contributed a sufficient additional sum to secure the services of a teacher. Half –time schools could also be

[273] Secretary Auckland Board to Director, 30 January 1930, BAAA 1001, 418a.MSDB O6-125.
[274] Ibid.
[275] Secretary Education Board to Director, 21 April 1936, ibid. MSDB O6-131.

approved, whereby two small schools might be placed under a teacher who worked them on alternative half weeks or weeks. Schools of this type operated both under education boards and the Department's policy for Native schools, but appear to have been frequently approved for Māori pupils. Pope pointed out in 1884 that:

> The Natives employ the teachers of subsidised schools, the Government granting a subsidy of limited amount.; practically, the teachers receive only this Government subsidy. The schools are generally either experimental schools undergoing probation before being raised to the rank of village schools, or they are village schools at which the attendance has fallen below the limit fixed by the Native School Code.[276]

Paihia and Waikare in the Bay of Islands were examples of subsidised schools for a period in the 1880's.[277]

It was an approach which enabled schools of sorts to get started. But as the evidence has already demonstrated, the Crown demanded a greater show of commitment by Māori to schooling before approving a permanent full-time school. It also allowed such provisional schooling arrangements to proceed longer, in often unsatisfactory temporary circumstances, than was the case under education boards. With the emphasis on the 'self-help' policy discussed earlier also maintained, the impression is gained that the Department was inclined to do it 'on the cheap', wherever possible, as far as the education of Māori was concerned. As one writer suggests, 'So began another practice, particularly prevalent in the establishment of the Native Schools, "making do" with local resources-material or human'.[278]

Department of Education officials responsible for Māori education were extremely reluctant to approve the commencement of any type of school for Māori, even of a subsidised, half-time or experimental kind, when an enrolment of fewer than 20 pupils could be guaranteed, and rarely if ever gave such approvals. This could be compared with the Auckland Education Board where, in 1919, there were '40 smaller schools with

[276] AJHR 1884,E-2 p.1.
[277] AJHR 1884, E-2 p4.
[278] Maxine Stephenson, "Making Do': The Politics and Pragmatism of the Use of Temporary Spaces in New Zealand Schools, *History of Education Review*, (HER), 32, 2, 2003, p.19.

attendances below 10'; '32 schools with an average attendance under 15'; '26 schools with an average of from 15 to 20'.[279]

Writing to the Secretary for Education in 1912 about the possible establishment of a school at Taupo, Inspector Bird reminded him that the Department's usual policy was to consider a school only where there was an attendance of twenty or more, and although the regulations gave the Minister power to establish a provisional school when prospective attendance was less than twenty, such action had been taken in very few instances.
He drew the Secretary's attention to the fact that Education Boards, by comparison:

> establish schools for comparatively few children. Grade 0 schools for instance have an average of up to 9. …There seems to me therefore to be no reason why the Department should not make provision for affording some education to the children of small settlements. I can name half a dozen at present in various parts of the North Island.[280]

The Committees of Board Schools engaged in fund raising efforts of various kinds for particular projects, such as buying a piano or putting down a tennis court, even after the 1877 Education Act laid down that primary education should be free. And Pakeha parents involved in the experimental subsidised or half-time schools referred to earlier, complemented the subsidies provided by Boards as did Māori parents. But the extent of the official requirements which continued to be placed upon Māori in such documents as the 1880 Code to provide land and considerable other resources when they wished to have schools is nowhere evident in the literature on Board Schools.

2.6 THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE SCHOOLING OF NORTHERN MĀORI

[279] Ian Cumming, *Glorious Enterprise: The History of the Auckland Education Board 1857-1957*, Auckland, p.440.
[280] Bird to Secretary 14 November 1912, BAAA 1001.

A major finding from the research for this report is the extent to which the schooling provided by the Crown for Northern Māori was negatively affected for nearly one hundred years by the Crown's administrative arrangements for education. This affected, generally for the worse, virtually all the vital matters connected with a developing school system; decisions about whether the establishment of a school was justified, negotiations regarding selection and ownership of school sites, arrangements for school inspection, maintenance of buildings, appointment and dismissal of teachers, disputes between committees and teachers, provision for schooling beyond the primary stage, and most other aspects.

The location of Northern Māori, so distant from the decision- making and inspection procedures of the Wellington -based Department of Education as the controlling authority of the schools, meant that it was more seriously and negatively affected than anywhere else in the country by these arrangements.

A brief description of the arrangements is necessary. For over 100 years the Native/Māori primary schools established by the Crown had a different administrative structure from other Crown primary schools in Aotearoa/New Zealand. From 1867, the schools were centrally administered by the Native Department, whereas other primary schools were administered by the various provincial governments. After 1877, the ordinary primary schools were administered by the ten regional education boards established by the 1877 Education Act. But the Native Schools (renamed Māori school in 1947), continued to be administered centrally from Wellington. In 1879, their administration was transferred from the Native Department to the central Department of Education, that was to remain their controlling authority until 1968.

After 1867, the schools were inspected by A.H.Russell, assisted by Resident Magistrates. From 1880, while formal authority remained with the Minister of Education, most policy and practical matters affecting the schools were decided by the Native school inspectors, Pope, Kirk, Porteous, later William Bird, Henderson and, after 1930, Ball, Fletcher and the other Wellington -based officials within the Department of Education. In the north,

the Native Department's local representatives, such as Von Sturmer, Bishop and Miller at Hokianga, assisted during the 1870s and early part of the 1880s, but they were not educationists, and their role was gradually reduced and eventually ceased.

The Inspectors of Native Schools, based in Wellington, attempted to make twice yearly visits to the widely scattered schools through out the country. Their approval, or that of the other Wellington-based officials in the Department of Education, was required for virtually all matters affecting the schools.

The potential for delay in this administrative structure was compounded by the slow communication between the inspectors and the other Wellington officials, and the teachers and school committees in the north. For schools in the Hokianga:

> The principal means of communication was by post, but this was at best weekly. Once a letter was received from the Department a reply could not be sent for a week, and as it rarely took less than a week for a letter to travel to or from Wellington, the Department could not expect a reply to a letter in less than three weeks. At Whangape when the school first opened there was no postal service at all, and substitutes were costly "In our position also from want of any established mail service and the distance from the nearest post office being 22 miles either way, it costs us about 2/6 a week on an average for the receipt and dispatch of letters".[281]

This situation can be compared with, and was strikingly different and inferior to, the administrative arrangements in the decentralized education boards, whose officials responsible for all the vital matters relating to education had comparatively easy access to their districts and schools. This certainly applied to the Auckland Education Board and the Board schools in the North it was responsible for.

By contrast, the centralized arrangements for the Native Schools was a system with a built in tendency for delays frequently lasting for months and often for years. A standard phrase used by Departmental officials, and repeated over and over again when replying to

[281] Bow to Von Sturmer, BAAA, 1001,750b, in M.Duffy, 'Hokianga Native Schools 1871-1900: Assimilation reconsidered', MA thesis, Massey University, 2002, p.33.

Māori who had written requesting action on such matters of vital importance to them as having a school established, or a teacher appointed, or to teachers desperate about urgently needed repairs for their schools, was that it would need to 'await the next visit of the Inspector' from Wellington.

Whenever an Inspector found that a matter could not be concluded on one visit, he would recommend that the matter be held over until his next, many months later. One example of many which will be identified, was Pope finding that the teacher's residence at the Lower Waihou School was 'altogether insufficient' when he inspected it in November 1880. He decided that 'the teachers should not be asked to pass a winter in the present building'. Despite this, he recommended that a decision be delayed until his next visit, which he hoped would occur in April. But it was not until August 1881 that he came again, after the husband and wife teachers had survived another winter in the building and by now were becoming 'hysterical'.[282]

The results of the usually lengthy, and often interminable delays this system produced had serious implications for Māori children throughout New Zealand. It was particularly serious for Northern Māori because of their northern location and distance from Wellington. It was a major contributing factor to many hundreds of Northern Māori children remaining outside of schools much longer than they should have, and certainly much longer than their Pakeha counterparts in Board Schools, with all the disadvantages resulting from this for their subsequent life chances,. Those children who did enrol in the schools were also often particularly disadvantaged, also much more so than pupils in board schools, by the physical state of the buildings they received their schooling in, by a failure to take urgently needed decisions regarding teacher appointments, the dismissal of unsatisfactory teachers for the same reason, the resolving of disputes which were harming a school, and many other important matters.

What emerges, particularly from a comparative perspective with Board Schools, is a pattern of widespread and apparently almost inevitable official delay and neglect, often

[282] Inspection Reports Lower Waihou, 22 November 1880 and 27 October 1881, BAAA,1001, 729b.

with very serious consequences. The following numerous examples provide further evidence of this. After reading the official records relating to Native/Māori Schools in the North I formed the very definite opinion that the Auckland Education Board, responsible for Board Schools in the north, would never have tolerated the delays or conditions in Board Schools which I found in relation to Native Schools in the north. And, if they had, European parents on the committees of the schools and generally would have been outraged and acted accordingly.

The Native School Committees were given extremely limited powers and responsibilities by comparison with their Board counterparts, and this was another aspect of the administrative structure which contributed to the problems described.

This is not to minimize the important role played by many of them. There are many examples of this being acknowledged in the reports on the schools. One of the essential roles they frequently played was mediating or communicating between the teachers, whose knowledge of the Māori language and other aspects of Māori culture was usually non-existent or limited, and parents.

Pope, reporting on Whangaruru, commented that 'it would not be easy to fail to recognize the chairman of the committee, he has S.C. (for school chairman) embroidered on his jersey'.[283]

He reported on Kaikohe in 1884 that 'While great credit is due to Captain Mitchell and his family for making the school so successful…it is merely justice to say that very great assistance had been rendered by the Rev M Kapu and the other members of the Committee, and that it is very doubtful if so great success would have been achieved if these Natives had not thoroughly attended to their duties'.[284]

[283] Inspection report, 28 April 1898, BAAA.1001, 755a.
[284] Inspection report, May 28 1884, BAAA 1001, 262. MSDB K1-89-K1-94.

'Unfortunately for Waima a gloom has been cast over it by the death of Pereniki Wharerau' wrote the Teacher to the Secretary in 1896';'the Natives have lost more than a father in him, and the school its best friend. His loss will be felt more deeply than people think. The School Committee lost their real head'.[285]

In 1885, Pope again attributed a great deal of the success of the Kaikohe School to the Chairman of the Committee, the Rev. M Kapa, describing him as having been untiring in his efforts to promote the welfare not only of his own school, but all the schools in the district.[286] At Waikare, the 'zeal' of the Committee was reported in 1888 as having led to a large increase in attendance.[287]

Teachers needed to develop a successful relationship with committees, and Pope was very aware that for a school to flourish, or even survive, it needed the co-operation of the community. He suggested in his 1881 report that a 'European' school was often able to keep going even if there were problems between the teacher and parents. But this was far from true for Māori schools where, if parents or children lost respect for a teacher it was virtually a hopeless situation to rectify.[288]

Committees sometimes attempted to exercise some authority over the teacher and the course of events in their community in various ways; they were not, as Heperi has shown, by any means the 'yes men' that the Department had perhaps assumed they would be, and any teacher who fell out with a committee containing influential members of the community often felt the full weight of community disapproval.[289]

Heperi concluded from his study of the school committees that some previous writers on the history of Māori education had portrayed Māori too much as just passive recipients of Crown education policy, a view which marginalized Māori and made them appear too much as mere 'puppets' in the system. Whereas various forms of 'resistance' on the part

[285] Geissler to Secretary, 1 June 1896, BAAA 1001, 679c.
[286] AJHR 1885, E-2 p5.
[287] AJHR 1888, E-2, p.5.
[288] AJHR 1881, E-2 p.5.
[289] Heperi, pp.30-40, 93.

of committees was by no means uncommon, such as protesting against the departure of a popular teacher, withdrawing support from others who it was felt were not meeting their needs or wishes, or initiating a 'paper war' with the Department of Education over a particular issue.[290]

As was shown earlier, most committees made other very significant contributions in supporting the teachers and the operation of the schools. For example, they frequently organized parents to carry out a huge amount of work in developing and maintaining the physical surroundings of schools, something Pope frequently mentioned in his reports.

However the Committees were not given the powers and responsibilities in the administrative structure that might have helped them (and the Department) overcome the void left by the distance of the schools from Wellington. The authority for parents to have control over and make decisions on their own education, implied by the architects of the 1867 Native Schools Act, certainly did not eventuate in practice.

The limited powers of the Committees were in marked contrast to those given to the committees of education board schools by the 1877 Education Act. They occupied an 'important place 'in the system, and were 'endowed with very considerable powers and duties'. The most important of these were to establish schools, 'have the general management of educational matters within the school district'; provide and maintain schoolhouses, recommend teachers for appointment, suspend or dismiss teachers, decide whether the compulsory attendance clauses should be enforced in the district, use or permit the use of school buildings, and elect the Boards under whose supervision they were to exercise their powers.[291]

[290] Ibid., p.18.
[291] Butchers, pp.9-12.

It was not until 1957, nearly one hundred years after the passing of the 1867 Act, that an amendment to the Education Act gave Māori School Committees the same financial control that the committees of Board schools had had for nearly a century.[292]

By contrast with the powers given to Board Committees, the 1880 Native School Code asserted the authority of the teacher even more strongly than previously. It stated that 'It is no part of the duty of the committee to interfere with the teacher personally in any way. That officer has the whole charge of the schoolhouse, the residence, and the grounds, and is responsible to the Department alone for the general management of the school'. The appointment of teachers rested wholly with the Department which was guided by the advice of the Inspector.[293]

The following examples, from schools which enrolled Northern Māori children, illustrate some of the negative effects of the administrative arrangements described, including often excessive delays over decisions regarding the establishment and maintenance of schools, the quality of some of the teachers appointed, and the enrolling of Northern Māori children in school. The most serious of these consequences was the many hundreds of children in the north who received virtually no schooling, or were enrolled in schools much later than they should have been.

Waimamaku

In April 1881 residents of Waimamaku, south of Hokianga Harbour, petitioned the Government for a Native School, offering four or five acres of land for a site which Pope recommended be accepted.[294] Eight months later, the Education Secretary asked the Surveyor General to arrange for the land to be surveyed. He was advised that no government surveyor would visit Waimamaku for a year, but a local surveyor could be authorised if required at once.[295] Pope visited Waimamaku later in October, and

[292] AJHR 1957, E-1,p.20.
[293] Clause xvi.
[294] BAAA 1001, 685a.
[295] Secretary to Surveyor General, 17 October 1881 and Secretary to Pope, 2 November 1881, ibid. MSDB O7-4-O7-5.

identified 40 children of school age at Waimamaku itself, and 8 others close by, all of who would attend the school. He thought some of the 20 children belonging to another settlement less than three miles from Waimamaku would probably also attend.[296]

At the end of February 1882, Pope advised that the site remained unsurveyed because the local surveyor had left the district before his telegram had reached him, and no other surveyor had since visited the district.[297] Towards the end of 1882, the Department attempted to secure the use of a church as a temporary school building, but Māori objected to its use for that purpose, urging the Government instead to get on with building a school on the site that had now been surveyed.

Protracted negotiations over securing a site and building the school occupied the next few years, until a teacher was finally appointed at the end of 1885, and the school opened with a committee of parents elected in March 1886. Pope's first inspection visit, at the end of April 1886, recorded 33 pupils on the roll and was hardly complimentary about the teacher's performance. He gave grades of 4 ('Indifferent- at least one cardinal defect') for Teaching methods ('The Master sits down too much when teaching. The whole work is hampered sadly'); English; Drill; Singing; Drawing; and 5, ('Bad-thoroughly unsatisfactory') for Timetable ('None').[298]

Motuti

The Head teacher of the Motuti School on the north side of Hokianga Harbour resigned at the end of December 1923, following tension between the Chairman of the School Committee and some other parents, and claims of inappropriate conduct by the teacher, who the Department sided with. The school did not reopen at the start of 1924 and was still closed on 16 May because no new teacher had been appointed. The content of the

[296] Pope to Secretary, 24 October 1881, ibid.
[297] Pope to Secretary, 25 February 1882, ibid.
[298] Inspection report, 29 April 1886, ibid.

files conveys to the reader almost a sense that the community may be being punished for being critical of the teacher.[299]

Inspector Porteous suggested that the district was too remote, and it would be too expensive to hold an enquiry into the matter. He remained defensive of the teacher and critical of Māori, including making negative comments such as 'The people, like those at Whakarapa, are Roman Catholic'.[300] However the outcome was that the school remains closed, and it is the children who remain out of school who suffer.

In May, William Topia appealed to the Minister of Native Affairs to do something about the situation:

> I am writing this letter to you because you are our representative in so far as matters concerning the Māoris are concerned. O Minister in view of the fact that our children have been without a school for a considerable time…. since the beginning of the New Year, the Government has not yet supplied a teacher to teach our children. When the Inspector of Schools came to inspect the Convent School at Whakarapa on the 20th March he told the Chairman of the Motuti School that he was sending a Master. It is a long time now since he made this promise. Our children are relapsing into their former state owing to the delay in sending a master…..I might state for your information that within two years 50 children will be eligible to attend.
>
> Wherefore O Minister do your utmost to assist us to have this school re-established. Everyone will benefit by its re-establishment.
>
> If there is any delay in finding a Master we would suggest that a temporary assistant teacher be appointed to carry on the school till a permanent Master is appointed.
>
> Several of the pupils from the Whakapara Convent School have obtained their certificates and if the Government still finds difficulty in finding a permanent Master for the Motuti School I would suggest that one of these pupils be given charge of the School till such time as the Government is able to make an appointment.[301]

[299] BAAA 1001, 368a.
[300] Porteous to Director, 22 February 1924, ibid. MSDB M6-150-M6-155.
[301] William W Topia to The Hon J.G.Coates, Minister for Native Affairs, 16 May 1924, ibid. MSDB M6-156.

The Committee advised in June 1924 that a teacher had been appointed and 'may be expected to take up duty at an early date'.[302]

This example, in 1924, is 57 years after the passing of the 1877 Education Act. With it, and many of the other examples to be presented, the question arises of whether an Education Board, or the European parents who sent their children to its school, would have tolerated such a situation for European children. My own view, based on my knowledge of both systems, is that they certainly would not have.

Otaua

The delay built into the centralized system, which almost inevitably prolonged the time it took to deal with most important aspects relating to the schools, was also evident in the course of events surrounding the opening of a school at Otaua,southwest of Kaikohe. In this instance, as in so many others, several hundred Ngāpuhi children at Otaua would have been denied an opportunity for schooling well after the 1877 Act had made school attendance compulsory for Pākehā children, and much later than should have been the case.

In 1881, Otaua residents applied to the Minister for a school, indicating that there were no other schools nearby, Ohaewai being 20 miles distant. They had selected a piece of land of four acres for a site, and could send 34 older children and 21 younger ones of the correct ages.[303] Pope finally made an inspection visit and reported on the 2nd of November, five months after this request, identifying conflict between different hapū. This contributed to his view that 'on the whole there was little to lead me to believe that there is pressing need for a school here'.[304]

Von Sturmer's view was that 'if the natives who reside at Otaua were on friendly terms with those residing at Punakitere a school at Otaua would probably be a success'. But as

[302] Director to Native Minister, 6 June 1924, ibid. MSDB M6-157.
[303] Hoterene Wipaio and others to Minister, 27 May 1881,BAAA,1001, 418c.MSDB O7-1-O7-2.
[304] Inspection report, 2 November 1881, ibid. MSDB O7-4-O7-5.

he believed this was not the case, and was not likely to be for some time, any decision to build school buildings 'had better be postponed'. He would visit Otaua in January to talk the matter over with all parties. In the meantime, he recommended that the offer of a site should not be refused, but Mr Pou and others be advised that the matter was under consideration.[305]

Three years later (my underline), in November 1884, Von Sturmer advised the Education Secretary that he thought the time has now arrived when a school might be established at Otaua 'with a good prospect of ultimate success. The people though still very quarrelsome have much improved of late, and the presence of a first class European teacher among them, would materially tend to make this improvement permanent'.[306] Based on this advice, Pope advised the Secretary three months later that he now had no hesitation in recommending the establishment of a school at Otaua.[307]

A further three months after this, on the 6th of June, Pope visited the site that had recently been acquired, but declared himself only partially satisfied with it. He described it as nearly half a mile away from the nearest settlement and about two miles from the furthest one. Although the population was 'rather migratory', he thought that there should be a 'very fair school here' and he had been advised that as soon as the school was finished the Māoris would all remove to the settlement to support it. [308] In October 1885, four months later, and four and a half years after the initial application for a school by Otaua residents, Pope recommended the appointment of a Mr Tobin as the teacher.[309]

Kaikohe

The following later example, involving Kaikohe, highlights another aspect which the structural arrangements described probably also contributed to or were influenced by. This was an apparently non- proactive or 'laid back' attitude on the part of the

[305] Von Sturmer to Secretary, 2 December 1881,ibid. MSDB O7-6.
[306] Von Sturmer to Secretary, 19 November 1884, ibid. MSDB O7-7.
[307] Pope to Secretary, 3 February 1885, ibid.
[308] Pope to Secretary, 27 June 1885, ibid. MSDB O7-9.
[309] Pope to Secretary, 21 October 1885, ibid. MSDB O7-10.

Wellington based officials in the Education Department, in terms of their attitude and response to matters which were often of vital importance to parents and teachers in the north.

A newly appointed teacher, C.W. Grace, wrote to the Secretary of Education in July 1905 that:

> We are quite surprised to find that the school cupboard is quite void of supplies of any kind!....In my opinion the little that is in evidence should be burnt and a good new supply of everything necessary for the teachers and children sent with the utmost dispatch!! …There are no new registers, no pens, no ink, paper, envelopes or forms of any description….etc etc. It is utterly impossible to open the school under such conditions!. A good start is of vital importance !...I am sorry to have to report that the residences and fences are in a horribly dirty and broken down state…[310]

But Grace was very dissatisfied with the Departmental response and replied at length:

> Dear Sir, The material that you say that you are sending is quite inadequate for needs. You have told the Māoris and myself that at least an average of 50 must be maintained and, at a largely representative meeting of the Māoris last Saturday, they informed me that 80 children would be sent.
> What can I do with 18 slates and 12 Native School Readers? As I told you in my telegram there is absolutely nothing here !.....
>
> The lack of material at this juncture is a great pity! If I open the school and 70 or 80 children attend, I shall be placed at a great disadvantage; on the other hand if I keep school unopened until I can make a decent start they may look upon me as lazy. Only brisk, intelligent teaching, in connection with a generous supply of wholesome material will make any impression here.

The teacher then indicates again what the school's actual needs are, and provides a list including virtually every aspect which should have been present at this time- lead pencils, wall pictures, Native School Primers and Readers, Nelson Reader, Vera Foster's copy books, compasses and rulers, inkwells, slates, maps of NZ and the world, material for sewing and more.[311]

[310] Grace to Secretary, 6 July 1905, BAAA 1001, 272c. MSDB K1-269-K1-271.
[311] Grace to Secretary, 11 July 1905, ibid. MSDB K1-272-K1-273.

Motukaraka

Another example of delay involves Motukaraka in North Hokianga. Residents here wrote to the Department requesting the establishment of a school in September 1878.[312] They wrote again in October, advising the Government that they had given five acres of land, which ' lies well and is good, it is on the opposite side to Herd's Point', as a site for the school; they had taken Mr Sturmer to see it and he had been 'quite satisfied with it':

> Now this is an application to you to have this school erected this year so that it can be finished by the new years, we are very much concerned at our children remaining in ignorance that is why we apply to you to have this school house erected this year.[313]

Six months later they wrote again enquiring about their application, and requesting that the school should be 'erected without delay- it causes us great distress to see our children growing up in ignorance'.[314] Nine months after this, Von Sturmer advised the Education Secretary that the land promised was on an excellent site containing five acres, but because it was Native land, no title could be given until it had passed through the Native Land Court. 'I may state, he added, that 'it has not yet been surveyed'. [315]
The School finally opened on the 20th of June 1881.[316]

Matihetihe

Another example involves Matihetihe, on the remote west coast north of Hokianga. In 1889 a George Kendall wrote to Pope that Māori at Matihetihe were keen to have a school for their children, there being 17 children of school age and about as many more under that age. There was no other school within seven miles, 'so you will see that it is too far to send the children …..The natives will find a building to keep the school in for

[312] Nui Hare and others to Native Department, 16 September 1878, BAAA 1001, 364a.MSDB M4-2.
[313] Nui Hare and others to Native Department, 11 October 1878, ibid.
[314] Nui Hare to Native Minister, April 24 1879, ibid. MSDB M4-10-M4-12.
[315] Von Sturmer to Secretary, 5 January 1880, ibid.
[316] Ibid.

the first year so all they want is the teacher …They also say that they would be agreeable to a half time school if you should not see your way to grant them a full time school'.[317]

The residents followed this up with their own letter to Pope, asking:

> that a teacher may be sent for our children because the period in which there has been no school in this district is already sufficiently long….. This is a petition from us to you the managers of the Native Schools for a teacher for our children (and for nothing more). If you cannot grant this, let the Master of Waitapu spend half the time there and the other half at this settlement'.[318]

Six months later Te Wano Tahana and others informed the Department that they were:

> …very "pouri" (dark, sad) because out children have now been without a school…..and have almost forgotten what they have learned. The time which Mr Pope told us for the arrival of the new master has already lapsed. Let the master of the Waitapu School divide his time between this and his own school. Do you let us know quickly as to what is intended to be done. We are most anxious that a master for our children be appointed within this month. The house for the school has been arranged for being one provided by ourselves.[319]

In November they wrote again, indicating that 'We are in great trouble over the question of the school at Matihetihe' and asking:

> How is the matter progressing now ? We desire greatly to have a school established at Matihetihe for our children. Do you therefore agree to have one established at the end of this year at our place. For want of a school our children are growing up in evil ways –that is why we persist in our request that you will agree to the establishment of a school here.[320]

Later in November Pope informed the Secretary for Education that he had visited Matihetihe in May of the previous year last and found that there was:

> …a good opening for a side school there. The Natives are willing to do almost everything. The carriage of a few desks from Waitapu and a little extra material would probably be the only expense. Mr Hawkins was appointed to Waitapu with the understanding that he and Mrs Hawkins between them should manage the two schools. I think that for the present the salaries of both teachers should

[317] Kendall to Pope, 16 January 1889, BAAA 1001, 342a. MSDB M2-2.
[318] Tupakihi Kamira and seven others to Pope, 18 January 1889, ibid.
[319] Te Wano Tahana and others to Secretary, 24 August 1889, ibid. MSDB M2-4.
[320] Te Wano Tahana and others, 6 November 1889, ibid. MSDB M2-8.

> be based on joint attendance, and there should be no extra allowance for Matihetihe except what depends on the attendance.[321]

Finally, in 1890, a half- time arrangement for Matihetihe was in place. In September 1890, the Teacher was defending to the Department his policy of holding school at Matihetihe on consecutive instead of alternate days, the reasons advanced being that children were collected from several outgoing kaingas, they stayed at Matihetihe during the former part of the week, and when school was finished dispersed to their homes. He had found that this improved the attendance, the pupils had not forgotten what they learned the previous week, and he could 'better grasp the work of the two schools by this plan'.[322]

However the difficulties for Matihetihi were by no means over. In the following instance the school had been closed for four weeks. The circumstances provide another illustration of the effect of inaction produced by the remoteness from Wellington, in this instance failure to deal expeditiously with unreasonable or unacceptable behaviour by a teacher. In October 1890, the Teacher advised the Department that it would be seen from his Quarterly Return of attendance of the pupils that:

> …my horse has been lame for four weeks and that, as the Natives refused to lend me one, I have been unable to attend the Matihetihi School. This has caused the people of that place to sulk and they are not sending the number of children to the school that they guaranteed. For the last two weeks the attendance has only been 8, and I told them that unless they sent more I should refuse to teach until I had reported the matter to you and received instructions.[323]

Pope was not impressed, however, by the teacher's behaviour, including his efforts to blame Māori over the situation, informing the Secretary that he had 'no right to make such a refusal (to teach) and we should tell him so'.[324]

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[321] Pope to Secretary, 25 November 1889, ibid.
[322] Hawkins to Secretary, 10 September 1890, ibid. MSDB M2-9.
[323] Hawkins to Secretary 1 October 1890, ibid. MSDB M2-10-M2-11.
[324] Pope to Secretary, 7 October, 1890, ibid.

However by March 1892 matters had improved considerably. After an inspection, Pope described Matihetihe in glowing terms, including praising the results of assimilation through schooling. It was now:

> …a kind of show Native School. The pupils are all Māori, the building in which the school is held is Māori, and the surroundings are as Māori as they can be. This being so, one naturally expects to see a very rough and uncultivated lot of children and a very untidy schoolroom. A greater mistake could hardly be made; the children are clean and exceedingly well mannered and everything connected with the interior of the school is neatness itself. In estimating the value of the results one must bear in mind that this is a half-time school; this fact being taken account of the examination results may be considered very satisfactory.[325]

But six years later, in 1898, after the previous teacher (Hawkins) had been appointed to another school, the situation had deteriorated again, with the Chairman of the School Committee writing to the Department requesting that the school be made a full-time one:

> Our reason....is the broken time which the Matahetihe School has to put up with through the teachers residence being at Waitapu.
> The children of Matahetihe School go to school repeatedly and no teacher come. Sometimes day after day and wait till noon for the teacher and he does not come and it causes the Natives to get disgusted with it and then keep their children at home and that's why the school fall off. When the teacher comes and is asked why he didn't come before his reply is either he has been unwell or his horse has met with an accident or it has been raining at Waitapu or too much wind to come in.
> Should you favour us by making Matahetihe a full time school we will have 25 children on our roll and will guarantee 20 children as average attendance.[326]

It seems extraordinary that, particularly when viewed from the comparative perspective of developments in the parallel system of Crown education board schools, that as late as 1898, with that number of children available, the school should have remained a half-time one anyhow.

[325] Inspection report, 25 March 1892, ibid. MSDB M2-21-M2-23.
[326] Pope to Secretary, 14 May 1903, ibid.

But the Department was not willing to agree to the request, and continued to be far from proactive in its approach. When the teacher announced his intention of resigning at the end of May 1903, Pope's advice was that 'This is a small school, of no great value but perhaps having its own usefulness. I think that the initiative in appointing a new teacher should be taken by the Māoris and not by us. It may be that parents will arrange to send their children to Whangape or Whakarapa'.[327]

The school remained closed, and in May 1904 the Chairman, Ngawati Kanura, wrote to the Department:

> This is to remind you of our school at Matihetihe …..The teacher of our school ceased teaching long ago in the latter part of June, and has not returned to the school……nor has she sent a letter to the school to say that she has given up the school.
>
> Consequently we are very pouri on account of our children because they have no teacher these days ….we cannot wait till the Inspector comes to consider about a teacher for us.[328]

In November the school had still not reopened. The Chairman wrote again in February 1905 asking 'what is the position in respect to the master of the school at Matihetihe. We are in hopes that a master will arrive for our school soon'.[329]

Te Ahuahu

The circumstances surrounding the establishment of the Te Ahuahu School northeast of Kaikohe is another example. The Rev.H.P.Taua and others petitioned the Crown for the establishment of a school in September 1883, promising to provide a site.[330]

A local official, J.H.Greenway, was asked to investigate, met the petitioners, and described the site as a very suitable one. He recorded the 'names of forty children

[327] Chairman to Secretary, 1898, ibid.
[328] Chairman to Secretary, 10 October 1904, ibid.
[329] Chairman to Inspector, 21 February 1905, ibid. MSDB M2-52.
[330] H.Taua to Minister of Native Affairs, 26 September 1883, BAAA 1001, 569a.

between the ages of five and twelve' living within a mile from the proposed site, and a considerable number of younger children who would become future pupils. The people were 'very anxious to have a school and promise to keep up the attendance if established', and he advised that a school could be successfully established.[331]

But as usual, no final decision could be made on the view of a local official. This had to wait for an on site visit by an Inspector from Wellington on one of his irregular visits to the north. Pope accordingly advised the Education Secretary that under the Code he was required to inspect the suitability of the site. He then repeats the phrase that became so familiar to Northern Māori parents wishing to have their children schooled, and described a major reason for delay in the establishment of new schools for Ngāpuhi, the petitioners should be advised that he 'will report when he next visits the district'.[332]

Pope reported from the Hokianga six months later, in June 1884. He described the site as 'a capital one' ('although its title will need to be clarified'), and identifies a clergyman, the Rev. Hari Peka, as likely to be a very positive influence on the prospect of success of a school, describing him as 'a very good man indeed, and he is extremely anxious to have a school for his people. I have no doubt that he would give it very active and useful support'. Pope concluded that a school should be established 'as soon as funds for the purpose are available'.[333]

Over the next six months correspondence over the acquisition of the site under the 1880 Native School Sites Act took place between officials in the Education Department and the Surveyor General's office and, at the end of December, tenders were called for the erection of a school and teacher's residence.[334]

In July 1885, a school had not yet commenced, but a teacher had been appointed and a school committee elected. However not all residents of Te Ahu Ahu were impressed with the Department's choice of teacher:

[331] J.H.Greenway to Minister, 24 November 1883, ibid. MSDB K1-86.
[332] Pope to Secretary, 3 December 1883, ibid.
[333] Pope to Secretary, 4 June 1884, ibid.
[334] Ibid.

> We shall not be contented with Miss Watling…whom you appointed mistress for our school…because she was the mistress of the Ohaewai school for many years and none of our children learnt anything; we do not want a school of the Ohaewai sort in this part. Well, why was this worthless mistress sent for our school?
>
> Because this school was established by us to be a first rate school for us the teacher must be good. We will seek out a good teacher; if this teacher is to be permanent, my children will be withheld from school by me.[335]

However the school finally opened on 3 August with an excellent enrolment of 35 children This was over two years since the Department had been requested to provide one. Miss Watling had remained in place, and in December H.P.Taua informed the Department that the Committee had found that she performed her duties in 'a satisfactory manner'. However the Committee also pointed out that while waiting before school for it to open in the winter, the children suffered when it rained and had to 'seek shelter under the school and wait till school begins'; could the Department erect a building for them to take shelter in?[336]

Oromoahoe

In a report on the Oromahoe Native School in 1880 Pope described feeling dispirited after arriving at the school because he found the teacher was away for a week's holiday. He wrote that:

> If the Inspector is not to waste much of his time and energy and no small amount of Government money for travelling expenses in paying fruitless visits to schools, a very stringent rule, enforced by a heavy penalty of some kind, will be required to stop the giving of these unauthorized holidays by the teachers. The effect of these holidays on the Māoris, too, is decidedly bad.[337]

[335] H.Matenga to Pope, 14 July 1885. ibid.
[336] Taua to Secretary, 17 December 1885, ibid.
[337] Inspection report, 1 April 1 1880, BAAA 1001, 409c.MSDB O3-6.

In 1892, Pope considered the opening of a new school at Oromahoe, after receiving a request from residents who pointed out that they had attempted to keep a school going themselves under difficult circumstances.[338]

Seven years later, in 1899, he was still considering the possibility, and commented that 'an experimental school opened at Oromohoe more than twenty years ago and failed'. Now back in the district to inspect a site offered by Māori for a school, he was concerned about whether the roll would be kept up because of parents undertaking planting operations in other places for some of the year. But if it could be shown that this could be overcome … 'it might still be safe and desirable to give the Oromaohoe people the school for which they ask and which they evidently desire with considerable earnestness'. He advised the Secretary that he had seen about 30 young children at a hui, and 'I was informed that the attendance at an Oromahoe School would be forty or more. The persons exerting themselves most to obtain a school are really influential people-Te Tane Huratua the Chief of the district, and Mrs Hira Pou…but all seemed anxious to have a school'.[339]

This number of pupils was well above the minimum usually required for a full-time school by the Auckland Education Board, and again the number of Māori children remaining outside schooling should be noted. In August 1899 approval was given for the opening of a new school.[340]

Otangaroa (located 20k east of Kaeo)

In 1913, Rangi H Tukariti and others wrote to the Secretary for Education as follows:

> Friend, we hereby apply that a school be established for our children
> at Otangaroa here.
> We are absolutely certain that a school would flourish.
> We have a large number of children who cannot attend school because of the
> distance, they cannot possibly travel so far….
> We are in a position to provide temporary schooling quarters, and
> after a while when circumstances favour let the Government provide buildings.[341]

[338] Ibid.
[339] Pope to Secretary, 28 July 1899, ibid. MSDB O5-13-O5-14
[340] Secretary of Education, 4 August, 1899, ibid.
[341] Tukariri to Secretary, 22 October 1913, BAAA 1001, 417d. MSDB O6-1.

The Department decided that the request would need to investigated by an Inspector, but Inspector Bird advised the Secretary that on the basis of prior knowledge of the area, 'There are only a few families concerned (5) and of the 18 children who were stated to be available 11 are quite young- much below school age'.[342]

It should be noted that it is now 1913, 36 years after the passing of the Education Act, yet the attitude of the Department's officials can hardly be described as proactive when it came to enrolling Ngāpuhi children in school.
In January 1914, Manuera Wiripo wrote to the Department reminding it of the application for a school at Otangaroa, and pointing out that:

> We are anxious that the matter should be considered at the present time and shall be glad if you will inform us when the officer will be here to see our children and the site offered for a school. Hasten then friend, our hopes are built on receiving this priceless gift.[343]

Porteous eventually reported having visited Otangaroa on the 9th November 1914 when he described having seen about a dozen children of school age, with an additional three or four very young children. He doubted whether, even if all the children included in the list the residents had supplied were available, an average attendance of 20 could be maintained. Therefore:

> Under the circumstances the risk of failure is such that I could not recommend the building of a school as several of the people at least are migratory and go off to the distant gumfields.
> A son of Manuera Wiripo is building a new house ….one of the front rooms is large enough to accommodate twenty children….. while the back room could be used for the accommodation of the teacher if a suitable Māori girl could be found….. The owner is quite prepared to give the use of (the house) as a temporary school. It is just possible that from 16 to 20 children might be found available…..

[342] Bird to Secretary, 29 November 1913, ibid. MSDB O6-4.
[343] Wiripo to Secretary, 23 January 1914, ibid. MSDB O6-5.(A note on the file by Inspector Porteous comments that schools in this district are visited in October, which presented a problem. Again, the characteristic delay in the system is evident).

> Two sites of four acres were offered to the Government, one of which is a good one lying along the main road. (however) the question of a site is not an urgent one as I could not recommend the erection of school buildings. I am inclined to favour, if circumstances permit, the opening of a temporary school in the building referred to, when it is completed.[344]

The result of this was that the Secretary for Education wrote to Wiripo in March 1915, informing him that it has been decided to open an experimental school at Otangaroa, to be 'conducted in the room which I understand you have set aside for the purpose. Miss R Mathews has been appointed teacher and should take up her duties by the beginning of April. Meanwhile I am arranging to send the necessary school material and furniture'.[345]

The teacher reported having opened the school on the 7th of April, but once again the lack of planning from Wellington was evident. It had been impossible to start any earlier 'for there were no desks. I asked the Māoris to make some forms just for temporary use. There were eighteen children. I received 18 slates. The school committee informed me to ask for ten more slates for there are 10 more children to come….. The Māoris are anxious to see the school going ahead. Could you send me a school bell and a couple of brooms.[346]

Motatau

In 1918 an Auckland Education Board Inspector had recommended that the Motatau Board school should be converted into a Native School at once, on the grounds that:

> 1 Out of 41 pupils 38 were Māori
> 2 The Māori pupils were not making satisfactory progress in English
> 3 Under the proposed system, as a Native School, there would be two teachers instead of one (He was referring here to the Department's continuing policy of appointing married couples to Native schools where possible)
> 4 A residence would be required.[347]

[344] Porteous to Secretary, 9 November 1914, ibid. O6-6-O6-7.
[345] Teacher to Secretary, 16 April 1915, ibid.
[346] Secretary to Wiripo, 1 March 1915, ibid.
[347] Inspector J.W. McIlraith, Report, 3 October 1917, BAAA 1001, 357d.

The Board then applied to the Department for the school to be converted into a Native School. Because the site on which the school buildings were erected was vested in the Board, the Board's Secretary asked the Department to arrange to have the title transferred from the Board to the Crown. The school was then closed for a year while a teacher's residence was built and suitable teachers found.

In June 1919 the Department was advised that:

> The people here are very anxious to get their children to school again. We are trusting that, under the Native Department, after the school has been closed a year, that we will at last get the school under a thoroughly satisfactory teacher or teachers. The children are terribly back in education owing to inexperienced teachers in the past, and owing to the loss of twelve months schooling waiting for residence for a good Native schoolteacher.[348]

The question to ask here, as in so many other instances is, would an Education Board or Pākehā parents have tolerated a delay of this length while their children remained outside of school, particularly this late in the 20th century? My own answer would be a definite no.

Takahiwai

Another example related to the establishment of the Takahiwai School on the south side of Whangarei Harbour. In June 1886, the Resident Magistrate wrote to the Secretary for Education enclosing a letter from Wiki Pirihi requesting that a Native School be opened at Takahiwai, and informing him that there were ten to fifteen children of school age. He advised the Secretary that the nearest board school was at Mangapai, about two and a half to three miles distant from the Takahiwai settlement, but 'when the weather is

[348] H.Christie (who had acted as Commissioner for the school when it had been under Board control) to Director, 15 June 1919, ibid. MSDB M3-38.

moderate there would not be much difficulty in these children attending the Mangapai school as the road is good'.[349]

However Pirihi and thirteen others challenged these estimates, pointing out that the distance to the Mangapai school was ten miles and there was no road to Mangapai from Takahiwai, meaning 'the little children are not able to travel the distance. Indeed I must still ask you to consent –our children are twenty in number; that is those who are for school…. But there are many smaller children'.[350]

Inspector Kirk reported seven months later on having visited and viewed the site proposed for a school, which he described as:

> …Very good one and three or four acres in extent. I saw 8 children fit for school and 2 or 3 little ones. The Natives told me that there were 30 children, but that most of them were gum digging. I think it is likely that a small school would succeed here for a few years but do not think there is much probability of permanent success. The settlement is almost certain to disappear before very long unless some reserve has been made by the Government.
>
> On the whole I think it best to recommend that the request for a school be not granted. At the same time it is, I think unreasonable to expect the children to travel the long and bad track to the nearest Board School.[351]

Here again, Departmental officials can hardly be described as proactive, while Ngāpuhi children remain outside of school. Other possibilities, such as an experimental half –time or subsidised school were not even raised or considered.

Nearly two years after the initial request for a school, Pirihi wrote again, this time to the Minister for Native Affairs::

> At my Kainga, Takahiwai….we have so many children living without a school, and several pakehas who have been here to my Kainga had said that it is a pity that so many children living here with no school to go to. For the above reason,

[349] Resident Magistrate to Secretary, 21 June 1886, BAAA 10001, 550a.
[350] Wiki Piriri (and thirteen other names) to Minister, 26 July 1886, ibid.MSDB T4-2.
[351] Kirk to Secretary, 12 March 1887, ibid. MSDB T4-3.

> I request that effect may be given to my application at once. Our children are twenty- six in number. I will give a site for the school…[352]

Three years after the initial request, the Constable at Waipu, J.Abrams, wrote to the Secretary for Education, enclosing papers regarding 'the Takahiwai Māoris application for a school…. The Natives are very anxious to have a school and would like to have further information from the Department and I believe would give a large piece of land if asked to do so'.[353]

Three and a half year on, Pirihi wrote again, applying for the establishment of a school at Takahiwai and promising to give three acres of land as a site.[354]

Nearly four year later, Pope advised the Secretary that:

> The anxiety to have a school seems to be great but unless explanation is given the prospect does not seem to be very encouraging, seeing that there are only 19 children presently fit for school. But I saw a large number of children under five ….I consider the prospect very fairly satisfactory, but the school buildings created should be of our smaller type.[355]

Nothing further appears to have happened until ten years later when, in May 1900, the Secretary for Education wrote to the Surveyor General requesting a survey of a school site for a school.[356] In March 1901 there was a request for an enquiry into the title of the land Māori had offered for a site.[357]

The Takahiwai Native School eventually opened in 1902.

Taiharuru (On the coast north of Whangarei Heads).

Another example of the slow decision- making built into the system (and here also the willingness of the Department to give a previously unsatisfactory teacher a second

[352] Wiki Pirihi to Minister for Native Affairs, 5 May 1888, ibid. MSDB T4-4.
[353] J.Abrams to Secretary, 24 April 1889, ibid.MSDB T4-5.
[354] Pirihi to Secretary, 26 October 1899, ibid. MSDB T4-7.
[355] Pope to Secretary, 5 March 1890,ibid. MSDB T4-8-T4- 11.
[356] Secretary to Surveyor General, 1 May, 1900,ibid. MSDB T4-12.
[357] Secretary to Under Secretary, for Justice , 21 March 1901, ibid. MSDB T4-14.

chance) is now discussed in relation to the opening of a school at Taiharuru. A Mr Evelyn Hastings wrote to the Secretary of Education on 1 November 1894, applying for the position of teacher at a Native School. He had previously been the Master of Waiomio, which had closed as a result of several factors, one of which he described as 'tribal differences', but which the Inspectors attributed to his 'unsteadiness'.[358] Kirk advised Pope that he had been informed that Hastings had neglected his duties as a returning officer at the last election 'owing to having been under the influence of liquor'.[359] Hastings received no reply to his request for a school so went ahead and joined Māori in starting one privately at Taiharuru, informing the Secretary that:

> I am requested by the Natives to inform you that they have established a school for their children, and beg that you will favourably consider their request for some pecuniary assistance towards the education of the children of this settlement
>
> Before opening the school I made careful enquiries ….For a long time past they had been desirous of having a school….. They came to me and asked me to open the school. After careful consideration I placed before the Natives what I thought would be required by the Department. They have given up one of their buildings for temporary use, and are prepared at any time to give you whatever land the Department may require…They have taken up the matter very eagerly, and I have now on the roll 41 children.[360]

At the end of May Hastings informed the Department that the settlement was more than eight miles from any existing school, and he has had to limit the attendance to thirty as the building was too small to accommodate more, adding that 'The Natives take the greatest possible interest in this school, they are really anxious to have their children educated'.[361]

There is still no response from the Department, and he writes again advising that 'the Natives are really anxious to have a school, and will faithfully carry out their promise of enforcing the regular attendance of the children'. He also informs the Secretary that he

[358] Hastings to Secretary, 1 November 1894, BAAA 1001, 549a. MSDB T10-1-T10-6.
[359] Kirk to Pope, 5 August 1894, ibid. MSDB T10-8.
[360] Hastings to Secretary, 8 May, 1895,ibid. MSDB T10-9-T10-10.
[361] Hastings to Secretary, nd but end of May 1895,ibid.

needs materials for the school work and applies for 'another blackboard and easel, 12 slates and a supply of books, pens, pencils, ink, chalk,…..roll. attendance register'.[362]

The Secretary finally arranged for the situation to be investigated and the report stated that:

> The school was held in a wooden building…. with a lean to in which the master lives. There were 28 children in the school and 30 on the roll. The room is very small for the number of children attending. Mr Hastings is very short of school requisites, having only 10 desks, 1 small blackboard and 8 or 10 primer cards and slates…. I interviewed the Natives who are most anxious to have a school. They advised me that there are over 40 children between the ages of five and sixteen and 15 children under five years of age. From enquiries I made in the neighbourhood I should say there is every probability of a good attendance being kept up for years. The natives are willing to give land for a school….. They are very anxious to get a school committee elected, but are waiting instructions from Wellington. The name of the Chief who will give the land is Joseph Mahunga.[363]

In a further report Broughton stated that on the few occasions he had been in Mr Hasting's company he:

> gave me the idea that he was a fairly educated gentleman; having the interest of the school thoroughly at heart. The discipline was good….From the lessons I saw him give,(under unfavourable circumstances owing to the want of school material) he gave me a favourable impression of his abilities as a teacher. He will have to have a considerable amount of tact to be a success here in the future, on account of receiving so much hospitality and kindness from the Natives.[364]

Pope now responded, deciding that Hastings should be sent 'a box of pencils and a dozen native school readers-the things of which he seems in most urgent need'.[365]

In March 1896 the Secretary advised the Minister that:

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[362] Hastings to Secretary, 20 July 1895, ibid.MSDB T10-13.
[363] J.H.Broughton to Secretary, 22 July 1895, ibid. MSDB T10-15-T10-16.
[364] Broughton to Secretary, 12 August 1895, ibid. MSDB T10-18.
[365] Hand written note by Pope 2 August 1895, ibid. MSDB T10-19.

> Mr Hastings has long wanted to be appointed to a Native School. He failed 3 times (for classification as a certified teacher) but he is an intelligent well-informed man and writes good letters. By his unaided efforts he has by way of private adventure broken up new ground and has a school with an average of 32.5 Māori children. Last year he received partial recognition in the form of a subsidy of £5 a month.
>
> I think the time has come to recognize this as an ordinary school, to pay him the 'Code' salary and to build a small school and house. We had a warning some years ago that he might 'drink'. He declares that for many years past he has been strictly sober and I think that the steady energy shown in the creation of this school proves that he may be trusted.
> The Natives will give 3 acres. I propose that we proceed to acquire title as a first step towards building and that Mr Hastings be now regularly appointed.[366]

In September 1896, nearly two years after Hastings had made his initial approach to the Department, he advised that J. Mahanga had formally signed the transfer of three acres for the school site at Taiharuru.[367]

The negative effects of conflict between a school committee and teacher, and differences between the Committee and people on the one hand, and the Department on the other over how this should be handled, were evident in relation to events at the same school, Taiharuru, in 1889. Pope described having a long conversation with the Chairman, 'who is a very sensible man', after the examination, and he described the Teacher, a Mr Ablett, as 'a very good man, but altogether too rigid for the Taiharuru Māoris'. The Chairman thought that if he was removed to another school, and a more flexible person appointed the school would be very much stronger than it was. Pope concluded that 'It is very possible that this view is not altogether incorrect, and it would be well for us to bear in mind that the question has been raised'.[368]

Conflict between the Committee and Ablett continued however, mainly on the grounds that the members did not like him, finding his personality too unbending and upright, and it made several further requests to the Department to have him replaced. However from

[366] Secretary to Minister, 20 March 1896, ibid. MSDB T10-23.
[367] Hastings to Inspector, 21 September 1896, ibid. MSDB T10-24.
[368] Pope to Kirk, 7 April 1889, ibid.

the Department's perspective he was a conscientious and able teacher, and it was unwilling to remove him unless specific complaints were made serious enough to justify doing so. The Department took the view that disliking him was not sufficient on its own; it couldn't replace every teacher in the service just because people didn't like them. There was also a view that the Committee may have wanted someone they could exercise more of their own authority over.

But the outcome was serious, because parents withdrew their children and the roll fell. The result of this was that in May 1900 the Department closed the school, with a recommendation that the buildings be removed to Takahiwai, in Pope's belief that a good school could be started there.[369]

However the Taiharuru residents were not willing to give up the school without a fight. Hunia Mahanga, the Chairman, wrote to the Minister asking for a new teacher to be appointed, and promising that if this happened:

> we will exert ourselves to again send our children twenty in number to school. The person we would like to teach our children is Henare Morey, he being one who understands Māori culture that is why we wish that he and his wife be appointed to teach our children, for she could teach our children to sew.[370]

A Member of Parliament, R Thompson, then forwarded a letter to the Minister with a petition asking for the re-opening of the school.[371]

The Department was unwilling to agree, although Pope commented that 'it seems to me that it may possibly be advisable to re-open Taiharuru after a long interval', suggesting there is almost an element of the people needing to be punished for a while for their earlier withdrawal of support.[372] The Minister advised that the Government did not presently see its way to re-open the school, and blamed Māori for this, claiming that 'Past experience had unfortunately been that the Taiharuru people have very little regard

[369] Pope to Kirk, 18 April 1900, BAAA 1001,553b. MSDB T10-183.
[370] Mahanga to Minister, nd but June 1900, ibid.
[371] R. Thompson to Minister, 11 July 1900, ibid. MSDB T10-200-T10-201.
[372] Note on file, 11 September 1900, ibid.

for the school from an educational point of view; and there is no reason to suppose that any adequate success could be achieved by re-opening it'.[373]

The Departmental officials involved appear to have been extremely unconcerned about the need to reach a satisfactory conclusion which would have enabled the children to return to school. The decision not to reopen it overrode the wishes of the Māori parents who wanted their school retained, did not wish their children to go to the Board school, and had come up with various suggestions for resolving the situation. Meanwhile, as matters dragged on for months, the children remain outside school.

Motukaraka

Motukaraka in north Hokianga was referred to earlier, and circumstances relating to it also provide another later example. In January 1909, when the school had already been four months without a teacher, the Secretary for Education advised T.Hare acting for the parents that he was 'not yet in a position to say when the Motukaraka Native School is likely to be reopened'.[374]

Later in the month Hare wrote again:

> Friend, this is an application to you to send a new master for the Māori School at Motukaraka.-let him be a Roman Catholic. You apply to the Minister for Māori Schools. We are still waiting for a reply to our petition for a teacher for our children. It is now close to the time for opening schools, but there is no enlightenment.[375]

Porteous then reported on a visit to Motukaraka on March 26 when the school remained closed. He advised the Secretary that the Chairman had informed him that the number of children for the school was about 30. Previously a Mr Miller had visited, and suggested that the children should attend the Board School at Motukaraa but 'this idea did not appeal to them'. He described the school buildings and grounds as being in 'a very

[373] Minister to Thompson, 11 September 1900, ibid. MSDB T10-199.
[374] Secretary to H.Hare, 11 January 1909, BAAA 1001, 365b. MSDB M4-332.
[375] T. Hare to Under Secretary, 20 January 1909, ibid. MSDB M4-334.

dilapidated state' and all the buildings requiring an extensive overhaul which would involve very considerable expenditure.

He pointed out that the Board school was not more than one and a half to two miles from the settlement, and there was:

> plenty of room to accommodate these children. The distance from Rawene is under two miles, and it should be an easy matter to have the children ferried there if attendance at the other school is not possible.
> The children of Motukaraka have in my opinion ample opportunities to attend school, and I recommend that no steps be taken to reopen the Government school there.[376]

But the parents were unhappy about this decision:

> Greetings. …..I have received your request to be supplied with the list of names of the children of Motukaraka School to go the European School….. We the parents of the children have held a meeting and we are not willing to accept that our children should go to the said European school.
> The reasons being (First): Our children already have a school here. Second: The said (Wairupe) school is too distant. Third: We are afraid of the bridge at Wairupe, lest the children meet with misfortune at the said bridge and die.
> We apply to you and the Government to again give us a teacher for our children, as they have now been absent from school for a long time. Our second application …is that you send Rutoro (Riddell) the teacher at the European school to attend this school three days a week, viz three days at the European School and three days at the Māori School.[377]
> .

However departmental officials maintained their rigid stance:

> There is…no good reason to (reopen) Motukaraka Native School when there is a public school suffering from want of children, at a distance of one mile.[378]

Bird recommended that the school be closed and the building sold.[379]

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[376] Porteous to Secretary, 14 April 1909, ibid. MSDB M4-337-M4-340.
[377] Nui Hare and the Committee to T.L.Miller, 22 March 1909, ibid MSDB M4-341.
[378] Bird to Secretary, 5 May 1909, ibid.
[379] Bird to Secretary, 16 June 1909, ibid. MSDB M4-344.

The Education Secretary agreed that there was room at the Board school for the Motukaraka children, and rejected the suggestion for two half time schools on the grounds that the schools were too close together; policy was to only have such schools when two places were so far apart that the children could not be expected to attend a central school.[380]

The Head teacher of the Board School wants the Motukaraka children to attend as soon as possible 'to secure some results before the visit of the inspector…. it will be very uphill work to get them into anything like form after such a prolonged absence from school.[381]

The Motukaraka children have now been out of school for ten months. And Hare writes 'to inform you that we are not agreeable to send our children to the Pākehā School at Wairupe, because we have a school for our Māori children at Motukaraka here'. He repeats the suggestion for a half time school, and also raises the proposal to sell the schoolhouse and the master's residence Which:

> I will not allow that to be done. If the Māori School here is to be permanently closed by the Government, the land will revert to me, and all buildings thereon, including schoolhouse and master's residence. I will not allow these to be sold to any other person whatever. I have sent in a demand to Government to that effect.[382]

On September 20 1909 he wrote to Sir James Carroll, the Native Minister:

> This is an invitation from us to you and the Government, to send along a Master to school our children. It is a long time since we had schooling for our children, too long, for want of a Master. It is now more than a year….. We have been wondering why Government would not send along a Master for this school. We have sent in an application together with a list of names of the children to the Secretary for Māori Schools at Wellington; and he replied that the matter was under consideration. We have since waited further particulars, and have got

[380] Secretary to T.L.Millar, 22 June 1909, ibid. MSDB M4-343.
[381] J.Ruddall to T.J.Miller, 25 August 1909, ibid. MSDB M4-356.
[382] F.Nui.Hare to T.L.Miller, 20 September 1909, ibid. MSDB M4-357.

> none……We do not approve of sending our children elsewhere, because we have a schoolhouse of our own here, most convenient.[383]

The Motukaraka people continue to send protest letters to the Secretary and Minister for Education and the Minister for Native Affairs.

The following is a letter to the Minister of Education on 2 November 1909:

> This is a letter from us asking that the Māori School ….be reopened, We hear that it has been definitely closed down, and that the school buildings are to be sold to Europeans.
> Now, we are very much averse to the school being closed; we ask that it be kept open, and that a master be sent here for it…. We saw no difficulty to occasion the closing of the school; we therefore ask that the school be reopened without fail.[384]

The Head of the Board School now advised the Secretary for Education that children from Motukaraka were attending his school.[385]

But the persistence of the people to still have their own school did not lessen. Three years later, in February 1912, they sought the assistance of Dr Rangi Hiroa:

> to ask the Minister of Education, whether the Government will consider the advisability of reopening the Native School at Motukaraka. There is a fairly large Native population at Motukaraka. The Native School was closed down some years ago, and the Native school children have to attend a Board School some distance away, where road facilities are wanting, which entails hardship upon the children particularly in winter.[386]

Ten years later, in 1922 years later, a Petition was sent to Tau Henare asking ask him to forward it to the Director of Education. It requested the establishment of a Native school at Motukaraka, mentioning the granting of a site, the adequate number of children, the

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[383] T.N.Hare to Native Minister, 20 September 1909, ibid. MSDB M4-360-M4-362.He also repeats the suggestion for a half time school.
[384] F. Nui Hare and all the people to the Minister, 2 November 1909, ibid. MSDB M4-371.
[385] Rudall to Secretary, 17 November 1909, ibid.
[386] Ibid., A Note on the file to the Minister of Education suggested a reply concluding 'regret that I can hold out no hope that the Native School will be reopened'.

distance to the Board School, particularly for very young children, the road to the school being by the coast, and fear of children drowning, the large bridge across a stream on the way to the school being used for cattle, sometimes large herds, horses and wheel traffic, and fear that there would be accidents.[387]

But the Minister advised Henare that Māori children must attend the Board School:

> It is a settled principle that where a school exists it must serve the children of both races, and, as in this particular instance, the existing Board School is understood to be reasonably accessible to the Māori children notwithstanding Mr Hare's representations to the contrary, I regret that I can hold out no hope of the establishment of a second school for their special benefit.[388]

The persistence on the part of the Motukaraka people was demonstrated in that they were still requesting a Native school fifteen years later, in May 1937 requesting the Minister of Native Affairs to approve a road which had been promised, pointing out that the people could:

> only get to their settlement on foot when the tide is low and this is proving a menace particularly as the children walk to school which is fully a mile and a half away…. Failing the granting of their road the people would like to know if a Native school could be built in the settlement. I understand there are quite a number of children at the settlement. These people are most sincere in their request and are most willing to help if needed.[389]

Orauta

Orauta near Kawakawa provided another example of Crown education authorities taking a very non-proactive approach to requests by Māori residents for the provision of schooling for their children-the outcome being that significant numbers of their children of school age remained outside schools in this district also, and as late as 1910.

[387] Tipene H Hare to Tau Henare, 26 April 1922, ibid. MSDB M4-386-M4-388.
[388] Minister to Henare, 1 August 1922, ibid. MSDB M4-400.
[389] Rehutai Gilberd (nee Maihi) to Minister of Native Affairs, 22 May 1937, ibid.

An Inspector from the Auckland Education Board visited Orauta in 1901, and identified the need for a Native School with a probable attendance of 40.[390]

However no further action was taken by either Board of Department over the next three years.

In 1904, Orauta residents petitioned for a school:

> I have the honour to express to you the wish of a hapū that a school should be given for their children. The hapū ….is at Orauta…. The site for the school is two acres…The people are also willing to give half a chain as a road for the school, and these two acres and the half chain they give in perpetuity….[391]

Inspector Bird visited the following month, reported going to every home to see the children, and was presented with a list of about 45 who were available for a school. He had actually seen 28 children of school age 'most of them young and all of them untaught'. [392]

Two years later a further request for a school is made:

> Greetings, This is an application to you, whenever indeed will you take into consideration the question of establishing a school for our children, 50 between 7 and 12 years of age.
> Friend, this is the 4th year that we have been urging that a school be established, but you have not considered it.
> Sir, we will give some land five acres or less.[393]

Inspector Bird advised that Mrs Tautare's school had been closed twice, and the Auckland Education Board has a half –time school at Scoria Flats; he suggests another visit to the various settlements to investigate further.[394]

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[390] Board Secretary to Education Secretary, 11 March 1901, BAAA 1001, 414a. MSDB O4-1.
[391] (Translation) R. Waikerepuru, Chairman of the Māori Council with list of names of children attached, to the Minister, 7 May 1904, ibid.
[392] Bird to Secretary 2 June 1904. ibid MSDB O4-8-O4-10.(He refers to a 'complication -a private school run in her house by Mrs Tautare which some of the children attend').
[393] Henare Paraone to Native Minister, 1 May 1906, ibid. MSDB O4-13.
[394] Bird to Secretary, 14 May 1906, ibid. MSDB O4-14.

In July, Rameka Waikerepuru, Chairman of Bay of the Islands Council, wrote to the Education Secretary to 'express the desire of the Ngāti Hine hapū residing at Orauta…. for a school house for their children, i.e. that the Government will speedily carry out that promise'.[395]

However Bird advised that that he was unable to recommend the erection of a school because most of the children in the lower settlement were now attending the Board School; of those in the upper settlement some half a dozen were going to Tautoro, and Māori had yet to offer a suitable site.[396]

In June 1908, two years later, Bird advised that the site for a new school had been settled, and the residents are urging the Government to take next the next steps.[397] In October, he advises the Secretary that a list of 82 children has been provided 'of whom there are said to be 59 of school age …and I readily believe that a school of over 40 can be maintained…I recommend that steps be taken to acquire the site referred to and to establish the school as early as possible'.[398]

In March 1909, Kawiti wrote again asking 'whether the Government has taken any steps on the matter since September last year…we would ask you to push it forward that we may have our school as soon as possible'.[399] He wrote again in June 1909, requesting the authorities to 'hasten the erection of this school for the 40 children, otherwise our children will grow up and cling to ignorance'.[400]

Five months later, a petition was forwarded to the Minister:

> from the Chiefs of Orauta…. requesting the erection of a school…. I support the petition in that there are far more than 30 children of school age …The erection of a school at the place recommended by the petitioners would place education

[395] Waikerepuru to Under-Secretary Education, 7 July 1906, ibid.
[396] Bird to Secretary, 10 August 1906, ibid. MSDB O4-17.
[397] Riri Maihi Kawiti to Bird, 27 June 1908, ibid.
[398] Bird to Secretary, 9 October 1908, ibid. MSDB O4-31-O4-32.
[399] Riri Maihi Kawiti to Minister, 13 March 1909, ibid. MSDB O4-37.
[400] R. Kawiti to Native Minister, 1 June 1909, ibid.MSDB O4-41.

> within the reach of their children and so help them materially in their upward evolution.[401]

In April 1910 at meeting between Hori Keretene acting on behalf of the owners and Bird the former agreed that five acres of land in Motatau Block No 4L should be made a free gift to the Government for the purpose of a school site.[402]

In August 1910 a Proclamation taking land for the Orauta Native School Site was issued in terms of the Public Works Act 1908.[403]

A school finally opens in February 1911! The Head teacher advising that:

> There are already seventy children on the roll and I believe a few more yet to come…There are only desks for 60, no forms, no shelves, slates for 48, I map of the South Island only, and a great many other things are required.[404]

It had taken nine years, from the original petition of Orauta residents in 1904, to 1911, 44 years after the Education Act established free compulsory schooling for Pākehā children, for a school to open. In the intervening years, scores of Orauta children had been without schooling. When the school did open, the absence of adequate supplies was yet another reflection of the limitations of the Wellington- based administrative structure.

Te Rawhiti

The circumstances surrounding the establishment of the Te Rawhiti School east of Russell provide another example of Māori parents wishing to have their children enrolled in school, but the children then remaining outside of school many years longer than they should have. In this example over 18 years longer.

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[401] Te Rangi Hiroa to Minister, 25 November 1909, ibid. MSDB O4-47.
[402] Ibid.
[403] Ibid.
[404] Head Teacher to Secretary, 4 February 1911, ibid. MSDB O4-60-O4-63.

The contributing factors included what I have already described as a regular pattern; the slowness of responses by Crown education officials resulting from the administrative arrangements, and their failure to act proactively or with any urgency when it came to the enrolment of Māori children.

In this instance, other factors also contributed, including racist attitudes on the part of Pākehā on the School Committee of a Board School who opposed the entry of Māori children, and the not surprising reluctance of Māori parents to enrol their children in the Board school.

On the 26th of June 1886, the District Superintendent at Russell, J.H.Greenway, drew the Secretary of Education in Wellington's attention to the absence of any provision for schooling among the Māori at Te Rawhiti, and the wish of parents for a school. They had suggested the establishment of a subsidized school and, because of the scattered nature of the people, it was proposed that the children attending it should remain at Russell under the care of relatives. Greenway recommended that the trial of a subsidized school be approved, commenting that 'the Natives are entitled to a school and I am assured of its success'. It could be commenced immediately with 12 to 15 children and more would follow.[405]

However Pope advised the Secretary that the existence of a Board School at Russell 'seems to me to be a fatal objection to the scheme', with schools at Paihia, Taumarere, Waikare and Karetu also all being 'fairly accessible' to the children in question.[406]

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Greenway responded expressing disagreement that the schools referred to were accessible to the Rawhiti people, with the nearest being about ten miles distance. He pointed out that the children could attend the Board School but their parents had 'a very great objection to sending them to a school where the European element is in the great majority, in fact no Māori children attend the Russell School (and) there is also a great objection made by the

[405] Greenway to Secretary, 22 June 1886, BAAA 1001, 608e.
[406] Pope to Secretary, 28 June 1886, ibid

European parents to Native children, in numbers, attending the school'. He reminded the Secretary that the Taumarere Native School was only half a mile from a Board school and the Department had raised no objection in that case.[407]

Pope acknowledged that he 'had no doubt that it would be of benefit to the children if a school was established', and advised the Secretary that he would have no objection to granting a subsidy, if only the difficulty of the Board School could be overcome. The Secretary advised the Minister that while Greenway 'made a strong case for a school at Russell', he could not recommend its establishment so close to a Board one. Stout's response was 'Defer meantime'.[408]

No further initiative was taken, either by Board or Departmental officials, until February 1888, 19 months later, when Pope reported that he had discussed the situation with Greenway during a meeting at Russell. He advised that there were:

> probably 20 Māori children at Russell who are and are likely to continue to be perfectly illiterate, seeing that they will not attend the Board School close at hand. I gather that the difficulty is caused by race prejudices on the part of Europeans rather than by unwillingness on the part of the Māoris to have their children educated.

While repeating the view that it would be an anomaly to pay a subsidy for the education of Māori when their means of obtaining an education (in the Board School) 'ought to be already at hand', he now thought the proposal worthy of consideration.[409]

Discussion continued between officials and the Chairman of the Russell Board School as to the number of Māori children actually living in Russell itself, or in settlements outside it, and the accommodation of the Board School already being fully taxed with the enrolment of European children. But in June 1889, three years after Greenway had first advised the Department of children at Rawhiti growing up without schooling, he wrote

[407] Greenway to Secretary, 7 July 1886, ibid.
[408] Notes on file, 17 July and 19 July 1886, ibid.
[409] Pope to Secretary, 15 February 1888, ibid.

again, referring to his earlier letters, and pointing out that the situation he described then still held; the Board School remained full, Māori parents remained disinclined to send their children to it, and he appealed again for a subsidized school to be established at Russell.[410]

Pope acknowledged that 'The Rawhiti children are certainly growing up illiterate', and he suggested that the Paihia School be closed and a school opened at Russell if Māori would find a suitable building. But the Education Secretary remained stubbornly opposed, noting that we 'Cannot open a Māori School close to a Board School'.[411]

Over two years later, on the 8th of October 1901, Hone Heke MP wrote to the Education Minister that 'The Māoris living at Te Rawhiti…have urged on me their desire for a school. They will hand over land for the school building, about three acres, and he gave the names of several local residents an Inspector should make enquiries of'.[412]

Pope advised the Secretary that as far as he could see 'the state of affairs at Rawhiti is much the same as it was fifteen years ago'!(author emphasis).But the offer of land for a school site was a positive development, and he recommended that the standard form be sent to the applicants asking them to fill in the names of prospective pupils and other details.[413]

On the 19th of December Pope advised that there were 25 children of school age and many younger ones, and recommended that the district should be visited at the first opportunity an Inspector went from Wellington.[414] Six months later, in June 1902, the Secretary recommended to the Minister that a Native School be established at Te Rawhiti.[415]

[410] Greenway to Secretary, June 1889, ibid.
[411] Correspondence on file 8 July 1889 and 6 August 1889, ibid.
[412] Hone Heke MP. to Minister. 8 October 1901, ibid.
[413] Pope to Secretary, 15 October 1901, ibid.
[414] Correspondence on file 19 and 20 December 1901, ibid.
[415] Correspondence on file 30 May and 6 June 1902, ibid.

A further 18 months was taken up with negotiations over the site for the school, and the calling of tenders for its building took place on the 27th of November 1903. In May 1904, Te Waaka Hakuene and others wrote to the Minister advising that the school had been finished in April, and asked that a teacher now be sent for it, 'someone who knew how to mix medicine for the children, because it was perhaps 20 miles from this place to a Doctor, including ten miles by boat to Waitangi'.[416]

The teacher, Alfred Walsh, arrived on the 20th of July, and immediately enrolled 26 pupils. This was 18 years after the Te Rawhiti people had requested a school for their children !. (author emphasis).[417]

Whangarei

Another example involved Whangarei:

> This is a letter (an application) from me to you concerning a school for our district, for as you observe there are schools in all the districts-Whangarei has no school. You must consider this application from our district. But if you are willing Rapata Takerei and I will arrange this matter.[418]

The Resident Magistrate advised the Native Minister that other Māori in the district wanted a school established, and Taurau Kakupu is willing to provide 7 acres for a school site at Hora Hora. When he had asked the people what other contributions they could make to the maintenance of a school, he was told that at other places where there were Native Schools the money was paid by the Government, and a teacher of Māori children at Whangarei would have to be paid from the same source. Otherwise the idea would have to be abandoned 'because the Whangarei district were not, from their poverty, in a position to contribute any sum of money whatever towards the maintenance of a

[416] Hakuene to Minister, 3 April 1904, ibid.
[417] Walsh to Secretary, 21 July 1904, ibid.
[418] Pomare Kingi to Native Minister, 4 February 1876, BAAA 10001, 373a. MSDB N2-1.

schoolmaster…From the statements supplied to me ….I gather that there are about one hundred children, male and female, who would attend the school.[419]

One year later a request was made for a surveyor to be sent 'to survey the site for our school'.[420] Six months after that, the people again petitioned:

> you and the members of Parliament. Now, friends, when will the school for our children be established here, information expecting which was communicated to us last year.[421]

Another six months went by, and with still no response from the Government, a Peter Brown wrote to the Minister advising that he had been:

> requested by the natives and others residing here to urge upon you the necessity of their school being established at once. A sum of money (I think £300) was granted during the Ministry of the late Sir D.McLean for the purpose of establishing a school here, but no further steps have been taken in the matter; the people here are very anxious to have their school, and cannot understand the money being granted why it is not established. Several letters were sent to Dr Pollen on the subject but without effect, we trust this will not meet with the same fate. …(A school) is urgently needed here, many of the Natives take their children as far as the Bay of Islands to school, at great expense and inconvenience to themselves, the remainder are growing up in ignorance. The Native Chief and Assessor here has agreed to give five acres of land on the bank of the river for school purposes, a most eligible and valuable site which should be at once surveyed and taken advantage of by the Government for a school reserve.[422]

Six months later, with still no response, Henare Te Moananui wrote again:

> Friend Mr Sheehan….
> In Mr Clarke's letter to me in the 1877 October 12th he says this is the answer to you, the Government consent to establish a school for your children. Well why then is there such delay? This is now another year. My letters agreeing to give five acres for the school have been received. Now friend this school has been delayed, why then is there such delay-give us the school for our children during this year, let it be done quickly during this present year.[423]

[419] Resident Magistrate (H.Aubrey) to Native Minister, 18 March 1876, ibid.
[420] Henare Te Moananui to Minister, 5 January 1877, ibid. MSDB N2-17.
[421] Henare Te Moananui to Minister, 6 August 1877, ibid. MSDB N2-22.
[422] Peter Stuart Brown to Native Minister, 13 February 1878, ibid. MSDB N2-24.
[423] Henare Te Moananui to Sheehan, 6 August 1878, ibid. MSDB N2-25.

A school of some sort commenced at the beginning of 1880, a new teacher describing arriving at Ngunguru and finding that 'two cases of school material, blackboards, easels and clock all arrived in good order'...but 'no maps have yet been sent '; he requested that the land next to the school be cleared of scrub because it represented a fire risk and a tracing of the site.[424]
Pope recommended that 'the school land be surveyed and legally conveyed to the Government as soon as possible' and authority be given for the scrub to be cut down.[425]

Many of the children live long distances from the school, and for the next few years parents requested the government to build a house or hostel by it to accommodate them. In February they requested:

> a house to be attached to the Ngunguru School for children living ten miles or more from it to live, with food to be supplied and separate rooms for the boys and girls.[426]

The Teacher advised in May that parents were again pressing for a house to accommodate their children near the school. The roll had increased to 28 and 'A fair number of the children come from a distance, that obliges them to board with the Māoris resident on the river, instead of returning to their own homes. And there being no roads they can avail themselves of, travelling is very bad in the winter months'.[427]

In September the Teacher reported falling attendance on account of no accommodation and the homes being so far away from the school.[428]

In January 1881 a further request is made for a dwelling place for the children.[429]

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[424] Teacher to Secretary, 6 February 1880, ibid. MSDB N2-29-N2-36.
[425] Pope to Secretary, 16 February 1880, ibid. MSDB N2-35-N2-36.
[426] Henare Te Moananui and others to Native Minister, 9 February 1880, ibid.MSDB N2-33.
[427] Mason to Secretary, 17 May 1880, ibid. MSDB N2-37-N2-38.
[428] Mason to Secretary, 23 September 1880. ibid.
[429] Henare Moananui and others to Secretary, 1 January 1881, ibid. MSDB N2-52.

One year later, parents petition again pointing out that the reason so few children are attending the school is that there is no house to accommodate them.[430]

However the authorities consistently oppose this idea, both here and elsewhere, either on the basis of the prevailing view of the school's assimilating role (see Pope below), or cost and precedent, in that similar requests would come from other districts. While the cost and precedent objection was no doubt understandable, it is clear that the long distances many children lived away from school prevented many of them from attending, both here and in other districts.. The Department could have showed a more proactive approach than it did to try to resolve the problem.

Part of Pope's objection to the boarding idea arose from lingering memories of, and objections to, the boarding schools during the missionary era, and his view that one could expect 'little or no good to result from the Native Schools except when the school is planted in the midst of a village community, the children of which attend the school and return home daily to convey the good influence of the school to the family circle'[431].

In an inspection report on Ngunguru on 3 March 1880, he commented that the transfer of the land for the site had not yet been completed, and suggested that the response to the people rejecting the suggestion of a boarding house be delayed until the land has been transferred.[432]

In February 1881 the Minister of Education again rejected the boarding idea, pointing out that money had already been spent on the school, and if Māori now wanted a house for the children they should provide it themselves.[433]

Given that the difficulties of access for the pupils gained no sympathy from officials, it was perhaps ironic that in an inspection report on the school in July 1884 Pope recommended that 'This school should not be visited in the winter time; the road is so

[430] Henare Moananui and others to Minister of Native Affairs, 9 March 1882, ibid.MSDB N2-52.
[431] Pope to Under-Secretary Education, 7 April 1880,ibid.
[432] Inspection Report ,3 March 1880, ibid.
[433] Secretary to Moananui, 14 February 1881, ibid. MSDB N2-45.

rough that unless the weather is very fine the inspection of the school will occupy three days'.[434]

Taupo

Another example of the procrastination built into the system involved Taupo. In November 1908, Te Hukatai Taka, Riwhi Moihi and other residents applied for a school at Taupo, on the seaward side of Whangaroa Harbour.[435] The Education Secretary forwarded the standard reply requesting more information, and on the 14th of December Moihi and others wrote again, agreeing to 'grant some land containing three acres, and also agree to give something in money or in kind, to subsidise the cost of the school house'.[436]

Over three months later, the Secretary advised Moihi that the application would be considered, adding the familiar phrase that was the cause of so much delay; 'as soon as the Inspector has had an opportunity of visiting the district and reporting on its requirements'.[437] It was not until eight months later, in November, that Inspector Bird visited. He reported favourably on the location and site, but advised that a petition for the establishment of a school at Waihape complicated the situation because all the children were also included in it, and he was not prepared to recommend establishment of a school at Taupo until that was resolved.[438]

Nearly three further years now went by, when the Rev Hapeta Renata, the Wesleyan Minister at Kaeo, wrote to Bird requesting a school at Taupo, and provided a list of the names of 20 children who were without one. He suggested provisional initial arrangements; that his daughter Maud Renate, who had passed through the Board School at Kaeo, be appointed teacher, with the school held in the meeting house. Then, when the

[434] Inspection Report, 17 July 1884, ibid. MSDB N2-66-N2-68.
[435] Petitioners to Secretary, 19 November 1908. BAAA 1001
[436] Petitioners to Minister, 14 December 1908, ibid.
[437] Secretary to Moihi, 30 March 1909, ibid.
[438] Bird to Secretary, 16 December 1909, ibid.

Department saw how the people were prepared to support the school, it could arrange for a European teacher.[439]

Bird was now more sympathetic. He reminded the Secretary that the Department had a policy of not establishing new Native Schools where the prospective attendance was less than twenty. This meant that 'in many small kaingas there are perhaps fifteen children of school age not receiving an education'. The Taupo proposal was a way of overcoming this, and if the people were prepared to provide a suitable building for a school, part of the necessary furniture such as tables, chairs, seats etc and accommodation for a teacher, he was prepared to recommend it. He envisaged the teachers being mainly 'Māori girls preferably those who have had some experience as assistants but in any case they should have passed Std V1 with proficiency and be not less than 17 years of age'. Another condition was that the residents appoint a person of good standing in place of a full committee to act as Commissioner or Guardian for the school. Renata was then advised of this.[440]

The Rev Renata, supported by Wairama Riwhi, wrote outlining conditions which met with the Department's approval, and it then offered the position of teacher 'at the experimental school that the Department is establishing at Taupo', to Miss Jane Taua, who was an assistant at the Rangiawhia Native School, had passed Std V1 with Proficiency, had two years secondary education at Queen Victoria Girl's School, and been an assistant teacher for about three years.[441] However in June Miss Taue informed the Department that she intended to marry and therefore resigned, and it appears that the school then remained closed for some time.

Omapere

Circumstances surrounding the establishment of the Omapere Native School on the south side of Hokianga Harbour provides another example.

[439] Renata to Bird, 3 October 1912, ibid.
[440] Bird to Secretary, 14 November 1912, and Secretary to Renata, 19 December 1912, ibid.
[441] Secretary to Taua, 26 March 1913, ibid.

Hone Toia and others applied for the establishment of a school at Omapere on the 24th of December 1921.[442] In January 1922 Inspector Porteous advised that 'It appears that 30 children of school age are now available for a school. A site is offered but no mention is made of the area: in such country it should be not less than 6 acres'.[443] In February another Inspector, G.Henderson, visited Omapere, finding the children and people petitioning for a School assembled to meet him. He reported seeing 38 children of school age who all lived in the locality and 'It is very necessary that something should be done for all these children…The site offered consists of five acres of gum land. However they said that I could select any piece of land in the locality'. However despite these numbers, Henderson expressed reservations about building a permanent school because eight out of the fourteen families worked on railway construction, and although they would almost certainly be working on it for another three years, he believed the attendance of a school would then suffer as the men moved on to the next section of the railway. He suggested asking the Public Works Department if it would be willing to run a train into Kaikohe and back each day to convey the workers children to school or, if not, be prepared to erect a temporary building at Omapere for a school which could be moved onto the next construction camp when they commenced the next section of the railway. This was, apparently, a practice which the Department had followed elsewhere for its employees.[444]

The Senior Inspector of Native Schools, Porteous, reporting to the Director of Education on Inspector Henderson's suggestion, made a comment of particular significance in terms of the attitude of Departmental officials with regard to the education of Māori children. This was that 'I take it that had the workmen been Europeans, a school would have been provided earlier?'. He also pointed out that 38 additional children could not be admitted to the Native School at Kaikohe, and that, even if accommodation was available at the Board school, European parents would 'strenuously oppose' their admission to it.[445] The short answer to Porteous's question is 'yes'. Particularly by as late as this, 1922,

[442] Toia and others to Secretary, 24 December 1921, BAAA 1001, 395b. MSDB O2-3-02-4.
[443] Porteous to Director, 18 January 1922, ibid.
[444] J.M.Henderson to Director, 18 February 1922, ibid.
[445] Porteous to Director, 5 May 1922. ibid. MSDB O2-17.

any one of the regional Education Boards would have not been permitting 38 children within its district not to be enrolled in a school. European parents would have been outraged, and there would have been a political firestorm, if that had been the case.

In the event, the PWD did agree to the construction of a temporary school that could be moved elsewhere for a cost of £400 for the buildings only.[446]
However at this point Porteous rejected the idea. He wrote that he was not prepared to recommend that the Department should establish a Native School under any such arrangement, arguing that it was impossible to forecast the number of children requiring schooling at Omapere after the railway construction was completed. He also pointed out that the question of a suitable residence for the two teachers who would be required had been entirely disregarded, and now suggested that 'the provision of educational facilities, can be handled by the Education Board much more readily than by the Department'.[447]

In August the Auckland Education Board advised that its Advisory Inspector would enquire into whether a school was required at Omapere.[448] Three months later, in November, the Secretary for Education wrote to the Board Secretary advising him that he would be glad to know whether the projected visit of the Board's Advisory Inspector had yet taken place, and the suggested establishment of a temporary portable school been further considered by the Board, adding that 'My reason for asking is that the Māoris concerned are again urging that some provision be made for the education of their children'.[449]

In December, the Auckland Education Board's Advisory Inspector accompanied by a Board member reported on a visit to Lake Omapere regarding the application for a school at the Public Works Camp. Their report stated that :

> The children concerned are all Natives-children of men employed by the Public Works Department on the Kaikohe-Okaihau Section.

[446] Under Secretary PWD to Director, 26 May 1922, ibid.MSDB O2-19.
[447] Porteous to Director, 8 July 1922, ibid. MSDB O2-20.
[448] Board Secretary to Director, 16 August 1922, ibid. MSDB O2-24.
[449] Director to Secretary Education Board, 18 November 1922, ibid.MSDB O2-26.

> The foreman stated that work on the present section would be completed very shortly, but he could give us no information as to whether another section would be put in hand immediately. If this is not done the Natives employed will return to their homes and there will be no need for a school.
> We communicated with the District Engineer who replied as follows: "I have to advise that the work at Omapere Quarry should be completed by the end of March and so far we have no indication that the railway is proceeding beyond Okaihau".
> In view of the above information we recommend that the application be declined.[450]

Karetu

Another example involves Karetu. In 1882 residents at Karetu requested a school and in 1883 promised to gift land for a site if their application was granted.[451] However nothing further happened until two and a half years later when Pope visited Karetu to inspect a proposed site. He found this favourable, and was also is impressed with the settlement and the principal chiefs. Advised that there were about 30 children for the school, he was convinced that a regular attendance of over 15 could be guaranteed, and recommended that a school be established.[452]

In October 1885, Pope confirmed that four acres for a site has been given and steps initiated to acquire it under the Native Schools Sites Act.[453] In December 1885 a tender is accepted for building the school, and it is completed at the end of May 1886.[454] Steps are then taken to find a teacher, and Pope recommends a Miss S.H.Johnson who he describes as 'a half-caste lady …who is a niece of one of the principal chiefs Te Karetu and I believe that her appointment would be greatly approved of by all the Keretu people'.[455]

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[450] J.D.McKenzie Board member, D.W.Dunlop Advisory Inspector, Report on Application for New School nd. ibid. (In a hand written note on the file Porteous recommends to the Director that in view of the report, no further action appeared to be called for at present. 21 December 1922.)

[451] Hori Winiata to Secretary, 29 March 1883,,BAAA 1001,272c. MSDB K2-4-K2-5.
[452] Pope to Secretary, 27 June 1885, ibid.
[453] Pope to Secretary, 5 October 1885, ibid. MSDB K2-17.
[454] J Greenway To Secretary, 27 May 1886, ibid. MSDB K2-20.
[455] Pope to Secretary, 25 June 1885, ibid. MSDB K2-22.

But it is not until nearly a year later that Miss Johnson receives a letter of appointment to Karetu.[456]

Wairahi

In November 1910 the Department received a petition from Wiremu Tunua and 13 others, listing 38 of their children of school age, requesting the establishment of a Native School at Wairahi. The petitioners pointed out that the road to the existing school was very bad during the winter months, and this was another reason for their wish to have a school in the central part of Te Wairahi where their homes were. [457]

The Education Secretary recommended that the standard forms be sent asking if the people were 'willing to give the Government a suitable piece of land of not less than four acres for a school site, as required by the regulations relating to the establishment of Native Schools'.[458]

Eleven months later, the Secretary acknowledged receipt of the names, but pointed out that no response has been forthcoming regarding the gifting of a site.[459] He also advises that the Inspector will visit at the first opportunity to report on the need for a school. Tunua and others reply immediately, agreeing to provide 4 acres for the site and express a wish for the Inspector to visit as soon as possible.[460]

The people write again in February 1912, pointing out that 'we are wanting the school this year for our children, why are you delaying, we are wanting a school very badly, send an Inspector'.[461] Three months after his previous letter, the Secretary advises that the Inspector 'hopes to be able to visit Wairahi some time next month'.[462] Bird visited in March, and in a report to the Department pointed out that the nearest schools were seven

[456] Pope to Secretary, 20 May 1886, ibid.
[457] Tunua and others to Minister, 7 November 1910, BAAA 1001, 712c.
[458] Secretary to Tunua, 6 December 1910, ibid.
[459] Secretary to Tunua, 8 November 1911, ibid.
[460] Tunua to Secretary, 15 November 1911, ibid.
[461] R.Netana and W. Peta to Secretary. 7 February 1912, ibid.
[462] Secretary to R.Netana, 28 February 1912, ibid.

miles from Whakapara to the west, and Whananaki four miles from the west end of the settlement. He had found 'a good many children in the place. Of them 28 were brought forward for my inspection'; of these five were attending the Whananaki Board School and the list presented to the Department also included fifteen who were being ferried daily to the Board School 'or ought to be'. The people advised him that they would certainly come to the Wairahi and live if a school was established 'as their parents are much dissatisfied with the slow progress their children make at the Whananaki (Board) School'

However Bird expressed concern that a new school would seriously affect enrolment at the Whananaki School, although:

> the people maintain that they will not send their children over the bad road in winter when they receive so little attention at the hands of the teacher. They state that only one Māori boy has even reached the third Standard and this only when he was quite grown up.

He had 'heard many complaints' about the teacher who farmed 100 acres and was said to be keener on his farm than the school, and he also acted as the ferryman.

Bird suggested that the Department could not proceed without consulting the Auckland Education Board as to whether it had any objection to the establishment of a Native School, but 'I feel that the Māori children are not getting a fair amount of attention, as I am strongly of opinion that were it half worth their while they would attend at least when the road permits'.[463]

In May, Reihana Netana wrote again to the Department, enquiring about progress, pointing out that Bird had visited, a good piece of land had been provided for a site, and 'we are wanting the school for our children at once. Let us know at once'.[464] Bird now advised the Secretary that the teacher of the Board School:

[463] Bird to Secretary, 16 March 1912, ibid.
[464] Netana to Secretary, 9 May 1912, ibid.

> …is aware that within two and a quarter miles of his school there are 25 children of school age who do not attend any school, and yet until my visit no notice was taken by him or his board of the matter and no action taken to secure their attendance.
>
> This seems to bear out the statements of the Māoris that their children are not attended to at Whananaki School. They stated that only one boy reached the 3rd standard, by which time he was grown up; their grievance is not distance. If the Board is not prepared to take any action in the matter, and I consider it has already had good opportunity of doing so, are these children to go without education?[465]

The Secretary for Education now wrote to the Auckland Education Board pointing out that the two or three miles to the Board School would not deter the children from attending 'if there were sufficient attraction in the school itself. If the teacher had moved in the matter earlier it would have shown some concern for the fact that only 12 out of 34 children were being educated'.[466] In June, Netana wrote again on behalf of the people, pointing out that he had written three weeks previously, that Bird had 'got the pick of a good site' when he visited, the school was wanted urgently, and he could obtain the services of a private surveyor.[467]

However the Auckland Board had now reached the view that it was not advisable to establish a new Native School at Wairahi. It decided that if the Board School was 'efficiently conducted. there would be no difficulty in getting Wairahi Māori to send their children to it. The teacher has been warned that unless the efficiency of the school improved the Board would consider the question of his removal to another district'.[468]

At this point the Department caved in with regard to the establishment of a Native School. The Board was advised at the end of July that the Department accepted the option of encouraging an improved performance and attitude towards Māori pupils by

[465] Bird to Secretary, 24 May 1912, ibid.
[466] Secretary to Board Secretary, 30 May 1912,ibid.
[467] Netana to Secretary,6 June 1912,ibid.

[468] Board Secretary to Education Secretary, 12 July 1912, ibid.

the teacher at the Whananaki Board School as the preferred one. However it recommended to the Board that the teacher be advised that:

> …nothing short of a strong personal effort on his part to induce the attendance of the Māoris would be accepted as a fulfilment of his obligations. I suggest that he should be instructed to furnish a report at the end of every month, accompanied by a statement of the names and attendance of the Māori children. Upon the assurance of some such action by the Board the Department could definitely inform the Natives that their application for a school at Wairahi must be declined.[469]

It then took the Education Secretary until the 13th of September to write to Wairahi residents advising them of these developments, and the Department's expectations that 'under these circumstances your children will receive every attention and encouragement to attend the Whananaki School'.[470]

2.7 BUILDINGS

The centralized Wellington-based administrative structure under which the schools operated also contributed to the unsatisfactory state of many of the buildings in which Ngāpuhi children were schooled, and the residences of their teachers. The structure made attending to urgently needed matters of providing and maintaining adequate buildings hugely more difficult than was the case with the decentralized education board structure.

This frequently negatively affected both the effectiveness with which learning could take place, the physical comfort of many teachers, and even at times the health of pupils and teachers. The problems were compounded during the initial years after the passing of the 1867 Act, when communications remained difficult in many parts. But what is striking, and deplorable, is the extent to which they persisted often well into the 20th Century, and well beyond the time when Education Boards would have tolerated them.

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[469].Secretary to Board Secretary, 29 July 1912, ibid.
[470] Secretary to Nathan, 13 September 1912, ibid. The file on this matter was closed at this point

An early example is this description of Whirinaki, in the annual report of the Native Department for 1874, where:

> Considering the circumstances of the teacher, having no proper school building- Mr George Leef's house being used as a school-and no school books or material of any sort, except a few books and slates procured in Hokianga by the master at his own expense, the progress of the children has been good.[471]

In 1886 Inspector Kirk described how:

> … the Mangakahia School has now shown very unmistakeable signs of stability and actual progress I think it right to urge, as strongly as I am at liberty to, the desirability of providing increased facilities for school work and reasonable accommodation for the Master and his family.
> The Natives have elected an energetic committee, whose members have framed a sensible set of rules and have shown that they have the welfare of the school at heart. The whole state of affairs shows that the school will surely increase…..There is an attendance at the present time of 43 and several new scholars are almost certain to come this week….The schoolmaster, with his family of ten, has two small rooms and a kitchen with a very low roof. These rooms are rendered very uncomfortable by smoking chimneys.

He recommends that a detached residence be built and the two living rooms made into one to form a classroom.[472]

At Waima, Hone Mohi Tawhai complained that the flimsy structure which passed for a schoolhouse was 'in such a dilapidated condition, as the cold and rain both penetrate into the building and it leaks. When there is a high wind, the Master cannot occupy the building for fear lest it should be blown down while the children are in it'. Anxious that the children received a good education, this created a conflict for him in the sense that 'it would almost appear as if we who have the interests of the children at heart were compelling them to occupy a damp building subject to leaks and cold in order that they might catch colds and fever'.[473]

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[471] AJHR 1874, vol 2 G-2, p.2. Von Sturmer report.
[472] Kirk to Secretary, 6 April 1886, BAAA 1001, 300b. MSDB M1-24-M1-25.
[473] Tawhai to Secretary, 3 September 1884, BAAA 1001, 679d.

The Teacher at Lower Waihou asked the Secretary for Education in 1886 how he expected him to maintain a satisfactory attendance in view of the 'leaky and dilapidated condition of the rotten old shed without windows or fireplace, which has been doing duty for a schoolroom at Lower Waihou and which is quite untenable in cold weather'.[474] The following year Renata Te Tai Papahia wrote to the Minister pointing out that there was 'a great deal of sickness amongst our children owing to the bad state of the present building-as many as 25 children suffered from illness during last winter'.[475]

Inspector Kirk expressed sympathy for this state of affairs in his 1886 report, describing the building as 'very damp and uncomfortable. Abundant ventilation is ensured by open window apertures and by holes in the walls, roof and floor. It says a great deal for the energy of the people and the master that a school has been kept at work for over three months in such a place'.[476]

Considering the conditions of these buildings, and the sickness that the condition of some of them would undoubtedly have contributed to, it is somewhat ironic that as part of the drive for assimilation school officials like Pope and others constantly drew attention to what they claimed to be the unsatisfactory living conditions of Māori, and the contribution of this to illness and even racial decline. They emphasized, by contrast, the superiority of the 'healthy' European family environment. Pope wrote a rather paternalistic textbook on health for senior pupils of the school and Māori adults along these lines, and the teachers were viewed as having an important role to play in combating illness amongst pupils and adults in their communities. Many did do valuable work. But as Duffy points out, many Māori themselves objected to the unsatisfactory conditions of many of the Crown's own schools, which they sometimes saw as endangering the health of their children.[477]

[474] Charles Irvine to Secretary, 16 November, 1886, ibid.
[475] Renata Te Tai Papahia to Minister, 1 February 1887, BAAA 1001, 729d.
[476] Inspection Report, 7 May 1886, ibid.
[477] Duffy, p.91.

In August 1880 the Teacher at Upper Waihou wrote that:

> I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of circular no 5 wherein a standard is set for the guidance of Native School teachers and among other directions it states that they 'will be expected to exercise a beneficial influence on the natives old and young' and that 'the Department would especially call their attention to the fact that it is extremely advisable that teacher should always keep their houses and gardens neat and tidy'.
>
> Sir, although I am fully aware how necessary and desirous it is that these directions should be fully carried out, I am prevented from doing so, as the place is in such an uncomfortable and unfinished state.
> We have only two small unlined rooms (one 14+12 and one 14+8) for our accommodation (and there are nine of us). In wet weather the water runs down the inside, and floods the floor in several places, all the doors are without handles, and the outside one is too short, leaving a gap about three inches between the bottom of the door and the sill, and in rainy weather it is wretched to be in the room, for we cannot keep the water out…..(chimney smokes very much and the windows very much out of repair)…in fact the wretched and miserable state of the place in wet weather is past description.
> Things outside the house are quite as bad. The doorstep is about four feet from the ground, and although I have made a platform as well as I could, it is still very dangerous…..
> You will therefore see, Sir, how necessary it is that something should be done towards making the place habitable before I can carry out the directions contained in the extract above.[478]

The following example, relating to Motuti on the north side of Hokianga Harbour, is much later, in 1915, and demonstrates the persistent and long-lasting nature of some of these problems. In July of that year, Bird advised the Education Secretary that the question of providing better housing accommodation for the teachers was urgent. 'Their "living quarters" consist of two small rooms, in which the Head Teacher, her sister and the assistant have to live. What is really required is a new residence and the living portion converted into a classroom'.[479] Nine months later, with nothing done about the situation, the School's Chairman and 35 others wrote to the Secretary applying for a suitable

[478] Teacher to Secretary, 5 August 1880, BAAA 1001, 668b.MSDB U1-18-U1-21.
[479] Inspector to Secretary, 13 July 1915, BAAA 1001, 368a.

dwelling house to be erected for the teachers, describing the house that they currently resided in as 'totally unsuitable, as the School inspectors can verify'.[480]

In May the Director of Education advised the Minister that he could see from the Inspector's report that the teacher was ' doing good work under very great difficulties, so great indeed that the Department's reputation is involved. He is certain that if this teacher left no one else could be sent to the place under present conditions. I therefore recommend the building of a house of three rooms'.[481]

Five years later accommodation problems at Motuti persisted. A report by a Health Inspector noted that:

> The height of the rooms is insufficient. A number of children gathered together in a room only 8ft 6in in height and worse still 6ft 6in in width is not by any means satisfactory. The window area compared to floor area, works out for the big room, about one in six and a quarter and in the small room, there is only about one in fifteen. ….(there were) no ventilators, defective water supply, and only one convenience for both sexes. I recommend that the matter be brought under the notice of the Native School Department.[482]

In a report on Matihetihe on the north coast of Hokianga Harbour in 1908, Bird advised that in his previous report on the school he had referred to the' need of a decent building to replace the present raupo whare in which school has been conducted for the past 15 years'.[483]

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In an inspection report on Mangakahia Pope described the building as having been not well constructed; 'The carpenter that put it up either did not understand his business or thought that anything would do for Mangakahia'.[484]

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[480] Hara Tiera Noa, Chairman Motuti and 35 others, to Secretary, 25 April 1916. ibid.MSDB M6-101
[481] Director to Minister, 2 May 1916, ibid.
[482] Minister of Health to Deputy Director, 17 March 1921, ibid. MSDB M6-126.
[483] Bird to Secretary, 3 April 1908, BAAA 1001, 342c. MSDB M2-61.
[484] Inspection report, 1 April 1880, BAAA 1001, 300a. MSDB O3-6.

As late as 1936, the Head Teacher at Omapere described the opening roll number at the school as 78. with 45 pupils below S3, and, 'If these figures are considered in conjunction with having only 646 sq feet of floor space, 31 desks and a staff of two teachers the position will be realized….Several Omapere children came on Monday wishing to join. These I refused admission except for two Form 2s'.[485]

2.8 THE TEACHERS

Finding enough suitable teachers for primary schools was a fairly widespread problem in New Zealand education generally, at least prior to 1900, and particularly in rural areas. Dr John Ewing described the schools, even after the passing of the 1877 Education Act, as often being in charge of men who had failed at other occupations, and had taken on teaching as a last resort, a comment which applies particularly to the Native Schools.[486]

The difficulties arising from the Wellington- based administrative structure referred to earlier, affected aspects of teacher appointment, role and, where necessary, dismissal. And usually for the worse. Another source of tension was the tendency of Departmental officials not to take it seriously when the Māori members of School Committees complained about a teacher, or expressed a wish for a particular person they favoured to be considered.

The staffing of the Native Schools was haphazard, with appointments ranging from teachers who would have been graded 'Excellent' or 'Very Good' on any contemporary measure, to incapable misfits. The Native Minister John Sheehan, in a speech harshly critical of the quality of some of the teachers being appointed to the Native schools, and viewing this as the major factor impeding their progress, described the schools in 1878 as:

[485] Headteacher to Director, 5 February 1936, BAAA 1001, 1069.
[486] J.Ewing, *Development of the Primary School Curriculum ,1877-1970*,Wellington, 1970, p.51.

> A sort of asylum for broken down people who have tried everything else and failed-men who have spent their substance in riotous living and drunkenness-a place where such men might find an asylum and a refuge.[487]

While Pope regarded many of the Native school teachers as having the desired attitude, he acknowledged in 1882 that there were 'undoubtedly some who should seek more congenial employment. Unless a teacher has really friendly feelings for the Natives, and takes a strong professional interest in teaching their children, his work must be extremely dreary and irksome'.[488]

A year later, he commented that whereas an inadequate teacher in a Board school could be replaced, in a Native School he could 'easily cause the utter and final ruin of the school , and render its re-establishment impossible', on the grounds that:

> If the natives have a master sent to them by the Government, and he treats the children cruelly and misbehaves himself, the Māoris conclude that, as he is probably a fair specimen of what schoolmasters generally are, they would rather manage to rub along without one, that education is a great mistake, and that they will have no more of it.[489]

While Pope may have been correct in some instances, my own reading of the literature on the schools leads me to the view that this underestimates the role played by many Māori committees and parents who, when confronted as they not infrequently were by teachers of the kind described, more often than not took active steps to try and have them removed and replaced, either by peaceful non-co-operation, letter writing to officials, or other methods, rather than passively turning their back on the schools.

McGeorge has analysed the status, qualifications and mobility of teachers in the Native schools between 1880 and 1920. He points out that while the majority of male teachers in education board schools entered teaching through the pupil-teacher system, those in Native schools entered as adults from a variety of other occupations and, generally, they were 'not very well qualified', according to the Department's own system for classifying

[487] NZPD 1878, 29,p.223.
[488] AJHR 1882,E-2,p.4.
[489] AJHR 1883,E-3, pp.6-7.

teachers.[490] According to McGeorge, teaching in a Native school for much of the period he analysed was 'commonly a cottage industry for amateurs and their families'.[491] He also demonstrates that the average salaries of male head teachers, female assistants, and male solo teachers in Native schools still lagged behind their Board counterparts in 1895.[492] Possible reasons for this, he speculates, were the Department of Education driving 'a hard bargain', or its view that they were 'de facto' teachers and should be paid accordingly.[493]

But inferior pay, the poor physical condition of many of the schools and teacher residences, the expectation that they would undertake a wide range of extra-curricular activities in areas such as health, isolation, exhaustion or ill-health, undoubtedly contributed to resignations. Pope's report on Mangakahia in 1883 referred to the need for a teacher to be appointed who was 'someone of a tougher mould-half teacher half bushman would be the man'.[494]

In the Department of Education's annual report to Parliament as late as 1892 Pope was commenting that the teachers consisted:

> For the most part of persons who were quite inexperienced as teachers when they took up the work, and that, besides this, they were selected on no very definite principle, except such as results from a general desire to obtain the most intelligent and trustworthy people.[495]

In 1905, the member of Parliament for Northern Māori, Hone Heke, suggested that the Native School system was 'practically a waste of money' because the schools were not provided with certificated teachers.[496]

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[490] C.McGeorge, The Mobility, Status and Qualifications of Native School Teachers 1880-1920, *NZ Journal of Educational Studies*, (NZJES), 36,2, 2001, pp.171-185.
[491] Ibid, pp.181-2.
[492] Ibid,p.180.
[493] Ibid,p.176.
[494] Inspection report, 19 July 1883,BAAA 1001, 300a.
[495] AJHR 1892, E-2,p.15.
[496] NZPD,1905, 25 August, 134, p.128.

In Parliament in 1906, Apirana Ngata expressed concern that Native School teachers were being insufficiently paid. He said he had noticed that despite their remote and varied role, 80 percent of them received below £100 per annum, taking into consideration the wives of teachers. He was supported by the member for Bay of Plenty who drew an acknowledgement from the Education Minister that some of the teachers were, indeed, 'miserably underpaid', and their pay would be increased in view of the value of their work outside the classroom.[497]

Numerous examples of difficulties related to the quality and performance of many of the teachers who taught Northern Māori children are discussed below.
In an inspection report on Poroti in 1880 Pope found the teacher, Mr Webb, thoroughly competent ; 'he knows how to do his work. From what I saw of him, however, I should judge that he is not likely to be a very successful Native School teacher.. I am inclined to think that he has but little sympathy with or liking for the Māori race'.[498]

In 1894, the Te Ahu Ahu School Committee investigated 'the conduct of the Master in using bad language …and have decided that it will overlook the matter this time, but should he use similar language he will be summonsed'.[499] However discontent with the teacher continued to surface. In May 1898, the Chairman of the School Committee asked that he be removed and that 'some other proper person be sent up here to teach our children so that they may grow up into well conducted persons. All the people look upon him with great disfavour and…if he is allowed to remain here the Māoris will take their children away from the school'.[500]

None of the Te Ahuahu children returned for the start of school in 1900, leading the Department to advise the Committee that unless the school was supported, consideration

[497] NZPD 1906, 138. 12 October, p.242.
[498] Inspection report, 3 March 1880, BAAA 1001, 469b.MSDB P5-14.
[499] School Committee to Secretary, 15 November 1894,BAAA 1001, 569a,
[500] Rev Timoti Kiriwi, Chairman, to Secretary 25 May 1898, ibid, Another request for his removal was made 17 months later. Chairman to Secretary, 4 October 1899, ibid.

would need to be given to closing it.[501] This apparently produced the desired results, but the death of the teacher on 20 August led to the school being closed while the appointment of a successor was discussed.

The Chairman of the School Committee wrote to the Secretary two months later, complaining that the people had been waiting too long for the appointment of a Teacher, and that they were 'feeling "pouri" on account of our children, such a long time has elapsed' ; the parents either needed to be advised a new teacher was coming, or send their children to the Board School at Waimate.[502]

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A new teacher, Major Clarke, was eventually appointed, but in September 1901 the Secretary for Education wrote to the Rev Kiriwi, pointing out that the smallness and irregularity of the attendance at Te Ahu Ahu compelled the Department to consider whether the school should be closed, and he asked the Committee if it had any opinion on the matter.[503]

For the Te Ahu Ahu Committee it was, again, the unsatisfactory performance of the teacher which was the main issue of concern. The Chairman pointed out that 24 children of school age lived at Te Ahu Ahu, but at the present time only 9 to 12 attended:

> the reason being the listlessness of the master, who does not teach the children because of ill health, therefore we ask that a master be sent who is strong enough to teach…He is very listless, and that is why the Māoris are not energetic in supporting the school.[504]

Pope viewed Major Clarke as lacking 'all the qualities that are needed for success in our service', and that it was impossible not to conclude that at least some of the some of the blame for the poor attendance lay with him. But he also felt that the people, by failing to ensure a good attendance, had not given him a real chance to show what he could do.

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[501] Notes on file 8 February 1900, ibid.
[502] Chairman to Secretary, 18 October 1900, ibid
[503] Secretary to Chairman, 24 September 1901, ibid. MSDB K1-202.
[504] Chairman to Secretary, 14 November 1901 ibid.

The outcome was that he remained in place.[505] Bird, In a negative inspection report in July, described children 'straggling into school' after the usual commencement time as highlighting the fact that Major Clarke had difficulty in securing punctual attendance and needed to be advised of this.[506]

The next teacher appointed to Te Ahu Ahu, Miss E. Smallwood, was to stay for three years. Her tenure provided a dramatic example of the difference it could make in attitudes towards a school, support for it, and the positive effect on the regular attendance of the pupils, when someone was appointed who the people liked and had confidence in. It highlights the many years when they had struggled on with a succession of teachers who, in their eyes, were lazy, incompetent, or both.

From this, and many other examples, it is possible to identify a fairly general trend in relation to the schools as a whole: a good teacher resulted in good and regular attendance; a poor teacher resulted in poor and irregular attendance. It was not uncommon for officials to blame Northern Māori parents and school committees when attendance declined or was irregular, or to stand behind the teacher even when there was evidence of incompetence. But there are sufficient examples, and sufficient acknowledgment by officials, to demonstrate that the quality of the teacher was a crucial ingredient. Unfortunately, far too many incompetent teachers were appointed to schools in the north after 1867, and this was a major factor contributing to many hundreds of Ngāpuhi children remaining outside schools, or attending them only irregularly, for many decades longer than should have been the case.

At Te Ahu Ahu, the Rev. Kiriwi informed the Education Secretary that :

> For many years we have been urging the Government to send us a teacher who would be energetic in teaching our children, to be upright, and nothing came of it, and the result was that the school was on the point of being closed owing to

[505] Notes on file, October November 1901, ibid.
[506] Bird to Pope, 17 July 1902, ibid.

> the small number of the children and the children were being sent to attend the English school.
>
> Well a female teacher has now come and in one week after her arrival in the year past, it has been how exceedingly well and energetic she was to improve the school arrangements and the good effect on the children.
>
> Well then with respect to us the members of the Committee are very energetic in impressing on the people the necessity for rendering assistance to the school, the number of the children at the present time is 29 and the coming week there will be more which will perhaps raise the number to 36. This will be a proof to the office that there is a living spirit in this school if only a thorough good teacher is sent…accept our appreciation.[507]

But unfortunately, in a pattern that was not uncommon in so many of the schools, Te Ahu Ahu's experience with unsatisfactory teachers was not over. In 1912, the Education Secretary advised that based on reports by the inspectors the teacher at Te Ahu Ahu, Mr Pringle, was 'the kind of man that brought discredit on the Native Schools Service in the early days. It is quite evident that he is not fitted to hold a position in which so little supervision can be given'.[508]

In a subsequent report Bird described Pringle as:

> lacking in energy almost to the degree of indolence…Returns (of attendance) are invariably late…At my recent visit I found that the conduct of the school left much to be desired …The school records have not been kept correctly…The timetable has not been altered for two years…The attendance has been shockingly bad…The number present on the day of examination- the principal day in the year in most of our schools-was 12, the excuse being that it was wet (I had come in from 20 miles to take the examination)…The falling off in the attendance is, I consider, due to the teacher's neglect…I have therefore to recommend that Mr Pringle be relieved of his duties.[509]

[507] Chairman to Secretary, 7 February 1903, ibid.
[508] Secretary to Inspector General, 15 May 1912, BAAA 1001, 570c.
[509] Bird to Inspector General, 21 May 1912, ibid.

In his letter dismissing Pringle the Secretary advised him that it was necessary to relieve him of his duties 'for which the Department receives no adequate return'.[510] Yet, bearing out the hypothesis of there being a connection between the quality of the teaching and level of support of by parents, reflected in the regular attendance of their children, a new teacher, Robert Flood, had by the beginning of October achieved an attendance of 35 pupils.[511]

Another example involved the Whangape Native school. In January 1915 members of the School Committee petitioned the Secretary for the removal of the Teacher, Mr Lisle:

> to another school at the shortest possible notice or before the commencement of the school in February…at a gathering of all the Natives here yesterday it was unanimously decided that not one child shall attend the said school until the teacher's removal is assured…the people as a whole are not in accord with him and his ideas. There had been an outbreak of typhoid in the district, and the Committee also requested that the next teacher should be one who could render assistance to them in times of sickness, as two of the school children had died during the previous month.[512]

Bird's advice to the Secretary was supportive of the petitioners and critical of the teacher. He pointed out that there had been a 'considerable amount of dissatisfaction with him' and the people had grounds for being dissatisfied. Mr Lisle had been 'devoting his energies to trafficking in Native Lands. The efficiency of the school is relatively low: the attendance poor and the people dissatisfied'.[513] In his defence, Lisle advised the Secretary that the reason for the complaint about him was that no children from the school had gained scholarships to St Stephens. He wrote that he had pointed out to the people that in order to get to the College they now needed to pass the 5th or 6th Standard,

[510] Secretary to Headteacher, 29 May 1912. ibid.
[511] Headteacher to Secretary, 7 October, 1912. ibid.
[512] School Committee to Secretary, 28 January 1915, 752b.
[513] Bird to Secretary, 1 February 1915. ibid.

not just the 4th as previously, but they believed it should still be possible and blamed him for it not happening.[514]

However Bird was not convinced by this explanation, pointing out that if the children had not passed a higher standard than the Fourth 'it is because they have not been encouraged to do so'. He reminded the Secretary again that the teacher's interests were ' largely bound up in Māori land deals of which he makes common boast', and recommended that Inspector Porteous make a 'searching investigation into the conditions' at his next visit.[515]

In the event, Lisle remained at his post. But this is yet another example of a teacher not attending properly to his duties, including in his case the very negative and damaging matter of the low expectations he obviously held for his pupils. It was an attitude held, unfortunately, all too commonly not only by many teachers, but also by inspectors and other officials, as shall be demonstrated later.

Fifteen months later the Secretary wrote to Lisle expressing regret that the Inspector's recent report had failed to show an improvement in the management and general efficiency of the Whangape School. The poor progress and results generally could only lead the Department to conclude that they arose from 'lack of constant application, or from indifference on the part of the teachers, or else that the teachers were incapable of managing so large a school'. However instead of being dismissed, Lisle was advised that he would be transferred to a smaller Native school, and given a final opportunity to demonstrate whether or not the Department was justified in retaining him as a teacher. If he was unable to accept transfer, his position with the Department would be terminated.[516]

This policy, of moving unsatisfactory teachers on to another Native School rather than dismissing them, was one frequently followed by the Department.

[514] Teacher to Secretary, 5 February 1915. ibid.
[515] Bird to Secretary, 12 February 1915. ibid.
[516] Director to Lisle, 5 May 1916, BAAA 1001,752b.

The remarks in the log book of a new teacher appointed to the Waima Native school in 1903 demonstrate the negative legacy of an incompetent or inefficient teacher:

> Opened Waima NS today. I am bitterly disappointed at the small attendance of 4 and the place is in a state of chaos as everything seems to have gone to wrack and ruin. I can find no records of attendance up to date and the attendance register is only kept up to 3 Sept. and the Admission Register has got no details entered as to the ages of children making it impossible for me to get the necessary details. In fact the whole concern, school, house and grounds seems to be in a state of neglect and ruin…The only one redeeming feature seems to us to be the Natives themselves, who seem to be a superior lot and very friendly.[517]

The next example involves the Kaikohe Native school. Pope's initial report on the appointment of a Miss Louch as Head teacher and Miss E Louch as assistant was favourable, with an improvement in the attendance. But the tone of subsequent inspection reports changed markedly. Bird's report on 25 April 1904 recorded the attendance dropping in the last 4 quarters from 45.77 to 25.07. While the order in the classroom was 'good', and 'the working tone very good, Bird comments on the use of corporal punishment recorded in the log book, and notes that while 'it is probably necessary …I am of the opinion that efforts should be made to reduce it gradually'. He commented that 'The external tone is exceedingly bad… Parents had begun to object to the amount of corporal punishment.[518]

In a memorandum to the Education Secretary, Bird provided more details. He explained that a hostile attitude had been shown by some parents towards the teacher for some time ; one parent had become so upset at her child being physically punished for being absent that she visited the school, 'seized the teacher by the wrist and shook her, as well as delivering verbal abuse'. But Miss Louch did not wish to pursue a charge of assault.

[517] Waima Log Book, 16.3.1903.BAAA 1003,9b.
[518] Inspection report, 25 April 1904,BAAA 1001, 263b. MSDB K1-221-K1-223.

'I informed Miss Louch with regard to punishment that it must be reduced to a minimum….that she must moderate her language to the parents and children and endeavour to cultivate a more conciliatory attitude'.[519]

On the one hand, Bird adopts an attitude which is very defensive of the teacher to charges that she has beaten some children, but he adds 'I think that she is not wholly blameless. Her attitude towards the people of the place both Pakehas and Māoris has not been calculated to gain their sympathy' He recommends that unless there is 'an improvement in both parties the school should be handed to the Board or removed to Tautoro and Miss Louch put in charge of a less important school'.[520]

However after discussion within the Department it was recommended that Miss Louch be transferred and given a temporary appointment at the Tapuaekaruru Native school A new teacher should be appointed to Kaikohe, the Committee informed that the Department expected an average attendance of 50 to be kept up otherwise the school would be handed to the Board, and, after a reasonable lapse of time under the new teacher, the attendance of the children should be enforced by law.[521]
In accordance with the Department's instructions Miss Louch closed the Kaikohe school on the 17th of August 1904 and vacated the premises.[522]

Failure to have made arrangements for a new teacher to be appointed immediately meant the school remained closed, a by no means uncommon occurrence in the native School service. This led to a petition from Matiu Kapa and 133 others to the Native Minister:

> Great indeed is the grief and lamentation of our hearts because of the closure of our school. We feel at the present time as we did when we became orphans at the death of our parents.
> We pray you and your Government to open our school the same as it was formerly.

[519] Ibid.
[520] Bird to Secretary, 16 May 1904, ibid. MSDB K1-238-K1-241.
[521] Bird to Assistant Secretary, 27 May 1904, ibid.
[522] Louch to Assistant Secretary, 27 August 1904, ibid. MSDB K1-248.

> So that our children may attend and be enabled to acquire those great treasures and advantages that have been provided for your Māori people
> Our school was closed while the attendance was numerous, the number being 65 when it was closed. If it had continued there would have been 80 children.[523]

However despite Miss Louch's obviously unsatisfactory performance, officials continued to adopt a negative tone in relation to the reopening of the school, tending to continue to blame the Committee and parents for past difficulties, and threatening that the school would remain closed unless there was a guarantee of a good attendance and improved attitude on their part. Responding to the petitioners the Assistant Secretary informed them that:

> The Government is much concerned to hear of the extremely unsatisfactory condition of affairs in connection with the Kaikohe Native School as disclosed in the Inspector's recent report. From his report it would appear that the attendance at the school is very irregular, that a hostile attitude is adopted by some of the parents towards the teachers, marked at times by open interference on their part, and terminating in one instance in a personal assault on the teacher. Whether under the existing conditions the school should not be closed and the children required to attend the Kaikohe Board School is now receiving consideration.

The Committee was asked to meet and provide the Department with a response.[524]

The Rev. Matiu Kapa, who had obviously been a helpful and influential person in the past in matters affecting the school, responded that:

> With regard to the petition …for a school. I support that petition…..With regard to the Kaikohe School I looked after (cared for) the Kaikohe School. Sometimes it was good sometimes it was bad . At the time that I took a rest there from it it became very bad, perhaps seeing that the school door is closed, I gave up in favour of a new committee then it was that the door was closed.
> I make a humble petition to the Hon Minister to reopen the Kaikohe School this year 1905, and I will return to my seat on the Committee and look after the school.

[523] Petition to Hon Mr Carroll, 7 September 1904, ibid. MSDB K1-258-K1-259.
[524] Assistant Secretary to Chairman School Committee, 3 November 1904,ibid.

> The difficulties that affected the school, the teacher and the people are entirely done way and a new start made .
> Because: Those troubles originated from these causes:
>
> 1 That the masters were not willing that the Committee should indicate to them the Māori customs as to what they liked.
> 2 They became very angry…the outcome of the outburst being disputes and quarrels. It is right therefore that such should be done away for such spring from the peculiarities of the one person …consequently nothing can be done (referring to Miss Louch)
> Matiu Kapa to Minister, 2 January 1905.[525]

Kaikohe remained without a teacher, and three months after this letter Henry Toby wrote to the Native Minister:

> Sir This is to ask you about the master for the Māori school at Kaikohe . Perhaps it has come to nought. The first quarter has ended. Sir, It would be well to inform the parents and the chairman of the Māori School at Kaikohe.[526]

He was advised that his letter to the Minister had been referred to the Department, it was intended to reopen the Kaikohe Native School, and it was hoped that the school would not be without a teacher much longer.[527]

Meanwhile a significant number of Northern Māori children remained outside any school. At the end of May, the Education Secretary wrote to the Chairman of the Māori Council at Kaikohe, again placing virtually all the blame for the state of affairs on the Māori:

> The school was closed under circumstances for which in the Minister's opinion the Māoris of Kaikohe were very much to blame. For a long time indeed the attitude of the Māoris in regard to this school had been considered very unsatisfactory, and not at all such as would be likely to induce the Government to keep open a special school in a place where there is an ordinary public school. It has been decided, however, to give the Māoris one more opportunity of maintaining a school for themselves, and accordingly a very good teacher has

[525] Ibid.
[526] Henry Toby to Native Minister, 5 April 1905, ibid.MSDB K1-264.
[527] Assistant Secretary to Toby, 13 April 1905, ibid. MSDB K1-265.

> been appointed in the person of Mr C.W. Grace who for some years has been in charge of the Pamoana Native School on the Wanganui River
>
> The Minister further directs me to express a hope that the Natives will show that they are in earnest in their wishes to have the school reopened by giving the new teacher their fullest support……It is considered that an average attendance of at least 50 should be maintained.[528]

Given the earlier inspection reports on the teaching at Kaikohe, these comments appear very one-sided, paternalistic and unduly critical.

The next example involves the Te Pupuke Native school near Whangaroa.
In one of his first entries in the school's log book a new teachers reported finding that the pupils in the school:

> have had no grounding either in Arithmetic or in English. They do not know how to add, they have not been trained to talk freely, and they do not understand what they read. Primers 2, 3 and 4 will have to learn sounds and word building right from the beginning They are acting on memory only, and little two or three letter words, together with the letters that compose them, are unknown….The children…. understand neither phrasing or the meaning of what they are reading.[529]

At the Upper Waihou School, the Inspector described the teacher as 'unsuitable for the position'; the School Committee had advised him that at least 40 children should be in attendance rather than the 29 enrolled.
Inspection report by P Peacocke, an Inspector for the Auckland Education Board who occasionally inspected schools in the north in 1879.[530]

At the Karetu School, the Inspector described the teacher, Miss Johnson, as:

[528] Secretary to Chairman Māori Council Kaikohe, 29 May 1905, ibid. MSDB K1-267.
[529] Te Pupuke Log 23 August, 1928, BAAA 1003,7i.
[530] AJHR 1879, G-2 pp. 5-7.

> a respectable and capable women. I consider her well fitted to take charge of the school during its earlier stages, but she is totally unacquainted with school work and not capable, from want of experience, of taking charge of a large school of advanced children. Miss Johnson informs me she intends visiting Mr and Mrs Hill at Waima, …in order to get an insight into school duties.[531]

In 1910, the Chairman of the Pawarenga School Committee and others petitioned for the removal of the teacher:

> on account of his wrong-doing and bad ways which have been observed by the Committee and the parents of the children'.
> 1. The dirt of the school; in spite of the instruction of the Committee that it be cleaned, no steps have been taken to clean it.
> 2 The punishing of the children and their being ordered home at a time before the school should really finish.
> 3 One of the big girls of the school when being struck on the hand, hit accidentally on the desks and got her clothes torn.
> 4 His (or her) calling the children pigs, larrikins or wild beasts in school, also very many similar charges which in our opinion are far from being proper and which should not be done by the teacher.[532]

In this instance the Department reversed its more usual position of siding with teachers, informing the Chairman that it had decided to 'remove Mr and Mrs McKerchar at the end of the year, and that a new teacher will be in charge after the holidays'[533]

The teachers were advised that:

> it has become evident from the Inspectors' reports on the school since you took charge, emphasized by the complaints of the people amongst whom you are working, that you are not suited for the duties of Native School teacher.
> I am accordingly directed to give you notice that your services will not be required after the end of the present year.[534]

Reporting on the Upper Waihou Native School in 1880 Pope commented that:

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[531] District Superintendent to Secretary, 1 August 1885 BAAA 1001, 272c.MSDB K2-24
[532] Wiremu Maika Chairman and others to Secretary 8 November 1910,BAAA 1001, 458b.MSDB P4-17.

[533] Secretary to Chairman, 19 November 1910, ibid. MSDB P4-18.
[534] Inspector General to Head teacher, 19 November 1910,ibid. MSDB P4-19

> It is a great pity that this teacher cannot be induced to abstain entirely from using intoxicating liquors. I understand that he was sent to this school on probation. As Mr von Sturmer puts it he is weak and easily led astray. From what I saw of him at Hurd's Point on the day of the Regatta …I fear he may break down again. He was not tipsy but it was easy to see that he had had just a little more than was good for him…he has been in the past a valuable teacher. If, however, he should transgress again, I think the Minister would do well to dismiss him immediately.[535]

At the Poroti Native School, in the Bay of Islands, the teacher, a Captain Thompson, regularly complained about children not attending school frequently enough, or being absent without reason. But Pera Te Taka and 30 others petitioned the Department on 14 May 1908, complaining that their children were made to 'work at carrying firewood and water, cooking the teacher's food, tidying his house, washing his clothes, all during school hours'. They requested his removal and threatened to remove their children unless he was removed. Bird commented that if the complaints made in the petition are 'founded on fact, and the tone of the petition seems to indicate this is so, Capt Thompson can hardly complain of irregular attendance. I am afraid that he has outstayed his welcome in Poroti'.[536]

In a subsequent investigation, Inspector Porteous described the charges against the teacher as 'greatly exaggerated and in many cases untrue', but he acknowledged there was:

> little doubt of the hostile attitude of the Māoris towards Thompson …and I am satisfied that the teacher's attitude towards the Māoris is not a good one. I believe he despises the race, and I feel certain that he adopts the 'quarter deck' attitude towards them…..
> I think it is desirable that should a suitable school be available he be transferred at the end of the year.[537]

Here again the official response is to move the teacher on to another Native school rather than dismiss him, even after describing him as someone who 'despises the race'. And the records shows that he was not in fact transferred, still being at Poroti in March

[535] Inspection report, 10 April, 1880, BAAA 1001, 668b. MSDB U1-14-U1-17.
[536] Bird to Secretary, 16 May 1908, BAAA 1001, 470b.MSDB P5-144.
[537] Porteous to Secretary, 20 October 1908, BAAA 1001,470c. MSDB P5-161-P5-162.

1909, and still complaining to the Department that some of his pupils have not returned to the school after the holidays, and the parents have failed to elect a committee.[538]

Bird advised the Secretary that he was not prepared to recommend the teacher at the Te Rawhiti Native school, A.E.Welsh, to a larger school, because he 'lacks in his character the peculiar trait that is necessary in a successful teacher. He does not succeed in winning the regard of the people or the children hence the school does not increase in number'. Putting him in a larger and more important school would only lead, in Bird's view, to a repetition of what had happened when he had been at the Peria Native School,' the gradual fading away of the school'.[539]

In a report on Te Rawhiti two years later, Bird described its prospect of success as 'not very promising…Mr Welsh is not a man who inspires the Māoris with confidence and those children who were first sent to the school from outside places have been withdrawn…The results are very poor indeed'.[540] Welsh continued to make requests for promotion to a larger school, as a result of which Bird wrote a lengthy memorandum to the Education Secretary in December 1908 outlining his teaching history. This described the attendance having decreased six months after his appointment to the Otaua Native School; on account of his wife's health he was then transferred to the Peria Native School ,'probably the best location in the Hokianga district'. Initially the enrolments had begun to increase, but within a comparatively short period of time there was a similar falling off. Attendance fell to 21 from over 60, and 'the school practically collapsed'. An enquiry showed that the teacher had neglected his duty, 'absenting himself from the school and leaving it in charge of a girl and the Chairman'. It also revealed that he had been 'more concerned with the affairs of the local butter factory and agricultural society, of which he was paid secretary, than with his duties as teacher under the Department. The result was that:

[538] Secretary to Thompson, 8 March 1909, ibid.MSDB P5-164.
[539] Bird to Secretary, 2 May 1906, BAAA 1001, 608e. MSDB P5-144
[540] Inspection report, 15 April 1908, BAAA 1001, 609a.

> The school had fallen away, the children had been taught nothing and we had the mortification of seeing our children passing the doors of the school to go to other schools four or five miles distant. Mr Welsh resigned just prior to the examination, and so saved himself from probable dismissal, and he was regarded by the officers of the Department as unsuitable for further employment. In spite, however, of a protest which I felt bound to make at the time, he was appointed in July 1904 to the charge of the Rawhiti School. (Bird then recounts unsatisfactory aspects of his record at that school).[541]
> Bird to Secretary, 16 December 1908, ibid.

Despite this record, in May 1911 Welsh was appointed to take charge of the Waiuku Native school in South Auckland.

At the Waimamaku Native school south of Hokianga Harbour, Pope described the teacher, Mr Munce, as being:

> inextricably involved in pecuniary difficulties which appear to prey on his mind and render him unfit for the performance of his duties. Very little progress has been made since the previous examination and the Natives are greatly discontented with the management of the school….My recommendation is that Mr Munce be dismissed with three months salary in lieu of notice.[542]

Pope described the teacher at the Te Ngaere Native School at Whangaroa as being:

> evidently out of place here. The relations existing between the Natives and the teachers do not appear to be at all satisfactory. Judging by the way they speak of them I should say that Mr and Mrs Cornes entertain hostile feelings towards many of the Natives ….(They) may be said to have been thoroughly unsuccessful here. I recommend that they be moved to another school., and that in the event of their failing to do good work there, the Department should cease to employ them.[543]

Here again, the Department's solution for dealing with unsatisfactory teachers, in this instance one with 'hostile feelings' towards Māori, is to transfer them to another Native school.

[541] Secretary to Chairman Te Rawhiti, 2 May 1911, ibid.
[542] Inspection report, 28 May 1889, BAAA 1001, 685b.
[543] Inspection report, 18 May 1880,BAAA 1001, 608a.

Unsatisfactory teaching at Te Rawhiti again came under scrutiny in 1922. A newly appointed teacher, H.Thomson, recorded writing to his predecessor to ask him if he had prepared a yearly scheme of work and if he had kept a weekly work book, because 'when I landed here I could find nothing in the records to show how far forward the children were in their work'.[544]

At the Ngunguru Native school near Whangarei, Henare Te Moananui wrote to the Native Minister in 1885 informing him that:

> I do not like the Mistress of the school. The children cannot learn, and she does not teach correctly. It is now two years since she began to teach, and there is not one boy or girl, European or Native, who has learnt anything. The great work of this teacher in the school is to teach knitting and crocheting, hence the parents take their children to the European school at Parua Whangarei. Do you send a new teacher. Let there be a man and his wife. Te Moananui to Native Minister, 1 July 1885, BAAA,1001,373a.

Pope's reports show, however, that he did not share such a negative view of the teacher who remained in her position and married shortly afterwards . But the attendance of Māori children continued to fall-the average attendance in 1887 being only 3.23. When retrenchment in the public service led to a drastic reduction in the salary of the teacher from £73 to £24 in 1888, she resigned. Meanwhile the number of Pākehā children attending had risen and, in 1888, the Department offered the school to the Auckland Education Board and it became a Board school.

Corporal punishment was used widely in primary schools in New Zealand during the 19th and much of the 20th century. In a circular issued to all teachers in Native schools in 1880 the Education Secretary advised them that the discipline in Native Schools should be 'mild but firm' Circular Memorandum for Teachers in Native Schools, 4 June 1880.. Generally the Inspectors encouraged teachers to follow this advice, admonishing teachers who they felt were relying too heavily on corporal punishment. Despite this, however, the records show that the approach of the teachers ranged widely. Some appeared to rarely

[544] Te Rawhiti Log Book, 6 July 1922, BAAA 1003, 7m.

resorted to corporal punishment, for others it was almost a daily routine. Log books record it being given for 'talking' or 'whispering' in class, disobedience, sulking, impudence, hitting other pupils, using or writing obscene words, interfering with or bullying other pupils, fighting, theft, cheating, vandalism, cheekiness, truancy etc.

In 1879, Von Sturmer reported that Needham, the teacher at the Upper Waihou Native school, had been fined five pounds by the Court for 'assaulting a little girl. The Natives have refused to send pupils'. He was also 'Fined for whipping a Native during playtime'.[545] For a teacher in any New Zealand school at this time to be brought before a Court for using corporal punishment on a pupil, it would have needed to have been a real beating.

The following extracts from the Te Pupuke Log Book illustrates how a harsh regime existed in some of the schools:

> I have had to give… a whipping this morning for persistently disobeying his teacher by playing in the water on the way home.
>
> I have had to severely punish (from three to six cuts with the strap) some boys who took lollies from girls on the way home. They also took the girls hats and tried to trip them up.
> 26 November 1931.
>
> I have had to whip….severely for using a very bad word coupled with Miss Bramley's name
> 7 July 1932.
>
> I have given…six cuts with the strap and …three cuts for speaking rudely about Miss Bramley.
> 12 August 1932.
>
> Punished 2 boys, …and …for 'playing truant' on Friday.
> 4 December 1934.
>
> Punished 2 boys (…and …) for wilfully damaging Mr Tuwha Taniora's cream stand on way home from school.
> 18 November 1937.

[545] Von Sturmer to Native office, 26 August 1879, BAAA,1001,668b.

Punished 3 boys for giving trouble to calf on way home from school.
6 July 1938. Te Pupuke Log.31 July 1931,BAAA 1003,7i.

A very considerable degree of unsatisfactory qualifications, performance and behaviour therefore obviously existed in relation to many of the teachers, and the effects of this on large numbers of Northern Māori pupils and parents cannot be underestimated.

However by no means all of the teachers who taught Northern Māori children were unsatisfactory, had negative attitudes towards Māori, or poor relations with School Committees and parents. In his reports on the Whirinaki, Waima, Lower Waihou and Waitapu schools in 1878, the Inspector described all the teachers working 'conscientiously and energetically, and not only for the sake of the salary they receive'.[546]

In 1879, the teacher at the Waitapu School was described as 'very zealous' with a 'natural aptitude for teaching'. At Mangakahia in the same year a 'particularly energetic teacher' was described as deserving 'great praise 'for his conduct of the school in the face of considerable difficulties, including lack of proper teaching resources of all kinds.[547]

At an inspection report on another school the teacher, a Miss Johnson, was described as 'evidently is a great success and has the children well in hand; they also appear to have made most excellent progress; the attendance is very steady, 22 present and 2 reported absent. Miss Johnson has the advantage of a good working committee who materially assist her'.[548]
On his next visit the Inspector described the school as 'one that does the teacher the greatest credit. Everything is well ordered and work is accurately and generally quickly done.. The examination results are on the whole good. (if the results in English and Geography) are brought up to the level of the others, as I have no doubt they will be, the school will be one of the best in the service'.[549]

[546] Inspection report, AJHR 1878.G-7, p.13.
[547] Inspection reports on the schools, AJHR 1879 G-2, pp.5-7.
[548] District Superintendent to Secretary, 12 December 1887, BAAA 1001 272c.MSDB U1-65.
[549] Inspection report, 12 June 1888, ibid.

At Kaikohe, although residents expressed some initial reservations about the appointment of Captain Mitchell based on what they had heard about his teaching at Whirinaki, these appear to have been immediately dismissed when the people met him. The Inspection reports on the school in the 1880s were also positive. In 1882, after the school had been open for only 3 days, 47 children were present, and Pope's report on Captain Mitchell and the school generally was very favourable.[550] By 16 March 1883 the attendance had grown to over 70 and 'this school appears to be in a very flourishing state'.[551]

Pope's report the following year was extremely favourable. The attendance was described as :

> very large and extremely regular; he day of inspection was very wet, yet 58 children were present; Discipline, Extremely good: Order Excellent; it is maintained by a combination of firmness and kindness. Instruction has been very good indeed. Reading: Juniors extremely good, Seniors good, Arithmetic Seniors very good
> Kaikohe school has done admirably this year. This school and that at Whangape appear to me to satisfy all the requirements of the Department better than any other schools that I have yet visited on my present journey.[552]

Another very favourable report followed the next year:

> Present at inspection 48 girls 17 boys, no Europeans.
> Total on roll 69. The average attendance of more than 61 shows that the attendance is extremely regular, ie 4 quarters 68.7; 60.8; 58.2 62.
> School tone …is capital; the children show very great interest in their work and are well pleased to have an opportunity of showing what they have learnt.
> …The inspection of this school was again very satisfactory. visitor could not help being very favourably impressed with the order, cleanliness and industry of the pupils and with the general conduct of the school.[553]

[550] Inspection report by Pope, 12 June 1882, BAAA 1001, 262b. MSDB Ki-70.
[551] Inspection report. ibid. MSDB K1-78-K1-80.
[552] Inspection report, July 24 1883, Ibid.MSDB K1-81-K1-85.
[553] Inspection report, 28 May 1884. ibid. MSDB K1-89-K1-94.

Mitchell therefore epitomized the example of a successful teacher in the system. But tellingly, in view of the earlier evidence about unsatisfactory teachers, the teacher appointed to succeed him, a Mr Hamilton, initially appeared to be satisfactory but things then declined, the roll declined, and relations between teachers and the people deteriorated.[554]

MĀORI AS TEACHERS

McGeorge estimates that there were between 20 to 25 Māori teachers in Native Schools in 1915, about 8-10 percent of all staff.[555] The following were examples of Māori being appointed to schools in the north prior to 1930 in a variety of capacities.

Pope regarded the appointment of a Māori, Miss Johnson, to teach at Karetu in 1885 as being important because of the characteristics of the district, including enlightened chiefs and progressive inhabitants. He informed the Education Secretary that Miss Johnson was a half-caste of about 35 years of age, a niece of Hone Honiana, one of the three principal chiefs of Te Karetu, 'and I believe her appointment would be greatly approved of by all the Karetu people'.[556]

In 1887 at Lower Waihou, Mary Te Tai had responsibilities as an assistant teacher, although she appears never to have been formally appointed or paid, and the same comments apply to Hene (Jane) Te Whake at Whakarapa.[557]
In 1894 the teacher at the Kaikohe Native School sought the Department's approval to employ Matilda Ngapua:

> …for this current quarter to assist in the school work. She is a Hukerere girl and very well educated. She is anxious to have something to do, and offered to come and teach for nothing, but I think a suitable arrangement would be for her to

[554] Ibid.
[555] McGeorge, p.182.
[556] Simon and Smith, p.73.
[557] Bishop to Secretary, 14 February 1887, BAAA 1001, 729d, and Inspection report Whakarapa 1 September 1887, ibid.

> take all the mistress is entitled to for coming in every day for the whole day, £7 16.3 (Mrs Hamilton's present salary for coming in every afternoon). [558]

Hilda Paul was appointed Head teacher of Matihetihe in 1904, one year after the appointment of Wiremu Tau, the first Māori man to take charge of a Native School. By 1908, Hilda's sister, Julia, had also been appointed. The Inspectors were continually impressed with their work. The school had 'reached a state of efficiency not exceeded by any other school' the inspector wrote in 1908; and in 1909 'I am again very pleased with the excellent work'.[559]

Three years later, in his 1912 report, Bird described the teaching methods as 'very good and the school is successfully conducted. The English work is especially well taught'. Many categories the Inspector was required to grade, including Tone; Manners and General Behaviour; Cleanliness of buildings and classrooms; Appliances books and furniture were graded "Excellent' and given the maxim mark of 10.[560]

The appointment of Riwai Tawhiri to Karetu soon followed, and the Department's 1911 Annual Report recorded that 'these three schools are in charge of teachers who are themselves members of the Māori race and the Inspectors speak highly of their efficiency'.[561]

Roharima Matine was appointed an Assistant Teacher at Matihetihe in February 1912, coming from St Josephs College Napier, presumably as a graduating student.[562]

'I should propose that Mrs Maxwell continues to teach the sewing when Miss Paki Pou comes…(and) the sooner Paki comes the better' the teacher at Oromohoe advised the

[558] Hamilton to Secretary, 3 October 1894, BAAA 1001, 262b.MSDB K1-164.(In a handwritten note on the file Pope describes Miss Ngapua is 'an excellent young woman. I can see no objection to her being on the staff')
[559] Inspection Reports, BAAA 1001, 342b.
[560] Inspection report, 17 April 1912. ibid. MSDBM2-83-M2-84.
[561] AJHR 1911, E-3 p10.
[562] Matine to Secretary, 5 February 1912, BAAA 1001, 342b.MSDB M2-78-M2-79.

Secretary in 1904 of his new assistant teacher, who was coming from the Queen Victoria Boarding School.[563]

2.9 ATTENDANCE AT SCHOOL

The 1877 Education Act introduced the principle of compulsory primary education, but exempted Māori children from any obligation to comply either in the Board of Native Schools. It was not until the *School Attendance Act 1894* was passed that Māori children from age 7 to 14 years were required to attend Native schools if they were available, but no compulsion was still brought to bear upon children living in districts where there were no such schools. It was not until 1903 that the Minister of Education published regulations compelling Māori children to enrol at a Board school if there was no Native school near at hand.[564]

The absence of compulsion, combined with other factors discussed below, was another hugely influential reason why many hundreds of Northern Māori children did not attend school, or attended only irregularly, much more frequently and later than their European counterparts.

In the north, falling returns for Kauri gum, land sales and timber resulted in many kainga struggling during the 1880s.The distance of schools from homes, poor access especially in bad weather, economic factors, including the need to seek employment in areas away from home, loss of land, poverty, failure of crops, food shortages, and illness resulting from the epidemics and fevers which swept through many Māori communities often with fatal or near fatal results, were all contributing factors.

Wirikaka Peita Wharetohunga petitioned the Education Department for assistance in 1886:

[563] Head Teacher Oromahoe to Secretary, 2 August 1904, BAAA 410a.MSDB O5-64.
[564] A.E.Campbell, E*ducating New Zealand,* Wellington, 1941, pp.60-61.

> Friend, do you listen to me when I say that the children cannot always attend the school because there is no food for them and consequently they cannot have enough strength to walk to school, for the Natives you understand have not sufficient food, for had they tea, sugar, flour, butter and other things, it might have been different, as it is the Māoris subsist principally on potatoes only…By next month all our food will be exhausted.[565]

Attendance at the Whangape Native School in 1884 was affected by what the teacher described as one of the causes frequently affecting attendance at Native schools, 'Shortage of food', caused not 'by any lack of industry on the part of the people, or a failure to plant, but by crop failure'.[566]

Pope reported in 1884 that economic factors had compelled people living at Upper Waihou to leave the district temporarily, taking their children with them.[567] One year later the school was described as having become 'the most important of the Hokianga schools', but because the people had parted with much of their land in its immediate vicinity, it had become difficult for the children to attend it. He believed an attendance of 80 might be achieved if a place could be found for them all to live close by, and suggested that either one or possibly two new schools should be built, or a boarding house erected in the vicinity of the existing school. As shown earlier, this latter suggestion was one also sometimes suggested by Māori themselves in some in other districts, but it was one the Government always rejected.[568]

Circumstances affecting the Otaua Native School southwest of Kaikohe provides another example. Pope reported in 1893 that the fall in the price of gum of nearly 25%, would 'not improbably, improve the Otaua attendance.[569] Kirk. reported in 1896 that the attendance at Otaua had been extremely irregular 'largely due to want of food'.[570]

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[565] Letter to Secretary, 17 September 1886, BAAA 1001,729d.
[566] Duffy, p.14.
[567] AJHR 1884, E-2 p.5.
[568] AJHR 1885, E-2, p.4.
[569] Inspection report nd but September 1893, BAAA 10001, 418d
[570] Inspection report, nd but August 1896, ibid.

Bird complained again about a falling attendance in April 1906, blaming it, as the Inspectors were frequently inclined to do, on Māori, advising that the Department was 'not satisfied with the way in which the school was being supported by the Māoris of Otaua and that failing a substantial improvement during the current year the Department will consider the question of closing the school'.[571] The Education Secretary followed this up by writing to the Chairman of the School Committee, Ngapeka Te Whata, raising the same possibility if attendance did not improve, and reminded him that 'the principal duty of a Native School Committee is to see that a proper average attendance is maintained at the school'.[572] However the teacher responded with an account of the realities the people faced and, by implication, the need for officials to show a more understanding and sympathetic attitude. She acknowledged that the attendance was still not satisfactory but:

> Circumstances are certainly against the people at present, as most of them are still away at the gumfields with their children. As the distance from there is so great and there are two rivers to wade it is impossible for their children to come in bad weather, as the rivers, when in flood, cannot be crossed even on horseback….The Chairman has been working on the railway near Whangarei for a considerable time, but he returned last week for a few days and came to see me….He promises to see what he could do (about attendance)….During my several visits to the Otaua settlement (I found one boy) who possesses no clothing but a shirt. I have bought him some stuff to make him some garments so perhaps that may mean another pupil. The cry everywhere is "No potatoes' hence the flocking to the gumfields.[573]

In May 1921, the Māori residents petitioned for the relocation of the Otaua School closer to where most parents lived to facilitate their children attending. But the Director advised that stringent economy throughout the service meant any such proposal would be declined at the present time.

Director to Teacher, 24 May 1921, BAAA 1001, 420a. The teacher also continued to press the Department on the grounds that the location of the school such a long way from the settlement made it impossible for the teachers and parents to get in touch with

[571] Inspection report, 3 April 1906, BAAA 1001, 419a.MSDB O7-41-O7-42.
[572] Secretary to Chairman, 11 April 1906, ibid. MSDB O7-43.
[573] Janet Gordon-Jones to Secretary, 12 June 1906, ibid.,MSDB O7-45-O7-46.

one other, during the winter months it was impossible for many of the children to attend regularly, and 'hauling firewood costs me two pounds a load'.[574]

In a 1922 report Porteous advised the Director that the suggestion that the school should be removed to a site further up the valley has been put forward on more than one occasion, and there was little doubt that a more central location would prove advantageous and of convenience to the parents and their children. However he concluded that:

> Out of consideration of the needs of the economy during the past few years and also out of consideration for the few European children who might be inconvenienced by the removal of the school, it was considered that the matter was not one which should take precedence over other urgent work connected with Native Schools……

He provided an explanation that Māori had at one time lived much closer to the school, 'but after the sale of the Otaua Block (against the wishes of the Māoris, so they allege) the people were compelled to settle on lands much further away from the school. At present there are 12 European children attending'. [575]

Māori finding themselves in desperate economic circumstances sometimes attempted to get the Department to be more flexible about such matters as school holidays, to enable them to seek seasonal employment. The Chairman of the Motukaraka Native School Committee wrote to the Secretary in May 1889, asking that three weeks holiday might be given, as the parents wished to go gum digging. He suggested that the three weeks could be substituted for three weeks at another time.[576] However such request were not, as in this instance, usually successful.

Economic factors were still having a negative affect on attendance at Motukaraka in 1896, the teacher reporting that the Chairman had led him to understand that this was

[574] Teacher to Director, 18 July 1921, ibid. MSDB O7-124-O7-126.
[575] Porteous to Director, 18 May 1922, ibid.
[576] Hare Maika, Chairman, to Secretary, 10 May 1889,BAAA 1001, 364b.

due to several causes, the first being the shutting down of the Kohukohu saw mill, then the low price of gum, but:

> worst of all the total failure of the kumara crop here last year which left the people without food and in debt to the stores…I have seen the parents repeatedly and spoken to them…when their reply invariably was that they could not give the children enough food to keep themselves in the settlement and that they had to take their families to the bush and use what help they could give in increasing the food supply.[577]

The teacher at the Te Ngaere School reported in April 1879 that:

> the crops have been very bad for the past three seasons…There is a want of energy on the part of the Natives in urging their children to attend school. Sickness and death have been very prevalent, no less than four of the school children have died.[578]

By August matters had not improved:

> Māori….have had nothing but half-rotten kumara and a little corn for the last three months. The potatoes were a complete failure …To enable them to get through the winter, men, women and children have all had to go to the gumfields, and they, too, are nearly dug out….Na Kingi Hori Kira is one of the leading chiefs of the Ngāpuhi….He says that "it is quite impossible to send the children to school at the present time, unless the Government give some assistance to feed them. They have neither food or money to buy it". The children also complain of the coldness of the schoolroom. It is neither lined nor is there a fireplace in it.
> For a month past there has been positively no attendance, and now there are only three boys attending.[579]

In August a report concluded that 'This school appears to have almost collapsed'.[580] Here again, however, officials adopted a narrow legalistic approach, focusing only on the decline in attendance without showing any real understanding or sympathy for the

[577] Teacher to Secretary, 7 December 1896, ibid. MSDB M4-166-M4-167.
[578] Edmund Cornes to Native Minister, 19 April 1879,BAAA 1001, 608a.
[579] Teacher to Secretary, 27 August 1879. ibid. MSDB T2-7-T2-9.
[580] Lewis to Secretary, 18 August 1879, ibid. MSDB T2-10.

situation the people found themselves in. The Secretary recommended to the Minister that Te Ngaere Māori should be informed that the Government 'heard their request that their school be kept open a little longer, but that unless a satisfactory attendance be maintained it must be closed'.[581]

Yet in May of the following year, Pope admitted that a planning mistake by the Department had contributed to the difficulties:

> This school has been put in the wrong place; the road to it is very bad. It is now too late to remedy the mistakes, but the school should have been much nearer the coast. It would have been accessible in all weathers, and besides would have been much closer to the settlements.[582]

In June the teacher reported that there has been 'no attendance whatever since the 13th of May, as nearly all the Natives of this and the neighbouring settlements have gone to dig gum partly to provide food and clothing'.[583]
Sixteen months later the teacher was still reporting low attendance which he attributed to whale fishing; the absence of food and clothes, and the need to dig gum.[584]

In April 1882, gum digging was still affecting attendance and, even 8 years later, in July 1890, the teacher was informing the Secretary that
'I regret to have to inform you that the attendance at Te Ngaere School has entirely ceased. The reason assigned by the Natives is that the children are busy in the gum fields earning money for fresh clothing'.[585]

The illnesses, including epidemics of influenza, whooping cough, measles, typhoid, scarlet fever and chicken pox, which ravaged many communities, and from which many adults and children died, seriously affected attendance... An overall decline in the

[581] Secretary to Minister, 19 December 1879, ibid.
[582] Inspection report, 18 May 1880. ibid. MSDB T2-26.
[583] Teacher to District Superintendent, 18 November 1881, ibid.. MSDBT2-36.
[584] Teacher to Minister, 13 July 1880, ibid. MSDB T2-31.
[585] Teacher to Secretary, 25 July 1890, ibid. MSDB T2-43.

attendance of the Native schools from 2,042 to 1,923 between 1882 and 1883, was mainly attributed by Pope to a severe fever epidemic north of Auckland.[586]

Numerous deaths of pupils and adults were reported throughout the north.. At the Lower Waihou Native School in 1879, as many as 29 children died from a total roll of about 50; at Whangape four died from influenza in May 1884; at least two at Waima in June 1886; at Waima in 1894 at least fifteen adults died, including Hone Mohi Tawhai. Even when the number of deaths was small, considerable fear was raised that others would follow, and pupils should be kept home as a precaution.[587]

In a report on the Hokianga in 1886, the Inspector noted that the Whangape School had 'suffered terribly' from the epidemic fevers that had been raging throughout the district for over two years.[588]

In his report on the Kaikohe Native School in June 1885, Pope recorded that the attendance had been 'very injuriously affected by the fever epidemic'. Sixty pupils were enrolled, but 'many of these are sick or convalescing'. Eleven of the children were ill with typhoid fever. He reported a request from the teacher for a supply of medicine and suggested that 'a small sum of money be granted for their purchase'.[589]

The teacher at Kaikohe reported three week's after Pope's inspection that there had been two more death from fever, being the brothers Reihana and Whare Haki, both 4th standard pupils, and 'very promising lads …these make 12 that have died since the fever made its appearance in December last (all belonging to the school).There are at the present time 21 sick and convalescent'.[590] Despite this, Kirk reported the following year that Kaikohe remained one of the best of the schools with regard to both 'tone and attainment. Everything impresses one with the sense of honest and hearty work. The

[586] AJHR 1884, E-3 p.13.
[587] Duff. P.79.
[588] AJHR 1886, E-2 p.5.
[589] Inspection report, June 6 1885, BAAA 1001, 262a. MSDB K1-107-K1112.
[590] Teacher to District Superintendent, 30 June 1885, ibid. MSDB Ki-114-K1-115.

attendance is now increasing and it is probable that during the year the school will re-gain the position it held before the severe outbreak of fever last year'.[591]

But the sickness continued. M.Kapa advising the Education Secretary in 1894 that Kaikohe was such a distance from the person at Waimate North who dispensed medicines for Māori, he felt justified in suggesting that the Government send a supply of medicine:

> to our teacher for the children and the people of this place, for their have been a number of deaths amongst the children attending this school during the past years. In my opinion want of medicine has been one of the causes.[592]

A major difficulty was that the underdeveloped health system was out of reach of most Māori communities, geographically, financially and culturally. A hospital at Rawene did not open until 1902, and Native Medical Officers were distributed unevenly, with only one north of Auckland in 1874. Even when more were appointed to the north, it was difficult for them to service all the districts adequately, and some doctors were less than proactive in their response to illness in Māori communities.[593]

The Head of the Takahiwai School reported a decrease in the attendance in 1909:

> owing to typhoid fever, or what I believe to be such……As I reported in my letter of February 18th the sickness is on the increase, for whereas but four were originally affected (of whom one died and one is entirely recovered) I have now seven ill with fever and a child with a complication of troubles which I cannot hope to save without medical assistance
>
> We have not received a visit from a medical man for seventeen days ……I rowed to Whangarei to ask assistance from Dr Baxter last Saturday and expected he would have been down the following day. But he did not come nor did he send any medicines. I again wrote to him on Tuesday, but am told by his chemist that he has left on a ten days yachting cruise.
>
> Now, Sir, I ask, is it fair to the Māoris or myself, that a doctor comes to the settlement, tells us the patients have typhoid fever and does not again visit to see whether the patients improve or otherwise. I believe…the trouble is that the

[591] Inspection report, 15 May 1886, ibid. MSDB K1-118-K1-122.
[592] Kapa to Secretary, 24 July 1894, BAAA 1001, 262b. MSDB K1-148.
[593] Duffy, p.75.

> Department of Public Health refuses to sanction the visit, though I have assured the doctor that the majority of the Māoris are not in a position to pay for the services of a medical man; indeed in the case of the girl that died, I bought a horse from the Māoris to provide the necessary money to bury her.
> I understand….it is not my place to nurse sick Māoris, that I am sent here as a school-teacher, but, Sir, is it be supposed that anyone can see these children in the state they are without trying to help them……
> I append a list of names of those sick, their ages, and temperatures, also the duration of their illness.[594]

Several weeks later the teacher himself fell ill with 'congestion of the lung', closed the school, and resigned. In an explanatory letter to the Education Secretary he asks him to: arrange with the proper authorities to have the people of Takahiwai assisted by the regular visit of a medical man during the present epidemic of typhoid fever. He complains further that the inactivity of the Doctor, even when advised of very sick patients, 'is not the action of a humane man…I believe the difficulty is more with the local officer than with his Department'..[595]

But when this was put to the Chief Medical Officer he was not sympathetic, advising that it was 'out of the question for us to arrange for a weekly visit of a medical man. Already a considerable amount of money has been spent on this district. I am sorry that there are outbreaks of enteric fever in different parts of the North Island. Mr Malcolm will just have to do what he can for them. I know he has taken a great deal of trouble.[596]

The Chairman of the Otangaroa School Committee applied to the Department in 1915 for a supply of medicines for the children. This led the Education Secretary to ask the teacher whether, before taking any steps in the matter, he felt competent to administer the medicine, there was much sickness in the district and, if so, of what kind, and whether medical help was difficult to get.[597] The teacher replied that he was quite willing to act, there was no sickness in the village at present, but the people were afraid of

[594] Teacher (G. Malcolm) to Secretary, 3 March 1909, BAAA 1001, 551a.
[595] Malcolm to Secretary, 29 March 1909, ibid. MSDB T4-79-80.
[596] Chief Health Officer to Secretary, 15 April 1909. ibid. MSDB T4-83. (Malcolm had already left the school).
[597] Secretary to Teacher, 18 August 1915, BAAA 1001, 417d.MSDB MSDB O6-15.

catching typhoid fever, and medical help was difficult to obtain.[598] Based on a subsequent visit by an Inspector, the Secretary then wrote to the Chief Medical Officer recommending that a 'small supply of simple medicines might be sent to Otangaroa'; no medical help was available, and there had been a good deal of sickness, one typhoid patient having died the day prior to the Inspector's visit.[599]

'With the exception of three, all children ill, committee suggest school be closed for a fortnight' advised the Head of Otangaroa in 1920.[600]

The teacher at Waima's frustration was evident when he wrote to the Secretary for Education in 1898 during a suspected outbreak of typhus that:

> as the Doctor receives payment for attending the Natives, I think in cases like these, I think he should at least supply us with his advice and medicines, if it was not possible to visit the patients personally.[601]

Yet compared with many other school in the Hokianga, Waima was a relatively accessible school on the main road from Kaikohe to Rawene.[602]

Circumstances at the Taiharuru School east of Whangarei in 1896-7 provide a striking illustration of how devastating the effect of illness on Ngāpuhi children and their schooling could be. In October 1896 the teacher, with the support of Eruera Matanga, Chairman of the School Committee, informed the Secretary that Māori were:

> absolutely starving, owing to the failure of last season's potato crop…The supply of potatoes, corn and kumara has run out...They have now nothing whatever to eat in the settlement, nor will they have for another month.. About the beginning of December the early crops will come in, and then there will be an abundance of food. But it is absolutely imperative that everyone who can handle a spade or spear must go to the gumfields for a month or starve outright. The Natives have

[598] Teacher to Secretary, 2 August 1915, ibid. MSDB O6-16.
[599] Secretary to Deputy Chief Medical Officer, 2 November 1915, ibid. MSDB O6-17.
[600] Head teacher to Director, 4 November 1920, ibid. MSDB O6-77.
[601] Teacher to Secretary, 19 September 1898, BAAA 1001, 680a.
[602] Duffy, p.75.

> done their best to feed their children and keep them at school..(but) for the last month they have been living on what they can find in the bush….
> I beg to request the Department to allow me to close school during the month of November, instead of at the right time for the holidays. This would enable the children to earn money for their support until the new crop comes in.[603]

This request was, unusually, agreed to by the Department.

Sickness was still prevalent in the district the following year, the teacher advising that a 'great many' of the children were absent because of it'. Two were suffering from diphtheria and 'others sickening from it… three deaths have taken place amongst the children through Diphtheria' and the people were 'greatly scared'. Only two or three children had been at school the previous week owing to the sickness, the committee had asked him to request the Department's permission to close the school for a short time as they wished to avoid any risk, and the existing building was unfit for the children in their present state of health.[604]

One month later the teacher reported that the weather was bitterly cold and the children were still suffering from influenza, although Diphtheria seemed to be dying out. However Māori remained 'afraid to send their children to school while the present weather continues, as they attribute the sickness to the draughts and unsuitableness of the present school house'.[605] Two weeks later he reported that the children had not yet returned to school and sickness was still very prevalent.[606] The school had now been closed for six weeks.

Pope regarded the role of the teachers as extending beyond the classroom to assist with cases of illness and the maintenance of health.. An example of this was his recommendation to the Department that a request by Mr Danaher, the teacher at

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[603] Hastings to Secretary with supporting signature from Eruera Matanga, 26 October 1896, BAAA 1001, 549a. MSDB T10-28-T10-29.
[604] Hastings to Secretary, 9 July 1897, ibid. MSDB T10-46.Approval was given to close the school for week.
[605] Hastings to Secretary, 4 August 1897. ibid. MSDB T10-49.
[606] Teacher to Secretary, 18 August 1897, ibid.MSDB T10-50-T10-51.

Motukaraka, 'for a 10/- microscope to enable him to show his pupils dirty water' be approved, because he taught 'the laws of health very well and I should be pleased if he could be encouraged by the grant that he asks for'.[607]

Typhoid fever causing several deaths affected attendance at Motukaraka during 1902, resulting in the closed being for seven weeks during October –November 1902.[608] Further deaths affected attendance in February/March 1903, and in June 1904 the Secretary wrote to the teacher expressing his regret:

> to hear of the prevalence of sickness among the Māoris of Motukaraka, and of the injurious affect that it has had on the school attendance. You are doubtless aware that the Department of Justice provides Native School teachers with medicine supplies for the use of the school children, and of adult Natives under certain conditions. If, therefore, you have no suitable remedies in stock, it would be well if you would send in through this Department a requisition for what you require.[609]

In 1907, illness still prevailed at Motukaraka, the teacher requesting 'a more liberal supply of drugs. The usual £2 grant only lasts for part of the year. I am badly in want of scales, thermometer, syringes, and a good enemata pump or syringe'.[610] In 1908, Dr Buck reported to the Chief Medical Officer that he had just returned from Motukaraka where the children were now recovering from influenza and drugs would arrive shortly.[611]

The academic progress of many pupils was, understandably, seriously affected by the amount of sickness. In a report on Motukaraka in 1903 Bird wrote that 'The results are poor. The school has had a hard time during the year. Sickness and death have wrought havoc amongst the people. Reading 'Poor' Arithmetic 'Weak'; English 'Not very good'.[612]

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[607] Pope to Inspector General, 26 September 1893, BAAA 1001, 364b. MSDBM4-153.
[608] Bird to Pope, 4 December 1902, BAAA 1001, 365a. MSDB M4-260-M4-262.
[609] Secretary to Teacher, 14 June 1904. ibid. MSDB M4-295.
[610] Teacher to Secretary, 25 March 1907. ibid. MSDB M4-308.
[611] Buck to Chief Medical Officer, ibid. MSDB M4-311.
[612] Inspection report, 27 April 1903, ibid. MSDBM4-277-M4-279.

On 13 November 1903, the Teacher at Omanaia advised that he had been obliged to close the school because every family was affected by illness.[613]
The school remained closed because of a measles epidemic and influenza, and 'Many of the families have gone to the gumfields taking their children with them, the sickness included…..Owing to their improvidence they are really obliged to go for food'.[614]

In 1906, Bird reported that the Chairman of the Omanaia School Committee, Piri Teira, had requested him to provide assistance with providing food for the children:

> The inquiries I have made here go to show that the people have not sufficient food crops this year and unless they work they will be very hard put to it to support their children…Work is the proper solution and if the Department can do anything in this direction that would be the best plan…Money might be spent with advantage on the road between Omanaia and Rawene.[615]

In this instance the Department acted. As a result of a request from the Education Secretary to the Chief Engineer of Roads, the teacher at Omanaia was advised. that the District Engineer at Auckland had a sum of about £70 available for expenditure on the road between Omanaia and Hokianga Heads, and that he had arranged to put Māori on near Whirinaki. He asked the teacher to advise his Chairman, Piri Teira, of this.[616]
Despite this, in September Piri Teira wrote to the Education Secretary:

> This is to let you know that it is probable that this school will be abandoned this year owing to scarcity of food, if you are well disposed towards, and have a regard for what we say ….then let the Government feed our children for three months.[617]

The experience at the Te Ahu Ahu School provides another example of the impact of illness on one school, with all the implications of this on attendance and the life chances of the pupils. At the beginning of March 1913, the teacher advised the Education Secretary that the school was to be closed on instructions from Dr Gordon and officers

[613] A.Muir to Secretary, 13 November 1903, BAAA 1001, 392b. MSDB O3-87.
[614] Muir to Secretary, 9 December 1903, ibid. MSDB O3-92.
[615] Inspection report, 30 March 1906. ibid. MSDB O3-107-O3-109.
[616] Secretary to Muir, 27 April 1906, ibid. MSDB O3-112.
[617] Piri Teira Chairman to Secretary, 19 September 1906. ibid. MSDB O3-120.

of the Health Department on account of an outbreak of typhoid.[618] The school remained closed until the 17th of April. It closed again for two weeks in July on account of an outbreak of chicken pox. In August the teacher advised the Department that the medical authorities considered it inadvisable to open school 'for some time yet'. On the 2nd of December he advised that since the re-opening of the school in November, the attendance had been very low. In February, the Secretary advised the teacher that 'for epidemic alone the school was closed for 84 days last year', and declines his request to take the first term holidays immediately after school reopen.[619]

The Te Rawhiti School was closed from 18 May 1906 to 6 August 1906 on account of a typhoid epidemic.[620]

2.10 HEALTH DEPARTMENT POLICY AND NATIVE SCHOOLS

An outbreak of fever with the deaths of five children, three from the school, led to the closing of the Omanaia School for one month at the beginning of September 1913.[621] This was part of an epidemic of smallpox and typhoid in the district, as a result of which the Health Department occupied the Omanaia School as a hospital for typhoid patients. The teacher protested at this, recommending to the Secretary of Education that he should also. He pointed out that there was a public hospital at Rawene, some six miles away, or alternate arrangements could have been made to have a camp hospital as had been done on the East Coast and in other places. He felt that permission for the use of schools for hospital purpose in connection with the smallpox epidemic should not apply in cases of all epidemics, otherwise 'the work of the schools will be seriously interfered with. In any case I consider that the Department has a right to be consulted'.[622]

The feeling existed amongst officials in the Education Department that the Health Department too readily looked to the Native schools as places where temporary hospitals

[618] Teacher to Secretary, 4 March 1913, BAAA 1001, 571a.
[619] Ibid.
[620] BAAA 1001, 608e.
[621] Chairman to Secretary, 6 September 1913, BAAA 1001, 393a.
[622] Memorandum from Bird to Secretary, 23 September 1913, ibid. MSDB O3-296.

could be set up when epidemics occurred, rather than exploring other possibilities. They felt that inequity was involved in this respect, and that the schooling of the children was unnecessarily interrupted. It was a concern which was to arise, in a different context, over the temporary housing of troops and the need for temporary hospitals in World War Two, when several Māori primary schools and several of the Māori denominational secondary boarding schools were also taken over, as will be discussed later.

In this instance, Bird drafted a letter for the Secretary to write to the Chief Medical Officer pointing out that the situation at Omanaia was one of several that led to the impression that the Native Schools:

> are not getting fair consideration from the Health Department's agents. In this case not only are the children losing their school time but the teachers must be put in a very unpleasant position. The house and the school are only a few feet apart.[623]

However while this was under consideration, the Omanaia teacher telegrammed the Secretary advising that typhoid had broken out in Waima, Health Department officers wished to congregate all cases at the Omanaia school, and he had personally objected until he heard from the Secretary regarding what was to be done[624]

The Secretary for Education now sent a lengthy letter to the Chief Medical Officer, acknowledging that in the current outbreak:

> the educational interests of the Māori children and the financial interests and the convenience of the teachers of the Native Schools must be subordinated to general considerations of health, and everything has been done to facilitate your work in Māori communities.. But it is being found that in some cases reciprocal considerations for the schools and their staffs is not being shown by your Department. As far as can be seen the closing of the schools has followed no definite principles, in some cases the step appears to have been quite unnecessary, in others it seems to have done more harm than good.

[623] Draft of a suggested letter to the Chief Medical Officer, 23 September 1913, ibid. MSDB O3-295.

> I have referred to you the case in which the Omanaia School has been taken over for hospital purposes in connection with an outbreak of typhoid. Please refer also to my memorandum …in connection with the Papamoa Native School.
>
> At Te Teko the advent of two European contacts in the Māori settlement was followed by the taking of the school for their isolation; a school of 60 children amongst whom there was no sickness at all.
>
> At Matata the Government Native School was ordered to be closed, but close to it there is a mission school attended by an equal number of Māori children that was not interfered with…In the north of Auckland there are a large number of Māori children attending the Public Schools but I have not heard that such stringent measures have been adopted in regard to other than the Native Schools.[625]

The Secretary elaborated on the Department's position in a further letter to the Chief Medical Officer, after receiving a telegram from the District Health Officer. This asked what his objection if any was to the use of Omanaia School as a hospital, as the teacher was refusing to admit any more cases on the grounds that he had no permission from the Department.

He identified several specific objections the Department had to the taking of the Omanaia School for a typhoid hospital. These were (1) That a school should not be used for an emergency of an ordinary kind, that had in every other case been provided for otherwise, and that was likely to make the building dangerous in future and bring it into disfavour with the Māoris (2) That it was treating a Native School in a way that would not be thought of in the case of a public school (3) That the Department was not consulted. He added that although he had no knowledge of what the teacher's action had been, he considered that he was quite justified in protecting against the course that had been followed.[626]

[625] Secretary to Chief Medical Officer, 24 September 1913, ibid.MSDB O3-295.

[626] Secretary to Chief Medical Officer, 27 September 1913, ibid. MSDB O3-302.

In response the Chief Medical Officer expressed regret, pointing out that such epidemics were more or less in existence in Māori settlements throughout the North Island and there was little or no excuse for proceeding in the way complained about.[627] However in a subsequent letter the Secretary expressed his 'regret to find that the Omanaia School is still being occupied for typhoid cases. I was in hopes that you had succeeded in making other arrangements'. [628]

Reporting to the Secretary from Rawene, with a full account of the circumstances surrounding the taking over of the school, Bird concluded that:

> the school was commandeered because it was a Native School. I doubt whether Mr Clendon who is Chairman of the Rawene Public School would have favoured handing over that building for use as a typhoid hospital.[629]Bird to Secretary,

The Education Secretary was not prepared to let the matter rest, writing to the Chief Medical Officer that attendance returns for Native Schools showed that:

> excluding Kaikohe and Omanaia, the following schools were closed on the dates given 'by order of the Health Office and <u>were still closed on the 30th September</u> when the returns were completed and sent in'.
>
> Maraeroa, Ngawha, Orauta and Tautoro closed 14th July
> Poroti " 16th July
> Matapihi " 11th August
> Whangaruru " 25th August
> Otaua " 25th August
> Papamoa, Te Kotukutuku, Maungatapu
> Paeroa "8th September
> Paparore "10 September
>
> From the Inspector of Native Schools who is now travelling in the north, I have received a strong remonstrance against keeping the schools closed when the epidemic either has not appeared or has subsided for a considerable time, and he instances the case of Maraeroa where he says the last sickness occurred two months ago.

[627] Chief Medical Officer to Secretary, 14 October 1913, ibid. MSDB O3-307.
[628] Secretary to Chief Health Officer, 16 October, 1913,ibid. MSDB O3-307.
[629] Bird to Secretary, 14 October 1913, ibid. MSDB O3-308-O3-310.

He points out that several schools closed in July or August had now reopened 'and the Inspector indicates that as far as he can judge there has been no reason for withholding the instruction to reopen in other cases'.[630]

2.11 ATTENDANCE:OTHER FACTORS

Bad weather, combined with difficult access to schools in many places, was another impediment to attendance.

During 1906, the teacher at the Karetu Native School attributed wet weather to the closing of the school on July 16th, August 3rd, 10th, 27th, September 10th, 14th, 17th, 20th and 21st.This drew a reproach from Bird that wet weather was no reason for closing a school, and that if even one pupil turned up the school must remain open.[631] The teacher, Miss Johnson, responded that September had been unusually wet and no children had come, the parents being fearful of serious fever which had broken out at Russell.[632]

The log of the Kaikohe Native School demonstrates similar difficulties.

24 July 1901 heavy rain no school
2 August ditto
8 August ditto
12 October 14 children such bad colds best to close school
17October heavy rain no school
25-26 October There is so much sickness amongst the children that the committee thinks it better to close the school for these days
9 November Prince of Wales Birthday no school
13 November heavy rain no attendance Now that the sickness of the children is well over, the school is suffering from the fact that the Māoris potatoes are exhausted and they are obliged to go to the gum field to earn money to earn money and they take their children with them. Dec 4 There was no school today .The teacher was required at the court as witness in the case of the Tohunga.. This Tohunga business has of course interfered with the attendance at school

[630] Secretary to Chief Health Officer, 16 October 1913, ibid. MSDB O3-307.
[631] B ird for Secretary to Johnson, 12 October 1906,BAAA 1001, 273b.MSDB K2-48.
[632] Johnson to Secretary, 23 October 1906, ibid. MSDB K2-49.

A similar pattern is apparent in 1901, with the school regularly closed on wet days, and now sometimes also by the illness of the teacher, as on 23/24/25 October and 18/19/29 November.[633]

Given that regular and progressive instruction is one of the necessary aspects for progress in many school subjects, the negative effects of these patterns is apparent.

Concern by parents to achieve a more regular attendance at the Kaikohe Native school in 1929 led the Chairman of the School Committee, Wiremu Hongi, to write to Sir Apirana Ngata with a request Māori had made to the Department of Education in several districts previously. This was that it should build a boarding house for the school children at Kaikohe from Monday to the Friday. He pointed out that the parents of most of the children relied on gum digging for a livelihood, but owing to the very low price of gum, they were not able to maintain their families. Under existing conditions, the average school attendance was low, with an average of 125 only being maintained out of a roll 150. It is 'our wish to keep up the full average at this school. We feel that we cannot do this at the present time owing to unemployment and to the fact that most of the parents obtain their living from gum-digging'. He also pointed out that the school examination for the Māori children was held about March/April. But the summer holidays coming before these months contributed to militating against good results ; 'The European schools have their examinations in December. I wish you would give these matters your serious consideration'.[634]

This latter point is an important one. The situation referred to arose only because of the schedule of occasional visits by the inspectors from Wellington, probably the most serious of the limitations of the administrative structural arrangements referred to earlier. The impact on the achievement of the pupils by the arrangement described would have been serious and negative. It would not have been necessary in the decentralized

[633] BAAA 1003 1e
[634] Wiremu Hongi to Sir Apirana Ngata, 28 April 1929, BAAA 1001, 941d. MSDB K1-622-K1-624.

education board system, nor is it likely to have been tolerated by Pakeha parents if it had been implemented.

The Department's response to the suggestion of a boarding house was to decline it, as it always had on previous occasions. The Secretary advised Ngata that in districts where the distance to be travelled to school was very great, children were boarded with friends and the Department paid a boarding allowance at the rate of 5/-per week. In other districts where circumstances warranted the conveyance of children by vehicle, the Government met the expense. With regard to the date of the annual examination, he advised that consideration was being given to the possibility of arranging an alternative.[635]

At times conflict between the Department's policy of Europeanisation and assimilation came into conflict with Māori cultural practice in relation to attendance. The Department's officials, including inspectors, had very limited tolerance for absences caused by hui or tangi, for example, and constantly complained in their reports when this happened. In 1899 the Education Secretary wrote to the Chairman of the Kaikohe Native School Committee expressing his regret that the school had been closed for a week 'upon the occasion of the death of one of the principal chiefs'. He advised him that the view of the Minister of Education was that:

> respect for the dead chief did not require that such a course be adopted… the Minister does not at all object to proper respect being paid to the memory of a leading chief and considers it quite reasonable that the school should be adjourned for a short time as a means of pressing the occasion upon the minds of the children, but he believes that to keep the children away from the school for a whole week is not likely to have the effect desired by the Committee, and can do the children no possible good. [636]

The Chairman, Matiu Kapa, replied that he could not do anything with 'respect to their Māori customs'; while agreeing that they were 'not proper reasons for the interception

[635] Secretary to Ngata, 27 July 1899, BAAA 1001, 363a.MSDB K1-177.
[636] Secretary to Chairman, 20 June 1929, ibid.

of the school work', the parents did follow such practices and the children's attendance was affected because there was nobody left at home to look after them. However after stating that he wanted less absenteeism, he turned the matter back onto the teacher:

> …I think that…the teacher is answerable for their being much non-schooling, for when some go to school on bad days there is no school, the master telling them that their clothes are too damp, and so the children do not go to school when there is a little rain lest they should go for nothing and only be sent away by the master.[637]

Problems of access were a serious impediment to attendance in many northern districts. . In an inspection report on Mangakahia north west of Whangarei in 1880 Pope pointed out that the Mangakahia river was a very dangerous one which frequently flooded. Many of the children had to cross it several times in order to reach the school, The average distance to school was two miles. He also reported a meeting with 40 of the people at which he had spoken about the advantages of education, comparing:

> the Māori and the Pākehā to two horses-the former being likened to one untrained, the latter to a trained horse, and urged the Natives to take advantage of the opportunities afforded them by the Government to put their children on the same footing as the children of Europeans. The Natives were equal to the occasion, Mathew, the Chief, showed that he quite appreciated my comparison by urging that the Māori horse should have a decent stable to live in and a supply of wholesome food. In short, he asked that a hostelry should be erected for the children and that rations of flour, tea and sugar should be given to them.[638]

The records demonstrate that some teachers immediately and frequently advised the Department that prosecution of parents for the non-attendance of their children should be initiated. In some Native schools, a very high prosecution rate resulted. A comparative survey of the prosecution rates of Māori and Pākehā children, and in the Native and Board Schools might be illuminating.

The New Zealand Education Department Form A15 involved a 'Return of Children between the ages of 7 and 14 years on the roll of the …….School who, not being exempted in terms of the Act, and without reasonable excuse within the knowledge of the

[637] Matiu Kapa to Secretary, 4 September 1899. ibid. MSDB K1-178-K1-179.
[638] Inspection report, 1 April 1880, BAAA 1001, 300a.

head teacher, have, for the week ending……..been absent from school as indicated below'.

All of the following examples relate to the Omanaia School, Hokianga

> Failing to send child ….to Omanaia Native School. Convicted and ordered to pay costs 17/-, 29 December 1946.
>
> Fined £1 and costs on the first and £2 and costs on the second, 5 August 1943
>
> Fined and costs, 21 February 1942.
>
> Official report by teacher to Department on pupils 14 June 1945; 5 April 1944; 18 December 1942.
>
> Written warning to parents from Director 11 June 1945; 20 April 1944; 7 January 1943; 16 November 1943.
>
> Proceedings initiated against parent 12 May 1943; 6 July 1943; 19 December 1938.[639]

Maintaining 'the proper average attendance' was described as 'the principal duty' of school committees in the 1880 Native School Code and it was a duty most committees took very seriously indeed, knowing that a decline in attendance could threaten a school's existence.

As was shown earlier, Northern Māori parents went to enormous lengths to get their children into school and keep them there, often having to overcome a range of impediments outside their control to do so. Crown officials should have adopted a much more understanding and sympathetic approach to the many difficulties they experienced,

[639] BAAA 1001, 394c.

rather than the fault finding, blaming of Māori parents and strict judicial approaches that were often adopted.

Dr Hohepa has described the Waima School's first Committee being elected in December 1883, with Hone Mohi Tawhai, who had been elected to Parliament in 1879, as Chairman. The minutes of meetings were kept in Māori, as they were by many other committees. At the first meeting Noa Maihi moved that:

> It is written in the law that is why it is recorded here…if any person or persons remove their children and s/he or they take them with the intention of ending their schooling at the school of Waima. And if that parent or parents went to the Teacher of the school, or to the Committee, to inform or order that their children be released or sent away from this school, or that their children be taken instead to another school…The Teacher and the Committee shall NOT be empowered to assent to the parent or parents of the child or children, in terms of the power of this law.[640]

The mover went on to declare that a child could be removed if the parents paid the Committee five pounds for each child removed, a sum which Hohepa described as exorbitant, considering that it would take a competent gum digger half a week 'with luck' to earn that sum in a month. Subsequently the Committee adopted a policy of fining parents sixpence a day for truancy or lateness. The distance some pupils had to travel to the school or effects of a bad season meant fines accumulated, circumstances eventually leading to what could be called a parent strike or revolt against policies they saw as too draconian.[641]

2.12 SCHOOLING BEYOND THE PRIMARY STAGE

As the first Inspector of the Native schools, Russell believed that St. Stephens and also possibly Te Aute, secularised and brought under the control of the Legislature, should receive the best pupils from the Native primary schools. This would enable the Colony to 'select, cultivate, and ultimately utilize the most promising Native talent, by appointing

[640] P.Hohepa, *Waima*, Waima School Committee, 1981 pp. 20-25.
[641] Ibid.

the best pupils from such superior schools to interpreterships, surveyorships, clerkships, assessorships etc, as they might show themselves competent to fill such offices'.[642]

However he regarded both of these schools and other denominational schools at the time as achieving little more than the government primary schools, but at over ten times the cost. The denominational schools at Three Kings, the North Shore and other localities around Auckland continued in a state of collapse.[643] Russell reported that the master of one Native primary school had been anxious to send his four best pupils to St Stephens, but he had pointed out to him that the standards at his own school were 'more forward'.[644] Nevertheless he drew up a plan for McLean, suggesting that every village school should nominate its best pupils to Te Aute, and the Government should offer scholarships to the value of £10 per annum per student for not more than 30 pupils. This would provide an incentive both to the work of the Native primary schools and gradually 'attach to the Government the most intelligent Māori youths', thereby giving Māori 'tangible proof' of the value of education.[645] But the idea remained in abeyance, McLean advising Russell that it could only be considered after Te Aute resumed full operation and its capabilities as a higher school were firmly established. In the meantime the main task was to concentrate on the progress of the primary schools because on them depended 'the whole fabric' of educational advancement by Māori'.[646]

Russell was not alone in suggesting that some provision needed to be made for education beyond the level of the Native primary schools. It was a matter also raised by some resident magistrates and by Māori. Te Matenga from the Bay of Islands, for example, commented that :

> we have been taught three things-reading, writing and arithmetic. What we want is that education should be progressive, and that schools should be established for

[642] AJHR 1872, F-6, p.6.
[643] AJHR 1873, G-4 p.1.
[644] AJHR 1872, F-6 p.6.
[645] Ibid.
[646] AJHR 1873, G-4A, p.1.

> children of two years up to twenty-one….We want more than these three things to enable our descendants to cope with the Europeans.[647]

The question of providing further education also formed part of the review of Māori education carried out by Habens, the Education Secretary, and Pope in 1880. Habens believed that the experiment of removing Māori children from their families and educating them in boarding schools had proved unsuccessful in relation to the cost and effort involved. He remained convinced that the major effort of the Education Department should continue to be concentrated on developing the Native primary school system.[648]

Pope accepted this viewpoint unreservedly, believing that the primary schools benefited the whole community, whereas the boarding schools dealt only with individuals. Both men agreed, nevertheless, that the most able Māori pupils who passed through the primary schools should be provided with some opportunity for continuing their studies beyond the fourth standard, still the highest standard in most of the primary schools at this time. The 1880 Native School Code signalled that the Government was contemplating drawing up a scholarship scheme with this aim.[649]

The method finally adopted by the Department was to use the denominational boarding schools, and to modify the long -existing arrangement whereby they received capitation grants for Māori pupils. In 1880, there were 101 boys and 98 girls being maintained in this way at the boarding schools, but some stayed up to seven or eight years.[650]

The Secretary for Education announced that:

> By arrangements of which notice was given before the end of the year, the number for this year will be less by about 50, and the term for which a child is admitted will be ordinarily limited to two years. The older

[647] Notes of meetings 19 March 1873, MA 13/15, NA, in Ward, p.267.
[648] AJHR 1880, H-1A, p.21.
[649] AJHR 1880, H-1F, pp.1-7.
[650] AJHR 1881, E-7, p.10.

> boarders are being gradually removed and their places supplied by boys and girls from the village schools who have passed the Fourth Standard of the Native Schools Code with credit. This amounts to the establishment of a simple scheme of scholarships, which there is reason to believe will work satisfactorily. It is intended to admit also a few children from districts that are without schools.[651]

The report went on to state that the 'true use' of the boarding schools was to give 'clever Māori children' the opportunity of pursuing their studies 'somewhat further' than was possible in the primary schools.[652]

Initially, the scholarships were valued at about £18 per annum, and when their two years of study was completed, it was intended that the pupils should always return to their home communities. The reasons underlying this policy were outlined by Pope:

> In no case should the residence of pupils at these institutions be prolonged beyond a couple of years. At the end of such a period they would be educated Māoris, able and probably willing to do much good among their own people to whom they should always return. If an attempt is made to Europeanize them thoroughly, and to separate them from their relatives, the result will probably be that they will eventually become either strong reactionaries or a sort of Pākehā-Māori.[653]

Most of the boarding schools were still, in effect, primary schools, fulfilling the role of 'topping off' the standard four of the Native schools with a further two years of primary education. Even then, progress was often limited. William Williams, Bishop of Waiapu, had founded Hukerere, the Protestant Māori Girls' School at Napier, in 1875, with the aim of providing good Christian wives for the boys of Te Aute. Later, it was incorporated into the Te Aute Trust estate by the *Hukerere Native Girls' School Act 1892,* which provided for part of the endowment income Te Aute received to also maintain it. But In

[651] Ibid., p.1.
[652] Ibid., p.11.
[653] Ibid.

1881, out of 20 government scholars attending, only one passed Standard 1V, the highest standard reached.[654]

By the end of 1886, there were 75 pupils on Government scholarships at the boarding schools - 27 boys at St Stephen's, Parnell, ten boys at Te Aute, Hawke's Bay, 20 girls at Hukerere, Napier, 17 girls at St Joseph's, Napier, one girl at St Mary's, Ponsonby, together with 87 pupils not supported by the Government.[655]

The Department's report for that year noted that most of these pupils had come from the Native primary schools having passed the Fourth Standard.[656] Whenever Crown policy and practice for Māori at the post-primary secondary level was being discussed or implemented by the Education Department, at least until 1940, it was these private Māori denominational boarding schools which were the focus.

Several pupils from Native primary schools in the North began to be selected for scholarships under the scheme. In an inspection report on Motukaraka in 1885, Pope reported that two boys had returned to St Stephens after the holidays, the reason given being that they had been prevented by the St Stephen's authorities from attending service at the Catholic Church. The people said they were :

> ready and anxious to send them where they may get the benefits offered by the Government, but do not wish to place them where they cannot follow the observance of their own religion. I recommended that enquiries be made as to the present condition of (not decipherable) with a view to sending the boys there if it is likely that the institution is in a condition to fulfil the Department's requirements.[657]

'This is an application of mine requesting you to extend the scholarship of my girls who are at St Josephs Convent Napier to three years,' wrote Nui Hare to the Minister in

[654] AJHR 1882, E-2, p.3.
[655] AJHR 1887,E-2,p.7.
[656] Ibid.
[657] Inspection Report, 27 May 1885, BAAA 1001, 364a.MSDB M4-61-M4-62.

1893, so that 'they may acquire knowledge which they cannot obtain in two years'.[658] 'Susan and Ellen Hare. Entered August 1891. Susan passed the first year exam in November last. Ellen has failed to pass. Their scholarships have expired.[659] 'I recommend reply to the effect that the Government cannot continue to pay the fees; but that he may be able to make some arrangement with the school authorities'.[660]

'Further to your telegram George Pou accepts the offer of scholarship at St Stephens'.[661]

'On the 15th May 1886 Matilda Ngapua Passed the 1V Standard ….and her parents have requested me to for authority to send her Hukarere in the event of the application being approved…they propose sending her at the end ff March next'.[662]

'Capt Mitchell Kaikohe School writes me that the friends of Aneta Pou, she having passed the IV Standard, wish to send her to Hukarere. Capt Mitchell also wishes to know what quantity of wearing apparel she will require, for what period she will be allowed to remain at Hukarere, and what arrangements, if any, are made for the girls visiting their homes at midsummer.[663]

The Te Rawhiti School log book recorded :

20 May,1926. Charlie Kanapu will receive consideration for admission to St Stephen's College at next allocation of Scholarships'.[664]

31 January,1927. School reopened today. Charlie Kanapu…who gained a scholarship at St Stephens absent at Ratana Pa. No knowing when he will return. Scholarship probably forfeited.

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[658] Nui Hare to Minister, 17 July 1893. ibid.
[659] Kirk to Secretary, 8 August 1893, ibid.
[660] Kirk to Secretary, 8 August 1893. ibid.
[661] Teacher Kaikohe to Secretary, 2 July 1885, BAAA 1001, 262a.MSDB K1-113.
[662] Teacher Kaikohe to Secretary, 11 February 1888, ibid. MSDB K1-130.Pope's hand written note to Habens suggested that 'this girl should be sent at once so that the present years work may be as complete as possible'.
[663] District Superintendent to Secretary, 28 March 1887. ibid.
[664] BAAA 1003,7m.

9 February 1927. Telegram from Department asking if Charlie Kanapu has definitely declined scholarship.

2 April. One girl Taka ? Hakaraia withdrawn having obtained a vacancy at Victoria College in Auckland.

8 April. George Hakaraia who gained his Proficiency and applied for a Scholarship at St Stephens left school today without waiting for a vacancy at the College. Dept advised to cancel scholarship.

13 February, 1930. Department advises that the 2 Scholarships awarded boys from Te Rawhiti School have been declined.

2.13 PRACTICAL EDUCATION AND FURTHER EDUCATION

The schooling of those Northern Māori children who did enter the denominational boarding schools was to be affected by the Crown's views about the kind of education most appropriate for Māori. One common 19c view was that certain people or groups, including non-European races and women, were not suited to too much mental exertion, particularly of an academic kind, and were more suited to practical activities. Influential Europeans, like Truby King, for example, believed that too much mental work drained girls of the strength they needed for motherhood, and this led him to oppose advanced education for women.[665]

Ideas of a different but related kind permeated and dominated the attitudes and policies of European officials responsible for Māori education at both the primary and secondary levels until at least the 1940s. They particularly affected the Māori as a race, whereas it was mainly the working class component of the Pākehā population which was affected by them. They proved to be enormously detrimental to the possibilities of Māori entering

[665] Ruth Fry 'The Curriculum and Girls' Secondary Education 188O-1925'in Sue Middleton, ed., *Women and Education in Aotearoa*, Wellington, 1988, pp.32-35.

further education, and limited the opportunities of those who did enter it, with all the negative influence this had for future life chances.

Northern Māori were to be affected by these attitudes and policies held by officials, inspectors and teachers, as were all other Māori. Some specific examples from the records of the schools Ngāpuhi children attended, are referred to below.

In July 1901 the teacher at the Omanaia Native School informed the Department that his pupils had been doing home-work involving staying at school for some time after normal school closing time. He reported that this was being done with enthusiasm and on a voluntary basis, and asked the Department if it could supply any old books for the purpose.[666] Pope was less than enthusiastic. He informed the Secretary that while Cotton's industry was 'of course very creditable to him, school hours were originally limited to four lest the school-work should have an injurious effect on the unaccustomed young Māoris'.[667] Pope then suggested to the teacher that if he wanted to conduct out of school activity it would be preferable to 'take carpentering or other hand and eye work rather than book works'.[668]

In an inspection report in April 1905 Bird noted that:

> Good work continues to be done in the workshop which has a class of eight. The difficulty is however to get the children to attend for instruction at 9am, when the master takes woodwork giving five hours per week. It is much to be regretted that this lack of appreciation is so manifest. I have today spoken to Hauraki the Chairman and told him that if there were not some improvement I should recommend that the workshop be removed to Waima……Of course were woodwork taken in school hours the difficulty would be overcome, but it cannot be taken after hours as the boys and parents object.[669]

The pupils were expected to begin school at 10 am, hence the Inspector's comment regarding attending for woodwork class at 9 am which was one hour before the official

[666] Teacher(A.H.Cotton) to Secretary, 2 July 1901, 392a. MSDB O3-60-O3-61.
[667] Pope to Secretary, 12 July 1901, ibid.
[668] Draft of letter n.d. ibid.
[669] Inspection report, Omanaia, 17 April 1905, BAAA 1001, 392b.MSDB O3-95-O3-96.

start time. The enthusiasm of Education Department and officials for practical work with the hands was particularly noticeable in their reports on the Native schools, although it was not limited to those. But it was not always welcomed by Māori parents, who believed they were sending their children to school to learn the more traditional academic school subjects.

Extremely limited opportunities for the overwhelming majority of Māori primary school leavers to proceed to a secondary school continued, with many Māori recognizing that places at the Māori denominational boarding schools, whether private or by way of scholarship, were totally inadequate to meet the need. There was a hunger among many for an education beyond Standard 4, still the highest class in many of the Native schools.

The Chair of the Kaikohe Native School Committee and others petitioned the Department in 1894 to have one of the schools constituted a higher school, to which children who had passed the Fourth Standard could be sent. But they acknowledged that there might be difficulties in accommodating the children if they enrolled at such a school ;'who would feed my son while at Waimamaku and who would look after them'?' and it might therefore be preferable to have the classes at the different schools range up to the 5th,6th or 7th Standards.[670]

In 1905, the member of Parliament for Northern Māori, Hone Heke, urged the Government to establish 'strong technical schools' near all the main centres of Māori population, with boarding facilities attached, as at Te Aute and St.Stephens.[671]

In 1929 the Minister of Education advised the Director of Education that Captain Rushworth M.P had interviewed him and urged that provision be made for secondary instruction with an agricultural bias at the Kaikohe Native School, where there were 160

[670] M, Kapa to Secretary, 24 July 1894, 262b. MSDB K1-160-K1-163.
[671] NZPD 1905, 134, p.128.

children on the roll. He had stated that at present boys were required to proceed to St Stephens or Te Aute College.[672]

Inspector Porteous's advice to the Director demonstrated low expectations for Māori students, a stereotypical view of Māori ability, and a very non-active approach as far as the need for further education for Māori pupils was concerned:

> The comparatively few boys who go to St Stephens do so optionally. Quite a number of lads from this school, particularly, get positions as cleaners in railway engine sheds, and eventually become firemen and engine drivers. Others get positions as railway porters.
> The school has a roll number of between 150 and 160, and it is seldom that S6 will comprise 10 pupils; and these pupils as in all Native Schools appear to have as much as they can do to grapple with the English language, and to reach the standard of the proficiency certificate…..
> The suggestion that the Kaikohe Native School should be made a secondary school does not appear a feasible one. Kaikohe however might be considered in the future as a centre for a Junior High School for Māori boys and girls from the districts around, and there is no doubt it would be possible to stress agriculture for the boys and domestic training for the girls. As a matter of fact however the Māoris around Kaikohe do not appear to have any large areas of land, and much of what they have is gum country.[673]

Most of the boarding schools continued for some time to be little more than primary schools with a practical orientation, but during the 1880s one of them in particular, Te Aute, began to stand out for the academic results being achieved by its students. The reasons for this lay in the philosophy of its headmaster John Thornton, supported by the Chairman of the Board of Trustees, Archdeacon Williams, and the natural aptitudes of many of its students.

Thornton believed that Māori were as intellectually capable as Pākehā of attaining the highest academic educational level possible. He saw his responsibility as Headmaster as being both to encourage them to do so, and put in place the practical means for them to do so. In this, Thornton's philosophy is best described in his own words:

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[672] Atmore to Director, 9 July 1929, BAAA 1001, 941d. MSDB K1-628.
[673] Porteous to Director, 3 August 1929, ibid. mSDB K1-629-K1-631.

> I tried from the very first to raise the standard of the school and a few years later I conceived the idea of preparing Māori boys for the matriculation examination of the New Zealand University. What led me to this idea was that I felt the Māori should not be shut out from any chance of competing with English boys in the matter of higher education. I saw that the time would come, when the Māoris would wish to have their own doctors, their own lawyers, and their own clergymen, and I felt it was only just to the race to provide facilities for their doing so.[674]

As early as 1882, Pope was describing Te Aute as a 'good secondary school', providing education of a 'superior kind'.[675] The questions set for the examination (of history, geography, English, mathematics and elementary science) were described as the equivalent of those set for an 'advanced class in a European grammar school', and of a kind that could not have been dealt with by mere cramming. No paper had been sent in by any boys in the senior class that was less than respectable, and answers given to the science paper on Huxley's "Introduction to Physics" were 'remarkably good', demonstrating that the pupils had thoroughly mastered the work.

In 1883, Pope described the work being done by the pupils in mathematics and science as being of such quality that it would do credit to any secondary school.[676] By 1890, several candidates each year were sent up for matriculation, Thornton explaining that 'the fact that our standard is the matriculation examination of the University of New Zealand defines the curriculum to a very great extent. Everything leads up to that.'[677]

This next section discusses the reaction of the Crown's education officials to these developments, and their views regarding the most appropriate kind of education that the denominational boarding schools Ngāpuhi children were sent to should offer.

Reservations amongst Education Department officials about the academic emphasis described were soon apparent. In 1886, W. J.Habens, the Inspector-General of Schools,

[674] AJHR 1906, G-5,p.32.
[675] AJHR 1882, E-2,p.3.
[676] AJHR 1883, E-2,p.12.
[677] AJHR 1892, E-2,p.12 and AJHR 1906, G-5,p.12.

asked Pope to 'question the utility of a little Latin for these boys' and to report on 'handicraft exercises'.[678] In his report for that year Pope noted that the 'highest part of the work of this school has been abandoned- most judiciously I think. There is now no matriculation class'.[679] He acknowledged that the school had demonstrated that it could prepare boys for matriculation, but described this as being at the cost of making the rest of the school weaker. Boys were still doing good work in 'higher' English, algebra, euclid, elementary physiology and elementary physics. but it was 'not advisable to ask for more, or to expect more'. Aspects of the work he did find pleasing had been described in the last report by his fellow inspector, H.Kirk, and had reflected a greater emphasis on practical activity including 'careful instruction in the use of carpenters' tools'.[680]

However the matriculation class was resumed in the following and subsequent years. No reason is given for this temporary abandonment, but given Thornton's philosophy it seems likely that Departmental pressure probably played a part, an opening shot, perhaps, of what was to develop into a consistent campaign to try and force all the denominational colleges to follow a practical rather than academic curriculum. In 1888, each pupil had his own garden and some furniture was being made in the school workshop, but carpentry work lapsed when the instructor left.[681] In 1897, Pope wrote to Habens that he had informed Williams and Thornton that the Te Aute estate was 'eminently fitted to be the site of an institution at which Māori boys could be taught agriculture, market gardening, stock farming, poultry keeping and bacon curing'; but 'all the resources of the of the estate were being diverted to literary work'.[682]

Yet in his 1898 report on the school he was back to acknowledging its academic achievements, describing the work the senior form was attempting as equal to that in the top form at Wellington College.[683] Sections of the academic syllabus in use for the second highest form in 1898 give some indication of the level of the work which was

[678] Habens to Pope, 25 August, 1886, BAAA 1001.
[679] AJHR 1886, E-2, p.7.
[680] Ibid.
[681] AJHR 1888, E-2,p.8.
[682] Pope to Habens 4 January 1897, BAAA 1001.
[683] AJHR 1898,E-2,p.11.

being attempted: *English literature*: Byron's 'Prisoner of Chillon' and Macaulay's 'Armada' to be learnt by heart; extracts from Scott, for reading only; Macauley's 'Hampden', 11 pages, the text to be learnt by heart; *English Grammar*: Smith's 'Manual of English Grammar', all the syntax, noun, adjective, pronoun, verb, and adverb; *Latin*: English into Latin, Wilkin's Prose Exercises, the 'Eclogae' to the end of Hannibal. About the same standard of difficulty was set in euclid, algebra, arithmetic, physiology, and geography.

Thornton's insistence on providing a matriculation class, his qualities as a teacher and motivator, and the natural abilities of the students, inevitably led to high academic success for many of them. Apirana Ngata's matriculation results in 1890 were so good that Thornton encouraged him to enrol at University, the Makarini Trustees providing a special grant to assist him. He enrolled in papers for Arts and Law degrees, including Latin, Greek, Constitutional History, Political Economy, Mathematics and Geology.[684] Graduating in Law, he became one of Te Aute's most distinguished graduates, but there were many others. Peter Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa) described in his autobiography how Thornton encouraged him to take on the additional subjects necessary for entry to medical school. After graduating, and briefly entering politics as the member for Northern Māori, he went on to a distinguished international career as an anthropologist with honorary degrees from Yale, Rochester, Hawaii and the University of New Zealand, British and Swedish knighthoods, the Huxley medal, the Terry Prize (Yale) and the Hector Medal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.[685] Maui Pomare, after graduating from Otago Medical School, became the first public health officer with special responsibility for Māori health, then entered politics and held office as Minister of Health. There were other medical graduates, including Doctors T.Wirepa and E.P.Ellison and graduates in other fields, too numerous to mention here.

Under Thornton, Te Aute's reputation for academic excellence became so high that the staff at St. Stephen's denominational boarding college for boys encouraged any pupil

[684] Walker, p.65.
[685] Barrington, 1988, p.46.

who showed academic promise to transfer to it. 'Because of Te Aute', the St Stephen's Principal stated in 1906, 'we do not give any boys a secondary education…we are very glad to have Te Aute to send our particularly clever boys to. I think it would be a loss if there were no such place'.[686]

Māori continued to hold their own views on the need for further education, and what kind it should be. At Waima, Hone Mohi, motivated by the isolation his daughter Hilda felt studying away from home at Hukerere, requested Pope that she return home as soon as possible, but also suggested that it was desirable 'that there should be a central High School for the North Auckland district, so that parents might occasionally visit their children and not be entirely cut off from them for two whole years'.[687]

One forum for these was the Te Aute College Students Association, in which Ngata became the 'driving force'.[688] The aims of the Association included fostering education, including promoting higher education, and promoting the employment of young Māori in a range of occupations.

At the first TACSA Conference Apirana Ngata presented a paper giving the view that Māori could, and should, be employed across the full range of occupations.[689] His vision for Māori was optimistic and challenging, providing a striking contrast with that soon to be demonstrated as appropriate for Māori by the Crown's educational officials. He described those entering the professions as 'the advance guard of the Māori reform movement, foremost in the field to point the way forward and upward'. University training for this group was 'almost an absolute necessity'. After giving advice on how students should proceed to graduate in Law, he pointed out that no Māori had yet graduated from the lengthy medical degree. But he was optimistic that a Te Aute student would very soon proceed to Otago, then to Edinburgh or London in that field, 'to show

[686] AJHR 1906, G-5, p.94.
[687] Inspection Report, Waima Native School, 4 June 1885, BAAA 1001, 679d.
[688] Walker, p.74.
[689] The Employment of Māoris After leaving School, ibid, pp.17-21.

others the way'. This was essential, because 'we need Māori doctors and Māori lawyers'. The Church was another profession open to Māori, and satisfactory results had been achieved because the race had entered it longer than either law or medicine. Every year Te Aute sent graduates for training at a theological college and quite a few were already in the field. Teaching, particularly in the Native Schools, was another profession that should be open to well-qualified Māori.

Moving to farming, Ngata said comments were frequently made that Māori boys educated at the Native boarding colleges did not farm, cultivate or improve their own land. But, he claimed, there failure to do so should not surprise anyone given the difficulties in the way with regard to the uncertainty of title of so much of it. However he also drew attention to the growing sheep industry carried on by Ngāti Porou, where the only possible way of farming land held in common had been adopted.

All of the trades were, he suggested, 'within reach of a Māori lad of ordinary intelligence and ability. We can be carpenters, saddlers, tailors, blacksmiths and shopkeepers, if we tried and had training.' He said he knew of a former St. Stephen's boy in Auckland who was a 'first-class tailor, earning about £2.50 a week', and two former St. Stephen's boys in Opotiki who were 'successful blacksmiths'. He believed it was the Government that had assisted these boys to apprenticeships, so he would leave it to the Conference to decide whether an appeal to the Government should be made to establish a system by which boys from the denominational colleges could, immediately on leaving school, be put to learn trades.

He then referred to employment opportunities requiring little education but great physical strength, some of it being of a seasonal nature only, including bush felling, grass seeding, sowing and reaping, sheep shearing, gum digging, mining, as shepherds, carters or general hands on farms, and in road-making and surveying.

Ngata challenged the view, which he said was commonly held amongst some Europeans including Education Department officials, that if Māori youth proceeded to further

education they would become alienated from their own people. Further education was 'the royal road to the professions'; whether such alienation occurred or not depended 'solely on the individual character'.[690]

Thornton continued to press his own views which, as will be shown later, now conflicted sharply with those held by officials within the Education Department. Speaking at a national gathering of Māori council representatives and other persons interested in the welfare of Māori in 1908, he urged equality of educational opportunity for Māori and Pākehā children, pointing out that he had identified a general feeling that Māori youths were good enough to go on the land, or become carpenters but not good enough to become members of the learned professions. Whereas, he maintained that the Māori was in every way the intellectual equal of Europeans, and he moved a motion that:

> Having regard to the fact that Māori should have the same educational advantages and opportunities as Europeans and that it is desirable that Māori youths of approved ability should be encouraged to qualify for the learned professions, this congress is of the opinion that the heads of Māori secondary schools should be urged to select suitable students with a view to their becoming matriculation candidates.[691]

Tau Henare, the member of Parliament for Northern Māori, kept his eyes focused firmly on the Treaty, and the reciprocal obligations contained in it with regard to this issue, during a debate on provisions for the education of Māori children in 1927:

> Whatever is for the good of the European children should also be provided for the Māori children. I cannot help thinking of the clause in the Treaty of Waitangi that the Māori of New Zealand shall be equal with the European; but if you give a better education to the European children, how can the Māori children be equal with them.[692]

[690] Ibid, p.11.
[691] The Māori Congress 1908, op.cit.
[692] NZPD, vol.214, 14 September 1927, p.63.

But changes to senior personnel within the Education Department, linked to changes in thinking about educational policy and practice, and stereotyped views regarding Māori ability and educability were now to have profound and negative implications for the education of Māori, particularly at the post-primary level. By the end of the 19th century, European education officials felt that the education being provided by secondary schools generally was not keeping up with developments overseas. The idea grew that a more practical, vocational education was better suited to the needs of the majority of pupils than the grammar school type of education.

George Hogben became Inspector-General of Schools, and promptly gave notice of his intentions regarding the school curricula. The Education Department's annual report, submitted only a few months after his appointment, expressed views on the importance of manual training, defined as 'the specific training of the hand and eye in conjunction with the brain', and on methods of teaching various subjects. These ideas were contrasted with 'the old bookish methods', and could only have come from Hogben himself.[693]

The report stated that, for the introduction of manual training into the primary and secondary schools to have its full beneficial effect, it should be an organic part of the education, given within the school hours and 'co-ordinated naturally' with the other school subjects. Moreover, the plea for more manual training and technical instruction, and, in general, for the greater use of concrete methods in teaching, was described as having '*a peculiar force in relation to our Native schools*.[694]

Hogben, disappointed with the response of the parents of pupils and staff of the district high schools to the idea that they would become rural community centres for pupils who would remain in the rural areas, turned with enthusiasm to the Māori boarding colleges as suitable laboratories for these ideas. He and the Native school inspectors now devoted considerable determination and effort to establishing at them a particular type of curriculum, one which they hoped would influence the direction of the overwhelming

[693] AJHR 1899, E-1. See the section on 'Manual Training and Technical Instruction'.
[694] Ibid, (Author emphasis)

majority of Māori students into manual and technical occupations in rural areas. The trustees of the boarding colleges were susceptible, because, accepting government scholarships which were important for their economic survival, also meant that they came under departmental inspection, and the Department could have a say in their operation and direction.

The need to 'reform' the courses they were offering was referred to in the Education Department's annual report for the following year, when the teaching of English and manual instruction was emphasized as:

> far more important than the more bookish forms of instruction, which tend to unfit Māori boys and girls for the simple life of the pa, and give them no training that will enable them to perform willingly and intelligently the work that has to be done in connection with their homes. There are very few Māori boys, and, up to the present, no Māori girls, who have become students at the University Colleges, and it seems accordingly a waste of time to teach Latin and other purely academic subjects to those who should be taught in a practical way the principles that underlie agriculture, domestic work, and the other occupations of their future lives. The few who show ability to warrant their being taken for a considerable time away from their own people could, at a far lesser expense, receive at the ordinary secondary schools the training necessary to prepare them for a university career.[695]

Hogben's views, supported by Bird, were particularly relevant to the discussion going on regarding the most appropriate kind of education which should be offered by the Māori boarding schools.

Ngata's views on education and employment were mentioned earlier. Peter Buck agreed with Ngata, at this time, that a steady stream of Te Aute graduates should train as clergymen, enter the universities and the professions, learn trades or find employment in the civil service. Like Ngata, he also

[695] AJHR 1902,E-1,pp.xxi.

believed that whether individuals became alienated from their home community or not would depend entirely on their individual characters.[696]

Such views were supported by Ngāti Porou kaumātua who, in welcoming the formations of the TACSA, had declared that it was the responsibility of the people 'to see that the children shall not stop at the primary level, but be pushed on to the colleges so that they can become tradesmen, artisans, professional men and people who will be able to lead and help'.[697]

However Maui Pomare, after graduating from Otago in medicine, and, no doubt influenced by his work as the first Māori Officer of Health, differed from Ngata and Buck in this respect, and revealed thinking more in line with that of Departmental officials. He advocated curtailment of academic education, particularly for Māori girls, and an increase in the amount of time devoted to practical and technical education that he believed was more suited to the Māori stage of development. A small matriculation class had been started at Hukerere and, in 1903, Pomare criticized Hukerere specifically, but also by implication the curricula of the denominational boarding schools generally, for having become too academically orientated:

> Strike the mothers and you strike the entire rising generation. Educate the mothers to recognize the efficacy of the bathtub, cleanly warm clothes, plain and wholesome food, and you will regenerate the Māori quicker than by teaching the youths and maidens embroidery, Latin and Euclid…You have taught us how to read and write, you have taught us Greek and Latin, you have taught our girls how to couch endearing terms to their lovers, teach us also how to cultivate our lands.[698]

He was by no means alone amongst Māori in advocating that education for many Māori needed to include a practical component. Hone Heke, the Māori

[696] P. Buck, 'The Decline of the Māori Race; its Causes and Remedies', in Report of the Third Conference of the TACSA, 1899, p.4
[697] Report of the First Conference of the TACSA, 1897, pp. 28-30.
[698] AJHR, 1904, H-31, pp.58-59

Member of Parliament for the Tai Tokerau electorate, urged the Government to establish an agricultural and technical college for Māori children to be sent to after finishing primary school.[699]

In the Wairarapa, some members of Ngāti Kahungunu told a 1905 Land Commission that they wanted a more practical type of schooling, to enable them to farm their remaining land effectively, and have young people enter trades. Te Whatahoro Jury suggested that income from all the school trusts within the district should be put towards 'one good school' because, despite decades of education, none of the children were yet engaged in any European trades.[700] More technical and industrial education, 'to teach our children trades so that they may be equipped for the future', was also requested by Hapeta Whakamairu and others.[701]

But, as was demonstrated earlier, leaders like Ngata, Buck and others had never wanted the kind of extreme emphasis on practical education at the secondary level which was now to characterize the Crown's education policy for Māori for at least the next 40 years. Hogben now advocated the introduction of more practical and technical training at Te Aute more forcibly than Habens had earlier, but the Department initially made little headway. In his report for 1902 the Minister of Education complained that difficulties in the way of introducing handwork into the boarding schools had been considerable.[702]

The Department had offered, in 1900, to subsidize the erection of a carpentry work-shop at Te Aute, contribute towards the cost of instructing pupils in carpentry, and increase the number of government scholars from 10 to 15, if the school would provide no fewer than four hours of practical instruction a

[699] NZPD 30 July 1895, .88, p286.
[700] Stirling, p.176.
[701] Ibid.
[702] Barrington and Beaglehole, p.175.

week. The Department was able to exercise some influence on the Trustees of Te Aute and the other boarding colleges because, although independent, a significant number of their students now depended on the government scholarships for their boarding and tuition fees.

But Thornton demurred at four hours a week for all his pupils, and the offer hung. In the meantime, St Stephen's completed its workshop, with the boys doing much of the work of construction under the supervision of an instructor, and it was not long before the school was being commended by the inspectors for its courses in woodwork.[703]

Changes were also being made at Hukerere. During an inspection visit in December 1904, Hogben queried the usefulness of teaching the girls Latin, apparently successfully, because Bird subsequently observed that since Latin and other matriculation subjects had been withdrawn from the timetable, 'English subjects have improved very much, and more time is given to needlework and domestic work of all kinds, and to cooking'.[704]

Hogben adopted a similar approach during the first inspection visit to Queen Victoria in 1903. He was pleased to see that the various branches of domestic work were being taught, but said he regretted that three girls had begun Latin when they were already learning a foreign language, namely English, and also Euclid.[705]

The issues were brought out in a Royal Commission investigation into the Te Aute and Wanganui School Trusts in 1906.

[703] Ibid, p.174.
[704] AJHR, 1906, G-5, p.96.
[705] AJHR, 1904, E-2, p.19.

Report and Evidence of the Royal Commission on the Te Aute and Wanganui School Trusts.[706] As well as enquiring into whether the original purposes of the trusts had been carried out, the Commission was asked to consider whether there was sufficient provision for manual and technical instruction, and whether agricultural classes could be established and practical farming taught. Its members included Ngata, now member for Eastern Māori, and Robert Lee, the experienced Wellington inspector. The witnesses, who provided an illuminating range of contemporary opinion, included Hogben, Buck, Raweti Kohere, Pope, Thornton, and others.

When Hogben gave evidence he was a forceful advocate for 'radical change' at Te Aute. He told the Commission that Hukerere had, at his suggestion, already ceased teaching Latin, and he would also 'right away drop Latin, Euclid, and Algebra out of the Te Aute curriculum altogether'.[707] He proposed an alternative weekly curriculum of six hours of English, one hour each of geography, civics, health and arithmetic (including book-keeping) and drill. Instruction in agriculture and woodwork would occupy eight hours and, because it was 'no use trying to do these manual subjects by halves', both subjects would be compulsory for all boys. . He predicted to the Commissioners that when the plans for agriculture and other practical subjects were fully established, Te Aute would have no role to play in preparing boys for matriculation and higher education; such boys, when identified, should be transferred to secondary schools for European boys.[708]

The argument that a more practical education would encourage and prepare Māori boys to stay in their own home communities was put forward by Bird. 'The whole idea of Māori education' he said, 'was to fit Māoris for life amongst Māoris'. This led to the following exchange between him and the Chairman, Charles Kettle, a District Judge:

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[706] AJHR, 1906, G-5.
[707] Ibid, pp.82-83.
[708] Ibid, p.84.

Kettle: Do I understand you do not want to encourage Māori boys to enter into any employment away from their own people?
Bird: Personally I should discourage it
Kettle: Why?
Bird: Because if you take the best Māoris away from the kaingas and put them into towns, these boys are practically lost to the Māori race. You do not want to train the individual at the expense of the race.[709]

Linked to this emphasis on the purpose of education being for rural residence, another idea emerged from the evidence presented by Departmental officials; schooling for Māori was not to equip them to compete with Europeans for employment in European society. 'I understand you are educating Māori boys and girls for the Māori people only, and not to mingle with Europeans and compete with Europeans in trades and commerce?' Kettle asked Bird, who replied 'That is my opinion'.[710]

However when Hogben was recalled to give further evidence, he distanced himself and the Department from these comments, pointing out that Bird had expressed his own opinion on the matter.[711] But despite this, Bird struck a related theme in his official annual report on Māori education in the same year; the most important feature of any higher education for Māori was, he wrote, manual training, 'such as would fit them to take their places as members of the Māori community'.[712] This view was reinforced by Pope, who presented what he described as a 'biological' approach he attributed to Harry Kirk, the Professor of Biology at Victoria University and himself a former Native school inspector:

> To systematically take the most promising members of a community and train them in a way that will make it almost incumbent on them to desert that community must…leave it somewhat weaker …should this process of

[709] Ibid, p.94.
[710] Ibid.
[711] Ibid., p.99.
[712] AJHR, 1907, E-2, p. 12.

> selection be repeated frequently it would amount to a contrivance for securing the survival…of the more unfit…To deprive the Māori settlements of their best members by giving them scholarships and other inducements to forsake their own people for good would be one of the cruellest and most certain means that could be adopted for making the race as such deteriorate and die out.[713]

Kirk's own evidence represented an amalgam of the above views. When asked whether the intellectual capabilities of Māori were capable of being highly developed, he replied:

> Yes, I think so. When I have said that in my view the Māori should not be made a scholar, it is not because we cannot make a scholar of him. We can: but I think the life he has got to lead will be most useful to his people if we refrain.[714]

According to Kirk, education for Māori should not give them a distaste for the 'Kainga life', or train them to live amongst Europeans, thereby denying their own race their potential as leaders and their mental and moral influence. It was important to train the Māori to 'use his hands intelligently', (but) 'I do not think that should go to the length of making him an artisan'. Some schools ('not exactly secondary schools') were, he said, necessary for Māori pupils beyond the primary stage, but the instruction they provided for the great majority of pupils must not discourage them from returning to live among the Māori people. What was needed was an 'increase in the manual work and in everything that will give the Māori the use of his hands'. Practical farming should be taught:

> so long as it is on strictly limited lines. I think that to teach a Māori boy to farm as a boy would be taught at Lincoln College would be a very great mistake because he would go back to his village to entirely different conditions. With respect to industrial training of Māoris, I think we should endeavour to make the Māori a handy man as far as possible.[715]

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[713] Ibid., p.229.
[714] Ibid, pp.100-102.
[715] Ibid., p.101.

Another reason was put forward for curtailing academic instruction and increasing practical instruction; it was important for Māori to learn virtues associated with the 'dignity of labour' and the character- forming qualities of trade-training. Hogben was a forceful advocate of this view:

> As to the supposed objection on the part of some of the Māori people to technical training, on the ground that manual labour is lacking in dignity. I think that one of the things that is a most important part of our education is to make people recognise the dignity of manual labour'.[716]

A related argument, stated most explicitly in Bird's report on Te Aute in the same year that the Commission sat, was that there was something in Māori nature inherently suited to non-academic activities:

> The natural genius of the Māori in the direction of manual skills and his natural interest in the concrete would appear to furnish the earliest key to the development of his intelligence.[717]

Another criticism, directed in this instance at Te Aute, but also made in relation to secondary education generally, was that while all the students studied for matriculation only a small percentage passed the examination. When Thornton gave evidence, Bird asked him:

> Is it fair that 95 out of 100 Māori youths …should be kept for a year or two learning Euclid, Algebra, Latin and other branches of education that will be of no use whatever to them after they leave school in order that five may receive a superior education in their company?.[718]

Attached, as an Exhibit to the Commission's proceedings, was a quite extensive report by Pope on 'Secondary Education for Māoris'. In this, he declared that 'Now and then a real Māori genius turns up' and, when this occurred, 'no pains should be spared to provide the genius with a sound education and the opportunity to 'do good to his own people as a doctor, lawyer, or teacher of some kind'. However Pope then returned to an earlier

[716] Ibid. p.84.
[717] AJHR ,1907, E-2, p.7.
[718] Royal Commission, 1906, p.42.

theme; with this exception, 'no young Māoris should stay away from their people more than a couple or so years at a time, or long enough to get out of touch with them, and so be able to re-establish or maintain thoroughly friendly relations with them'.[719]

Thornton and Williams mounted a vigorous defence of the existing curriculum, which they saw, justifiably, as being under attack. Thornton described his philosophy to the Commission. This had led him to introduce the matriculation examination so Māori boys would not be shut out from competing with European boys in the matter of higher education, because they would need their own doctors, lawyers and clergymen.[720] Williams told the Commission that 'the English, with all the assistance they got, ought to show a generous spirit and allow the Māoris to have a school for higher education'.[721] Thornton responded to a suggestion by Hogben that the most academically able boys should be sent to other schools; Māori boys, he said, needed to be kept together because they required a particular style of teaching; it was necessary to know the Māori mind, and it was unlikely that the kind of special attention needed would be available to Māori boys in a grammar school.[722] Moreover, attempting to 'graft trade-learning onto scholastic training' would overload already hard-worked boys; he was not opposed to the idea itself, but it should be carried out in separate industrial institutions. Similarly, having an agricultural college such as Lincoln College was desirable, but 'it would be a pity to try and graft it onto this institution'.[723]

When Commissioner Hogg asked Thornton if he thought the higher education the boys were receiving in any way unsuited them for taking up industrial work, or led them to consider it a 'degradation' to work hard at any employment they may be offered, he replied 'not at all'. Many Te Aute graduates were working on their tribal lands, he told Hogg, and although not

[719] Ibid, p.228.
[720] Ibid p.32.
[721] Ibid., p.22.
[722] Ibid., pp.32-43.
[723] Ibid.

many had gone into trades, this was not because they thought them degrading. More should enter trades such as blacksmithing, carpentry, and saddlery, but not many had taken to the idea.[724] To answer the criticism that all the boys took academic courses leading to matriculation, but only a small percentage passed, Thornton drew an analogy with Oxford; hundreds of students went up to the university every year, but only one was a double first, yet, 'you would not say Oxford was a failure because it does not turn out 100 double firsts'.[725] When Williams was asked by Hogg whether he thought educating the Māori boys so well would interfere with them 'doing useful work afterwards', he replied; 'Not in the least…it is the same for most of our race. The educated European will do better work than the uneducated one and it is the same with the Māoris'; the College encouraged boys to enter farming and it was the well-educated boys were much more likely to follow this encouragement.[726]

Thornton, Williams, Hogben and Bird all claimed that their views regarding Te Aute were also those of Māori parents. Thornton and Williams said the academic instruction it provided was what Māori parents wanted; agricultural instruction would be against their wishes because their attitude was, 'we can teach them this (agriculture) ourselves. We send them to you not to be taught what they can learn at home, but to teach them what they cannot get at home'.[727] By contrast, Hogben had claimed in his annual report for 1906, the same year in which the Commission sat, that Māori parents had 'a keen desire' for manual and technical subjects of a kind likely to be most useful to the young Māori; evidence of this could be seen, he claimed, in their support for building workshops attached to the primary schools, and the Department was beginning to find that when boys and girls could obtain a practical training at home 'their parents did not wish them to attend a secondary

[724] Ibid.
[725] Ibid.
[726] Ibid., pp. 32-34.
[727] Ibid., p.25.

school'.[728] Bird reinforced the idea of Māori enthusiasm for the Department's proposals, claiming that the Māori boys at Te Aute favoured the introduction of technical education as much as he did.[729] He said he knew nearly all the Māori in the main areas of Māori population and there had:

> begun a desire on the part of the parents for manual and technical instruction…If, as it has been said, a Māori rangatira comes to a secondary school and finds his child engaged in digging, I think he has a right to object. If you, Mr Chairman, went to a school and found your child engaged in scrubbing the floor, would you not object? But if, on the other hand, you were told that this was part of an organised scheme of instruction in domestic economy and that the instruction was not just menial work, but organised directly towards a definite end…I think you and most parents would say "That is all right, that is what I want my child to learn".[730]

Māori who appeared as witnesses demonstrated a range of views. Some Te Aute old boys, such as Peter Buck and Raweti Kohere, were well aware that denying Te Aute students an opportunity to prepare for the matriculation examination would also deny them access to the universities and professions. Giving evidence on behalf of the Wanganui Branch of the TACSA, Buck said it would be 'loathe to see any lowering of the present intellectual standard…(and) very loathe indeed to see the matriculation class done away with. We should like to see it present'.[731] Kohere told the Commission that as a school where the best Māori intellects could be developed, Te Aute should never be done away with, the most promising boys should go there, and 'be sent to the university'.[732]

These men would have looked askance at what they would have regarded as the extreme views of officials wanting to reduce, if not practically eliminate, the advanced academic subjects. But this did not mean that they were opposed

[728] AJHR, 1906,E-1, p.xxv.
[729] Royal Commission, 1906, p.96.
[730] Ibid,p.94.
[731] Ibid., p.71.
[732] Ibid.

altogether to the introduction of some practical instruction in, for example, agriculture. Indeed they favoured it, because they saw its potential for teaching the skills necessary to assist with the working of remaining Māori land. Buck told the Commission that the Wanganui Branch of the TACSA had also agreed unanimously that 'greater prominence should be given technical education and agriculture' in the Te Aute curriculum, because of the large areas suitable agricultural and pastoral land still under Māori ownership. Buck said his own view was that at the fourth standard a division should be made; boys suited for academic education should enter the matriculation class, whereas those more suited for agriculture or manual labour should go into those classes.[733] Kohere agreed, a department teaching 'high class farming' should be added to the existing academic ones.[734]

Several other Māori called as witnesses also spoke in favour of an increase in the practical instruction at Te Aute. Ihaia Hutana described himself as having grown up at Waipara, and although he was not himself a Te Aute old boy he had often visited the school. He was in favour of a 'technical and industrial 'school being established, because this had been the original promise when the land was given. The school's scope needed to be widened, he said, because too many students were wasting their time and learning nothing, whereas if a technical school had been developed they would have learnt something useful.[735] Paraire Tomoana, a farmer at Hastings and old boy maintained that after leaving he had always maintained that teaching technical education and trades at the school would be the best means of advancing the interests of the Māori people as a whole, and these were aspects he now requested should be taught. [736] Paratene Ngata, Apirana Ngata's father and an assessor at the Native Land Court, expressed the view that his people wanted an 'industrial school' to be established, either at Waiapu, Waerenga-a-hika or Te Aute, to

[733] Ibid., p.106.
[734] Ibid., p.72.
[735] Ibid., p.57.
[736] Ibid., p.62.

teach 'agriculture, poultry-farming, dairy-farming, pig-raising, horticulture and all classes of farm-work'.[737]

Ngata gained considerable satisfaction from sitting on a commission to enquire into his old school, and 'no one knew better than he the importance of Te Aute as a training ground for Māori leaders'.[738] He had had been a regular visitor the school after leaving, maintaining a close in its activities and the progress of the pupils, and in demand as a speaker at school assemblies. Walker describes him as the school's 'friend at court' as a commission member, and it was 'a distasteful experience to have his mentors Williams and Thornton …interrogated on their stewardship of the school'.[739]

William's prediction at the conclusion of the Commission's sitting that an attempt would be made to 'convert the school into a farming establishment' was to have more than a grain of truth in it.[740] The Commission's first recommendation, that Te Aute and sister school Hukarere be maintained as secondary schools for Māori, although not necessarily exclusive of European pupils, was followed by the second and third that:

> (2) Having regard to the circumstances of the Māoris, as owners of considerable areas of suitable agricultural and pastoral land, it is necessary to give prominence in the curriculum to manual and technical instruction in agriculture, and (3) if for financial reasons it becomes necessary to choose between a course including Latin, geometry, and algebra in the higher forms, and scientific and technical subjects, preference be given to the latter.[741]

It seems likely that Ngata had some sympathy for this recommendation. In the same year that the Commission sat, speaking in Parliament in his capacity as member for Eastern Māori, he told the Minister he had a splendid

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[737] Ibid., p.70.
[738] Walker, p.115.
[739] Ibid.
[740] S.Woods, *Samuel Williams of Te Aute,* Christchurch, 1981,p.254.
[741] Royal Commission 1906, pp.iv and v.

opportunity of asking for endowments from Māori for education; he himself had asked the Ureweras to set aside 1 per cent of their 656,.000 acres to endow an agricultural training college for Māori.[742] Reminding the Minister that he had promised to visit the 'backblocks', Ngata said he hoped he would ask Māori tribes everywhere to either set apart land or a portion of their revenue from it:

> to assist the Government in the technical education of the Māoris. Liberal provision had already been made for secondary education, but for technical and agricultural education, further endowments should be made, and this was the time to do it.[743]

In 1907 Ngata was a member of a two man Commission which produced a report on *Native Lands and Native Land Tenure.* One of the recommendations was that 'the primary education of the Māori should have what may be termed an agricultural bias' and a more practical bias should also be encouraged in the secondary schools for Māori where 'an ordinary grammar-course not adapted to the needs of the Māori people' was maintained.[744]

And there were other points made by witnesses in favour of more practical education that he was to subsequently demonstrate some sympathy with, as his own programme for land development accelerated. But, as was shown earlier, Ngata never saw education for Māori as equipping them only for a life on the land, but for the full range of occupations, which was at variance with the views held by Crown education officials.

Reinforced by the Commission's findings, Departmental officials renewed their assault on the Te Aute curriculum with even more vigour. An inspection report in 1909 noted that, while a matriculation class was still being maintained, a new class in practical agriculture that had been added had

[742] NZPD, 1906, 138, p.243.
[743] Ibid.
[744] AJHR, 1907, vol.2, G-1c, p.14.

grown all the vegetables the college required. The inspector viewed the positive effects as twofold: the boys were receiving useful practical training and the Trustees were spared the expense of employing a gardener. However the Department would like to see the work expanded to include 'training in agricultural science suited to the peculiar requirements of Māori boys'.[745] The following year, agriculture was reported as now being included as a subject in the syllabus of instruction; a large vegetable garden had been cultivated, and over two acres planted in potatoes had produced a crop sufficient to supply the College's needs and, as well, 'a ton of potatoes' for the girls at Hukerere.[746] Woodwork classes were also successfully established, the boys making the furniture for the new school at Hukerere that had been rebuilt after a fire in 1910.[747]

Thornton, whose vision for the College remained much different from that of the Department's officials, resisted the pressure for change. An example of this was an acrimonious debate between him and Bird over a boy Bird would have liked to have recommended for Te Aute, but ' His talents lie, of course in the direction of manual labour and agricultural work rather than in literary pursuits and of course, there Te Aute has nothing to offer him'.[748] Thornton resigned due to ill health in 1912 and his successor, the Rev.J.A.McNickle, was to prove 'quite amenable to further developing technical and agricultural instruction' as the Department wished.[749]

Practical activity was already well established at Hukerere, where the girls were taught 'all kinds of domestic work, including cooking washing, and ironing, and to make and mend their own clothes. The elder girls learn dressmaking, to which about five hours per week are devoted, and once a

[745] Inspection Report on Te Aute 10 February, 1909, BAAA, 1001.
[746] Inspection Report Te Aute, 20 December, 1910, BAAA, 1001.
[747] Jenkins and Mathews, pp 121-122.
[748] King, p.158.
[749] Ibid., p.86.

week they attend a cooking class in the town…. [750] Practical activities also increased in the other boarding schools. At St Stephen's, woodwork became a speciality, described in the Department's annual report for 1911 as an endeavour 'to direct the mind of boys towards industrial pursuits'.[751] Elementary agriculture was also taught, although the limited extent of the school's grounds placed restrictions on what could be done.

Bird's reports increasingly expressed his satisfaction with developments in the boarding schools. By 1906 six University scholarships were being offered, of the kind that had assisted men like Ngata and Buck to proceed to University. But in his 1909 report to the Minister, Bird pointed out that the Department had 'decided that the scheme should remain in abeyance'. He described the girls' schools as having reached a high stage of efficiency in their provision of a sound practical education. For the boys he acknowledged that nobody would deny that the Māori boy should have access 'to the highest degree of education for which it was possible for him to attain,' but few would assert that such education was necessary or even desirable for everyone and, '*in our opinion, Māori boys and girls would be better occupied in learning something of the dignity of labour'*.[752]

Education for the Māori as for the European should be to fit him for his work in life and it would be:

> Of greater service for them to know the principles and practice of agriculture, the elements of dairy farming, wool classing, and the management of stock, than the declension of Latin nouns and verbs.[753]

By 1913 Bird reported that all the boarding schools were making provision for practical vocational training in some form or other, and a number of boys

[750] AJHR, 1906, G-5, pp.iv-vi.
[751] AJHR, 1911, E-3, p.10.
[752] AJHR,1909, E-3, p.9. (author emphasis).
[753] Ibid.

had succeeded in passing the Civil Service Junior Examination, subsequently gaining cadetships in a branch of Government. However the 'number of suitable openings in the Public Service for the most promising Māori boys is comparatively limited, and we should much prefer to see them choosing other occupations than that of clerks'. Moreover:

> In none of the secondary Māori schools at the present time is there any attempt or desire to give what is usually understood by a "college" education. Generally speaking, the girls schools afford further training in English subjects and in various branches of domestic duties - cooking, sewing and dressmaking, housewifery, nursing and hygiene; the boys schools in English and manual training - woodwork, elementary practical agriculture and kindred subjects *and that is all* (Author emphasis).[754]

Two years later these comments were repeated with the added emphasis that:

> So far as the Department is concerned, there is no encouragement given to boys who wish to enter the learned professions (Author emphasis).[755]

The education of Māori girls was primarily directed towards making them what the officials regarded as good mothers and housewives in European terms. In the girls' colleges domestic subjects consequently formed an important part of the curriculum, and, in 1915, Bird observed that:

> Greater provision is made for these subjects in some of the schools than in others; and we should like to see even more time devoted to these important branches, especially in the case of girls who have already a certificate of proficiency or competency, beyond which there is, in our opinion, no need for them to go. (author emphasis).[756]

Departmental officials were not alone in advocating a limited and narrow focus for Māori education at this time. Māori were generally 'not fitted to the various professions' the Rev. M.V.Butterfield, Principal of the Waerenga-a-

[754] AJHR, 1913, E-3, p.9.
[755] AJHR, 1915, E-3,p.10.
[756] Ibid.

hika Māori boarding school near Gisborne, told the 14th Conference of the TACSA in 1910. Approximately '999 out of 1000' could not, in his view:

> bear the strain of higher education. In commerce, the Māori could not hope to compete with the pakeha. In trades, the Māoris were splendid copyists, but not originators. As carpenters they could cope under a capable instructor but not otherwise. Agriculture was the one calling suitable for Māoris, the only difficulty here being the natural aversion of boys to work on the soil. It was therefore necessary to teach them the "nobility of labour".[757]

The Native School Teachers' Association passed a resolution at their 1920 Annual Conference calling for the Department to provide vocational training for Māori. It was forwarded to the Director of Education by the Secretary, Henry Vine, accompanied by a letter suggesting that the time was quickly approaching when the Department should have total control of all secondary schools which Māori scholarship pupils from the primary schools were sent to and:

> The teachers were of the opinion that after leaving the village school the pupils should, as far as possible, be drafted into vocational schools or schools where their training, apart from English language should be mainly technical, where boys should be taught mainly in connection with their lands, and the girls should be made capable housewives.[758]

Some other Māori also continued to advocate for an increase in practical training. From 1919 Northland Māori advocated for the establishment of an agricultural college at the Bay of Islands for the boys of Te Aupōuri, Te Rarawa, Ngāpuhi, and Ngāti Whātua, and the member for Northern Māori, T.Henare, requested this in Parliament in 1922.[759]

But the Department's aim was much broader and specific than individual requests of this kind. It was to channel the educational and occupational future

[757] Proceedings, 14th the Conference of the TACSA, 1910, p.10.
[758] *Te Waka Māori,* 1920, vol.6., no. 7, p.16.
[759] See NZPD, 22 October, 1919, 185, p.714 and NZPD 11 August 1922, 196, p.25. See also Hercock.

of the great majority of Māori students in a specific direction towards practical activities. This aim was significantly reinforced in the eligibility requirements for the scholarships available for selected pupils from Native primary schools to proceed to a denominational college. The 1909 revision of the *Regulations Relating to Native Schools* gave emphasis to the more practical type of syllabus now required. Department of Education, Wellington, These regulations included two new developments: the Māori language, so rigidly excluded from the primary schools, could now be studied as an optional subject in the syllabus for boys only, and senior scholarships allowing for further study beyond the initial two years, were now restricted to industrial scholarships or apprenticeships, available only to boys who wished to be apprenticed to a trade or related practical activity.

A further revision was made in the 1914 Education Act.[760] Applicants for junior scholarships were required to have obtained primary school certificates of proficiency or competency, and would receive instruction for two further years in the following subjects:

Boys	**Girls**
English	English
Arithmetic	Arithmetic
Military drill	Physical drill
Elementary practical agriculture	Domestic science
Woodwork	Singing
Singing	

And in at least one of the following

Boys	**Girls**

[760] The *Education Act, 1914*, Regulations Relating to Native Schools, p.42.

Māori	
Drawing (one or more branches)	Physiology
Elementary mathematics	Geography
Elementary physical measurements	Drawing (one or more branches)
Geography	
English History	
Physiology	

The programme was to be arranged so that the best qualified scholarship holders could reach the standard indicated by the Public Service Examination. In woodwork, 'any suitable course' would be accepted as long as it was directed to the end of giving the pupils a knowledge of principles and practice 'as will be of use to them as Māoris'.[761]

A 'limited number' of scholarships were also provided for Māori students attending other than Native schools, each of the annual value of £20, and tenable at 'a higher school approved by the Minister.' Applicants would need to have a certificate of proficiency, and have no secondary or district high school that, without living away from home, they could reasonably be expected to attend.[762] The Minister of Education's report for 1920 re-stated that the purpose of the scholarships, the 'great majority' of which were held by former pupils of Native schools, was 'to secure such industrial training as is considered desirable in the case of Māoris; the boys learn agriculture and woodwork, and the girls take a domestic course'.[763]

[761] Ibid., p.42.
[762] Ibid.
[763] AJHR.1920, E-2, p.28.

After 1906 Bird's reports on Te Aute were full of optimism about new directions. But later reports reflected a more realistic and depressing evaluation of the progress being made from the Department's perspective. The difficulty for the Department was that practical courses of the kind they favoured proved no more popular with Māori parents and their children than they had with Pākehā. John Porteous, now Senior Inspector of Native schools, reported it as a matter for regret that a large number of boys at Te Aute did not take the agriculture course, which was likely to be of more benefit to the majority of them, and that 'the tendency to prefer the more academic type of education is to be deplored'.[764] The Director of Education, J. Caughley, wrote to the trustees in 1925 reminding them that following Loten's appointment it had been anticipated that the curriculum would show a 'distinct bias in favour of agriculture and kindred subjects'. But only 13 students had enrolled in the agricultural course for the year, as against 33 prospective matriculation students. The Department's view was that it would be more desirable if the numbers were reversed.[765]

Part of the problem for the Department lay in the number of private students at the college during these years, which limited the amount of influence it could exercise. But the greatest impediment appears to have been the lack of appeal of the agricultural course. As Loten remarked to the Minister of Education in 1930, 'a Māori parent is exactly the same as a European…when I suggest an agricultural course they want their boy to take matriculation'.[766]

In 1907 Waerenga-a-Hika, the Māori boarding school near Gisborne, introduced a secondary school curriculum that was recognized by the Department. Five scholarships were provided for the school on the assumption that it would offer training in agriculture and woodwork, but satisfactory

[764] AJHR, 1925,E-3, p.6.
[765] Caughley to Secretary, 28 July, E 37/24/12. NA.
[766] Report of an interview between Loten and Hon.H.Atmore, 27 November, 1930, Barrington and Beaglehole, p 190.

woodwork instructors proved hard to find. The Principal advised Porteous in 1914 that some parents were unhappy about the boys doing 'all the digging and general cultivation required to supply fodder for the cattle, vegetables and fruit'.[767] As a result the school had reverted to an entirely academic curriculum which meant pupils were disqualified from receiving scholarships. The Acting Director Education, W.J.Anderson, responded that the school should not be aiming at achieving the matriculation standard because industrial training was more 'suited to the Māori genius'.[768]

In the twenties the St. Stephen's trustees began exploring the possibility of moving the school, situated in Parnell in the heart of Auckland city, to a more rural location which would enable agricultural education to be undertaken more effectively. However the Headmaster, A. Wilson, opposed the move. In November 1925 he advised the Trustees that emphasizing agricultural training for Māori appeared to be based on the idea that most Māori had some land, and such training was therefore needed to help them develop it. [769] But presenting a perspective a perspective ahead of his time, he pointed out that the remaining available land would not support the employment of all Māori in the future. Moreover, he advised the Board, 'they do not want every son trained to be a farmer; many of them do not desire any such training.' Instead, they wanted their sons to be taught to read, write and speak English, and other useful skills, and would 'teach them farming themselves'.[770]

Throughout this period the work at Queen Victoria School for Māori Girls, located in Parnell, was consistently praised by the Department's inspectors, with its curriculum approved as suitable for scholarship holders. However it remained for some years essentially a somewhat advanced primary school. In 1915 45 students were enrolled, 25 being scholarship pupils, and the highest classes were Standards 5 and 6. Four students gained proficiency and 9 Competency Certificates in that year.[771]

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[767] Murton, p.464.
[768] Ibid. p. 465.
[769] Old, pp. 75-79.
[770] Ibid.
[771] Bird and Porteous, Inspection Report on Queen Victoria School, 7 December, 1915. Queen Victoria School for Girls 1915-1939. E 3 Acc 1939, 1A. NA.

By 1917 a Standard 7 (or Form 3) had been added, and this was still the highest class in 1926 when in addition to 'the ordinary necessary subjects', a practical training which the inspectors considered would be of direct benefit to the girls when they returned home was also provided.[772] Prominence was given to 'housecraft', including cooking, sewing and dressmaking, first aid, home nursing and hygiene. In 1927 Std 7 was described as the Public Service Entrance Class, and in 1929 a Form 4 had been added to become the highest class in the school. [773]

The determination of Departmental officials to direct the main instruction at the denominational colleges in directions they preferred persisted. After Loten's appointment as Headmaster the Te Aute's Board's Secretary sought the Department's view in 1923 regarding the steps necessary for it to gain formal registration as a secondary school. The Director of Education, J.Caughley, was not encouraging. Te Aute would again need to provide courses up to matriculation standard and staffing and equipment levels equal to those in state secondary schools. But it might not be in the best interests of the government scholars:

> If the College should be led…to follow the curriculum and the ideals of the more academic high schools and to neglect the more practical and vocational courses followed at present then …registration may be considered as "detrimental" to the College.[774]

Loten was warned that if courses were provided for scholarship holders that the Department regarded as unsuitable, government payments for them might cease.

[772] Porteous to Director of Education, 22 December, 1926. ibid.
[773] G.Henderson to Director, 9 December, 1929, ibid.
[774] Director of Education to Secretary, Te Aute Trust Board, 17 December, 1923, E. 14/5/17. NA.

Two year later, in July 1925, the Director advised the Board that too many students were taking the academic course at the expense of the agricultural one. The Department 'emphatically of the opinion that for the very great majority of lads …a course with a distinctly vocational bias, rather than an academic course, is entirely in their interests'.[775] Loten was requested to 'firmly repress the Māori lads' preference for the academic course', and advised that only in exceptional cases would Government scholars be permitted to take Latin, a subject that remained necessary for matriculation.[776]

However Loten and the Board continued to maintain an academic course at Te Aute despite official disapproval, while simultaneously further developing agricultural instruction. Loten's description of the 4th Form agriculture class at work on the school farm in 1929 gave an idea of what the latter involved:

> The boy's work and look after the team, plough, cultivate, sow and harvest such crops as are grown on the farm. They do the haymaking and build the stacks. We supply ourselves with meat - the boys do the killing and the dressing of the sheep and cattle. They plant, cultivate and harvest the potatoes. The boys also do the milking and separating…each boy in the Agricultural form spends ten hours on the farm per week out of school time.[777]

Inspector, G.M.Henderson reported in 1927 that most pupils in Form 6 were sitting for matriculation; they were 'a good class and should do well in the examination'.[778] He described the agriculture class, ('Form 4 Remove,') as having done well in written tests in composition, agriculture and arithmetic, and an oral one in dairy farming and literature, particularly since half of their time was devoted to practical work on the farm and in the laboratory. Henderson's comments reflected the Department's views, and also the link the

[775] Director to Secretary, 28 July, 125. MA 51/29/1/ . NA. King, p.88.
[776] Ibid.
[777] Inspection Report on Te Aute, 1929, pp2-3. E 37/24/27. NA.
[778] Henderson to Director of Education 14 December, 1927 Native Schools Private - Te Aute 1927-1940. E3 Acc 1940/1A, NA.

inspectors often made between practical work and the formation of superior character traits:

> This class is the one that is doing the most useful work for Māori boys, as it is work that will be of direct use to them in their after life. The experience of the Head teacher also shows that the type of boy produced by this course is stronger in force of character and common sense than those who have been through the literary course.[779]

The following year Henderson described the agricultural form, with 24 boys enrolled, as 'the largest and most important form in the school'. Statistics collected by the Headmaster suggested that the majority of boys entered farming when they left, and his teaching of the form was regarded by Henderson as a matter for satisfaction because it was 'proper that this branch of the school should receive the most skilled attention' Henderson to Director, 19 December, 1928.[780]

However a newcomer to the Native school inspectorate, D.G. G.Ball, was much less impressed with this course in 1929. He reported that:

> Too little experiment has been introduced with the outside work. The boys…work more at the level of farm hands than of students…There has been no recording of work done by the boys in note books…Furthermore, the inside work is not correlated, more than superficially, to the outside work.[781]

In the period up to 1930 Departmental officials had obviously done their best to channel as many Māori students as possible in the educational and occupational direction they thought desirable, mainly by exercising their control over scholarship policy and right of inspection of the boarding schools. And they had undoubtedly achieved some success, although not as

[779] Ibid.
[780] Ibid.
[781] Ball to Director 9 December, 1929. ibid. See also King, p.89.

much as they wished, mainly because the parents of private students insisted on an academic course leading to matriculation being maintained.

Nevertheless, the mind set of the officials and the policies they encouraged, transmitted to Teachers in both the primary schools and denominational boarding schools, had potential and actual consequences for many Māori which were serious and detrimental, because of the role education was increasingly playing in determining social mobility and occupational destination. Education of a practical kind had also been advocated for more Pākehā pupils after 1900, but such advocacy had never been directed at virtually all Pākehā, as appeared to be the case for Māori. Fairburn has argued that 'After the late 1880's, from proficiency to matriculation, the function of the school in an increasingly urbanised bureaucratic society was to act as a social filter, determining the composition of a new middle class, deciding who would enter the white-collar professional occupations and who would not'.[782]

It is in this context that Hogben's claim that arguments in favour of manual and technical instruction had a 'peculiar force' in relation to Māori students, and subsequent official Departmental attitudes consistently advocating this view, needs to be considered. Overall, the impression gained is that despite claims from time to time to the contrary, officials had a conservative and limited view of Māori potential and the place of Māori in the society, and a determination to reverse the aspirations of many Māori for a more academic kind of education. The annual reports of the Department and the Inspectors included, as identified earlier, an endless repetition of views such as the biological and racist assumption that 'The natural genius of the Māori in the direction of manual skills…would appear to furnish educational key to his intelligence' (1906); that when the plans for Te Aute were fully in place, the College would have no role to play in preparing boys for matriculation and

[782] Miles Fairburn, 'The rural myth and the new urban frontier : an approach to New Zealand social history', *New Zealand Journal of History,* vol. 9, 1975, p.9.

higher education (1906); that 'Māori boys and girls would be better occupied in learning something of the dignity of labour'(rather than following academic studies) (1909); and, 'So far as the Department is concerned, there is no encouragement given to Māori boys who wish to enter the learned professions'(1915).

Allied with these views were others; the assumption that Māori rural communities should be preserved and Māori should remain within them, and that one of the reasons for manual education being so desirable for Māori was that it would build good character and inculcate common sense. Pākehā education officials responsible for Māori education looked overseas for models or ideas to prove or reinforce that they were on the right track. It could hardly be described as reassuring that the main places where they looked and found reassurance for their emphasis on practical education and education for a land based future was educational policy for Black Americans in the segregated American South, Federal American Indian education, and British colonial education policy for her African colonies.[783]

The educational policies followed for Māori were not fully implemented, largely because of resistance by Māori parents themselves. But they undoubtedly played some part in reducing competition for the expanding bureaucratic, professional and commercial occupations in urban areas, by putting impediments in the way of Māori students severely limiting their possibilities of entering these occupations across the available range.

2.14 NORTHERN MĀORI CHILDREN AND BOARD SCHOOLS.

Note: Official usage for many years was to refer to Board schools as 'public schools'. However Native schools were also public schools, and my own preference is to use the term Board school throughout to distinguish the two types of schools.

[783] Barrington, 1976.

Māori children could enrol in Board as well as Native schools and many did so, usually when a Native school was not close by, or occasionally for some other reason, such as parents falling out with a teacher or feeling that the teaching in a Native school was inferior..

By 1 July 1936 there were 5946 Māori children on the rolls of 438 schools administered by the Auckland Education Board. In 41 of those schools, from 30 to 40 per cent of the pupils were Māori, in 19 from 41 to 49 percent, and in 71 50 per cent, with a few Board schools enrolling only Māori pupils.[784]

Whereas Māori pupils enrolled in Native schools had special policies directed specifically at them, those in Board schools received, at least in theory, schooling identical in every respect with the Pākehā pupils.

Many Northern Māori children enrolled in Board schools. And over time issues and sometimes conflict arose between the Auckland Education Board and the Education Department over a range of matters. These included differences about the most appropriate location of Board and Native Schools, the view of the Auckland Board that all Native schools should be taken over by Boards, criticism by some Native school inspectors of the education Māori children received in Board schools, and issues relating to the enrolment of children from both races in the two types of schools.

For this study, a sample of education board schools located north of Auckland and administered by the Auckland Education Board was selected to examine what comments, if any, were made by the Boards' Inspectors about Māori children in their reports on the schools.

Some general introductory comments need to be made.

[784] Cumming, p.585.

The closeness of the Auckland Board's Inspectors to their schools, compared with the Departmental Inspectors having to come from Wellington to inspect Native/Māori Schools in the north, was reflected in the frequency with which they visited the schools. Board Inspectors frequently made two visits to Board Schools in the same year, a preliminary one in April, May or June and a second one in September October or November upon completion of which a written report was made.

Another difference was that reports on Auckland Education Board Schools by the Board's Inspectors were extremely brief by comparison with their counterparts in Native Schools. They confined their reports in the main to what happened inside the school gate- the teaching and learning and state of the grounds, and then often in only the very briefest of terms.

This brevity certainly also extended to any comments about Māori children in the schools. The Inspectors only sometimes chose to make any comment at all about the presence of Māori children; indeed doing so seems to have been an exception rather than the rule. At some Board Schools with significant numbers of Māori pupils, such as Rangiuahua and Taheke, Inspectors chose to comment on the Māori pupils in some years but not in others. (see the reports for the former in 1921 and 1925 and the latter in 1923 and 1925). But even when comments were made, these generally reflected the minimalist characteristic of the reports referred to above. The fact that in Board Schools no special or particular policies were directed at Māori pupils as they were in the Native (and after 1947) Māori Schools, no doubt also contributed to this.

The comparative invisibility of Māori pupils in board schools in terms of official interest or comment is also apparent in scholarly commentary by earlier writers on the New Zealand education system. Indeed, in some such studies, little or no reference was made to the education of Māori pupils. *Education in New Zealand*, written by A.G. Butchers and published 1930, was regarded as the seminal work at the time.[785] It contained three chapters on

[785] Butchers, op.cit.

Māori education covering the period 1878-1929, all of which are devoted entirely to policy and practice in the Native schools. It is only when a table is reached on p.619 (out of 656 pages) that the reader becomes aware that some Māori children were also in board schools.

The position of Māori pupils enrolled in Board schools throughout the country was commented on critically by John Porteous, Inspector of Native schools, in a memorandum to the Minister in 1914:

> Very little interest is taken in the Māori children attending Board schools and inspectors have stated that they take no notice of them, and would prefer to see them out of their schools. My experience of Māori children who have been attending public schools and have subsequently attended Native schools is not pleasant. I have examined them and have come to the conclusion that they have simply been neglected, and this is the general experience of our teachers also. Public school teachers have stated that they do not trouble about the Māori children, though their attendance is found useful in maintaining a required average…Native schools that have been handed over in a flourishing condition very soon show a decline as far as the Māoris are concerned.[786]

In the following extracts from inspection reports on Auckland Board schools the comments about Māori pupils are the complete and only comments made in relation to them in the report referred to. The reports generally confirm Porteous's negative view, although positive comments, such as the following, do sometimes appear:

> Ngunguru School: The Infants, many of whom are Māoris, are coming along well.[787]
>
> Red Hill School: The pupils, to most of whom English is not their mother tongue, have made very good progress under Mr Mayell's instruction. Nearly all the children speak and write English well.[788]

[786] 18 March, 1914 BAAA 1001/218d.
[787] Inspection Report 16 April 1924, YCAF, Auckland Education Board, NA Auckland. 11a.

[788] Inspection Report, 22 October 1922, ibid.,9a.

> Taheke School: Most of the pupils are Māoris, are bright and teachable.[789]
>
> Whananaki School: This school contains a large percentage of Māoris and it is pleasing to note the sympathetic manner in which they are handled, and the fine tone obtained. [790]
>
> Purerua School: Good work has been done in this small school and the children, all natives, are making pleasing progress.[791]
>
> Pokapu School: The bulk of the children are of Māori origin and notwithstanding bad roads, illness and other drawbacks, good work has been done particularly in the primer classes.[792]

However such comments are the exception to the rule. The more general impression gained from most remarks by the Inspectors is that the Māori pupils were regarded as a problem, or had problems of various kinds, of which mastering English was the one most frequently commented on, which limited their ability to make progress into the senior standards. The reader gets the feeling of an attitude of low expectations regarding the Māori pupils, or stereotypical views about their abilities and interests which, if held by the Inspectors, would certainly have been communicated to the teachers. The other aspect which stands out is the absence of suggestions to teachers about how to improve perceived problems. Very often the reports identify a problem, indicate that it limits the progress of the Māori child, and that is the end of the matter. There is something about the tone as well as the wording of many of the comments which hardly inspire confidence that the Māori pupils are being regarded in a way that is likely to facilitate their learning and development in what is, for them, the already totally European and often alien environment of the typical Board school.

> Kaihu School: This school is made up chiefly of Māori children, many of whom are retardates.[793]

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[789] Inspection Report, 9 July 1931,ibid.,18a.
[790] Inspection Report 20 September 1922,ibid.,9a.
[791] Inspection Report, 3 March 1927,ibid.,14a.
[792] Inspection Report 20 September 1916,ibid.,3a.
[793] Inspection Report 19 August, 1935, Auckland Education Board,YCBD,22a.

Rangiahua School: The majority of the pupils of this school are Māoris many of whom find a difficulty in expressing themselves in English.[794]

Kaihu School: About half of these children are Māoris who have the usual trouble with the English language. The school is therefore a difficult one to teach and both teachers deserve great credit for the interest they have taken in their pupils, and for the hard work they have done during the year.[795]

Peria School: The school contains a large proportion of natives who find the work difficult.[796]

Rangiahua School: The majority of the pupils are Māoris some of whom do not come to school reasonably clean.[797]

Rangiahua School: The difficulties in speech are still evident and point to a need for much training in oral expression.[798]

Ngunguru School: The presence of a number of Māori pupils, over-age for their classification, renders the attainment of a higher standard more than usually difficult. It is proposed to give greater prominence to handwork and drawing.[799]

Ngunguru School: About two thirds of the pupils in this school are Māoris, many of whom are old for their classification. When due allowance is made for the English weakness due to this element, the standard of efficiency may be regarded as very fair.[800]

Taheke School: Many of the pupils possess but a limited understanding of the English language and on this account the school presents difficulties. In order to make them familiar with English construction the children should be trained to answer at all times in full sentences.[801]

Taheke School: This is not an easy school to manage. The great majority of the pupils are Māoris who attend irregularly. The teachers ever have to be on the alert

[794] Inspection Report 15 October 1936,ibid.,23a.
[795] Inspection report, 12 August 1932, ibid., 19a
[796] Inspection report, 7 April,4 October 1927, ibid., 14a.
[797] Inspection Report, `9 March,7 November 1927, ibid., 14a.
[798] Inspection Report, 10 September 1935, ibid, 22A.

[799] Inspection Report 29 October 1929,ibid.,17a.
[800] Inspection Report 18 August 1931,ibid.,18a.
[801] Inspection Report 25 November 1921,ibid.,8a.

to `prevent contagion from children affected with impetigo and scabies. Several of the children are insufficiently clad. On the date of my second visit it was very wet and cold; the only clothing of one little chap was a light singlet and a pair of denim shorts!.

In spite of disabilities, the children are keen to learn and the teachers manage to hold their interest.[802]

Pokapu School: More than half of the pupils attending this school are Māoris. On 26 half days this year the attendance has been half of the roll number ;on two days there was no attendance because of very heavy rain, and on 12 days this quarter school was closed on account of the illness of the teacher. In consequence of this loss of time, it is scarcely surprising to find that the pupils have not made satisfactory progress, and that some of them are very backward.[803]

Taheke School: The great majority of pupils in this school are Māoris. Certain defects noted are , in part, due to the difficulty of obtaining a satisfactory standard in the English subjects, particularly written expression [804].

Taheke School: The pupils are mostly Natives , but the language difficulties are being overcome.[805]

Whananaki School: Classification is as sound as can be expected in a school with a preponderance of Native children.[806]

Whananaki School: The presence of many Māoris makes the attainment of a uniform standard impossible.[807]

Pureru School: Most of the pupils are Māoris and the younger ones were still hampered by a somewhat slender knowledge of English.[808]

Pureruru School: All the pupils both at Purerua and Te Tii are Māoris –the highest standard is standard 2. The pupils speak Māori in playground and at

[802] Inspection Report, 22 July 1927, ibid., 14a.
[803] Inspection Report, 2nd October 1925,ibid., 12a.

[804] Inspection Report September 1935,ibid.22a.
[805] Inspection Report, 24 November 1937, ibid., 24a.
[806] Inspection Report,13 August,1929,ibid., 16a.
[807] Inspection Report, 1 May, 24 September 1930,ibid., 17a.
[808] Inspection Report 28 May 1924,ibid., 11a. Purerua was half-time with Te Tii in 1931 and had a roll 12.

home. The short time, 3 days per week, also retards progress. Consequently, the attainments are much below ordinary full-time public schools –yet considering all handicaps, good progress has been made.[809]

Pureruru School: All the pupils in attendance are of Native origin-about half the number being over the age of ten years, while some have been at school for a considerable period. Possibly due to school being held but three times a week, and these consecutively, the progress made is quite negligible.
I recommend that the school be held on alternate days, when some improvement might be discernible.
The children appear to be of average intelligence and should make a better showing.[810]

Pureruru School: All the pupils are of native origin; many are without books; all live a considerable distance away, and few show any signs of progress. It is very doubtful indeed if these children are getting much value out of the schooling they receive for three consecutive days weekly.[811]

Pureruru School: All of the pupils in this school are Māoris most of whom are old for the classes in which they are placed. The greatest obstacle to progress lies in the fact that English is not spoken out of school hours. As a consequence the actual standard of work is only fair..
An endeavour is made to keep the children clean, and to inculcate some sense of social conduct.[812]

Purerua School: Out of school only Māori is spoken by the pupils and consequently the teaching of English presents much difficulty.[813]

Pokapu School: Ten of the pupils in this school are Māoris, most of them being in the Preparatory Division.[814]

Pureruru School: The pupils of this isolated school are all Māoris who speak very little English out of school hours. They take a satisfactory interest in their work but as may be expected from the conditions obtaining, the actual standard of attainment is only fair.[815]

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[809] Inspection Report 18 September 1929,ibid.,16a.
[810] Inspection Report 12 March 1931,ibid.,18a.
[811] Inspection Report 5 April 1930,ibid.,17a.
[812] Inspection Report,24 March 1933,ibid.,20a.
[813] Inspection Report 7 November 1935,ibid.,22a.
[814] Inspection Report, 4 October 1933,ibid.20a.
[815] Inspection Report, 20 October 1934, ibid., 21a.

> Pureruru School: All Māoris some of whom have to be rowed each day across the harbour. As is to be expected ,the standard of attainment is relatively below that in schools more favourably circumstanced.[816]

For several years the Department of Education published extracts from the Reports of the Education Board Inspectors on the education of Māori pupils attending board schools in its annual report to Parliament. These were in the form of summary overviews of the situation rather than reports on individual schools. The content of the reports by the Auckland Board's Inspectors tended to reflect a rather negative, non-optimistic, at times almost blaming Māori tone. When what the Inspectors saw as problems were identified these were often presented as somehow the fault of Māori, such as not having mastered English, or not attending regularly, often with little in the way of any apparent understanding or constructive suggestions for development or improvement. More often than not the approach seemed to be-the Māori pupils have these impediments which don't readily lend themselves to improvement so limited success if inevitable. It was an approach and tone reminiscent of that demonstrated in some of their reports on individual board schools.

In 1916 the Auckland Board's report started that 'The great majority of (the Māori) pupils are found in the preparatory and lower standard class; some work their way up into S4 and a few reach S5; it is exceptional to find a Māori pupil in S6'. The latter comment was certainly accurate. In 1914, for example, out of 2,587 Māori pupils recorded as being enrolled in Auckland Education Board schools, only 4 gained Certificates of Proficiency and 3 gained Proficiency Certificates.[817]

The 1916 report described the :

> want of knowledge of the language in which the work of the school is carried on is always a more or less serious bar to progress…Spelling is a source of greater embarrassment as the child rises through the classes, whilst ability to write

[816] Inspection Report, 9 November 1935, ibid., 22a.
[817] AJHR 1916, E-3, p.11 and AJHR 1915, E-3,p.19.

> composition even comparatively free from grammatical errors and mistakes in English is, as rule, quite beyond the normal pupil.[818]

The report for the following year stated that in composition the 'chief obstacle' was again:

> the grammar and construction of the language in which the pupil is compelled to express his thoughts, and the precise meaning of the thoughts he is forced to employ, to which may be added the limited range of interests comprising his environment and the paucity of ideas on all but the most simple of subjects. We cannot detect any improvement on previous results.[819]

Work in arithmetic was described as 'very satisfactory up to about Standard IV, especially those portions of the subject in which mechanical accuracy plays an important part'. But in the two upper classes 'the problem work presents more or less serious difficulties, so that but few pupils are able to deal effectually with the work of Standard VI.[820]

The 1920 report began by stating that there was little to add to what had been said in previous reports, and then basically re-stated the same pessimistic remarks as those outlined above.[821]

A combination of low expectations for Māori pupils and stereotyped views about their capacities was identifiable in the reports by the Inspectors on the sample of Auckland Education Board schools discussed above . One form this took was the view that, as they were Māori, they found English difficult, and progress in the academic subject to the senior classes almost impossible, teachers should place particular emphasis on handwork or practical instruction of some kind for them.

At the Ngunguru School, the Inspector described the progress of the Māori pupils in the 'English group of subjects' as 'slow' but they 'worked well and are anxious to learn' and

[818] AJHR 1916, ibid., p.12.
[819] AJHR 1917, E-3, p.12.
[820] Ibid.
[821] AJHR 1920, E-3, p.12.

he recommended that 'handwork should receive special attention in this school'.[822] At the Taheke School, because 'so many of the pupils are natives –an attempt should be made to give the boys instruction in woodwork, while special attention should be given to the sewing of the girls'.[823]

Because Opouteke contained 'a large proportion of Māori children', who found school work and particularly the English subjects difficult, the Inspector suggested the curriculum should be modified to stress these subjects and also handwork.[824]

In their reports to the Department, referred to earlier, the Auckland Education Board Inspectors had described how it was virtually unknown for Māori pupils in Board schools to progress academically to Standards V and VI and achieve success in the Proficiency Examination, which marked the successful completion of the primary school years and opened up the possibility of going to a secondary school. The most they seemed able to suggest, as some sort of remedy to this state of affairs, was stated in their 1916 report. This was to reproduce a hardy perennial when it came to Crown education policy for Māori; particular emphasis on education of a practical kind:

> In all Board schools attended by Māori children handwork in the upper classes should be made a strong feature, and provision should be made for courses of woodwork and other subjects of manual training for boys and cookery and housewifery for girls.[825]

The above discussion relates to various aspects of subjects and achievement, but there were other matters, sometimes related to these, which were also mentioned in the Inspectors reports in the sample of reports on the Auckland Education Board schools looked at. One of these was comments about unsatisfactory buildings and inadequate equipment and school supplies in Board schools in which all or a significant proportion of the pupils enrolled were Māori.

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[822] Inspection Report, 21 March 1929, ibid, 16a.
[823] Inspection Report, 3 October 1922, ibid, 8a.
[824] Inspection Report, 21 August, 1930, ibid., 17a.
[825] AJHR 1916,E-3,p.12.

In a report on the Pokapu School, the Inspector described the 'large majority 'of the pupils as Māori' with the school being held 'in a rented building, roughly constructed and now worm eaten. The interior is partly lined and Mr Henderson has done his best to make the room attractive. Two broken planes of glass should be replaced. The outhouses are falling into decay.'[826] At Mataraua School, where 16 of the 23 pupils were Māori, the Inspector described the school as being carried on under 'great difficulties, seeing that there was very little equipment in the school-hardly anything beyond desks and two blackboards. Many of the children were without slates or exercise books, or paper and reading books. Furthermore the building was small for the numbers attending. It was built originally for a very small number. Under the circumstances satisfactory work was hardly possible.[827] At the Te Tii School, 'the whole environment of the school which is held in a native meeting house militates against any steady progress being made. The roll is comprised wholly of Māori pupils'.[828] And a report on the same school five years later described 'this isolated half-time school' as being 'conducted in a shack within the confines of a Māori pa. The accommodation provided is most unsuitable'.[829]

Inspectors in some other Education Board districts described inadequate buildings being maintained by a Board as schools, particularly when significant numbers of Māori pupils were being schooled in them.

The Hawke's Bay Education Board's Inspector, H.Hill, complained in the Board's Annual Report for 1900 about the condition of some of the Board's schools he inspected, particularly those enrolling a significant proportion of Māori pupils. He advised the Board that:

> At Tiniroto and Port Awanui a raupo whare and an iron shed have done duty as school buildings, and the instruction of the children has been carried on under conditions which, I submit, ought not to be permitted anywhere. Both places are without out -offices; there are no desks for the children; and no arrangements have been made whereby water may be

[826] Inspection Report on Pokapu, 7 October 1926,ibid., 13a.
[827] Inspection Report on Mataraua, 12 July 1926, ibid., 13a.
[828] Inspection Report on Te Tii School, 16 October 1930, ibid.,17a.
[829] Inspection Report on Te Tii School, 7 November, 1935, ibid., 22a.

> obtained at the school. I can only remark that the moral effects of conducting a school under conditions such as have been pointed out are disastrous the unsuitability of the buildings, playgrounds and conditions for teaching of several schools established by the Board, including those at Waipiro, Mohaka and Omahu. These were mainly small schools, and 'although the children mainly belong to the Native race' the Board should maintain them 'with some semblance of efficiency'.[830]

He further advised the Board that a:

> curious anomaly prevails along the whole of the East Coast where Native and Board schools are working, in a measure, side by side. The Native Schools, which are under the control of the Central Department of Education, have good buildings and residences, with well-arranged school grounds and even illustrated papers are supplied for the benefit of the pupils; whilst the Board schools at Omahu, Mohaka, Nuhaka, Tokomaru, Waipiro, and Port Awanui, are conducted in hired and unsuitable buildings, without recreation-ground for the children or accommodation for teachers…Nor would I for a moment have it imagined that the native schools of the central department are too well provided for. This is by no means the case, but my purpose in making the comparison is to show how much attention is necessary to bring up the administrative efficiency of a number of the Board schools.[831]

Many of the Auckland Education Boards schools enrolling Māori children were small and isolated, with regular attendance made difficult by access problems, bad weather, or some of the other factors mentioned in an earlier discussion on attendance. The Board's Inspectors frequently described a low attendance as another factor contributing to failure by Māori pupils to advance further in the Standards, hardly ever linking it to the possibility that the English only policy and inadequate approaches to teaching Māori children for all of whom English was a second language, might have been contributing factors.

> Rangiahua School: More than half of the children at the school are natives who attend very irregularly.[832]

[830] Annual Report of the Hawke's Bay Education Board, 1900, E-1B, p.17.
[831] Ibid.
[832] Inspection Report on, 5 September 1921,Ibid., 8a

Taheke School: About two thirds of the pupils are natives. Attendance has been very irregular during the winter months, due to wet weather, bad roads and sickness. At least one native parent refuses to send his children to school. The Truant Officer should take action.[833]

Rangiahia School: The work of the Rangiahua School is always seriously hampered by the most irregular attendance of the Māori pupils who constitute the major portion of the roll number. Teachers find it extremely difficult in the circumstances to show reasonable progress in the work of their pupils.
Up to 31st July this year, the school had been conducted by temporary teachers because the low average attendance had not warranted applications being called for a Grade 111A (two teachers) position…Inside, the children were well behaved; but lack of supervision and interest by the teachers in their games were responsible for unruly behaviour in the playground.[834]

Rangiahua School: Owing to the removal of the railway construction camp, the roll of this school has fallen from seventy-six to thirty-nine. Only ten of this number are Europeans. Many of the pupils attend only irregularly, particularly during the winter months; they have to cross a river on foot to reach the road and frequently are quite unable to do so. Out of a possible 102 half-days during the second term, sixty-eight were excepted. In spite of these adverse conditions, much good work has been accomplished.[835]

Taheke School: The majority of the pupils attending this school are Māoris who, during the winter months, attend irregularly.[836]

Taheke School: The attendance of this school has been adversely affected by epidemics of influenza and by conditions which cause Māori families to shift temporarily from their homes. Teaching efficiency is consequently reduced…The Māori children who compose more than three-fourths of the school are overcoming language difficulty and are making good progress in spoken and written English.[837]

[833] Inspection Report on, 16 October 1923, ibid., 10a.
[834] Inspection Report on, 6 March, 31 July 1929, ibid., 16a.
[835] Inspection Report on, 13 April,4 August 29, 1931, ibid., 18a.
[836] Inspection Report on, 19 June, 14 November, 1929, ibid, 16a.
[837] Inspection Report on, 10 April,13 October 1934, 21a.

> Kaihu School: About three quarters of the pupils in the lower Department of this school are Māoris; the attendance of some of these is at times irregular.[838]

> Kaihu School: The majority of the pupils are Māoris not regular in their attendance.[839]

BOARD SCHOOLS AND RACISM

During this period, criticism by Inspectors and teachers of the way Northern Māori spoke, and the limited solutions they seemed to have with regard to doing anything much about improving the situation, was not the only burden many of them and their parents had to bear.

Some Māori children continued to be excluded from board schools on account of their race for more several decades. The annual report of the Minister of Education in 1881 identified an increase in the number of Māori and half-caste children attending board schools, but pointed out that the increase could easily have been much larger if it was not for the unwillingness of many parents of both races - Māori and European - to allow their children to be taught in schools equally open to them all.[840]

However he drew particular attention to this as a greater difficulty for Māori children:

> In some Māori settlements that are too small, and too near to public schools, to be regarded as entitled to have Native schools established in them, the children are growing up in ignorance, being either withheld or excluded from the public schools on account of antipathy based on difference of race.[841]

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[838] Inspection Report on, 16 November 1926,ibid., 13a.
[839] Inspection Report on 24 March, 3 November 1927,ibid., 14a.
[840] AJHR, 1881, E-1, p. iii.
[841] Ibid, pp iii-iv.

The Department's 1885 report expressed regret that so few Māori children attended board schools, and then repeated verbatim the comment from the 1881 report above regarding them being 'either withheld or virtually excluded from the public schools on account of antipathy based on difference of race.[842] Common complaints were that Māori children were unclean, sexually precocious, poorly dressed and had a low moral tone generally in terms of behaviour.[843]

In 1914, John Porteous was equally forthright in a memorandum to the Minister of Education outlining insights gained by the Native school inspectors from carrying out their official duties throughout the country. It was:

> Impossible to fail to realise the pronounced racial antipathy and prejudice that are exhibited towards the Māori. In many parts they are spoken of as dogs, and are even treated as such; they are regarded as cucumbers of the ground, and their rights and privileges as British subjects are trampled on and disregarded. I repeatedly hear them characterized as 'dagos' and 'niggers'…determined efforts have been made to eject their children from the public schools and instances could be given of attempts to bring about segregation of the races. The Māori is elbowed out and given the cold shoulder, and instances have occurred where the parents of Māori children have been denied the right of voting at the school annual meetings held to appoint committees for public schools; they were simply bluffed and told they had no right to vote. Is it any wonder that the Māoris view with alarm proposals to hand their schools over to the boards?[844]

Concerns about racial prejudice affecting the attendance of Māori children were repeated in the Department's annual report to Parliament for 1914 and in several succeeding years. In 1914, it was reported that there had been:

[842] AJHR, 1885, E-1, pp.iv-v.
[843] AJHR, 1889, E-2, p.3.
[844] Porteous to Minister of Education, 18 March, 1914, BAAA 1001/218d. .

> an intensification of the racial antipathy and prejudice exhibited towards the Māori in many parts of the North Island and even in some parts of the south.

This had led in some instances to attempts by board authorities to:

> turn the Māori children out of school, which has in some places actually been accomplished'.[845]

In 1915, it was reported that the transfer of Native schools from the Department to boards was becoming more difficult each year:

> owing to the increase of racial prejudice, European parents exhibiting strong objections to Māori children attending public schools in common with their own.[846]

A dip in total enrolments of Māori attending board schools in 1915 and 1916 was attributed to their presence 'not always being insisted upon', or, 'sometimes not desired'; the official reaction to this being a hope that:

> those responsible for so undesirable an attitude will speedily recognise the grave injustice to the members of the Native race that may thus arise.[847]

Ngata was critical of the negative attitude towards Māori children held by some members of education boards, and this was one of the reasons he defended the Native schools from being taken over by boards. He claimed in Parliament in 1913 that Wanganui Education Board members took advantage of a smallpox epidemic in the neighbouring King Country to criticise Māori children with:

> 'You are dirty; you have hakihaki; you have the itch; you will affect our European children; it is not desirable that you should attend our

[845] AJHR, 1914, E-3, p.13.
[846] AJHR, 1915, E-3, p.6.
[847] AJHR, 1917, E-1, p.18.

> schools; it is time you had separate schools'. That is the view of the Wanganui Education Board …that was the view held by the settlers at Taumaranui some years ago; and that is the view held in some other parts of the country…. In some parts of the back-blocks there may perhaps unconsciously be drawn a colour bar…But I may point out that the settlers in some districts - at Nuhaka and other places in the Hawke's Bay Education District - have made use of the attendance of Native children for capitation-grant purposes; but as soon as the white population is sufficient, the first pretence is taken to try and exclude the native schoolchildren from the schools…I say it is not for the Education Board in the Wanganui District, or in any other district, to say to the children, 'You are dirty and shall be excluded from our schools'.[848]

School Committees and European parents in the Auckland Education Board district, the main focus of this section of the report, were not immune from these prejudiced attitudes. In his comprehensive and highly regarded history of the Board , Cumming points out that the availability of a Board school if no Native school was available did not automatically guarantee entry to it for some Māori children. He points out that in Auckland Board schools, as elsewhere, Māori children were excluded on the basis of their race. He points out that in 1880, despite a significant Māori population in Auckland, no Māori pupils attended the following board schools: Nelson Street, High Street, Howe Street, Devonport, Grafton Road, Newton East, Newton West, Parnell, Ponsonby, Kauaeranga Boys, Waitangi and Russell.[849]

In 1877 the Russell School Committee had excluded Māori children, despite the Board's wish that they be encouraged to attend its schools.[850] When a Māori parent requested that her child be admitted to Russell one month later, the Committee again resolved that no Māori children would be admitted. According to Cumming, the Board could only advise the Russell School Committee to regard its policy as a 'directive' in terms of Section 20 of the 1872 Act, but the outcome was the admittance of the Māori child in

[848] NZPD, 1913, 165, p.220.
[849] Cumming, pp.106-7.
[850] Ibid, p.107.

November, a development which the Board's Inspector, R.J.O'Sullivan described as 'very ill-advised'.[851] This led to more Māori children being admitted, and the 'almost total withdrawal of European children', drawing a comment from the Chairman of the School Committee that 'However this mixing of the two races may act elsewhere it is quite evident that it will not do here'.[852]

In April 1897 Māori at Maunu petitioned the Department for the establishment of a Native School and Pope found the site being offered, the number of likely pupils and other relevant factors suitable. The only possible drawback was the location of two education board schools, one at Maunu about three and a half miles distant and the other at Maungatapere less than that, and he thought it advisable to consult the Board before further action was taken to establish a Native School to see if this would be injurious to their enrolments. A Board Inspector had advised him that it was likely that the Maunu Board School would be moved even closer to the settlement, meaning 'all causes of complaint that the Māoris may now have would be removed'.[853] The Board advised that all necessary accommodation was provided at the two existing schools.[854]

However it was the reception and lack of attention their children had received when enrolled at one of the Board Schools, not distance, which was the primary influence in the request for a Native School. In a letter to Habens, Ishamael Poutai advised him that when he had sent his children to Maungatapere for about three months, 'the teacher's neglect of them' meant he had to reluctantly take them away; it was 'because the attention that the white children received was not given to mine, and finding it was useless to expect any improvement in their learning' was the reason for his petitioning for a Native School at Maunu.[855]

[851] Ibid.
[852] Ibid., p.108.
[853] Pope to Hogben 25 April 1898, BAAA 1001, 348c.
[854] Secretary to Habens 8 June 1898, ibid.
[855] Poutai to Habens 16 September 1898, ibid.

2.15 ACADEMIC PROGRESS

Māori pupils in board schools remained, as has already pointed out, fairly anonymous in terms of official public comment or special attention. What was most commonly said about them by Departmental and Board officials and inspectors, and Māori and European members of Parliament, was probably claim and counter-claim about their superiority or inferiority as an environment for Māori pupils to be schooled in. Or, the related question of the merits or otherwise of the transfer policy. Reliable evidence about their academic progress is slight and somewhat contradictory. One of the reasons Ngata favoured Native schools was that that tended to be more Māori pupils in their top two classes than in the equivalent classes in board schools, and he attributed this to an environment and teaching methods better adapted to their special needs.[856] But some board inspectors were adamant that board schools provided a better environment. A Board Inspector, Henry Hill, noting in 1887 that five percent of pupils in the Hawke's Bay Board's schools were Māori commented:

> It would appear that the Māoris do not take kindly to the purely Native schools and when the more intelligent among the Māori parents have the opportunity of sending their children to the district schools, they gladly do so…From careful observation I am convinced that that the attendance of Māori pupils is greatly to their advantage, and it is certainly no disadvantage to the European children as some persons seem to imagine.[857]

However this kind of general comment adds little to any real understanding of progress. More useful is the work of McKenzie, who points out that the Department gazetted new examination regulations in 1891 that required inspectors to report on all children enrolled at school over the age of eight years.[858] Reasons ranging from 'late entry' and 'irregular attendance', to 'extreme dullness', were given by teachers to explain the presence of overage children in their classes, these often being treated sceptically by inspectors. But

[856] NZPD, 1912, 160, p.414.
[857] AJHR, 1887, E-1b, p.16..
[858] McKenzie, p.14. *New Zealand Gazette,* 1891, vol.2, 14 October, P. 1122.

McKenzie points out that 'the one reason which was accepted without question to justify lack of school progress was that the pupil was a Māori.'[859] He concludes that failure by most Māori to progress in board schools to the uppers standards caused little official interest or concern. Their enrolment was considered sufficient and once enrolled, no special consideration attention was regarded as 'either necessary or desirable'.[860]

The Department's 1920 Annual Report claimed that although more Māori children were now attending Board than Native schools, the results in the former were 'much inferior'. Consequently, Board inspectors were recommending the establishment of separate Native schools where practicable, because it was an advantage to Māori pupils to have their special needs catered for.[861] The report claimed that Māori pupils attending board schools made 'commendable progress' as far as S4, although by this time there age was usually greater than European pupils, but because 'the language difficulty' had not been completely mastered, the work of the higher standards was, 'for the most part beyond their reach'.[862]

A lack of detailed comparative statistics makes comparisons between the academic performance of Māori students in Native and Board schools difficult. Openshaw et al claim that the 'tentative evidence' on comparative examination performance at the Standard VI (Proficiency Examination) level for the years 1914-1936 indicates that Māori in Native schools 'fared poorly in comparison with Māori taught in the public schools'.[863] However no detailed evidence is provided to support this view. In 1909, 21 out of a total of 4,434 Māori students in board schools gained proficiency, 5 fewer than in 1908.[864] In 1917, 31 Māori students out of 4,622 attending Native schools gained proficiency, whereas 16 out of 4,747 attending board schools did so.[865] In 1929, out of

[859] Ibid.
[860] Ibid.
[861] AJHR, 1920, E-3, p.4
[862] Ibid.
[863] *Challenging the Myth - Rethinking New Zealand's Educational History*, Palmerston North, 1993, p.57.
[864] AJHR, 1910,E-3, p.23.
[865] G. Butterworth, Māori Education in Perspective, *Polynesian Studies*, 1964, p.39.

7,772 Māori attending board schools, 147 received proficiency certificates, but equivalent figures are not available for Native schools.[866]

However a comparatively small proportion of Māori children were still reaching Standard 6. In 1928, 3.4 percent of Māori pupils in Board schools were in S6, compared with 10.0 percent of Pākehā; in Native schools 3.7 per cent of Māori pupils were in S6.[867]

In 1927, Ngata referred to only 13 Māori pupils in board schools having won free place Government scholarships amongst the 150 provided at the denominational colleges, as further evidence that for Māori students to be taught effectively in board schools the boards needed to apply the same principles of teaching and practice as operated in Native schools. He suggested that, because the Department of Education was not able to adequately identify Māori pupils in board schools, the awarding of scholarships was unevenly distributed, leading to hardship in areas where Native schools were not located.[868] However another probable reason for the low number of scholarships won by Māori in board schools, which Ngata did nor refer to, was that the Department and the Native school inspectors regarded students in Native schools as more justified to receive them.

CHAPTER THREE: EDUCATIONAL POLICY CHANGE AND CONTINUITY 1930-1945: IMPLICATIONS FOR NORTHERN MĀORI

3.1 LANGUAGE POLICY

Several factors contributed to a modification of the Crown's rigid assimilation policy with regard to the Native schools after 1930. One was a movement led by Apirana Ngata to ensure the maintenance of Māori culture and encourage a cultural renaissance. Ngata took a leading part in the creation of the Board of Māori Ethnological Research in 1923

[866] Openshaw et al.
[867] Figures taken from the E-1 and E-3 reports of the Department.
[868] AJHR, 1930, E-2 , p.17.

and, in 1926, the Māori Arts and Crafts Act was passed. The following year the School of Māori Arts and Crafts, which concentrated on woodcarving, was established at Rotorua.

Another influence stemmed from developments within anthropology, and particularly in the way anthropologists viewed non-Western societies. The American anthropologist Franz Boas had pioneered cultural relativism, which now became fashionable. It was taken up by some British anthropologists who argued that different human cultures were equally valid when judged according to their own terms of reference; there were no 'superior' or 'inferior' cultures, and it was nonsense to argue that non-white people were 'inferior' just because their societies and culture were different from those in the West. It now became 'the worst form of ethnocentrism':

> To place western society on the top of the evolutionary ladder and then to position other societies underneath based upon judgments of how much they did or did not resemble western society.[869]

However another group within British anthropology, and still the majority, continued to adhere to the structural-functionalist school, focussing on how social systems preserve themselves over time, and the importance of maintaining the social equilibrium rather than disturbing it. This was a conservative approach, which proved attractive to colonial policy-makers expecting to maintain authority in colonial territories for the foreseeable future, because it did not threaten the status quo. When carried over into educational policy by European administrators, it had implications for the indigenous people who were its recipients, which were often less than favourable. Whether they intended it or not, the outcome of the functionalist approach in anthropology kept to the fore popular European ideas of "simple" people leading "simple" lives, needing protection, with limited capacity for managing their own affairs, possessing cultures that were "old" and needing to be "preserved", rather than accepted as a living and dynamic part of contemporary life.[870]

[869] C. Lyons, *To Wash an Aethiop White*, New York, 1975, p. 127.
[870] Ibid, pp. 122-130.

Another influence at this time was that the comparatively small number of Māori pupils who continued to reach the upper primary school standards had begun to raise questions amongst officials. Was the existing rigid assimilation policy hindering rather than assisting the progress of the pupils in the schools?

As a result of these factors the assimilation policy was modified from 1930 to permit selected aspects of Māori arts and Crafts, such as weaving and carving, and Māori songs and games to become part of the curriculum in the Native schools, an aspect which will be discussed further shortly.

There was no change in 1930, however, in the policy of rigidly excluding the Māori language, the heart of the culture, from the schools. While the need to change this policy had been raised by some at the time, the Crown's chief education official, T.B.Strong, the Director of Education, strongly disagreed. Writing in 1930 he stated:

> The Native is gradually losing knowledge of his own language, and the question has been raised whether there is not good reason to introduce the teaching of the Māori tongue. Sentiment would incline one to say yes; but sentiment alone is not sufficient justification. Language is a means of communicating thought and is a social necessity. By its measure not only meeting the needs of daily association with our fellows but having the advantage of being able to study the thought of the best thinkers of all ages. From both points of view a knowledge of the Māori language is unnecessary to Natives who know only English. The Māori language has no literature and consequently in this direction, too, the natural abandonment of the native tongue inflicts no loss on the Māori.[871]

A memo from Bird, now Chief Inspector of Primary Schools, would have reinforced Strong's views. He advised Strong in April 1930 that his experience had been that:

> those teachers who use Māori in their teaching are the worst teachers of English, the use of Māori offering an easy way of avoiding the need for explanations in English.[872]

[871] T.B.Strong, 'The Education of South Sea Natives', in Jackson, p.193.
[872] Bird to Strong 14 April, 1930. AAZY W3901 44/1/2 Box 218. Native Schools 1919-39.NA.

Douglas Ball, now Senior Inspector of Native Schools, agreed with these views.. In 1940, he wrote that:

> the language of a people living so long in isolation and in primitive conditions must be inadequate in vocabulary to meet the needs of a civilised community with all the modern inventions of science.[873]

He added another obstacle or justification officials regularly put forward as a reason for not including Māori in Native schools. This was that the schools were still almost completely staffed by European teachers 'not one percent of whom has facility in the Māori language. Even if it were considered desirable to introduce Māori…the lack of teachers would prohibit the venture'.[874]

Apirana Ngata's views on the inclusion of Māori in schools changed over time. While he had remained confident that the language remained strong, he tended to support the strong emphasis on English, and suggest that many Māori felt ambivalent about the inclusion of the language and other aspects of Māori culture in the essentially European environment of the schools, with their predominantly Pākehā teachers and curriculum. Wiremu Parker suggested that, even in the Thirties, he might not have been aware of the extent to which language loss was already occurring in some areas, because when he visited maraes the best orators always greeted him.[875]

However he changed his mind. Speaking to the important conference of young Māori leaders at Auckland in 1939, he acknowledged that he had formerly opposed the teaching of Māori in Native schools because he had believed there was not sufficient time for pupils to learn both Māori and English. But now he believed 'nothing was worse than for one to be with Māori features but without his own language'.[876]

In the same year he wrote to the Minister of Education, Peter Fraser, that:

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[873] 'Māori Education' in Sutherland, 1940, p. 299.
[874] Ibid.
[875] Interview with the author, 1985.
[876] *Report of Young Māori Conference held at Auckland University College*, 1939, p.26.

> The problem presented today is that education through the mothers of the men and women of the next generation of the Māori people is attacking the core of the Māori culture- the medium of mental communication, the language. The remedy in the circumstances is to develop deliberately through education a bilingual and bicultural people. The day when a Māori child, born of Māori parents, was assumed to know Māori as his native tongue is passing rapidly…There it seems to me is the outstanding problem for the Native education system. The alternative is to let things go with the inevitable result of rooting out all that makes the Māori a Māori. Ngata to Minister of Education.[877]

Ball later claimed that after his appointment evidence of pupils being punished for speaking Māori would not have been found, because 'That all stopped with the new policy after 1930. I put a stop to it'.[878] But while there does not appear to have been any official published regulation forbidding the use of Māori in the schools, the continued emphasis on the importance of teaching English, allied with a belief that the presence of Māori hindered rather than facilitated this aim, undoubtedly meant that many teachers continued to take a hard line against any use of the language in either playground or classroom. This is confirmed by entries in logbooks, extracts from inspectors' reports, and interviews with former pupils of the schools. At Matapihi in 1933 the Head recorded:

> We found when we opened school that the children were in the habit of speaking Māori in the playground. We are trying to change this, and have made a rule that English must be spoken. The children do not seem to take much interest in speaking or listening to English.[879]

Typical of the time was the advice from one inspector to a teacher that 'a a judicious discussion with the pupils should enable them to see the advisability of speaking English only in the playground, where at present a considerable amount of Māori is used'. [880] Or, from another in 1933 that 'on no account should the children be permitted to talk Māori in the classroom or in the playground'.[881]

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[877] Peter Fraser, 10 February, 1939, E-2 1945/9b, p.3.NA.
[878] Interview with the writer 1985.
[879] Matapihi Log Book, 17 February, 1933.
[880] Barrington and Beaglehole, p.207.
[881] Ibid., Barrington, 1965, p.93.

A pupil recalled that, 'As soon as we saw the teacher, if the teacher was with us, we observed the school rules. When the teacher went away we'd babble away in Māori'.[882]

Some teachers also attempted to circumvent what appears to have been, if not an official sanction against any use of Māori, at least a gentleman's agreement by officials that it should not be used. 'You were using Māori language to facilitate', recalls one, but 'we didn't let on to the inspectors'.[883]

Dr A.G.Butchers, writing in 1930, summed up the prevailing official view:

> A question of interest now beginning to be raised with some insistence is as to whether the time has come for some relaxation of the basic rule of the schools, namely, that English only may be spoken within the precepts, and that all instruction must be in that language. The suggestion is, however, grounded in sentiment rather than in its practical utility. Some of the older Māoris fear that their language is doomed to extinction unless direct steps are taken to preserve it in the schools. But natural languages cannot be made to obey artificial laws and the ultimate test will undoubtedly be-which language is of the greater practical utility to the Māori? One thing is certain. The prescription that English should be the sole language of the schools was a supreme stroke of genius as a means towards the civilization of the Māori people…Practical teachers for the most part regard the question (inclusion of Māori) as one having an academic interest only, and recommend not only that English should remain the sole medium of instruction in the schools, but that the Native school teachers themselves can do better if they refrain from trying to learn and use the Māori tongue in their social intercourse with the Natives.[884]

The effect of these policies and attitudes was evident in the schools attended by Northern Māori children, as is illustrated in the following extracts from Inspector's reports. The emphasis on English and exclusion of Māori led the Inspectors to constantly refer, disparagingly, to the 'Māori errors' evident in the children's work:

[882] Kare-Ariki, p.111.
[883] Ibid.
[884] Butchers, pp.512-3.

> Otaua School: Sentence structure is generally satisfactory but Māori errors mar the quality in Stds 3 and 4.[885]

> Otaua School: Check Māori errors in all oral expression.[886]

> Omanaia School: Māori errors are very prevalent.[887]

> Tautoro School: The letters were too short and included too many Māori error.[888]

> Te Rawhiti School: More Māori errors were noticeable in the higher classes than in the lower.[889]

> Te Horo School: Many characteristic Māori errors in use of gender, number and tense were noted.[890]

At a hui held at Waitangi from 30-31 May 2005, several of those present spoke personally of the way the policy of excluding Māori in Northern schools had impacted on them in various ways.

Grey Theodore described how his name was changed (Anglicised) as a result of exposure to the school system that amounted to a loss of mana. His given name is Te Karei Tia Toa. Another participant also recalled the deliberate changing of names- Merehora becoming Mary Taurua.

Renata Tane recalled the 'rule of the rod' for speaking Māori at school, an approach that still impacts on the hapū of Ngāpuhi nui tonu.

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[885] Inspection report, 19 September 1934, BAAA, 1001, 986b. MSDB O7-378-O7-379.
[886] Inspection report, 19 March 1937, Ibid. MSDB O7-382-O7-382.
[887] Inspection report, 17 September 1934, 979b.MSDB O3-458-O3-459.
[888] Inspection report, 19 March 1933, 1033a.
[889] Inspection report, 21 February 1935. 1050a.
[890] Inspection report, 25 September 1931, 584a.

Eru Garland described getting the stick at Oromahoe School for asking ‘Kei hea te Wharepaku’.

Te Reina recalled her brother being strapped every time he spoke te reo Māori in class, and described how the emotional impact continues to make it hard for her to speak te reo today.

WORLD WAR TWO

There were other matters, in addition to the continued exclusion of te reo Māori, which impacted negatively on some Northern Māori children during this period. Reference was made earlier to the resentment and sense of unfairness officials within the Department of Education felt at the Department of Health’s tendency to occupy Native rather than Board schools as temporary hospitals when epidemics or fevers swept through communities. The same issue arose during World War 2 when the military authorities began to select and occupy both Māori primary and Māori denominational boarding schools (aspects of which will be discussed later) as temporary military bases.

In January 1942, shortly before the beginning of a new school year, the Head teacher of the Kaikohe Native School advised the Director of Education that he had had been interviewed by Major Bassett of Army Headquarters Whangarei ‘concerning the appropriation of part of the Native school buildings. The Northern Military forces will have their Brigade HQ at KMS, and about 150 officers and men of the HQ staff will be billeted or encamped in the vicinity’. Lowe to Director, 3 January 1942, BAAA, 1001, 267a.

With a roll of 220, the Kaikohe Native School was now one of the largest Native schools in the country, and the Head elaborated on the implications for it:

> The school rooms required are a detached classroom and the craft rooms that include the shower baths. The very reason for their usefulness for educational purposes makes the rooms most suitable for Brigade HQ requirements. Although nominally the rooms are required for a short period, Major Bassett informed me unofficially that they would probably be required during the whole of the mobilization period, which of course, may be of several month's duration. Major Bassett informed me that he had been instructed to avoid the use of schools wherever possible, but that in Kaikohe the buildings designated were the minimum essential……I pointed out that the use of lavatories and outbuildings by both children and troops would be very unsatisfactory .He agreed and stated that the army would therefore erect its own urinals and earth closets.
>
> From the school point of view, the result will be that the children (final roll December 220) will have the use of the main building only….and there will be no special facilities for cookery. woodwork and baths.[891]

Seven days later he wrote again, advising that:

> I saw the Brigade Colonel. …and asked him the probable length of time of the requisition. He stated that it was not possible to give a definite reply, but that it would be advisable to consider the taking over as for the duration……About 100 officers and men arrived today and are billeted in the main building and cloakrooms.[892]

In February 1943 the Director General of Health advised the Director of Education that:

> The following memorandum has been received from the Medical Officer of Health Auckland in connection with the above school and is referred to you for consideration and necessary action:
>
> Army Authorities have established their headquarters in certain buildings at the Kaikohe Native school. Among the buildings that have been taken over is the school bathhouse, and bathing facilities are no longer available for the Māori children.
>
> Skin diseases among the pupils must increase as a result, and I would recommend that the matter be referred to the Education Department.

[891] Ibid.
[892] Head to Director, 10 January 1942, ibid.

> It may be possible for some arrangement to be reached between the Education Department and the Army Department.[893]

The Director Education, Dr C.E.Beeby, then wrote to the Army Secretary enclosing the letter and asking if it would be possible for the children to again have use of the bathing facilities.[894]

The Head advised Beeby that he and the Acting Brigade Major have reached agreement that having both the children and soldiers using the baths would be unworkable in practice-some other solution was needed.[895]

The Kaikohe School Head recorded in the Log Book during 1942-3 other aspects of the considerable disruption caused to the work of the school as a result of the Army occupation:

> The outbreak of hostilities with Japan caused an influx of military organizations. Room 6 and the craft rooms have been commandeered by the army. This resulted is Mrs Lowe and self transferring furniture and materials to the main building. A substantial amount of aid and supervision has been given to the army which has now settled in as brigade January 1942.[896]
>
> Our staff have been dispersed, Mr Robinson to the Air Force, Mr Christie to the National Military Reserve, Miss Harris to another school and Miss Griffin to the Auckland Board.[897]
>
> As we are deprived of rooms we are restricted to five classrooms .The week has been spent re-arranging classes to fit in…It is strange to see sentries and defence guards on our gates …As we have no craft and bathing facilities a new arrangement of scheme will be made as soon as possible
>
> Heavy rain last night washed out the army cooking and dining facilities. Use of shelter shed and veranda was requested and granted.[898]

[893] Director General to Director, 25 February 1942, ibid. MSDB K1-468.
[894] Director to Secretary, 24 March 1942, ibid. MSDB K1-470.
[895] Lowe to Director, 7 May 1942, ibid. MSDB K1-471.
[896] BAAA,1001.
[897] Ibid.
[898] 19 February, ibid.

At lunch time Dr Watt Director General of Health with Dr Shaw hospital architect visited the school. Dr Watt states that either the public school or this building will be taken for an emergency hospital –probably for three months or so, pending erection of permanent hospital for military purposes. We expect that the public school will be taken, as the military are already in possession of part of our buildings.[899]

Our grounds now contain (a) school (b) school residence (c) "50 mess "hut in place of Rm6 (d) signal office (e) intelligence dept (f) transport dept (g) Brigadier, Brigade Major and Brig Captain's offices (h) defence platoon sentry boxes (j) Brigade detention, barracks with guard (k) there are several bell and Indian type tents for some of personnel.[900]

Army manoeuvres in the vicinity for last few days –rather distraction with tanks, guns planes etc.[901]

Army moved out, leaving debris…It will be a change to have full facilities after 18 months. Much repairing etc to do.[902]

3.2 RACISM

Issues arising from racism and stereotyped views about Māori continued to hinder aspects of schooling in the North during this period

A record of a meeting between the Minister of Education, Peter Fraser and teachers in Northern Native schools in 1938 noted that:

> Swimming Baths There are swimming baths at Kaikohe, but they are used only by the Pakehas; the Natives were not allowed there. Mr Pou suggested that perhaps swimming baths could be erected for the children. The Minister mentioned a £ for £ subsidy. If the Māoris would do the excavations

[899] 19 June, ibid.
[900] 20 August, ibid.
[901] 11 December, ibid.
[902] 23 May 1943, ibid.

themselves, it would cost about £500. £250 would have to be provided by raising the money or by voluntary labour.[903]

In February 1940 the Head of the Kaikohe Native School wrote to the Town Clerk pointing out that there were no facilities for bathing in or near Kaikohe for Māori, and it was therefore proposed to construct a miniature swimming bath in the school grounds – a water supply would be required and he requested the Town Board to consider this.[904] Some board members expressed caution, on the grounds that further pressure would be placed on the available water supply, with the District High School baths already using a large volume [905] The Board deferred a decision until further investigation was made, and Lowe wrote to the Director of Education advising that £20 had been collected towards a miniature swimming bath because there had been no success to date with the Town Board. He added that 'It is probably known to you that the D.H.S already has baths for the European community, and Māoris are not allowed to use them',[906]

Eleven years later the Committee of the renamed Kaikohe Māori school was still proposing to construct a swimming pool at the school, but the question of a water supply was still causing concern. At its request the District Administrative Officer wrote to the District Civil Engineer Railways because he understood that 'your Department has a pipe line running near the school, which is used for the watering of engines at Kaikohe, would you please advise me if there is any possibility of that line being tapped for the supply of water to the baths'.[907]

In an Inspection report on the Kaikohe Native School just prior to this period, in 1926, Inspector Porteous had pointed out that that the Auckland Education Board proposed to erect a new Board school on a site practically adjacent to the Native School, and he advised the Department that it should be aware that :

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[903] Notes from a meeting at Paihia between the Minister of Education the Hon. P. Fraser and Native School teachers, 12 January 1938, BAAA 1001, 265b.MSDB K1-431-K1-432.
[904] Grace to Town Clerk, 17 February 1940, BAAA 1001 266a. MSDB K1-461.
[905] Northern News, April 12 1940, ibid.
[906] Grace to Director, 15 April 1940, ibid. MSDB K1-462.
[907] District Administrative Officer to District Civil Engineer NZ Railways, 17 October 1951, BAAA 1001, 267a. MSDB K1-502.

> considerable trouble is likely to arise between the pupils of the two schools. There is a definitely hostile attitude existing, due to racial considerations. …There are other suitable sites which will be less expensive.[908]

Problems also continued to arise after 1930 over the cleaning of the schools. It will be recalled that the 1880 Native School Code laid down that ' the Committee…shall arrange matters so that the schoolroom may be cleaned every night, and scrubbed out at least once a month.[909]

From time to time the parents of Pākehā children enrolled in the schools objected to this for a variety of reasons, as in the following example from the Omanaia Native School, South Kokianga, in 1909:

> I most certainly object to and strongly forbid my daughter taking part in the cleaning of any public building. And more especially a native school-not because I despise the natives themselves but because owing to their general mode of living there is as you must know a lot of disease among them…. And there is no surer means of communicating disease as dust and such work as washing slates that diseased persons have used-and as I have said, I object and certainly cannot allow my daughter to do such work. The Government can well afford to pay someone to do that work. And therefore let some person do it who does not mind taking risk…The Government gives free education and as we all know they do not require us to make charwomen of our daughters in return.[910]

Bird advised the Secretary for Education that he had pointed out to the teacher that in the Native schools the Department supplied books to the pupils for free and expected as a return that it should not be called upon to provide funds for cleaning; 'If the Europeans declined to assist in the cleaning they should be prepared to pay for the books or at any rate should not share in the privilege of free books'.[911] The Secretary referred the matter to the Solicitor General, pointing out that the School Committee organized the pupils to carry out the cleaning, and also that until recently no compulsion could be exercised in

[908] Inspection report 15 April 1926, BAAA 1001 941d. MSDB K1-614-K1-615.
[909] The Native Schools Code 1880,op.cit.
[910] E.S. Allingham to Head teacher, Omanaia Native School. 19 October 1909, BAAA,.1001, 392c.

[911] Bird to Secretary,15 December 1909,ibid.

requiring children to attend a Native School if they threatened to withdraw, but recent legislation now enabled this to be done.[912]

However the Solicitor General was not sympathetic to the Department's position, advising it that:

> In my opinion the parent is quite justified in refusing to allow her daughter to assist in cleaning the school. The Department is not entitled to require pupils to do such a thing, and there is nothing in either Act or regulation to warrant it. I think, too, the parent is justified in keeping her child away from school if work of that sort is required.[913]

Conflict over school cleaning, again with racial overtones, also arose at the Tautoro Native school, ten kilometres south of Kaikohe, in 1936. The Teacher advised the Director that a Pākehā family with two children had come to live in the district and had been attending the school for two weeks. They had been asked with the Māori and other Pākehā children attending (there being 20 of the latter) to take their turn in 'helping to scrub out and tidy the school'. But their mother had adopted ' a domineering attitude towards Native School government' and withdrawn her children from the school. She told the teacher she:

> would not have her children cleaning up after a pack of dirty Māoris…(she) objects, too, to the Māori assistant "being over" her girls and, as regards cleaning, has threatened to take legal action…I have been through it before- in fact during the first half of the year I was very considerably inconvenienced by what might be called the "anti-Māori complex" of certain of the white residents – I should be grateful for a Departmental ruling concerning it.[914]

The Director agreed with the Teacher requiring Pākehā children attending the school to contribute to its cleaning. He presumed that he had pointed out to the parent that her children, in common with all others attending the Native Schools, received their books, stationery and other requisites free and in return their children like others were expected

[912] Secretary to Solicitor General,23 November,1909,ibid.
[913] Solicitor General, Note on file 14 December 1909,ibid.
[914] Teacher Tautoro to Director, 30 October 1936, BAAA,1001, 1033a.

to cooperate with the teacher in the cleaning of the schools.[915] However the parent complained to the Minister of Education through the Auckland Education. She suggested that:

> The Māoris here…are not a good class like the Arawas or Hawkes Bay tribes, but are Ngapuhis, and have intermarried with Chinese, Niggers, Dalmatians etc, so you can see it is essential for our white children to have either a separate school or a special bus to convey them to Kaikohe.[916]

However the Director of Education stood behind the Teacher, advising the Auckland Education Board Chairman that the parent's real difficulty appeared to be her attitude towards Māori people rather than school cleaning, reflected in her complaint that the 'second assistant teacher was a Māori, Māori monitors in group work were sometimes "put over" her girls; and the Teacher attributed her complaint to feelings of the superiority of her children over the Māori children'.[917]

In 1937, the Teacher at the Omanaia Native School was advised that the Inspector had recommended the appointment of an additional assistant to his staff owing to the increased roll number, and the Director of Education requested him to let him know whether suitable arrangements could be made for board '(a) for a European girl (b) for a refined Māori girl'.[918]

The Director Education advised the Minister in 1941 that, since 1935, the people at Pakotai have been urging that their school become a Native School as practically all the children on the roll were Māori. But hitherto the Auckland Education Board had declined to hand over the school to the Department. Recently however the Board Chairman had discussed the matter with him, and stated that the Board had decided to recommend that

[915] Director to Teacher, 7 November 1936, ibid.
[916] Board Chairman to Minister, 18 November 1936, ibid.
[917] Director to Chairman, 26 January 1936, ibid.
[918] Director to Teacher Omanaia, 16 April 1937, BAAA.1001, 979. MSDB O3-470.(The reply was that suitable accommodation for a Māori girl could be obtained within half a mile of the school, but there was no accommodation nearer than Rawene suitable for a European girl. The outcome was a recommendation for the employment on a temporary basis of Miss Te Aorere Wilson who had previously been employed at the Pukepoto and Matangirau Native Schools)

the school be administered in future by the Department as a Native School.[919] The change of administration subsequently took place, and when new teachers arrived found that:

> very bitter feeling exists on the part of the pakehas against the transfer of the school to the Native Service. All the white children for months past have been sent (at their parents expense) by service car to Titoki School, passing enroute Parakao School which has a large percentage of Māori children. Their chief lament is that their properties have now deteriorated in value. No person they say, would buy a farm if their children had to attend a Native School.[920]

The issue was still festering five years later, when a deputation of 14 European residents of the Parakao district met the Minister on 10 December 1946 with a proposal that the Pakotai Native School west of Whagarei 'should be kept wholly for Māori children, Europeans in the neighbourhood of both schools being catered for at the Parakao Public School'. One member of the deputation stated that there were 150 children on the roll at Pakotai. 'of whom twenty were pakehas'; there would probably be nearer thirty the following year and the deputation 'hoped to get those children to Parakao school, while the native children at Parakao would be brought back to Pakotai'. Another member said that with Pākehā and Māori children at the same school, curriculums and facilities were identical, whereas their temperaments were different. The Māori children concentrated on art and technical classes and European children inclined to academic work. A nearby Titoki resident suggested that Māori language would affect the English children to a certain extent in the early stages, and this suggestion was borne out by other members who said that infants picked up an accent for a time, but eventually dropped it.[921] The Director advised the Minister that the policy of the Department had always been strongly against the segregation of the races, which he was convinced should continue to be followed so far as this particular case was concerned, and he recommend that no action be taken.[922]

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[919] Director to Minister 12 August 1941, 995b. MSDB P3-23.
[920] Head Teacher to Director, 8 August 1941, ibid. MSDB P3-24-P3-25.
[921] Newspaper report of meeting, n.d. 1946, BAAA,1001, 428b.
[922] Director to Minister, 28 March 1946, ibid. MSDB P3-21.

Circumstances relating to the Rotokakahi Native School on Whangape Harbour appear to highlight, yet again, the different way in which Māori and Pākehā in the North were treated when it came to the matter of school sites. In May 1924 self-described 'settlers of the Rotokakahi District' requested the Auckland Education Board to accept the piece of land containing about four acres, previously offered by Mr A.E.Enright for a school site. The site offered was 'approved by all settlers in the Rotokakahi District. The site offered is gratis as offered previously'.[923] Subsequently the Secretary to the Auckland Board advised the Director of Education that Mr Enright offered the use of four acres as a site, free of cost, on condition that:

> the Board pays the rent due under his O.R.P. lease, and the rates on same at whatever rate the County Council may strike from time to time.
> The Lands Department has been consulted regarding the matter, and as a result the Board now suggests that the simplest form in which to deal with the matter of the payment of rent to the Government, will be for Mr Enright to charge the Board a certain amount, and then use that towards the payment of the present rent for the whole of his farm…. The position was placed before Mr Enright, and it was suggested that as the rent payable on the whole of his farm is £14/9/- per annum, rent should be paid on the four acres of about 15/- per annum He has agreed to the Board paying ground rent at that rate…….. Please be good enough to inform the Board whether the proposal to pay rent at the rate of 15/- per annum is authorized.[924]

In 1942, 42 Māori children and 4 European children were attending the Rotokakahi Board school, and as a result it was transferred back from the Auckland Education Board to the Department as a Native School. Mr Enright was receiving 12/- per annum for leasing the school site, under an arrangement that had now been in place for 18 years.[925] However the Department not happy with the site, regarding it as not central enough, and it identified another one suitable for a new Native school on the property of a European farmer, Mr C.E Dugmore. It was recommended that the Department should acquire 4 acres for the school. Mr Dugmore was then asked to indicate on what terms he would

[923] A.E.Enright and others to Auckland Education Board, n.d. May 1924 All signatories except one appeared to be Pākehā.BAAA,1001, 535c.
[924].Secretary to Director, 12 September 1924, ibid. MSDB R5-19.
[925] Fletcher to Director, 9 April 1943, ibid. MSDB R5-35-R5-38.

dispose of the desired land to the Government as a school site. He declined to make the land available, and his objection was referred to the Senior Inspector of Native Schools, whose opinion was that the land should be taken under the Public Works Act. The Director agreed and recommended this course to the Minister. The Director, advising Mr Dugmore of the course to be taken, then informed him that he could 'rest assured that your interests will be protected by the Court when the question of compensation is receiving consideration'.[926]

Subsequently:

> By proclamation …dated 18/1/1945 …4 acres… was taken for the purposes of a Māori School site…The valuation of the area taken is as follows:
>
Unimproved 4 acres	@ £7.10.0	£30
4 acres grassing	@ £4	16
4 chains roads fencing	@£1	4
		£50

> ….please treat this memorandum as a formal claim for the sum of £50 as compensation.[927]

3.3 MĀORI ARTS AND CRAFTS

As was mentioned earlier, although the Māori language continued to be excluded from the schools after 1930, a change of policy permitted some other selected aspects of the culture to be incorporated into the work of the schools. This became evident in some of the schools attended by Northern Māori children after 1930.

> Karetu:
>
> Handwork? We did flax mats. Us big girls, we had a big mat about half as long as this room with all different colours and we all took part in making it. I think we had just about finished it when we left school. I can't remember who taught

[926] Director to Dugmore, 29 June 1944, ibid. MSDB R5-43.
[927] Registrar Māori Affairs to District Superintendent, 25 July 1950,ibid.

us. It must have been the same one who took us for Māori culture. They didn't get paid. They did it voluntary.[928]

Te Rawhiti:
Handwork is being developed at the school and includes several branches of the old Māori arts and crafts.[929]

Te Pupuke:
Mrs Hape …visited school to instruct senior girls in flax plaiting (other examples, i.e. action songs.[930]

Kaikohe:
Māori carving. They told me they have a very good carver in the district who would be willing to give lessons to the school, and they would like the boys to have some training in carving. Their difficulty is tools of which they have none. Will you please consider the possibility of helping them?[931]

Whakarapa:
…if your school enters a Poi and haka team for the competition at the Whangarei Winter Show the Department is prepared to grant leave for the boys and girls of the team together with one teacher to take charge.[932]

Every effort is being made to broaden the curriculum. A local Māori lady is assisting with the Native crafts…. the boys have been concentrating on the completion of the building for handicrafts…. In history you should make a strong feature of local stories and legends.[933]

Takahiwai:
The Women's Institute wishes to know if the School Poi Team may attend the Conference of the Institute …and give a poi display.[934]

The Department advised that the request had not been received in time for approval to be communicated, but if the team had been taken to Whangarei anyhow the action was

[928] Simon and Smith, p.178
[929] Inspection Report,25 March 1938,BAAA 1001,1050a.
[930] Te Pupuke Log Book, 11.8.1943,BAAA 1003,7i.
[931] C.E.Beeby, internal memo on meeting at Kaikohe, n.d.but 1943/4.BAAA 1001942c.
[932] Director to Teacher 15 June 1936,1083b.MSDB W2-19.
[933] Inspection Report Whakarapa, 8 July 1936. MSDB W2-20-W2-21.In the same report the Inspector wrote that 'Māori errors occur in Stds 3-5'.Ibid.
[934] Teacher to Director 10 April 1936,1030b.

approved. In June the Teacher requested permission to take the Poi Team to the Whangarei Winter Show from June 30th to July 4th to enter the competitions and close the school during this period, 'in accordance with the parents wishes'. The Director approved closing the school for two days.[935]

As a means of promoting the new aims and at the request of many teachers a major refresher course was held in February 1936 in three centres in turn, Kaikohe, Rotorua and Tikitiki, with lectures on Māori history, and instruction in carving, taniko, tukutuku, flax plaiting and poi dances being given by invited Māori experts.[936]

Ideas to assist the teachers were also published in the Native Schools Column of the Education Department's official publication, the *Education Gazette*. A detailed article on preparing flax for use in plaiting and weaving, written by the Director of the School of Māori Arts at Rotorua, appeared in November 1932.[937] In 1933, the Column carried an article suggesting ways of 'dramatizing stories of Māori bravery…what is there to compare with the quiet defiance of Rewi's message at Orakau? Although outnumbered by six to one the Māoris refused to listen to a suggestion to surrender, giving the immortal reply, "We will fight on for ever and ever".[938] In 1934, an article described the structure of rafter and spiral patterns, with an accompanying illustration from an article in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* showing a carved panel, and a suggestion that pupils should develop these patterns along modern lines.[939] By the end of 1933, Ball claimed that carving had increased in importance in the schools, with every opportunity being taken to introduce other crafts, most of the time allotted to history was now being taken up with stories of Māori and New Zealand history, and poi dances and Māori games were being included in physical education.[940]

Sporadic or Limited Impact

[935] Teacher to Director 10 June 1936,ibid.
[936] AJHR 1937, E-3,p.3.
[937] *Education Gazette*,I November 1932,p.186.
[938] *Education Gazette*, 1 April 1933,p.52.
[939] *Education Gazette*, 1 September 1934,p.100.
[940] AJHR, 1934,E-3,pp.3-5.

However the effects of this change of policy were uneven and, according to some contemporary critics, at times artificial and superficial, not least because of the continued exclusion of the heart of the culture- the language.[941] However the change did undoubtedly contribute to some classrooms becoming more friendly and welcoming places for Māori pupils after 1930. Where Māori expert in the arts and crafts and other aspects of culture either from the community or in school were available and willing to give advice, and teachers and parents were enthusiastic, the effect on the environment of some schools could be positive. One Inspector, Tom Fletcher described how:

> When I first visited Māori schools in 1931…there was practically nothing Māori in the schools except the Māori children. No Māori song was ever sung, there was no sign of Māori crafts or any interest in Māori history as part of the curriculum. The values in their own culture were ignored'.[942]

It would be quite misleading to suggest, however, that there was a sudden and universal flowering of Māori cultural activity in all the Native primary schools after 1930.In addition to the continued absence of the language, which was crucial, developments after 1930 were also initially impeded by the economic depression, which restricted the availability of necessary materials such as chisels for carving. Another of the limitations of the new policy was that the Pākehā teachers had had no training in and often had no knowledge of these new activities they were now expected to include in the curriculum, and the Department's efforts to overcome this with refresher courses and other methods were only partially successful. Most teachers had to rely on inviting Māori experts from the community, or Māori junior assistants or the few Māori teachers in the schools, to assist, and when community experts did volunteer their skills they were not paid so it was really skilled instruction done on the cheap.

Another limitation, was the frequency with which Inspectors and teachers continued to refer to 'old' Māori culture when describe the new activities, conveying the sense of a

[941] G.Powell, 'The Maori School-A Cultural Dynamic?', *Journal of the Polynesian Society,*64,3,1936,pp.259-66.
[942] AJHR 1948,E-2,p.2.

museum approach to culture, something from the past, rather than as a living part of contemporary Māori culture and life. .As an inspection report on Waimamaku noted in 1936, 'apart from the Māori songs there is little to appeal to the interests of the Māori children'.[943]

No reference at all to any aspect of Māori culture after 1930 was found in inspection reports on the following Native schools in the North I looked at, including Otaua 19 September 1934 and 19 March 1937, (986b); Karetu 17 November 1932, (944a); Tautoro 19 March 1933, (1033); Te Horo 9 November 1934,(584a); Omanaia 17 September 1934, (979b); Whakarapa, 13 November 1934, (1083b); Matihetihi 23 September 1933, 3 March 1934, 21 August 1937, (963a)[944]. So it was hardly an aspect that the Inspectors were emphasizing at the school level, despite official claims to the contrary.

Indeed the importance the Inspectors of Native schools really attached to the new policy can be questioned. In 1933, Ball sent an extensive official memorandum to new teachers in the Native School service covering internal aspects of the school and school community relations. He advised them that 'As the Māori language is lacking in many of the sounds of our tongue it is necessary that the method of teaching reading includes definite phonic instruction'. No reference at all was made to the teaching of aspects of Māori culture in the schools. [945]

Moreover not only did the exclusion of te reo Māori continue parallel with the new policy, but an insensitive attitude continued to be shown at times to other aspects of Māori culture, of which the following is one of numerous examples that could be cited:

> Twenty five children have stayed away from school today because of the hui (he means tangi) Of these only five lived in the house where the dead woman lived. The other twenty should have been at school. I am sending their names to the Department.[946]

[943] Inspection report Waimamaku, 27 July 1936, BAAA, 1001, 1069c
[944] The number in parenthesis after each school is the file number for it at Archives New Zealand Auckland.
[945] Matihetihi School file, 1 February 1933, BAAA,1001, 963a. MSDB M2-296-M2-297.
[946] Te Pupuke Log Book, 22 September 1931. BAAA, 1003,7i.

Reference was made earlier to Auckland Education Board Schools, based on my reading of Inspectors reports on a sample of Board schools. In no report by any Inspector on those Auckland Board Schools I examined between 1930 and 1940 was any reference made to any aspect of Māori culture. However that is not surprising; the policy change after 1930 was directed specifically and only at the Native schools and did not include the Board schools in which the majority of Māori pupils were now enrolled.

3.4 THE LAND AND PRACTICAL EDUCATION

The schooling of Northern Māori children continued to be influenced by the belief amongst Crown officials that for cultural, demographic and economic reasons , Māori as a race would be associated with the land for the foreseeable future. Moreover stereotypes persisted in official quarters that Māori were somehow more suited to practical activities than Pākehā and this also continued to influence official policy for their schooling.

The idea was reinforced by patronising stereotypes about Māori, reflected in the comment by the Mayor of Auckland, Sir Ernest Davis, that 'The Māori is a child of nature; leave him in the country where he belongs- he does not belong in the town'.[947] One influential Pākehā commentator, Professor I.L.G. Sutherland, suggested that it would be a mistake to set a standard for the immediate future that would be too high, or to expect that the great bulk of the Māori people could achieve any extensive adaptation to the current economic life of New Zealand.[948] Sutherland accepted stereotypes of Māori ability, suggesting that:

[947] *New Zealand Māori Council Newsletter*, September, 1964, p. 7.
[948] I.L.G.Sutherland, *The Maori Situation,* Wellington, 1935, p.88.

> Māoris have no aptitude for Commerce and while a scattered few may European life in towns or cities, one sees no future for the people as a whole, save a life based on the land.[949]

He referred to the view that Māori would and should remain a land-based people as part of a 'wider conception', in that throughout the world there was a significant reversal of policies of Europeanizing Native peoples. As part of this trend, he referred approvingly to developments in South Africa:

> Where recommendations have recently been made tending towards the rehabilitation of Natives as Natives, the reduction of points of contact between them and Europeans, the provision of lands and the promotion of Native settlement thereon.[950]

The official policy of the Native Affairs Department explicitly stated at the time that 'the future of the Māori, his material existence, his economic, physical, and social welfare, is indubitably bound up in the soil…. The policy today is to assist the Māori to develop and farm his lands, to train him in those branches of agriculture most suited to his needs [951]

Crown education policy for Māori therefore reflected commonly held views of what the social and economic role of the Māori should be. The effect was an emphasis on education policies for Māori, at both primary and secondary levels, with a much stronger bias towards practical activities than anything experienced in the general state education system. 'Instruction in elementary agriculture is of much more importance to the native race than to the Pākehā', wrote the Director Education, T.B.Strong, to the then Senior Inspector of Native schools, John Porteous, in March 1929, in urging more emphasis on the subject in the Native schools.[952]

Strong was critical of teachers who encouraged the academic progress of Māori (and other indigenous peoples) beyond what he regarded as an acceptable minimum. He

[949] Ibid, p.91.
[950] Ibid, p.88.
[951] AJHR, 1937, G-10, p.3.
[952] Simon and Smith, p.114.

presented a view very reminiscent of those advocated earlier by Inspector Kirk and other education officials, which had the effect of controlling and limiting Māori life chances:

> Whenever I have come in contact with the education of the dark races, Māori, Samoan, Fijian, or Indian, I have noted with surprise their facility in mastering the intricacies of numerical calculations. This fatal facility has been taken advantage of in the Mission schools and even in the schools manned by white teachers to encourage the pupils to carry arithmetic to a stage far beyond their present needs or their possible future needs. [953]

This resonates with Kirk's assertion in 1906: 'When I have said that the Māori should not be made a scholar, it is not that we cannot make a scholar of him. My view is that we can: but I think the life he has got to lead will be most useful to his people if we refrain'.[954]

The strength of the belief that the future of the Māori lay on the land and this should be a major determinant of educational policy was also reaffirmed in Strong's statement that an education should be provided leading the Māori boy to 'become a good farmer and the Māori girl a good farmer's wife'.[955]

The Department's policy now led to a re-emphasis on and proliferation of practical activities of all kinds in the Native schools. This included a strong focus on agricultural and other practical subjects such as woodwork for the boys, and domestic training for girls. By the end of 1932, Ball identified activities taking place in agriculture including 'experimental work and note-taking', the keeping of garden diaries, school and home garden plots, calf clubs, tree propagation, and experimental plot work of value to farming practice in the district.[956] In the same year, the report of a school agricultural inspector on Native schools in Northland noted that an increasing number of the schools seedlings and root cuttings were being raised for distribution to Māori settlements.[957]

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[953] The Education of South Sea Natives', p.194.
[954] AJHR, 1906, G-5, p.102.
[955] Ibid., p.192.
[956] AJHR, 1933, E-3, p.3.
[957] ibid.

Activities reported up to the end of 1933 included sales of garden produce and agricultural shows, school and home garden plots, calf clubs, co-operation with 'leading farmers, main crop studies and farming procedure', and formation of a branch of the Women's Institute, with meetings held in the schools and in the homes.[958] Ball emphasized the need for teachers to link up school instruction with the land development schemes and Māori homes whenever possible, reporting optimistically, that:

> Agriculture is assuming a position of major importance in the curriculum of Native schools not only for its own intrinsic value, but also for the opportunity it affords to draw school and community closer together.[959]

The Northland agricultural inspector reported in 1934 that a home garden competition had been introduced in every Native school in the district, with very promising results in most schools. Many parents had shown a keen interest in the plots, he wrote, particularly where crops new to the district were being demonstrated.[960]

The priority given to the practical policy was reflected in a 'Statement of Principles' circulated by the Department to all Native schoolteachers in 1934. The first principle stated that 'all instruction be practical and related to the actual needs of the Māori', and others that 'in the case of girls, a practical knowledge of housecraft, including plain sewing, cooking, washing, and care of clothes, home cleaning and beautifying, mending, nursing be considered essential'; and, 'That the vocational aspect of the training be emphasized. Agriculture and woodwork closely correlated and in touch with the requirements of the district'.[961]

Māori parents frequently objected, both in the Native primary schools and in relation to the Crown directed policy for the Māori denominational boarding colleges where this same official emphasis prevailed, when their children were

[958] AJHR, 1934, E-3, p.3.
[959] AJHR, 1933, E-3, p.3.
[960] AJHR, 1934, E-3, p.3.
[961] AJHR, 1935, E-3, p.2.

expected to do too much work of a practical or manual kind rather than academic studies. They also sometimes objected when teachers required the pupils to work on school grounds or their private dwellings and linked this to the Department's directives about pupils undertaking practical activities. The following examples from schools attended by Northern Māori illustrate this:

> I have today received a visit from the Mr Henry Henare- brother of Tau Henare- The substance of Mr Henare's complaint was that he did not send his children to school to learn to be navies and that they had plenty of that sort of work at home. He further pointed out that the Committee had objected to the drive being made and I had no business proceeding with it. I pointed out that I was merely obeying orders from the Department and suggested that he appealed to you…
>
> The Committee would do nothing for the drive thinking it would deprive the children of playground and probably that I wanted it for my car…misunderstandings of this nature would be avoided if proposed improvements were submitted to the Committee.[962]

In 1938 the Director advised the Teacher at Oromahoe that the Department had received a complaint that the pupils of his school had been required to gravel a road for his car outside the school property.[963] The Teacher replied that:

> I admit that on three afternoons during "handwork" and "out-of-door" periods the boys of the standard classes were used to gather stones from the scoria flat through which the school access road passes…. The access road was practically impassable for cars and bicycles.[964]

In 1930 the Teacher at Te Ahuahu requested the Director's permission to carry out an 'experiment' at the school to test out his views on the value of basing the education of Māori children on a 'more extensive and practical course in agriculture'. This originated from his view that Māori youth, after passing through the schools, were 'lacking in

[962] Teacher Motatau to Director, 23 June 1933, BAAA,1001, 358a. Director to Teacher, Oromahoe, 14 October 1938, BAAA,1001, 983a.MSDB M3-100.
[963] Director to Teacher, Oromahoe, 14 October 1938, BAAA,1001, 983a.

[964] Teacher to Director, 18 October 1938,ibid. MSDB O5-142-O5-144.

initiative and unable to withstand the effects of an often unsuitable environment'; what was therefore needed was an education involving 'a maximum of purposeful activity'. His experiment would involve 'basing the schoolwork, as far as possible, on practical agriculture' in the belief that this would 'render the subjects of instruction more educative and intelligible to the Māori mind' He did not anticipate any opposition from parents, although this could arise particularly if the outcome was a 'lowering of the percentage of Proficiency passes'.

This latter phrase indicates his acknowledgement that the experiment involved coming off the normal academic expectations and standards of the primary school of the day. And the definite possibility, if not inevitability, that it would prejudice the chances the pupils had of passing the Proficiency Examination marking the successful passing of the primary school standards.

He suggested that any change therefore needed to be 'gradual in character so as not to arouse antagonism', and to get the scheme started he suggested about two hours each day of school time be devoted to the subject. It would be necessary to secure a piece of land near the school in order to enlarge the garden.[965] Departmental officials approved of his plan; because of a current need for economy he would need to acquire extra land free of charge to the Department, but it was prepared to pay for fencing material.[966]

At the Te Rawhiti School in 1931, the original handwork of the pupils was described as a feature of the school, with 'even tools such as knives, screw-drivers, handles for various tools and many useful articles in wood being manufactured from waste materials'.[967] After a visit to the school the Director of Education invited the Teacher to send in a requisition for a few tools because he was 'doing just the kind of work that should be done in every native school, viz. the utilization for handwork and manual training of

[965] Teacher Te Ahuahu to Director, 2 July 193, BAAA,1001, 1035a.
[966] Director to Teacher, 1 August 1930, ibid.
[967] Inspection report , 7 October 1931, BAAA,1001, 1050.

material within the reach of every child: lacework, natural clay, fencing wire, waste copper, sheet iron, boxes &c.[968]

During the 1930's the Department of Education's annual reports began to include a summary of reports on agriculture-related activities being conducted in the Native Schools. For the schools in North Auckland in 1938 the report read:

> Sweet pea growing, calf clubs, home gardens and lettuce and certified potato competitions. Officials from the Native and Lands Departments and local residents had co-operated in judging the various entries.[969]

The log book of the Kaikohe Native School records Inspector Woodley addressing the Parents Association on character training and the importance of practical work in connection with education.[970]

3.5 THE ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEM: DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION IN WELLINGTON AND SCHOOLS IN NORTHLAND ATTENDED BY MĀORI CHILDREN

The difficulties created for schooling in the North and impediments to it arising from the location of the Department of Education and the officials and inspectors responsible for Māori education being located far away in Wellington were referred to earlier. These persisted from 1930-1945, the period covered in this chapter.

The following example demonstrates the length of time it took to get a Native school established, with a significant number of Northern Māori children again remaining outside of school as a result. It takes on added significance and seriousness because of

[968] Notes on Native Schools visited by the Director, 15 March 1930, BAAA,1001, 1050a.
[969] AJHR 1939, E3 p2.
[970] Log Book,12 Feb 1942, BAAA,1001,1c..

how late in time it now is - well into the 1930s. It represents almost a classic case of the negative affect of the administrative delays characteristic of the system, combined with a seemingly complacent attitude by officials to the non-attendance of Māori pupils. It also illustrates how late in time the policy persisted that Māori wanting a school were still required to gift land free to the Crown for a school site.

In July 1933, residents in the Whangaruru district requested a Native School in the north-west part of the district, and enquiries revealed that there were 22 children ready to attend at once.[971] Fifteen months elapsed before the Senior Inspector of Native Schools (D.G.Ball) advised the Director that he refused to make a recommendation on the application on the grounds that:

> there was no proper or suitable access from the main road to the proposed site, especially during the winter months; it was almost impossible to board a teacher; most of the Māori children could attend at Whangaruru with little difficulty, and the others could be boarded; the Correspondence School provided facilities for settlers.[972]

Four months later Ball advised the Director of Education that he had met a deputation of parents from the Whangaroa Valley, who had again raised the question of a school. He had suggested they write to the Department, 'offering to build a suitable room…..and asking for the supply of a teacher and the necessary equipment; , pointing out to the Director that 'By this means the need for a school could be met at little expense to the Government'. The deputation supplied Ball with a list of children who could attend, and the 24 names included W.Peta 4 children; J.Ngere 2; J.Tanu 3; Mrs Mita Una 1; J.Raikere. Ball thought that out of the 24, European children were enrolled at the Correspondence School. He advised that 'At present most of these children are not attending school'.[973]

[971] H.B.Haddow to Director, 14 July 1933, BAAA,1001, 376a.
[972] D.G.Ball to Director, 26 October 1934, ibid. MSDB N3-17.
[973] Ball to Director, 21 February 1935, ibid. MSDB N3-22-N3-23.

In October 1936, by which time over three years had passed since the initial request for a school, the Director of Education advised the Minister that:

> On several occasions the question of establishing a school in this district was brought before the Native School Inspectors by the residents of this district, most of whom are Māoris. In this area there is no proper road access, but in March 1935, negotiations reached the stage where the Natives agreed to erect a temporary building which could be used as a classroom. Difficulty was experienced however in obtaining suitable accommodation for a teacher…..
> It was at this point that negotiations broke down and nothing more has been done, although the Māoris had been advised to board their children in the vicinity of the Whangaruru Native School, which is about 6 or 7 mils from their settlement.
>
> In November a Native School Inspector will be visiting the Whangaruru Native School and, once again, could look into the matter, but it is doubtful if anything can be done until the access from the main road……to the proposed school site is improved.[974]

A Pākehā resident now wrote Prime Minister Savage on behalf of the Māori children and her own:

> The Māoris have offered the land free for the school site; they also offered to build the school for nothing and still Mr Ball refused to give them a school, always making some excuse. Firstly because we hadn't a road, then because no teacher would come out here, and so on.
> At present there are 15 Māori children of school age and 4 Pākehā (mine), 19 altogether. I have two more under school age and there must be at least a dozen Māori children under school age. Only four of these Māori children have been going to school and 3 of the parents have now started their children on Correspondence School Teaching. How they will get on I don't know , as the parents have not had much of an education. To my way of thinking that makes it all the more praiseworthy on the parents part, as it shows they really want their children educated doesn't it?.....
>
> I do not expect a school to be opened this year, but do you think you could see that we had a school ready to begin the first term next year?.....The nearest school to the settlement is the Whangaruru Native School which is seven miles away across country, just over rough tracks. That is too far for children to ride twice a day.

[974] Director to Minister 28 October 1936, ibid.

> One of the objections Mr Ball raised was the boarding of the teacher. I offered to board him (or her) but it was turned down because I was 4 miles from the road….I do not see why two or three rooms could not be erected at the school if the teacher preferred it. But I think it is very unfair that because we live on a road we cannot get a school etc, especially as there are so many children of school age….
>
> A school is needed here. The children are here and there is boarding here for the teacher ….Now do you think you could get things moving in the proper departments and grant the Natives a school ready for the new year?[975]

The Minister of Education replied that an Inspector of Native Schools would visit 'with a view to seeing what can be done to provide educational facilities for the children concerning whom you write'.[976] In December an Inspector of Native Schools reported that:

> There are thirteen families living along this valley…The total number of children is 33 of school age and 12 under school age. Of the 33 that are of school age 15 are not attending school as the distance to the nearest school, Whangaruru, is too far….Of the five children attending school the majority are boarded at Whangaruru. I met two girls riding home from Whangaruru at 5pm. It would be well after 6pm before they reached home. The case for a school is a strong one and a central site was selected and the approval of the owners obtained……No school, however, could be erected until a road is formed…. I recommend therefore that the Hon. Minister of Public Works be informed of the need for a road from the Russell-Whangarei Road as far as the proposed school site (2 miles approx) and when the road is formed a school and residence be built.[977]

In July 1937 the Director wrote to the Minister reminding him that on the 8th of April the Minister of Public Works had advised that he had authorized an engineering survey …of the proposed road, 'and that when the probable cost of the road was known he would look more fully into the question with yourself…..So far no further advice has been received'. [978]

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[975] Mrs F.N.Haddow to Prime Minister, 16 October 1936, ibid. MSDB N3-24-N3-28.
[976] Minister to Haddow, 18 November 1936, ibid. MSDB N3-29.
[977] A Denne, Inspector Native Schools to Director, 16 December 1936, ibid.MSDB N3-30-N3-31.
[978] Director to Minister, 2 July 193, ibid. MSDB N3-36-N3-37.

In August 1937 the Minister of Public Works advised the Minister of Education that a record flood had delayed progress with the survey and, moreover:

> Regarding the possibility of commencing construction the chief obstacle is likely to be the attitude of both local bodies. The Whangarei County Council will in all probability be prepared to offer very little financial assistance towards the cost of giving access to lands which are mainly Crown or Native and from which they can expect little revenue to assist with future maintenance. The Bay of Islands county, while sympathetic to its ratepayers in the North who have no road access at all, is hardly likely to offer a contribution towards the cost of a work which will give its ratepayers an outlet into another County.[979]

In April 1938 Ball advised the Director that a site for the proposed school had been set aside by the Native land Court, Māori had again been consulted and had agreed to the school site being set aside as desired.[980] In October 1938, a grant of £2,550 was approved for the construction of a 'standard five-roomed teacher's residence with an open-air classroom' and the Auckland Education Board was requested to invite tenders.[981]

In January 1939 the District Engineer agreed with the Auckland Education Board's Architect that the site selected was not suitable, too much of it being on a hillside with inadequate space on the flat, and he suggested an alternative site.[982] In July 1939 the Native Land Court Judge advised the Director of Education that at a court sitting at Whangaruru the Māoris had agreed to:

> give up for the school site purposes the remainder of the flat on the western side of the new road. Waata Matenga very helpfully decided to shift his house from this flat on to the other or eastern side of the road so as to leave his flat area free for school building purpose. This area comes out of Whangaroa-Ngaiotonga 4A 2.
>
> The adjoining owner, Hirini Pita, who is farming on Whangaroa-Ngaiotonga 4A 3, then agreed to hand over the flat area alongside the road adjoining 4A 2 which is desired by the Education Department as the site for the school residence. Hirini

[979] Minister of Public Works to Minister of Education, 30 August 1937, ibid. MSDB N3-41.
[980] Ball to Director, 14 April 1938, ibid.
[981] Director to the Treasury Secretary, 17 October 1938,ibid. MSDB N3-56.
[982] District Engineer to Head of Public Works, 27 January 1939, ibid. MSDB N3-57.

> also agreed to the school area having a frontage of about 1 chain to the creek in case this is required for the purposes of supplying water to the school at any time.
>
> The result should be very satisfactory to the Education Department and the people of the district…The Natives have been exceedingly reasonable
> The Court expressed to the Natives its appreciation of the helpful spirit they had displayed in this matter. The Court understands that it is not their intention to claim compensation for the area in question.[983]

Finally, in February, 1940, the Ngaiotonga Valley Native School opened with a roll of 33. By February 1941, the roll had grown to 51.[984]

A significant number of Māori children had remained outside of schooling for over seven years, until 1940, after their parents had initially requested the Crown to provide a school, with all the negative implications of this for their future life chances.

It was hardly surprising that the first inspection report on the new school, after mentioning that it had ' been open for only a months, and quite a number of the children have had limited educational facilities', should comment that 'Consequently there is much to be done in the way of foundation work ….The children in Std 1 have virtually no grasp of written English at all'.[985]

The negative effects of the slow decision making , arising mainly from the administrative arrangements described earlier, obviously continued to impact on many aspects of the schooling of Northern Māori children during the 1930s.

Another example of this was the continuing difficulty teachers had in getting urgently needed repairs or improvements carried out on the schools, an aspect which often had negative effects on the quality of the teaching and learning. In 1941, the Punaruku

[983] Judge Acheson to Director, 19 July 1939,ibid. MSDB N3-65-N3-66.
[984] A.Budden to Director ,7 March 1940 and 10 February1941,BAAA 1001, 971a.MSDB N3-121.
[985] Inspection report, 2 March 1940, ibid. MSDB N3-119-N3-120.

School had 36 primer and 48 standards children enrolled, and eleven additional children had recently enrolled. The teacher described having had to:

> put an awning up in front of the shelter shed, but it is only a temporary affair, being my car cover…
> The two rooms we have at present are both small, and can accommodate thirty desks and tables of the medium or large size in comfort, or twenty of the infant dual-type tables.
> As there appeared to be every likelihood of the roll remaining in the vicinity of 80-90, he expresses the hope that the Department will consider the erection of a new classroom.[986]

Three months later, with no response from the Department, the Teacher suggests that 'the present shelter shed be enlarged and equipped with windows. This, I think, could be done cheaply and quickly'.[987] In 1944, the teacher at Punaruku, near Whangaruru South, had further cause for complaint:

> I wish to say that we are still without drinking water …A start has been made on the bore but there is no water yet, and when it is, its will not be considered suitable for drinking water. The children have been asked to bring bottles of water for drinking, but some parents objected to sending their children to school under such conditions. This, combined with a whooping cough epidemic, has brought our attendance down so low that it seems hardly worthwhile to keep open.
> From the enquiries I have made, I have learned that water shortage is no new thing at Punaruku Native School. The people make plain that promises of an improved supply were made two or three years ago, and still they are waiting.[988]

The Teacher at the Oromahoe Native School wrote to the Director in 1937 asking if the repairs to the school and house could be expedited:

> It is two and in some cases three years since we were promised some improvements, but for some reason or other the matter has been held up. Some of the repairs are urgently needed. For instance the drains have not functioned

[986] Teacher to Director, 10 February 1941, BAAA,1001, 480a. MSDB P6-69.
[987] Teacher to Director, 11 May 1941, ibid. MSDB P6-70. (In a hand written note Inspector Woodley comments that he is not prepared to approve this as a temporary measure until definitely assured that the school roll will remain up)
[988] Teacher to Director, 9 December 1944, ibid. MSDB P6-72-P6-73.

> properly for over a year…Two months ago the blockage became so bad that the drains had to be opened up. They were in a shocking state….The drains are still open and with summer approaching these will be a menace to our health and to that of the school children. Also the water supply is totally inadequate. For bathing purposes we have to carry water from an outside tank into the wash-house to be heated.[989]

A subsequent architect's report confirmed that:

> The water supply is inadequate, there is no hot water service, the washhouse and front veranda are in bad repair …..Recommended new bathroom, renewed drainage system, improvement in water supply and sundry repairs.[990]

But 15 months later, and from the language used obviously still drawing on these reports, a proposal had been drawn up to:

> improve lighting/ventilation etc in the school…The residential portion of the building provides unsatisfactory accommodation. The water supply is inadequate, there is no hot water service, the washhouse and front veranda are in bad repair and the bathroom, scullery and drainage system are inadequate. It is proposed therefore to provide a new bathroom and scullery, to renew the drainage system, to improve the water supply and to install a hot water service and to carry out sundry repairs.[991]

After a visit to the Pakotai Native School Mangakahia in 1944, the Minister of Education wanted to know what the present position was concerning the buildings at the school. He had seen '40 children at present without seats. The overcrowding is very bad indeed and they are using the shelter sheds during fine weather. What they will do when the weather becomes wintry they have no idea'.[992] The Director responded that the existing school building at Pakotai contained three small classrooms, but the attendance had increased to 129 pupils, for whom four classrooms were required, and he outlined a proposed course of action.[993]

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[989] Teacher to Director 2 October 1937, BAAA 1001,411a.
[990] Director to Minister , 22 October 1937,ibid.
[991] Director to Minister 16 January 1939,ibid.
[992] Memorandum to Building Branch, 9 March 1944,BAAA 10001,428b. MSDB P3-1.
[993] Director to Minister, 3 April 1944,ibid.

In October 1936, the Teacher at the Tautoro Native School reported that the roll number had increased to seventy seven and there were only thirty two desks. This meant that thirteen children were 'sitting on boxes or on the floor and cannot do good work. Would you please supply half a dozen dual desks!'.[994].

In May 1938, the Tautoro teacher wrote again, pointing out that since his appointment he had:

> made several requests for an adequate water supply, but no move has been made to establish same. Since Xmas, all tanks have been empty three times. There has been no water in school territory for the last four weeks. This necessitates carrying in buckets from a spring a good half mile away. To one who has to look after a home and children including a little baby the position has become intolerable. It is a matter of health.[995]

The example below describes the deplorable conditions tolerated for over 20 years, as late as the 1950s, in a school in which virtually all the pupils were Māori. Initially a Board School, it subsequently became a Native School at the request of parents, but the conditions persisted throughout both administrations.

The parents of Māori children attending the Te Papapua Creek Board School South Hokianga first wrote to the Department of Education in October 1929, requesting that a permanent Native school be established at Motukiore the following year. They advised that there were a large number of children eligible to attend and they had a site set aside for the school.[996]

At the Director's request a Board Inspector provided further information regarding the school::

[994] Teacher to Director, 10 October 1936, BAAA,1001, 506a.
[995] Teacher to Director 24 May 1938,ibid.
[996] Mrs W.Smith-Mete and others to Director 12 October 1929,BAAA 1001,365c.MSDB M5-4.

> The plan of the building will help in understanding the conditions. The fireplace is at one end, and even if the crowded condition of the school did not prevent its use, smoke, which blows back into the school, would.
> The door fits badly, and wind penetrates freely. The window frames and eave let in the water also.
> The shed is boarded with poor class timber . From the boards knots have dropped out ,in one case a large one, and the shed of course is larger than need be.
> On the day of my visit the children, particularly the younger ones were literally shivering…..There is no shelter outside, other than the shed. whatever…
> The site is quite unsuitable. There is practically no flat ground and the approach is, from all sides but the main ridge to which the site belongs, very steep…….
> He pointed out that even if improvements made the existing school would still be far too small for present numbers, and
> 'a new school on a new site seemed the only consideration possible in justice to children and teacher'.[997]

The School Medical Officer, Dr Champtaloup, inspected the school in April 1931 and reported that:

> It is, I think, the worst school building I have had the misfortune to visit.. It is situated on a high mountainous ridge and is ill fitted for the exposed position it occupies. It is proof neither against wind or rain. The very rough corrugated iron fireplace is so defective that the fire smokes very badly. The lighting is inadequate….The school is so crowded that a rearrangement of desks is impossible…There was evidence that the building had a deleterious effect on the health of both children and teacher. I have to recommend that this building be condemned and that the Education Authorities be asked to make some better arrangements as soon as possible.[998]

Based on these reports, the Director of Education recommended the building of a new Board school, pointing out that the site was Native land and would require to be taken under the Public Works Act. He recommended that a grant of £533 be approval for the Department to proceed to take the site under the Act, and the Minister approved.[999] However no new school was built, although

[997] B.Blake, Inspector of Schools, to Senior Inspector nd but 1930, ibid.
[998] District Health Officer to Secretary, Auckland Education Board, 22 June 1931,ibid.MSDB M5-13.

[999] Director to Minister 8 July 1931,ibid.MSDB M5-15.

in June 1933 the Auckland Board authorized a change of name for the school from Papapua Creek to Motukiore.[1000]

In 1938 the school, which had earlier been condemned, was still open, a report that year describing the school building as consisting of :

> one room built of corrugated iron, and is erected on unimproved steep sidling country remote from any settlers….
> In conversation with the Head teacher, he concurred with my expressed opinion that the school was situated in an entirely unsuitable position, and, apart from the great difficulty experienced in obtaining supplies for the school and teacher-all of which have to be carried by hand or pack horse-the position of the school greatly affects the attendance.
> In these circumstances any expenditure on this site could not be recommended, and I would suggest that the Education Department be asked to consider removing the present building, or erecting a new one, in or near to the settlement where the children are living.[1001]

Meanwhile the School Committee, comprising Māori parents, struggled on to make the best of the situation. In September 1938 it requested the Department to make a special grant to enable it to complete the excavation of the playing area in the school grounds, pointing out that originally built on a hillside, the school and grounds had no level ground on which the children could play games. A grant of £10 was subsequently made by the Board for improvements to the grounds, the Committee reporting that:

> We employed a team of horses with plough and scoop on excavation work. After expending the grant we made application for further funds to enable a decent sized playing field to be formed, we were advised by the Board that a further grant could not be made for improvement purposes.[1002]

One year earlier, a Board Inspector had reported that the parents had met with him and asked what steps they needed to take to have the school made a Native School, pointing out that all 20 children on the roll were Māori.. They had

[1000] Secretary to Director 12 June 1933,ibid.
[1001] District Engineer to Head Public Works, 28 November 1938, ibid. MSDB M5-41.
[1002] Committee Secretary to Minister, 9 September 1938, ibid.

also reinforced the difficulties of the site and buildings of the existing school which the Inspector verified. The teacher had informed him that the nearest pupil lived three-quarters of a mile away from the school, while some had to walk two miles:

> They informed me they wanted to have a Native School because all the children were Māoris, they had heard we were encouraging Māori arts and crafts, and they felt their children could receive greater benefit from scholarships by attending Native Schools…..
> They also wished the school to be on a new site close to the settlement, as in wet weather it was impossible for the children to go to school over the roughest of tracks. They offered to provide the necessary land free of charge….
> I pointed out that the matter was one where the permission of the Board is needed to take over the school, but if they definitely wanted a Native School they should send in a petition to that effect.[1003]

The long-running course of events which followed illustrates a common occurrence; Education Boards preferring to keep schools under their own administration if possible. This was often even the case when, as here, the physical conditions of the school were so unsatisfactory, and maintaining it as a Board school was not the wish of the Māori parents or, in their view, in the best interest of their children.

In April 1937 the Director Education advised the Minister that a petition had been received from parents and he recommended 'that it would be in the interests of these Māori children to have their school administered as a Native School'. The Auckland Education Board should be approached to ascertain their views on the suggested change of status. [1004] But the Auckland Education Board's Secretary responded that as the Board was 'unaware of any good purpose that would be served, it cannot recommend any change in status'.[1005] The Director restated the view that it should be a Native School . But he also acknowledged that, as the law stood, there was no provision for the compulsory change

[1003] Inspector (T. Fletcher) to Director, 22 March 1937, ibid.
[1004] Director to Minister, 23 April 1937, ibid. MSDB M5-29-M5-30.
[1005] Board Secretary to Director, 13 May 1937, ibid. MSDB M5-31.

in status of a Board School to a Native School, and no immediate action was therefore possible.[1006] The Director therefore advised the Teacher at Motukiore that it was not the Auckland Board's policy to hand over Board schools to the control of the Education Department for administration as Native schools, even when the pupils were predominantly Māori.[1007]

However in June 1940 the Director of Education again appealed to the Auckland Board to agree to a change of status to a Native School, pointing out, again, that all the pupils were Māori.[1008] The Board now finally agreed, and the School Committee, while expressing appreciation of the change of status, also again asked whether it would be possible to get a new school on a new site.[1009]

In October 1940 an Inspector recommended that a new site, owned by F.H. Phillips, be acquired, and that an open air classroom and residence be erected on it.[1010] However in February 1941, the Secretary of the School Committee wrote advising that the Committee had heard nothing more on the matter.[1011]

Another five years was now to elapse before anything further happened. This can perhaps be explained, in part, by the interruption to the school building programme caused by the War. However parents petitioned the Director again in April 1946:

> for the building of our new school. It is some time now since we had anything done about the matter. We feel that this matter should be given serious consideration. Our present school is too crowded, the infants being taught in a draughty shelter shed. The surroundings are bad as far as playing area is concerned.[1012]

[1006] Minister to Secretary School Committee, 26 May, ibid. 1937. MSDB M5-33.
[1007] Director to Teacher, 9 September 1938, ibid.MSDB M5-36.
[1008] Director to Secretary, 18 June 1940, ibid. MSDB M5-42.
[1009] Committee Secretary to C. Boswell MP, 14 July 1940, ibid. MSDB M5-45.
[1010] Inspector to Director, 15 October 1940, ibid.MSDB M5-50-M5-53.
[1011] Secretary to Inspector, 16 February 1941, ibid.MSDB M5-56-M5-58.
[1012] Secretary to Director, 5 April 1946, ibid. MSDB M5-69.

Three months later, the Native School Inspector Tom Fletcher reported on a visit in which he had investigated a new site for the school. He wrote that 'The present site is useless, for not only is it difficult to access by car, but there are no pupils living within one and half miles of it, and this is not by roads but across country and up hills and across swamps….
I recommend that the Department take immediate steps to acquire the site.[1013]

Over a year later, in August 1947, the Director advised the Committee that the Department 'very much regrets the present congested conditions but it has not overlooked the need for the provision of a new school. As yet nothing can be done ….because finality has still to be reached with regard to the acquisition of the new site'.[1014] Discussion over various legal matters relating to a new site were still continuing in February 1949. In that month the Teacher reported that:

> The majority of parents and myself are still feeling very anxious as to what is being done about the new school. Your memo last year asked us to be patient, but as the winter is rapidly approaching, the parents feel they cannot do justice in sending their little ones to sit in the damp cold shelter shed all day. As for myself, I have to carry all groceries on my back for two miles uphill, as the weekly bus service cannot get up this clay road to the school once the wet weather commences.[1015]

In May 1949 the Minister continued to express regret at the delay, advising that the transfer of title to the site was still holding things up.[1016] Nothing had still happened in February 1950, a report stating that:

> The existing Motukiore School consists of one room weatherboard/iron roof construction….There are two teachers and use is made of a small and quite unsuitable shelter shed. The teachers live with family of three children in a three roomed bach in which beds cannot be accommodated and sleeping facilities are therefore merely mattresses placed on the floors and (for the

[1013] Fletcher to Director, 13 July 1946, ibid.
[1014] Director to Secretary, 1 August 1947, ibid. MSDB M5-79.
[1015] Teacher to District Superintendent, 8 February 1949,BAAA,1001, 366a.MSDB M5-111.
[1016] Minister to Parent's Association, 24 May 1949, BAAA,1001, 366a. MSDB M5-113.

> parents) a double bed mattress placed on top of the bath and tubs. The living conditions are appalling.[1017]

Tenders for the building of a new school were called in October 1951, but no replies were received, leading the Teacher to conclude that it could not be taken for granted that the new school and residence would be ready for the next winter:

> although two of your inspectors assured me, in careful words, that it would be. And here we sit, dazed by the flies which visit us from the earth closets in summer and hemmed in with mud, absenteeism and the despair which rises from lost hopes in the winter. To cap all this, there arises the fact that Mrs Stevenson is expecting a baby in early March and the fact is that we have nowhere to put it.[1018]

In August 1953, 24 years after Māori parents had requested that a new school be built, the new school, which has been under construction since September 1952, was nearly completed.[1019]

3.6 THE CROWN'S CONTINUING REQUIREMENT FROM NORTHERN MĀORI OF A CONTRIBUTION TO THEIR SCHOOLING

The Crown continued to expect Northern Māori to make significant contributions to the provision of schooling the Native Schools after 1930, in a manner and to an extent which seems extraordinary compared with the free education which had been provided in Board Schools since 1877.

In 1935, parents wanted a new school established at Punaruku to avoid the need for pupils making a dangerous 20 minute trip by dinghy or launch to the Whangaruru Native School, situated approximately 15 miles south of Russell. The Director of Education advised that they had undertaken to:

[1017] District Administrative Officer, Notes on visit to Motukiore School, 13 February 1950 ibid.MSDB M5-119-M5-123.
[1018] Teacher to District Superintendent, 6 December 1951,ibid.MSDB M5-158-M5-160.
[1019] Teacher to District Superintendent, 20 August 1953, ibid. MSDB M5-172.

> provide free a site of five acres as required by Clause 2 of the Regulations relating to Native Schools. They were, therefore, recently sent a Form of Agreement for signature with a view to action being taken to have the area taken as a Native School site by proclamation under the Public Works Act .[1020]

Subsequently, one of the joint owners wanted £50 in payment for the land, but the Department remained adamant that 'if the people are desirous of having a new school, it will be necessary for them to give the site free of charge as is the custom when Native Schools are being established. In return for this the children receive free books, stationary and school requisites'.[1021]

I find the Department's position here surprising. Virtually all earlier references I have seen, going back to the 1880 Native Schools Code, linked the provision of free stationary and other school requisites to the cleaning of the schools by the pupils, not as a return for the free provision of land for a school site.

However three owners, Morore Kaupeka Piripi, Wiremu Kingi Rapata and Merata Himiona, agreed to gift the site for Native School purposes 'free of compensation'.[1022]

In February 1938, the Director of Education advised the Under Secretary of the Public Works Department that a new Native School had been established on a site of 6 acres. The Education Department had erected the necessary buildings, on receipt of an assurance from the Native Land Court that there would be no difficulty in the matter of completion of the Crown's title to the site, which was being donated to the Government free by the Māori owners. It was pointed out that confirmation of this could be obtained from the Registrar of the Native Land Court, Auckland.[1023]

[1020] A/Director to Registrar Māori Land Board, 11 December 1935,BAAA,1001, 480a.MSDB P6-14-P6-15.
[1021] A/Director to E. Swann, 9 January 1936, ibid. MSDB P6-16-P6-17.
[1022] Registrar Native Land Court to Director, 17 August 1936, ibid. MSDB P6-32-P6-33.
[1023] Director to Under Secretary, 7 February 1938, ibid. MSDB P6-60-P6-61.

3.7 THE TEACHERS

Various matters relating to the appointment, performance and dismissal of teachers in Native schools were discussed in the last chapter. It was suggested that some of the difficulties arising stemmed, at least in part, from the administrative arrangements involving long distance decision- making from Wellington. The discussion is continued here for the period 1930-1945.

One of the most disturbing aspects of the attitude of some of the teachers was the continuation of stereotyped views about the abilities of Māori pupils, and low expectations held regarding them. This was expressed in various ways; classifying an extraordinarily high proportion of Northern Māori children as 'backward', 'slow', 'dull' or 'retarded'; holding back pupils from advancement to the next class, or in other descriptions of pupils. The following examples illustrate this:

Kaikohe Native School Teacher's Annual Examination Report, 16 December 1933.
Remarks (Including the grounds of retention in the preparatory division in case of pupils who are over 8 years of age or who have been more than two years at school).

Slow
Slow
Backward
Backward
Backward
Slow
Makes no comment
Slow
Backward
Late starting school
Backward
Slow
Sulky difficult nature

Not strong

No comment on

Slow

Backward

Backward

Child often away

P3

Slow

Slow

Backward

Sick

Slightly subnormal

Backward

Very slow

Backward

Change of school frequent

Excluded from school most of year on account of tb

Sickness

Subnormal

Backward

Slow

P2

Excluded for two years on account of nerves

Sickness

Frequent change of school

P1

Subnormal[1024]

[1024] File BAAA 1001 941d.

Kaikohe NS Annual Classification Return 1939. Class P4.

Boys		Remarks on pupils when considered necessary
1		Dull-cannot concentrate
3		Dull-ill health
4	(age 11 years 1m	Late start
5		Dull-Irreg attendance
6		Very dull
7		Dull
8		Late start
9		
10		Very dull
11		Dull
12		Very dull
13		Slow
14		Slow
15		Change of schools
16		Dull.Abs in hospital
17		Sub normal
18		Lacks concen.Dull
19		Dull
20		Very slow
21		Dull
22		Dull- ill health

23 Dull

> Seven P4 girls had comments made about them:2 dull; 2 very dull; 2 late start; I poor eyesight.[1025]

Annual Classification Te Pupuke Native School 13 December 1937.

The teacher lists the classes then lists:

> 'Retardates' 11 Students are listed all aged between 6-8 years..[1026]

Low teacher expectations were evident at Te Rawhiti in 1935, the Inspector reporting that:

> a considerable amount of retardation is noticeable in the primers and every effort should be made to have these children ready for the standards as soon as possible. One or two should be promoted at once.
>
> The chief fault in connection with your division is the amount of retardation noticeable. Quite a number of children have been over three years in the Infant room, and some as much as five years. These children should be given special attention.[1027]

After an inspection report on Whangape on the 15 June 1932, Inspectors Ball and Fletcher advised the teachers that more children needed to be taken into the senior room as soon as they were ready for promotion, i.e. the teachers needed to lift their expectations of the children. They were also advised that the last report had indicated 'many serious weaknesses' in their teaching. But although suggestions had been made for the eradication of these, 'Little, if any, improvement is noticeable' In the primer

[1025] Ibid.
[1026] BAAA,1001,1049a.
[1027] Inspection report, 21 February 1935, BAAA,1001, 1050a

classes they found 'very serious retardation' evident, some of the Primer 3 children being in their fourth year. The teachers were advised to 'thoroughly overhaul their teaching methods which are now missing the mark. The school can be graded poor'.[1028] The teaching did not improve, and in March 1934 the Inspectors advised the Director 'we are both most emphatically of the opinion that Mr Templeton is unsuited for Native School work and that he has proved himself unable to conduct a Grade 111 school'.[1029]

Teachers in Native Schools had remained woefully under-qualified on the Department of Education's own criteria. In 1920, only 29 percent of those in the AJHT list had a standard teachers certificate.[1030] Only 64 percent were certificated in 1930, although this rose to 86 percent in 1939. [1031] The proportion of uncertificated head and assistant teachers in the schools therefore continued to decline during this period. But the Department not only persisted in appointing unqualified people as teachers to Native Schools, which was reflected in some of the negative reports on the teaching in some schools; it also sometimes continued to take an inordinately long time to make decisions about the appointment of teachers or dismissal of unsatisfactory teachers.

Inspectors continued to report on serious deficiencies in the performance of many of the teachers. A report on Oromahoe in 1934 concluded that 'in the senior room there is scarcely one subject that can be considered satisfactory while the essential ones are definitely weak…..The school must be graded weak[1032].

The Director subsequently wrote to the Teacher pointing out that following the previous visit of the Inspector he had been advised of the necessity of making a:

> determined effort to bring about a much needed improvement in the standard of efficiency. From the Inspector's report it appears that the school is still in a weak condition….The Department cannot continue to overlook unfavourable

[1028] Inspection report, 15 June 1932,BAAA,1001, 1086a
[1029] Inspectors to Director, 7 March 1934, ibid.
[1030] McGeorge, p. 181.
[1031] AJHR 1940, E-3, p.5.
[1032] Inspection report 6 March 1934, BAAA,1001, 983a. MSDB O5-121.

> reports and I therefore regret to have to inform you that unless a considerable improvement is observed at the next inspection visit there will be no option but to bring the matter under the notice of the Public Service Commissioner.[1033]

However matters had still not improved at the next inspection six months later, the Inspector criticizing the lack of punctuality; 'School clocks should be kept at correct time. School started this morning at 9.40 am', and finding the work in arithmetic 'almost hopeless…Reading, too, is weak…Oral expression is almost non-existent.[1034] Five months later 'The amount of retardation in the standard classes' was described as 'very serious, and demands that every effort should be made to accelerate some of the retarded children….the weaknesses in the upper school prevent the school being graded better than fair.[1035]

In June 1942 the Teacher at the Kaikohe Native School advised the Department that the Infant teacher had been unfit for work for 4 weeks, and he urgently requested a 'capable infant teacher for primers two, three, four, forty eight children'.[1036] The Department appointed a relieving teacher but one who had 'no experience in infant work. Am writing Department on the matter. An infant teacher is absolutely essential'.[1037]

After a staff meeting to discuss the promotion of children according to ages, on the Inspector's advice,. the head teacher at Kaikohe reported derogatorily (but following the earlier example of an Inspector) that it had been decided to investigate 'each retardate child to determine cause and as to whether it is to the best interests of the child to disregard ability for age'.[1038]

[1033] Director to Teacher,4 April 1934, ibid. 983a. MSDB O5-123.
[1034] Inspection Report, 10 September 1934, ibid.
[1035] Inspection Report, 25 February 1935, ibid. MSDB O5-124-O5-125.
[1036] Kaikohe Log Book 17 June 1932,BAAA,1003,1a.
[1037] 23 June, ibid.
[1038] 28 February, 1933,ibid.

A newly appointed teacher at the Waikare Native School described inspecting the school examination register, and finding that out of 30 standard pupils examined at the end of 1937, 9 had failed in composition, 11 in English, and 15 in arithmetic.[1039] Soon after he reported that after carefully scrutinizing the 1937 promotion exam papers, he summed the results up as: In the standard classes: 50% failed in arithmetic; 63% in composition.[1040]

In an Inspection report on Punaruku in 1940 the Inspector drew attention to:

> quite a number of weaknesses in the school in both divisions, and much remains to be done to develop fully the initiative of the children. …Arithmetic and oral English are much below standard in the senior division while written English is far from strong below Form 1…….
>
> Arithmetic is far from satisfactory. In a test on last year's work Forms 1 and 2 averaged less than 25 % and in Std 4 the average was 45%. There are weaknesses not only in practical problems but also in straightforward mechanical work[1041]

It should be noted here that the inspection was taking place and the pupils being tested at the beginning of March, when the school had only been open a few weeks. This practice was common in many Native Schools, but not in Board Schools, because of the need to accommodate the visiting schedule of the Wellington-based inspectors of Native Schools. . As was mentioned earlier, Committees of Native Schools sometimes complained that the early examination was unfair on the children, but it persisted.

At Omanaia in 1934 the Inspector advised the Teacher that he had:

> much work ahead of you to raise the standard of the school…Arithmetic is particularly weak, except for about 2 pupils in Form 11. In the test today only 36 sums out of 119 attempted were correctly worked….Composition is also weak in all classes below Form 11….Spelling is also weak….Little or no

[1039] Waikare Log Book, 25.1.1938, BAAA,1003.8i.
[1040] Ibid, 26.1.1937.
[1041] Inspection report, 5 March 1940, BAAA,1001, 480a.

> Handwork of a constructive nature has been done and Sewing with the girls has been neglected.[1042]

At Whakapara north of Whangarei in 1933, the performance of the Head Teacher had been so bad that the Director of Education, after reading the report of the Inspectors, and taking the drastic step of degrading him to a Grade 1 school, which had 'failed to bring him to a sense of his responsibilities', decided that he was not 'worthy of a further chance to reinstate himself. I accordingly recommend that his services be terminated forthwith'.[1043]

At Te Horo in 1935, the Inspector considered the standard of efficiency to be ' below the average and is not likely to be improved so long as the teachers do not take their school duties seriously. There is much to be done, not only to improve the academic and general work, but to raise the general tone which is low…At present the school cannot be graded better then fair.[1044] This report resulted in a recommendation to the Director of Education that the Head teacher 'should be warned that any further neglect will be considered justification for dismissal from the service'.[1045]

Some teachers continued to use severe punishments, contributing to a harsh regime in many of the schools:

> I have had to whip Matini Heke severely (using a very bad word coupled with Miss Bramley's name).[1046]
>
> I have given Sam Rudolph six cuts with the strap and Hira Tihi three cuts for speaking rudely about Miss Bramley
> 2.8.32

[1042] Director to Public Service Commissioner, 9 March 1933, BAAA,1001, 1080a.
[1043] Inspection report 17 September 1934, BAAA,1001. 979b.
[1044] Inspection report, 9 August 1935, BAAA,1001, 584a.
[1045] Acting Inspector of Native Schools to Director, 19 August 1935,ibid.
[1046] Te Pupuke Log Book, 7.7.1932, BAAA,1003,7i.

> Pearl Heta...six cuts with the strap and written to her mother speaking in a filthy and untrue way to some of the girls

The attitude of some teachers towards Māori generally continued to be derisive or fault-finding. A District Child Welfare Officer described receiving many letters from the Head of the Whangape Native School, having seen correspondence between him and officials of the Department of Education, and having had several conversations with him personally. He described him as conscientious and energetic:

> but I am inclined to doubt whether he brings as much intelligence to bear on his dealings with parents and other outsiders as he might do…He condemns completely any parent he writes about …He always has something to say along these lines "It is absolutely useless you writing or talking to this man. I have already done that and it has no effect. Your Department must not play with him or show any leniency. You must do something extreme".

As an example of the Head's attitude he refers to a complaint he made about parental neglect of children and truancy, which the Officer decided to investigate [1047]. Reporting on the visit, he describes finding 'the best-kept Māori house and grounds that I have yet seen in the North', the owner of which was 'an elderly, distinguished looking man' who 'resented any suggestion that his grandchildren were either neglected or irregular in attendance'. He describes him as a lay reader in the Anglican Church who said he had served as Chairman of a School Committee for 22 years, and since then had continued his interest in education. He had pointed out that:

> In all that time I have not met a worse teacher than Mr ….He may be highly qualified and he might be a good-living man, but he cannot teach… I want my grandchildren to be properly educated. I test them myself when they come home from school but since Mr….has been here they learn nothing. It is a waste of time their going to school but I know the law and I send them. At the same time I have written to the Minister asking him to send us another teacher.[1048]

[1047] District Child Welfare Officer to Superintendent Child Welfare Branch, 19 July 1944, BAAA,1001, 1086b.
[1048] District Child Welfare Officer to Superintendent, 28 August 1944, ibid.

Advised of this correspondence, the Senior Inspector of Native Schools wrote to the Head, suggesting to him that:

> the time has arrived when you should carefully consider what effect your line of approach to your problems is having on your community. There is undoubtedly a strong feeling of antagonism between you and your community. In your letters to the Department you whole-heartedly condemn any parent whose conduct does not conform to our standards. This whole-hearted condemnation attitude is not helping you at the present time. You cannot drive the Māori people…If you attempt to drive them you will meet with obstruction. They quickly sense your attitude to them, and devise their method of response accordingly…This is where your attitude has failed, with the result that they condemn you just as whole-heartedly as you condemn them. They resent your dictatorial attitude.[1049]

One of the positive developments during this period was the appointment of more Māori as teachers in northern schools. as in the following examples. However it should be noted that most appointments were still at the lowest grade of untrained Junior Assistant.

Eliza Ngawaka, a former pupil of Whangape, who had gained one of the Department's scholarships and spent two years at Queen Victoria School for Māori Girls in Auckland, was appointed as a Junior Assistant at Whangape in June 1935. Inspector Ball reported very favourably on her work. She was transferred in 1938 and her replacement was another Māori woman, Christine Parore, who had had 5 years of secondary education at the Dargaville District High School.[1050]

Te Pupuke: Miss Heketa commenced duties today as 2nd Assistant.[1051]

Kaikohe: Miss Ruby Te Kuru Haggie arrived yesterday and commenced today.[1052]

[1049] Fletcher to Head teacher, 16 August 1944, ibid.
[1050] Whangape School File, BAAA,1001,1086a
[1051] Te Pupuke Log Book, 8.7.1936, BAAA,1003,7i.
[1052] Kaikohe Log Book, 7 Feb 1941,BAAA,1003,1a.

Te rawhiti: Miss Maioka appointed Junior Assistant.[1053]

3.8 ATTENDANCE

The attendance of Northern Māori children continued to be affected by a number of factors. Most of these were outside the control of them and their parents, and included difficult access to schools, adverse weather conditions, the need of parents to seek employment away from homes, poverty, the still alien atmosphere of some of the schools for Māori children, and negative teacher attitudes and behaviours. Some teachers were sympathetic when difficulties arose; others were inclined to blame at parents and adopt a rigid approach, including regularly initiating prosecutions for absence .

Māori themselves continued to encourage the Department to take initiatives which would facilitate attendance and maintain it on a regular basis. In 1929 the Chairman of the Kaikohe Native School Committee, Wiremu Hongi, wrote to Sir Apirana Ngata asking him to make representation to the Education Department to build a boarding house for the school children at Kaikohe from Monday to the Friday. He pointed out that the parents of most of the children relied on gum digging for a livelihood. But owing to the very low price of gum, they were not able to maintain their families. Under existing conditions the average school attendance was therefore low. The number on the roll was 150, but an average of only 125 was currently being maintained. The Committee wished to keep up the full average at this school, but felt that it could not do this currently owing to unemployment and the fact that most of the parents obtained their living from gum-digging.

He also drew Ngata's attention to the problem mentioned above; the school examination for the Māori children was held about March/April, following the summer holidays, and this militated against good results. He pointed out that Board schools had their

[1053] Te Rawhiti Log Book, 1.2.1939,BAAA,1003.7m..

examinations in December, and asked Ngata to give both these matters his serious consideration.[1054]

Ngata made enquiries of the Director Education who responded that the boarding house idea was not possible; In districts where the distance to be travelled to school was very great, children could be boarded with friends, and the Department paid a boarding allowance at the rate of 5/-per week. In other districts, where circumstances warranted the conveyance of children by vehicle, the Government met the expense of this conveyance. With regard to the date of the annual examination, consideration was being given to the possibility of arranging an alternative date. [1055]

Armed with this response, the Teacher requested the Minister of Education to apply for transport of Māori children to the Kaikohe Native School. He e pointed out that 12 of the children walked to school every morning and back to their houses every night, covering a distance of twelve miles every school day. Seven children lived in the same road at a distance of three miles, and three more young children were ready to attend school, but they were too young to walk that distance.[1056]

At Te Pupuke, the Teacher recorded taking the names of two children, Wati Tauroa and Wini Tauro, off the roll. He described both as under six years of age and having 'attended exceptionally badly –fewer than half the attendances have been put in, and now the winter has come they have been worse than ever'. No indication is given that he has attempted to seek an explanation from parents, or discuss the matter with the Committee.[1057]

The Teacher at Waikare recorded the following in the Log Book in 1933:

> 22.5.33 Second term. Reopened school today with a roll of 36 and an

[1054] Chairman to Ngata, 28 April 1929, BAAA 1001, 941d. MSDB K1-622-K1-624.
[1055] Director to Ngata, 20 June 1929. ibid.MSDB K1-627.
[1056] Teacher to Minister, 24 February 1931, ibid. MSDB K1-638-K1-639.Nothing further appears on the file.
[1057] Te Pupuke Log, 24.6 32. BAAA,1003,7i.

attendance of 4. Severe epidemic of measles and whooping cough together with an unusual flood accounts for the extremely low attendance

23.5 Attendance of 2. Flood again during the night.

26.3 One child only present. Big flood everywhere renders attendance impossible.

2.6 Another week of excepted half days owing to epidemic of measles and whooping cough.

14.6 The first full day, ie. not excepted, this term. 28 present.

19.6 Another crop of excepted half days influenza having broken out

21.6 Only 5 present owing to exceedingly wet day

23.6 Another week of excepted half days

4.7 Rivers are flooded and only 5 children have been able to get to school on these two days.

Things are really desperate. Half the term gone and only two days not excepted half days. Work is suffering severely in all Departments especially in the primer room where attendance has reached only 42% so far this term.[1058]

During 1942 the Director of Education wrote to the Head of the Kaikohe Native School regarding unsatisfactory attendance at the school. The Head's reply was comprehensive. He had identified the names and number of children who had been absent more than 20 half days during the second term in 1942, arriving at 149 children out of a total roll of over 200. Of the 149, 77 resulted from illness or injury to a child or parent; 17 worked or helped at home; 9 were impeded by river flooding; wet weather; distance from the school; 53 no satisfactory reason given. He wrote that:

> The poor attendance at this school has given us great concern. It is the combined opinion of this staff that the chief causes of absences are (a) the requirement at home for house or outside work and (b) some parental apathy.

[1058] Waikare Log, BAAA,1003,8i.

> The School Committee is of the same opinion. Some local reasons for poor attendance are:
>
> 1. Less than one sixth of the children attending live within one mile of the school
> 2. 2 A large floating population of children attends here, usually living some miles out. This year admissions are 81 and withdrawals 83 to date. Some attend for two or three days, and then leave without notice, and are thus marked absent, when actually they have left.
>
> The steps taken to improve attendance have been fairly exhaustive:
>
> a. Notes to parents or guardians
>
> b Requests to District Nurses to investigate apparent illnesses.
>
> c Committee meetings with subsequent visits of Committee members to families in the district
>
> d Personal visits-all members of staff have visited homes within reach. Owing to petrol restrictions the area is now limited
>
> e Police have been requested to visit homes, when in the vicinity, to inquire for reasons of absences. The Ngawha area, unfortunately, is not in the local police district.
>
> Information sent to the Education Department , with subsequent letters from the Department to parents.[1059]

Inspector Tom T Fletcher replied thanking him for his comprehensive report, but listed the names of 26 families where the attendance of the children was not regarded was satisfactory. He then requested their names and addresses 'to enable a special letter to be sent from the Department requesting cooperation and advising prosecution will follow if nor forthcoming'.[1060] Fletcher followed this up with a letter to the parents concerned which was reasonably humane:

> This poor attendance is bad for the children as well as for the school. The children cannot be taught while they are away, and they fall behind the others. The teachers, too cannot do their best work when the pupils stay away so frequently.
>
> We are very anxious that our Māori boys and girls should get a good start in life by receiving a good education. In these days they cannot hope to be successful without it.. I am quite sure that you, like the teachers and myself, wish your child to do well. In fairness to the child she should attend regularly.

[1059] Head Teacher to Director,14 September 1942, BAAA,1001, 942c.MSDB K1-735.
[1060] 5 October 1942, ibid.MSDB K1-736.

> We do not expect children to come to school when they are sick, but if they are well they should be at school. As you no doubt know, you can be prosecuted for keeping the child at home without proper excuse, but we do not wish to do that without giving you a chance. I am therefore writing to you to ask you to make sure that she attends school whenever it is possible.
>
> I should like a letter from you promising to do your best in this matter in the future.[1061]

The Head of Motatau reported in 1935 that although some children had restarted at the school, the roads remained as bad as previously and 'as it means 70 miles per week for each pony it is impossible for them to continue until there is improvement in conditions'.[1062]

In 1935 the 'rough state of the harbour' meant pupils at Te Rawhiti had not been able to attend for a wee.[1063]

On another occasion, two pupils had been absent for a fortnight because their mother had been 'too ill to row them across the bay'.[1064]

Illnesses continued to affect attendance, but also had other implications. The unsatisfactory state of some school buildings and conditions continued to cause concern in relation to the health of pupils. In 1935 the Medical Officer of wrote to the Director of Education concerning circumstances at the Kaikohe Native School:

> I have several recommendations to make which should lead to better health conditions among the pupils.
> The area surrounding the school requires gravel, as it is absolutely impossible for anyone to enter the school without walking through mud and carrying same into building……
> The tanks and washing facilities at this school are very inadequate. Now that a good water supply is available from the town mains, I recommend that the

[1061] Ibid
[1062] Log Book, 12 September, 1935, BAAA,1003.
[1063] Te Rawhiti Log Book, 9 April 1937, BAAA 1003, 7m.
[1064] 31 March 1937, Ibid

> school be connected to same and that hand and leg washing facilities be provided.
> Most of the children were found to be covered with mud as far as the knees and the elbows, with no practical method of removing the mud. This uncleanliness is reflected in the skin conditions of the pupils, 60 of whom, out of 134 examined, were suffering from scabies.
> I am perfectly sure that that the mental attainments of the pupils of this school could be improved if these skin conditions could be rectified and proper washing facilities are necessary before this can be tackled.[1065]

This inadequacy of the physical provision was not atypical. Here that is identified as the problem, but more frequently it was Māori parents who were identified as the problem in a blaming kind of way.

In a report on Karetu School in 1932 the Inspector commented that in view of the serious nature of the Medical Officer's Report on the state of health of the children-'22 out of 30 examined are suffering from tuberculosis of the lungs' –special attention should be given to health education.[1066]

Resulting from an outbreak of influenza, Whirinaki School in the Hokianga had been 'almost empty' since re-opening on the 4th of September 1934; the majority of the children enrolled had not been seen for five weeks, while those who did return were 'pale, shaky and unfit for work'. All of the teachers had also spent some time away.[1067]

At a hui held at Waitangi as part of this project, Waimarie Bruce spoke of her tupuna, Hohepa Mahanga, not attending school because of being unable to afford the cost of medicines. She pointed out that at the time Māori children were not allowed to attend school unless inoculated.[1068]

The serious effects of economic depression and deprivation on the children and their schooling are also apparent in the records during the 1930s. At Te Rawhiti in 1934, the

[1065] Medical Officer of Health to Director, 17 May 1935, BAAA 1001, 265a.
[1066] Inspection report, 17 November 1932, BAAA,1001 944a. MSDB K2-204-K2-205.
[1067] Head Teacher to Director, 16 September 1933, BAAA 1001 109a.
[1068] Hui at Waitangi, 30-31 May 2005.

Head teacher recorded a meeting to discuss his suggestion for (1) hot mid-day meal;(2) supply of milk;(3) the feeding of some children on cod liver oil; (4) consideration of a supply of whale oil. Later in the month a Health Officer visited to discuss the introduction of malted milk.[1069]

3.9 EDUCATION BEYOND THE PRIMARY LEVEL

Concern about limited opportunities for Northern Māori children to extend their schooling beyond the primary level grew even stronger after 1930. In 1929, the Minister of Education informed the Director of Education that Captain Rushworth M.P had interviewed him, and urged that provision be made for secondary instruction with an agricultural bias at the Kaikohe Native School, where there were 160 children on the roll. It had been stated that at present boys were required to proceed to St Stephens or Te Aute College.[1070]

He should have added, if they want to obtain a secondary education, which is what he intended, because Porteous, the Inspector of Native schools, misinterprets the comment. His advice to the Director is revealing in several respects; the limited educational or occupational expectations he appears to hold for Northern Māori children, including a very non-proactive attitude with regard to their need for post-primary education, and a comment about racial antipathy in relation to land acquisition for a school site:

> The comparatively few boys who go to St Stephens do so optionally. Quite a number of lads from this school, particularly, get positions as cleaners in railway engine sheds, and eventually become firemen and engine drivers. Others get positions as railway porters.
> The school has a roll number of between 150 and 160, and it is seldom that S6 will comprise 10 pupils. These pupils as in all Native Schools appear to have as much as they can do to grapple with the English language, and to reach the standard of the proficiency certificate…..

[1069] Te Rawhiti Log Book, 6 July 1934, BAAA 1003/7m.
[1070] Minister to Director, 9 July 1929, BAAA 1001 941d.

> The suggestion that the Kaikohe Native School should be made a secondary school does not appear a feasible one. Kaikohe however might be considered in the future as a centre for a Junior High School for Māori boys and girls from the districts around, and there is no doubt it would be possible to stress agriculture for the boys and domestic training for the girls. As a matter of fact however the Māoris around Kaikohe do not appear to have any large areas of land, and much of what they have is gum country.
>
> I may say that in educational matters, and in other matters as well there is fairly strong racial antipathy in this particular district. A good deal of feeling was engendered when, with other sites available, a large area of Māori land was taken, under the Public Works Act, as a site for the new public school[1071]

However the Chairman of the Kaikohe Native School Committee, Piripi Pou, continued to press for further education and training. In July 1936 he wrote to the Minister of Education that:

> At the present time our children after leaving school, they go on the road because they are unable to enter the secondary schools on account of their parents not able to pay for the fees etc
> I wish to say that we need some vocational training suitable for Māoris…..
>
> There are some of the children would like to go to the Kaikohe High School when they passed their primary school but the whole trouble is that they cannot afford it and we would ask the Government to assist us.[1072].

The following month he reported to the Minister that the Inspectors of Native Schools had visited School and the Committee had met them concerning our proposal for a Technical School at our Kaikohe Native School:

> We were very pleased to get a sympathetic hearing from them especially as we have had meetings with the chief Māoris from other near districts, Matarana, Tautoro, Awarua and Ohaeawai. All of these want the technical school, a nd there are others that we have not met yet.
> I'm quite certain that at least 30 Māori children over 14 years would be ready and glad to attend such a school and we are sure that more would want to come once the school had started . Our feeling is that the young people drift after leaving school…….

[1071] Porteous to Director, 3 August 1929, ibid.
[1072] Piripi Pou to Minister, 23 July 1936,BAAA,1001,265b.

> I will be very glad if you will give our proposal your earnest attention as we have no secondary school for Māoris north of Auckland.[1073]

In 1936, the Head of the Native school reported having 'completed a long report on the proposal of the Māoris for a higher –leaving school with a technical bias. Mainly on the "home building" principle'.[1074] But by November 1940 nothing further had happened, the Head of Kaikohe recorded that 'There is keen interest in the area, but it all depends on the attitude of the Minister of Education'.[1075] In June 1942 he recorded that the he Minister of Education, H.G. Mason had called at the school and spoken about the probability of obtaining a Post Primary School for Māori. Mr Cox, Headmaster of the DHS and himself had 'spent the morning inspecting possible FV IV and III accommodation-quite successful –Presbyterian Church and Oddfellows Hall'.[1076]

In the latter half of the 1930s, the Government had begun considering the development of its own high schools specifically for Māori, and Kaikohe had been investigated as a possible site for the establishment of post-primary facilities of a technical school type for this purpose.[1077] This did not eventuate, but the absence of opportunities for Māori students leaving the primary schools in such major areas of Māori population as Northland and the East Coast was drawing increasing national attention and concern.

The realisation had eventually and belatedly begun to grow in some quarters that with a growing population and limited land resources the idea that the future for the whole Māori race was on the land was unrealistic. The 1936 census revealed that, of the Māori population of 82,526, 32 percent were under 10, and 45 percent were under 15 years of age. The age structure of the population was not only significant in terms of land resources, it also had employment and educational implications that were appreciated by few at the time. Somewhat surprisingly, in view of the laid- back approach taken by the Senior Inspector of Native School, Douglas Ball, and his colleagues, even the Director of

[1073] Piripi Pou to Minister, 3 August 1936, ibid.
[1074] Kaikohe Log Book, 12 August 1936, BAAA,1003,1a.
[1075] Kaikohe Log Book, 11 November 1940, ibid.
[1076] Kaikohe Log Book, 17 June 1942,ibid.
[1077] See the discussion above and Barrington and Beaglehole, p.227.

Education had pointed out to the Minister in May 1937, that the growing Māori population meant that avenues of employment other than on the land would have to be found for Māori youths, and those involved in education would have to realize their responsibilities with regard to this.[1078]

Ngata, as an enthusiastic advocate of the Māori land development schemes, was, understandably supportive of attempts to develop agricultural instruction at the boarding schools. But he was also one of the few at this time who realised that the land alone would not support the growing Māori population. And, as he had demonstrated earlier, his thinking had never been dominated by the idea that employment opportunities for all or even most Māori should be restricted to land-based occupations. In this respect, he had a much wider view of the Māori potential than that demonstrated by education officials. He saw the need for, and was an advocate of, Māori obtaining a range of skills to enable them to develop and compete on the same terms as Europeans, and was the chief spokesperson for this view. He adopted an optimistic and challenging approach to the future, symbolized in a speech in Parliament in 1938 when he stated that:

> With the increasing population and the necessarily slow rate of the long range land policy the (Māori) population will get ahead of the land resources. It is estimated that we can put 40 percent on the land. The rest must either go landless, or, what is nearly as bad, not land minded. The Māoris have the sense to see that only one or two in a family can go on the land. Today, to put the position quite briefly, when the young Māori asks me what about the future I say : 'Well the Pākehā has got up into the air. That is the aspect of Pākehā life which has made far greater strides than any other-aviation' and, as a race, we are going to be left on the ground. We have to follow the Pākehā into the air.[1079]

Ngata was very critical of what he regarded as unequal treatment of Māori, and inadequate effort being put into recognizing and encouraging their talents. He wrote in 1939 that 'under the noses of Ministers of the Crown and of Under-Secretaries' the treatment of Māori and Pākehā was not as equal as was professed'. As examples, he cited

[1078] *The Native Educational Policy of Today* Report to the Minister of Education, 1937. Department of Education, Auckland..
[1079] NZPD, vol. 251, 1938, p.811.

Native Trust Properties, where 'all Māori talent other than that of casual labour is conspicuously absent', and the Native schools where there was 'no whole-hearted attempt to discover and give opportunities to this talent.' Moreover, Māori were dismissed from public works and other jobs 'whenever there is competition for these jobs'.[1080]

By the end of the thirties, others were also becoming more vocal that the idea of a land based future for most Māori was unrealistic and further opportunities needed to be created. In 1939, Eruera Tirikatene, member of Parliament for Southern Māori, stated that if all the Māori land was divided among the Māori population there would not be sufficient to give each person a holding of four and a half acres. He also expressed concern at unemployment among Māori youth and warned the House that 'unless avenues of useful employment are open to them they will become a liability on the State'.[1081]

Questions raised for discussion at a meeting of young Māori leaders held in Auckland in May 1939 also reflected the growing concern. They included; is there much unemployment in your district?; what are the main difficulties facing Māori men and women in your district in regard to shortage of jobs and lack of training ?; has there been much migration from your district to other parts of New Zealand in search of work?[1082]

The economist Professor Horace Belshaw, writing on 'Māori Economic Circumstances' in *The Māori People Today*, estimated that when existing freehold land was fully developed it would support perhaps 20,000 people, or one-quarter of the existing population. This would leave 60,00 not provided for by farming on Māori land, even if the population did not increase. A substantial and increasing majority would therefore have to find other means of livelihood, and large numbers must migrate to other districts, many of them to the towns.'[1083].

[1080] Ngata to G. Hutchison, District Governor Rotary International, 24 March 1939. Ngata Correspondence, q MS-1586.
[1081] NZPD, vol.225, 1939, p.472.
[1082] Report of Young Māori Leaders' Conference, Auckland, 1939. Alexander Turnbull Library.
[1083] Belshaw in Sutherland, 1940, pp. 190-182-228.

Belshaw also highlighted the very small number of Māori recorded as working in 'what might be described as skilled crafts'; only 92 carpenters and 60 builders and contractors. While acknowledging that these figures probably understated the actual situation, the numbers still must be very small. Only about 400 Māori were recorded as working in commerce and finance, public administration and clerical and professional occupations; 67 in public service and public administration generally , and 23 in school-teaching.[1084]

Education policy throughout the thirties had reinforced that of the Native Department; the Māori was a rural dweller and would remain so for the foreseeable future. But even in 1940, with more evidence available of limited land resources and the growing population, the emphasis on giving priority to a practical kind of education continued. Ball was still asserting in 1940 that it 'has been generally assumed that the correct place of the Māori in the economic strata of the country is on the land. This is undoubtedly true to a very large extent.[1085] He did acknowledge, finally, that owing to the increasing population and limited land a new situation was developing; for many young Māoris there was no place on the land, therefore 'What is this landless Māori to do?'[1086] The answer lay, he wrote, in 'planned vocational training' in the largest areas of Māori population such as North Auckland, Bay of Plenty and the East Coast. Here, 'special schools of the technical type should be evolved'.[1087]

During the 1930s officials within the Department of Education responsible for education policy for Māori had enthusiastically embraced the idea of attempting to 'adapt' education to the rural communities in which most Māori people lived. The notion of adaptation had been put forward by its proponents as representing the liberal and progressive thinking of the time wherever Europeans were administering education systems for indigenous people. However the manner in which these ideas were applied can be seen, in hindsight, to have had conservative and reactionary overtones. They had the potential, if fully implemented as they were to be in South Africa, of tide up Māori,

[1084] Ibid.
[1085] Ball in Sutherland, p. 301.
[1086] Ibid.
[1087] Ibid, p.303.

cacoon-like, in their own areas, with an extreme emphasis on practical and domestic subjects which inevitably restricted their life-chances, and from which there was little chance of escape through education into wider national employment or affairs. Unable to direct the trustees of the boarding schools in the practical direction they wished, and becoming concerned at the large numbers of Māori primary school leavers not proceeding to post-primary education, Education Department officials now began to develop plans to build a new kind of rural high school and curriculum, specially for Māori students, which they rather than the trustees of the boarding schools would control. The end of the thirties was also to be the end of the long period when, for government officials and most Māori alike, secondary education for Māori was mainly what took place in the denominational boarding schools.

The increasing number of Pākehā school leavers going onto secondary school highlighted disparities between and Pākehā and Māori, particularly the restricted nature of opportunities for the latter. It was estimated that in 1940, out of 778 Māori pupils leaving Form 11 of Native and board primary schools, only 321 continued their education.[1088] The Department of Education's own report acknowledged that in 1940 enrolments of Māori pupils at the denominational boarding schools were virtually identical with what they had been in 1880:

> At the beginning of the Century…when the total Māori population was 45,000, there were seven denominational primary schools. In 1940, except for a small increase in the number of scholarships, the provision for the post-primary education of the Māori was the same, i.e. seven denominational schools with only slightly increased roll numbers, notwithstanding the fact that the Māori population had in that time doubled.[1089]

The report also pointed out in 1940 that every child in New Zealand was entitled to a free place at a secondary school, and those who lived in remote areas were entitled either to conveyance to a post-primary school or, alternatively, to 7s 6d per week to assist them to board near a school. But in the Senior Inspector's view, the implications of this

[1088] AJHR, 1941, E-3, p. 2.
[1089] Ibid.

provision was less generous to Māori children than it might at first appear. Many Māori families were not in a position to supplement the boarding allowance or provide the necessary clothing even if board could be found, and many were not willing to send their children away from home. This meant that 'the generous provisions' generally for post-primary education did not 'provide for many Māori children'.[1090]

The unavailability of secondary education for large numbers of Māori children was becoming a matter of wider concern by the end of the thirties. Ngata, in a speech in the House in 1938, was critical of church administered trusts for not providing adequately for secondary schooling for Māori children.[1091] He pointed out that 21,000 Māori pupils were attending Native and board primary schools, but at the end of 1937 only 501 pupils were attending the Māori secondary schools. He had no figures for the number of Māori attending the ordinary secondary schools, only a very small proportion therefore got to the Māori secondary schools and added :

> Here are the demands of civilization advancing rapidly, and here is a whole people in danger of being left behind in the march of civilization, and in the equipment of its individuals to take their proper place in the work of the Dominion.[1092]

An Editorial in the *Auckland Star* newspaper in August 1940 suggested that the country could not afford the consequences of educating only a few hundred Māori beyond the primary school stage.[1093] The Minister of Education, Peter Fraser, acknowledged in the same year that a gap still remained between primary education and adult life for which little provision had hitherto been made for Māori.[1094] And the economist, Horace Belshaw, argued that the relatively greater need of the Māori for more secondary schooling justified a much greater expenditure in proportion to population than amongst Europeans. This would be a sound investment, he claimed, 'even in narrowly economic terms', because it would reduce financial dependence on Government and make Māori

[1090] Ibid, p.1.
[1091] NZPD, vol. 253, p.420-21.
[1092] ibid.
[1093] *Auckland Star* 23 August, 1940.
[1094] *Dominion*, 26 October, 1940.

more economically productive.[1095] In Belshaw's view, providing more scholarships and meeting the 'crying need' for secondary education in the main centres of Māori population would be nothing more than 'an extension of the principles of public policy as they apply to Europeans'. In a comment that could have been applied in the North he wrote that:

> I doubt if any European population the size of the Māori population about Ruatoria would for long tolerate the absence of some sort of secondary institution.[1096]

In 1940 Ball, whose name had been synonymous with Government policy-making for Māori education during the thirties, acknowledged that the denominational boarding schools 'cannot possibly' cater for the increasing number of Māori pupils passing out of the Native and board primary schools; the need for additional facilities for 'further training' was 'becoming urgent', and the Department was giving the matter careful consideration. But whatever was planned, he continued, needed to 'bear directly on the immediate needs of Māori youth and should, in my opinion, be largely vocational.'[1097].

The following year Government plans to proceed with its own facilities for education beyond the primary school stage for Māori were announced by T.A.Fletcher, who had succeeded Ball as Senior Inspector of Native Schools. This marked an important change in educational policy, as previously the Government had relied solely on the system of scholarships to the denominational colleges to provide further education for Māori.

Fletcher's 1941 report described Ngāpuhi as the tribe requiring the greatest assistance; they had little land left, were living in poor circumstances, road communications had until recently been inadequate, and facilities for post-primary schooling were limited. Plans were announced for three Native primary schools to be classified as district high schools from 1 February, 1940, Te Araroa, Manutahi at Ruatoria and Tikitiki.[1098] A fourth district high school, Te Kao, was officially opened in 1944, although in fact it

[1095] Belshaw, in Sutherland, 1940, p.225.
[1096] Ibid.
[1097] AJHR, 1940, E-3, p.4
[1098] AJHR, E-3, 1941.

had begun two years earlier. The Minister of Education, H.G.R.Mason, the Director of Education, C.E.Beeby, and Ball, visited the schools to meet the parents and to outline and discuss the scheme with them.

It was secondary education for Māori that was now being proposed. But the philosophy which underlay the planned curriculum of the new high schools reflected the continued persistence of narrow and limited stereotypes of Māori ability and potential, and the idea of a rural-based future, despite it being increasingly obvious to many that this was unrealistic for the majority.

The ordinary state district high schools, even those in rural areas, had maintained the kind of academic curriculum leading to examinations that most parents wanted, despite official attempts to give them a practical bias. This was an additional reason listed by Fletcher for now building special high schools for Māori; the curriculum of the existing high schools closest to their homes was 'not satisfactorily adjusted to the non-academic child' in the way that the Department thought was particularly desirable for young Māori. But the Department was now determined to get its own way with high schools for Māori.

The secondary departments would provide education of a kind the Department thought desirable for young Māori who, although they would remain in rural areas, would not necessarily engage in traditional farming jobs. Prior to outlining their curriculum, Fletcher re-stated in his own and the Department's annual report to Parliament a familiar and negative stereotype about Māori ability:

> The Māori is not sufficiently far removed from his past to be well adapted for commerce, with its demand for strongly individualistic traits , which are in strong contrast to his ancient mode of living.[1099]

It needs to be remembered that it the Crown's leading official with specific responsibility for Māori education, who is holding such prejudiced and stereotyped views about Māori as late as 1940.

[1099] Ibid.,p.3.

But he was not alone in this. Professor Belshaw, writing in *The Māori People Today* also in 1940 stated that:

> In general the Māori is not interested in commerce and is less efficient in the professions or callings requiring abstract thinking. His main limitation, however, arises from lack of training , so that his undoubted capacities in many directions are insufficiently developed . Even in the realm of abstract thought, it is by no means certain that his limitations are other than environmental. [1100]

Given thinking of this kind, it is hardly surprising that the Department's curriculum for Māori students enrolled in the new secondary departments would be entirely practical, with no provision at all for conventional secondary school academic subjects or examinations:

> The core of both schemes is home-making, home making in the widest sense , including building contraction and all its features, furniture –making, metal-work, and home gardening for the boys, and home-management, including cookery, home decorating and infant welfare for the girls. The aim is to teach the skills and to develop the tastes that make the house not merely a place of habitation, but a home in the best sense of the word.[1101]

The qualifications required for the teachers 'for these secondary departments was described as:

> An appreciation of modern trends in education, ability in some practical skill such as carpentry or home-management and faith in the inherent virtues of the scheme.[1102]

Elaborating on the nature of the teaching and learning he wrote that in addition to the usual staffing of the departments, a man trained in building construction and a woman expert in home-management would be appointed and shared among the three East Coast schools. These two specialists would be provided with a 'covered van fitted with the

[1100] Belshaw in Sutherland, 1940, p.193.
[1101] Ibid.
[1102] Ibid.

more expensive tools' and it would be around their work that the curriculum of the schools would be planned. Woodwork and cookery rooms would be provided at each centre, and it was proposed that at each school a 'full-scale building project' would be immediately initiated, with a view to erecting a model; cottage. Fletcher claimed that the 'enthusiastic co-operation of all the parents' had been freely offered and 'it well understood that education of a practical nature only will be provided'. [1103]

It was not, however, to prove to be either an enthusiasm or an understanding that was to last very long once the nature of what the Department had in mind became fully visible and realised. One editorial writer, welcoming the provision of the new secondary schools for Māori, expressed the view that it would be unfortunate if, for lack of opportunity, another Peter Buck or Maui Pomare were never to have their talent discovered.[1104]

But their talents could not have been developed the with the Department's vision of secondary education for Māori being provided in the new high schools.

Towards the end of the war, pressures for the introduction of academic subjects to the Māori district high schools increased. McQueen's research into educational and vocational opportunities for Māori youth, carried out during the 1940's, was published in 1945. He made some strong statements that Māori students had an absolute right to be given equal opportunities with Pākehā, in terms of the type of post-primary education available to them. And this was in marked contrast to the views which had frequently been expressed by Departmental officials, about Māori being particularly suited to a practical type of education even at the secondary level. There is little doubt that McQueen had the MDHS particularly in mind, although he obviously also intended his remarks to apply more widely:

> It is important that the curricula of schools in which Māoris predominate should resemble very closely those of pakeha schools…They should give adequate preparation to all who are able, to permit them to choose any career whatever. Hence all schools need to have provision for those

[1103] Ibid.
[1104] *The Waikato Times,* 2 November, 1940.

> who wish to obtain a School Certificate in order that they may enter those occupations for which it is a prerequisite. Moreover, there must also be opportunity for those who are competent to undertake university studies to do such work as will enable them to go on…there should be no barrier…to prevent any Māori boy or girl from obtaining any educational qualification that can be gained by a pakeha.[1105]

In the Department's 1946 report Fletcher finally acknowledged, with a considerable degree of understatement, that 'innovation of the district high schools did not make an immediate appeal to the Māori people in the East Coast area', who 'did not want any suspicion of inferiority about their district high schools'.[1106] During the year, the schools were visited by post-primary inspectors who assisted them to conform to the requirements of the new regulations and curriculum. It is probably no exaggeration to suggest, that these changes constituted the single most important factor in the acceptance of the schools by Māori parents and elders. The provision of courses leading to the School Certificate appeared to meet the strongest of the Māori parents' previous objections.

An official report on the Māori District High Schools in 1947 represented an indictment of the original plans for them and the activities in them. It concluded that the interpretation of the Department of Education officials who had planned their curricula had been:

> that the pupils should study no subject unless it was of a practical nature and this developed into, in many cases, too much manual labour, as carpenters labourers, farm labourers and the like. The idea spread that these Native District High Schools were to be only for those pupils not capable of study…no academic subjects, no survey of pupil progress, no external examinations, led the Māori people to believe that the schools were catering for 'second grade' pupils. Senior Inspector to Assistant.[1107]

Looking back, the Director Education at the time, Dr Beeby, commented that in their original conception he had viewed the MDHS as complementing the more academic

[1105] H. McQueen, *Vocations for Māori Youth*, Wellington, 1945, p. 52.
[1106] AJHR, 1946, E-3, p.6.
[1107] Director, 8 April, 1947. BAAA 1001. NA.

role-played by Te Aute and Hukarere. He defended their strong vocational emphasis, and said that if faced with the same situation he would have made the same decisions. But he also acknowledged that he would have ensured School Certificate subjects were in place as an academic credential to be gained for the classroom work the schools were attempting. In that respect, he acknowledged that the schools which 'were my very own idea …I bungled'.[1108]

3.10 STATE SECONDARY SCHOOLS

The conventional wisdom has been that a few Māori students would also have attended state secondary schools and high schools up to 1940 but, because enrolment details of these were not kept, the number was not known Ball wrote in 1940 that 'A small unrecorded number of Māori pupils also attend the public secondary schools as regular free place holders'.[1109] And, at a later point, that while the Māori child had the same right to a free post-primary education as the European child to attend any secondary school, technical school or district high school 'it is significant that very few of the Māori children who actually live in proximity to them take advantage of the facilities offered, the chief reason being the nature of the courses offered and the European outlook of these schools'.[1110]

Ngata, speaking in the House about the need for more Māori to attend secondary schools in 1938, was apparently as in the dark on the matter as anybody else, acknowledging that 'I have no figures relating to the number attending the European secondary schools'.[1111] The apparent absence of information was picked up, understandably, by later writers. In a comprehensive survey of the of *The High Schools of New Zealand*, published in 1943, J.D.Murdoch commented that 'so far, it has been possible to write of secondary education in New Zealand (in state schools) with no specific reference to the Māori'.[1112] As

[1108] Interview with McKean, 17 April, 1985. McKean, pp.142 and 161.
[1109] Ball in Sutherland, p.274.
[1110] Ibid.
[1111] NZPD, 1938, vol, 253, p.420.
[1112] Wellington. 1943, p.429.

recently as 1995 Roger Openshaw, surveying the history of secondary education in New Zealand, wrote that prior to 1940 'an unknown is the number of Māori pupils who attended other types of post-primary schools'(i.e. than the Māori boarding colleges).[1113]

With this background in mind, it was with considerable surprise that, in undertaking research for this study, I came across evidence that the Department put considerable effort into recording the enrolment of Māori students in state post-primary schools of all kinds during the thirties. It asked all such schools to provide details of the number of Māori students enrolled initially, in 1936, as background information for the 1936 Conference on the post - primary education of the Māori.[1114]

Responses by Principals all of which were made in August, 1936, indicate considerable variation in enrolment in the following which is a sample only :

> *Auckland Grammar* : have enrolled no Māori student since 1934; currently one Senior Free Place (SFP) student on the roll.
> *Mt Albert Grammar*: No Māori pupils.
>
> *Auckland Girls Grammar*. 1 girl Junior Free Place (JFP)
>
> *Epsom Girls Grammar*: 1 pupil enrolled
>
> *Takapuna Grammar:* No Māori pupils
>
> *Seddon Memorial Technical College*: 3 JFP in 1936; 3 JFP in 1935.
> *Dargaville District High School:*1 JFP ; 1 SFP'
>
> *Kaikohe DHS* : 1 JFP 1936; 1 paying 1936; no Māori 1935'.
>
> *Kaitaia DHS* : 2 SFP
>
> *Kawakawa DHS* : 2 girls on roll-both JFP.

[1113] Roger Openshaw, *Unresolved Struggle : Consensus and Conflict in New Zealand State Post-Primary Education,* Palmerston North, p.28.
[1114] The Archives New Zealand file is E3 1936/1a Native Schools Secondary Education.Docs.p.41.

Rawene DHS : 2 JFP 1936; No Māori 1935

The Department repeated the survey in 1938, Principals being advised that for reporting purposes 'The term "Māori" includes "half-caste" and those intermediate between half - caste and Māori. Māoris Attending Post-Primary Schools.. E3 1939/1b Native Secondary Education. This showed some schools which had had no Māori pupils enrolled in 1936 now enrolling a small number, including Mt Albert Grammar (2) and Takapuna Grammar (3) There had been increased enrolments in some other schools, including Kaikohe DHS (14) and Kaitaia DHS (7).[1115]

The Department compiled a table demonstrating the number of pupils enrolled by district and type of school. This revealed that in 1938 190 Māori students were enrolled in High Schools, 27 in Combined Schools, 54 in Technical Schools and 133 in District High Schools, giving a total of 404 Māori students enrolled in all types of state secondary schools.[1116]

With this quite detailed and extensive information collected by his own Department available, why would Ball write in a 1940 publication that 'a small unrecorded number of pupils also attend the public secondary schools? As no official explanation has been found, it is only possible to speculate. Was it because, given the emerging plans for new District High Schools for Māori, to be controlled by the Department, that minimising existing enrolments and emphasizing the absence of secondary provision for Māori, helped the Department to make the case for the new schools?

Opposition to the attendance of Māori students at state secondary schools sometimes still arose, just as it had to their attendance at some board primary schools. A proposal to make more secondary education available to Māori primary schools leavers by allowing them to board at the hostel serving Whangarei Boys' High School, led to heated opposition. King records 'a bemused inspector, after sitting through an emotionally

[1115] Ibid.
[1116] Ibid.

charged meeting of the Board of Governors', reporting his impressions to the Director of Education, and pressure subsequently being exerted on the Board to admit Māori students.[1117]

3.11 THE MĀORI DENOMINATIONAL BOARDING SCHOOLS

After 1930 some pupils from Native school in the North continued to be awarded Government scholarships to one of the denominational boarding schools, of which the following were examples:

> Notification from Education Dept that 3 pupils, Noon Nankivell, Gladys Faithful and Wharengere Tua, had gained Government Scholarships.[1118]

> Took George Wilcox in to Kawakawa to sit for the Te Makariri Scholarship.[1119]

> One girl Taka Hakaraia withdrawn having obtained a vacancy at Victoria College in Auckland.[1120]
> Te Rawhiti Log, April 2

> George Hakaraia who gained his Proficiency and applied for a Scholarship at St Stephens left school today without waiting for a vacancy at the College.
> Dept advised to cancel scholarship, 8 April.

> Department advises that the 2 Scholarships awarded boys from Te Rawhiti School have been declined, 13.2.30.

> Information from Dept that a vacancy in Victoria College to be filled by Miringa Maioha of this school, 1.2.33.

> Two pupils withdrawn today one for QVGC the other for St Stephens 12.2.39.

> Iri Tenana left to attend Kaikohe DHS (secondary Dept), 25.2.42.

[1117] King, pp.30-31.
[1118] Te Pupuke Log Book, 20.12.44, BAAA,1003,7i.
[1119] Waikare Log, BAAA,1003,8i. Nov 12 1935.
[1120] Te Rawhiti Log, BAAA.1003,7m.

> Telegram Ed Dept offering scholarship at QV to Maraea Tenana advised applcn unsuccessful but placed 3rd on waiting list 18.3.42.
>
> Telegram from Ed Dept Scholarship awarded Miriama Tenana Hukerere College, 4.2.44.
>
> Recvd advice Warana Tenana awarded a Schol. at St Stephens 19.12.45.[1121]

After 1930 the Māori denominational secondary boarding colleges to which these pupils from Māori school went, remained the main way that most Māori could attend a secondary school. What was the Crown's policy for them?

Education generally in New Zealand was affected by the depression. But the impact on the denominational boarding colleges was particularly severe. Towards the end of 1931, Strong recommended that all government scholarships enabling Māori pupils to proceed to the colleges should be abolished. He acknowledged that the effect of this would be serious, because the colleges provided secondary education for Māori boys and girls, but presumed that 'such institutions must suffer along with the rest'.[1122]

However one week later he modified this extreme proposal, replacing it with one that the two-year Junior scholarships be reduced in value by one fifth to save £1,200 per annum. He acknowledged that abolishing all scholarships would lead to the closure of the eight colleges on which the Crown relied for the post-primary education of Māori children, which would decidedly be to the disadvantage of the race.[1123] All the schools which put up pupils for scholarships, including those in the north, were subsequently advised that Cabinet had decided to reduce the number of scholarships by one fifth and

[1121] Ibid.
[1122] Strong Papers, Notes on Further Possible Economies in Education Expenditure. Strong to Minister of Education, 30 September, 1931, p.9.
[1123] Education Department Economies, Strong to Minister , 8 October, 1931.

the value by one tenth.[1124] The five agricultural scholarships, tenable for the third and fourth years either in the service of a farmer or on a farm under the control of the Agriculture Department, or at one of the Māori boarding schools with appropriate courses, was reduced to four, and three university scholarships were reduced to two. In 1932, Cabinet declined a further recommendation, by the National Expenditure Commission, that all the scholarships be abolished on the unrealistic grounds that the ordinary secondary schools should meet the needs of Māori pupils.[1125] But in the same year the Continuation scholarships, which provided a third year of schooling, were also reduced.

The cuts caused understandable disquiet to trustees and staff of the colleges, and some other concerned individuals also warned about their potential effects. A member of the Presbyterian Church's Māori Mission Committee, O.Hay, wrote to the Minister of Education on its behalf with respect to all the boarding schools, but particularly Turakina Māori Girls' College that:

> Any further reduction of scholarships now being planned in connection with Māori children attending secondary schools would militate very considerably against the future well-being of the Māori race….If these scholarships were withdrawn it is not likely that many, if indeed any, of these children could have the benefit of secondary education. The students attending this college are drawn from a wide area principally from the Urewera country and from the back- blocks of Hawke's Bay; in most cases their homes are situated 60 to 100 miles from a high school.[1126]

R.M.Ritchie, a member of the Wanganui Māori Council, wrote to the Prime Minister that:

> The future of the Māori people was never so serious a problem as it is today…The solution…becomes largely one of leadership by men and women of the race impelled by the results of schooling …The chosen ones whose rights to

[1124] Strong to Headteachers, 19 January, 1932. NA E 22/25.
[1125] Helen Davidson, 'The Effect of the Depression on Education in New Zealand', MA thesis Victoria University, 1972, p.81.
[1126] Ibid, p.84.
[1126]

> preference lie in the earning of scholarships, must therefore be afforded some assured opportunity of continuing their education…Not only the boys but the girls also whose responsibility as prospective mothers is of vital importance …May I suggest that before anything definite is done the suggestions that allocations for native welfare be entirely abolished will be weighed very carefully by Parliament. Anything which may eventually tend towards the Māori race of the future floundering in a quagmire of helplessness and despair, would, I respectfully submit, be looked upon in the light of a national misfortune.[1127]

The Methodist Church passed a resolution at its 1933 Conference that the withdrawal of opportunities for Māori to equip themselves as teachers and leaders must seriously affect the future of the Māori. It urged the Māori Purposes Fund Control Board to consider providing scholarships as a priority, something its own reduced finances meant it was unable to do.[1128]

The reductions in the value of the scholarships, accentuated by financial hardship, made it very difficult for Māori parents to meet the additional expenses of maintaining even a government scholar at school, and made it impossible for all but the fortunate few better off families to send their children as private pupils. In 1932, 21 junior scholarships lapsed because there were no applications for them.[1129] In 1929 there were 533 private and government pupils attending the boarding schools, but the numbers, particularly of private pupils, then declined rapidly. For example, government pupils (with private pupils in parenthesis) fell between 1930 and 1933 as follows :

Te Aute: 28 (48) to 19 (16)
St Stephen's : 37(14) to 16 (17, a slight rise)
Hukerere: 33 (37) to 19 (11)
Queen Victoria: 26 (32) to 19 (13) .[1130]

Several colleges made efforts to reduce costs, including the expenditure required by parents. At Te Aute, only the cap was made mandatory and textbooks were lent to the boys for a small fee. Reports by the Department's inspectors reflected the situation. Ball

[1127] Ibid, p.82

[1128] Ibid.
[1129] ibid.,p.85
[1130] AJHR E-3 Reports,Table H-4.

and G.V. Wild noted that at the end of 1932, the Te Aute roll had fallen to 51, and a further decrease had occurred in 1933. They attributed this, and the small attendance, to 'the lowered economic status of the Māori'.[1131]

In the Department's annual report to Parliament Ball commented that during 1933 most of the boarding schools had carried on with difficulty, and because the value of a few years at them could not be over-estimated, it was to be hoped 'for the sake of the race' that they would soon be operating again at full capacity.[1132] Again, the following year, he identified the serious handicaps under which the schools were labouring, with falling rolls due to the inability of Māori parents to financially assist their children and general stringency, which was affecting their efficiency 'The loss', he noted, 'is a heavy one which the Māori race as a whole can ill- afford to suffer'.[1133]

The thinking of Departmental officials continued to be dominated by the belief that the primary task of the colleges was to develop a practical type of curriculum, in agriculture and related practical subjects for boys, and domestic training for girls, and that the overwhelming majority of pupils should be enrolled in these courses.

An unrelenting emphasis on this was maintained by the Departmental inspectors in their reports on the schools, and in correspondence from Departmental officials to trustees and principals. Because the government scholarships were so important for the financial sustainability of the colleges, the Department had in them a powerful bargaining tool, both for trying to ensure that pupils were channelled in the direction it thought desirable, and bending trustees and principals to its will regarding the curriculum. Thus, the inspection report on Te Aute in 1930 not only recommended that the majority of the boys, many of whom were currently enrolled in the General course, should instead enrol in an agriculture course. It also gave a reminder that 'all Government Scholarship

[1131] Report on Te Aute, 21 November,1933. E3 ACC 1940/1a.
[1132] Davidson, p.83
[1133] Ibid.

holders are required to take the Agricultural course, except as otherwise approved by the Department'.[1134]

The 1931 report identified 42 boys taking the General course and only 13 the Agricultural, a situation which, according to Inspectors Ball and Fletcher, 'should be reversed so that the majority of the boys be employed on an intensive agriculture course (and) this is particularly necessary in the case of the Government Scholarship holders'.[1135]

The following year Ball and Fletcher reported, with some satisfaction, that the agricultural course had been strengthened and Te Aute's policy was now to 'draft' as many boys as possible into it, despite their showing a 'distinct preference' for the academic course. They complained, however, that there were still many boys in the academic course whose future prospects were such that they would be much better off in the practical course. All first year boys had been enrolled in a General course, the intention being to draft them into either the Academic or Agricultural course after a year's observation. But although the inspectors thought over half of these boys were 'fitted mentally to undertake more advanced work', they believed any final decision about their second year should depend not only on their academic success 'but also to their prospects of working on the land'.[1136]

In 1931 Strong advised the Headmaster of St Stephen's that:

> In the opinion of the Department your school would function best as a training ground for lads who should take up farming pursuits. At the same time it is realised that in the first place there should be a good level of cultural training and in the second place sufficient opportunities for talented lads to enter the professions. It appears to the Department, however, to be of much greater importance to the Māori race that the School train the boys to be successful; farmers.[1137]

[1134] E 3 Acc 1940. Native Schools Private –Te Aute.Docs.,p.45.
[1135] Inspection report 26-27 November, 1931. E 3 Acc 1940 1a.
[1136] Inspection Report, 15 December 1932. ibid.
[1137] Strong to Morris, 8 December, 1931. Old, p. 93.

At Queen Victoria, in December 1931, Form 1V remained the top form. A fall in enrolment to 32 girls in 1933 (six of whom were in the primary division) was attributed to the effects of the depression. In 1934, 21 of the girls enrolled in Forms 3-5 held Government Scholarships and 11 were being maintained by various church scholarships. The elimination of Continuation Scholarships prevented many from staying more than two years, and Fletcher described all the girls as taking a predominantly practical course generally suited to the needs of the majority of them.[1138]

St Joseph's Convent drew praise from Ball during these years for developing the kind of secondary curriculum for Māori girls the Department favoured. Most took the General and Domestic course which included English, Arithmetic, Māori, Hygiene, Bookkeeping, Dressmaking, Cooking, Home Nursing, Singing, Geography and Physical Education.[1139]

Ball's advocacy of the curriculum he preferred continued. In the Department's annual report for 1936 he wrote that

> For some years the curriculum of many of these schools , especially those for boys, has been narrowed into almost purely academic channels. This partial, and, in one case, almost complete abandonment of practical, technical, and agricultural training, has been a matter of serious concern. Such a limitation of curriculum is contrary to modern educational theory, even when applied to secondary schools for Europeans. For the majority of these Māori boys it can provide, at most, a very artificial training, almost completely unrelated to their later needs in life.[1140]

He announced in the same report that the Minister of Education had given approval for a conference to be convened in 1936, to examine existing provisions for the secondary education, health and economic position of the Māori, and to make recommendations. Responding to a request from the Department for information relevant for the Conference, the Principal of Wesley College recommended that any curriculum plan

[1138] Inspection report, 8 November, 1934.ibid.
[1139] Inspection report, 26 November 1934. E. 37/24/39. King, p. 102.
[1140] AJHR, 1936, E-3, p.5.

needed to provide opportunities for suitable boys to commence a post-secondary course, at Massey College, A School of Art, or University:

> I would like also to stress the need for opening up of other avenues than agriculture for Māori lads. The natural proclivities and opportunities will attract the average Māori boy to the land but there are quite a number who are anxious to enter other occupations and who would make first class tradesmen…At present the drifting of Māori boys into agriculture covers our refusal to face the difficulties involved in placing them in suitable occupations.[1141]

But the Departmental officials responsible for Māori education continued to be frustrated by what they viewed as the failure of the Boards of the denominational colleges to comply with its wishes regarding the curriculum. In 1939 the Director complained again to the St Stephen's Board that not enough pupils took the agricultural course, adding with frustration that:

> Year after year the above deficiencies in the curriculum have been emphasized in reports and discussions and yet no real attempt has been made to improve the curriculum along the desired lines. Until this is done it cannot be considered by the Department to be suitable.[1142]

The Director suggested that two courses should be sufficient, a General course and a Special course, and he described his ideal for the General course in terms almost identical with several of Ball's earlier reports. It should be the major course for the majority of pupils and be non-academic, provide a sound cultural training and opportunities for acquiring manual skills and technical knowledge. No second language other than Māori should be included in it. The 'few academic pupils' who should be admitted to the Special course after very careful selection should be 'the only pupils permitted to take mathematics or a foreign language'. 'Orthodox courses' were available, he suggested, at any secondary school or district high school, whereas St Stephen's, with its special

[1141] Principal to Director of Education 10 August, 1936. E3 1936 1a. Native Schools Secondary Education-Conference on the Secondary Education of the Māori.Docs.,p.46.
[1142] Director to Secretary, St. Stephen's Trust Board, 18 December, 1939. E2 1948/44d. Māori Schools Inspection Reports..

facilities, was 'well suited to provide the type of course that this Department believes is most suitable for Māori boys'.[1143]

Increasingly frustrated at the incessant criticism of St.Stephen's by the Department's Inspectors the Headmaster, G.Morris, wrote to the Director on behalf of the Board requesting regular visits by an Inspector of State Secondary schools, presumably hoping that they might view the work at St.Stephen's more favourably.[1144]

A Sate secondary school inspector, J.E.Leaming, did subsequently visit the school. He found 11 pupils enrolled in the agricultural course (the "Farm Specials"), with the remaining 58 pupils taking a wider range of subjects; 52 at the time of his visit took Latin, although the percentage taking it fell off somewhat throughout the first two years. 'Considering that the majority of pupils in attendance are Māoris', he recommended some changes; the percentage of the total roll beginning Latin and continuing with a full course in Mathematics should be considerably lower, constituting perhaps one quarter of the total roll. This would provide adequately for 'such few' of the pupils as could be expected to 'enter the Church, or the Civil Service, or, doubtfully, the other professions. Some of the Māoris should certainly take an academic course'.
Inspection Report, 1940.[1145]

One year later, Morris again vented his frustration, writing that:

> Personally, I do not care a snap of the fingers for the Native School Inspectors who are altogether too fond of assuming fictitious perfections. All I want is to be left alone to do my best for the boys who are at the school so that they will have a chance of competing on equal terms with the Pākehā.[1146]

The girls' colleges were also not immune from Departmental criticism, often along similar lines. In 1935 Ball and W. O'Connor were critical that the only course in

[1143] Ibid.
[1144] Morris to Director, 16 November, 1939. E2 1948/ 44d. Māori Schools Inspection Reports.
[1145] Ibid.
[1146] Morris to Archdeacon Simkin, 30 August, 1941. Waikato Diocesan Files. Quoted in King, p. 43.

operation at Queen Victoria was 'academic', with most of the subjects devised to meet the requirements of examinations rather than, as he saw it, the needs of the girls themselves. [1147] By 1938, matters had not, in his view, improved. The majority of the girls 'have no desire or intention of taking an academic course', he declared, and until the curriculum was widened and adapted the educational requirements and special needs of the girls Queen Victoria would be 'unable to fulfil its highest functions as a post-primary school for Māori girls'.[1148] However when the Principal, Miss Summerhayes, was asked by the Trust Board to provide comments on the inspection report, she complained that it was impracticable to widen the curriculum given the current staffing level, and that, contrary to the Inspectors' view, the pupils expected the usual academic subjects to be offered.[1149]

In contrast to the Native primary schools, Māori language and culture was taught in the boarding schools as teachers were available. The language had become compulsory for government scholars after 1931, but because the schools had to reduce staff during the depression, the teaching of Māori had proved difficult to maintain. During these years textbooks used by the boarding schools included *First Lessons in Māori,* by H.W. Williams, Ninth edition, Auckland, 1930, and the *Complete Manual of Māori Grammar and Conversation with Vocabulary,* Ngata's revision of an earlier work by Mother M.J.Aubert. Second revised and enlarged edition, Auckland, 1926.

In 1939, Patrick Smyth, now a senior master at St. Stephen's, produced a new textbook *Te Reo Māori; a Guide to the Study of the Māori Language,* Christchurch. 1939. Smyth was also a part-time instructor in Māori language at the Auckland Teachers Training College, one of two colleges at the time to have such a course.

Ngata advised Fraser in 1939 that the boarding schools were the best institutions for 'inculcating a love of the best elements in the Māori culture. The Māori language should

[1147] Inspection Report, 19 November 1935, E 37/24/7, King P.111.
[1148] Inspection Report 22 November 1938, E3 ACC 1939, Queen Victoria School for Girls 1915-39.
[1149] Miss B.E. Summerhayes to Archdeacon Simkin, 14 February 1939, General Trust Board Papers,(GTB237), King,p.112.

be featured and, within the means of the institutions, specialties such as carving should be developed as part of woodwork, and taniko and plaiting as part of crafts'. Ngata envisaged that some of the young men and women who graduated might, with additional training, provide a much-needed input into the teaching of these subjects in the Native schools.[1150]

The trustees and principals of the schools had met regularly with Ball and other officials throughout the thirties in an attempt to reach agreement on aims. But there had been intransigence on both sides. On the one hand, the trustees and principals were dependent on the Government's scholarships, particularly during the depression years, to remain open. But they had been regularly alienated by what they regarded as Ball's rigid and stereotyped view that they needed to be developed primarily as vocational schools, delivering a practical type of education for a life on the land. The dictatorial approach Ball and the Department adopted to get their way, exemplified in the regulation that all male Junior Scholarship holders must take an agricultural course, also alienated many.

The Boards and principals of the Church of England boarding schools, in particular, wanted to maintain the academic subjects and tradition of success in public examinations which was an important part of their heritage, and as important to them as to their state school counterparts. In this respect, they believed that departmental officials consistently under-estimated the preferences of most parents, who also wanted just that kind of education for their sons and daughters.. The schools retained considerable mana with parents, who were aware of their eminent Māori graduates. They expected them, at a time when the fuller range of available occupations was becoming more evident to Māori, to provide an academic education leading to matriculation and then a white-collar job and the professions. While they recognized that the rural development schemes would provide employment on the land for some, many were by no means enamoured by the prospect of life on the land. They knew that many of their sons had little prospect of owning a farm of their own, and had experienced or observed at first- hand the effects of rural poverty and the limited employment opportunities in many rural areas. The

[1150] Ngata to Fraser, 1939, op.cit.

agricultural courses which were developed at the Colleges sometimes did little to ameliorate these views. One parent, who sent his son to Te Aute, reported to the local Native school teacher that he had been very disappointed because he:

> appeared to spend a lot of his time while at college in fencing, clearing blackberry, milking cows, tending potatoes etc in company with some of the other boys in order, so it seemed to him, to help keep the college going. He could have done this for me at home.[1151]

So confident did Ball seem in the correctness of his views, that the preferences of parents seems to have troubled him little if at all. He was, if anything, inclined to dismiss these as the result of ignorance on their part. They just lacked, in his view, the necessary knowledge to realise how limited and inappropriate opportunities for them in form of employment outside the land and the rural economy were, and would be likely to remain.

Even in 1940, however, he and like-minded departmental officials were by no means alone in holding what seems today to have been a stereotyped, limited and depressing view. Dr H.B.Turbott, Director of School Hygiene in the Health Department wrote in 1940 that :

> After primary education is completed only a few should be allowed to train for the professions since the field here is limited. The majority must remain in their own communities as farmers, labourers, mechanics, or in domestic duties. Secondary education should be of a technical nature with training in hygiene, housecraft, agriculture and the skilled trades. For those remaining at home after primary education is completed there should be continuation classes in practical subjects.[1152]

CHAPTER FOUR: CROWN POLICY AND EDUCATION FROM 1946

4.1 LANGUAGE POLICY

[1151] H.A. Savage, Karetu Native School to Director of Education, 3 December, 1939. E 22/25/70. King, p.89.

[1152] Turbott in .Sutherland, p.265.

Crown officials responsible for Māori education, and Ministers of the Crown responsible for Education and Māori Affairs policy, maintained their implacable opposition to the introduction of te reo Māori into schools for several further decades after 1945. This was obviously to the detriment of Northern Māori,

In October 1945, the Māori Purposes Fund Board convened a conference at Rotorua 'in connection with the teaching of Māori from the elementary stage to university'.[1153] The 'Māori Education Committee', whose members included the Very Rev. J.G.Laughton (Chair), Pei Te H. Jones, M.Winiata, and others strongly recommended the teaching of Māori to retain Māori traditions, culture and personality of the Māori, and preserve and foster racial pride and dignity.

The Committee received correspondence from Ngata and Bird, members of the Committee, but unable to be present. This was illuminating in terms of representing their different viewpoints. Bird had now retired from the Education Department. But he still held views identical with those he had held when appointed Senior Inspector of Native schools in 1904; an English-only policy should be continued, and his approach generally to the use or retention of Māori remained unsympathetic.

> from the very first the law required that the children should be taught English and that the school should be conducted in English, you realise what a wise provision was thus made from the very outset…if the result has been to make the Māori to lose his language, don't forget that in its place he has the finest language in the world and that the retention of Māori is after all largely a matter of sentiment.[1154]

By contrast, Ngata's change of mind with regard to the teaching of Māori in schools was now obvious. It was based in part on his greater acknowledgment of the growth of language loss, and the changes that were going on as a result of family re-location, sometimes to urban areas. It had made a big impression on him when prominent members

[1153] MS papers 0148-028a Māori Purposes Fund Board 1945-1950.NA.
[1154] Ibid.

of the Māori Battalion had returned from the war and publicly acknowledged they would have been much better officers if they had been able to speak Māori.[1155]

He informed the Committee that:

> I believe now, when so much Māori culture - such as it is - is finding its way into the schools, the non-Māori speaking youngsters become rapidly conscious and ashamed of their ignorance of their native tongue. The 'action-song' is helping to bridge a gap and the haka- in lieu of physical drill-invites a more intimate knowledge of the language…
>
> If the teaching of Māori is to begin at Standard 1 the quality and efficiency of the teaching staff are most important …I suppose if a good knowledge of Māori paved the way to promotion, a good staff would be evolved over the years. Somebody will produce a yardstick to measure them by.[1156]

He presented several reasons justifying the teaching of Māori from Standard 1, and concluded:

> Lastly there (is) something in the sentiment of preserving a culture which belonged to the country. With that goes the assertion that New Zealand would be all the richer for a bilingual and bicultural people.[1157]

The Committee made recommendations relating to the school system. One of these was that the Māori language, arts and crafts, should be made an approved subject at the training colleges and be compulsory for future teachers in Māori schools. Moreover, 'the ability to teach Māori should be endorsed on a teacher's certificate. The Committee recommended that in primary schools, instruction in Māori should be mainly by the direct method, without the introduction of formal grammar. A bilingual method should be used to build vocabulary, correct pronunciation should be emphasized, and the subject matter should be based on the traditions, legends and folklore of the Māori. By Forms 1 and 2, pupils should be able to compose and use short sentences. From Form 3 on, in the secondary schools, 'systematic language treatment including grammar should be undertaken'. The Committee identified the unavailability of a satisfactory school

[1155] Interview with W.Parker by the writer, 1985.
[1156] MS Papers Maori Purposes Fund Board, op.cit.
[1157] Ibid.

textbook as a limitation, but suggested that William's *First Lessons in Māori* should be the basis and final authority.[1158]

In June 1947, Ngata pointed out to the Prime Minister that although there was a revival in te reo Māori, there were no text books in print suitable for its instruction in schools, and received the reply only that the matter would be considered by the Government.[1159]

In 1950, the Member of Parliament for Marlborough, W.Girling, advocated the teaching of the language to both Māori and Pākehā students on the grounds that 'the language is dying out; many Māori children themselves know very little about it. I think the language should be preserved and we should see to it that competent linguists are available to teach the children'.[1160] The member for Southern Māori, Eruera Tirikitane, agreed, saying it was time Māori was included in the curriculum.[1161]

But ominously for these advocates, Northern and other Māori, the idea of including Māori in schools continued to be regarded with disdain by contemporary Pākehā officials and politicians. In 1951, Parsonage, now the Education Department's Senior Inspector of Māori schools, wrote a 19 page Departmental paper, an edited version of which was presented to the Seventh Science conference in the same year. This can be regarded as the Department's official view at the time.[1162]

Parsonage surveyed the history of the place of language in Māori education from 1940, including the views of critics and advocates of the introduction of Māori into schools. The general tone and conclusion of his survey conveys to the reader a very pessimistic view regarding any practical possibility or value of introducing it, particularly into primary schools. He summarized the contemporary situation as being:

[1158] Ibid., p.4.
[1159] MA 1 57/1 Vol.1, Education :General and Policy 1945-50.NA.
[1160] NZPD, 1950, 289, p. 452.
[1161] NZPD, 1950,.292, p. 3184.
[1162] Language Teaching in Māori Schools. E2, 1956/4b Māori Education System 1949-56. NA. Also see report of the Seventh Science Congress, Christchurch, 1951, Royal Society of New Zealand, 1953, pp. 191-197.

1. English was 'still the sole language used in the Māori primary schools'.
2. Māori was a compulsory subject for Māori pupils attending Māori post-primary schools, including the Māori District High Schools. Where Māori students were in other types of secondary schools, or adults wished to study Māori, they could enrol in it at the Correspondence School. Currently 122 pupils and others were enrolled, including 72 high school pupils taking the School Certificate course, 20 teachers in Māori schools, 18 mission workers, 6 degree students and 6 unclassified.
3. Māori was 'not a recognized subject' at the teachers' colleges, although it could be studied 'to a limited extent' by members of the Māori club at each college.
4. Māori could be taken as a subject for the University Entrance Examination and the B.A. degree at the various colleges of the University of Zealand. But according to Parsonage, enrolments in Māori for the B.A. indicated there was 'apparently not a great demand' for it, with only 2 passes in 1949 and 4 in 1950.[1163]

Surveying arguments for and against the teaching of Māori in schools, Parsonage focused mainly on the importance of the use of the English language since the arrival of Europeans. Most of the many examples he chose emphasized the *difficulties* of introducing Māori:

> If this supremacy of the English language is not to be challenged, it would be well to familiarise ourselves with at least some of the difficulties associated with bilingualism…. I think it can be taken that the most ardent advocates of the study of the Māori language have no intention or desire to make Māori the medium of instruction in our schools, for such a course would be confronted by many practical difficulties not the least of which would be that 17, 647 Māori primary pupils (approximately 55 percent of the total) attend education board (as distinct from Māori schools) and are there intermingled with Pākehā children. The introduction of the teaching of Māori language as a subject would also demand a willingness of Māoris to resolve tribal and dialectical variations of the language so that a "standard" Māori could be taught.[1164]

To support his case, Parsonage quoted from the work of various overseas scholars. Most of the examples he chose reinforced the view that the learning of a second language, whatever its merits, would impede the most effective learning of the first or primary

[1163] Ibid., p.6.
[1164] Ibid., p.13.

language, which is English. He concludes that the evidence is sufficient to indicate that 'bilingualism is attended by problems which have not yet been satisfactorily solved'.[1165] The reason earlier officials, including Ball and his predecessors, had given for not being able to include Māori, even if its introduction was considered desirable, was also raised by Parsonage. This was the difficulty of providing sufficiently trained teachers for the various age groups. He concluded that:

> It might well be that more effective transmission can be made by using English, at this particular stage in the development of the Māori race. Or again, more might be done to preserve and foster the true cultural value of the Māori language by providing every facility for specially selected Māori scholars to make the most intense study of Māori and related Polynesian tongues, than by depending on all or the majority of Māoris being given what would be a relative smattering of the language.[1166]

Parsonage's paper, representing as it did his view as the Senior Inspector of Māori schools, and that of the Education Department, was therefore not at all supportive of teachers and schools playing any role at all in the teaching of Māori in primary schools. It was a view reinforced at the time by both the Minister of Education, Ronald Algie, the member for Remuera, and the Director of Education, Dr Clarence Beeby.

The Māori Women's Welfare League had begun to campaign strongly for the importance of the Māori language for Māori children to be recognised. A 1951 resolution stated that 'there is a strong case for teaching Māori in Māori schools' and pointed out that 'even children who learn Māori in the home tend to lose their language owing to its absence from the school curriculum'.[1167]

But Algie was unsympathetic. Replying to the League he emphasized that all teaching in Māori schools was in the English language, and that 'from a purely utilitarian point of view, the English language is still of paramount importance in the education of the Māori people'. He acknowledged that maintaining Māori might be important 'from the point of

[1165] Ibid., p.17.
[1166] Ibid., p.18.
[1167] Corbett to Algie, 1 October 1951 (quoting a resolution of 27 September 1951), MA 28,7/13 Cultural Matters-Arts and Crafts General, NA.

view of cultural survival', but could only suggest that it might be possible to increase the number of Māori teachers able to teach the language in the future.[1168]

In 1953, the Secretary of the Wharekauri Tribal Committee at the Chatham Islands wrote to Beeby, informing him that the Māori children were 'very backward in their own language, and asking him to approve the teaching of Māori to the pupils in the three schools on the Islands, with the Committee's assistance.[1169] However Beeby replied that while he appreciated the interest and motive behind the request, the teaching of Māori 'could not be arranged during the official school day'; it was difficult enough to meet the existing curriculum requirements in the hours available, but it might be possible to arrange tuition outside of normal school hours.[1170]

In 1954 the MWWL tried again, making a modest request to the Minister of Education that the Government introduce Māori as a subject to be taught at the Teachers' Training Colleges in the four main centres, 'if only to the degree of teaching correct pronunciation of names and places'. Bruce Biggs, recently appointed as a lecturer in Māori language at Auckland University, wrote to Algie asking him to favourably support the League's request. There was, he wrote, 'a body of informed opinion' which considered that some instruction in Māori language should occur in schools where Māori pupils were taught, on the grounds that Māori was the second and in many instances the first language of the pupils. He suggested that important psychological effects stemmed from the complete exclusion from the curriculum of the language spoken by the child's parents, and identified with their home life. Such omission also emphasized, rather than minimised, the cultural gap Māori children had to bridge. And when Māori was the first or only language of the child, the 'adverse affects of the impossibility of free oral or written expression at school need not be emphasized, especially in the light of modern educational theory'. Biggs concluded with a lengthy statement on the importance for

[1168] Ibid.
[1169] N. Tewiata to Director, 27 October, 1953. E2 1956/4b Māori education 1946-56. NA.Docs., p.49.
[1170] Director to N. Tewiata, 24 November, 1953. ibid.

teachers of Māori not only to have a knowledge of the language, but being specially trained in all aspects of teaching it properly.[1171]

Algie's reply to the League, copied to Biggs, again unsympathetically rejected its request. Not surprisingly, he used reasons and language for doing so reminiscent of those used by his Departmental advisor, Parsonage, in his earlier paper:

> I must emphasize a point that seems obvious; English is the prime language for all Māori children. This policy has been so well accepted and has operated so effectively that at least half the Māori children beginning school have little or no knowledge of the Māori language. In addition there are many Māori parents who do not wish their children to be taught Māori; some of them indeed hold firmly to the view that it can well be left to Māori parents to give such training if it is thought necessary.
>
> Actually there are more Māori children enrolled in public schools than in Māori schools. To introduce the teaching of Māori into public schools even in the elementary way you suggest, would be very difficult, first, because there are not many Māori teachers serving in public schools and second, because it would not be easy the teaching of Māori to groups, often quite small, within schools.
>
> I cannot accept without considerable qualification your contention that the learning of the Māori language seems to improve a child's command of English. Most authorities are agreed that the quickest and the best way of gaining command of English is by speaking, hearing and writing English.[1172]

It was Māori themselves, and particularly the Māori Women's Welfare League, who continued to keep the pressure on respective Governments to introduce the Māori language into schools. The 1959 Dominion Conference of the League called on the Government to initiate an experiment in the teaching of the language beginning with the infant classes.[1173]

4.2 RACISM AND PREJUDICE

[1171] Biggs to Algie, 26 July, 1954. E2 1956/4b Māori education 1946 –56 NA.Docs.p.50.
[1172] Ibid.
[1173] Dominion Secretary MWWL to Minister of Education 30 October 1959, MA acc W2490 57/1/3pt box 279 Committee on Māori Education 1955-60.

The continued exclusion of their language from the schools was not the only difficulty some Northern Māori children and parents continued to experience after 1945. Racial attitudes continued to affect schooling in some districts, and prejudice sometimes even extended, as in this example, to teachers in the Māori schools. In July 1946 the Head of the Kaikohe Māori school referred to the opening of the new Kaikohe Post Office by the Hon F. Jones, with the school officially represented by children from the upper classes. However:

> The Head of the Kaikohe DHS and the Heads of all other Government Departments in Kaikohe received official invitations from Wellington to be present while the Head of the Native School was not so honoured. This might be just an oversight, although in the North this is typical of the average pakeha to the teachers in Native Schools.[1174]

In 1965 the Head teacher of the Oromoahoe Māori school wrote:

> Dear Sir
> Ref: Local myths about Māori Schools
> Recently a European family have shifted into the area …The parents are going to drive this child backwards and forwards each day, bypassing this local school, because they were informed by the Head teacher of the town school that….this was a Māori School and Māori Schools followed a different syllabus, programme etc etc..Therefore they should continue to bring this child eight miles each day…I told the parents that there was no difference in syllabus, teacher training and professional qualification between the two systems ..(but) Māori Schools did attempt to bridge the attainment gap… …this is not the first time that teachers in the Māori Schools in Northland have found harmful public attitudes towards Māori Schools being fostered by people who should know better-teachers in Board Schools. I am not saying there is wholesale writing down of Māori Schools ….but I do feel that that we should consider ensuring that teachers outside the Service are given the correct information and have no excuse whatsoever for ignorance of the true aims and methods of Māori Schools.[1175]

The official Departmental reply acknowledged:

[1174] Kaikohe Log Book, 15 July 1946, YCAF 1884 1c.
[1175] Head Teacher to Regional Superintendent, 31 March 1965, BAAA 1001, 983b.

> Your letter. in which you express concern about the attitudes prevalent among Europeans in the Bay of Islands area. The situations you describe are certainly very disturbing, particularly in view of the hoped- for development of closer liaison between teachers and parents in Māori schools and those under the jurisdiction of the Education Board.[1176]

4.3 MĀORI AS TEACHERS

After 1940, more Māori qualified as primary school teachers as the result of the introduction of the Māori quota amongst entrants to training colleges.[1177] Taking the years 1949-52, for example, in 1949 44 Māori students were admitted, in 1950 (53), 1951, (59) and 1952 (52). In addition, more Māori were admitted under the various Emergency Training Schemes: in 1949 (2), 1950 (1), 1951 (18) and 1952 (10). Māori students also now qualified for third year studentships at the colleges that provided specialised training in an area of primary education. In 1950, these included Fred Graham and August Tapsell as art specialists, Monte Daniels physical education and, in 1952, Kathleen Harrison and John Hotere as art specialists, and Ratu Mataira in physical education.[1178]

A majority of these trained teachers entered the Māori schools and, as a result, the percentage of Māori teachers employed in the service rose significantly. By 1951, the Department estimated that there were 106 Māori teachers in Māori schools. In 21 schools all the assistant teachers were Māori, and in 10 schools the whole staff was Māori. Eleven schools had Māori head-teachers. Commenting on this, Parsonage raised the question of whether it was in the 'best interests of the schools for this trend towards more Māori teachers to grow. 'We tend to take the view', he advised Beeby, that 'an admixture of Māoris and Pākehā is the best- the percentage of Māori teachers not to exceed say 50 percent'. He also suggested that with the large number of Māori now training as teachers, it was probably an opportune time to take steps to encourage them to take up

[1176] N.F.Harre, Senior Inspector of Māori Schools, 12 April 1965, ibid. MSDB O5-159.
[1177] AJHR, 1944, E-3, p.2.
[1178] Brief review of Māori Education by E.Parsonage, Senior Inspector of Māori Schools. E2 1956/4b. Māori Education System 1949-56.NA.

appointments in board schools, to help deal with what he described as 'the Māori problem in these schools' with large enrolments of Māori pupils. To ensure that Māori teachers applied for positions in board schools, he thought it might be necessary to advertise certain positions as special positions, requiring knowledge of Māori arts, crafts and language. If this were done, there would need to be safeguards against any tendency to segregate the Māori pupils under a Māori teacher from the rest of the school. But the presence of a Māori teacher on the staff of such board schools, who could take an interest in the Māori pupils and create a closer relationship between the school and Māori parents would, he believed, be valuable.[1179]

Hemi Hau, who attended the Ngaiotonga Māori School in the Bay of Islands and later taught in other Māori schools, recalls the leadership style of two Māori Head teachers which made a particular impression on home:

> Fred Heketoro Leonard from Te Arawa and Albert Anau (I think he was of whānau Apanui descent). They gave me ideas about specific types of leadership, which made me think along the lines of marae conceptual leadership-involving the people who possess special skills for special leadership and allowing them to lead in that field.[1180]

Apirana Ngata continued to encourage the teaching of Māori arts and crafts in the schools, urging the Department to develop a more comprehensive approach, and suggesting that visiting experts be appointed. The Department agreed, and in 1946 Lieutenant Henare Toka, an expert in carving, and his wife Mrs Wanairangi Toka, an expert in weaving, the first appointees, worked with schools in the Bay of Islands, visiting a groups of ten schools in rotation once a fortnight and spending a whole day at each school.[1181]

[1179] Parsonage to Director, 15 March 1951, E2 1956/4b Māori Education System 1949-56, NA.
[1180] Interview, Simon and Smith, p.134.
[1181] AJHR 1947, E-3 p4.

The increase in the number of Māori teachers assisted the efforts that continued to be made to strengthen the teaching of Māori arts and crafts in the schools after 1945, and the following are examples of this development in Northern Māori schools.

> Mr Tarau Titore Spent an hour coaching children in haka and action songs
> Te Rawhiti Log 22.3.48.[1182]

> The children….have a good repertoire of Māori action songs and stick games which they perform with considerable skill and enjoyment.[1183]

> Assistance in the teaching of Māori action songs is being given by a local resident.[1184]

> The programme in Art-Craft should be developed to include, among other fields, some Māori design and craft. This could provide an excellent opportunity to interact with some of the parents.[1185]

These developments in Māori schools in the North sometimes led Māori parents to apply to have their children transfer from a Board school to a Māori school. In December 1946, Aperahama Kaiawe and others requested permission for their children to leave the Board School at Waimate and to attend the Māori School at Te Ahuahu, because:

> our children would be given the opportunity of learning the arts and crafts of the Māori people, namely, carving, panel-making, and other Māori works of Art which the Native Schools teach. At present our children do not have the opportunity of learning the Arts and Crafts of their people while attending a Board School.

They requested that transport be made available to enable them to make the change, but the Department was not prepared to approve this.[1186]

[1182] BAAA 1003,7m.
[1183] Inspection report, Motukiore Māori School, 20 October 1964, BAAA 1001, 969c.MSDB M5-192-M5-194
[1184] Inspection report Motukiore, 5 December 1967. Ibid. MSDB M5-202-M5-204.
[1185] Inspection report, Te Horo Māori School, 15 March 1960, BAAA 1001, 584a.
[1186] Petitioners to Minister, 16 December 1946 Referred to Minister of Education, and Minister to Kaiawe, 31 March 1947.BAAA 1001, 1035b

The attempt to further promote aspects of Māori arts and crafts in the schools can be viewed as a positive development, although the continued official exclusion of te reo Māori obviously remained a serious impediment to its success.

4.4 THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE AS IMPEDIMENT

The negative effects on many aspects of the schooling of Northern Māori children, arising from the location of their controlling authority the Department of Education and the Inspectors being based in Wellington, was discussed earlier. In 1948, realizing that schools in the greater Auckland area and in the North were too far away to have local demands and problems met effectively, the Department of Education established a regional office in Auckland. But before this was set up, difficulties similar to those identified earlier continued, and the records show that the new administrative arrangements by no means ended delays in meeting urgent educational requirements in the north, reminiscent of those which had bedevilled the system since 1867. The following are some example of this.

The Ngararatunua Board School Whangarei was destroyed by fire on the 16 August 1946. The overwhelming majority of pupils were Māori, and for the next seven years the pupils were conveyed by bus to the old Kamo School which had been condemned. They were taught under very unsatisfactory conditions, while protracted discussions went on about the desirability or not of building a new school and exploring possible sites. Throughout this period, Māori parents continued to urge the Government to build a new school at Ngararatuna, rather than disperse their children to other schools, and expressed a preference for it to be a Māori School under Education Department control.

In 1952, the state of disrepair of the school the children were being educated in provoked considerable discussion at the annual conference of the Māori Women's Welfare League, The Dominion Secretary wrote to the Minister of Education pointing out that it:

> was condemned over seven years ago and that during wet weather even the staff is forced to wear protective clothing and gumboots in the classrooms. Conference was greatly perturbed by this state of affairs and although the authorities concerned with the school have expressed interest, actually very little has been done regarding the rebuilding of the school.[1187]

At a meeting with the Senior Inspector of Māori Schools in June, Māori parents requested that the new school should be a Māori School, and:

> expressed in strong terms their dissatisfaction with the conditions which had existed over the past six years, and claimed that there had been a degree of racial discrimination in the accommodation provided for the Pākehā and the Māori children at Kamo. They asked that their new school be erected with all possible speed.[1188]

The Auckland Education Board now withdrew its objection to a new school being built and administered as a Māori School, on the grounds that it would cater almost exclusively for Māori pupils. But it was to be another five years before the new Ngararatunua Māori School was opened.[1189]

In June 1947 the Head of the Te Rawhiti Māori school advised the Department that the only source of drinking water was 'two rungs in old tank'. The Director then asks the Auckland Education Board if the Board's architect could organize the replacement of the school water tank.[1190] Three months later, on the 24 September, the Director wrote again, referring to his earlier letter and advising that the position regarding the school's water supply was 'now extremely serious'.[1191] On 14 October the Head advised the Director that the Board had advised that a tank had been ordered and requested him to install it, but nothing further had been heard, and 'I would appreciate your instructions as to the closing of the school if the water supply completely fails'.[1192]

[1187] R.M.Love, Dominion Secretary, to Minister, 1 May 1952, BAAA,1001, 378a.
[1188] Assistant Director to Minister, 10 October 1952. ibid.
[1189] Correspondence on file, BAAA 1001, 371a.
[1190] Director to Secretary, 10 June 1947, BAAA 610c.
[1191] Director to Secretary, 24 September 1947, ibid.
[1192] Head to Director, 14 October, Ibid.

Four months later, on the 9 February, the Head informed the Director that the Board's building inspector had now advised him that because iron for tanks was in very short supply, he recommended a concrete tank for the school, (but):

> I would stress the need for speed. There is now NO water for the school, and the only tank at the residence containing unpolluted water is leaking and can hold no more than about 300 gallons.
> Something will need to be done before school opens so I would again stress the need for speed. In this connection I would point out that the Architect visited the school in November 1946 and that the tank as well as other work was authorized in March 1947.[1193]

The Director wrote again to the Board emphasizing the serious situation, with the Head enquiring whether he should open the school as no water was available: 'I have instructed him to reopen and informed him that the Department will pay for the cartage of water if necessary.[1194] The Head informed the Department on 31 March; 'no drinking water available please hurry concrete tanks', and on 5 April 'no water at school and no tank to hold it when rain falls'.[1195] In response to the telegrams he was advised that the urgency of the matter had been communicated to the Board, and in the meantime he should 'exercise the £10 authority granted to you to have the existing tank repaired and arrange to purchase a reasonable supply of water'.[1196] The Head's response to that was that 'the total Education vote could not purchase water here' and, even if it was available, 'the absence of roads would mean it would have to be carted manually making the cost prohibitive'.[1197]

On 21 April the Head was advised that the Board had the provision for a water tank at the school in hand and this would be 'completed in about three weeks'.[1198] A tender for the work was received in late May, and it appears that a water supply was probably finally

[1193] Head to Director, 9 February 1948, ibid.
[1194] Director to Secretary, 27 February 1948, ibid.
[1195] Ibid.
[1196] District Administrative Officer to Head, 7 April 1948, ibid.
[1197] Head to DAO, 13 April 1948. ibid.
[1198] DAO to Head, 21 April 1948. ibid.

functional in late June. But that was by no means the end of the problem. In September the Head advised that both 'recently installed water tanks are leaking badly'.[1199] And in March 1950, nearly three years after the water supply problem was first drawn to the attention of the Auckland Education Board, (my underline), the Head advised that 'We have approximately two weeks water supply left. To supply 60 gallons of water per day for use of school and residence it would be necessary to hire one man, with horse, sledge and two drums, for approximately two hours per day'. The Department then authorized 60 gallons every second day.[1200]

Would the Auckland Education Board have taken so long to attend to the problem if one of its own schools, enrolling mainly Pākehā pupils, had been involved? I find it hard to believe that that would have been the case.

A new Head teacher at Te Pupuke Māori School Whangaroa recorded in January 1952 that he had :

> Brought the Chairman of the SC, Mr Rudolph, over to inspect the school lavatories and water supply and other items as listed.
> Water supply- does not exist, spouting gone and tanks rusted through
> Lavatories-none fit to be used by humans; have closed one up.
> Windows-two broken

He also reports 'defects in locks, drains, fences, gates, shelter shed, garage, basketball court, roadway to school, paths, garden'.[1201]

> Received letter from Dept to say tenders are being called this week for school and new residence. This is presumably meant to be an answer to mine regarding water supply and state of lavatories. But it doesn't help much, calling for tenders does not produce an adequate water supply or habitable lavatories-and quite often does not produce tenders.
> 29.2.52

[1199] DAO to Secretary, 10 September 1948. ibid.
[1200] Head to District Superintendent, 18 March 1950, and DSO to Head 31 March 1950. ibid.
[1201] Te Pupuke Log Book January 1952, BAAA 1003 7i.

Further entries read:

> Heavy frosts have broken the water supply pipes and caused sediment and scale to block the flow of water. This may be serious as there is no water at the school and the children are dependent on the house supply. How long does the Dept expect the school to go on with no water supply. In 10 years service in the air force I have seen Indians, Negroes, Malays, Arabs, Chinese, Indonesians, Solomon Islanders, Polynesians and West Indians better treated and better cared for than are the Māoris in Pupuke. A quick succession of school teachers as there has been is not surprising-only natural.
> 2.5 52.
>
> 20 inches rainfall in February, we havn't enough saucepans and buckets for all the leaks in the house
> 3.3.52
>
> Visited by Mr Delph who suggested vegetable and flower gardens. I pointed out the absence of a water supply, settled for a home sweet pea club
> 1.3.52

The Head finally received the Department's approval to arrange repairs to the water supply and lavatories which were completed during the May holidays.

At the Tautoro Māori School, the Head made representations to the Minister of Education about the lack of accommodation at the school at a meeting on 19 September 1948:

> There are 107 children attending the school and they are housed in two old type classrooms about 40 years old and a converted shelter shed. The primer children are being taught in the shelter shed whenever the weather permits. On wet days they have to be brought inside, when there are 60 children and two teachers in one room and 40 odd children in the other room.[1202]
> .

The site for a new Motatau Māori school had been surveyed in 1940, BAAA 1001, 358b. However nothing further happened over the next five years and, at the start of a new school year in February 1946, the Head advised the Director that:

[1202] Minister to Director, 24 September 1948, BAAA 1001, 506b

> The roll number is 73 with the prospect of many new entrants. The infant room is very crowded with children sitting three in a desk. In this connection the committee wishes to stress the urgent necessity for the new school It is strongly felt that this has been under consideration for so long that it is time the building started.[1203]

A tender was let the following month, but on 2 May the Department advised that it was not possible to commence erection because comprehensive ground improvements were needed.[1204] Five months later the Head reported that:

> As it seems reasonably certain that the roll for 1947 will be in excess of 81, the Committee has asked me to write to you pointing out the need for a third room when the new school is built. At present all available space including the porch is in use.[1205]

Another four months after that he wrote again:

> As the present school is so crowded, the Committee asks that you provide, as soon as possible, a tent with a wooden floor to be used as a temporary classroom…The school roll is at present 90.Mrs Stacpool and I are without assistants, although the children have to be grouped as if the assistants were here. The infant room, which is a corrugated iron room, measures 17 feet by 18 feet 4 ins. In this are Primers and Std 1 numbering 54……Mrs Stacpool taught a considerable portion of last year in the shelter shed which is anything but suitable….
>
> As reported many times previously, the lavatory accommodation for 90 children is hopelessly inadequate. There is one lavatory for the girls and one for the boys…..
>
> Could you please tell us when the new school is to be started ? At the parents' meeting on Monday night they were very indignant. Indeed some were in favour of direct action by keeping their children away until something was done. But I managed to dissuade them from doing this. They state that the Minister of Education promised them a new school in 1940.This is 1947 and still there is no sign of any building activity. There is no doubt that the parents are very restive over the matter. Some were against applying for a tent as they feared that would again delay the new building.[1206]

[1203] Head Teacher to Director, 15 February 1946, BAAA 1001, 359a.MSDB M3-258-M3-259.
[1204] Ibid.
[1205] Head Teacher to Director 7 October 1946. ibid. MSDB M3-351.
[1206] Head to Director, 12 February 1947. Ibid. MSDB M3-360-M3-361.

In March, the Head appealed directly to the Prime Minister:

> On behalf of the Māori elders at Motatau I am requested to invite you to visit Motatau during your tour of North. One of the reasons is that they would like you to see the old school here. The people have been promised a new building for at least eight years but so far no start has been made although the site is ready…..
>
> This district is the home of Lt Colonel Henare ….and the Māori people in the district believe that it is because of their political views that they have been left so long….of course I do not believe that, although I think that the district has been neglected.
>
> The local children have received their education under difficulties as, until this year when a school bus has been provided, many have had to ride as far as eight miles. They certainly deserve a few amenities in thee way of a new school.[1207]

In June 1947 the Head advised the Director that:

> The roll number of this school is now 100 and conditions are very crowded. Is it quite impossible to have a tent with a wooden floor as a temporary classroom?.
>
> We have one lavatory for 53 girls. Sometime ago I submitted a tender for the erection of an extra pit lavatory, but so far no reply has been received. At present we are short of seating accommodation for 14 children. It is of little use applying for desks as we would not have room for them. The primers are therefore sitting on mats on the floor.[1208]

The failure to act continued:

> 1947…Infants taught in shelter shed, using coir matting and bags of grass for seats over cracked concrete. Parents dissatisfied with conditions, threatened to keep their children away from school unless something was done.[1209]
>
> 1948 Parents once more threatened to keep their children away unless some definite signs of Departmental action regarding the overcrowded school conditions, and they were very angry at the slow progress being made.[1210]

[1207] Head to Prime Minister (P.Fraser), 17 March 1947. ibid.MSDB M3-364-M3-365.
[1208] Head to Director, 3 June 1947. 968b.

[1209] Motatau Māori District High School. Brief Historical Notes, Ibid.

Omanaia South Hokiasnga is another example. In March 1950 the Tuberculosis Officer at Whangarei Hospital reported that while on a visit to Rawene he had been asked to call in and inspect the school building at Omanaia, which had been built in 1881:

> The Headmaster Mr Chapple showed me the building which he is very anxious to have replaced. I am particularly interested in this school as I have a number of patients whose children attend the school. The old classroom in which forty children are accommodated is most inadequately ventilated and in my opinion is very overcrowded. Extensive structural alterations would still not give enough space or ventilation and I would ask you to give urgent consideration to the replacement of this classroom by a modern building.[1211]

The official reply was that 'The unsatisfactory condition of this building is fully appreciated and it is proposed to replace it as soon as circumstances permit'. The reality and irony was, of course, that it had taken the medical authorities rather than the education ones to recognize this.[1212]

4.5 TEACHER EXPECTATIONS

It was pointed out in earlier parts of this report that low expectations on the part of educational officials, inspectors and teachers was often a barrier to Northern Māori children achieving as they should have in the schools.

But by now, even education officials could not remain altogether immune from new perceptions and realities. Expectations and perceptions held by teachers about Māori children was referred to in an 18-page report by a Māori school Inspector, W.A.Goodwin, in 1952. He wrote that from the outstanding contribution to society by many leading Māori, it was assumed that the range of potentialities of Māori children 'is

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[1210] Ibid.
[1211] TB Officer to District Superintendent, 27 March 1950, BAAA 1001,394c.MSDB O3-420.
[1212] DAO to TB Officer, 12 June 1950,ibid.MSDB O3-422.

approximately the same as that of Europeans'.[1213]. But he also pointed out that on the basis of evidence available in the Department's reports, Māori children were still passing through the primary classes at a much older age than Europeans in board schools. Doubts existed, he wrote, as to whether certain groups of Māori children were being fully extended, and therefore able to make the fullest contribution to society in general and the progress of the Māori race in particular. These groups included (a) Māori children who were average for their particular group, not due to any absence of innate ability, but because of' language difficulties, later age of commencing school, more irregular attendance and ill-health; (b) the Māori child who was below average ability and who tended to be left further behind in the primary school and (c) the Māori child of superior ability'.

Goodwin had obtained and summarised assessments by teachers of the ability of Māori children in Māori schools. He had also asked teachers what they were doing, or thought they should be doing for the exceptionally bright child, and their response had been that they favoured wider and enriched work rather than rapid acceleration through the classes, which was in line with modern educational thought.

However he had not found this to be the general practice, noting that he had seldom seen 'references to the child of higher intelligence in a scheme of work, or work planned for this group in a work book'.[1214] He concluded that teachers could do more for Māori children of higher intelligence, average ability and less than average ability, and considered that there was a tendency by teachers to 'give little attention to a child once the teacher has decided the child is dull'.[1215]

In 1939 Peter Fraser, the Minister of Education, had expressed the educational philosophy of the Labour Government in an often-quoted statement that it was:

[1213] Goodwin to the Senior Inspector of Māori Schools, 1 February, 1952. NA
[1214] Ibid., p.12.
[1215] Ibid., p.18.

> The Government's objective, broadly expressed, is that every person whatever his level of academic ability, whether he be rich or poor, whether he live in town or country, has a right, as a citizen, to a free education of the kind for which he is best fitted and to the fullest extent of his powers.[1216]

But as the earlier discussion in this report showed, education officials responsible for Māori education had been slow to adopt this philosophy when it came to the education of Māori children. While the realisation had come generations later than it should have, education officials did begin to affirm during the latter part of the 1940s that Māori pupils needed to be treated equally with Europeans when it came to expectations, and preparation for entering the full range of occupations. There was also a new realization of the importance of communicating this to teachers.

The *Bulletin for Māori Schools* had become one method adopted by the Senior Inspector of Māori schools, now E.W.Parsonage, to keep teachers informed, and in a 1952 issue he reminded them that it was now realised there was not nearly not enough land owned by Māori left to enable all those who wished to become farmers to do so.[1217]

And, in a departure, finally, from the views of his predecessors, he added that 'in fact there is little evidence to support the impression that a larger percentage of Māori males (as compared with European males) have the aptitude or desire for farming'. He acknowledged that this fact, combined with the increasing number of Māori entering the professions, particularly teaching and nursing, and unskilled or semi-skilled occupations:

> Have made it necessary to re-evaluate educational policy…There is no longer any suggestion that, with proper education and training, Māoris cannot hold their own in the full range of occupations normally performed by Europeans. Educational facilities today must be such as will enable every Māori child to develop his innate abilities to the fullest extent, so that these Māori children will be able to accept employment in the greatest diversity of occupations, in accordance with their particular skills, knowledge and aptitudes.[1218]

[1216] AJHR, 1939, E-1, pp.2-3.
[1217] Bulletin for Māori schools, no.2, 1952. E2 1956/4b. 29/2/27. Māori Education. NA.
[1218] Ibid.

That such a statement needed to be made by the Department's senior official for Māori education this late, 1952, emphasizes just how limited and backward the views of earlier officials had been.

Significantly, Parsonage also felt it was also necessary to inform teachers that the way in which the terms 'practical education' and 'activity methods' had been used in the past needed to be re-examined:

> In the past many have interpreted "practical" as meaning that the Māori child is basically different from Pākehā children and that the Māori child needs an education which is mainly of a manual character. Such an interpretation is doubly faulty. It is a generalisation applied to all Māori children, and it is too narrow an interpretation of the term "practical". There is no scientific evidence which would warrant our assuming that Māori children do not possess the same range of innate abilities and aptitudes as the children of any other race. There is no such person as "the average Māori child". Māori children differ one from the other just as do the children of any other race. There are Māori children who are fitted to progress and profit from a verbal or academic type of education. There are others for whom the approach must be along more concrete or practical lines.[1219]

However despite this apparent new awareness on the part of the Senior Inspector of Māori schools, there is evidence that raising the expectations of some teachers with regard to the abilities and potential of Northern Māori children was not going to be achieved quickly.

A report on Te Horo, Motatau, in 1960 concluded that:

> An evaluation of the work of the various classes shows that there are some promising children in this school who could go a long way if they can be given the opportunity and brought to the level of achievement attained by children of similar ability in many of our other schools

[1219] Ibid., p.4.Docs.,p.53.

> Referring to Standards 4 to 6 'There are some quite able children in this room who could do some really first class work if given the right incentives, supported by the right kind of teaching…Arithmetic is very disappointing. Nothing seems to have been learned or applied from our in-service courses on this subject
>
> Referring to the Infant Section …every effort should be made to ensure that the average and better than average children pass through in the normal time.[1220]

The negative labelling of a whole group of children in a district than can only be described as outrageous occurred when an official, reporting on the Rotokakahi Māori School in 1965, concluded that 'Children from the Pawarenga district are inclined educationally to be rather backward and this has necessitated them being grouped in a composite class when they attend the District High School as secondary pupils'.[1221] The report arose from the possibility of Rotokakahi being consolidated on the Broadwood District High School.

In 1946 the Head of the Kaikohe Māori school recorded that:

> This year we are trying a new scheme of parallel classes suggested by Mrs Curnow. S3-6 are divided into two groups. One group is to specialize in the academical side and the other in the manual side. In this way it is hoped that the retardates may be trained to be of some use to the community and the school. The academic group will not be held back by the less fortunate ones who have not the power to handle much of the academical side of the school programme.[1222]

4.6 DISCIPLINE

By now, both Departmental officials and teachers had become much more reluctant to record disciplinary methods in place, indeed the former policy of requiring any physical punishment to be recorded in a school log book had been was dispensed. But as the

[1220] Inspection Report, 15 March 196O, BAAA 1001, 584a.
[1221] General Manager Education Board to Regional Superintendent, 8 June 1965, BAAA 1001 1020a.MSDB R5-134-R5-136.
[1222] Kaikohe Log Book 5 February 1946, YCAF 1884, 1c.

following example suggests, it would be a supreme optimist who concluded that a harsh approach was still not administered in some of the schools:

> I received a telephone call from Mr Ivan Hall who has been relieving Head teacher at Ngaiotonga Valley during the absence of Mr V. Paine on sick leave….Before he leaves on Friday Mr Hall intends to meet all the parents and to tell them their shortcomings in the matter of the discipline of their children.
>
> Mr Hall made a firm recommendation to the Department that Mr Paine's successor as permanent Head teacher needed to be a strong type capable of "getting stuck into the parents" and advised the Department to "look the other way while he does it".[1223]

4.7 NORTHERN MĀORI CONTRIBUTION TO SCHOOLING

The Department of Education's 1953 annual report to Parliament acknowledged that 'an astonishing amount of aid' had been provided by Māori school committees and summarised this under the headings of:

(a) Free labour for improving school grounds, laying down sealed playing areas and paths, erection of fences and planting of trees.

(b) The raising of large sums of money to purchase "movie" and "strip" projectors, sports gear, wireless sets, pianos and other musical instruments, duplicators, infant teaching apparatus, equipment for school dental clinics, and library books.

(c) Providing money for the installation of learners' swimming pools.

(d) Providing transport for visits of educational value and for games with other school children.[1224]

Yet, as was pointed out earlier, it was not until 1957 that despite this massive contribution by Māori parents, Māori school committees were given for the first time the

[1223] R.F.Gilley Māori Schools Officer, on file 29 November 1966, BAAA 1001, 971b.
[1224] AJHR, 1953, E-3, p.4.

same status and responsibilities, including a measure of financial responsibility, as their education board counterparts.[1225]

Contributions by the Committees and other parents of Māori schools attended by Northern Māori children certainly reflected this general trend. Activity by the Oromahoe School Committee during the 1960's, for example, included raising money for the purchase of a tape recorder, sewing machine, motor mower, a learner's swimming pool complete with filtration plant and dressing sheds, a wide range of library books and other teaching aids, and development of the school grounds.[1226]

The minute book of the Te Rawhiti School Committee recorded activities such as digging a drain, preparing a tennis court and supplying and erecting a flag-pole. In July 1950, committee members had brought flax roots to provide a supply for the kits, and in February 1951, when the Head-teacher had asked for assistance to cut the grass on the school grounds, the lady members of the Committee had 'offered to assist if suitable hand-clippers could be obtained'.[1227]

At Te Horo:

> All concerned are to be congratulated on their efforts in raising sufficient funds to provide a radio, a projector, and a swimming pool, all of which are used to good effect for the benefit of the pupils. The provision of showering facilities will meet another need.[1228]

4.8 ATTENDANCE

[1225] Commission on Education, p.422.
[1226] BAAA 1001, 983b.
[1227] School Committee Minute Book, Entries 6 February, 28 June and 27 July 1941; 5 May and 7 July 1950.BAAA 10101/1a.
[1228] Inspection Report, November 195, BAAA 1001, 584a.

Although some improvements in roading and other communications had by now begun to be made in the North, access to and regular attendance at some of the Māori schools remained difficult.

The Head of Otangaroa recorded in the Log Book:
30.4.62: transport for the school children is needed. Two-4.5 miles up the valley are on correspondence.

5.8.62: Another child cannot possibly attend this school without some form of conveyance .They have no car. …It seems a pity to have everything in the way of equipment and some children in the district missing out on a 'full education'.

When a deputation met the Prime Minister (Right Hon P.Fraser) at Kotahitanga Pa Kaikohe on 17 October 1946, Mrs Heperi thanked him for being given the opportunity to state some of the grievances felt by the people living in the Rahiri settlement, in the lower Waihou Valley. She pointed out that it was necessary for maternity cases to cross two rivers in order to get to the Rawene or Kawakawa Hospitals, and during the winter months the rivers were in high flood. Under the present difficulties it was impossible for the children to obtain an adequate education. It was absolutely essential that a bridge should be erected, even a wire bridge would be most acceptable. On occasions the settlement was completely cut off and it was impossible to obtain rations. Mrs Heperi asked permission to read a letter from the Head Teacher of the Rahiri Māori School regarding the matter. This stated that:

> 1 All school supplies have to brought in by horse- back, eg 12-50lb cases of malted milk powder were ferried in by the committee as no vehicle could cross the river for weeks
> 2 Pupils desirous of secondary education are debarred unless accommodation can be found for them elsewhere
> 3 The primary pupils have great difficulty in fitting in visits to the dental clinic and do so only at great inconvenience to the Dental Nurse, eg This winter she had to wait four days from the appointed day before the children could be taken out with safety on horseback

> 4 The work of the school is not helped by the fact that no Physical Education Specialist, no Agricultural Inspector and no inspector has paid a visit for the past two years. The teachers have had to meet the inspectors on the main road. The District Nurse is putting forward the medical aspect. In this connection a great deal of extra responsibility falls on the teachers when she is unable to visit a sick case.
> p.s. The roll is 32 but would increase to 45 approx if Māori children could cross regularly and safely. As it is they travel nine miles in a school bus to a consolidated mixed school at Okaihau.[1229]

In 1954 parents of pupils at the Matihetihe Māori school informed the Head teacher that 'We the undersigned hereby inform you that our children will be absent from school during this winter unless we have the convenience of a school bus'. (10 parents signed, each indicating distance from the school ranging from 6.9 to 3.0 miles). They included a supporting letter from a public health Nurse stating that 'In my opinion the parents are fully justified in taking this stand. Owing to the conditions of the roads and the weather that the children have to contend with. (P.M.Nelson). [1230] The official response was that the Department was attempting to obtain a tender for the transport service (but) 'If a private contractor is not to run the bus I regret that it may be some time before a Departmental vehicle could be made available'.[1231]

The Head at Motatau advised the Director in 1946 that a proposed bus service was very necessary; some of the children had over 8 miles to come and at present ten attended only three days a week. Some new entrants were unable to attend because of the distance to be travelled.[1232]

4.9 HEALTH ACTIVITIES

[1229] Notes of meeting, BAAA 1001, 487e.
[1230] Communication to Head Teacher, nd. but 1954, BAAA 1001, 963b.
[1231] District Superintendent to Head Teacher, 9 June 1954. ibid. MSDB M2-372.
[1232] Head Teacher to Director, 6 February 1946, BAAA 1001, 359a.MSDB M3-331-M3-333.

Health activities continued to play a part in the curriculum, but as the following example demonstrates, the approach taken by some teachers was not appreciated:

> During the last meeting of the Te Horo Māori School Committee we received several complaints from parents in writing, stating that they very much disapprove of the system the teacher of the infant class adopts in treating the children's sores. She strips them naked one by one before their fellow class mates male or female. After applying an ointment on the sores they were asked to go out of the classroom to sun themselves, passers by observing the scene for the public road is not 40 yards away. There were several senior class pupils on the grounds at that moment witnessing the scene themselves. Surely there is a more pleasant way than this. I do not think for a moment that parents object to the application of the ointment to the sores. The exposure of these infants nakedly is the part they did not approve'.[1233]

The Head questioned the parents version of events and was supported by the Department. But the Chairman wrote again repeating the objections, pointing out that the Committee had a minute on its books that it accepted the teacher's explanation and regret for the stripping and an assurance that it would not happen again.[1234] However the Head, apparently in a fit of pique, decided that in view of the parents complaints the children would not continue to be treated at school; that would now be the responsibility of the parents.[1235]

4.10 THE EDUCATION BOARD/DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION/MĀORI SCHOOLS INTERFACE

It will be recalled that the long term aim of the Crown was eventually to transfer the administration of the Māori schools from the central Department of Education to the Education Boards. Some schools had transferred over the years, often because of an increase in the proportion of settler children attending. Pressure for the transfer of all the schools continued to come from some education boards, as well as educational and community groups.

[1233] Committee Secretary to Secretary Education, 8 April 195O, BAAA 1001, 584a.
[1234] See correspondence 21 May, 9 June and 26 June. ibid.
[1235] Māori Schools Officer to Chairman, 18 July 1950. ibid.

At a meeting in 1951, the Auckland Education Board requested that all Māori schools in its area be brought under its administration. One Board member suggested that there had been a 'definite resurgence of nationalism among the Māoris in the last few years, and if Māori and Pākehā children are brought up together in primary schools this will avoid the more extreme forms of nationalism in countries overseas'.[1236] But the Board's request led to a petition to the Minister from Northland Māori, asking for a firm assurance from the Minister, R.M.Algie, that they would be retained. In 1948, the Rotorua Chamber of Commerce asked the Minister of Education to abolish the Māori schools so that both Māori and Pākehā children would attend the same public school.[1237]

In 1955 both the primary teachers' organization (the NZEI) and the New Zealand Education Boards Association representing the ten education boards, asked the Minister of Education to have the Māori schools transferred to the boards. They argued that the Māori and Board schools were similarly equipped; their curriculum had been broadly the same for twenty-five years; teachers in both groups of schools had the same training and could move freely between the two services. The change in control therefore appeared to them to be a logical move and one that presented no difficulty.[1238] The fact that enrolments in Māori schools had stabilised, whereas enrolments of Māori students in board primary schools, particularly in Auckland, had grown rapidly, became another argument for change.[1239]

The Government decided to set up a Committee to consider the matter, with representatives from the Department, the Education Boards, the Māori people, and the Māori school teaching service. It was noteworthy in being the first time Māori had been members of an official national committee set up specifically to discuss the education of Māori children. The Committee on Māori Education met in Wellington for the first time late in November 1955.

[1236] Barrington and Beaglehole, 1974, p.249.
[1237] Ibid, p, 249.
[1238] See Submission no 4 of the Department of Education to the Commission on Education, 1960, and *Report of the Commission on Education*, p.419
[1239] See for example the Report of the Acting Secretary of Māori Affairs, (Hunn Report), 1960, p.23.

On making its enquiries, the Committee soon became aware of formidable barriers to what had seemed to some a simple administrative decision. Of these, tradition was probably the strongest. Māori parents and their children had developed a proprietorial interest in their community school, built upon land gifted by their forbears. A second obstacle was that many parents and teachers in Māori schools had come to prefer the Department as a controlling authority, not least because they believed their children were better off in Māori Schools rather than Board Schools.

By the mid- 1950s, a change had taken place in the administrative arrangements which had at least lessened some of the serious delays and frustrations these arrangements had contributed to in the past. This involved the Māori School Administrative Officer and other staff now being based in Auckland, in recognition of the large number of Māori pupils now being in Board Schools in the greater Auckland area.

Moreover, with the beginning of a resurgence and fresh emphasis within Māori Tribes on their culture, tradition, language, needs and values, the Māori schools represented a useful ally, which would be weakened by change in control to Education Boards and by the possible appointment of teachers less sympathetic to Māori children and Māori values.

These various factors influenced the Committee's recommendations and the strategy behind them. While its major focus remained on the control of the Māori schools, it chose to go beyond its terms of reference and consider the education of Māori pupils in Board as well as Māori schools, It unanimously agreed that the long-term policy of the Government should be to achieve a unified system of administrative control of primary schools. But it also agreed with 'the general feeling of the Māori people', that the time was not yet opportune for any full-scale transfer of Māori schools to the Boards, and that this should occur over a period of time, 'perhaps a generation or two'. It therefore recommended that before the Director of Education took any action to change the administrative control of a Māori school, 'full consultation must first be held with the

Māori people'. However it also decided that a few schools were ready for immediate transfer and, after consultation with the community, should be handed over to Board control.[1240]

Throughout the latter half of the 1950's, official reassurances continued to be given that transfers would only take place after consultation with the people in the community concerned. When the Minister of Education, P. Skogland, addressed the Committee on Māori Education in October 1958, he pointed out that he had visited 14 Māori schools in the far north, and found the standard 'up to the best in the board schools he had visited'. He was convinced that the schools run by the Department were 'very good schools, and they should remain under Departmental control while that standard was maintained'. However 'if the people wanted a change, no obstacle would be placed in their way'.[1241] At the Committee's 1959 meeting, the Chairman confirmed that where the people did not wish a school transferred to board control, there would be 'no question of the matter being pushed through in opposition to their wishes'.[1242]

However despite these reassurances, official opinion in favour of speeding up the rate of transfers now increased rather than diminished. The Hunn Report in 1960 left no doubt as to where the author stood on the issue. 'The school', Hunn wrote, 'is the nursery of integration', and the cause of race relations would therefore be best served by 'absorbing as many Māori children as possible into board schools'. The Māori schools would 'gradually pass away' as the result of urbanisation, but 'the process may be too slow in lieu of a measured policy of liquidation for the good of race relations' (My emphasis).[1243]

The Report of the Commission on Education in 1962 added its weight to the current discussion. It endorsed the existing policy of gradually transferring Māori schools with the consent of parents. But it also suggested that it would be desirable, both for Māori and the country as a whole, if the pace of change was faster, and recommended that all

[1240] Details of the Resolutions and Recommendations Passed at the Conference in 1955', MA 1, 57/1 vol.7 Education-General Policy 1960-61, NA.
[1241] Minutes CME 31 October, 1958. E W2490 57/1/3 Pt. 1 Box 279. NA.
[1242] Minutes CME, 5 November, 1959. ibid.
[1243] Hunn Report, p. 25.

Māori schools be transferred to Board control within a period of ten years. This, it held, would avoid separateness and racial distinctions:

> While schools that are apparently separate exist, undesirable racial distinctions have a greater chance to flourish, and, indeed, strangers are inclined to suspect that some form of segregation is being practiced-an idea that is abhorrent to the New Zealand community.[1244]

But in the event, the Department itself brought the time-table forward, giving schools and communities advance warning in 1966 that 'at a certain fixed date not before February, 1969, all Māori schools should be transferred to the control of education boards'.[1245] In 1967, the centennial year of the Māori schools, enrolment had fallen to under 7,600 pupils, and in that year the Government announced on Waitangi Day that all the remaining 114 schools would come under education board administration by 1 February 1969.

However there was still some dissenting opinion. In 1968 the member for Southern Māori, Mrs Tirikatene-Sullivan, referred in Parliament to research undertaken at the University of Auckland by Dr Hohepa, which revealed that 43 out of the 67 Māori students attending the university in 1966 had received their primary education at Māori schools, despite the fact that most Māori students now attended Board Schools. She quoted Dr Hohepa as saying that:

> since two-thirds to three-quarters of the total Māori pupils have been products of board schools…there should be 130 or more Māori students at Auckland who are the products of board primary schools. In the light of these figures there is little academic justification for the present move to abolish the Māori primary school system.[1246]

[1244] Report of the Commission on Education, p.420.

[1245] Simon, 1998,p.xix.
[1246] NZPD, 4, 1968, p. 1531.

Mrs Tirikatene-Sullivan went on to speak favourably of her own education at a Māori primary school, recalling the rapport which had existed between teacher and pupils, the small classes, and low rate of teacher turn-over, all factors, she said, which made communication easier between the pupils and their teacher and which led to greater educational success. Change could produce negative results, she said, unless teachers with special skills were provided for classes in Board schools with predominantly Māori or Polynesian pupils.[1247]

Some Northern Māori parents and their children, and the committees of the Māori schools on which the parents served, were affected by various administrative issues relating to the consolidation or transfer of the schools after 1945.

The following lengthy example involves the circumstances surrounding the Kaikohe Māori school. It records a sustained attempt by Auckland Education Board and Department officials, and mainly Pākehā parents, to get an intermediate school established in Kaikohe. One of the options considered was to turn the Kaikohe Māori school into the intermediate school, which would also draw pupils from other Kaikohe schools to build up the roll.

Also under consideration was the option of having the Kaikohe Māori School made a Board School, which was against the consistent wishes of the majority of Māori parents who sent their children to it.

Mixed in with the considerations was the location of both a Māori School (Kaikohe), and Board School in the same area. Both the Board and Department disliked this situation, which had also occurred at other places such as Pukekohe and Nuhaka. They viewed it as having potential to generate conflict if, for example, students by-passed their local school to enrol at one where most other pupils were of similar ethnic origin.

[1247] Ibid., p.1530.

However what really emerges, and is if of most interest and concern in relation to this report, is the determination of officials to over-ride the wishes of Māori parents to retain the Māori School, and to bulldoze through a change of status to a Board School. This was despite the recommendation of the 1955 Committee on Māori Education that no Māori School should be transferred to a Board unless or until the parents agreed with the change of status.

In a report on the Kaikohe Māori School in March 1956, the Māori School inspectors, shockingly, maligned all the many parents of children attending the school :

> As a Māori School Kaikohe can be considered as rather difficult…It is not centred on a Māori community but draws its pupils from areas around about Kaikohe town. The children come from poor home environments, their parents are not deeply interested in the school or in the education of their children. About 70 Māori children, belonging to families in better economic circumstances, attend the Kaikohe Board School…
>
> Generally speaking pupils are making steady progress at a rate consistent with the fact that they come from a rather depressed group in the community.[1248].

In May of that year a meeting was held at the School regarding its future and the best interests of future pupils in Kaikohe township. It was attended by Auckland Education Board and Department of Education officials, the Senior Inspector of Māori Schools, the School Committee, the Principal of Northland College and the Head teachers of five other Māori schools in the district The Senior Inspector of Māori Schools gave an outline of the decisions of the 1955 Committee on Māori Education, and explained their relationship to the Kaikohe situation. He also raised the possibility of establishing a Māori School at Rangihamama, and of an Intermediate School on the existing site of the Kaikohe Māori School.

He reported that the chief objections had come from Mr Eru Pou on behalf of parents, who 'strongly resisted any move towards amalgamation- Māori would lose all if he lost

[1248] Inspection Report, K Robertson, H Holst, W Dudley, 6-7 March 1956, BAAA 1001, 942a.MSDB K1-763-K1-764.

the school. He suggested that all Māoris at the Board School should be drafted back' !! (Author emphasis not mine). Opposition to an Intermediate School had also come from Head teachers of surrounding Māori schools whose positions would be threatened. It was agreed that all should consider the proposals carefully and place their views before the Director of Education who would meet the group on the 18th or 19th of June.[1249]

Later in the month the Kaikohe Western Tribal Executive stated that it was strongly against the Education Department's idea of converting the Kaikohe Māori school to an intermediate school, and it endorsed unanimously the stand made by its representative, Mr Eru Pou, when the matter was discussed with Departmental officials.[1250] Robertson thanked him for his letter, advised him that his views could be placed before the forthcoming meeting, and suggested that 'The sole aim of our meetings and discussions is to act in the best educational interests of the Māori children in and around Kaikohe'.[1251] At the meeting which followed, Robertson suggested that one point of importance was that that the Kaikohe Māori school was really already a consolidated school, the figures showing that 123 of the pupils came by bus and some 100 pupils were from the town.

The District Superintendent of Education (L. Le Ensor) mentioned that matters were not quite as clean cut as Mr Pou had suggested, in that parents of some 80 children preferred to send their children to the Pākehā school. Mr Pou responded by pointing out that the parents had an original agreement with Mr Guy, Chairman of the Board, that only Pakehas should go to the Pākehā school and Māoris to the Māori school. This had been kept by the Māori school but not by the Pākehā school. He emphasized the necessity of keeping the Māoris together in the community, and emphasised that one became an individualist immediately one left the community, which to him was a disadvantage. The District Superintendent told Mr Pou that he lived too much in the past.

The Headmasters present were not particularly keen on the suggestion for an intermediate school as it affected their forms 1 and 2, and they wished to have a further look at the

[1249] K. Robertson, Note for file 9 May 1956. ibid. MSDB K1-769.
[1250] Secretary, Mr Tuhi Maihi to Dr Beeby, 20 May 1956. ibid. K1-786.
[1251] Robertson to Maihi,6 June 1956. ibid. MSDB K1-777.

whole situation. Mr Simpson was anxious that the Māori pupils should receive the same consideration in the Board school as they had in their own Māori schools, but felt this would not be the case.

In summing up, Robertson again emphasized that he was not asking for a decision, but wished to put the whole position before those present so they would be ready to discuss the matter with the Director at a later date. [1252]

A representative from the Kaikohe Tribal Executive apologized for not being able to attend the meeting, but forwarded the Committee's views on the disestablishment of the Kaikohe Māori school:

> The Kaikohe Tribal Executive does not favour the disestablishment of the Kaikohe Māori school because there is no indication of any conflict to the best educational interests of the Māori children as it now stands……
> The intellectual advancement of the Kaikohe Māori children is not in jeopardy at all to our point of view and the disestablishment of the KMS is too drastic a measure if it is merely for the purpose of correcting a purely administrative matter…..
> There is no racial segregation because equal facilities and opportunities are the same for both races
> And also the same high standard of teaching provided for both. Mr Eru Pou our representative will elaborate on other points raised.[1253]

In June the Director of Education, Dr Beeby, met with the Kaikohe Māori School Committee, parents and teachers, Head teachers and School Committee Chairman of adjacent Māori schools, the Principal of Northland College, Departmental representatives K.I. Robertson and J.Preston, and J. Henare, a Māori member on the Committee on Māori Education. The Director began by advising the meeting that he was not really interested in putting forward any particular points of view, but was present to discuss any problems with the parents. He was interested in the school and the future of Māori education, but was not trying to force them to do anything they did not wish to do.

[1252] Notes of meeting, nd. Ibid.
[1253] John Maihi, Secretary Kaikohe Tribal Executive to Head, Kaikohe Māori School, 18 June 1956, ibid.MSDB K1-778-K1-788.

However his subsequent comments suggest this was misleading, and that he had very definite views indeed about the best option.

Beeby suggested that Māori schools had played an important historical role, but times were changing. He instanced Murupara, where there had been a small Māori School, but with the development of Kawerau other people had come to the district, a new school had been started and now there were two schools side by side. The same position existed at Tokomaru Bay and Nuhaka and the two schools side by side was creating a problem by dividing the community. It had never been thought that the transfer of schools to board control would be sudden, and it had been expected that it might take up to twenty years at least before all schools came under Board control. Where, however, two schools existed side by side the position should be closely investigated and that was the reason for the setting up of the 1955 Committee on Māori Education. He stated that the two schools at Murupara would be amalgamated, probably from the beginning of next year, and that Tokomaru Bay had agreed in principle to the same change. In no case, however, had the parents been pressured to make the change. The question now was how long in Kaikohe should there be both a Board and a Māori School. He stressed there would be no saving financially as the cost of running a Board school was approximately the same as running a Māori School. He then asked parents to express their views.[1254]

Mrs Henare said she had been a pupil at the school, then a teacher, and was now a mother of children at it and a School Committee member. She was particularly interested in the views of the meeting as she had known the school for 41 years.

Mrs Kapa felt she was speaking for the majority. Her people had attended the school, she had been a pupil and was now on the School Committee. Personally she had a strong desire that the school should be left 'as it is to-day' She appreciated the benefits that may accrue from joining with the Board school, but at the present time would not like to see any change.

[1254] Notes of meeting 18 June 1956, p.3.

Mrs Perse wished the school to always remain a Māori School. She said there were 12 more parents from her locality and they all held the same view. She pointed out that no teachers had left the school with any ill feeling, which spoke well for the tone of the school. She hoped that the Māori children would retain their language and she thought it possible they would lose it if they went to a Board school.

Mr Marino, Chairman of the Te Ahu Ahu School Committee, said he had been a School Committee member for 20 years and Chairman for 12 Their school was predominantly Māori and it was their desire also that it remain a Māori School. He had no doubt that the day would come when the school would be taken over by the Board, but did not think the time for that had arrived.

Mrs Rapa Tini said she had been a pupil at the Kaikohe Māori school and now had children attending. She considered the problem as one touching the Māori people to the core and desired that the school remain a Māori school.. She feared, as had other speakers, that if they attended a Board school the children would lose their language. She was also a member of the School Committee and it wished that the school remain a Māori school.[1255]

Mr Kapa said he had been Chairman of the School Committee for many years. He, his father and his own children had all been pupils at the school. He had a strong wish and desire that it should remain a Māori school and not become a Board school. He reminded the meeting that her Majesty the Queen had expressed the wish, at Rotorua, that Māoris should retain their arts and crafts and the primary stage was when children should learn Māori culture. They would learn Pākehā customs at post primary school.[1256]

Mr Mita pointed out that several years previously the Minister had assured a deputation that as long as he was Minister the school would not go over to Board control. He asked what the benefits would be if the school were turned over to board control. He had

[1255] Ibid., p.4.
[1256] Ibid.

resigned from the Committee as he no longer had children at the school, would like to hear the teachers views, but at the moment was not decided one way or the other.[1257]

Mr Eru Pou said he, his parents and 9 of his children had attended the school while a tenth still attended. He had found the children coming out of the school had done well in getting good jobs. The time to change had not come and the school should be retained in its present form. To absorb minority groups into majority groups was not good and the children would be better with their own primary school. It (was) better for the children to mingle at the College level when they were mature. The Kaikohe Māori school was the oldest in the district and he expressed the wish of the people that it remain a Māori school for all time.

Mr Henare explained what had happened at the meeting of the national Committee on Māori Education, particularly with regard to the transfer of Māori schools to Board control. He had understood from the meeting that it would take some generations before all Māori schools would finally be 'handed over'. He said he had met teachers and parents of pupils in Northland, and they had briefed him to oppose the taking over of the Māori schools by the Board at the meeting. However at the meeting it had been agreed that it would take generations to effect the changeover. At the present time he could not see the advantage of having the schools under Board administration and doing away with the Māori, particularly in smaller districts. All of those schools were predominantly Māori, but in districts such s Kaikohe, there was no doubt a problem and one to be settled by the people and the education authorities. He said he could sympathise with the views of his people, even if from a sentimental point of view only. He said he did not know the facts and would therefore not state an opinion.[1258]

Dr Beeby responded to several of the matters raised. He told the meeting that the Department wished that it could teach the Māori language, and it would do so if it could get the teachers. The matter was one which had been discussed with prominent Māori

[1257] Ibid. p.5.
[1258] Ibid.p.7.

people over the years and was one the late Sir Apirana Ngata was particularly interested in. Sir Ngata's view was that English should be taught as it was the language with which the Māori people would earn their livelihood. However, if we could obtain teachers we would be happy to teach both languages.[1259]

This statement by Beeby deserve a comment. First, the Department had for many years been using the lack of teachers to teach Māori as a major excuse for not including the language in schools. Yet it continued to take no steps to overcome the problem. And, as the earlier analysis of the views of Departmental officials showed, they were also still opposing the introduction of the language on a much wider front, involving various linguistic and pedagogical arguments, rather than on just the absence of teachers argument.

Secondly, it is questionable whether Dr Beeby was justified in citing the views of Sir Apirana Ngata in that way in support of his own. Ngata was certainly a keen advocate of Māori learning English, and in the early thirties, when he was still confident that Māori remained universally strong, he expressed reservations about whether the European environment of the typical Māori school was necessarily the best place to teach it. But by the end of the 1930s he had changed his mind, becoming a strong advocate of both languages being taught and used in the schools.

Beeby continued by stating that he certainly had no wish to get rid of the Māori schools, and he shared the pride of the people in the schools and in their children. The only thing that would override his personal views would be the children gaining benefits. He pointed out with regard to the advantages of transfer to a Board, that from an administrative viewpoint there might be a small gain, but more real was the necessity that Māori and Pākehā must mix, and he would not like to see Māori losing their jobs because they could not speak freely in the Pākehā language.[1260]

[1259] Ibid.
[1260] Ibid.p.8.

This comment also justifies discussion. Dr Beeby's comment in the first part of his statement, that he had no wish to get rid of the schools and shares the pride of the people in them, hardly seems to match up with his strong advocacy of the need for ethnic mixing expressed in the second part. This was at the time one of the main arguments of those wishing to have the Māori schools transferred to the Boards.

He continued by stating that Kaikohe had grown to a town and would eventually be a larger one, and suggested that those present would be aware that there had been some friction in the town, which he did not wish to see the schooling system contributing to. He referred to the resolution of the Committee on Māori Education that no decision to transfer a Māori school to a Board should be made without full consultation with the Māori people. That was the reason for him having come from Wellington.. He personally would never recommend the establishment of a Board school where a Māori School existed and vice versa.[1261]

Beeby continued by saying that he agreed with the loyalties and sympathies expressed by those present with regard to Māori schools, until these interfered with the children's chances of competing on equal terms with Pākehā children. Here again, he is making his real views very evident, while concurrently weeping crocodile tears.

Moving on to possible options, Beeby stated that the Māori school could become an intermediate, and that a small school in the west could be established with a roll of approximately 100 children. However there were other possibilities and any change would take place slowly. He pointed out that the people had decided that the two races would mix at Northland College, and if the Education Board commenced an intermediate school he would counsel parents to send their children to that school. This seemed a not impossible solution. He stated that no sudden decision was necessary, but that ultimately the full mingling of the Māori and Pākehā races in New Zealand would come about. This sounds, to me, very much like the continuation of the long-established assimilation policy in education, without regard for Māori opinion or rights.

[1261] Ibid.

The Principal of Northland College Mr Buxton then spoke, pointing out that a rough census of the roll of the College the previous year had shown that it comprised 53 percent Māori and 47 percent Pākehā. He said he had noted with a great deal of satisfaction the pride shown by the Māori people in their ancestry, and referred to the mingling of the classes at the College. He also emphasised what he said was the lack of self-confidence shown by Māori pupils in the early stages of their attendance at the College, and thought that these pupils would benefit from mingling with Pākehā at an earlier age- one year at least.

He suggested that the Māori arts could well be taught in Board schools, and expressed the view that bilingualism was a handicap to the Māori people in expression. He stated that the cumulative effect of the two primary schools side by side for too long would result in both schools failing in their aims and objectives. This statement also requires comment. Mr Buxton first praises the 'pride shown by the Māori people in their ancestry', in a rather paternalistic fashion, but then launches into what is really an attack on bilingualism and the Māori school.

The Head of the Ohaeawai Māori school, Mr Cochrane, said he would not like to see the children from both races mixing before Standard 6. Māori schools did a lot for their pupils that had not been done at Board schools and he felt that(having) Standards Five and Six in a school was a great help to the younger children.[1262]

The Head of the Kaikohe Māori school, Mr Patience, said he did not think the time had arrived when the school should change over to Board control. He counselled parents to think carefully about the proposal to establish a school in another area. He personally did not like decapitated schools. He reminded the parents of the importance of supporting their own school, stated that he strongly believed in preserving Māori culture, and pointed out that with one exception his staff were all Māori.[1263]

[1262] Ibid, p.10.
[1263] Ibid.

The main development in the next three years was a decision by the Auckland Education Board to open a new Board school in Mangakahia Road Kaikohe in the third term 1959. This prospect raised further concern amongst the Committee and parents of the Kaikohe Māori school, expressed in a letter by the Committee Chairman:

> It is being said in Kaikohe that when the new school opens in Manga Kahia Road, the area will be zoned and that many of our children will be compelled to attend this school. If these reports are correct, we shall resist any move to lower our school roll.
>
> Our teachers are endeavouring to keep alive at least some of our traditional culture, and for this and other reasons we wish our school to continue as it is. Pākehā schools do not foster these traditional songs and dances which we wish our children to learn.
>
> Contrary to the beliefs of many, we feel that there is still a need for our Māori School, and we ask that you assure us that our school will be left to grow as we know it will. We must advise you, however, that we are preparing a petition to the Minister in the fear that moves will be made to take children away from our school.[1264]

The Senior Inspector of Māori Schools replied that 'You can be assured there will be no move to arbitrarily change your school from a Māori School without full discussion with the Māori people, such as when the Director of Education Dr Beeby met parents on 18 June 1956'.[1265]

In November 1958 the Kaikohe Māori school received a very positive report from the Inspectors:

> The buildings and environs reflect the pride both staff and pupils take in their school. The pupils are a band of courteous, well-behaved boys and girls with a splendid attitude towards their school work. In the infant department they are receiving a fine introduction into school life and good foundations are being laid for the work in the higher classes where there is evidence of steady progress.

[1264] Paepae Witihaira, Chairman to District Superintendent, 23 February 1959, BAAA 1001, 942a.MSDB K1-789-K1-792.
[1265] Robertson to Chairman, 27 Feb 1959, ibid. MSDB K1-793.

Inspection report, 4-6 November 1959.[1266]

However the school's roll had now grown to 323 and was projected to rise to 350 by September 1961. The Committee regarded the accommodation as inadequate for the number of pupils, and was unhappy about promised prefabs which it feared would be substandard and provided in lieu of new classrooms. A letter from the Chairman to the Department showed that the Committee was still suspicious of the Department's motives, advising that a meeting had reached the conclusion 'that the Department still has the intention of endeavouring to divert children from this school'.[1267]

The official response was that:

> I would firstly stress that there is no intention to disestablish the Kaikohe Māori School. Government policy on this issue has been stressed especially at Kaikohe from time to time and there will be no move to change the status without the full concurrence of the Māori people.[1268]

The Minister of Education also replies along the same lines:

> Finally, I would reiterate that it is not the policy of the Government in any way to force Māori Schools to change to the Education Board's system and that this is a matter for the parents to decide. Your school has decided overwhelmingly in favour of retention of its present form of administration and neither my Department or I will do anything to influence you to change your mind in this matter.[1269]

In 1962 a public meeting was convened by Dr M.N.Paewai, and chaired by the Mayor, Mr P.M. Williams, to discuss the integration of the Māori schools with the Auckland Education Board, with an attendance of 70. Paewai had come to national attention within

[1266] Ibid.
[1267] Mrs H Rapatini, Chairperson to Regional Superintendent, with copies to Minister and member for Northern Māori, 5 April 1960, BAAA 1001, 267c.MSDB K1-565-K1-566.
[1268] Ensor to Secretary 15 April 1960. ibid. MSDB K1-562.
[1269] Minister to Secretary,21 April 1960. ibid. MSDB K1-568.

educational circles earlier, with vehement criticism of the Hunn Report's 's recommendation for a Māori Education Foundation to be established to improve the under-representation of Māori in the pre-school, secondary and tertiary sectors. He had described the move as 'hand outs' to Māori. At this meeting, he comes across as passionately in favour of the Pākehā way of life, with statements like 'You can't be led by people who put so much emphasis on Māori culture' etc, and as an advocate of Māori adopting Pākehā ways including going to board schools.

A motion was moved at the meeting:

> That this meeting respectfully suggests that the Māori School Committee receive a deputation from this meeting to discuss the calling of a meeting of parents to consider the transfer of the Kaikohe Māori School to the control of the Auckland Education Board, with a view to a greater intermingling of Māori and Pākehā children of our community'.[1270]

This led the Chairman of the Kaikohe Māori School Committee, E. Pou, to write to the Department of Education's District Superintendent:

> You have no doubt seen certain press articles regarding a meeting held in Kaikohe, with a view to transferring the Kaikohe Māori School to Education Board control. I wish to put some facts before you, in order that there will be no doubts about the real attitude of the parents of the children attending this school.
>
> (a) The meeting held in Kaikohe was organized by persons who are in no way connected with the school.
> (b) Only 9 parents of children of this school attended the meeting.
> (c) Not one of these was in favour of any change in the school's status. On the contrary some spoke strongly against it
> (d) Because of incorrect statements appearing in the press I have since made it my business to ascertain the wishes of the parents. Of a total of 101 families, 91 have expressed their refusal to agree to any change. In support of this, my Committee has the signatures of the parents stating their views.
>
> My Committee trusts that this will correct any false impressions which you may have formed in respect to the attitude of both parents and committee to any change in the status of the school. I am asked to add that such a move as taken

[1270] Northern News, BAAA 1001, 942a.

> by the organizers of the meeting in Kaikohe, could have a harmful effect on Māori-Pākehā relations in the Kaikohe area.[1271]

Paewai responded by writing to the District Superintendent himself, questioning the accuracy of the results and advising of his intention to make further statements to the press 'pointing out why they should endeavour to integrate the schools now. Any suggestions that you might be able to give me on this matter would be much appreciated and would be treated highly confidentially'.[1272]

The District Superintendent thanked Paewai for a clipping of the meeting and other material, and advised him that:

> I was pleased to read how many progressive Māoris were thinking. It is unfortunate that members of the School committee were not present at the public meeting…..
>
> As you would expect I have received letters from the school committee protesting against interference in their domestic affairs, and about statements made at that meeting.
>
> You will no doubt want to make further statements to the press and will no doubt wish to point out that during the last few months the Tangoio Māori School and the Te Hauke Māori School have both requested to change to the Hawkes Bay Education Board, while the Okaute Māori School in the Wellington district has also agreed to change to that Board from the beginning of the year. These indicate changed attitudes among many Māori people and a realization that their future lies in a close relationship with the Pākehā during the early formative years.[1273]

Providing Paewai with information in this way, to enable him to further publicly attack the existence of Kaikohe as a Māori school, is shocking behind the scenes behaviour by a senior Department of Education official. This is particularly so after the recommendation by the national Committee on Māori Education that no Māori school should be

[1271] E. Pou, Chairman, to District Superintendent, 7 September 1962. ibid.
[1272] Paewai to Bradley, 8 September 1962. ibid.
[1273] Hand written note on file with comment "Discussed over phone", 19/9/62. ibid.

transferred without the approval of parents, the obvious opposition to any such move by the Kaikohe Māori school committee and parents, and the specific assurances given by the Director of Education Dr Beeby, the Minister of Education, and the District Superintendent himself earlier that the school would not be transferred against the wishes of the parents.

In May 1963 the Auckland Education Board announced plans to establish an intermediate school at Kaikohe.[1274]
In July of the same year the Kaikohe Māori school again received an extremely positive inspection report from the Inspectors of Māori Schools covering most aspects of its activities, including grounds, buildings, language development, Māori culture, management etc. Based on the names only of the teachers 5 out of 9 were Māori.[1275]

Meanwhile, Auckland Education Board members and officials carried forward more vigorously what appears to have been their real intention throughout, the transfer of the Kaikohe Māori school to Board control. In May 1964 the Board's Assistant Secretary advised the Board's Māori Sub-Committee that:

> In view of the need for re-organisation involving adjustment of attendances, particularly if the most economical use is to be made of transport services, it appears that the time is opportune to consider the change in status of Māori Schools to Board Schools if and when the intermediate school is established …change in status would hasten integration.[1276]

The Board's Secretary advised in June that:

> The Māori Committee, which comprises representatives of both the education department and the board, has agreed in principle that the best interests of the District will be served by the establishment of an Intermediate School to serve the areas named in the report, and that every effort should be made to have the school established by February 1967….Meanwhile, School Committees are asked to give careful consideration to the matters raised …so that that their

[1274] 21 May 1963, BAAA 1001,942b. MSDB K1-814.
[1275] Inspection Report 3 July 1963, ibid. MSDB K1-815-K1-816.
[1276] Assistant Secretary, Memorandum for Māori Committee, May 1964,ibid.

> representatives may come to the meeting in a position to express the attitudes of their districts to the proposals.[1277]

In September, the Education Department's Māori Schools Administrative Officer, J.C.Preston, met with the Kaikohe Māori School Committee. He advised it that Mr Martin, Acting Senior Inspector and he had agreed to meet them following a suggestion that the Department was not maintaining reasonable standards of maintenance at the school because of a possible change of administration to Board control. Reporting on the meeting he wrote that he had advised it:

> that the proposals for the establishment of an intermediate at Kaikohe were at a the discussion stage only and had no effect on the maintenance of the school. Even if an intermediate school was established, the Māori School would be required for use and it would be necessary that the school be maintained in reasonable order.
>
> The Committee also raised the question of a clause in the Education Bill allowing the Minister to disestablish Māori Schools. This was reported in the paper and conflicts with assurances given by previous Ministers on this question.
>
> The Committee was advised that we had no information on this subject, but it could be that the item referred to the consolidation of schools where the roll dropped below the minimum number of nine …I promised…that we would investigate the position.[1278]
> (Preston subsequently wrote to the Secretary of the Kaikohe Māori school advising that after perusing the Bill he had been unable to locate any such section, except one giving the Minister authority to establish a Māori school for the purposes of primary and secondary education, and likewise to disestablish such a school. This provision has been suggested because no precise authority existed in the old Act).[1279]

At a meeting of School Committees in the district in December, Education Board officials emphasized the advantages of an intermediate, as did the Senior Inspector of Māori Schools, N.Harre, although he also suggested this needed to be weighed against

[1277] Secretary to General Manager, 15 June 1964. ibid. MSDB K1-823.
[1278] Report on meeting with School Committee, 24 September 1964. ibid. MSDB K1-825-K1-826.
[1279] Preston to Secretary, 5 October 1964.ibid. MSDB K1-827.

the effects of travel. Mr Penk, the Auckland Education Board's Transport officer, told the meeting that he 'Personally…felt that consolidation of the Taheke and Otaua Māori school is sensible, preferably the consolidation on Otaua Māori School'.

Preston pointed out that the proposals envisaged:

A The Kaikohe Primary school becoming an intermediate school

B The Kaikohe Māori School becoming the primary school for the area and this would involve a change to board control.

C That other than the Kaikohe Māori School there was no question of change of control for the other schools, unless there was a major change in the school population,

The Otaua Māori School asked whether their school would be involved in a change of control, and Mr Hume (AEB Assistant Secretary) pointed out that in his opinion separate types of administration were not necessary and he felt that all schools should be under one control.

Discussion about various implications of possible changes followed. Representatives of schools present were then asked for an expression of opinion whether in favour of establishment of an intermediate or not with following results: 3 against (Kaikohe Māori, Te Ahu Ahu Oromahoe; 11 for including Otaua, Waima, Tautoro, Awarua, Ohaewai + board school. ….Mr Hume then stated that on the results the Board would have difficulty in establishing an intermediate, especially without the Māori School and he felt they should state their reasons against the principle of contributing to an intermediate school. Mr White (AEB member) expressed the opinion that the Māori people had let him down in the results of the voting.

But after support from the other committees the reasons for non-contribution by the Māori schools were not sought. The meeting closed at 11.20 pm

It should be noted that in discussion with individual committees it is apparent that although most schools are in favour of the establishment of an intermediate school in principle, they are not automatically in favour of contributing and those in this category would be Waima, Awarua and possibly Taheke.[1280]

[1280] Report on meeting at Kaikohe 14.12.64. ibid. MSDB K1-829-K1-833.

Preston then reported that he and Harre had had discussions the following day with Mr E Pou, Chairman of the Kaikohe School Committee, who had made it clear that the Committee 'felt very strongly that the Board were making arrangements to suit their own purposes without having regard to the feelings of the Māori people'. He had also commented that his Committee had discussed the matter and had taken a postal vote from all parents, which indicated that all except one family were opposed to the proposals.[1281]

In February 1965 the *Northern Advocate* reported a meeting of 43 parents of the Kaikohe Māori school to discuss the future. The MP for Northern Māori, M Rata, had been present and emphasized the importance of education for Māori:

> The Kaikohe Māori School is in the centre of a large community and its approach towards progressive education is a focal point as it is the only school of its kind in such a position….While the decision to translate must be that of the committee and parents concerned, he asked all to remember that their children had the same right as all New Zealanders to all the educational advantages offering. Mr Rata said he felt the establishment of an intermediate school in Kaikohe must be advantageous to all children, especially for Māori children. But it would be wrong to establish an intermediate school just for the purpose of eliminating the Māori School-there would have to be a sound reason and need for such a school before translation could be considered.

The newspaper account of the meeting continued:

> Much of the discussion was in Māori, but from those parts in English it was made clear that the arguments against translation of the Māori School in order to pave the way for the proposed intermediate school included :
> -The original pressure group approach by Kaikohe interests, this not being compatible with Māori thinking.
> -The complete lack of understanding of the Māori viewpoint by the Kaikohe community as a whole, mainly because of a lack of knowledge of the facts.
> -Because the majority of parents, grandparents and committee members present were former pupils of the school and had a great love and pride in an institution which had played a major part in the history of Kaikohe over the past 83 years.
> -Because of the possible loss of traditional culture (Māoritanga) if the school translated.

[1281] Note on file. Ibid

> Some parents also felt that they would be faced with higher costs for uniforms and other school necessities if their children were forced to attend a board school.
>
> However there were parents present who said that if translation would result in the equality of Māori and European, the theme of the Treaty of Waitangi, then it should be supported and…intermediate education should be fully supported if it could be proved that such would be beneficial to the Māori children.[1282]

On 11 March 1965 a meeting was held with Kaikohe Māori school parents and householders at the Marae Hall, 11 March 1965. Also present were E Pou, Chairman, D.M, Jillett, Acting Superintendent of Education, N.F. Harre, Senior Inspector of Māori Schools, and J.C. Preston, Māori Schools Officer.

The main thrust of the approach by the officials at the meeting was to emphasize the virtues of intermediate schooling in general and for Māori pupils in particular. For example, two of the Departmental officials present, Jillett and Harre, pointed out that they had taught in intermediate schools, and Harre advised that as the Department's Officer for Māori Education he had found that participation in the intermediate system had made the change from primary to post primary less difficult for the Māori child. They then listed what they said were 8 general advantages of intermediate schools.[1283]

After the meeting, Jillet reported to the Auckland Education Board that he had met the parents from the Kaikohe Māori school and was:

> pleased to advise that parents are interested in the merits of intermediate education and are prepared to discuss this matter further…but before doing so they are seeking further information as to the proposed transport routes and the probable destination of pupils at present attending the Māori School'. The meeting also expressed some concern at the likely reaction of the non- Māori parents towards the proposal that the Māori School become the primary school for that area.[1284]

[1282] *Northern Advocate*, 9 February 1965. ibid.
[1283] Report of meeting, BAAA 1001, 942b.
[1284] Jillet to Secretary, 24 March 1965. ibid. MSDB K1-838.

In April, the Minister of Education assured the Secretary of the Kaikohe Māori school committee that 'I have been kept informed of developments in the district and wish to ensure you that the principle of full consultation with the School Committee and parents will be followed'.[1285]

A further meeting subsequently took place between the Kaikohe School Committee and Education Board and Department of Education officials, when the Regional Superintendent again emphasized the virtues of intermediates. However School Committee members raised difficulties which had arisen in previous years, of Māori children being diverted to Kaikohe Central and Kaikohe East Schools, and the transporting of both Māori and Pākehā children past district schools. They said there had been general dissatisfaction at the first meeting of all school committees with Board and Department representatives over the proposed transport and consolidation arrangements made by the Board's transport officers. Other causes for concern in the setting up of an intermediate school were the probable increased cost of books and clothing and the probable transfer to Board control.

The Department's recorder at the meeting reported that one School Committee member, Mr Grey, appeared to express the opinion of the majority when he said they agreed in principle to the setting up of an intermediate school, but felt this should be separated at this stage from any thought of transfer of the Māori School to Board control. And, he added, 'Mr Pou appeared to favour this thought'.[1286]

A comment is required here. The views of members of the School Committee consistently differ from those of Board and Department officials, yet they are often recorded and reported back to both the Board and Department as being much more open to the possibility of an intermediate school than is actually the case. Moreover their

[1285] Minister to Pou, 1 April 1965. ibid. MSDB K1-839.
[1286] Report of meeting between School Committee and Auckland Education Board and Department of Education representatives. nd, .ibid.

continual differentiation of the issue from their preference to remain a Māori school also tends to get down- played in the reporting.

In March 1966 Board and Departmental officials met with the Head of the Kaikohe Māori school and 39 parents. Mr Harre said he would:

> explain the pros and cons of intermediates, but even before he did so he wanted it clearly understood that the eventual decision was one for the parents to make. While he himself happened to be a strong advocate of Intermediate schools because of his teaching experience in them, he would not attempt in any way to influence the parents' consideration of the issue.

A parent present said he understood that an Intermediate could not be established in the town unless the Kaikohe Māori School elected to contribute, but he wanted to know if the Intermediate could be established without the School necessarily passing to Board control. Harre pointed out that it was the Department's long term policy to transfer the Māori Schools gradually to Board control. But he then repeated what officials had been consistently telling the parents; it was at all times their prerogative to decide the issue of transfer. He added that it was certainly possible for the Intermediate to be established at Kaikohe without any change in the control of the School being necessarily involved.

Another speaker said that his principle objection to the establishment of an Intermediate would be the financial hardship entailed in out-fitting his family of 14, who would then be attending schools in all of the three grades.

A member of the staff of the School, Tom Rakena, speaking also as a parent, questioned whether Māori pupils in Intermediate Schools in the Auckland area were doing so much better than they would have done if they had stayed in a non-contributing school. Was an Intermediate being advocated for Kaikohe, he asked, because of proven major benefits derived by Māori children in Intermediates elsewhere?. Mr Harre referred to Wanganui and Whakarewarewa as examples he knew of where beneficial results had been obtained. However he acknowledged that he did know of Intermediates in Auckland where Māori

children were doing particularly well, especially if their parents had recently arrived from the country.

A point to make here is that it took a Māori parent, who was also a teacher at the school, to ask one of the really important questions concerning the parents. The officials themselves were not presenting a full overview of all the advantages and possible disadvantages of a change to an Intermediate.

It was moved from the floor that the matter should be discussed on the marae so all could participate. Mr Harre then made it quite plain that if the majority decision was in favour of contribution to an Intermediate, there would then be no F1-11 at the Kaikohe Māori school. If the majority decision was against contribution, these classes would be maintained at the School, but of it would of course be possible for parents to send their Form 1-2 children to the Intermediate independently if one was established.[1287]

After this meeting, the School Committee informed the District Superintendent that a vote conducted amongst the parents of children attending the School had resulted in an overwhelming vote against contributing the Form 1 and 2 children of the school to any proposed Intermediate, and the results of the voting had been officially recorded.[1288]

Subsequently an Editorial in the *Northern Advocate* stated:

> Kaikohe Seen as School Test Site
>
> Kaikohe is by way of becoming the test crucible for the merging of white and brown New Zealanders into one race. Strongest evidence of the developing situation is at school level.
>
> For years a determined rearguard action has been fought to retain the Kaikohe Māori school as a separate entity, neither combining nor mingling in any way with the pakeha schools, Kaikohe Primary and Kaikohe East.

[1287] Report of meeting, 4 March 1966. ibid.MSDB K1-842-K1-844.
[1288] Secretary, H.Rapatini, to District Superintendent, 10 March 1966. ibid. MSDB K1-845.

> If and when a third pakeha school, Kaikohe North, is established, the same position will apply. It will apply, that is, unless the whole system of Māori schools is altered, as has been mooted in influential circles for a considerable time.
>
> In the long view-and that is really the only one we should consider-New Zealand must integrate its two races or stand the risk of having them separate and antagonistic.
>
> School integration and standardisation of curricula can never be successful while one of the largest Māori Schools in the country continues to stand aside.
>
> Government policy is for a merging of the two races in all spheres. This cannot leave schools out……
>
> In Kaikohe, a surge of public feeling is evident for establishment of an intermediate school, which has been blocked by the Māori School's insistence on its own existence.
>
> An approach direct to the Prime Minister has been made from the Kaikohe Primary School Committee, and it is possible that a full-scale review of the district's educational set-up will be put in hand.
>
> Such a review, we consider, must only end in a stress for integration.[1289]

Official approval was eventually given for the establishment of an Intermediate School in the town, and in September 1968 the General Manager of the Auckland Education Board advised the District Superintendent of Education of proposed restrictions on enrolments for the Kaikohe Primary and Kaikohe Māori school:

> Roll estimates have been prepared for February 1969 for Kaikohe Primary School (at present Māori) and Kaikohe East School resulting from the conversion of the existing primary to an intermediate school and the re-distribution of the pupils between the Māori and East schools.
>
> From discussions Officers of the Board have had in Kaikohe recently it is apparent that many children at present attending schools which will not be contributors to the intermediate school, intend during the third term to transfer their children to contributing schools, particularly the Māori School and the Primary School. This is to ensure eligibility for intermediate enrolment and a restriction of enrolments under regulation 129 appears necessary firstly to avoid

[1289] *Northern Advocate*, nd but March 1968,ibid.

> overcrowding at existing schools, and secondly to avoid overcrowding at the intermediate school next year. A restriction at Kaikohe Māori School is also considered essential and as the school is presently under your control I should be grateful if you would approve this.[1290]

The District Superintendent of Education then advised the Director that from 1 February 1969:

> 1. Kaikohe Primary School becomes an intermediate school, with contributions from itself, Kaikohe East …….Kaikohe Māori, Te Iringa Māori, Ohaewai Māori (to be known from 1/2/69 as Ngawha), Tautoro Māori and Awarua Māori.
>
> 2 Otaua Māori consolidates on Kaikohe Māori, contributing senior pupils to the intermediate also.
>
> 3. Kaikohe Māori translates to Board control and becomes Kaikohe primary.[1291]

Assurances had been given to the Committee and parents of the Kaikohe Māori school for many years that it would never be transferred to the control of the Auckland Education Board unless a majority of parents agreed. That agreement had never been forthcoming, a majority of the parents having consistently expressed their wish to maintain their Māori school, which had been a part of their community for so long, and in which they felt more attention was paid to the culture and special needs of their children than was likely to be the case in a Board school.

Despite this, and the earlier recommendations of the Committee on Māori Education, the Kaikohe Māori school was transferred by administrative fiat to the Auckland Education Board on 1 Febraury1969.

4.11 FURTHER EDUCATION BEYOND THE PRIMARY STAGE

[1290] General Manager to District Superintendent, 19 September 1968. ibid. MSDB K1-848.
[1291] District Superintendent to Director, 18 November 1968. ibid. MSDB K1-850-K1-851.

Concerns continued to be expressed after 1946 about the continued absence of opportunities for many Northern Māori pupils to continue their schooling after leaving primary schools, or limited opportunities for them to do so.

Several speakers commented on this when the Minister of Education opened new accommodation at the Pakotai Native school in 1946, which had become needed to cater for the growing number of Māori children in the district:

> We have a fine school here and the primary education of the Māori children is well cared for. But there seems to be a gap between when the Māori children leave school and when they take up employment.[1292]
>
> Any primary school is only the nucleus of a secondary school and I would like to impress on the Minister the need for a high school to improve the educational standards of our people
> D.McCarroll.
>
> Unless the primary school graduates go on to high school and do at least they cannot compete with others
> B.W.Hunt, Head of Pakotai School. .

In June 1949 the Head of the Motatau Māori School wrote to the Senior Inspector that:

> The school committee has asked me to write to you so that you could let me know when the Inspector is coming as the parents of form 2 children are very anxious to meet him and assist in any way in obtaining facilities for secondary instruction.[1293]

At the School Committee's request the Head subsequently arranged for a meeting of the parents of pupils attending Motatau 'to discuss the possibility of making available post primary facilities for children of the Motatau district'.[1294]

[1292] W. Watson, (Newspaper report, December 1946, BAAA 1001, 428b.
[1293] Head to Senior Inspector, 14 June 1949, BAAA 1001, 968b. MSDB M3-454-M3-455.
[1294] A.E. Golding, Report of Meeting, 6 July 1949, ibid. MSDB M3-456-M3-457.

It appeared that about 12 pupils would require post primary instruction in 1950, with an increased number in 1951. Various transport options were discussed, but as none proved feasible the possibility of commencing a Form 3 at the school was considered. The possibility of establishing a Māori District High School in the future at Motatau was discussed. The outcome was a recommendation by the Inspector that a Form 3 class commence at Motatau in 1950.[1295] This happened, and the Head subsequently reported that 21 pupils were guaranteed for Forms 3 and 4 for 1951, and he presumed this would be sufficient to establish a District High School.[1296] In December 1950 the Director of Education recommended a change in the status of Motatau to that of District High School.[1297]

However many of the Māori district high schools faced difficulties through out the 1950s and 1960s, and Motatau was not immune. Speaking about the schools generally, the District Senior Inspector of Māori Schools reported :

> As you are aware staffing in Māori District High Schools has always been a problem and with the lack of suitable persons in the more remote areas, assistance in the form of part-time staff is practically non-existent. Qualified teachers from outside the district are understandably reluctant to travel the fairly long distances involved especially when they know that travelling expenses are not payable to part-time staff.[1298]

There was no doubt some truth in this. However my impression was somewhat similar to that experienced after reading the files relating to the history of the Native/Māori primary schools. This was that officials were not nearly assertive enough in seeking solutions. To have so many Northern Māori children still not in secondary school this late in time, and to have the limited opportunities sometimes available to those who were enrolled, was really an indictment of the Crown in relation to its responsibilities to Northern Māori.

[1295] Ibid.
[1296] Head to District Superintendent, 15 December 1950. ibid. MSDB M3-466.
[1297] Note on file, 22 December 1950. ibid. MSDB M3-467.
[1298] Senior Inspector to Director of Secondary Education, 2 April 1968. ibid. MSDB M3-563.

In February 1954 the Head wrote to the Senior Inspector of Māori Schools:

> Attached is the dismal result of the SC efforts of the above school for 1953. The English mark with an average of 23.4% and a range from 16 to 32 marks is appalling, especially when the two boys were second year Fifth Form, one of whom won the Ngarimu Essay Prize at the primary level.
> A fair mark in English or Geography would have meant a School Certificate to …….and ……who obtained 126 and 115 in the other two subjects respectively.
>
> The pupils have been in Mr English classes throughout their school careers. I knew the work was bad, but I didn't think it was that bad. This was the reason Mrs Hook and I aimed at passes in the 60% in Clothing and Homecraft to counter this handicap.
> Mr Sayers, Secondary Inspector, gave him some stringent advice on essay work (or rather lack of it). I have failed to impress on him the value of oral work and "word studies" with Māori children.
> This year we have a Fifth Form of 14 of whom six are in their second year. Would it be possible for any Secondary Inspector to come in and set up a "water tight" course for him to follow?.[1299]

While the proportion of Māori students proceeding to secondary school steadily increased after 1946, the Education Department official in charge of Māori education pointed out in 1958 that the numbers going on to both secondary and higher education still suffered because so many of the primary schools were in areas where no secondary school facilities still existed. He mentioned Panguru in the Hokianga as one example of several where pupils could only get post-primary education by gaining scholarships or going to boarding schools.[1300]

The continuing legacy of providing secondary schooling for Māori students primarily of a practical nature continued. The Inspector reported in November 1954 that the School Certificate subjects were

Girls: English, Geography, Homecraft, Clothing

Boys: English, Geography, Agriculture, Horticulture.

Classification of pupils

[1299] Head Motatau to Senior Inspector, 9 February 1954. ibid. MSDB M3-472-M3-473.
[1300] K. Robertson to Committee on Māori Education, October 1958, EW 2490 57/1/3 Box 279 NA.

> When the 42 entrants arrive in February 1955…..Only one course is provided, mainly practical in nature, and well suited to the needs of a rural district.[1301]

The slow response rate by education officials to serious local matters, referred to earlier, extended to the opening of the new Punaruku Māori District High School, Whangaruru, built to provide secondary education in the area. In January 1962 the Chairman pointed out in frustration that:

> Three years ago my committee took over their new responsibilities with zeal and enthusiasm It was fully understood , after a visit by Mr Robertson and Mr Preston, that one of the more important functions of my committee was the care, maintenance and improvement of the school grounds and buildings.
>
> For many years now the local community have spoken of the improvements that had been promised in the time of Mr Haydon. These included such items as the extension and levelling of the playing area as this <u>is</u> a district high school; the resealing of the existing sealed area- a danger in its present condition; The provision of adequate space for the pupils in the primary department. That is the extension of the present sub-standard classrooms.
>
> Then in 1959 it was my committee's responsibility to prepare a list of <u>major works</u>. This was done with sincerity and enthusiasm but, it appears, to no avail. Now my committee are disgruntled, disappointed and disillusioned and expressed their feelings at a recent meting……
>
> It was felt that by completing the required returns for major works each year since we took over our new responsibilities some start might be made to bring this school up the required standard. However, we have had no reply written or verbal to maintain our enthusiasm…..
> It was further discussed why <u>this</u> district high school should be the "Cinderella" of the north…….
>
> The whole problem has baffled my committee. Now their enthusiasm is beginning to waver from such duties and such a disinterest can carry over to their other activities such as providing amenities and equipment for the school.[1302]

Eight months later the Principal wrote again:

[1301] Inspection Report, 11 November 1954. ibid. MSDB M3-475-M3-481.

[1302] P.R.Pene, Chairman to District Superintendent, 18 January 1962, BAAA 1001, 481c.

> For many years now the departmental officers who have visited this school have been sympathetic when the subject of a suitable playing field and sealed area has been discussed. Each raises our hope, but year after year it seems that this plea goes to the bottom of the priority list with no advice as to the reason therefore…
>
> Week after week the various Education Boards are calling for tenders for earthmoving works at some school or another. Many of these schools are smaller than this one but in these cases it must have been thought that a "level" area of grass is an important part of a school.[1303]
> .

In the 1950s and 60s some primary school leavers went on to local high schools in the North, the Head of Otangaroa, Whangaroa, recording in 1961 that six of his pupils were going to Kaikohe District High School. [1304]

And log books continue to record some pupils gaining scholarships from the Māori primary schools to the Māori secondary boarding schools, as with the following examples:

Te Rawhiti Log

21.2.47 Scholarship available at QVC for Harata Hakaraia.

2.12.47 Recvd telegram advising Komene Tenana awarded scholarship to St Stephens.

14.12.48 Advice from Dept that Meinga Hakaraia been awarded scholarship.[1305]

Most of the Māori denominational secondary boarding schools these pupils went to made solid academic progress after 1946. In 1955 the sixth form at Te Aute was the largest in the College's history because of the number of School Certificate passes the previous year, and the feeling that School Certificate was not a high enough ideal to aim for. In 1954 the College was admitted as an accrediting school for University Entrance in recognition of the standard achieved, as was St Stephens in 1964.

[1303] Principal to District Superintendent, 29 September 1962, ibid. MSDB P6-116-P6-117.
[1304] Log Book 14.12.61. BAAA 1003.
[1305] BAAA 1003, 7i.

But a stereotyped view of Māori and their abilities still lingered in some quarters. Hato Paora College was established in the Hawke's Bay in 1946, as an alternative for Catholic boys to Te Aute and St. Stephen's. Academic progress at it was somewhat slower after 1946 than with the other colleges, and this was not surprising in view of the limited expectations held by the Headmaster, Fr. Chris Duggan, who stated in 1949 that:

> Our curriculum is organised with the special needs of Māori boys in view. Not many are likely to achieve even the limited distinction of School Certificate, and to force all along the restricted path that leads to it would be nothing but an intolerable drudgery for teachers and pupils alike. We have found it necessary to keep a finger on the pulse of the Māori boy and adjust the curriculum accordingly.[1306]

A strong emphasis was therefore placed on the manual training course, which in 1949 was very reminiscent of the practical activities associated with home building and maintenance activities characteristic of the Māori District High Schools during the 1940's.[1307] Agricultural education was developed under a farm manager, despite many parents feeling that this could be achieved just as well at home, and expressing a preference for academic courses.

However academic subjects were not entirely neglected, although the beginning was hardly auspicious. The three students who sat School Certificate in 1951, and the five in 1952, all failed. By 1952, all the Fifth Form students studied English, Chemistry, Woodwork and Māori, although students who were possible candidates for School Certificate also included Latin.[1308]

The College received its first visit from Departmental Inspectors in March 1952 and they expressed general satisfaction with the teaching and the subjects offered. It was not until 1954 that the first two Hato Paora students, Archie Taiaroa and Bernard Haami, passed

[1306] T. Lawton, 'Whaia Te Tika:Hato Paora College: The First 50 Years', MA thesis Massey University, 1996. p.45.
[1307] Ibid., pp.46, 51.
[1308] Ibid., p.48

School Certificate, and in 1960, Kevin Rongonui gained the first University Entrance pass.[1309]

In 1967, the College began to focus entirely on preparing students for School Certificate, with the result that the Agricultural courses were phased-out. In that year, ten pupils passed School Certificate and two the University Entrance Examination.

A report by the State secondary school inspectors on these results must be regarded as ominous if it reflected their general view with regard to Māori students at secondary school. This particularly so given that it is now 1967. It shows that the former official tendency to hold lower expectations for Māori students than for Pākehā students, including a rather fixed view of what type of education and occupation was desirable for Māori students, was by no means dead.:

> Gratifying as these examination results are, it must be realised that few pupils will go on to university study and that prime consideration must be given to the great bulk of the pupils who will be entering a world of competitive employment. …The principal recommendation of this report will be that the controlling authorities of the school institute a technical course which will prepare pupils for the Māori Apprenticeship Training Scheme.[1310]

This suggests that, in the minds of these Crown officials, the former idea of agricultural education for a rural, agricultural-related future for the majority of Māori students, had been replaced by the idea of practical education for a future in technical employment and trades.

In its submission to the Royal Commission on Education in 1960 the Department of Education had pointed out that the proportion of Māori taking practical courses was high, and that taking academic courses low. 'The question arises', it commented, 'whether this situation is as it should be. Evidence showed no inferiority of intellect'.[1311]

[1309] Ibid., p.51.
[1310] Inspection Report on Hato Paora College, Lawton, p.89.
[1311] Evidence of the New Zealand Education Department to the Commission on Education 1960-61.

Ominously, the attitudes of some teachers towards Māori students was raised by the Department as one possible reason for this. It pointed out that:

> There are still many teachers who doubt the ability of a Māori to take mathematics or history. Part of the problem seems to be in the mind of the teachers themselves when it is suggested that "Māoris thrive on practical courses" and "Māori pupils prefer not to enter academic forms".[1312]

Yet, as the example above showed, it was an attitude still in the minds of at least some of the Department's own secondary school inspectors seven years after it made this submission.(My emphasis).

[1312] Submission by the New Zealand Department of Education to the Commission of Education, 1961.

CONCLUSION

This report has examined the schooling of Northern Māori in schools established by the Crown, and in the denominational boarding schools where the Crown exerted a strong influence. My research for it, and familiarity with the history of New Zealand education generally, has led me to the view that Northland Māori have several grounds for grievance against the Crown in relation to the history of their schooling.

The research revealed that, over a period of approximately 100 years, thousands of Northern Māori children were seriously disadvantaged in relation to a wide range of schooling matters, particularly by comparison with most Pākehā children.

My main conclusions with respect to this are:

1. **The language of Northern Māori was deliberately excluded by the Crown for approximately 100 years in those primary schools (Native/Māori) it established specifically for the schooling of their children, and in other (Education Board) schools in the North they also attended. Other negative effects of the assimilation policy, as well as racism and prejudice related to aspects of their schooling, also negatively impacted on Northern Māori.**

The policy of using the English language only included in the 1867 Native Schools Act was a cornerstone of the Crown's assimilation policy. The policy was maintained for at least the next one hundred years, and was probably the single most damaging aspect and legacy of the Crown's schooling policy for Northern Māori.

Even when, for a brief period from 1880, the Māori language was permitted with new entrants in junior classes only, its use was limited entirely to that of a pedagogical tool to assist with the initial and more effective learning of English. Teachers were directed to dispense with its use as soon possible. From 1900, a rigid no-Māori policy resumed, and this continued at least until the 1950s. Northern Māori children were expected to leave

their language behind them when they entered the school gate. Official directions to teachers by the Department of Education in 1917 advised them: ‘Do not speak to your pupils in Māori, and do not permit them to speak in Māori to you, or to one another if you can help it. The less they hear of Māori the better it will be for their English’.

However while Crown officials responsible for Māori education, and successive Ministers of Education, remained implacably opposed to the use of Māori, the Member of Parliament for Northern Māori, Hone Heke, in 1908 ‘Strongly urged that the Māori language should be systematically taught in the Native schools, as at present the people were in great danger of losing their language altogether.’

Developments in the field of Anthropology and other influences led to a modification of the rigid assimilation policy after 1930, which permitted selected aspects of Māori arts and crafts, songs and games to be introduced in the schools. But the rigid ban on the Māori language continued. The Director Education at the time, T.B.Strong, held the view that ‘a knowledge of the Māori language is unnecessary for Natives who know only English. The Māori language has no literature and consequently in this direction, too, the natural abandonment of the native tongue inflicts no loss on the Māori’.

At this time Sir Apirana Ngata was still confident that most Māori retained their language and, sensing that many were ambivalent about it being taught in the essentially European environment of the Native Schools, placed strong emphasis on the important of mastering English. But by the end of the Thirties, as he recognized signs of language loss in some areas, he changed his mind. ‘Nothing was worse’, he wrote in 1939, ‘than for one to be with Māori features but without his own language’.

My report identifies some of the specific negative effects of the policy of excluding Māori on pupils who attended schools in the North in the 1920s and 30s. These include memories of harsh correction and punishment for speaking the language, and the anglicising of personal names by teachers. In their reports on Māori schools in the North,

the Inspectors regularly and disparagingly referred to ‘Māori errors’ when commenting on language work.

To the detriment of Northern Māori, Crown officials responsible for Māori education and Ministers of Education maintained their implacable opposition to the introduction of the Māori language into schools for many years after 1945. This was despite bodies such as the Māori Women’s Welfare League campaigning strongly for its introduction, beginning in 1951 and in subsequent years.

The exclusion of the language was accompanied by other aspects of the assimilation policy, including European ideas about ‘race’ and ‘civilization. These were reflected in school texts and other ways, which impacted negatively on Northern Māori and their schooling. Stories in the most commonly used texts in the schools, and in *The New Zealand School Journal*, presented a ‘pecking order’ approach to race which ‘Automatically placed the white race first’, and selective phraseology and use of adjectives to ‘heighten images of colonial “heroes” and Māori “enemies”. In various situations Māori were evaluated as “treacherous”, “cunning”, “troublesome”, “distrustful”, “cruel”, “savage”, “wild” and “fierce”.

This was reinforced by a disrespectful, and unsympathetic attitude on the part of education officials to aspects of their culture that Northern Māori held dear, such as tangi and hui.

2. Thousands of Northern Māori children remained outside of schools altogether, or for much longer and later than they should have, for many decades after the passing of the *1867 Native Schools Act* and the *Education Act 1877*. The following factors contributed to this.

(1) The most significant factor was the Crown’s adoption of a system of central control of the Native/Māori Schools by the Department of Education in Wellington. The system chosen was characterized by a consistent pattern of built- in delay, affecting

for the worse virtually all the matters of vital local concern connected with developing and maintaining a school system for Northern Māori.

These included delays in decisions about whether a school should be established, negotiations over school sites, school inspections, maintenance of school buildings and teacher residences, disputes between committees and teachers, provision beyond the primary stage, and most other aspects.

The negative outcome of the system of central control affected all Native/Māori schools, from the passing of the Native Schools Act in 1867 until at least the 1950s. But none more so than those in the North because of their location. The distance and slow communications between Wellington and the North was a major contributing factor. Visits by the Wellington-based Inspectors of Native/Māori Schools to the North were infrequent and irregular. A phrase constantly used in communications from Department of Education officials in Wellington to School Committees and Head Teachers in the North, relating to virtually all the most vital local matters relating to schooling in the North, was that a decision would have to wait for 'the next visit of the Inspector' from Wellington.

This contrasted very unfavourably with the decentralized system of educational administration the Auckland Education Board, like all other Boards, was part of. Officials including Inspectors employed by the Auckland Board were, by comparison, relatively close to all the Northern schools in their domain. Inspection visits were much more frequent and regular, and on-site inspections regarding most important matters affecting the schools could be carried out expeditiously.

The outcome for Northern Māori included numerous delays in getting schools approved, often extending over many years, from the date of the initial application by parents for a school to its opening. Overall, a very significant number of Northern Māori children, certainly many thousands, remained outside any form of schooling in the meantime. Lengthy delays often then extended to the building of schools, and to the appointment of

teachers. Once schools were built, delays frequently characterized urgently needed maintenance of school buildings and teacher residences. These often affected the quality of the teaching and learning that could take place and, sometimes, even the health and physical well-being of the children.

Delays resulting from the centralized system were often compounded by what appeared to be a very 'laid-back' approach at times by the Wellington-based officials in the Department responsible for the schooling of Northern Māori. This was apparent even when matters of urgent concern in terms of getting children enrolled in schools were involved.

My research led me to the very definite view that the decentralized Auckland Education Board, which was responsible for Schools in the North attended mainly by Pākehā children, but which some Northern Māori children also attended, would never have tolerated similar delays or conditions in its own schools. If it had, the parents on the school committees of those schools would have been outraged.

The situation described was not helped by the extremely limited powers and responsibilities given to Native/Māori School Committees in the 1867 Native School Act. My report shows that many Committees played a very valuable and important role in relation to aspects of the work of the schools. But by comparison with the extensive powers and responsibilities given to the School Committees of Education Board Schools in the 1877 Education Act, their powers were extremely limited. It not until 1957 that the Committees of the Māori Schools were given responsibilities, including a measure of financial control, equal to that of the School Committees of Education Board Schools.

Not only did this represent inequity between the two systems, but it also denied to Māori School Committees the possibility of playing a more significant role in meeting the administrative vacuum between the Department in Wellington and Native/Māori schools in the North.

Numerous specific examples and case studies throughout the North are provided, illustrating the extent to which the negative effects of the administrative structure described above impacted on a wide range of matters relating to the schooling of Northern Māori, from 1867 until well into the post -WW2 period.

(ii) Many Northern Māori children were also kept out of school as a result of racism and prejudice. From the 1870s, opposition by European settlers to Māori children enrolling in schools in the North with their own led to many receiving no schooling.

The Department of Education's Annual Report to Parliament in 1914 stated that 'in many parts of the North Island' there had been an 'Intensification of the racial antipathy and prejudice exhibited towards the Māori'. This had 'led in some cases to an attempt on the part of the local authorities to turn the Māori children out of school, which has in some places been actually accomplished'. The Department's report for the following year re-stated the problem: the transfer of Native Schools from the Department to Boards was becoming more difficult each year 'owing to the increase of racial prejudice, European parents exhibiting strong objections to Māori children attending public schools in common with their own'. My report demonstrates that Northern Māori certainly experienced attitudes of this kind.

Prejudice also showed in other ways. Some European parents in the North objected on the few occasions when Māori were appointed as teachers, even though most initial appointments were to the lowest rank of untrained Junior Assistant. My report demonstrates that prejudiced attitudes towards some Northern Māori still persisted during the 1930s and 1940s, as for example in relation to the use of swimming baths by Māori school children at Kaikohe, and in Pākehā parents by-passing the nearby Māori School to enrol their children at a Board School further away. Discrimination also sometimes existed in the different approach taken by officials to European land-owners when it was necessary to negotiate with them over land for the site for a Māori School, with payment or recompense in some form frequently being negotiated, compared with the free gifting of land required from Māori.

(iii) The *1877 Education Act* made primary education compulsory, but exempted Māori children from any obligation to comply either in Native or Board Schools. It was not until 17 years later that the *School Attendance Act 1894* required Māori children aged from 7 to 14 years to attend Native Schools if they were available. But no compulsion was brought to bear on children living in districts where there were still no Native Schools. It was not until 1903, another 7 years later, and 24 years after the passing of the 1877 Act, that regulations were published requiring Māori children to enrol at a Board School if there was no Native School available.

This was another reason why significant numbers of Northern Māori children remained outside of schooling many years later than they should have.

The report identifies numerous examples of how the possibility of attending a school at all, or attending one regularly, was also affected by other factors, several of which continued well after World War 2. These included:

- the access problem-the distance children often had to travel to reach the nearest school, and inadequate means of reaching schools particularly in bad weather.

- economic factors including the need for parents to seek employment in areas far from home such as the gum fields.

- land loss leading to families relocating to areas away from the school

- poverty and food shortages.

- illness resulting from the fevers and epidemics that swept through many communities in the North.

- the monocultural nature of schools and classrooms

- teacher behaviour including harsh discipline

3. Other factors, in addition to those above, limited the opportunities of many thousands of Northern Māori children to realize their full potential, or restricted their life chances, by comparison with most Pākehā children. These included:

(i) Stereotyped and limited views held by Crown education officials about the character and personality of Northern Māori, leading to the view that they were more suited than Pākehā children to a 'practical' rather than academic type of schooling. These views influenced Crown policy for both the Native/Māori primary Schools and the Māori denominational Boarding Colleges until at least the 1940s. One reflection of them was the pressure Education Department officials put on the Boards of the Boarding Colleges from 1900 to the 1940s to focus on practical rather than academic subjects. Another was the curriculum of the Crown- controlled Māori District High Schools, established in 1941 to provide secondary education for Māori, with their practical 'home-centred' focus and absence of courses leading to the School Certificate Examination.

It took until 1952 for the Senior Inspector of Māori Schools, E.W. Parsonage, when acknowledging earlier deficiencies in policy, to advise teachers in Māori Schools that earlier thinking about schooling for Māori needing to be practical because their future was on the land was no longer tenable, because not nearly enough land was left. In a realistic departure from the rigid views of his predecessors, he added that 'in fact there is little evidence to support the impression that a larger percentage of Māori males as compared with European males have the aptitude or desire for farming'.

In view of the past history of educational policy for Māori highlighted in this report, it was also very significant that Parsonage now felt it necessary to inform the teachers that the way in which the terms 'practical education' and 'activity methods' had been used in the past needed to be re-examined. He pointed out that:

> In the past many have interpreted "practical" as meaning that the Māori child is basically different from Pākehā children and that the Māori child needs an education that is mainly of a manual character. Such an interpretation is doubly faulty. It is a generalisation applied to all Māori children, and it is too narrow an interpretation of "practical". There is no scientific evidence which would warrant our assuming that Māori children do not possess the same range of innate abilities and aptitudes as the child of any other race. There is no such person as "the average Māori child". Māori children differ one from the other just as do the children of any other race. There are Māori children who are fitted to progress and profit from a verbal or academic type of education. There are others for whom the approach must be along more practical lines.

In what was a late and quite extraordinary further acknowledgement of the limitations of the Crown's past education policy for Māori, he advised teachers in Māori Schools including those in the North, that it was 'necessary to re-evaluate educational policy…There is no longer any suggestion that, with proper education and training, Māoris cannot hold their own in the full range of occupations normally performed by Europeans. Educational facilities today must be such as will enable every Māori child to develop his innate abilities to the fullest extent'.

The fact that the senior official in charge of Māori education is needing to impress these points upon teachers in the Māori schools as late as this is significant. Both for what it says about the nature of past Crown policy for Māori, and also, rather ominously, in that it reflected a concern that the attitudes identified undoubtedly still existed.

(ii) Stereotyped views also contributed to low expectations on the part of inspectors and teachers regarding the ability and potential generally of Northern Māori children. Numerous examples of this are identified in the report.

One reflection of just how serious and negative this aspect had over time was that, as late as 1952, another of the Education Department's Māori School Inspectors, in discussing the expectations held by teachers about Māori children, felt it necessary to emphasize that it was assumed that the range of potentialities of Māori children 'is approximately the

same as that of Europeans'. But he acknowledged that Māori children were still passing through the primary classes at a much older age than Europeans in Board Schools, and wrote that doubts still existed as to whether some Māori children were being fully extended.

The Inspector had requested assessments by teachers of the ability of the Māori children they taught, and what they were doing for the exceptionally bright Māori child. Acknowledging that he had 'Seldom seen references to the child of higher intelligence in a (Teacher's) scheme of work, or work planned for this group in a work book', he concluded that teachers could do more for Māori children of higher intelligence, average ability and less than average ability, and considered that teachers had a tendency to 'give little attention to a child once the teacher has decided the child is dull'.

(iii) The Crown failed to provide adequately for many thousands of Northern Māori children to attend any form of schooling beyond the primary stage, for much later than was the case with most Pākehā children, despite repeated requests by Northern Māori leaders such as Chairmen of School Committees and members of Parliament that such provision was needed.

4. After the passing of the *1867 Native Schools Act*, Northern Māori wishing to have a Native/Māori School were required by the Crown to make significant and valuable contributions of their land as a gift to the Crown for the school site, and often other financial resources for its establishment. This requirement persisted for many decades beyond the 'Free' education introduced by the Crown in the 1877 Education Act for Board schools, which made no similar requirement of Pākehā parents. The report documents in detail numerous examples of these contributions by Northern Māori over many decades. The total monetary value of the combined contributions of land and other resources provided by Northern Māori in this way after 1867 would have been huge. This represented a very serious inequity in terms of the requirements made of Northern Māori compared with Pākehā.

FINAL REMARKS

Taken together, the consequences of the Crown's failure to provide an adequate and culturally appropriate education system for Northern Māori over the lengthy period, and in the variety of ways documented in this Report, and to require substantial contributions of land and other resources as a prerequisite for the establishment of schools, was extremely negative for Northern Māori, and involved serious inequities between them and most Pākehā.

The Crown's failure to provide adequately for the schooling of Māori throughout the North has been extensively documented with numerous examples. It undoubtedly contributed to ensuring that disproportionately large numbers of Northern Māori remained in the lowest socio-economic groupings, and were denied opportunities for social and occupational advancement that were increasingly being opened up for other ethnic groups. This was particularly so after the 1880s, as the function of the school, from the passing of the proficiency examination marking the successful completion of primary schooling, to matriculation from secondary school, 'was to act as a social filter, determining the composition of a new middle class, deciding who would enter the white collar professional occupations and who would not'.[1313]

The generational effect and historical legacy of the negative aspects of past Crown policies with regard to education in the North is evident today, but it is usually insufficiently recognized in attempts to explain contemporary disadvantage. Yet it has been an important contributing factor to such continuing inequities as the lower level of educational attainment in the North today, with 43.8 percent of people aged over 15 having no formal qualifications, compared with 34.8 percent in the whole of New Zealand, a higher rate of unemployment, and lower income levels.[1314]

[1313] Fairburn, p.9.
[1314] Education Review office, *Schooling in the Far North*, August,1988.

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BAAA 1010 School Committee Minute Books Native/Māori Schools

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APPENDIX: LIST OF NATIVE /MĀORI SCHOOLS IN THE NORTH.

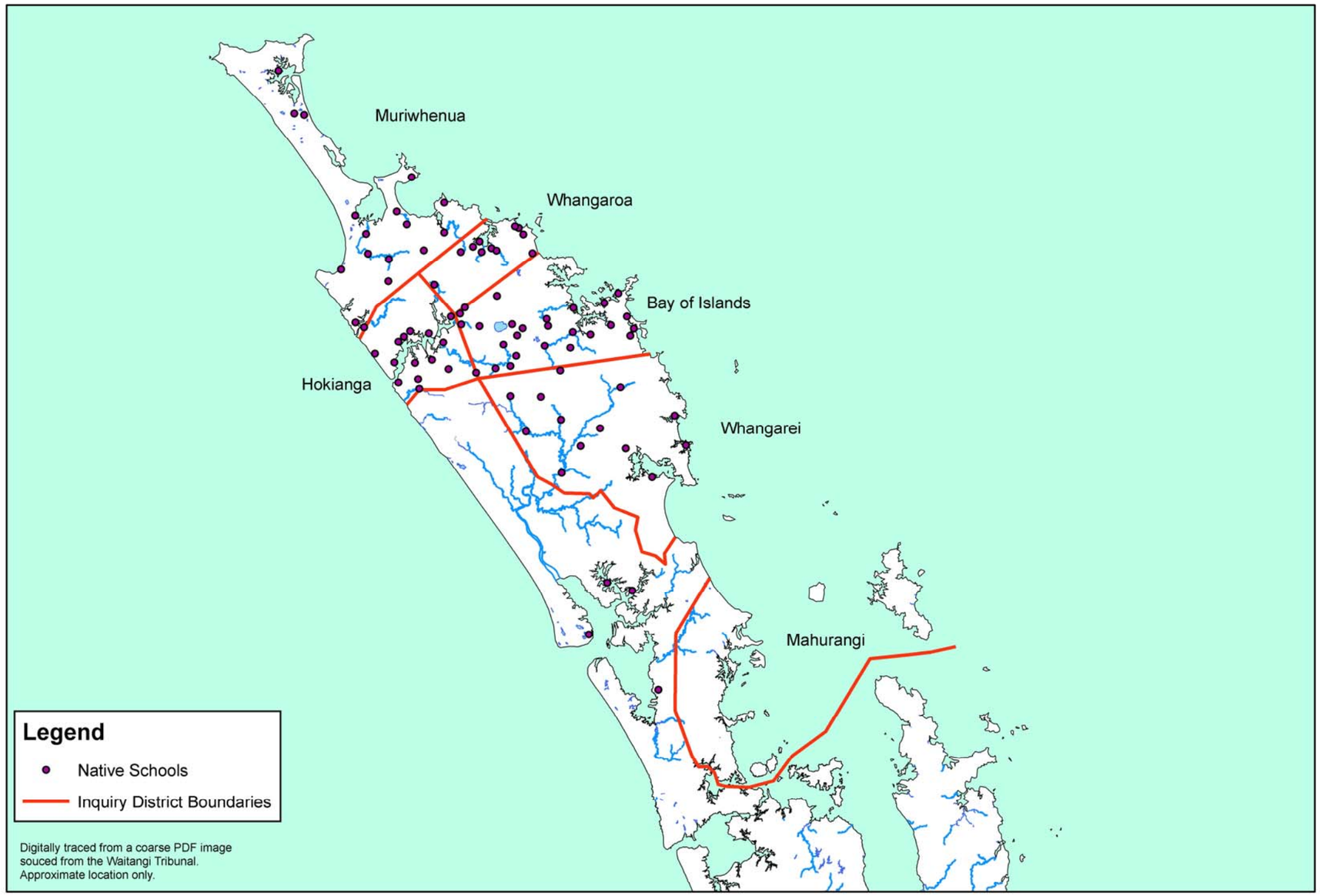
Awarua	A1
Kaikohe	K1
Karetu	K2
Kaikou	K3
Mangakahia	M1
Matihetihe	M2
Motatau	M3
Motukarara	M4
Motukiore	M5
Motuti	M6
Maunu	M7
Ngawha	N1
Ngunguru	N2
Ngaiotonga	N3
Ngararatunua	N4
Ohaewai	O1
Omapere	O2
Omanaia	O3
Orauta	O4
Oromahoe	O5
Otangaroa	O6
Otaua	O7
Paihia	P1
Panguru	P2
Pakotai	P3
Pawarenga	P4
Poroti	P5
Punaruku	P6
Rakaupara	R1
Rawhia	R2
Rahiri	R3
Rangiahua	R4
Rotokakahi	R5
Rakauto	R6
Te Huruhi	T1
Te Ngaere	T2
Te Pupuke	T3
Takahiwai	T4
Taumarere	T5
Tautoro	T6
Te Ahuahu	T7
Te Horo	T8
Te Rawhiti	T9

Taiharuru	T10
Takou	T11
Te Muri	T12
Taupo North	T13
Upper Waihou	U1
Upoko Te Whanau	U2
Waitaruke	W1
Whakarara	W2
Waikare	W3
Waima	W4
Waimamaku	W5
Wainui	W6
Waiomio	W7
Waitapu	W8
Whakapara	W9
Whakarapa	W10
Whangape	W11
Whangaruru	W12
Whirinaki	W13
Waihapa	W14
Waikare Bay	*W15*
Wairahi	W16

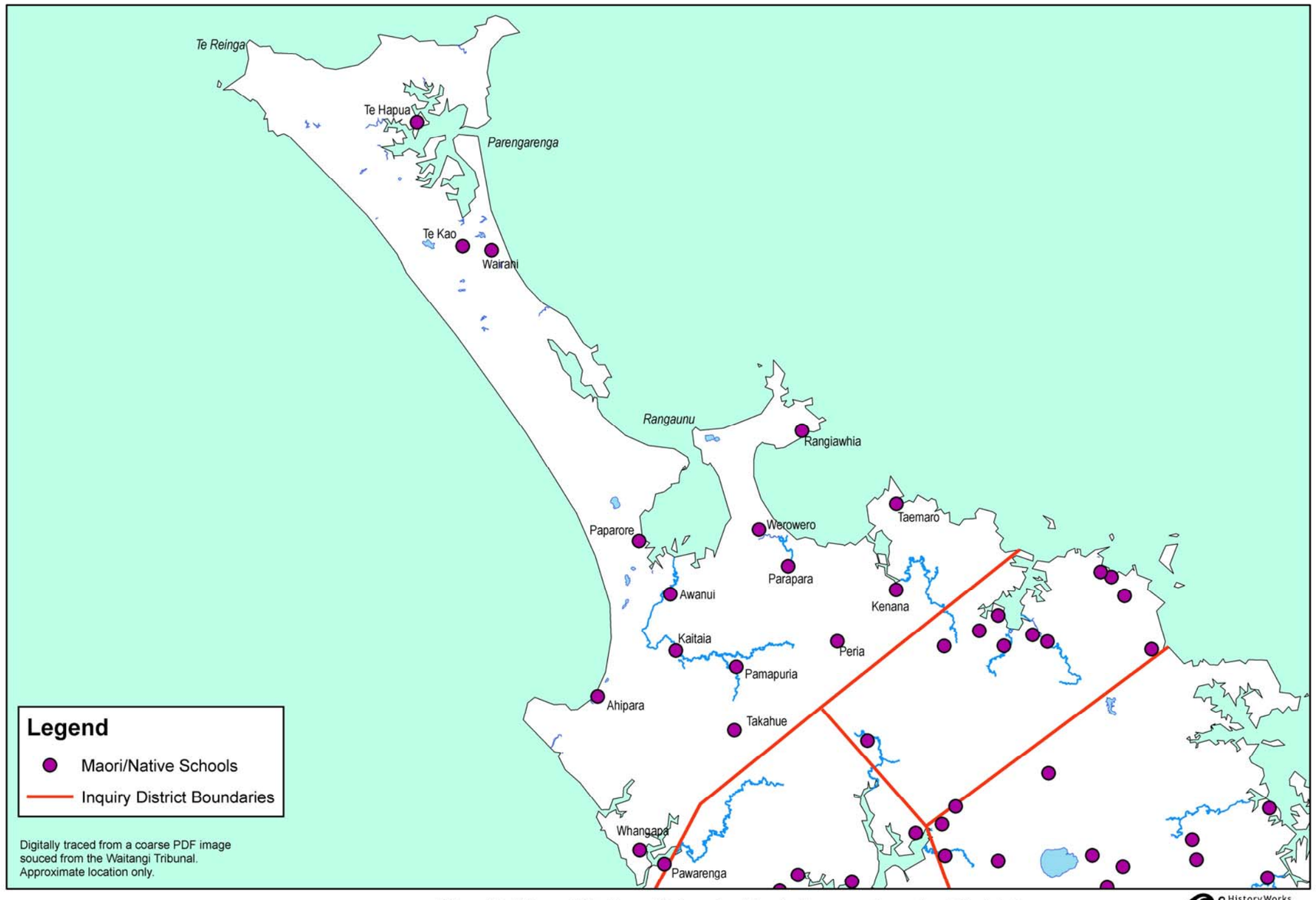
Note on list and maps of schools.

The list of schools provided above is taken from the CFRT-commissioned *Northland Native/Māori Schools Document Bank and Index* (HistoryWorks Ltd, October 2005) and includes the codes adopted for that project for reference to the documents. Readers should note that the administration of the schools makes a totally accurate and definitive list difficult to compile. Most Native/Māori Schools in Northland remained under the central administration of the Department of Education from their establishment until their transfer to the Auckland Education Board in the 1960s. However some were transferred to the Board earlier, usually when the children of settlers became the majority. Others closed as a result of falling rolls or were consolidated into larger schools. For the history of the schools in these respects see *Guide to Māori Schools 1879-1969*, Archives New Zealand Reference Guide No 07.

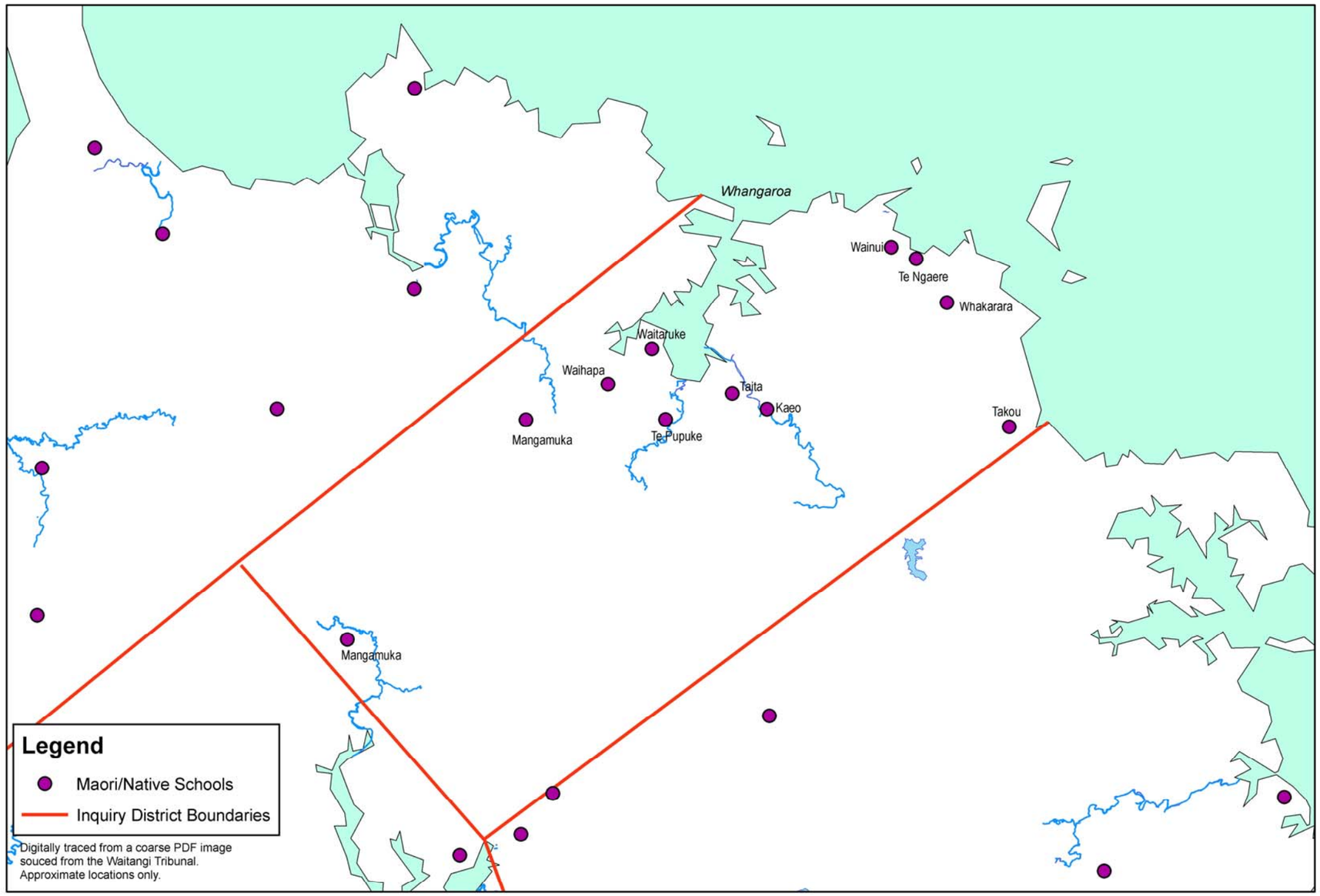
Map 1: Overview Map of Māori/Native Schools in Northland
Map 2: Māori/Native Schools Muriwhenua Inquiry District
Map 3: Māori/Native Schools Whangaroa Inquiry District
Map 4: Māori/Native Schools Hokianga Inquiry District
Map 5: Māori/Native Schools Bay of Islands Inquiry District
Map 6: Māori/Native Schools Whangarei Inquiry District



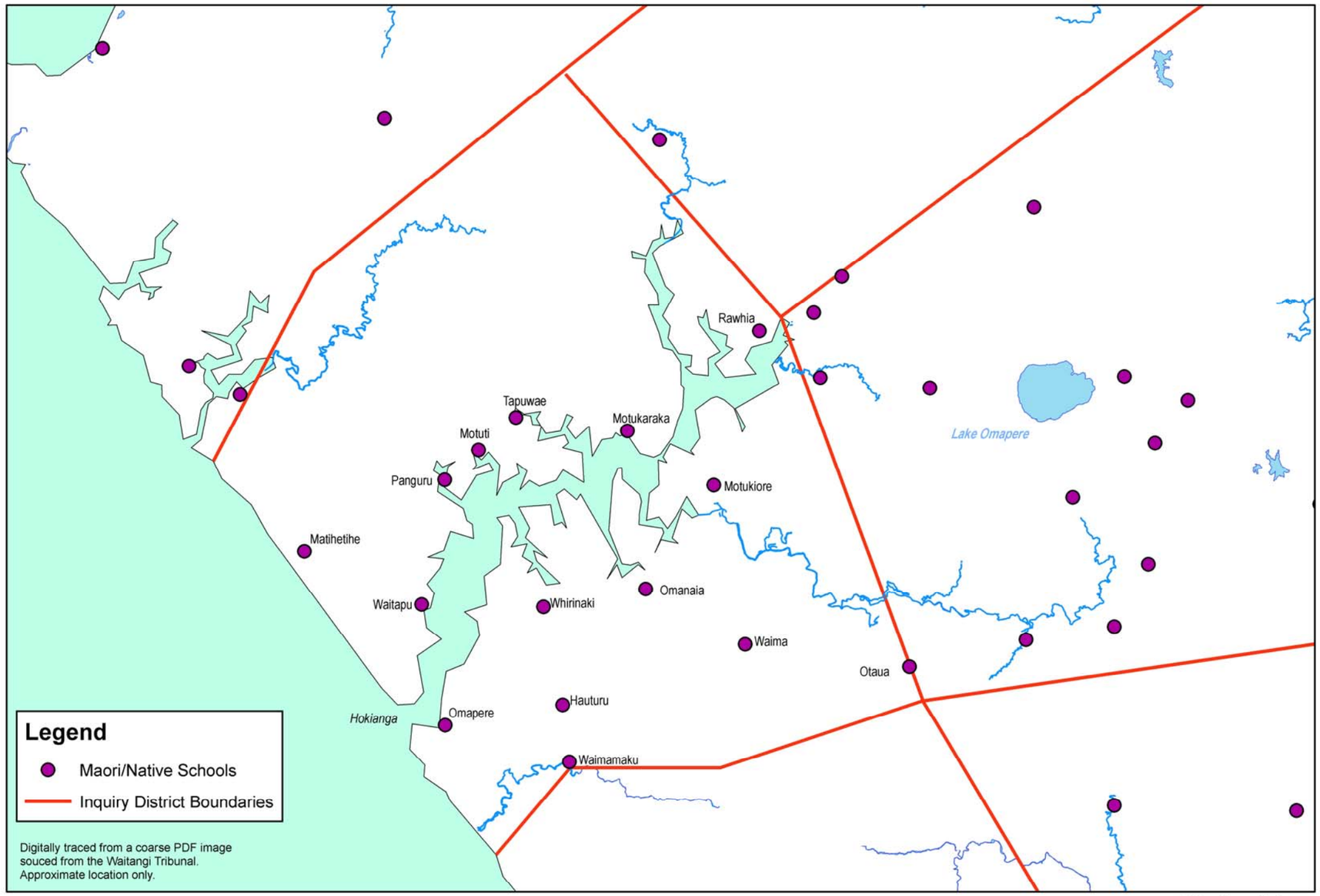
Overview Map Of Maori/Native Schools In Northland



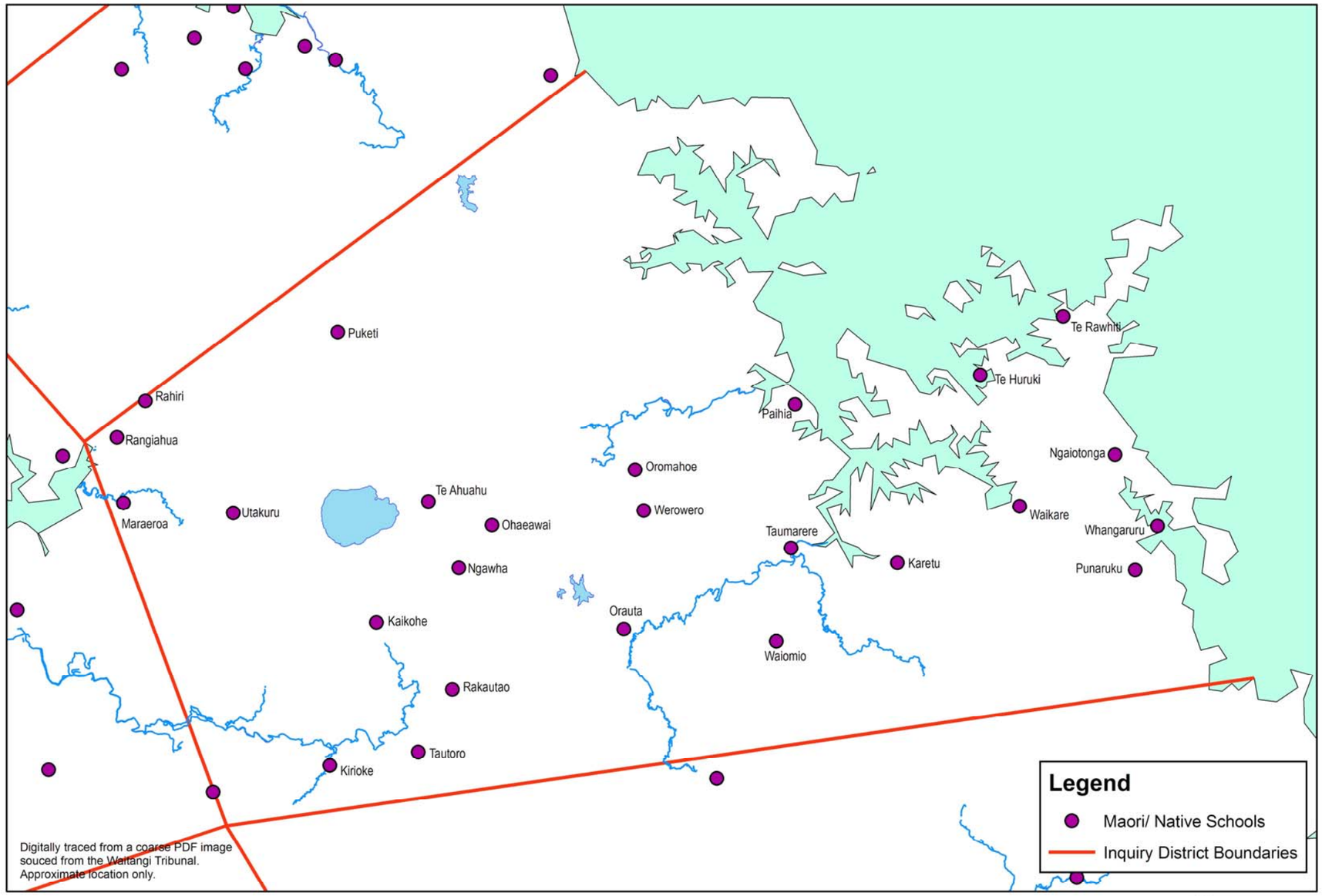
Map 2: Maori/Native Schools Muriwhenua Inquiry District



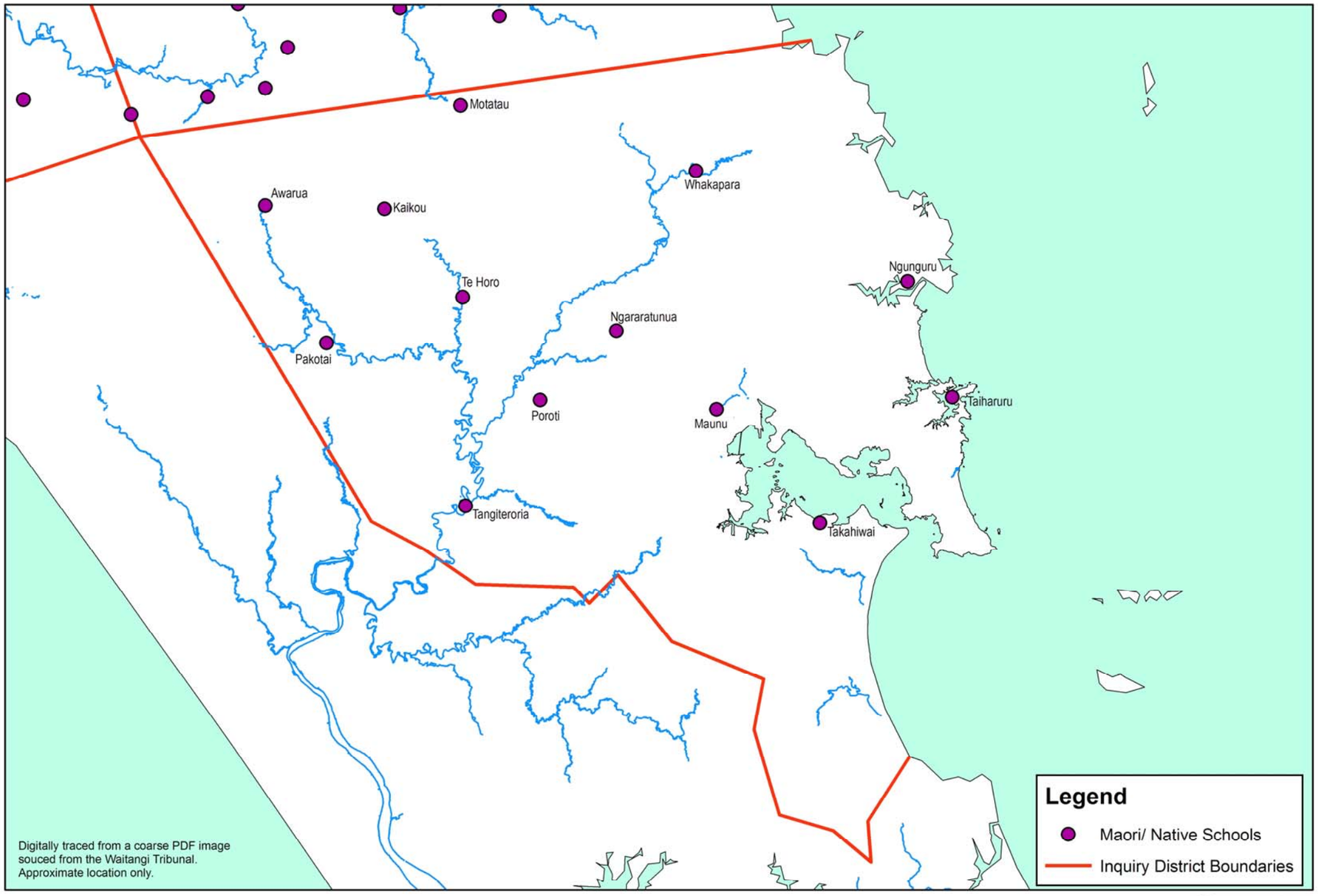
Map 3: Maori/Native Schools Whangaroa Inquiry District



Map 4: Maori/Native Schools Hokianga Inquiry District



Map 5: Maori/Native Schools Bay of Islands Inquiry District



Map 6: Maori/Native Schools Whangarei Inquiry District