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**The Provision of Education
Services to Maori in Te Rohe
Potae, 1840-2010**

A report prepared by Dr Paul Christoffel for the Waitangi Tribunal's Te
Rohe Potae district inquiry

Waitangi Tribunal

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Introduction

The Project

This project is part of the casebook research programme for the Waitangi Tribunal's Te Rohe Potae inquiry (Wai 898). In early and mid-2008, Tribunal staff circulated draft project briefs and held a series of workshops with claimants and the Crown to discuss the details of each research project. Dr Nicholas Bayley was commissioned to write a scoping report on socio-economic issues. Dr Bayley recommended four separate reports be prepared: a small socio-economic report; a targeted economic capability overview; a small health report; and a small education report.¹

Dr Paul Christoffel was commissioned by the Tribunal to prepare a report on the provision of education services to Māori from 1840 to the present day. The commission commenced on 3 May 2010.² A copy of the commission is appended to this report. The questions outlined in the commission to be addressed by the education report are:

- a) How did the Crown and its agents manage the provision of education to Māori of the Te Rohe Pōtae inquiry district? Where issues and problems have arisen, how did the Crown respond?
- b) Were Māori able to access education services to the same extent as were Pākehā in the district, other rural populations, and the general New Zealand population? To what extent did the Crown recognise any disparities?
- c) How did provision of education services and Māori educational achievement compare with that of Pākehā in the Te Rohe Pōtae inquiry district, other rural populations, and the overall New Zealand population?
- d) Where Māori educational attainment in the district has been lower than other groups, to what extent did the Crown recognise and respond to any disparities?

¹ Nicholas Bayley, 'Aspects of Economic and Socio-Economic Development in the Te Rohe Potae Inquiry District (Wai 898) 1840-2008: A Scoping Report', Waitangi Tribunal, 2010

² Waitangi Tribunal, Direction Commissioning Research, Wai 898, doc 2.3.44

- e) To what extent did Māori enjoy partnership, autonomy, control or influence over the provision of education services in the Te Rohe Pōtae inquiry district? To what degree were the culture, language and tikanga of Tāngata Whenua recognised and incorporated into education services?
- f) To what extent did the Crown and its agents support or suppress traditional Māori knowledge and Te Reo Māori in the Te Rohe Pōtae inquiry district?

The Claims

While a number of claims referring to education and schools were submitted for this inquiry, few raised issues specific to the inquiry district. An exception is a number of claims relating to land donated or taken for school sites or to endow schools. For example, the Ngati Maniapoto Iwi Claim (Wai 535) and the Wai 616 claim refer to tribal lands taken for endowment lands for schools. The Wai 845, Wai 1409 and Wai 2088 and Wai 764 claims refer to loss of lands taken or gifted for schools. While the claimants raise concerns that should rightfully be addressed in this inquiry, it is considered that such land-related claims lie outside of the terms of the commission for this report.

All other claims relating to education have focussed on general issues related to Maori education, rather than on specific issues relating to the Te Rohe Potae inquiry district. This is not to say that these claims are not relevant to this inquiry, but rather that they do not always provide a useful focus for research. Thirteen claims refer to the ‘maladministration of Maori education’ without providing further detail.³ Discussions were held with counsel for these claimants, which highlighted a number of issues. Most were general issues, but some, such as the rapid transfer of native schools to education boards, were more specific to the inquiry district. The Wai 1606 claim alleges that claimants ‘have been affected by education policies’. The Wai 2090 claimants state that education issues arise for their claim. The Wai 2125 claimants refer to lack of educational opportunities, ‘leading to lack of employment options’. The Wai 1823 claim on behalf of Ngati Urunumia and Ngati Ngutu refers to the ‘continuous increase of poor health, education and welfare statistics for the hapu’.

³ The claim numbers are Wai 1967, Wai 1975, Wai 1976, Wai 1978, Wai 1992, Wai 1993, Wai 1995, Wai 1996, Wai 2070, Wai 2084, Wai 2085, Wai 2086, Wai 2087

One specific issue was raised at a research hui held in Hamilton on 15 July 2010 – namely the failure of the Education Department to provide a native school requested near Raglan. That issue is discussed in this report. Other issues raised at the July research hui in Hamilton, Te Kuiti and Taumaranui tended focus on Maori education at a national level, or on issues related to land.

Education in Tribunal Reports

A number of Waitangi Tribunal reports were consulted to determine what education issues, if any, have been addressed by other Waitangi Tribunal inquiries. The Te Reo report of 1986 dealt briefly with education. The report recommended an urgent inquiry into the way Maori language and culture was taught in schools.⁴ On education in general, the report appeared to endorse equality of outcome as a Treaty right, as opposed to equality of opportunity:

The education system in New Zealand is operating unsuccessfully because too many Maori children are not reaching an acceptable standard of education. For some reason they do not or cannot take full advantage of it. Their language is not adequately protected and their scholastic achievements fall far short of what they should be. The promises in the Treaty of Waitangi of equality in education as in all other human rights are undeniable. Judged by the system's own standards Maori children are not being successfully taught, and for this reason alone, quite apart from a duty to protect the Maori language, the education system is being operated in breach of the Treaty.⁵

The Te Reo Tribunal also heard evidence on official attitudes towards the Maori language in schools. It concluded that ‘it was clearly at least a practice widely followed that during the first quarter of this century Maori children were forbidden to

⁴ Waitangi Tribunal, *Report of the Waitangi Tribunal on the Te Reo Maori Claim*, 3rd edition, 1996, pp 38, 51

⁵ *Te Reo Report*, p 38

speak Maori in school, even in the playground, and that they were punished if they did so'.⁶

The *Mohaka ki Ahuriri Report* of 1994 treated poor education outcomes for Maori partly as a symptom of Crown Treaty breaches relating to loss of land, and partly as a factor contributing to poverty. The claimant argument addressed by the Tribunal was that excessive land loss had led to destruction of Ngati Pahauwera's economic base, leading, among other things, to 'adverse consequences to their health, welfare and education'.⁷ The Tribunal concluded that 'there are immense difficulties in establishing a direct causal relationship between, on the one hand, land loss and, on the other, poverty, social dislocation, poor health, and low educational attainment.'⁸ However, their report noted that significant land loss, compounded by a lack of alternative income sources, could be seen as contributing to poverty. Thus:

The Government failed to provide alternative employment, other than occasional employment on public works, or to train Maori for employment in the various aspects of the economy. Partly, this was a consequence of the limited provisions of schooling, which included the late development of State primary schooling that we have noted.⁹

The Tribunal had earlier in its report briefly summarise the development of education in the district. It noted that 'the native schools were late in coming to Hawke's Bay', with the earliest native school established in 1901.¹⁰

The *Wananga Capital Establishment Report* (1999) resulted from an urgent inquiry into the provision of capital funding to wananga (tertiary institutions with a focus on Maori tradition and tikanga). The Tribunal found that, because the three wananga then in existence had been established since major reforms to tertiary funding in 1990, they were disadvantaged relative to other tertiary education institutions with respect to

⁶ *Te Reo Report*, p 9

⁷ Waitangi Tribunal, *Mohaka ki Ahuriri Report*, 1994, pp 674-5

⁸ *Mohaka Report*, p 679

⁹ *Mohaka Report*, p 680

¹⁰ *Mohaka Report*, p 668

capital funding.¹¹ Under the new funding regime, capital funding was included in the annual funding given to institutions, based primarily on the number of students they had. The Tribunal noted that institutions (particularly universities) that had been in place for many decades had significant advantages in the new environment, in that they had been able to utilise private bequests and had built up their facilities and reputations over a long period of time.¹² Despite this inequity, the government had turned down requests for capital injections.¹³ The Tribunal produced a further report on wananga in 2005. That inquiry focussed on the issue of the government conception of what a wananga should be.¹⁴

The *Wananga Capital Establishment Report* also contained a brief historical overview of Maori education, based on evidence provided by Dr Judith Simon, a research fellow at the University of Auckland.¹⁵ The Crown did not make any submissions on her evidence, on the grounds that there was insufficient time in an urgent inquiry.¹⁶ The Tribunal therefore largely accepted Simon's evidence as read in its 1999 report.¹⁷ It concluded that 'the seeds of Maori underachievement in the modern education system were sown by some of the past education policies outlined in Dr Simon's evidence'.¹⁸ It accepted her argument that central to the native schools philosophy 'was the limitation of the curriculum, designed to restrict Maori to working-class employment'.¹⁹

The *Hauraki Report* (2006) gave more extensive coverage to education. Claimants raised a number of education issues, including that land had been donated to enable a native school to be established, but the school in question had later been converted to a board (ie, general) school. The Tribunal dealt with cases relating to specific schools as public works issues. On the broader issue, the Tribunal stated that 'we do not consider that providing Education Board Schools rather than native schools

¹¹ Waitangi Tribunal, *Wananga Capital Establishment Report*, 1999, pp 53-55

¹² *Wananga Capital Establishment Report*, p 36

¹³ *Wananga Capital Establishment Report*, pp 36-39

¹⁴ Waitangi Tribunal, *The Report on the Aotearoa Institute Claim Concerning Te Wananga o Aotearoa*, 2005

¹⁵ *Wananga Capital Establishment Report*, pp 5-10

¹⁶ *Wananga Capital Establishment Report*, p 3

¹⁷ *Wananga Capital Establishment Report*, pp 5-9

¹⁸ *Wananga Capital Establishment Report*, p 10

¹⁹ *Wananga Capital Establishment Report*, p 7

necessarily breached Treaty principles'.²⁰ However, it did comment that if a general school was built on Maori-donated land, or the land later reverted to other uses, the owners should be compensated.²¹ The Hauraki Tribunal concluded that the state did 'reasonably well' in providing primary schooling for Maori in the district.²² It commented that rural school children in general tended to be poorly served in relation to secondary education, particularly in the pre-WWII period. The Tribunal did not consider that Maori were particularly disadvantaged in this respect, except by their predominantly rural location until the 1960s.²³ The Tribunal accepted Tangata Whenua evidence that Maori were discouraged from using Te Reo at school, but was not convinced that this was a primary reason for the decline in the use of the language. The Tribunal made no recommendations on this issue on the basis that the Tribunal had already canvassed the issue in its 1986 report, and the state had since taken a number of important actions to promote the use of Maori.²⁴

The *Te Tau Ihu Report* (2008) on northern South Island claims also dealt briefly with education, as part of an overview of socio-economic issues. A particular issue for the Tribunal was the use of the 'tenths' reserves fund to partially finance native schools in the district.²⁵ The suppression of Te Reo in schools during the twentieth century was also covered in the report.²⁶

The *Wairarapa ki Tararua Report*, released in 2010, contained an extensive section on education, primarily focussed on specific local issues. However, it also made a number of general criticisms relating to the resourcing and curricula of native schools. According to the Wairarapa report, teachers at native schools were paid less than those at general schools and native school committees had limited powers.²⁷ In addition:

²⁰ Waitangi Tribunal, *The Hauraki Report*, 2006, volume 3, p 1192

²¹ *Hauraki*, p 1195

²² *Hauraki*, p 1191-2

²³ *Hauraki*, pp 1193-4

²⁴ *Hauraki*, p 1194

²⁵ *Te Tau Ihu o te Waka a Maui: Report on Northern South Island Claims*, 2008, volume 2, pp 972, 984, 1028-9

²⁶ *Te Tau Ihu Report*, volume 2, pp 1009-1014, 1029-30

²⁷ Waitangi Tribunal, *Wairarapa ki Tararua Report*, Volume 1, pp 296, 321

The Education Board system that catered for Pākehā communities did not require them to contribute land or money for the establishment and upkeep of schools. Instead, the Government (working through decentralised regional education boards) took the initiative, establishing and maintaining schools as required by the number of children in any particular area. In contrast, Māori had to lodge formal requests for a native school to be opened, and then gift land and other resources for that purpose.²⁸

The Wairarapa ki Tararua Tribunal accepted and repeated the view put by the Wananga Tribunal in 1999 that native schools had a limited curriculum ‘designed to restrict Maori to working-class employment’.²⁹

The Approach Taken in This Report

Because no education claims specifically relating to issues within Te Rohe Potae have to date been received for this inquiry, it is surmised that claimants are awaiting the production of this and other research reports before precisely formulating their final claims.

It is a central assumption of this report that, if Maori education was poorly or inequitably delivered in the country overall, this will have implications within the inquiry district. For example, if the curriculum prescribed for native schools provided an inferior education to that provided at general schools, this would likely be reflected in the standard of education provided to those Maori schooled in native schools within Te Rohe Potae.³⁰ Most of this report will therefore address national education issues, using relevant evidence from within Te Rohe Potae where possible. Time considerations have limited the amount of evidence collected in this respect. The focus has been on native schools, given that the rolls of these schools were predominantly (sometimes exclusively) Maori. Little information has been gathered on general primary schools within the district, even though a significant proportion of

²⁸ *Wairarapa ki Tararua Report*, Volume 1, p 296

²⁹ *Wairarapa ki Tararua Report*, Volume 1, p 296

³⁰ Native schools were called Maori schools from 1948, but the term native will generally be used in this report as the schools had this title for some 80 years.

Maori within the inquiry district would have attended such schools. Even determining how many general schools there were in the inquiry district presents a challenge. A new South Auckland Education Board, based in Hamilton, was established in 1953. In 1954 the South Auckland Education Board had 281 schools and over 48,000 pupils.³¹ Although the great majority of these schools were outside of Te Rohe Potae, their numbers still present major logistical difficulties for any researcher. The Wanganui and Taranaki Education Boards also administered schools within the district.

It is accepted that the majority of Maori educated within the inquiry district would have attended general rather than Maori schools – especially as the latter were abolished in 1969. The oral history hui for this inquiry heard evidence that those attending general schools were subject to the humiliation of teachers who refused to try and pronounce their name, and their language being ignored.³² However, beyond this important anecdotal evidence it is difficult, in any reasonable time frame, to get a sense from official sources as to the experiences of Maori pupils at these schools. It is hoped that this major gap in this report will be rectified by the oral evidence collected for this inquiry and by the submissions made by claimants. This weakness is shared by other reports that have covered education issues for other inquiries.

The native schools that provide a major focus of this report are those that were established within, or just beyond, the borders of the Te Rohe Potae inquiry district. A map of the inquiry district is appended to this report.

A reading of the literature on Maori schools and Maori education, including the relevant sections of Waitangi Tribunal reports, has highlighted a number of issues relating to the provision of education services to Maori. This reading of the general literature has been supplemented by discussions with claimants. This report will focus on these general issues, which are outlined briefly below, in addressing the main questions in the research commission. The issues are discussed in more detail, including the sources of the claims made, in the relevant sections of the report.

³¹ AJHR 1955, E1, pp 56, 64

³² See, for example, Haumoana White, Transcription of Nga Korero Tuku Iho hui 5, 17-18 May 2010, Wai 898, doc 4.1.5, p 173

One set of issues relates to the resourcing and governance of Maori schools. Maori communities were required to supply land for schools, while, it is alleged, no contribution in land or money was required from predominantly Pakeha communities. Once established, native schools could be taken over by regional education boards and become general schools. As will be seen, five of the fourteen native schools established within Te Rohe Potae became general schools by the 1930s, in the face of Maori protest in more than one case. The committees of native schools had limited powers compared with board schools, and they were required to supply firewood for the school and undertake cleaning. It is claimed that native-school teachers were paid less than those in general schools.

A related line of criticism, associated mainly with John Barrington, is that the government was often slow to establish native schools, and tardy in making vital repairs and maintenance. Barrington attributes this primarily to the remoteness of Education Department officials, located in Wellington, far from where the schools actually were. As is outlined in Chapter 1, native schools from 1879 were administered directly by the Education Department, while general primary schools were administered by a more complex hierarchy involving the department and decentralised regional education boards and school committees.

Other criticisms are more general. Some point to an overtly assimilationist agenda – the settler state was keen that Maori become educated in order to better adapt to Pakeha ways and become more amenable to control. The schools taught European subjects and ignored Maori culture and traditions. Instruction was predominantly in English, and the schools invariably strongly emphasised teaching children to read, write and speak in English. In some cases the speaking of Maori was banned in the classroom and even in the school grounds. Those breaking these rules could be punished, sometimes through corporal punishment.

It has also been alleged by some that Maori schools, both primary and secondary, aimed to provide only a basic schooling, attempting to equip Maori for agricultural and manual jobs rather than careers requiring academic qualifications. Primary schools concentrated on manual subjects rather than literacy and numeracy, while

those who went to secondary school were encouraged to take courses in agriculture, woodwork, cooking and sewing.

These various factors – low pay, inadequate resources, tardy bureaucracy, an assimilationist agenda and a curriculum devoted to manual and technical skills - are seen by the critics as combining to produce a substandard education for Maori. The education system failed to prepare Maori for the modern economy and destroyed their language and culture. There are, perhaps, contradictory elements in the claims made. The schools were criticised both for doing too much to prepare Maori for life in a Pakeha-dominated world, thereby aiming to assimilate them, while at the same time doing too little in this direction, thus condemning them to a life as farmers and labourers. Both these lines of argument have been disputed to some extent.

Because of the general nature of the criticisms made, much of this report is devoted to discussing and analysing them, with reference, where possible, to examples from within Te Rohe Potae. Specific chapters are therefore dedicated to issues related to the establishment and administration of native schools, including their transfer to the Auckland Education Board; to the claim that the education system aimed to assimilate Maori and replace their language with English; and that Maori were deliberately subjected to a largely practical rather than academic curriculum. Another chapter also examines, with reference to examples from within the inquiry district, factors that may have contributed to poor performance by Maori in the education system. A further chapter discusses the provision of secondary schooling to Maori, particularly within the inquiry district, and argues that Maori secondary schooling was under-funded for much of the twentieth century.

Methodology

This report is based almost exclusively on written sources. Almost no use has been made of oral sources, the main exception being the extracts from interviews of former teachers and pupils at native and Maori schools published by Judith Simon, Linda

Tuhiwai Smith and others in 2001.³³ No original oral history research has been conducted in the preparation of this report. The main secondary sources used have been the writings of John Barrington, particularly his 2009 book on government policy and Maori schools.³⁴

Several primary sources have been consulted. The numerous reports published annually in the *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (AJHR) have been an invaluable resource. Until 1953, the Education Department published an annual report specifically on Maori education, mainly focussing on native schools. These reports provide much detailed information, and also some insight into the thinking of senior Education Department officials on issues relating to Maori education. The AJHRs also contain the proceedings and reports of government inquiries, such as the 1906 Royal Commission on the Te Aute and Wanganui School Trusts. The numerous pieces of legislation pertaining to Maori and general education have also been consulted extensively to gain an understanding of the relevant legislative framework. The published *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates* have also been useful in helping understand the political motivation behind some of the law changes and the varied views of politicians.

The main records relating specifically to native schools within the inquiry district are held at the Auckland office of Archives New Zealand. These include inspection reports based on the yearly, and sometimes twice-yearly, visits of school inspectors to every native school. The reports provide some indication of the perceived quality of a school, and also of the subjects taught and the characteristics of schools that Education Department officials considered important. It is acknowledged, however, that inspection reports are at best an imperfect means of measuring the quality of education provided at a school. The files also contain extensive correspondence relating to each school. Additional files contain information on the establishment of native schools and, in the relevant cases, on their transfer to the Auckland Education Board.

³³ Simon, Judith and Tuhiwai Smith, Linda (eds), *A Civilising Mission? Perceptions and Representations of the New Zealand Native Schools System*, Auckland University Press: Auckland, 2001

³⁴ John Barrington, *Separate but Equal? Maori Schools and the Crown 1867-1969*, VUP: Wellington, 2009

Archives New Zealand in Auckland also holds log books kept by teachers at Native Schools within Te Rohe Potae. In these log books, teachers made daily, weekly or less frequent entries about happenings at the school. These included extreme weather conditions, epidemics, community conflicts and celebrations, along with mundane matters such as pupil absences. Teachers were supposed to record all instances of corporal punishment in the log books, although there is little evidence they did so. Log books are available from six native schools within Te Rohe Potae. At their best they supplement the rather more staid official documents, and help provide something of a portrait of a school, its teachers, and their relationship with the communities they served.

These sources are used to test the criticisms made of the native school system, both at a general level and through examples from within the inquiry district. They also raise further issues in their own right with respect to the questions posed in the commission for this report.

Chapter Structure

Chapter 1 provides a general overview of the development of Maori education. The chapter includes aspects of the development of education in New Zealand overall, providing important context for the discussion. Where appropriate, examples are used from within the inquiry district.

Chapters 2, 3, and 4 provide an overview of the history of Maori schools within Te Rohe Potae, starting with church run mission schools and proceeding to the native schools established within and bordering the inquiry district.

Chapter 5 discusses issues relating to the administration of native schools, including governance, claims that they were underfunded compared with general schools, and the transfer of native schools to education boards.

Chapter 6 discusses the claim that the native school system aimed to assimilate Maori and replace their language with English, particularly in the first half of the twentieth century.

Chapter 7 deals with post-primary education, including the extent to which Maori were able to participate in the massive expansion of secondary education in the first six decades of the twentieth century. It also outlines the history of the provision of secondary schooling within Te Rohe Potae, and the extent to which Maori kept up or fell behind in terms of achieving qualifications and progressing to tertiary education.

Chapter 8 discusses the claim that a two-stream education system operated for much of the twentieth century. In one of those streams, Maori were subjected to a largely practical manually-oriented curriculum in the native schools and Maori denominational boarding schools. The main stream, in the meantime, prepared pupils for the more elite professional jobs. Thus, some claim, Maori were disadvantaged from the outset in terms of achieving qualifications and progressing in the workforce.

Chapter 9 outlines a number of factors that may have inhibited Maori achieving their potential in the education system, based primarily on research relating to native schools within Te Rohe Potae. The factors looked at include those emphasised by education officials, namely Maori lack of familiarity with the English language, and the age at which Maori children started school. Other factors examined are: the inaccessibility of education for many Maori, including those in the inquiry district; the high teacher turnover at native schools; school quality; poverty; and disruptions to children's education.

Chapter 10 outlines some of the main conclusions by directly addressing the questions in the commission for this report. It includes a brief summary of what are perhaps the most important findings.

Chapter 1: Historical Overview of Maori Education from 1820

Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of European-style education for Maori since the 1820s, focussing on government provision and funding. By way of context it also covers the provision of education for the general New Zealand population where appropriate. For convenience the narrative is divided between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Each century is divided into time periods and themes, including the implementation of important new legislation. The section on the twentieth century includes some material relating to the present century.

The Nineteenth Century

The history of the provision of European-style education for Maori in the nineteenth century can be divided into several phases. During the missionary school phase, education was carried out primarily by church-run day and boarding schools. From 1847 these schools became eligible for government funding. Because funding went to boarding schools, where costs were high, the number of Maori in education in this period was much lower than it had been in the 1830s. Provincial governments also funded schools, almost exclusively for Pakeha, during much of this period. The withdrawal from school by Maori during the warfare of the 1860s, along with widespread criticism of the system of funding church-run boarding schools, resulted in significant reform. Through the Native Education Act 1867, the state attempted to encourage Maori communities to establish secular village ('native') schools, funded largely by government. A third phase followed the passing of the Education Act 1877, which provided 'free' primary schooling through education boards. By the end of the century, Maori were attending these schools in increasing numbers, although attendance at native schools was also growing. Official policy emphasised the use of English language in native schools, and discouraged the use of Te Reo.

The Missionary Phase

The three main missionary groups were the (Anglican) Church Missionary Society (CMS), the (Methodist) Wesleyan Missionary Society (WMS) and the Catholic Church. In the 1820s and 1830s, the CMS in particular established a rapidly-expanding network work of village

schools in the upper North Island. In 1836, the CMS claimed to have 51 schools with over 1,500 scholars.¹ The early missionary phase was characterised by Maori enthusiasm for education. Simon et al note that Maori proved responsive to European education, particularly in literacy and especially once Christian ideas became widespread. Literacy provided access to a wider range of knowledge and to social mobility for those on the lower rungs of traditional Maori society. In the 1830s and 1840s, printers struggled to keep up with demand for written material in the Maori language. When Benjamin Ashwell toured the greater Waikato district in 1841, he found that only two pas out of 32 he visited were without a copy of the New Testament.² These books were used as texts to help Maori spread literacy to places that no missionary had yet visited.³

Missionaries looked to Christianise Maori and spread European civilisation. Colonial authorities similarly saw education as a useful tool to 'civilise' Maori in order to more easily exert control over the country.⁴ A House of Commons Select Committee on New Zealand in 1843 opined that 'the utmost attention should be paid to the education and training of the rising generation of the aborigines'.⁵ However, by the mid-1840s, Maori enthusiasm for European-style education was on the wane, particularly the missionary day schools that taught reading and writing in Maori. Barrington attributes this decline in part to Maori losing interest in the schools once they learnt to read and write in their own language.⁶ Literacy also lost its novelty in the face of other introduced activities, such as European-style agriculture and flour mills.

One response to declining Maori interest in education was to emphasise the teaching of English. Boarding schools were set up during the 1840s and 1850s to teach Maori youth English outside their home environment. Most of these schools were in the Auckland region, which included the Waikato.⁷ It was these church-run boarding schools that the government

¹ John Barrington, 'Government Policy and Maori Education 1840-1968: A Report prepared for the Crown Forestry Rental Trust', 2004, p 9

² KR Howe, 'Missionaries, Maoris and 'Civilization' in the Upper-Waikato, 1833-1863. A study in culture contact, with special reference to the attitudes and activities of the Reverend John Morgan of Otawhao', MA thesis in History, University of Auckland, 1970, p 50

³ Howe, 'Missionaries', p 50

⁴ Judith Simon (ed), *Nga Kura Maori: The Native School System 1867 - 1969*, Auckland University Press: Auckland, 1998, pp 3-7

⁵ GBPP, 1845, 4, (247), p xi, quoted by Barrington, 2004, p 13

⁶ Barrington, 2004, p 21

⁷ Barrington, 2004, pp 21-31

sought to subsidise once government money became available for education in the mid-1840s. Governor Grey showed an enthusiasm for education, and an 1847 Education Ordinance provided subsidies to the church schools, with the amount expended not to exceed one-twentieth of the revenue of the Colony for each year. Barrington notes that this sum proved insufficient and was supplemented by 15 percent of the proceeds of land sales, and grants from the British Government towards administration costs.⁸ The ideal embodied in the ordinance of Maori and Pakeha being schooled together was not welcomed by all.⁹ Before Governor Grey left New Zealand in 1853, he put in place a system for funding schools through annual grants to the three main providers – the Anglican, Wesleyan and Catholic Churches. This system, whereby £7000 was provided each year for Maori education, was continued by his successor Robert Gore Browne. In 1856, a committee was appointed at the suggestion of Browne to inquire into the funding of Maori education. The inquiry found that the education system was expensive given the small number of pupils taught. It recommended a number of changes, including the establishment of boards of education to distribute funding to schools on a per capita basis.¹⁰ This variation of Grey’s system was put in place through the Native Schools Act 1858. Funding was provided to schools based on average weekly attendance, to a maximum of £10 per pupil per annum.¹¹ Total annual funding for schools was set at £7000 for a term of seven years. To keep the existing providers happy, funding was limited to schools connected to a religious body, and aid was only to be given where pupils were provided with board. Instruction in the English language, and ‘industrial training’ were also required. The latter referred to skills that might be useful in the economy, such as agriculture and sewing.¹² In reality, however, the main purpose of industrial training was to use pupils’ labour in agricultural and other enterprises to help fund the costs of education.¹³ These costs were significant, as boarding schools providing clothing, food and teaching materials. Land donated to endow schools also provided additional income.

Ian and Allan Cumming note that during the Crown Colony period ‘the most serious educational endeavours were made, not for the children of the colonists but for the Maoris’.¹⁴

⁸ Barrington, 2004, p 18

⁹ Barrington, 2004, p 19

¹⁰ Barrington, 2004, p 42

¹¹ Native Schools Act 1858, sections III and IV

¹² Barrington, 2004, p 46

¹³ Barrington, 2004, pp 29-30

¹⁴ Ian and Alan Cumming, *History of State Education in New Zealand 1840-1975*, Otago University Press: Dunedin, 1978, p 22

However, although Grey's 1847 'Ordinance for Promoting the Education of Youth in the Colony of New Zealand' was primarily intended to provide education to Maori, settlers were not excluded.¹⁵ From 1848 to 1851, a total of £14,778 was spent on education in the province of New Ulster, which encompassed most of the North Island. Of that, £1,200 was specifically provided to assist schools for settler children.¹⁶ Despite this provision, parents generally had to pay fees for Pakeha pupils at mission schools. For example, European children paid school fees at the Wanganui Industrial School in the early 1850s, although they did not board at the school. However, European parents objected to their fee-paying children being made to work on the school farm, so only Maori children undertook this work.¹⁷

The establishment of six self-governing provinces in the mid-1850s provided a mechanism for state-funded education outside of the church schools. In general, provinces charged household rates to fund education and allowed schools to charge fees. However, the provinces had difficulty raising the necessary funds for schools due to the unwillingness of residents to submit to the necessary taxation.¹⁸ In Hawkes Bay (established 1858), communities had to subscribe £40-50 towards erection of a public school, to be matched by a provincial government subsidy.¹⁹ In Wellington city, private and church schools were the sole education providers throughout most of provincial period.²⁰ Taranaki Province made no provision for education until 1868.²¹

In Auckland province (which includes Te Rohe Potae), only half of teacher's salaries were initially funded by taxation. Other operating costs, plus capital expenditure, had to come out of schools fees, which were limited to 1s per week for subsidised schools. However, subsequent amendments to Auckland's education legislation gradually increased taxation and subsidies, to the extent that school fees were abolished by the mid-1870s.²² The rates charged to fund the system caused hardship for some.²³

¹⁵ Cumming, pp 16-19

¹⁶ Barrington, 2004, p 27

¹⁷ Katherine Rose, Whanganui Maori and the Crown: Socio-Economic Issues, CFRT, 2004, Wai 903, A61, pp 68-9

¹⁸ John Mackey, The Making of a State Education System: The Passing of the New Zealand Education Act, 1877, Geoffrey Chapman: London, 1967, pp 97-8

¹⁹ Cumming, pp 39-40

²⁰ Mackey, p 99

²¹ Cumming, pp 38, 53

²² Mackey, pp 101-105

²³ Mackey, p 104

Nelson appears to have instituted the most successful school system. By 1874, Nelson had the highest rate of school attendance for those aged 5-15 years, at 71 percent. (Marlborough had the lowest, at 52 percent.)²⁴ Nelson was the only province in which school fees were never charged for public schools. Instead, under the Nelson Education Act 1856 (as amended in 1858) every householder was charged a yearly rate of 20s, plus 5s for every child aged 5-14 residing within three miles of a school, up to a maximum of four children. A charge was therefore levied regardless of whether or not households had children at school. Nelson's 1856 Act established a Board of Education, whose duties included allocating funding to schools. The Act also provided for elected local committees that appointed teachers. Schools were open to inspection, and local committees, in conjunction with the inspector, prescribed a general course of instruction.²⁵ Nelson Catholics objected to the largely secular nature of the school system. As a result, the 1858 amendment allowed the Board of Education to subsidise private schools, although the subsidy did not cover land and buildings.²⁶

Maori children could attend Nelson schools, but Maori households were exempt from education rates.²⁷ The same applied in other provinces, apart from Marlborough, where rates were levied on Maori households within three miles of a school.²⁸ In practice, however, Maori attendance at provincial schools was rare. As David McKenzie has shown, education legislation in Auckland province (which contained some three-quarters of the Maori population) was couched in terms that allowed school committees to discriminate against Maori.²⁹

The provincial system was criticised by school inspectors. In Wellington (where an inspector of schools was eventually appointed in the mid-1860s), inspector's reports found that many schools had poor quality facilities and produced sub-standard educational outcomes. There was no training institution for teachers.³⁰ An 1866-7 Wellington inspectors report found that only two school districts had levied a rate to fund education as required by provincial

²⁴ Cumming, p 79

²⁵ Cumming, pp 31-2

²⁶ Mackey, p 95

²⁷ Mackey, pp 92-3, and Cumming, Pp 31-2

²⁸ Cumming, p 54

²⁹ David McKenzie, 'More than a Show of Justice?: The Enrolment of Maoris in European Schools Prior to 1900', *New Zealand Journal of Education Studies*, 17, 1, 1982, pp 110, p 4

³⁰ Cumming, pp 50-52

legislation. The report was sharply critical of the system of provincial funding of education.³¹ In Auckland, administrators also pleaded lack of money for education, and lobbied for central funding.³²

The colonial government's 1847 Education Ordinance provided for annual inspections of those church schools for Maori that received state funding. However, an inspector was not appointed until 1852, and then only for schools in the North Island.³³ Over the following decade, inspectors found fault with the quality of instruction in many schools funded nationally, and the standard of food, clothing and lodging in boarding schools.³⁴ The rapid growth of some schools was seen as contributing to problems.³⁵ The inspectors showed a degree of scepticism about the importance of teaching English to Maori pupils.³⁶ Inspectors, magistrates and others were highly critical of the funding system for schools under the 1847 Ordinance and 1858 Act. School inspector John Gorst was particularly critical of the per capita funding system, whereby schools lost funding for every pupil they lost. 'In Waikato, from various causes, but chiefly from the war, the numbers of all the schools have been greatly reduced, and as each child is removed, it becomes more difficult for the manager, not to retrieve, but to maintain his portion.' Gorst also criticised the way in which the system allocated public money to the churches, with little accountability for its use, and expressed frustration at the limited influence of inspector's reports.³⁷ Reforms to the system were advocated in official reports published in 1863, 1865 and 1867.³⁸ In 1867 a Raglan magistrate noted the difficulties faced by schools in the district. He advocated a single compulsory government-funded school system to encourage both Maori and Pakeha parents to send their children to school.³⁹

However, it was the wars of the 1860s that had the greatest effect on the mission schools. Barrington notes that at this time schools were starting to be affected by the 'general unrest'

³¹ Cumming, p 51

³² Cumming, p 49

³³ Barrington, 2004, p 34

³⁴ Barrington, 2004, pp 36-7

³⁵ Barrington, 2004, pp 35-6

³⁶ Barrington, 2004, pp 37-8

³⁷ AJHR 1862, E4, p 10

³⁸ See Georg Clarke in AJHR 1863, E9, pp 16-18, and William Rolleston in AJHR 1865, E3, pp 1-3 and 1867, A3, pp 1-3

³⁹ AJHR 1868, A6 pp 8-9

in the country.⁴⁰ A number of schools had been established in the northern Waikato in the late 1850s. In 1861, Gorst wrote that the education of children in the upper Waikato ‘is now totally neglected’ and reported a Kingite ban on new schools.⁴¹ Reports from resident magistrates during the 1860s noted a general decline in education in native districts.⁴² European-style education for Maori was very much on the wane.

The Native Schools Act 1867

The Native Schools Act 1867 was the government’s response to the collapse of schooling for Maori and the numerous criticisms made of the 1858 Act. The new Act provided for the development of a national system of secular native village schools run by the Department of Native Affairs. A sum of £4000 was granted annually for seven years for Maori schooling, including teacher training and employing itinerant teachers.

Parliamentarians expressed a variety of aims when debating the Native Education Bill. The worth of education itself seemed to be taken for granted. In the words of James Richmond, who introduced the 1867 Bill to the house, the value of education ‘might rest upon its own intrinsic merits’.⁴³ The South Island faction opposing the Bill was led by Dunedin member William Reynolds, who proposed that Maori schools should be funded by the provinces rather than central government. He objected to ‘taxing all the Southern constituencies, to educate the Natives of the North Island’.⁴⁴ Some responding to this criticism claimed that decent schooling for Maori would result in less conflict and thus save the colony the expense of on-going warfare.⁴⁵ Others said the amount proposed was a ‘miserable pittance’, that a lot more should be spent, and that ‘the Natives contributed very heavily to the revenue’.⁴⁶

Under the 1867 Act, Maori communities were required to initiate the foundation of a new school and contribute to its establishment. A ‘considerable number’ of the male Maori inhabitants of a district had to petition the Colonial Secretary asking for a school. Furthermore, the majority of local inhabitants had to agree at a meeting to provide a portion of the costs towards the establishment and maintenance of the school and elect a committee

⁴⁰ Barrington, 2004, p 48

⁴¹ Barrington, 2004, p 53

⁴² Barrington, 2004, p 55

⁴³ NZPD 1867, p 862

⁴⁴ NZPD 1867, p 864

⁴⁵ NZPD 1867, Carleton, p 863, Ball, p 866

⁴⁶ NZPD 1867, O’Neill, p 862, Ball, p 866 and Hall, p 866

and chairman. Maori were also required to contribute at least an acre of land for the school site, half the cost of the buildings and maintenance, a quarter of the teacher's salary and the price of school books. The Colonial Treasurer would then be empowered to grant the remaining cost of buildings and maintenance and the remainder of the teacher's salary. There was nothing in the Act preventing Pakeha children enrolling in native schools.⁴⁷

Barrington notes that the contribution required from Maori communities reflected both a desire to encourage Maori support for schools, rather than forcing them upon Maori communities, and a desire to save costs.⁴⁸ A related line of thinking was expressed by Hugh Carlton when the measure was debated in the house. 'The Natives were like other men; they held cheap what cost them nothing, but what they paid for they valued'.⁴⁹ However, it soon became apparent that the expectation on Maori to contribute to the ongoing costs of education was a fatal flaw in the Act. In addition, the resumption of hostilities in the North Island did little for Maori enthusiasm for schools. In 1871, a Legislative Councillor spoke of 'about 13 schools in operation, with an average attendance of no more than 219 scholars'.⁵⁰ The Native Schools Act was amended that year to reduced the contribution required from Maori communities towards the establishment, maintenance and operation of a new school, or waive a contribution altogether.⁵¹ As outlined below, in the 1880s it became standard practice to request three acres of land be donated for a new school (rather than the acre specified in the legislation), but to seek no other contribution from Maori communities.

Also in 1871, an Inspector of Native Schools was appointed for the first time under the 1867 Act in the form of former Native Affairs Minister AH Russell.⁵² In his first annual report, Russell noted that the 1867 Act was initially a failure. '[B]efore it could be brought into effectual operation the North Island again became involved in war, and it was not until last Session, when the amended Native Schools Act was passed, that a strenuous effort could be made to construct a workable system of Native education'.⁵³ Thanks to the 1871 amendment, and the ending of hostilities, the number of native schools increased to 57 by 1880, and the

⁴⁷ Barrington, 2009, pp 19-22

⁴⁸ Barrington, 2009, p 22

⁴⁹ NZPD 1867, p 863

⁵⁰ Waterhouse in NZPD 1871, 31 October, p 667

⁵¹ Native Schools Amendment Act 1871, s 3

⁵² Barrington, 2009, p 23

⁵³ AJHR 1872, F5, p 4

number of pupils enrolled to 1,625.⁵⁴ However, there was little enthusiasm for schools in the Waikato, King Country and Taranaki districts, due largely to an understandable suspicion of government intent after the wars of the 1860s.⁵⁵

The Education Act 1877

The abolition of the provinces in 1876 made a national education system a necessity. A national Education Act came into effect on 1 January 1878, after heated debate and numerous amendments.⁵⁶ The new national education system was to be overseen by a Minister of Education with his own department, beneath which were regional education boards, school districts and school committees. John Ballance became New Zealand's first Minister of Education.⁵⁷ Primary school fees were abolished, so the system was funded from general taxation.⁵⁸ The new education system supplemented rather than replaced the native schools system, which was brought under the control of the Education Department from 1879.⁵⁹

The Education Act 1877 made education compulsory, but only in fairly limited circumstances. Children aged 7-13 living within two miles of a school by public road were required to attend a school at least half the time it was open.⁶⁰ In 1901 the upper age of compulsory attendance was extended to 14.⁶¹ Although the compulsory aspects of the Act did not apply to Maori until 1894 (and then only to those living near a native school), Maori were entitled to send their children to any public school.⁶² McKenzie considers that the initial exemption of Maori from compulsory schooling was due to perceived Maori sensitivities.

Among the followers of Te Whiti in Taranaki and Tawhiao in the King Country for example, for whom the desire to reject Pakeha laws and schools was particularly strong, it made good sense to stress choice of entry for Maori children rather than to insist upon school attendance by law.⁶³

⁵⁴ Openshaw et al, 1994, p 42 and Simon (ed) *Nga Kura Maori*, p 12

⁵⁵ Simon (ed) *Nga Kura Maori*, p 12 and Barrington, 2009, pp 22, 295

⁵⁶ Cumming, p 83

⁵⁷ Cumming, p 86

⁵⁸ Cumming, p 103

⁵⁹ Cumming, p 111, Barrington, 2009, p 40

⁶⁰ Education Act 1877, s 89

⁶¹ Cumming, p 143

⁶² McKenzie, p 5, Barrington, 2009, p 73

⁶³ McKenzie, p 5

Even when attendance for Maori children living near native schools was made compulsory in 1894, the chief inspector was sceptical about the value of the law. He wrote that the success of native schools depended on arousing enthusiasm through teaching, 'rather than on any external coercion that can be brought to bear by means of legislation.'⁶⁴ In lieu of legal compulsion for Maori, the 1880 Native Schools Code put the responsibility for ensuring school attendance onto communities through school committees. According to Barrington, the committees often took this responsibility seriously, and he provides a number of examples of committees implementing measures to ensure regular attendance.⁶⁵

The Education Act 1877 gave teachers discretion to refuse to admit particular children to schools, and concerns were raised in Parliament that these provisions might be directed against Maori.⁶⁶ While this may have been the case, the number of Maori pupils in general schools (often called 'board schools' because they were administered by regional education boards) rose continuously after 1878. By 1900, Maori school pupils were almost evenly split between board and native schools (see Figure 2 below). A small part of this change was due to native schools converting to general schools, as was government policy. However, the number of Maori pupils in both types of schools increased between 1878 and 1900, more than doubling to over 5000.⁶⁷ Maori were increasingly engaging with European-style schooling.

In 1879, the administration of native schools was transferred from the Native Department to the new Education Department.⁶⁸ James Pope was appointed Inspector of Native Schools. In 1880, Pope helped compile a Native Schools Code that 'was to guide the work of the native schools for many years'.⁶⁹ The prescribed curriculum was similar to that in general schools. Corporal punishment was discouraged, and if resorted to had to be recorded in the school log book.⁷⁰ Maori language could be used for teaching junior classes, but was discouraged in senior classes under the Code.⁷¹ The Code provided for native schools to become general schools, on the recommendation of an inspector, once sufficient progress in English was

⁶⁴ AJHR 1899, E2, p 14

⁶⁵ Barrington, 2009, pp 73-77

⁶⁶ McKenzie, p 5

⁶⁷ McKenzie, p 6. A small number of Maori pupils continued to be educated by church-run primary schools outside of the state system.

⁶⁸ Cumming, p 111, Barrington, 2009, p 40

⁶⁹ Barrington, 2009, p 41

⁷⁰ Barrington, 2009, p 44

⁷¹ Barrington, 2009, pp 42-3

made by ‘all the children in a native school district’.⁷² However, this policy had limited applicability, in the North Island at least. As will be seen in relation to Te Rohe Potae, the norm was for native schools to be transferred to education boards once a clear majority of pupils were Pakeha, or if there were both native and general schools in close proximity. These policies were eventually made explicit in 1909, but had been standard practice for over a decade at that time.⁷³

The 1880 Native Schools Code increased the minimum requirement for land donated by Maori communities for schools to two acres, along with an additional contribution in land or cash.⁷⁴ In practice, the standard appears to have become three acres of land, with no cash contribution required. Few variations to this norm were found in research for this report.⁷⁵ Officials scrutinised applications for native schools closely to ensure that the investment would be worthwhile. This scrutiny included both the suitability of the school site and the number of potential pupils.⁷⁶ In some cases schools were established with the hope that the government would eventually recognise and fund them. Such schools could become ‘subsidised’ schools, which received some state assistance until they met the Education Department criteria to be a fully recognised school.⁷⁷ Resistance to new schools remained in some districts. According to Barrington:

[S]ome leaders of Maori nationalist or religious movements continued to oppose the establishment of schools as part of a general rejection of European institutions; a wish to maintain traditional Maori language, beliefs and social organisation; or as a result of continuing resentment over land confiscations. King Tawhiao epitomised this attitude.⁷⁸

Barrington also cites the Urewera and Parihaka as centres of resistance to schools.⁷⁹ Rejection of schools surfaced from time to time under the influence of leaders such as Te

⁷² Native Schools Code 1880, AJHR 1880, H1F, p 6

⁷³ AJHR 1909, E3, p 11

⁷⁴ Native Schools Code 1880, AJHR 1880, H1F, p 1

⁷⁵ One of the rare exceptions was Raorao Native School, for which land was donated by the Wesleyan Church.

⁷⁶ Barrington, 2009, p 45

⁷⁷ Barrington, 2009, p 48

⁷⁸ Barrington, 2009, p 46

⁷⁹ Barrington, 2009, pp 46-7

Kooti and Rua Kenana.⁸⁰ Pope and other officials were ‘understandably delighted when schools opened in districts where they had previously been opposed’.⁸¹ Chapter 3 provides examples of official delight at the establishment of the first native schools in Te Rohe Potae. Despite apparent official enthusiasm for the opening of new native schools, Barrington documents many delays in establishing schools which he attributes in part to the remoteness, and thus indifference, of Education Department officials based in Wellington. Some applications were also rejected because of the existence of a nearby board school, even when such schools were unwilling to admit Maori pupils.⁸² However, Barrington provides no comparison to indicate whether or not it was easier to open board schools in isolated areas than it was to open native schools. McKenzie provides evidence that in some cases it may have been easier to open a native school than a board school. He cites an example where settlers appeared to have banded together with local Maori to lobby for a native school. ‘If the Europeans had asked for a public school, they would have had to wait a long time. It therefore made sense to get the Department to establish a native school which, in good time could be translated in status to that of an ordinary school.’⁸³

The Native Schools Act 1867 specified that school committees ‘shall have the general management of the school’.⁸⁴ However, the Native Schools Code appeared to contradict the Act by giving these responsibilities to the teacher. Committees were left with the primary functions of enforcing attendance and complaining to education officials about matters they objected to in the running of the school.⁸⁵ In contrast, general school committees were given responsibility for a range of functions associated with the running and maintenance of schools, particularly under a new Education Act in 1914.⁸⁶ It was not until 1957 that Native school committees were given the same formal functions as general school committees.⁸⁷

The native school system was occasionally criticised by Maori and Pakeha who perceived native schools to be inferior to board schools.⁸⁸ One answer by school inspectors to such

⁸⁰ Barrington, 2009, pp. 46, 71

⁸¹ Barrington, 2009, p 46

⁸² Barrington, 2009, pp 45-53 and 96-101

⁸³ McKenzie, p 11

⁸⁴ Native Schools Act 1867, s7

⁸⁵ Native Schools Code 1880, AJHR 1880, H1F, p 6

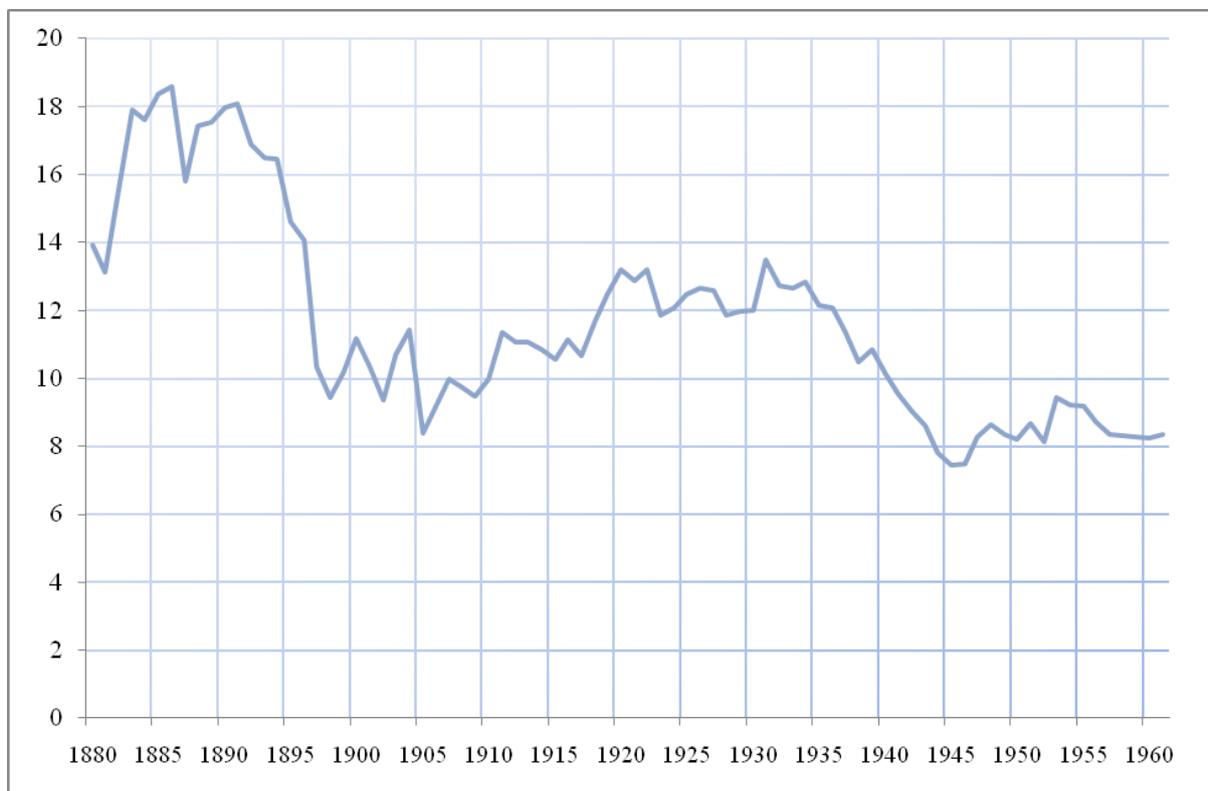
⁸⁶ Education Act 1914, ss 14, 72

⁸⁷ Education Amendment Act 1957, ss 8-14

⁸⁸ Openshaw et al, p 57, McKenzie, pp 12-13, Barrington, 2009, p 90

criticism was to point out that most native schools had Pakeha pupils. In a few cases European parents abandoned board schools in favour of a nearby native school where they perceived the standard of teaching to be superior.⁸⁹ For example at Parawera Native School, on the borders of Te Rohe Potae, the inspector reported in 1907 that most of the 14 European children at the school had formerly been enrolled in general schools, but their parents perceived Parawera to be ‘better managed’ and the children as making better progress.⁹⁰ Figure 1 below shows that, while the proportion of Pakeha pupils on the rolls of native schools fell sharply in the 1890s, it generally stayed well above 10 percent until the 1940s.

Figure 1: Pakeha as a Percentage of the Roll of Native Schools, 1880-1961



Source: AJHR 1882-1962

Those denominational boarding schools that remained open in the 1870s continued to get per capita grants from the government. But from 1880 these grants were replaced by targeted scholarships for pupils who had passed the fourth standard of the native school code with credit. The aim was to provide post-primary education for some of the more able pupils. Until this reform, most of the remaining denominational boarding schools were ‘essentially

⁸⁹ Barrington, 2009, pp 134-6

⁹⁰ Barrington, 2009, p 134

primary schools'.⁹¹ The scholarships were valued at £18 per annum and gradually replaced the capitation grants over time.⁹² The scholarships lasted for two years, the short duration being due to concerns among Education Department officials that Maori should not become over-educated and separated from their communities.⁹³ According to Barrington, this attitude had changed somewhat by the end of the century, largely because of the excellent results produced by the matriculation class at Te Aute College. Little government assistance was available for Pakeha students to attend secondary schools before 1901.⁹⁴ Until then, secondary schooling remained the preserve of an elite few.⁹⁵

The Twentieth Century

Maori education in the twentieth century can be divided into three main periods. The first, ending in 1930, was characterised by a strongly European curriculum. Then from 1931, Maori cultural activities were progressively introduced into native schools, although Maori language continued to be discouraged. Scholarship rates for the denominational boarding schools were increased in 1936, secondary education became free for all from 1937, and native district high schools were established from 1941. The final period, from the mid-1950s, saw rapid Maori urbanisation and a consequent reduction in attendance at Maori primary schools and Maori district high schools. These were transferred to education board control in 1969. The latter decades of the century were characterised by recognition that Te Reo was an endangered language - and thus needed to be taught in both primary and secondary schools - and concerns about Maori participation and achievement levels in post-primary education. Specific Maori responses to these issues included kohanga reo, kura kaupapa Maori, and wananga.

1900-1930

Under the School Attendance Act 1901, the compulsory attendance provisions for general schools were tightened considerably, and attendance was made compulsory for Maori children enrolled at general schools. Under 1903 regulations, it was made compulsory for Maori children aged 7-13 to enrol at a board school if there was no native school within a

⁹¹ Barrington, 2009, p 142

⁹² Barrington, 2009, p 141

⁹³ Barrington, 2009, pp 141-2

⁹⁴ Openshaw et al, p 195

⁹⁵ Barrington, 2009, p 150

three mile radius.⁹⁶ Finally, from 1907 the same attendance provisions were applied to native and general schools.⁹⁷ To facilitate the compulsion provisions, from 1904 school boards were empowered to arrange for the conveyance of children to and from school, a provision that mainly assisted those in remote areas, many of whom were Maori.⁹⁸ In 1924, a school bus service was established.⁹⁹ Improved transport links enabled rural schools to consolidate on a single site. The first such consolidation occurred in the King Country in 1924, when four schools were closed and some 90 pupils conveyed to Pio Pio district school.¹⁰⁰ The Correspondence School, established in 1922, also assisted children in remote districts. However, this was of little assistance to Maori parents, most of whom did not speak English. Materials were not provided in Te Reo until 1949.¹⁰¹

Although the majority of Maori attended general public schools, rather than native schools, from 1904, their attendance was not always well-received.¹⁰² When outbreaks of illness occurred within schools, the presence of Maori pupils was often blamed for the spread of disease. Pakeha were particularly alarmed by a rare outbreak of smallpox in 1913. The Education Department reported that the epidemic interrupted the work of ‘many of the northern schools’:

The apparent susceptibility of the Maoris to the disease caused a great deal of alarm amongst the Europeans in the districts affected, and, even in localities where there was no sign whatever of the epidemic, the Maori children were indiscriminately forbidden to attend school.

A more serious effect, so far as the education of Maori children is concerned, has been the intensification of the racial antipathy and prejudice exhibited towards the Maori in many parts of the North Island, and even in some parts of

⁹⁶ Barrington, 2009, p 73

⁹⁷ AJHR 1909, E3, p 11

⁹⁸ Cumming, p 155

⁹⁹ Nancy Swarbrick, ‘Country Schooling’, in *Te Ara: The Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/country-schooling/2>

¹⁰⁰ Cumming, p 225

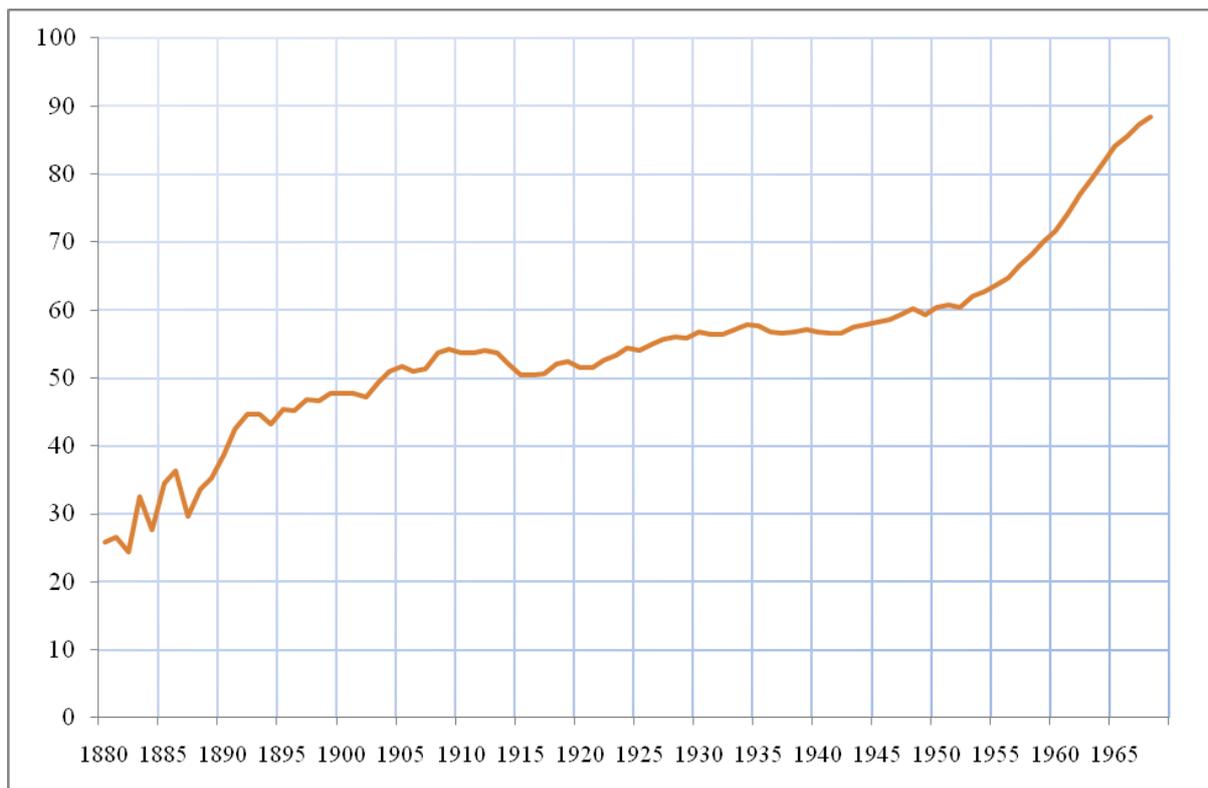
¹⁰¹ John Garner and Katherine Forde, *The Correspondence School: Golden Jubilee History, 1922-72*, Government Print: Wellington, 1972

¹⁰² In 1904, 3,446 Maori attended general primary schools compared with 3,325 attending native schools - figures calculated from AJHR 1905, E2, pp 24, 28. See also Figure 2 below. The figures include only those attending state schools, thus excluding a small number in non-subsidised mission schools.

the South. This has led in some cases to an attempt on the part of the local authorities to turn the Maori children out of school, which has in some places actually been accomplished.¹⁰³

As can be seen from Figure 2 below, there was actually a fall in the proportion of Maori attending public schools, rather than native schools, following the measles outbreak, and this fall did not fully reverse itself until the mid-1920s. At the same time the number of native schools began to grow at an increased rate. At the end of 1912 they numbered 104, only a handful more than at the turn of the century.¹⁰⁴ By the end of 1930, the number of native schools reached 138, a 33 percent increase in just 18 years.¹⁰⁵

Figure 2: The Percentage of Maori in State Primary Schools Attending General Schools, 1881-1968



Source: AJHR 1882-1969

¹⁰³ AJHR 1914, E3, p 13

¹⁰⁴ AJHR 1913, E3, p 1

¹⁰⁵ AJHR 1930, E3, p 1

The Native Schools Act specifically provided that Maori teachers could be employed in native schools. However, the Education Department rarely published figures on how many Maori teachers it employed. In 1912, the department reported that three of the 104 schools had Maori head teachers, but provided no statistics on assistant teachers (who generally carried out full teaching responsibilities) or junior assistants.¹⁰⁶ In 1943, the department provided more comprehensive statistics, reporting that the 156 native schools had four Maori head teachers, 43 assistant teachers, and 97 junior assistants.¹⁰⁷ There is no evidence that native schools within Te Rohe Potae had Maori head or assistant teachers until the 1930s. Those noted from the records in the 1930s and 1940s were Sarah Mauriohooho, R H Tawhiri, Miss M E Wihongi, Miss Kohi (all Te Kopua), Rarangi Mauriohooho (Parawera), Miss Tangiora (Rakaunui) and Mr and Mrs Nepia (Taharoa). Maori head teachers were common at Maori schools by the 1960s.

Evidence is mixed on the quality of education provided in native schools in the early decades of the century. In 1920, for example, just four percent of the pupils of native schools were in Standard 6, compared with 6.9 percent of pupils at public schools.¹⁰⁸ However, a 1930 survey involving 1000 pupils at 92 native schools found broadly similar standards in native and board schools.¹⁰⁹ Maori seemed to be acquiring basic skills at native schools, but were not managing to turn these into qualifications. The 1930 survey is discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.

In 1899, George Hogben became Secretary and Inspector-General for Schools, a position he held until 1915.¹¹⁰ During this period he helped drive an expansion of education that was strongly supported by the Liberal government. The provisions for compulsory primary schooling were further tightened, boosting the school population. At the secondary level, a system of free places was phased in for those awarded proficiency certificates in Standard 6. The resulting expansion of the student population led to a revamp of secondary schooling. Hogben sought to make secondary education less academic and more practically and vocationally orientated. Under what Openshaw et al have dubbed the ‘social efficiency’ approach, it was argued that academic education was appropriate for only a minority of

¹⁰⁶ AJHR 1912, E3, p 5

¹⁰⁷ AJHR 1943, E1, p 4

¹⁰⁸ AJHR 1921-22, E3, p 3

¹⁰⁹ Barrington, 2009, pp 130-1

¹¹⁰ Cumming, p 126

students. It was thus inefficient to supply an academic curriculum to all. The resulting reforms included the establishment of more technical colleges, and greater emphasis on subjects such as home science for girls, woodwork and metal work for boys, and agriculture for those in rural communities. A more practical emphasis was also encouraged for primary schools, over which the Education Department had more influence. Many parents resisted this trend.¹¹¹

From 1909, the native school syllabus closely followed that prescribed for board schools.¹¹² This meant an increasing emphasis on practical subjects, including woodwork, metalwork, cooking, and sewing. Like other rural schools, native schools tended to emphasise agricultural skills, often against the objections of parents.¹¹³ There was also Education Department pressure to increase the practical emphasis of courses provided in denominational boarding schools. However, many parents desired an academic curriculum for their children, and this continued to be provided at most of the schools.¹¹⁴ In the 1920s, a scholarship was introduced to assist Maori students to complete a third year of secondary education at the denominational boarding schools, in line with the norm in state secondary schools.¹¹⁵ The claim that education provided to Maori in native and denominational boarding schools was primarily of a practical nature is discussed in detail in Chapter 8.

Before he retired at the end of 1903, James Pope started to advocate an immersion approach to teaching English in native schools. This approach, called the ‘direct’ or ‘natural’ method, was championed by Pope’s successor, William Bird. Maori language was spoken increasingly less frequently in native schools, and many teachers discouraged it, even in the playground. Maori cultural activities in the schools received no official encouragement until 1929, and were thus entirely dependent on the enthusiasm and interests of individual teachers. However, this was about to change.

¹¹¹ Openshaw et al, pp 98-119, 132-139

¹¹² Barrington, 2009, p 105

¹¹³ Barrington, 2009, p 107

¹¹⁴ Barrington, 2009, pp 164-169

¹¹⁵ Barrington, 2009, p 169



William Bird, ca 1925. Source: Alexander Turnbull Library 1/2-030877-F

1931 to mid-1950s

In the late 1920s, Apirana Ngata (then Minister of Native Affairs) and the Young Maori Party advocated that Maori culture should have a place in native schools to ensure its survival.¹¹⁶ Ngata's position had the support of Douglas Ball, who became inspector of native schools in 1929.¹¹⁷ The result was a significant shift in education policy from 1931 towards incorporating Maori cultural activities, such as carving, singing and poi dancing, into the native school curriculum. The schools were otherwise to follow the same syllabus as board schools.¹¹⁸ The background to this policy change, including overseas developments in educational theory, is outlined in more detail in Chapter 6. The new approach was reinforced by the Labour government during the 1940s.¹¹⁹ However, it did not include a change in policy towards Maori language in schools, and teaching continued to be in English only except on the inclination of individual teachers. As outlined in Chapter 6, pupils were commonly punished for speaking Maori in native schools.

¹¹⁶ Barrington, 2009, p 173

¹¹⁷ Cumming, pp 259-260

¹¹⁸ Simon (ed), *Nga Kura Maori*, p xvii

¹¹⁹ Barrington, 2009, pp 257-60

In the depression of the early 1930s, the government made a number of cutbacks in education, including preventing those aged under six from starting school.¹²⁰ Some of these cutbacks, such as reductions in the budget for conveying children to school, had a direct effect on Maori.¹²¹ However, a positive effect for native schools of the reduced number of teaching jobs was an improved ability to employ certificated teachers. Between 1931 and 1939, the proportion of certificated teachers in native schools rose from 64 to 86 percent.¹²² In 1940, a Maori 'quota' was introduced for teacher training to encourage more Maori into the profession.¹²³ This had its origins in the junior assistant scheme, in place since 1900, by which Maori girls with some secondary education were employed to assist native-school teachers. Over time the educational level of teaching assistants increased, but the position had no career path so assistants tended to be lost to the teaching profession. It was therefore decided to enable teaching assistants to continue their studies through Correspondence School so they could pass School Certificate and qualify for training college. A training college 'quota' was arranged, officially called the 'Native-schools' or 'Maori-schools' quota' but almost invariably referred to, even in official reports, as the 'Maori quota'. In 1940, the first four Maori students entered teacher training college under the quota.¹²⁴ The numbers quickly increased, and in 1951, 59 students entered training college under the Maori quota.¹²⁵

Secondary education for Maori went backwards in the early 1930s thanks to the depression and government cutbacks on scholarships.¹²⁶ In 1936, a national conference on Maori education, health and welfare successfully recommended increased scholarship rates and a greater number of scholarships for Maori attending secondary boarding schools.¹²⁷ In 1937, the new Labour government abolished the proficiency examination and introduced 'free' education for all up to the age of 19.¹²⁸ For those some distance from schools, free bus transport was provided, or alternatively an allowance towards the cost of private board near

¹²⁰ Cumming, p 249

¹²¹ Barrington, 2009, p 178

¹²² Barrington, 2009, p 180

¹²³ Simon (ed), *Nga Kura Maori*, p xviii

¹²⁴ An outline of the development of the quota scheme was provided by Maori school senior inspector Tom Fletcher in his 1948 annual report, AJHR 1948, E3, pp 3-4

¹²⁵ AJHR 1952, E3, p 5

¹²⁶ Barrington, 2009, pp 210-212

¹²⁷ Barrington, 2009, pp 215-216

¹²⁸ Harvey Egdell, 'Education – Evolution of Present System: Development and Trends in the Last 25 Years' in *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand 1966*, <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/1966/education-evolution-of-present-system/8>

to a post-primary school.¹²⁹ However, many Maori parents lacked the means to supplement this allowance, or were unwilling to have their children reside away from home. In 1940 it was estimated that only 41 percent of Maori children proceeded beyond Standard 6, compared with 64 percent of children nationally.¹³⁰ The result was the establishment of native district high schools from 1941. These were based on the district high schools that had served more remote areas since the nineteenth century.¹³¹ District high schools consisted of secondary classes added onto a rural primary school, and Native (later Maori) District High Schools followed the same model. The first three were established in 1941 on the East Coast, and a fourth school opened in Northland in 1948. All had a relentlessly practical curriculum, despite criticism by some Maori, and suffered from overcrowding, poor facilities, and under-qualified teachers.¹³² In 1959 the Department of Education acknowledged some of these problems:

The staffing of the secondary departments of the Maori district high schools is causing much worry. Largely because of their isolation, the departments are hard to staff, and a number of vacancies have had to be filled by teachers whose qualifications would not normally be considered adequate for post-primary work.¹³³

However, by the 1950s at least some of the schools provided courses that enabled students to sit School Certificate.¹³⁴ The national School Certificate examination had been significantly revamped in 1946, resulting in greatly increased retention of students, both Maori and non-Maori, at secondary schools.¹³⁵ Between 1948 and 1956, the number of Maori district high schools increased from four to 13, although two became ordinary secondary schools the following year.¹³⁶ By 1958, the Maori district high schools had 725 students between them (including some non-Maori), while some 5,500 Maori were enrolled in general high

¹²⁹ Barrington, 2009, p 224

¹³⁰ Barrington, 2009, p 224

¹³¹ Nancy Swarbrick, 'Country Schooling' in Te Ara, <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/country-schooling/1>

¹³² Barrington, 2009, pp 237-243

¹³³ AJHR 1959, E1, p 43

¹³⁴ Barrington, 2009, pp 244-246

¹³⁵ Openshaw et al, p 216

¹³⁶ Barrington, 2009, pp 241, 246

schools.¹³⁷ These figures indicate that the establishment of Native district high schools had a very minor impact on the retention of Maori beyond primary school.

Mid-1950s to the Present

The number of Maori schools continued to grow in the 1930s and 1940s, peaking at 164 in 1954.¹³⁸ However, by then a change in philosophy was apparent, with many questioning the need for a separate Maori school system. In 1955, the NZEI (the primary teacher's union) and the Education Board's Association asked the government to transfer Maori schools to boards.¹³⁹ Also in 1955, the government established a National Committee on Maori Education, with a majority Maori membership. The committee agreed that the 'basic education needs of Maori and pakeha are identical' and that all schools should cater to both groups. However, it also considered that the transfer of Maori schools to education boards should be gradual, as 'the general feeling of the Maori people' did not favour their immediate abolition. The committee therefore recommended that 'before any action is taken to transfer a Maori school to an education board, the parents and the school committee should be fully consulted and informed'.¹⁴⁰ In 1956, the committee was reconstituted as the National Advisory Committee on Maori Education, reporting annually to the Minister of Education.¹⁴¹ J K Hunn, in his 1960 report on the Department of Maori Affairs, indicated that he would prefer to see native schools transfer to the administration of education boards.¹⁴² However, he accepted the advisory committee's views and tentatively recommended that '[t]he list of Maori schools could be reviewed periodically (five-yearly?) to see which would be next, in the opinion of the Maori people, for transfer to board control.'¹⁴³

As Figure 2 above shows, the rate of Maori enrolment at general rather than Maori primary schools accelerated rapidly from the early 1950s. However, enrolments at Maori schools fell only slightly before 1960, as these schools were only gradually transferring to board control.¹⁴⁴ A 1962 Commission on Education recommended that the process be speeded up,

¹³⁷ J K Hunn, Statistical Supplement to Review of Maori Affairs 1960, AJHR 1961, G10, p 157

¹³⁸ AJHR 1955, E1, p 37

¹³⁹ Barrington, 2009, p 280

¹⁴⁰ AJHR 1956, E1, pp 29-30

¹⁴¹ Openshaw et al, p 75, Barrington, 2009, p 285

¹⁴² JK Hunn, Report on Department of Maori Affairs with Statistical Supplement, August 1960, AJHR 1961, G10, p 25

¹⁴³ Hunn, Report on Department of Maori Affairs, AJHR 1961, G10, p 6

¹⁴⁴ In 1960 there were still over 13,000 pupils at Maori schools, slightly more than there had been in 1951 (figures from AJHR 1952 and 1961, E1)

to be concluded within a decade.¹⁴⁵ By 1966, the Advisory Committee on Maori Education was less patient than a decade earlier, recommending that ‘at a certain fixed date not before February 1969, all Maori schools should be transferred to the control of the education boards’.¹⁴⁶ The government accepted this advice, and the remaining 105 Maori schools came under board control from 1 February 1969.¹⁴⁷ Less controversially, Maori district high schools also transferred to board control in 1969. These had been closing or transferring to boards since the mid-1950s, and by 1968 had only 321 pupils between them.¹⁴⁸ The brief experiment of establishing secondary departments at selected Maori schools had proved a failure.

Barrington considers that public debate on the issue of separate Maori schools was occasionally influenced by publicity about the civil rights movement in the United States, which opposed racial segregation.¹⁴⁹ This was the political environment in which the Hunn report was released in 1960. Hunn considered that greater ‘commingling of the races’ was desirable, and that improved employment opportunities for Maori would assist this end. Improved education was in turn an important part of the picture. ‘Better education promotes better employment, which promotes better housing, which promotes better health and social standing, which promotes better education and thus closes the circle.’¹⁵⁰ Education was thus ‘the one thing, more than any other, that will pave the way to further progress in housing, health, employment and acculturation’.¹⁵¹

The Hunn Report noted that retention of Maori in secondary schools appeared to have stopped increasing in the late 1950s, and that only a small number of Maori, compared with Pakeha, completed tertiary education.¹⁵² It therefore recommended the establishment of a Maori Education Foundation to assist Maori to complete secondary and tertiary education through competitive scholarships.¹⁵³ The government accepted this proposal. In 1961, it endowed the new Foundation with £125,000 and provided a pound for pound subsidy on

¹⁴⁵ Barrington, 2009, p 288

¹⁴⁶ Quoted by Simon, *Nga Kura Maori*, p xix

¹⁴⁷ Simon, *Nga Kura Maori*, p 19

¹⁴⁸ Barrington, 2009, p 252

¹⁴⁹ Barrington, 2009, pp 281, 288-9

¹⁵⁰ Hunn, Report on Department of Maori Affairs, AJHR 1961, G10, p 28

¹⁵¹ Hunn, Report on Department of Maori Affairs, AJHR 1961, G10, p 22

¹⁵² Hunn, Report on Department of Maori Affairs, AJHR 1961, G10, pp 24-25

¹⁵³ Hunn, Report on Department of Maori Affairs, AJHR 1961, G10, pp 26-7

voluntary contributions for the purpose of ‘encouraging and furthering the education of Maoris’.¹⁵⁴ By the end of the 1960s, the Foundation was receiving some 2,000 grant applications per year. In 1968, it gave out 1,187 grants, primarily for secondary education, totalling \$181,000.¹⁵⁵ In 1993 the Foundation became the Maori Education Trust, although this was primarily an administrative reform. In 2010 the trust adopted a Maori name, Toitū Kaupapa Māori Mātauranga.¹⁵⁶

Also during the 1960s, educators began to focus their attention on pre-school education for Maori, as the Education Department reported in 1969:

It is recognised that most Maori children enter the school system less well-prepared than non-Maoris, largely because of severe language deficiency and because of a different cultural background. Every effort is being made to overcome this educational gap. Encouragement is being given to Maori parents to enrol their children in recognised pre-school organisations and the numbers of Maori children participating in pre-school education continue to rise steadily. The involvement of Maori parents as active helpers in pre-school education is helping them to understand better the educational needs of their children.¹⁵⁷

In 1975, the government introduced a new policy whereby it would meet the cost of constructing a play centre of kindergarten in areas ‘with a high proportion of Maori and Polynesian children’.¹⁵⁸

Maori Educational Attainment

Whether or not as a result of the government’s efforts, Maori achievement in secondary education and participation in tertiary education increased significantly between 1960 and 2010. This is discussed in more detail in Chapter 7. The national School Certificate examination was significantly revamped in 1946, and the examination was sat by increasing

¹⁵⁴ Openshaw et al, p 72

¹⁵⁵ AJHR 1969, E1, p 32

¹⁵⁶ Toitū Kaupapa Māori Mātauranga web site, <http://www.maorieducation.org.nz/index.php/about-us->, accessed 21 December 2010

¹⁵⁷ AJHR 1969, E1, p 28

¹⁵⁸ AJHR 1975, E1, p 27

numbers of Fifth Form students each year.¹⁵⁹ In 1962, the Commission on Education in New Zealand used the examination results to provide comparative data on Maori educational attainment. The Commission's figures showed that less than five percent of Maori left school in 1960 with School Certificate or a higher qualification, compared with 30 percent of non-Maori.¹⁶⁰ By 1976, the figure for Maori had increased six-fold, to 30 percent, although the non-Maori rate had more than doubled to 69 percent. For those leaving school with University Entrance or higher, the Maori rate quadrupled between 1966 and 1981, from just two percent to eight percent. The non-Maori rate also increased substantially over the same period, from 20 to 34 percent. Thus, even in 1981, non-Maori were four times more likely than Maori to leave school with higher level qualifications.¹⁶¹

The 'Closing the Gaps' reports produced by Te Puni Kokiri in 1998 and 2000 showed continued improvements in secondary retention rates and school qualifications for Maori during the 1980s. Between 1991 and 1998, the number of Maori in tertiary education more than doubled, and the participation rate increased from seven to 12 percent.¹⁶² By 2009, Maori participation in secondary education had risen to an age-standardised rate of 17.1 percent, far above the participation rate for 'Europeans' of just 11.4 percent.¹⁶³ A 2007 report by the Ministry of Education showed that most of this dramatic increase occurred between 1998 and 2004, and was driven almost entirely by increased Maori enrolments in lower-level qualifications such as certificates and diplomas.¹⁶⁴

A 2005 study by John Gould found that iwi with links to the inquiry district were in general less qualified on average than members of most other iwi.¹⁶⁵ In addition, data from the 2006 census shows that Maori within Te Rohe Potae are less qualified on average than Maori overall. The data also shows that Pakeha in the district are also less qualified than the national

¹⁵⁹ Openshaw et al, p 216

¹⁶⁰ Cited in Openshaw et al, p 74

¹⁶¹ Lewis Holden, *Youth: A Statistical Profile*, Department of Internal Affairs: Wellington, 1984, p 15

¹⁶² Te Puni Kokiri, *Progress Towards Closing Social and economic Gaps Between Maori and Non-Maori: A Report to the Minister of Maori Affairs*, Wellington, 2000, pp 15-20

¹⁶³ Ministry of Social Development, 'Participation in Tertiary Education', in *The Social Report 2010*, <http://www.socialreport.msd.govt.nz/knowledge-skills/participation-tertiary-education.html>, accessed 16 December 2010

¹⁶⁴ Ministry of Education, 'Maori Participation in Tertiary Education 2005', The Ministry, 2007, available at http://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/publications/maori_education/maori_in_tertiary_education_-_fact_sheets, accessed 16 December 2010

¹⁶⁵ John Gould 'Socio-economic gaps between Maori and Maori: Outcomes of sixteen Iwi 1991-2001', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol 114, no. 1, March 2005, pp 29-43

average for Pakeha. In particular, both groups are more likely than national norms to have no qualifications, and less likely to have a bachelor degree or equivalent.¹⁶⁶

Reviving Te Reo

The post-war period saw increased pressure for classes in Te Reo at the primary level. In 1955, the newly-appointed National Committee on Maori Education recommended that ‘everything possible’ be done to implement the teaching of the Maori language in primary schools.¹⁶⁷ In 1959, the Education Department implemented a refresher course for teachers of Maori language.¹⁶⁸ However, instruction in Maori language at primary level was at best only fitful before the 1970s.¹⁶⁹ With the loss of schools with a specific Maori character in 1969, attention shifted to providing for Maori culture within mainstream schools. In 1971, the Advisory Committee on Maori Education recommended that ‘the school curriculum must find a place for the understanding of Maoritanga, including Maori language’.¹⁷⁰ Maori was already being taught in 171 out of 397 secondary schools, and the Minister of Education put in place reforms enabling the teaching of Maori in primary schools. The Department of Education appointed some 40 itinerant teachers of Maori to service the 250 primary schools that offered Maori studies to 50,000 pupils. By 1973, all seven teacher training colleges had established courses in Maori studies.¹⁷¹

A revision of the scaling system for School Certificate in 1974 proved controversial with respect to Maori language. The revision was designed to increase the pass rates for certain subjects, such as Latin, typically taken by more capable students. Through a complex statistical formula, the pass rate for Latin was gradually increased from around 50 to 80 percent, and similar increases applied to other, more ‘academic’ subjects. A paper presented at a Maori Education Development Conference in 1984 showed that this revision worked against those sitting Maori language as a School Certificate subject, where pass rates had fallen to around 40 percent.¹⁷² Protest by Maori resulted in a further revision of the scaling

¹⁶⁶ Figures from Statistics New Zealand, compiled by Sarah Hemmingsen, ‘Socio-Demographic Status Report for Maori in the Te Rohe Potae Inquiry District’, QA Draft, November 2010, p 82

¹⁶⁷ AJHR 1956, E1, p 30

¹⁶⁸ Barrington, 2009, p 267

¹⁶⁹ Barrington, 2009, pp 268-272

¹⁷⁰ Quoted by Ranginui Walker, *Struggle Without End*, Revised Edition, Penguin: Auckland, 2004, p 240

¹⁷¹ Walker, p 241

¹⁷² Walker, *Struggle Without End*, pp 242-3 and Openshaw et al, pp 224-227

system in 1985 to ensure that majority of those who sat School Certificate Maori were able to pass.¹⁷³

Evidence of continued decline in Maori language skills resulted in Maori-led education initiatives in the 1980s, including Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Maori. These aimed to provide immersion in Te Reo through an environment in which Maori was the main language used.¹⁷⁴ These measures came too late to avoid the Waitangi Tribunal making damning comments on the education system in 1986.¹⁷⁵ Iwi also turned their attention to fostering Maori language and culture in tertiary education, eventually leading to the establishment of wananga. Planning began for the first of these in 1975, resulting in the opening in 1981 of Te Wananga o Raukawa. The wananga was an initiative of a tribal confederation of Te Ati Awa, Ngati Toarangatira, and Ngati Raukawa, and was located on the borders of Otaki township, north of Wellington. It aimed to foster the Maori language and up-skill members of the associated tribes, although courses were open to all. By the mid-1990s the wananga was offering degree level courses in such things as health studies and matauranga Maori. Maori language studies were compulsory for all students.¹⁷⁶

Another tribal tertiary institution, the Waipa Kokiri Arts Centre, was established in Te Awamutu in the mid-1980s. The centre specialised in practical skills, and developed modules that included carving, weaving, plumbing and boat building. In 1988 the centre opened campuses in Hamilton and Manukau and changed its name to the Aotearoa Institute.¹⁷⁷ In 1990, Parliament gave statutory recognition to wananga through an amendment to the Education Act 1989:

A wananga is characterised by teaching and research that maintains, advances, and disseminates knowledge and develops intellectual independence, and assists the application of knowledge regarding ahuatanga Maori (Maori tradition) according to tikanga Maori (Maori custom).¹⁷⁸

¹⁷³ Richard Benton, 'Fairness in Maori Education' in *Report of The Royal Commission on Social Policy*, Volume 3, Part 2, pp 352-355

¹⁷⁴ Walker, *Struggle*, pp 238-240

¹⁷⁵ *Te Reo Report*, p 38

¹⁷⁶ *The Wananga Capital Establishment Report*, pp 12-13

¹⁷⁷ *The Wananga Capital Establishment Report*, pp 13-14

¹⁷⁸ Education Act 1989, Section 162(4)(b)(iv)

In 1993, the government announced a decision to grant full wananga status to Te Wananga o Raukawa and the Aotearoa Institute, enabling them to access government funding. The Aotearoa Institute was renamed Te Wananga o Aotearoa, and by the end of the decade had campuses in Te Awamutu, Te Kuiti, Porirua, Hamilton, Manukau, Henderson and Rotorua.¹⁷⁹ The wananga has since expanded to further locations throughout the North Island.¹⁸⁰ In 1997, Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi became the third wananga recognised under the Education Act.¹⁸¹ The funding and administration of wananga were the subjects of urgent Waitangi Tribunal inquiries in 1999 and 2005.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁹ *The Wananga Capital Establishment Report*, p 14

¹⁸⁰ Te Wananga o Aotearoa, 'Our Locations', <http://www.twoa.ac.nz/our-locations>, accessed 21 December 2010

¹⁸¹ *The Wananga Capital Establishment Report*, p 15

¹⁸² *The Wananga Capital Establishment Report* and *The Report on the Aotearoa Institute Claim concerning Te Wananga o Aotearoa*

Chapter 2: Mission Schools in Te Rohe Potae

This chapter outlines the establishment and operation of Maori boarding schools within Te Rohe Potae by the Anglican (CMS), Methodist (WMS) and Catholic churches, and the decline of these schools from around 1860. The Church Missionary Society (CMS) established village schools in the Waikato-Thames district in the 1830s.¹ Inter-tribal warfare at the time proved hazardous to the work of the mission stations. Most of the missionaries soon fled the district, with Maori teachers taking their place.² Village schools continued in places such as Otawhao, in the north-east of the inquiry district, into the 1840s. But according to Howe, they ‘soon failed for want of facilities, the inability to keep the Maori children at school, and the poor quality of the Maori teachers.’³

Once inter-tribal warfare ended, the CMS set up a mission station at Otawhao in 1841 under John Morgan. Morgan established wheat crops and flour mills in the district, including at nearby Rangiaowhia.⁴ By the 1850s, Otawhao was ‘a showpiece of rural “civilisation”, with its church, its hundreds of acres of wheatfields, vegetable gardens, orchards, mills, and its roads plied by oxen and carts laden with produce for sale in Auckland.’⁵ Howe cites the distraction provided by mills and agriculture as another factor leading to the decline of the village schools in the district.⁶ Their failure ‘turned Morgan, and other missionaries, to the idea of boarding schools’.⁷ In 1847 Morgan initiated work on a new school at Otawhao, encouraged by a grant from the CMS.⁸ Governor Grey made donations to Morgan’s school, and it also received regular government grants during the 1850s under the 1847 Education Ordinance.⁹ In the 1856-57 financial year, for example, the CMS received £200 in

¹ KR Howe, ‘Missionaries, Maoris and ‘Civilization’ in the Upper-Waikato, 1833-1863. A study in culture contact, with special reference to the attitudes and activities of the Reverend John Morgan of Otawhao’, MA thesis in History, University of Auckland, 1970, pp 23-4

² Howe, ‘Missionaries’, p 52

³ Howe, ‘Missionaries’, p 137

⁴ Howe, ‘Missionaries’, pp 116, 121, 132-3

⁵ KR Howe, ‘Morgan, John 1806/1807? - 1865’, *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 22 June 2007, URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>

⁶ Howe, ‘Missionaries’, p 137

⁷ Howe, ‘Missionaries’, p 138

⁸ John Morgan, Letter to CMS, 23 December 1847 in *Letters and Journals of John Morgan 1833-1865*, volume 2, p 302, Supporting Documents (SD) vol 3, p 1273; Howe, pp 66, 94-5

⁹ Howe, ‘Missionaries’, pp 119-120

government grants for the school.¹⁰ Grey also donated two horses, a plough and a cart for the various agricultural activities. In 1850, local Maori wrote to Queen Victoria to express their gratitude:

But, O Queen! What we prize most are the schools for our children. Let Governor Grey continue founding schools for teaching our children, that they may live happily, and, as they grow up, become acquainted with useful employments.¹¹

In 1851, Morgan reported that the boarding school at Otawhau had 38 ‘half caste’ children and two Maori teachers. ‘Their progress in the English language, in reading the Scriptures, English History, writing, arithmetic and geography, is satisfactory. The Industrial system includes sewing, knitting, spinning and agriculture.’¹² Between 1850 and 1857, the average roll at the boarding school at Otawhao ranged between 25 and 51 pupils. Although initially intended for ‘half-castes, by the mid-1850s the school was enrolling Maori in general.¹³ After inspecting the school in 1858, William Russell reported that he was ‘not very favourably impressed with the school as a place of learning’, but was impressed with its ‘industrial training’ and its ‘abundant’ food.¹⁴ According to Howe, funding was an issue, trained teachers were few and hard to keep because of Morgan’s personality, and Maori parents remained more interested in agricultural pursuits than in the schooling of their children.¹⁵ Morgan himself noted the difficulty in recruiting suitable teachers when writing to the CMS committee in 1854:

The future success of our Mission, under God, depends mainly on the education of the rising generation. We must educate them, or they will grow up heathen and if they are to be educated we must have trained and pious teachers,

¹⁰ AJHR 1858, E1, p 61

¹¹ George King Te Waru, on behalf of himself and John Baptist Kahawai, to Queen Victoria, 1 October 1850 in ‘Further papers relative to the Affairs of New Zealand’, BBPNZ7, 1851 [1420], vol XXXV, p 50 (translated from Maori)

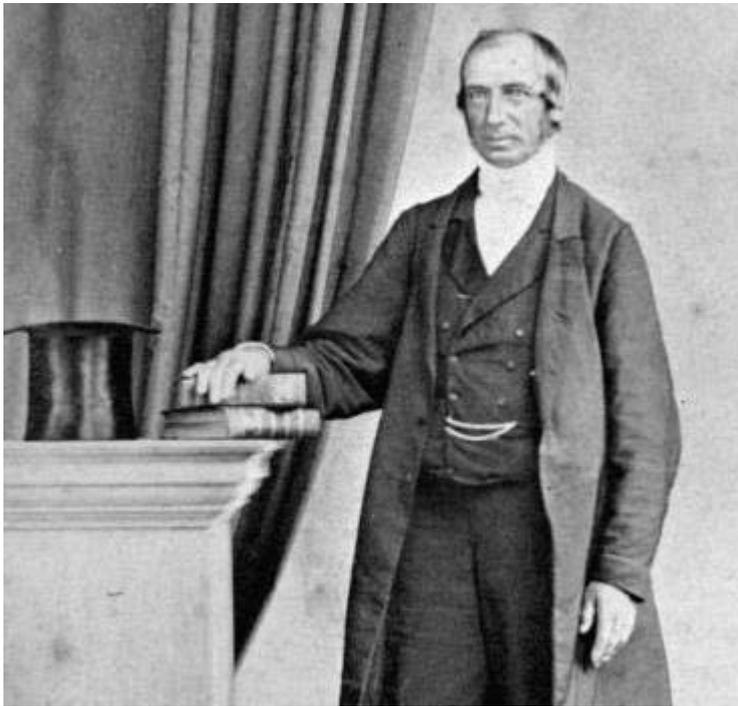
¹² John Morgan, Report on the Otawhau Station for 1851, Letters and Journals of John Morgan 1833-1865, volume 2, p 494, SD vol 3, p 1277

¹³ Howe, ‘Missionaries’, pp 138, 142

¹⁴ W H Russell, Inspection report on Otawao [sic] school, AJHR 1858, E1, p 64

¹⁵ Howe, ‘Missionaries’, pp 139, 142-3

and after nearly five years searching in vain in New Zealand for such a person,
I now write and beg of the Committee to assist us.¹⁶



John Morgan ca 1854. Source: Alexander Turnbull Library PA2-2713

By February 1860 the Otawhao school roll had grown to 86 pupils. However, the inspector's report was again poor, classifying one class as 'a perfect failure'.¹⁷ The 'industrial' side of the school was considered to contribute to poor performance. 'The boys take an active part in every kind of farm labour. We consider undue attention is paid to this branch of their education'.¹⁸ Reports from Morgan himself confirm the emphasis placed on the farming side of the school's operations. For example, in a letter to Governor Grey in 1852, Morgan reported in some detail the activities of the mission station, including its school. The report contained considerable emphasis on agriculture, and noted that the boys at the school were 'steady in their work' on the farm.¹⁹ The school also undertook shoe making. Morgan notes that these industrial activities were not at the time profitable, but was confident that the farm would turn a profit in the near future.

¹⁶ John Morgan, Letter to CMS London, 6 March 1854, in *Letters and Journals of John Morgan 1833-1865*, volume 3, p 592, SD vol 3, p 1281

¹⁷ Henry Taylor and L O'Brien, Inspection report on Otawhao school, AJHR 1860, E8, p 13

¹⁸ AJHR 1860, E8, p 14

¹⁹ Rev John Morgan to Sir George Grey, 3 September 1852, in *British Parliamentary Papers*, volume 9, 1954, pp 166-168

Meanwhile the (Methodist) Wesleyan Missionary Society (WMS) had made significant inroads into the inquiry district. The WMS established stations north of Auckland in the 1820s, and looked to expand into the Waikato in the 1830s. This was part of a worldwide expansion of WMS activities, with the society having 367 missionaries in 245 locations by 1840.²⁰ Missions were established at Kawhia and Whaingaroa (Raglan) harbours in the mid 1830s, as these were seen as valuable bases for missionary work further afield. However the missionaries were soon withdrawn, primarily because of a dispute between the Anglicans and Methodists over their respective spheres of influence. The dispute was resolved through a high-level meeting in London in 1838. Church representatives agreed that the CMS missionaries could have the east coast of the island and the Wesleyans the west. In 1839, the Reverends Wallis and John Whiteley returned to their respective posts at Raglan and Waipa, and the Wesleyans proceeded with their plans for the Waikato.²¹

In 1840, Mokau, at the mouth of the river of that name, became part of the WMS missionary circuit based at Kawhia. The Reverend Thomas Buddle was dispatched to establish a mission, but the mission station soon burnt down.²² In 1841, Buddle established a mission at Te Kopua, south of present-day Otorohanga.²³ One of the pupils at the mission school was Rewi Maniapoto.²⁴ Meanwhile at Mokau, Buddle's place was taken by the German-born Cort Schnackenberg, who had arrived from Sydney in 1839 and had met John Whitely while trading along the coast between Kawhia and Mokau. Schnackenberg returned to Sydney to marry Amy Walsall, and the couple moved to Mokau in 1844. In 1846 they relocated the mission station to Te Mahoe, some two kilometres up the Mokau River. Schnackenberg had, by then, become a fluent speaker of Maori.²⁵ His efforts to establish a school there had little success until 1849, when he set up an 'industrial' boarding school. The school pupils took lessons in the morning and did rope-making in the afternoons, a skill that Schnackenberg had learnt in Sydney.²⁶ This and other money-making schemes were not a huge success, and by

²⁰ G E J Hammer, *A Pioneer Missionary Raglan to Mokau 1844-1880: Cort Henry Schnackenberg*, Wesleyan Historical Society; Auckland, 1991, p 11

²¹ Hammer, *A Pioneer Missionary*, p 1

²² Hammer, *A Pioneer Missionary*, pp 1-2

²³ Frank Glen, 'Buddle, Thomas 1812 - 1883'. *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 22 June 2007

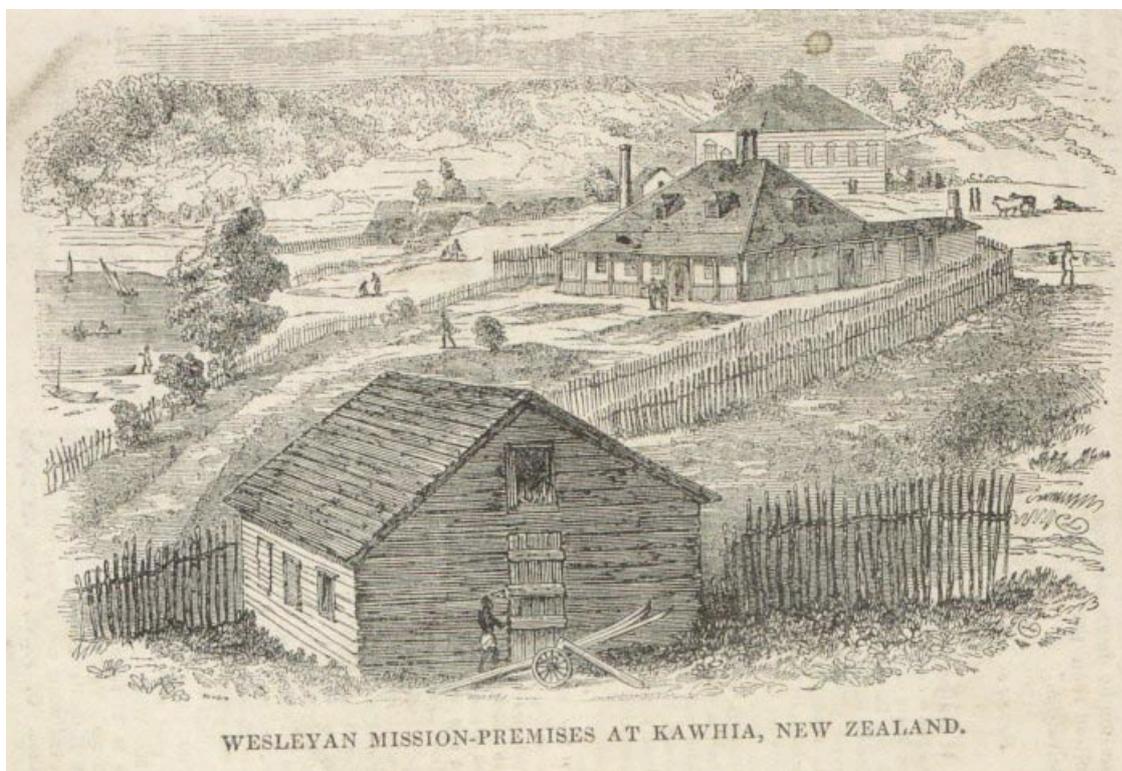
URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>

²⁴ Manuka Henare, 'Maniapoto, Rewi Manga ? - 1894', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 22 June 2007, URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>

²⁵ Hammer, *A Pioneer Missionary*, pp 1-6. Schnackenberg was initially appointed as a catechist, but was later appointed assistant missionary then minister.

²⁶ Hammer, *A Pioneer Missionary*, p 17

1852 sufficient funding was available for only three pupils.²⁷ However, the following year the school qualified for a government grant of £65 under the 1847 Education Ordinance initiated by Grey. This additional funding went towards a new classroom and tools for rope-making.²⁸ In 1858, the WMS reported that the school had 17 pupils.²⁹ However, Schnackenberg was then transferred to Kawhia on church instructions, after nearly 14 years at Te Mahoe, and the school closed shortly after.³⁰ The church was then in the process of establishing schools at the Kawhia mission, and at nearby Aotea harbour, and Schnackenberg took over their administration.³¹



Source: Alexander Turnbull Library PUBL-0139-105

In 1844, Buddle helped found the Wesleyan Native Institution (known as ‘Three Kings’) in Auckland, to help train Maori as teachers.³² Wahanui Hautari was a graduate of Three

²⁷ Hammer, *A Pioneer Missionary*, p 27

²⁸ Hammer, *A Pioneer Missionary*, pp 30, 39

²⁹ Annual Report of the Auckland Wesleyan Native Education Board, 1856-8, AJHR 1858, E1, p 12

³⁰ Hammer, *A Pioneer Missionary*, p 54

³¹ Annual Report of the Auckland Wesleyan Native Education Board, 1856-8, AJHR 1858, E1, p 12

³² Frank Glen, 'Buddle, Thomas 1812 - 1883', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 22 June 2007, URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>

Kings.³³ In 1859, Alexander Reid, one of the teachers at Three Kings, left the school to establish native schools at Te Kopua, within the inquiry district, and also at Whatawhata and Karakariki, west of modern-day Hamilton. Reid himself taught at Te Kopua, while the other two schools were taught by Maori who had been trained by Reid at Three Kings. The schools were funded through government grants made under the Native Schools Act 1858, and were therefore subject to regular inspection. The first inspection for Whatawhata gave the school a poor report.³⁴ The following year the inspector reported that '[t]he school here came to an end at the time of the great meeting at Ngaruawahia, in the month of May, 1860. All the children ran away from school to attend the meeting, and they have never returned.'³⁵ Reid's school at Te Kopua received a positive report when inspected by Gorst in 1860.³⁶ However the school had just 12 pupils because of the unsettled state of the district, and closed in 1861 after less than two years.³⁷ On the other hand the school at Karakariki – north of the Te Rohe Potae inquiry district – continued into the 1870s with Maori teachers and generally positive inspector's reports. In 1861, Gorst reported that the school 'did not lose a single child in consequence of the war'.³⁸

John Morgan's school at Otawhao, to the north-east of Te Kopua, also ran into problems with the rise of the King Movement. Otawhao was a stronghold of support for the movement, and Maori from the district took part in the Taranaki war of 1860-61.³⁹ This provided yet another distraction from schooling and a further barrier to employing European teachers. By 1860 the school roll was down to 20 children taught by a Maori couple.⁴⁰ Shortly after, Morgan's school was taken over by John Gorst - by then the Waikato resident magistrate - as an industrial school. This was part of Grey's plan to try and counter the King movement by setting up institutions of self-government. Otawhao school was converted to training young Maori as police to help re-establish law and order.⁴¹ Gorst admitted that setting up a police

³³ Manuka Henare, 'Wahanui Huatare ? - 1897', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 22 June 2007

³⁴ AJHR 1860, E8, pp 15-16

³⁵ AJHR 1862, E4, p 7

³⁶ AJHR 1860, E8, pp 17-18. The school was named 'Waipa', although located at Te Kopua.

³⁷ AJHR 1862, E4, p 7

³⁸ AJHR 1862, E4, p 8

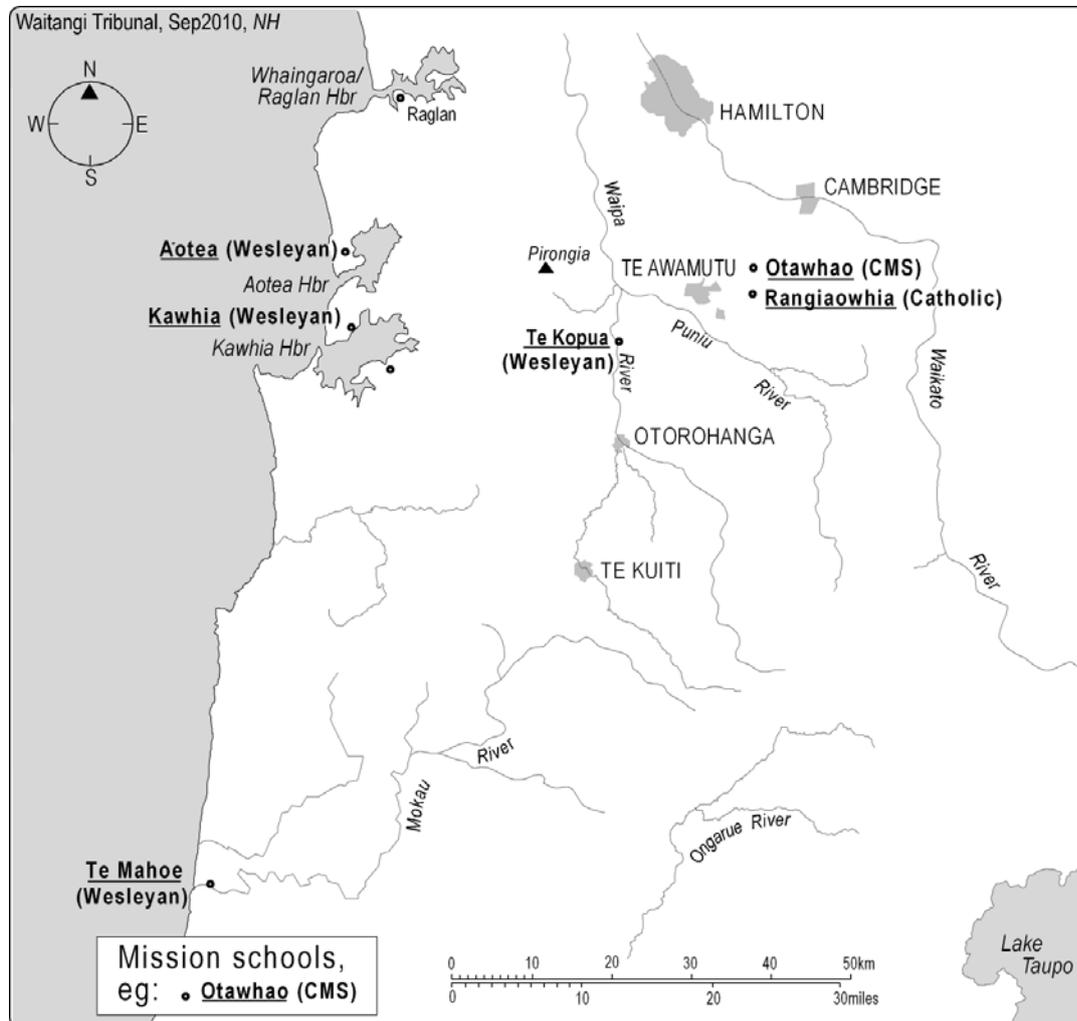
³⁹ KR Howe, 'Morgan, John 1806/1807? - 1865', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 22 June 2007, URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>

⁴⁰ AJHR 1862, E4, p 6

⁴¹ Howe, 'Missionaries', p 139

school antagonised Kingite Maori, and the school lasted only eight months.⁴² The Otawhao mission school closed permanently in early 1863.⁴³

Figure 3: Map of Main Mission Schools Operating, 1840-1880



A day school, run by Maori and European teachers, operated until the mid-1850s at nearby Rangiaowhia.⁴⁴ A Catholic Mission School also operated there, under Father Joseph Garavel. Until May 1860, it had around 20 pupils and was receiving £10 per pupil government funding. When John Gorst went to inspect Rangiaowhia mission school in 1860, he was told that Garavel had been removed and the school closed because of the Taranaki war. Gorst

⁴² Barrington and Beaglehole, pp 85-6, Howe, 'Missionaries', pp 217-18

⁴³ AJHR 1863, E9, p 1

⁴⁴ AJHR 1860, E2, p 6

reported that the school would open again 'as soon as peace is established'.⁴⁵ In 1867, William Rolleston inspected the school, which had re-opened under Father Vinay, and reported that it had just eight pupils.⁴⁶ The following year a list of schools funded under the Native Schools Act 1867 showed that the Rangiaowhia roll had declined further, to four pupils.⁴⁷ By 1874, the school had disappeared from the list of funded schools and had presumably closed.⁴⁸

The King movement, along with the Waikato and Taranaki wars, continued to have a considerable effect on schooling within and near Te Rohe Potae in subsequent decades. In addition, the system of per capita funding under the 1858 Act 'pushes a sinking school down', as was noted by inspector John Gorst in his 1861 report. 'In Waikato, from various causes, but chiefly from the war, the numbers of all the schools have been greatly reduced, and as each child is removed, it becomes more difficult for the manager, not to retrieve, but to maintain his portion.'⁴⁹ In 1862, another inspector, Henry Taylor, produced a lengthy report on problems besetting native schools. 'The King movement has engendered such an amount of opposition to the Government that many of the Natives, as the missionaries have informed me, positively refuse to send their children to the schools, because they are supported by Government.'⁵⁰ In 1863, Taylor blamed Maori suspicion of the schools on the war then in progress.

The present disturbed state of the country, and the hostility and mistrust with which the Natives regard the exertions [of the government] to promote their welfare, have alike combined to frustrate the good which the establishment of Schools was calculated to effect. Many children have either been prevented from entering or rashly withdrawn from our Schools, because the Schools were dependent upon Government for support, or because the Natives fancied the Government had some ulterior object beyond the welfare of their children in establishing Schools.⁵¹

⁴⁵ AJHR 1860, E2, pp 5-6, E R Simmons, 'Garavel, Joseph Marie 1823/1824? - 1885'. Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, updated 22 June 2007, URL: <http://www.dnz.govt.nz/>

⁴⁶ AJHR 1867, A1, p 13

⁴⁷ AJHR 1868, A6A, p 1

⁴⁸ AJHR 1874, G8, p 23

⁴⁹ AJHR 1862, E4, p 10

⁵⁰ AJHR 1862, E4, p 35

⁵¹ AJHR 1863, E9, p 1

Despite these difficulties, the Wesleyan schools at Kawhia and Aotea remained open, in the face of adverse circumstances. Schnackenberg managed the schools, placing Maori teachers in charge of Kawhia and Pakeha teachers in charge of Aotea school.⁵² Escalating hostilities made Schnackenberg's position increasingly insecure, and in 1863, following the death of his wife, he moved to Raglan.⁵³ The Kawhia school closed temporarily.⁵⁴ Schnackenberg continued to oversee the schools, but in 1866 was blocked from visiting Kawhia by hostile Maori. The Wesleyans had shown an ambivalent attitude towards the King movement, and Schnackenberg had opposed it. The school inspector was also blocked from visiting the school, and the last inspection report was published in 1863.⁵⁵ Indeed, after 1867, no school inspector visited the King Country until the 1880s. However, attendance figures were occasionally published for the two schools, and both continued to receive government funding. From 1868 they were funded a flat £50 per annum as 'subsidised' schools – schools that did not meet the criteria for government funding but which, it was hoped, would eventually meet these criteria.

Inspectors were still able to visit Aotea school until 1867. The 1861 inspector's report noted that 'the children were attentive and well behaved, though Mr Skinner [the teacher] mentioned that, owing to the war, he had seen a spirit of insubordination he had not seen previously'.⁵⁶ The inspector's report for 1863 was strongly negative. 'The Manager is crippled by want of funds, and powerless for want of help'.⁵⁷ The 1866 report described the school as a village school rather than a boarding school. 'The school has laboured under great disadvantages, principally the result of the war'.⁵⁸ However, the Aotea roll remained healthy, with 22 pupils, in 1861 and 26 in 1866.⁵⁹ In October 1870 the teacher, John Moore, was prevented from returning from Raglan, where he was visiting Schnackenberg.⁶⁰ Despite this setback, Schnackenberg appeared confident in the early 1870s that the King movement was in decline. In October 1871 he wrote to the Minister of Native Affairs of 'a growing

⁵² Hammer, *A Pioneer Missionary*, p 50

⁵³ Hammer, *A Pioneer Missionary*, p 56

⁵⁴ AJHR 1863, E9, p1

⁵⁵ Hammer, *A Pioneer Missionary*, p 66

⁵⁶ AJHR 1862, E4, p 14

⁵⁷ AJHR 1863, E9, p 7

⁵⁸ AJHR 1867, A3, p 13

⁵⁹ AJHR 1862, E4, p 13, AJHR 1867, A3, p 13

⁶⁰ Hammer, *A Pioneer Missionary*, p 76

disposition to live in peace with the Pakehas'.⁶¹ In January 1872 he wrote, in a letter to his brother, of a 'reaction in favour of Native schools'.⁶² However, by January 1875 Schnackenberg was reporting that the situation in the district looked unpromising:

Waata Tahi te Patupo of Kakawa (between Aotea and Kawhia) is the real destroyer of our Schools and Stations. He has prevented me from visiting Kawhia for years past, he (assisted by Manahi and Hone Kiwi of Ngatimahuta) plundered the stores of Messrs Illbury and Higgins, he drove away Mr John Moore, a Schoolmaster, he forbad me to visit Aotea Station...⁶³

In May 1875, Schnackenberg reported that he had stopped visiting Aotea school, and the government had therefore cut off the school's grant.⁶⁴ That same month the Raglan magistrate, Mr Harsant, provided a report on the native schools of the district at the request of the Under Secretary of the Native Department.

I much regret that my account must be a very gloomy and unsatisfactory one concerning the Kawhia and Aotea Schools. At Kawhia, under the guidance of the Rev. C. H. Schnackenberg, the Native teacher, Edward, resides and continues to teach according to his ability....At Aotea some form of schooling has been kept up by Mihi Tena, also Tiripa, who resides at the mission station there, and by the chief Kewere te Haho. Mr. Schnackenberg must have had a very vexatious and difficult time of it, seeing that it has not been safe for any European to go to the Kawhia station for years past; and that at Aotea, Waata Taki threatens to burn the station down if Mr Schnackenberg again visits it. It must be remembered that these mission stations are situated in the very heart, the very hot-bed of Kingism and Hauhauism, just where everything relating to

⁶¹ Schnackenberg to Native and Defence Minister, 12 October 1871 in ACC no. 82-174 – CH Schnackenberg papers 1846-1880, Series A folder 14

⁶² Schnackenberg to his brother, 2 January 1872, in ACC no. 82-174 – CH Schnackenberg papers 1846-1880, Series A folder 14 (translated from German)

⁶³ Schnackenberg to (recipient unclear), 18 January 1875, in ACC no. 82-174 – CH Schnackenberg papers 1846-1880, Series A folder 18

⁶⁴ Schnackenberg to (recipient unknown), 27 May 1875, in ACC no. 82-174 – CH Schnackenberg papers 1846-1880, Series A folder 14

the Pakeha would be most vehemently opposed, and this circumstance must be taken into account in the consideration of such a disheartening state of things.⁶⁵

The rather negative tone of this report was probably influenced by the murder of Wesleyan missionary John Whitely in 1869. Roll numbers reported for Aotea for 1873, 1874 and 1876 showed attendance had dropped to between 10 and 13 pupils, and school closed permanently in September 1876.⁶⁶ At Kawhia, 24 pupils were recorded for 1861, but by 1874 and 1876, less than a dozen pupils remained on the roll. Kawhia school closed in 1880 after Schnackenberg's death, and the school at Karakariki also closed that year.⁶⁷ There were no longer any mission schools in Te Rohe Potae.

Summary

Government funding under the 1847 Education Ordinance and the 1858 Native Schools Act assisted the establishment and/or operation of six mission schools within Te Rohe Potae. One of these, Te Mahoe near Mohaka, closed shortly after the teacher was transferred to Kawhia in 1858. Two other schools – Te Kopua (Wesleyan) and Otawhao (CMS) – closed in the early 1860s. The schools were forced to close by a combination of warfare and the per capita system of government funding, whereby the only funding for the schools was on a per pupil basis. This meant that, as the schools lost pupils but retained most of their fixed costs, they became increasingly less economic to run.

The remaining schools were the small Catholic school at Rangiaowhia and the Wesleyan schools at Kawhia and Aotea. Under the Native Schools Act 1867, these schools received fixed grants from the government. However, continued suspicion of European institutions made the schools increasingly difficult to operate. Teachers had difficulty accessing the schools, and the school inspectors were unable to visit the district after 1867. The number of pupils at the schools fell in the late 1860s and during the 1870s. All three had closed by 1880, leaving Te Rohe Potae with no government-funded schools for Maori.

⁶⁵ W Harsant, RM, Raglan, to the Under Secretary, Native Department, 15 May 1875 in AJHR 1875, G2A, p 6

⁶⁶ AJHR 1874, G8, p 23, 1875, G2B, p 2, and 1877, G4A, p 2

⁶⁷ AJHR 1862, E4, p 14, 1875, G2B, p 2, 1877, G4A, p 2, 1881, E7, p 3

Chapter 3: State Schools for Maori come to Te Rohe Potae

Prologue

By 1881, the only government-funded schools remaining within Te Rohe Potae were administered by the Auckland Education Board, primarily for Pakeha. One such school had been established in 1866 in the Wesleyan church chapel in Raglan, a centre of Pakeha settlement. In the 1870s the school became eligible for funding under legislation passed by the Auckland Provincial Council, which required that the school abandon religious instruction. From 1878, the school was funded through the Auckland Education Board that had been set up under the Education Act 1877. Cort Schnackenberg chaired the school committee.¹ In 1874, Schnackenberg reported to church authorities that, although Maori in Raglan wished to have their own school, they were unwilling to comply with particular provisions of the Native Schools Act 1867, such those requiring Maori to provide land for the school.² A later attempt by Maori to establish a school near Raglan is discussed in Chapter 5.

After the introduction of a new national education system in 1878, more schools opened in or near the inquiry district, all within the Raglan district. The first report of the new Education Department listed two new sole-teacher public schools in the Raglan district, at Ruapuke (north of Aotea Harbour) and Waitetuna (some 15 km east of Raglan and thus outside the inquiry district).³ There was also a native school in Waitetuna, but it suffered from poor attendance, and closed in 1888.⁴ By then a further four public schools had been established in the Raglan district, although two of these operated only half time and one was only partially funded.⁵ Auckland Education Board schools were also established at Alexandra, Te Awamutu, Rangiaowhia, Kihikihi, and at several localities just to the north of the inquiry district.⁶

¹ Hammer, *A Pioneer Missionary*, pp 85-89

² Hammer, *A Pioneer Missionary*, p 89

³ AJHR 1878, H1, p 17

⁴ AJHR 1889, E2, p 1

⁵ AJHR 1889, E1, p 18

⁶ AJHR 1889, E1, p 19

Native Schools Arrive

In 1883, the native school inspector's annual report noted that 'the Mokau Natives have sent in a sort of informal petition for a school and it is probable that they will eventually take steps to have one established in this district'.⁷ However, nothing seems to have come of this and a general school was eventually established there. In 1884, Maori requested a native school for Te Kopua, the site of Alexander Reid's short-lived school some 24 years earlier. The school was quickly agreed to by the Education Department, and it opened in 1886. James Pope, the Inspector of Native Schools, was enthusiastic about the new school:

After a long interval following the outbreak of the Waikato war, something is being done for the education of the Maoris of the so-called King-country. A new school has been established at Kopua with favourable prospects of success. It may be hoped that before many years have passed by other schools will be opened in this part of New Zealand.⁸

The Education Department's report also noted the opening of new schools at Te Waotu and Tapapa 'on the borders' of the 'King Country'.⁹ Tapapa struggled with attendance, with Pope reporting in 1888 that 'Hauhauism' seemed to be keeping children away from the school.¹⁰ In 1892 the inspector reported that in April 1891 'one of Tawhiao's meetings took place at Maungakawa, and all the Hauhau children went off with their parents to attend it. They had not returned when the examination took place'.¹¹ In 1894 Pope noted the 'miserably small' attendance at Tapapa school, and it closed later that year.¹² In contrast, the school at Te Kopua appears to have flourished in the late 1880s, with between 19 and 29 pupils on the roll, including some Pakeha.¹³ The inspector of native schools was pleased. 'This is a very useful school; its success is all the more gratifying because it was the first school established by the Department in the King-country'.¹⁴ King Tawhiao reportedly forbade children from attending Te Kopua school, but his injunction seems to have been largely ignored.¹⁵

⁷ AJHR 1883, E2, p 2

⁸ AJHR 1887, E2, p 3

⁹ AJHR 1887, E2, p 1

¹⁰ AJHR 1888, E2, p 6

¹¹ AJHR 1892, E2, p 8

¹² AJHR 1894, E2, p 4 and 1895, E2, p 2

¹³ AJHR 1887, E2, p 16 and AJHR 1890, E2, p17

¹⁴ AJHR 1889, E2, p 5

¹⁵ Barrington, 2009, p 47

In 1890, the Minister of Education reported that a new school had opened at Otorohanga, ‘a place well inside the King-country’.¹⁶ Otorohanga was only 10 km south of Te Kopua, and thus poached some of its pupils. Te Kopua closed in 1891 ‘because most of the people had moved away to other districts, especially to Otorohanga’.¹⁷ However, the inspector was confident that the school would reopen in the near future. When Otorohanga native school was established, Pope reported that ‘the number of half-castes and quarter-castes attending is large, but the district is thoroughly Maori in most respects, and nothing but a Native school could completely satisfy the educational wants of the people’.¹⁸ However, Pakeha were increasingly moving to the district as the railway gradually moved south. By 1892, 18 of the 39 pupils at Otorohanga school were classified as ‘European’ (including those classified as ‘between half-caste and European’).¹⁹ In 1893, the number increased to 31 out of 46.²⁰ In 1894 the school was transferred to the Auckland Education Board, as was becoming standard practice in such circumstances.²¹

Also in 1894, the Education Department received an application for a native school at Taumarunui. However, before officials could visit the district to assess the application and survey the site, a letter was received from Ngatai Te Mamaku, Ngaru Piki, Taitua Te Uhi, and ‘all the people of Taumarunui’ opposing the application. In particular, the letter stated that schools were disallowed under the ‘laws of the Maori special confederation’.²² A local chief, Hakiaha Tawhiao, offered land for a school site, but the apparent divisions meant that the application did not progress for the time being.²³

With Otorohanga no longer a native school, Te Kopua re-opened in 1895, as Pope had predicted.²⁴ Also in 1895, a native school opened at Kawhia, for the first time since ‘the estrangement between the two races began in connection with the great Waikato war’.²⁵

¹⁶ AJHR 1890, E2, pp 2-3

¹⁷ AJHR, 1892, E2, p 6

¹⁸ AJHR 1891, E2, p 6

¹⁹ AJHR 1893, E2, p 16

²⁰ AJHR 1894, E2, p 16

²¹ AJHR 1895, E2, pp 2, 5

²² Ngatai Te Mamaku, Ngaru Piki, Taitua Te Uhi, and ‘all the people of Taumarunui’ to Education Department, 11 August 1894, Hauaroa Building and Site Files 1885-1903, BAAA, 1001, 244d, 44/4, 1, Supporting Documents (SD) vol 3, p 1057

²³ Hakiaha Tawhiao to George Wilkinson, 23 August 1894, Hauaroa Building and Site Files 1885-1903, BAAA, 1001, 244d, 44/4, 1, SD vol 3, p 1060

²⁴ AJHR 1896, E2, pp 2, 19

²⁵ AJHR 1897, E2, p 5

Kawhia Native School commenced in June, and for the rest of the year had a healthy average daily attendance of 38 pupils.²⁶ When Te Kopua reopened three months later it had 27 pupils.²⁷ In 1898, Raorao native school opened on the Aotea harbour, on a site donated by the Wesleyan mission.²⁸ Pope commented this was ‘a very interesting field for Native-school operations. It was for a long time near the very heart of Maoridom, and then the man who visited it did so with his life in his hand.’²⁹ The Education Department clearly thought things had got a lot safer in the district, for it appointed the Lundon sisters to run the school. The head teacher, Miss CH Lundon, reported that they arrived from England on the steamer *Honiara*. For 15 shillings ‘[a]n old native named Tuaeke brought us from the steamer to the village in his canoe’.³⁰

Pope’s 1896 annual report recorded that an application had been received for a school at Te Kuiti.³¹ The department responded reasonably promptly, and the new school opened in March 1898.³² Pope was clearly delighted. ‘This school is really in the King-country. It seems to have overcome the prejudice of the Maoris that are not yet Europeanized so far, that it is generally recognised, even by Maoris very conservative in other respects, that a school is certainly not a bad thing’.³³ Pope was equally pleased about the new school at Kawhia, ‘standing, as it does, within a mile of the landing-place of the great Tainui canoe, and among people who but a very short time ago regarded everything European with either aversion or contempt’.³⁴ Later in his report, Pope commented on what he perceived to be a positive trend:

One of the most remarkable signs of change in the attitude of the Maoris towards European civilisation is to be found in the extension of the area of the country in which the Native inhabitants now desire schools....[These] have been built, or, at least, asked for, in places that were practically inaccessible a few years ago. One of the most cheering features of this change is to be found in the fact that the soreness caused by the Maori wars of “the sixties” is being

²⁶ AJHR 1896, E2, p 19

²⁷ AJHR 1896, E2, p 19

²⁸ AJHR 1898, E2, p 2 and 1901, E2, p 7

²⁹ AJHR 1898, E2, p 2

³⁰ Entry for 15 June 1898, Raorao log book 1898-1902, BAAA, 1003, 5/L, SD vol 2, p 545

³¹ AJHR 1896, E2, p 3

³² AJHR 1899, E2, p 2

³³ AJHR 1899, E2, p 6

³⁴ AJHR 1899, E2, p 6

gradually removed in most districts. The fact that a large school has been established at Rakaumanga, which is close to Waihi, the settlement of Mahuta, son and successor of Tawhiao, is significant. It seems to show that much of the prejudice and ill-will naturally engendered by the old trouble is being mitigated, and it gives ground for hoping that in a few years all misunderstandings depending on the Kingite wars will have quite passed away. Another very significant fact is to be found in the receipt of an application for a school at Parawera. For a long time this settlement was the residence of Tawhiao. It is some seven miles from Kihikihi, and not very far from Orakau, where Rewi Maniapoto made his last stand against our overwhelming force.³⁵

Education Minister William Walker took up this theme in his annual report. 'It is worthy of note that in some districts in which anti-European feeling was formerly very strong the desire for education is beginning to take hold of the people, and not only are the schools that are already established appreciated, but proposals are being made for new schools.'³⁶ One of these schools was Taumarunui, for which a new application was submitted in 1899 by Te Marae Te Rangihinui and others from Ngati Haua.³⁷ The application was supported by a local settler, Alexander Bell, who wanted his children to attend the school.³⁸ The department acted quickly, with Pope visiting the school site in November 1899.³⁹ The school was soon approved, but progress in building it was slow due to the difficulty getting the requisite materials to the site before the completion of the railway.⁴⁰ Taumarunui Native School opened for the start of the 1902 school year.⁴¹ In May the school committee asked that the name of the school be changed to Hauaroa, 'the name of an ancestral chief', and the change was approved by the Education Department.⁴²

³⁵ AJHR 1899, E2, p 15

³⁶ AJHR 1899, E2, p 1

³⁷ Te Marae Te Rangihinui and others to James Pope, 29 August 1899, Hauaroa Building and Site Files 1885-1903, BAAA, 1001, 244d, 44/4, 1, SD vol 3, p 1068

³⁸ Alexander Bell to Inspector of Native Schools, 29 August 1899, Hauaroa Building and Site Files 1885-1903, BAAA, 1001, 244d, 44/4, 1, SD vol 3, pp 1066-1067

³⁹ Education Department to Te Marae, Taitua and others, 1 November 1899, Hauaroa Building and Site Files 1885-1903, BAAA, 1001, 244d, 44/4, 1, SD vol 3, p 1069

⁴⁰ Public Works Department memo to Secretary, Education Department, 6 August 1901, Hauaroa Building and Site Files 1885-1903, BAAA, 1001, 244d, 44/4, 1, SD vol 3, p 1079

⁴¹ AJHR 1903, E2, p 1

⁴² File note from J Kirk, 9 May 1902 and Hogben to Teacher, Taumarunui Native School, 5 June 1902, Hauaroa Building and Site Files 1885-1903, BAAA, 1001, 244d, 44/4, 1, SD vol 3, pp 1086-1087

Also in 1902, the native school requested four years earlier at Parawera, near Orakau, finally opened. Within a few years the school was attracting Pakeha pupils from nearby general schools. This briefly brought the number of native schools in or bordering the inquiry district to six. However, despite the enthusiasm of Pope and Walker, within six years of opening, both Te Kuiti and Kawhia schools were transferred to the Auckland Education Board. In the case of Te Kuiti, the reasons were obvious – the growing number of Pakeha pupils. By 1899, half the pupils were classified as ‘European’.⁴³ By 1903, 45 of the 64 pupils were in this category, and the school became a public one in 1905, as was standard practice in such situations.⁴⁴ The situation for Kawhia was different, and the decision to hand the school over to the Auckland Education Board in 1903 was a contentious one. This is discussed further in Chapter 5. Following the transfer, two new native schools, Rakaunui and Taharoa, opened to the south of Kawhia harbour in 1910 and 1911 respectively.

Raorao Native School closed in 1904 after less than six years. The closure was allegedly due to ‘poor attendance’ but the reasons appear more complex.⁴⁵ In 1902, attendance at the school was better than at 19 other native schools, including nearby Kawhia, according to the attendance rankings that the Education Department published each year.⁴⁶ The department seemed pleased with the school. ‘What may be called “King Feeling” is strong here, but the Department has been able to carry on school-work for some years with considerable success.’⁴⁷ However, throughout 1903 and in the first term of 1904, attendance at Raorao was worse than at almost every other native school.⁴⁸ The school log book reveals that both teachers fell ill in August 1903.⁴⁹ By 23 October, the head teacher, C L Lundon, was still sick and was granted a leave of absence. She left the district for a while, accompanied by her sister Clare, and the school closed temporarily.⁵⁰ The head teacher was still ill when the school opened for the 1904 school year, leaving the assistant teacher to run the school on her own.⁵¹ Attendance was highly variable. A typical log book entry for February 1904 reads: ‘On Friday last, most of the people here went to the other side of the harbour, to help the

⁴³ AJHR 1900, E2, p 26

⁴⁴ AJHR 1904, E2, p 33 and 1906, E2, p 1

⁴⁵ AJHR 1905, E2, p 5

⁴⁶ AJHR 1903, E2, p 28

⁴⁷ AJHR 1903, E2, p 6

⁴⁸ AJHR 1904, E2, p 32 and 1905 E12, p 22

⁴⁹ Entry for 3 August 1903, Raorao log book 1902-1904, BAAA, 1003, 5/L, SD vol 2, p 554

⁵⁰ Entry for 23 October 1903, Raorao log book 1902-1904, BAAA, 1003, 5/L, SD vol 2, p 556

⁵¹ Entry for 1 February 1904, Raorao log book 1902-1904, BAAA, 1003, 5/L, SD vol 2, pp 557-558

natives there to harvest. Several of the children went with them and have not yet returned.⁵² Only nine were present. On 4 March the teacher recorded that the children from Makaka, a village to the north, were unable to attend, 'so only the eight Raorao children put in an appearance'.⁵³ Whether the attendance problems resulted from the loss of the head teacher, or for some other reason cannot be known, as this was virtually the last entry in the log book. Nothing is recorded about the closure of the school or the fate of the teacher, who had been ill for over seven months.⁵⁴

In 1902, the Education Department approved a new native school at Mangaorongo, some 10 km east of Otorohanga. The school opened in July 1905, but immediately closed due to lack of pupils.⁵⁵ Mangaorongo opened properly in 1906, but the school lasted just three years. Another native school also opened in 1906, at Oparure, near Te Kuiti. Oparure school was essentially an overflow from Te Kuiti school, which had grown rapidly since being taken over by the Auckland Education Board. Oparure was itself taken over by the AEB some 17 years later.

By 1907, the Hauaroa (Taumarunui) school already required additions to accommodate an expanding roll.⁵⁶ However, around half the pupils were Pakeha,⁵⁷ and the school transferred to the Auckland Education Board in 1909.⁵⁸ This transfer was contentious, as is discussed in Chapter 5. The construction of the main trunk line through Te Rohe Potae, its extension south to Taumarunui by 1903, and its eventual completion in 1908, opened the district to increasingly rapid Pakeha settlement. The Pakeha population of Te Kuiti, for example, grew from just 134 in 1901 to 2,247 in 1921. Pakeha settlement was initially driven by the railway and sawmilling, then by farming.⁵⁹ The growing population of the district led to a consequent demand for schooling. As has been seen, many Pakeha children attended the more accessible native schools, resulting in these schools becoming general schools as they lost their Maori majority. But new schools were also opened within the district by the Auckland Education Board in communities where a native school did not exist.

⁵² Entry for 26 February 1904, Raorao log book 1902-1904, BAAA, 1003, 5/L, SD vol 2, p 558

⁵³ Entry for 4 March 1904, Raorao log book 1902-1904, BAAA, 1003, 5/L, SD vol 2, p 558

⁵⁴ Archives New Zealand holds no records on Raorao school for the years 1903-4 other than the log book.

⁵⁵ AJHR 1906, E2, p 3

⁵⁶ AJHR 1907, E2, p 4

⁵⁷ AJHR 1907, E2, p 23

⁵⁸ AJHR 1910, E3, pp 1, 3. The transfer of Hauaroa to the AEB is discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

⁵⁹ Malcolm McKinnon (ed), *The New Zealand Historical Atlas*, Bateman, Auckland, 1997, Plate 84

Figure 4: Map of Native Schools Established in or near Te Rohe Potae



In 1908, William Bird, as Chief Inspector of Native Schools, reported that the King Country contained ‘some of the most efficient schools in the service’. Only Mangaorongo school, with its ‘very poor’ attendance, blotted the record.⁶⁰ The school closed permanently later that year.⁶¹ However, as noted above, new schools soon opened at Raukaunui and Taharoa, south

⁶⁰ AJHR 1908, E2, p 4

⁶¹ AJHR 1909, E3, p 3

of Kawhia Harbour. A site was acquired for a school at Rakaunui in 1908, but there were problems in transferring the buildings from the former Raorao school as planned. The Rakaunui school finally opened in 1910, and the Taharoa school opened in 1911.⁶² Another new native school opened in 1910 at Waimiha, in the south-eastern corner of the inquiry district, although it lasted only six years, closing at the end of 1915.⁶³ A general school opened at Waimiha eleven years later.⁶⁴ By 1925, two more native schools had opened in Te Rohe Potae, both near Aotea harbour. Moerangi school opened in 1915 and was renamed Kaharoa school in 1923.⁶⁵ Makomako school opened in 1925.⁶⁶ The number of Pakeha on the roll at Opurare, near Te Kuiti, gradually increased. By 1922, 25 of the 57 pupils were classified as 'European'.⁶⁷ The school was transferred to the Auckland Education Board the following year, after having been a native school since 1906.⁶⁸

The oldest native school in Te Rohe Potae, at Te Kopua, had led something of a charmed life. Its roll regularly fell below the 15 pupils that were generally required to keep a school open, yet it closed only briefly, in the early 1890s. It was probably saved by its consistently good inspector's reports, and regular attendance by the small number of students on the roll. But by 1909 the school was running into problems. It closed temporarily that year due to problems finding a suitable teacher, and again in 1911 due to 'insufficient attendance'.⁶⁹ Te Kopua closed again in 1916.⁷⁰ The closure was intended to be permanent, but the school re-opened in 1922 due to local pressure.⁷¹ With all the complex comings and goings of native schools in the district, Figure 5 below provides a picture of when schools opened, closed, and transferred to the Auckland Education Board.

⁶² AJHR 1909, E3, p 3, AJHR 1911, E3, p4, and AJHR 1912, E3, p 5

⁶³ AJHR 1911, E3, p 4, AJHR 1916, E3, p 6

⁶⁴ See *Waimiha School and District Jubilee: 1926-1976*, Waimiha School Jubilee Committee, 1977

⁶⁵ AJHR 1916, E3, p 5 and Simon, *Nga Kura Maori*, p 141

⁶⁶ AJHR 1926, E3, p 1

⁶⁷ AJHR 1923, E3, p 18

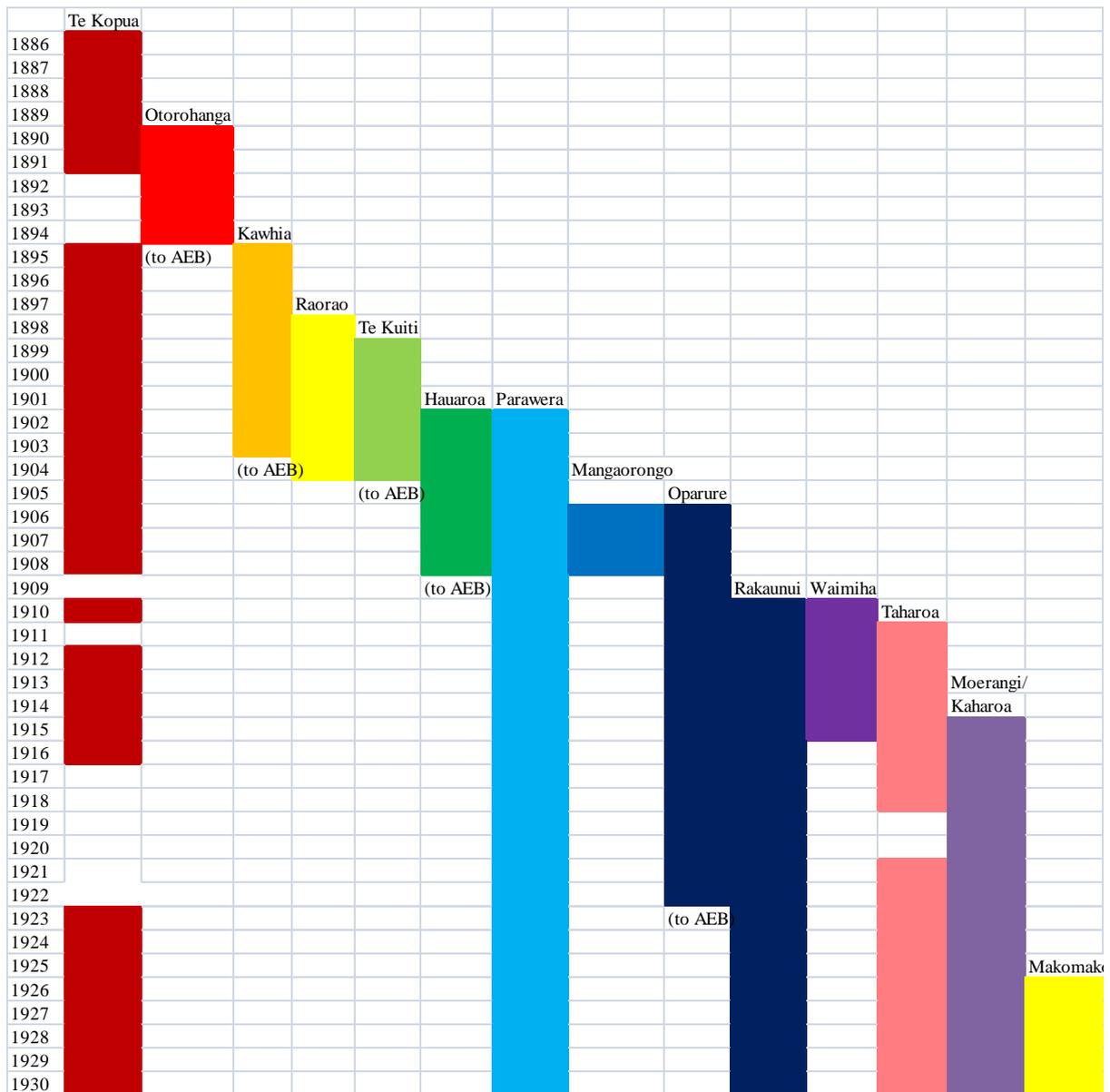
⁶⁸ AJHR 1924, E3, p 4

⁶⁹ AJHR 1910, E3, p 3, 1912, E3, p5

⁷⁰ AJHR 1917, E3, p 6

⁷¹ AJHR 1923, E3, p 5

Figure 5: Native Schools Established in or near Te Rohe Potae, 1885-1930



'To AEB' = school transferred to the Auckland Education Board

Summary

With the closure of the last of the mission schools in 1880, there were no government-funded schools for Maori within Te Rohe Potae. Under the Native Schools Act 1867, Maori communities were required to request schools and donate land towards their establishment. The suspicion of European institutions following the wars of the 1860s, which led to the closure of the mission schools, also made such requests unlikely. When requests were eventually received in the 1880s and 1890s for schools at Te Kopua, Otorohanga, Kawhia,

Raorao and Te Kuiti, Education Department officials were keen to oblige. The schools were generally established promptly (although there were sizeable delays in several cases), and by 1915, 13 native schools had opened within, or on the borders of, the inquiry district. In some cases the department was perhaps too eager in agreeing to a new school. Three of the schools closed within ten years, and one of these lasted only three. By 1923, five of the remaining 11 schools were transferred to the Auckland Education Board. Four of these five were native schools for less than a decade, before being swamped by the rapid influx of Pakeha settlers into the district. Just five native schools remained in or near the inquiry district; Te Kopua, Parawera, Rakaunui, Taharoa, and Kaharoa. The opening of a new native school at Makomako in 1926 increased this number to six.

Chapter 4: History of Te Rohe Potae Maori Schools

Introduction

This chapter gives a brief history of the six native schools still in existence within or near Te Rohe Potae by 1930. This includes evidence as to the standard of education provided, based on the regular inspections reports produced on the schools. There is some repetition of material between this chapter and Chapter 3. However, given the unavoidable complexity of the previous chapter (the regular openings and closings of schools and the transfer of several to the Auckland Education Board is a confusing process to describe), it is not expected that some repetition will go amiss. Repeated material is not generally footnoted.

The six schools have been chosen on the basis that they were the ones that lasted the longest as native schools within the inquiry district. Of the other eight native schools established within the inquiry district, three closed within a decade, and five were taken over by the Auckland Education Board by 1923. The reasons for focussing on native schools, rather than general schools, were outlined in the introduction. These include the fact that the rolls of the six native schools discussed in this chapter were predominantly (sometimes exclusively) Maori, and the logistical problems of trying to research the large number of general schools in the district. The native schools are discussed in the order in which they opened, beginning with Te Kopua Native School, which first opened in 1886.

Te Kopua

Te Kopua was the first native school established in Te Rohe Potae, in 1886. The school, some 10 km north of Otorohanga, had a small roll and was a single teacher school for most of its history. Perhaps because of Te Kopua's positive inspection reports, the Education Department generally resisted closing the school, even when rolls numbers dropped below the requisite 15 pupils.¹ All the same, Te Kopua had several periods of temporary closure in its early history, the first shortly after a new

¹ Te Kopua was generally graded well within the top half of native schools in its overall inspection assessment (comparative tables were published in the AJHRs in the early twentieth century).

native school opened at Otorohanga in 1890. Te Kopua re-opened in 1895, but closed temporarily in 1909 and 1911, the first time due to difficulty finding a suitable teacher.²

Te Kopua closed again in 1917, supposedly for good, but community pressure eventually forced it to reopen late in 1922.³ The new permanent teacher in February 1923 was Emily Churton. She appeared from her school log book entries to have a lively outgoing personality, and participated extensively in the social life of the district. For example, she regularly attended the March regatta at Ngaruawahia. The community took part in annual school picnics, usually incorporating a hangi, and monthly school dances became the norm. The school community seems to have had a close relationship with those associated with the nearby general school at Ngutunui, and they regularly participated in each other's activities such as school dances.⁴ In February 1927, for example, the school closed for half a day to enable the parents and children to attend the annual Ngutunui picnic and dance. 'The settlers and teacher there patronize our affairs very much and we feel we must return the compliment'.⁵

Churton received positive inspection reports.⁶ It can be seen from these reports and her log book entries that she incorporated Maori crafts and cultural activities into the curriculum to some extent.⁷ She was transferred to Kaiangaroa Native School in March 1929, and her successor, Miss G H Rutherford, appears to have had a more retiring personality. Rutherford's initial inspection reports graded her teaching as 'fair', but by 1933 her grading had improved to 'good', and continued that way until she left in 1936.⁸ Her replacement, Sarah Mauriohooho, had a good inspection report

² AJHR 1910, E3, p 3, 1912, E3, p5

³ AJHR 1917, E3, p 6, AJHR 1923, E3, p 5

⁴ Much of this detail is outlined in Chapter 6.

⁵ Entry for 18 February 1927, Te Kopua Native School Log Book 1922-1932, BAAA, 1003, 7/d, Supporting Documents (SD) vol 2, p 575

⁶ Inspection reports for 6 June 1927 and 30 May 1928, Te Kopua General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1946, BAAA, 1001, 1046/c, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 39-42

⁷ This is discussed in more detail in Chapter 7

⁸ Inspection reports for 19 August 1932, 4 October 1933 and 13 April 1935, Te Kopua General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1946, BAAA, 1001, 1046/c, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 44-46, 48-49

in 1938 but a less positive one in 1939 when she was suffering from poor health.⁹ In 1940 she had a good report which mentioned the incorporation of Maori arts and crafts in the curriculum.¹⁰ She recorded more punishments in the school log book than her predecessors, but these were still rare.¹¹

After Sarah Mauriohoo finished at the school in May 1943, there followed a rapid turnover of teachers – four in 30 months - and consequent disruption to the education of the pupils.¹² Stability was restored by Mr D H Strother, who taught at the school for six years, from 1946 to August 1952.¹³ By 1949 the school roll had grown sufficiently for the school to qualify for a second teacher, and Strother was assisted first by Miss M E Wihongi then by Miss Kohi.¹⁴ The teachers had reasonable reports from the school inspector, but the same cannot be said for the school facilities. In 1949 the inspector reported an ‘urgent need for new buildings’, and nearly two years later he reported that the school buildings were ‘old and in very bad condition’.¹⁵ The situation was obviously not helped by the growing roll. A replacement building had been discussed as early as 1945, but progress was slow.¹⁶ A new site for the school was acquired in 1950, and in May 1951 the older children moved into a pre-fabricated classroom. The new school opened in 1953.¹⁷

Just four years later, Te Kopua Maori School unexpectedly closed permanently. The school was drastically affected by the conversion of Otorohanga District High School

⁹ Inspection reports for 8 October 1938 and 2 June 1939, and letter from Department of Education to HT Parawera [Chair of School Board], 12 October 1939, Te Kopua General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1946, BAAA, 1001, 1046/c, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 52, 54-56

¹⁰ Inspection report for 5 November 1940, Te Kopua General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1946, BAAA, 1001, 1046/c, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 58-59

¹¹ For example, entries for 30 September 1941, 2 April 1942, Te Kopua Native School Log Book 1932-1946, BAAA, 1003, 7/e, SD vol 2, pp 647, 650

¹² Entries for 24 May 1943 and 1 August and 19 December 1944, Te Kopua Native School Log Book 1932-1946, BAAA, 1003, 7/e, SD vol 2, pp 657, 665, 667

¹³ Entry for 22 August 1952, Te Kopua Native School Log Book 1946-1956, BAAA, 1003, 7/f, SD vol 2, p 687

¹⁴ Inspection reports for 23 March 1949 and 2 April 1951, Te Kopua General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1947-1957, BAAA, 1001, 1046/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 62-63

¹⁵ Inspection reports for 23 March 1949 and 2 April 1951, Te Kopua General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1947-1957, BAAA, 1001, 1046/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 62-63

¹⁶ Entry for 12 October 1945, Te Kopua Native School Log Book 1932-1946, BAAA, 1003, 7/e, SD vol 2, pp 669-670

¹⁷ Entry for 22 August 1952, Te Kopua Native School Log Book 1946-1956, BAAA, 1003, 7/f, and memo from the Auckland Education Board to the Wellington Education Board, 18 January 1957 in Te Kopua General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1947-1957, BAAA, 1001, 1046/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 71-72

to a secondary school in 1957. New primary schools were opened in the surrounding districts to accommodate the primary pupils formerly schooled at Otorohanga DHS, including at Tihiroa near Te Kopua. The Te Kopua school roll had already fallen to 17 before Tihiroa primary school opened in 1957.¹⁸ It was recognised early in 1956 that the proposed new school would further affect enrolments. In March 1956, it was agreed at a meeting between the teacher and parents that Te Kopua would have to close due to lack of pupils.¹⁹ At a December 1956 meeting between Te Kopua parents and Education Department officials, eight parents indicated they would send their children to Tihiroa the following year. The senior inspector recommended closure of Te Kopua. The department intended to shift the near-new school building to Tihiroa.²⁰ The first Maori school within Te Rohe Potae closed permanently in January 1957, just over 70 years after it first opened.

Parawera

A school at Parawera, on the north-eastern boundary of the inquiry district, was first requested in 1899. A member of the Mauriohoho family offered three acres of land for the school. The Chief Inspector of Native Schools visited the site in November 1899 and recommended the school go ahead. There was a delay while the title to the land was confirmed and the school buildings constructed. The school opened in June 1902, with Patrick Herlihy as head teacher.²¹ Although four other native schools had earlier been established in the district, two of these soon became general schools and one closed in 1904. In contrast, Parawera remained a Maori school until 1969. It was also the largest native school in the district, having 70-80 pupils for much of its existence.²²

¹⁸ Memo from the Auckland Education Board to the Wellington Education Board, 18 January 1957, in Te Kopua General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1947-1957, BAAA, 1001, 1046/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 71-72

¹⁹ Entries for 9 and 14 March 1956, Te Kopua Native School Log Book 1946-1956, BAAA, 1003, 7/f, SD vol 2, p 707

²⁰ Memo from the Auckland Education Board to the Wellington Education Board, 18 January 1957, in Te Kopua General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1947-1957 BAAA 1001 1046/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 71-72, and entry for 28 November 1956, Te Kopua Native School Log Book 1946-1956, BAAA, 1003, 7/f, SD vol 2, p 712. It is not clear if the school building was ever shifted to Tihiroa.

²¹ Education Department, Notes on the history of Parawera Native School, 12 December 1947, Parawera General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1940-1959, BAAA, 1001, 993/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 134-135

²² See, for example, inspection reports for 3 May 1933 and 29 February 1940, Parawera General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1940 BAAA 1001 993/a, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 88, 121

Parawera was an immediate success, with 47 Maori pupils enrolled by the end of the first year.²³ The school was soon perceived by some Pakeha parents as providing better education than nearby general schools, as was noted by the school inspector in 1907.²⁴ By December 1907, a quarter of the school's 58 pupils were classified as European.²⁵ The numbers were not sustained, and by the end of 1913 there were only two European pupils left at the school. Most of this loss occurred during 1913, and may have resulted from the smallpox scare that year, discussed in Chapter 2.²⁶ Pupil numbers remained high all the same, and in 1916 the Education Department reported that additions were being made to the school.²⁷ By the early 1920s, the proportion of European pupils at Parawera native school had recovered to 20 percent.²⁸

Mr J K Lowe was appointed head teacher in 1927, with Mrs Lowe as assistant teacher.²⁹ The Lowes remained at the school until 1936, during which time the school was regularly graded 'good' or 'very good' by the inspector.³⁰ The school roll remained high, and in 1932 both the school and teacher's residence were extensively renovated.³¹ In 1936, Mr H Rust became head teacher at Parawera, and remained in the position until 1953. By 1940 he had been joined on the staff by Rarangi Mauriohooho, whose sister was the sole-charge teacher at Te Kopua.³² Rust and his fellow teachers also had reasonably positive inspection reports. However, in his 1938 report, the inspector criticised Rust for taking a too academic approach to history and geography, and suggested he concentrate on local and New Zealand history.³³ Two years later, Rust was advised not to teach 'too abstract topics'.³⁴ Rust's approach may

²³ AJHR 1903, E2, p 29

²⁴ Barrington, 2009, p 134

²⁵ AJHR 1908, E2, p 25. Fifteen of the 58 pupils were classified as European.

²⁶ AJHR 1913, E3, p 23 and AJHR 1914, E3, p 22

²⁷ AJHR 1916, E3, p 6

²⁸ AJHR 1923, E3, p 19

²⁹ Education Department, Notes on the history of Parawera Native School, 12 December 1947, Parawera General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1940-1959, BAAA, 1001, 993/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 134-135

³⁰ Inspection reports for 3 May 1933, 18 September 1934, and 12 April 1935, Parawera General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1940 BAAA 1001 993/a, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 88-99

³¹ AJHR 1933, E3, p 2

³² Inspection report for 29 February 1940, Parawera General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1940 BAAA 1001 993/a, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 121-124

³³ Inspection report for 17 March 1938, Parawera General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1940 BAAA 1001 993/a, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 112-116

³⁴ Inspection report for 29 February 1940, Parawera General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1940 BAAA 1001 993/a, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 121-124

have favoured the more able pupils, but he was clearly proud of their achievements. In a report he wrote that was placed on the school's file in 1952, Rust boasted that four former pupils were university graduates or under-graduates, one had been dux of St Cuthbert's school for girls in Auckland, and five had been head prefects at Te Awamutu College. He also claimed that one former Parawera pupil became the first Maori from the King Country to attend teacher's training college.³⁵

The long tenure of Rust and Rarangi Mauriohoho at the school meant that, unlike many other schools in Te Rohe Potae, Parawera was not dogged by a high turnover of teachers during the manpower shortages of the war years. However, there were other problems. In August 1940, Rust wrote to the Director of Education that epidemics of influenza and mumps had 'seriously interfered with attendance'.³⁶ All the same, the second inspection report for 1940, in October, was a positive one, with the school graded 'good'. There were, however, comments about the 'limited' handwork activities provided.³⁷ The 1942 inspection report was again positive, although the inspector this time suggested that 'more could be made of the daily health inspection, conducted by the senior pupils'.³⁸ The classification return for 1943 showed that all five pupils in Standard 6 (Form 2) at the school intended going to high school the following year, with one a candidate for a boarding school scholarship.³⁹ A good inspection report was again received in 1946, with the inspector commenting on the good general knowledge of the children.⁴⁰

Good inspection reports for the school continued in the 1950s.⁴¹ By 1953, three of the four teachers at the school were Maori, or at least had Maori surnames.⁴² The

³⁵ Document from 1953 (exact date unclear), Parawera General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1940-1959, BAAA, 1001, 993/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 143-144

³⁶ Rust to Director of Education, 18 August 1940, Parawera General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1940-1959, BAAA, 1001, 993/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 126

³⁷ Inspection report for 31 October 1940, Parawera General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1940-1959, BAAA, 1001, 993/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 127-128

³⁸ Inspection report for 2 June 1942, Parawera General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1940-1959, BAAA, 1001, 993/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 131

³⁹ Parawera Native School, Classification Return, 1943, Parawera General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1940-1959, BAAA, 1001, 993/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 132

⁴⁰ Inspection report for 7 June 1946, Parawera General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1940-1959, BAAA, 1001, 993/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 133

⁴¹ Inspection report for 4 April 1951, Parawera General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1940-1959, BAAA, 1001, 993/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 137-138

inspection reports are missing from the files for several years after Rust retired at the end of 1953. By 1960, the head teacher was J W B Price, and the school had a positive inspection report.⁴³ Rarangi Mauriohooho no longer taught at the school, but in 1963 Mrs W Mauriohooho became a junior assistant teacher at Parawera.⁴⁴

In 1960, the Form 1 and 2 classes at the school were transferred to Te Awamutu Intermediate School. In June the headmaster at Te Awamutu Intermediate produced a report on the 20 former Parawera pupils then at the school. Although just one of the pupils had been put in the two top streams at the school (comprising 18 percent of pupils), none were in the bottom stream. The report noted that, in the opinion of the senior mistress, 'the Maori girls from Parawera have had a beneficial effect on the behaviour of other groups.'⁴⁵ Also in 1960, members of the Commission on Education visited Parawera Maori School.⁴⁶

In 1963, the school again had a good inspection report under a new head teacher, J H Connor. The inspector noted the presence of six 'European' children at the school, or about 10 percent of the total roll.⁴⁷ The roll of the school continued to grow, and by 1966 new pre-fabricated classrooms were required. The inspection report that year noted weaknesses in the core subjects (reading, writing and arithmetic), but was praised the way Parawera was seen as a school for the local community rather than solely for Maori.⁴⁸ As with other Maori schools, Parawera became a general school in February 1969.

⁴² Inspection report for 22 July 1953, Parawera General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1940-1959, BAAA, 1001, 993/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 142. The teachers were R Mauriohooho, W Whanake and R Manihere.

⁴³ Inspection report for 5 August 1960, Parawera General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1960-1968, BAAA, 1001, 994/a, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 147-150

⁴⁴ Inspection report for 27 March 1963, Parawera General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1960-1968, BAAA, 1001, 994/a, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 153-155

⁴⁵ Te Awamutu Intermediate, Report on Entrants from Parawera Maori School, 8 June 1960, Parawera General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1960-1968, BAAA, 1001, 994/a, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 151

⁴⁶ J W D Price to Department of Education, 27 April 1960, Parawera General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1960-1968, BAAA, 1001, 994/a, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 152

⁴⁷ Inspection report for 27 March 1963, Parawera General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1960-1968, BAAA, 1001, 994/a, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 153-155

⁴⁸ Inspection report for 24 November 1966, Parawera General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1960-1968, BAAA, 1001, 994/a, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 156-160

Rakaunui

Rakaunui Native School was established in an isolated area on the eastern side of Kawhia harbour in 1910. The school was a small one, with between 20 and 30 pupils generally recorded on the roll. As is outlined in Chapter 9, the poverty and isolation of this community was a regular theme of the school records. The school at times had difficulty securing and retaining teachers, with consequent disruption to the children's education. In 1915 Rakaunui was forced to close because of trouble finding a replacement teacher. It did not re-open until the following year.⁴⁹ Rakaunui closed again during 1919 and 1923 because of the lack of a teacher.⁵⁰ The school had three head teachers during 1936 and four head teachers between August 1938 and February 1939.⁵¹ In 1950 the school closed for three months until a new head teacher was secured in mid-July. The new teacher lasted only a month.⁵²

Despite the difficulties securing teachers, the school received reasonable inspection reports in its early years. Mr and Mrs Keith received good reports in 1927, 1929 and 1930 (but not in 1928).⁵³ As their successor, Mr A N Murray initially had mixed reports. Ironically, given Murray's later comments about the community outlined in Chapter 6, the inspector in 1931 noted that 'relations between school and pa are good'.⁵⁴ Murray received two good reports in 1932, as did his successors, the Kirks, in 1933 and May 1934. However, they received a poor report in September 1934, and the school was only graded 'fair' or 'very fair' in 1935 and in March 1936. The 1936 report stated that in several important aspects, including oral and written English, 'the work of the school is very disappointing'.⁵⁵ The Kirks thus finished their three years at the school with a mediocre record, being replaced in mid-1936 by Mrs B G

⁴⁹ AJHR 1916, E3, p 6 and AJHR 1917, E3, p 6

⁵⁰ AJHR 1920, E3, p 5 and AJHR 1924, E3, p 4

⁵¹ Entries 30 March and 25 May 1936, 2 September and 3 October 1938, and 28 January 1939, Rakaunui School Log Book 1932-1940, BAAA, 1003, 5h, SD vol 2, pp 755-756, 764-765, 768

⁵² Entry for 28 November 1947, Rakaunui School Log Book 1941-1953, BAAA, 1003, 5i, SD vol 2, p 807

⁵³ Inspection reports for 2 June 1927, 26 May 1928, 18 May 1929 and 3 May 1930, Rakaunui General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1947 BAAA 1001 1007b, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 162-173, 175-177

⁵⁴ Inspection report for 6 May 1931, Rakaunui General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1947 BAAA 1001 1007b, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 178-183

⁵⁵ Inspection reports for 19 March and 16 August 1932, 19 September 1934, 11 April 1935, 30 September 1935, 20 March 1936, Rakaunui General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1947, BAAA, 1001, 1007b, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 184-198, 200-202

Broadhurst, with Mr N Broadhurst as assistant teacher.⁵⁶ The school received slightly better reports in 1937 and 1938, being graded 'very fair'.⁵⁷ In 1939 a new sole-charge teacher, A W R McGregor, was initially seen by the inspector as an improvement.⁵⁸ However, in 1940 the Education Department forwarded the inspection report with a note stating that 'the general efficiency of the school is not satisfactory'.⁵⁹ Mrs McGregor, who had been acting as junior assistant at the school, was replaced by a new junior assistant, Pauline Tangiora.⁶⁰ Whether or not as a result of this change, in December 1940 the school showed a dramatic turnaround, being graded by the inspector as 'good'.⁶¹

During the war the school had a typically rapid turnover of teachers, with different teachers in 1942 and 1944 receiving reasonable inspection reports.⁶² There then follows a gap in the records until 1949, when Rakaunui had again reverted to a sole-charge school with no junior assistant.⁶³ Things improved greatly in the 1950s, once the turnover of teachers, noted earlier, came to an end. By 1954 the school buildings had been renovated, and the inspector reported that the school work was progressing 'very satisfactorily indeed' under N S Windsor, appointed in 1953.⁶⁴ In Windsor's last year, 1956, the school again received a good report, with the inspector commending the good relations between the school and community.⁶⁵ Windsor was replaced by George Hamlin in May 1956. In December, Hamlin reflected on Rakaunui's achievements the previous year. The school had won the inter-school seven-a-side

⁵⁶ Inspection report for 19 August 1936, Rakaunui General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1947, BAAA, 1001, 1007b, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 203-206

⁵⁷ Inspection reports for 24 March 1937 and 15 March 1938, Rakaunui General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1947, BAAA, 1001, 1007b, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 207-212

⁵⁸ Inspection report for 9 June 1939, Rakaunui General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1947, BAAA, 1001, 1007b, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 213-214

⁵⁹ Director of Education to Head Teacher, Rakaunui Native School, 6 March 1940, Rakaunui General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1947, BAAA, 1001, 1007b, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 215

⁶⁰ D G Ball, Note for File, 27 February 1940 and Rakaunui Native School: Appointment of Junior Assistant, 26 September 1940, Rakaunui General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1947, BAAA, 1001, 1007b, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 218-219

⁶¹ Inspection report for 1 November 1940, Rakaunui General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1947, BAAA, 1001, 1007b, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 220

⁶² Inspection reports for 11 June 1942 and 30 March 1944, Rakaunui General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1947, BAAA, 1001, 1007b, 44/6, pp 221-222

⁶³ Inspection report for 10 November 1949, Rakaunui General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1947, BAAA, 1001, 1007b, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 224

⁶⁴ Inspection report for 27 July 1954, Rakaunui General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1947-1967, BAAA, 1001, 1008a, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 227

⁶⁵ Inspection report for 24 April 1956, Rakaunui General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1947-1967, BAAA, 1001, 1008a, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 228-230

competition and also 'became the leader in the social life of the community'.⁶⁶ While Hamlin, was on leave in February 1957, he was relieved by the young All Black Pat Walsh, to the excitement of the teacher and pupils.⁶⁷ In June 1957, an extension of the school building was opened to accommodate the growing roll, by then 39 pupils. The opening ceremony included a special action-song item composed for the occasion.⁶⁸ In December 1957, Hamlin reported that the exam results were 'gratifying'.⁶⁹ After the inspection visit in 1958, Hamlin recorded that the inspector spoke in 'glowing terms' of the Maori welcome, actions songs, games, speeches, and taniko work.⁷⁰ Four pupils won scholarships to Te Aute that year.⁷¹

Hamlin was still head teacher in 1961, when the school received a positive inspection report, but things then seemed to go downhill.⁷² After his visit in 1963, the inspector was so concerned about the standard of work that he asked an 'organising teacher' from the Hamilton Education Board to visit the school to 'give Rakaunui the benefit of your assistance'.⁷³ The school received a reasonable inspection report the following year, but the roll was falling.⁷⁴ By 1967, just 11 pupils were enrolled at the school. In February that year, the chairman of the school committee suggested to the Education Department that the school be closed and the pupils bussed to nearby Hauturu Primary.⁷⁵ The department agreed, particularly as the roll was predicted to fall to seven by 1969, the teacher was about to leave, and the parents failed to elect a school

⁶⁶ Entry for 8 December 1956, Rakaunui School Log Book 1954-1964, BAAA, 1003, 5j, SD vol 2, p 873

⁶⁷ Entries for 4 February and 1 March 1957, Rakaunui School Log Book 1954-1964, BAAA, 1003, 5j, SD vol 2, pp 872, 874

⁶⁸ Entry for 8 June 1957, Rakaunui School Log Book 1954-1964, BAAA, 1003, 5j, SD vol 2, p 875

⁶⁹ Entry for 6 December 1957, Rakaunui School Log Book 1954-1964, BAAA, 1003, 5j, SD vol 2, p 876

⁷⁰ Entry for 26 March 1958, Rakaunui School Log Book 1954-1964, BAAA, 1003, 5j, SD vol 2, p 878

⁷¹ Entry for 18 December 1958, Rakaunui School Log Book 1954-1964, BAAA, 1003, 5j, SD vol 2, p 879

⁷² Inspection report for 2 August 1961, Rakaunui General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1947-1967, BAAA, 1001, 1008a, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 240-241

⁷³ G F Horsfall to Allan Hoar, 4 June 1963, Rakaunui General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1947-1967, BAAA, 1001, 1008a, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 243

⁷⁴ Inspection report for 19 March 1964, Rakaunui General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1947-1967, BAAA, 1001, 1008a, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 244-245

⁷⁵ File Note, R F Gilley, 15 February 1967, Rakaunui General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1947-1967, BAAA, 1001, 1008a, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 246-247

committee in 1967.⁷⁶ The three other parents with children at the school opposed the closure, but the Minister approved it.⁷⁷ Rakaunui Maori School closed at the end of 1967, and the remaining pupils were sent to Hauturu Primary.

Taharoa

Taharoa Native School opened in late 1911 to the south of Kawhia harbour. The school was in a very isolated area, so it is unlikely that many of the children in the district had schooling before then. In September 1966, the *New Zealand Herald* reported that Taharoa was shortly to be connected by road with the outside world for the first time. Until the road opened, the only access was by boat or horse. The *Herald* recorded that 'some children ride six or seven miles to Taharoa school every day'.⁷⁸

Taharoa opened with 28 pupils and Bertha Baigent as the sole-charge teacher. By July 1912 the school roll had grown to 40, and an assistant teacher, Sarah Mauriohooho, was employed.⁷⁹ It is not known if this was the same Sarah Mauriohooho who taught at Te Kopua over two decades later. She was displaced as assistant teacher when Baigent married A H Watt in 1913, and he successfully applied for the assistant teacher position. In 1915 the couple were transferred to another school and replaced by a Mr and Mrs Rayner. File notes on the history of the school record that the roll slumped during World War One, a fall attributed to the influence of the Maori King Te Rata. This was presumably related to conflicts with the government over Te Rata's failure to encourage Waikato Maori to volunteer for the war effort.⁸⁰ The school eventually closed in April 1918, but reopened the following February. The new teacher was A C Seivewright, assisted by Mrs Seivewright from 1923 once the school

⁷⁶ Draft report for Minister of Education re Rakaunui Maori School: Proposed Consolidation on Hauturu Primary School, Rakaunui General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1947-1967, BAAA, 1001, 1008a, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 249-250

⁷⁷ Record of Meeting of Parents Held at Rakaunui Maori School on 15 November 1967, Chapman and Feenstra Ltd to Acting Maori Schools Officer, 29 November 1967, and Acting Maori Schools Officer to Mrs Herbert, Mrs M Jerry and Mrs Kerepa, 8 December 1967, Rakaunui General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1947-1967, BAAA, 1001, 1008a, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 248, 252, 254

⁷⁸ *New Zealand Herald*, 21 September 1966, in Taharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1947-1969, BAAA, 1001, 600d, 44/4, SD vol 1, p 311. It appears that the road eventually opened in 1968.

⁷⁹ Notes on the history of Taharoa Maori School, 1959 (exact date unrecorded), in Taharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1947-1969, BAAA, 1001, 600d, 44/4, SD vol 1, pp 300-301

⁸⁰ Angela Ballara, 'Te Rata Mahuta Potatau Te Wherowhero', DNZB, Te Ara, the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 1 September 2010, <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3t18/1>

roll expanded again.⁸¹ There appeared to be no more significant issues with attendance, but there were other problems. In 1929, Tuteao Te Uira, a disgruntled member of the Taharoa school committee, wrote to William Bird with a variety of complaints about Seivewright, including an allegation that he had taken sides in a local dispute over land.⁸² The chairman of the school committee also wrote to Bird to make it clear that Te Uira was writing in a private capacity and that the committee was satisfied with the teacher.⁸³ The Education Department was less so, and the inspection report for 1929 was largely negative, particularly in relation to discipline.⁸⁴ The report for 1930 was worse, noting that ‘the standard of work is poor’.⁸⁵ The inspectors had so little confidence in the Seivewright’s ability to impose discipline that the Chief Inspector of Primary Schools, William Bird, intervened to try and prevent the pupils writing on the walls. He sent a note in Maori to Mr Seivewright, to be read out in class by a senior pupil, requesting the pupils stop writing on the walls and to keep their school clean.⁸⁶

New teachers, Charles and Mrs Peek, were employed for 1931, and the inspector reported that Taharoa was ‘now a happy successful school’.⁸⁷ By 1934 the Peeks had been replaced by Mr AL and Mrs IL Fergusson, who initially received a positive inspection report.⁸⁸ However, in 1935 the inspector reported that ‘in various directions, the teachers have relaxed their efforts’, grading the school only ‘fair’, noting that ‘agriculture has been neglected’, and ‘little planned handwork has been

⁸¹ Notes on the history of Taharoa Maori School, 1959 (exact date unrecorded), in Taharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1947-1969, BAAA, 1001, 600d, 44/4, SD vol 1, pp 300-301

⁸² Letters from Tuteao Te Uira to William Bird (translated), 21 August and 18 November 1929, in Taharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1946, BAAA, 1001, 1030/d, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 258-259, 261-263

⁸³ Tuaupiki (illegible) to Bird, 16 April 1929, Taharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1946, BAAA, 1001, 1030d, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 260. Tuaupiki was referring to an earlier letter no on the file.

⁸⁴ Inspection report for 29 May 1929, Taharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1946, BAAA, 1001, 1030d, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 257

⁸⁵ Inspection report for 5 May 1930, Taharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1946, BAAA, 1001, 1030d, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 266

⁸⁶ Bird to Headteacher, Taharoa Native School, 13 May 1930, in Taharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1946, BAAA, 1001, 1030d, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 267-268

⁸⁷ Inspection report for 11 August 1931, in Taharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1946, BAAA, 1001, 1030d, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 269-270

⁸⁸ Inspection report for 20 September 1934, in Taharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1946, BAAA, 1001, 1030d, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 271-272

taken'.⁸⁹ The Ferguson's achieved a positive inspection report in 1936 after attending a refresher course, with the school graded 'good'.⁹⁰ However they retired later that year, and their replacements, Mrs Rogers with her husband as assistant teacher, were seen in a less positive light by the inspectors.⁹¹ They were in turn replaced in 1940 by Mr E H and Mrs Nepia. The inspector noted in November 1940 that '[t]here is a brighter tone about the school work and some clubs have been started'.⁹² However, the Nepias lasted less than two years at the school, replaced in 1941 by another couple, Frederick and Mrs Dare. In 1942, the inspector suggested 'greater attention to Maori arts, crafts, actions songs, etc'.⁹³

The Dares left the school in 1945 and their replacements, the Tuohys, lasted until 1948. But there then followed a period of rapid turnover of teachers, with seven head teachers between 1948 and 1958. Furthermore, the school fluctuated between being a one teacher and two teacher school during this time.⁹⁴ Mr and Mrs Simon, who managed to stay at the school more than two years during this period, had a very positive inspection report in 1956.⁹⁵ In 1960, under yet another pair of teachers, the inspector noted that the school was well supported by the parents and school committee, and locally-raised funds had provided school equipment.⁹⁶

Throughout most of the 1960s the school was taught by Allen Karena, with Gladys Karena as the Junior Assistant (the school roll fluctuated between 20 and 30, so it was technically a sole-teacher school). Inspection reports on the school were generally positive, and in 1961 the inspector again commented on the positive role taken by the

⁸⁹ Inspection report for 30 September 1935, in Taharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1946, BAAA, 1001, 1030d, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 274-276

⁹⁰ Inspection report for 21 March 1936, in Taharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1946, BAAA, 1001, 1030d, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 278-281

⁹¹ Inspection report for 15 March 1938, Taharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1946, BAAA, 1001, 1030d, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 282-284

⁹² Inspection report for 2 November 1940, in Taharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1946, BAAA, 1001, 1030d, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 290-291

⁹³ Inspection report for 10 June 1942, in Taharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1946, BAAA, 1001, 1030d, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 295

⁹⁴ Notes on the history of Taharoa Maori School, 1959 (exact date unrecorded), in Taharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1947-1969, BAAA, 1001, 600d, 44/4, SD vol 1, pp 300-301

⁹⁵ Inspection Report for 4 April 1956, Taharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1947-1969, BAAA, 1001, 600d, 44/4, SD vol 1, p 297

⁹⁶ Inspection Report for 22 June 1960, Taharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1947-1969, BAAA, 1001, 600d, 44/4, SD vol 1, pp 303-304

committee.⁹⁷ In 1964 the inspector again commended the committee's efforts, as new tennis and basketball courts were under construction. However, the inspector also noted that improvements were needed with respect to the children's reading.⁹⁸ The inspection report for 1967 again noted weaknesses, this time in writing and arithmetic. However, the report also stated that 'with few exceptions' the children were 'making sound progress in all aspects of their work'.⁹⁹ Taharoa became a general school in 1969.

Kaharoa (formerly Moerangi)

Moerangi Native School opened in 1915, a few kilometres to the east of Aotea Harbour.¹⁰⁰ In 1923 the school was renamed 'Kaharoa', not to be confused with Taharoa school some 30 km to the south-east.¹⁰¹ Kaharoa was a medium sized school, with the roll generally between 30 and 45 pupils.

During the 1920s the functioning of the school was occasionally affected by influenza outbreaks. In July 1926 the head teacher, Kathryn Pees, wrote to the Education Department to say that only seven children were present due to influenza.¹⁰² Two weeks later she telegraphed the department to say that 13 'small children' in the district had died of influenza.¹⁰³ A new head teacher, George Holmes, replaced Pees in 1927, with his wife as assistant teacher. In July 1928, Holmes reported to the Director General of Education that the school had to close for two weeks because of influenza.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁷ Inspection Report for 1 August 1961, Taharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1947-1969, BAAA, 1001, 600d, 44/4, SD vol 1, p 305

⁹⁸ Inspection Report for 18 March 1964, Taharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1947-1969, BAAA, 1001, 600d, 44/4, SD vol 1, p 308

⁹⁹ Inspection Report for 14 November 1967, Taharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1947-1969, BAAA, 1001, 600d, 44/4, SD vol 1, pp 312-314

¹⁰⁰ AJHR 1916, E3, p 5

¹⁰¹ Simon, *Nga Kura Maori*, p 141. The name change was to avoid confusion with a new Moerangi post office.

¹⁰² Kathryn Pees to Education Department, 19 July 1926, in Kaharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1942, BAAA, 1001, 940/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 320-321

¹⁰³ Kathryn Pees to Education Department, 2 August 1926, in Kaharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1942, BAAA, 1001, 940/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 322

¹⁰⁴ Holmes to Strong, 13 July 1928, in Kaharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1942, BAAA, 1001, 940/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 331

In 1928, the inspector rated the work of the school as 'rather disappointing'.¹⁰⁵ The Holmes were reassigned to another school in February 1929. They were replaced by another couple, the Worthingtons. The Worthingtons had been teaching at Waotu Native School in Putaruru, but Mrs Worthington was laid off when the school roll fell to a level that did not support two teachers.¹⁰⁶ In May 1929 the inspector reported that he considered the school had already improved under the new teachers.¹⁰⁷ The Worthingtons continued to get good reports until 1932, when inspector Tom Fletcher criticised the lack of improvement in oral expression. As discussed in Chapter 6, he also criticised the extent to which Maori was spoken in the playground.¹⁰⁸ By 1933 the school was in the hands of a new teaching couple, Mr S E and Mrs L Kettelwell. In May 1933 the inspector commented that the school was 'in a weak state at present. Both written and oral work are poor'.¹⁰⁹ However in 1934 he noted a 'marked improvement' since his last visit, and rated the school 'very fair to good'. The school achieved the same rating the following April.¹¹⁰

The Kettelwells remained at the school until Mr Kettelwell joined the armed forces in 1940. Meanwhile Kaharoa continued to get good inspection reports. The report for 1939 noted the 'excellent work' done on health, for which 'both teachers deserve special commendation'. 'Suitable foods are prepared for the children, and the general physical appearance has improved considerably since the last inspection visit.' The inspector also commented favourably on the children's concert, writing that the Maori songs were 'very well rendered indeed'.¹¹¹ Kettelwell's departure for the army caused problems for the school, as finding a suitable replacement proved difficult. Eventually Mrs Kettelwell was made acting head teacher in 1942, despite her lack of teaching

¹⁰⁵ Inspection report for 23 May 1928, Kaharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1942, BAAA, 1001, 940/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 326-330

¹⁰⁶ Education Department memo, 25 Feb 1929, Kaharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1942, BAAA, 1001, 940/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 332

¹⁰⁷ Inspection report for 14 May 1929, Kaharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1942, BAAA, 1001, 940/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 334-336

¹⁰⁸ Inspection reports for 6 August 1931 and 15 March 1932, Kaharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1942, BAAA, 1001, 940/b, 44/6, pp 337-342

¹⁰⁹ Inspection report for 1 May 1933, Kaharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1942, BAAA, 1001, 940/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 343-348

¹¹⁰ Inspection reports for 29 September 1934 and 8 April 1935, Kaharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1942, BAAA, 1001, 940/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 349-355

¹¹¹ Inspection report for 13 June 1939, Kaharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1942, BAAA, 1001, 940/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 363-365

experience beyond the primer classes.¹¹² The inspector's report for 1942 stated that '[t]he work in the senior classes is not up to the required standard. This is mainly due to the succession of relieving teachers and the lack of interest on the part of many parents'.¹¹³ In October 1942, one parent (who clearly did show interest) wrote to the Education Department complaining about the 'large number of teachers that have been in and out of here in a comparatively short space of time'.¹¹⁴

In 1944, the school received a positive inspection report, although more effort was needed in 'dramatisation, music and reading'.¹¹⁵ There is then a gap in the records until the inspection report of 1951, by which time the school had a new husband and wife team, with Mrs M I Coad as head teacher. The school had a mixed report in 1951. Attendance was poor, and improvements were suggested to teaching methods on a number of fronts. The 'excellent aquarium and library' were noted.¹¹⁶ The couple were still at the school in 1954, when the school had a generally positive inspection report.¹¹⁷ The following year the inspector suggested that 'greater attention be devoted to the personal cleanliness of the pupils'. He also noted their 'indistinct' speech but good behaviour.¹¹⁸ By 1958 the inspector's report was more positive, with particular praise for 'the attention being given to the cultural aspects of the programme'.¹¹⁹

The school roll fell slightly during the 1950s, with 36 pupils recorded at the time of the 1958 inspection. The roll continued to fall in subsequent years, and by March 1964 Kaharoa had become a sole-charge school with only 15 pupils. The school had a

¹¹² Mrs Kettelwell to Education Department, 7 September 1942, Kaharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1942-1961, BAAA, 1001, 941/c, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 377

¹¹³ Inspection report for 5 June 1942, Kaharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1942, BAAA, 1001, 940/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 374

¹¹⁴ Mrs P Dunlop to Education Department, 13 October 1942, Kaharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1942-1961, BAAA, 1001, 941/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 378-379

¹¹⁵ Inspection report for 28 March 1944, Kaharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1942-1961, BAAA, 1001, 941/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 381

¹¹⁶ Inspection report for 22 March 1951, Kaharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1942-1961, BAAA, 1001, 941/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 382

¹¹⁷ Inspection report for 11 March 1954, Kaharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1942-1961, BAAA, 1001, 941/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 384-385

¹¹⁸ Inspection report for 2 May 1955, Kaharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1942-1961, BAAA, 1001, 941/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 386

¹¹⁹ Inspection report for 11 April 1958, Kaharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1942-1961, BAAA, 1001, 941/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 389-391

highly positive inspection report that year, but its days were numbered.¹²⁰ By October 1964, the roll had fallen to ten. That month, a meeting between the parents and education officials unanimously agreed that the school should be 'consolidated' on Waitetuna School, some five kilometres to the north, as long as suitable transport could be provided for the children. It was thought that shifting the pupils to Waitetuna could enable that school to become a two-teacher school.¹²¹ Transport was arranged, and the Minister of Education approved the recommended change in November 1964. Kaharoa Maori School closed at the end of the 1964 school year.¹²² The planned Golden Jubilee celebrations for the school were therefore held at Waitetuna School in 1965.

Makomako

Makomako Native School opened in 1925 on the eastern shore of Aotea Harbour.¹²³ The official opening was held in February 1926 and was attended by some 200 visitors, including the Waikato MP and Maui Pomare.¹²⁴ It was a medium sized school, with the roll generally ranging between 25 and 45 pupils. Makomako school appears to have been in a relatively deprived area, for in 1930 the *Kawhia Settler* newspaper reported that local Maori were 'too poor to provide sufficient food and clothing for their children'.¹²⁵

The first teachers, Mr W and Mrs West, remained at the school for seven years and had consistently good inspection reports.¹²⁶ In 1933, they were replaced by A N Murray, who had transferred from Rakaunui and who, in the interim, appears to have married. His wife served as assistant teacher at Makomako. The school received a

¹²⁰ Inspection report for 17 March 1964, 11 November 1964, Kaharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1962-1964, BAAA, 1001, 941/c, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 396-398

¹²¹ Report on a Meeting at Kaharoa Maori School, 6 October 1964, 11 November 1964, Kaharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1962-1964, BAAA, 1001, 941/c, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 399-400, 405

¹²² Department of Education report, 11 November 1964, Kaharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1962-1964, BAAA, 1001, 941/c, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 405

¹²³ AJHR 1926, E3, p 1

¹²⁴ Entry for 1 February 1926, Makomako School Log Book 1925-1931, YCAG, 1653, 1/a, SD vol 3, p 933

¹²⁵ West to Education Department, 31 July 1930, and cutting from *Kawhia Settler*, Makomako General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1946, BAAA, 1001, 940/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 323-324

¹²⁶ Inspection reports for 31 May 1926, 1 June 1927, 25 May 1928, 5 May 1930, 4 May 1931, 18 March 1932, Makomako General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1946, BAAA, 1001, 940/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 407-411, 413-416, 425-432, 435-436

good inspection report in 1933, but in 1934 was graded only 'fair', when Mrs Murray was replaced by a relieving assistant. Mrs Murray returned in 1935, and the school upped its inspection grade slightly to 'very fair'.¹²⁷ The school roll had fallen since the school first opened, and the school no longer qualified for two full-time teachers. Mr E D Budden, who took over as head teacher at the start of 1936, was initially a sole-charge teacher, although the school soon qualified for a part-time assistant teacher. From 1937 his wife, Mrs I V Budden, took on this role. The school continued to be graded in the range 'fair' to 'very fair', and the inspector commented with approval on the Maori cultural activities undertaken, particularly after the Buddens attended a refreshed course during 1936.¹²⁸ The Buddens were replaced in 1939 after three years at the school. The school roll had increased again, and two new teachers were employed, with Mr Rolf as head teacher and Mrs Goodson as assistant. The new teachers initially received a good inspection report, but in 1940 the report was mixed. Practical subjects such as woodwork and agriculture received a positive mention, but other subjects were not well viewed by the inspector.¹²⁹ By 1942 two new teachers, Mr D H and Mrs E J Lee had started at the school, and received a poor inspection report that year. Maori cultural activities seemed to have largely disappeared from the curriculum, and 'the response of the pupils is slow'.¹³⁰ The school log book during the four years that Mr Lee was head teacher recorded corporal punishment being used several times each year.¹³¹

As with other schools, there is a gap in the school inspection records until 1949, when two new teachers, Mr and Mrs Jackman, received a positive report.¹³² By 1951 the Jackmans had been replaced by Mr and Mrs Howie. There were still 35 children on

¹²⁷ Inspection reports for 2 May 1933, 19 September 1934, and 9 April 1935, Makomako General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1946, BAAA, 1001, 940/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 437-444

¹²⁸ Inspection reports for 21 March and 17 August 1936, and 22 March 1937, Makomako General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1946, BAAA, 1001, 940/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 445-452

¹²⁹ Inspection reports for 28 October 1939 and 4 March 1940, Makomako General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1946, BAAA, 1001, 940/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 459-462

¹³⁰ Inspection report for 8-9 June 1942, Makomako General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1946, BAAA, 1001, 940/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 466

¹³¹ Entries for 4 June, 3 November 1942, Makomako School Log Book 1932-1942, YCAG, 1653, 1/b. Entries for 7 April 1943, 14 May 1943, 28 March 1944, 2 June 1944, 13 April 1946, 3 May 1946, 14 August 1946, Makomako School Log Book 1942-1955, YCAG, 1653, 1/c.

¹³² Inspection report for 1 August 1949, Makomako General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1949-1969, BAAA, 1001, 949/a, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 468

the roll, meaning the school still qualified for an assistant teacher.¹³³ But a falling roll meant that from 1955 onwards Makomako was a sole-charge school, usually with a junior assistant teacher. During the decade the school struggled with attendance. In November 1952, for example, the teacher wrote to the District Superintendent at the Education Department in frustration, asking ‘what steps can be taken to force parents to send all of their children - of school age - to school, every day’?¹³⁴

The school received reasonably positive inspection reports under Geoffrey Grenfell from 1955 and Warwick Braithwaite from 1958.¹³⁵ However, a relieving head teacher who filled in for six months in 1961 considered the children to be below acceptable standards, particularly in arithmetic.¹³⁶ His successor, William Karaka, had positive inspection reports.¹³⁷ His departure from the school in September 1967 provoked something of a crisis; first, because of difficulties finding a replacement, and second, because he had children at the school whose departure further reduced the roll. The school was threatened with closure, but a meeting with parents convinced Education Department officials there was sufficient local support to keep the school open rather than bus the children to Te Mata school. Retaining Makomako was strongly supported by local Pakeha parents who presumably had children at the school or nearing school age.¹³⁸

Makomako school finished 1967 with a relieving teacher. A new teacher started in 1968, but lasted only six months.¹³⁹ In his first week he tested the pupils and was

¹³³ Inspection report for 21 March 1951, Makomako General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1949-1969, BAAA, 1001, 949/a, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 470

¹³⁴ K D Howie to District Superintendent, Education Department, 24 November 1952, Makomako General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1949-1969, BAAA, 1001, 949/a, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 471

¹³⁵ Inspection reports for 21 March 1951, 27 September 1955, 23 June 1960, Makomako General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1949-1969, BAAA, 1001, 949/a, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 470, 473-474, 478-480

¹³⁶ Entries for 22 May and 21 October 1961, Makomako School Log Book 1961-1981, YCAG, 1653, 1/e, SD vol 3, pp 1003, 1005-1006

¹³⁷ Inspection reports for 12 September 1963, 6 December 1966, Makomako General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1949-1969, BAAA, 1001, 949/a, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 481-482, 484-485

¹³⁸ Maori Schools Officer to Chairman, Makomako Maori School Committee, 8 July 1968, File note on meeting at Makomako school, 5 August 1968, Makomako General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1949-1969, BAAA, 1001, 949/a, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 486-488. See also, entry for 18 September 1967, Makomako School Log Book 1961-1981, YCAG, 1653, 1/e, SD vol 3, p 1012

¹³⁹ Entries for 2 February and 14 June 1968, Makomako School Log Book 1961-1981, YCAG, 1653, 1/e, SD vol 3, pp 1014-1015

unimpressed with their reading, spelling and arithmetic.¹⁴⁰ The school ended its time as a Maori school with relieving teachers, the second of whom finished at the end of 1968. The new permanent teacher, who started in 1969, kept up the school log book, in contrast to other Maori schools where entries ended as soon as they became board schools. The changes did not seem great, at least initially. In April 1969, the teacher reported that a working bee had been held to cut a supply of firewood at 'Mr Taura's bush'.¹⁴¹ It appears that even the parent's duty to supply firewood for the school had not disappeared with the school's change of status. Neither did the regular cleaning of the school by teacher and pupils, as reported by the teacher at the end of 1978, for example.¹⁴²

Conclusion

This chapter, as well as trying to give some sense of the character of the different schools, attempted to use samples of the regular inspection reports to obtain some indication of the quality of the schools. This is admittedly a rather crude measure, but probably the best one available in the circumstances. As might be expected, quality varied over time and between schools. A C Seivewright, who taught at Taharoa during the 1920s, had probably the worst reports, and the Education Department seemed to have little faith in him. However, the school committee, apart from one member, appeared satisfied with him as a teacher. Rakaunui Native School had at best mediocre inspection reports throughout most of its history, and often had poor reports. Kaharoa, Taharoa and Makomako had mixed reports, with the inspectors often rating them as no more than 'fair'. It is notable that two relieving teachers at Makomako were surprised by the poor standards. On the other hand, Parawera, the largest native primary school in or near the district, had almost consistently good inspection reports throughout its history. Te Kopua was also in general rated positively by the inspectors. Overall, however, the record of the native schools in Te Rohe Potae was not particularly impressive. On top of this was the periodic high turnover of teachers and even occasional school closures due to lack of a suitable teacher.

¹⁴⁰ Entry for 9 February 1968, Makomako School Log Book 1961-1981, YCAG, 1653, 1/e, SD vol 3, p 1014

¹⁴¹ Entry for 17 April 1969, Makomako School Log Book 1961-1981, YCAG, 1653, 1/e, SD vol 3, p 1018

¹⁴² Entry for 15 December 1978, Makomako School Log Book 1961-1981, YCAG, 1653, 1/e, SD vol 3, p 1021

There was little evidence of repeatedly negative comments about the quality of the school facilities. A noticeable exception was Te Kopua in the late 1940s and early 1950s, when the school was becoming over-crowded due to an expanding roll and run-down due to the age of the school building. In 1949 the inspector reported an ‘urgent need for new buildings’, and nearly two years later he reported that the school buildings were ‘old and in very bad condition’.¹⁴³ At times schools in the district suffered water shortages, despite generally high rainfall. For example, in March and December 1940 the head teacher at Makomako Native School recorded that both the school and teacher’s residence were out of water.¹⁴⁴ In general, however, teacher quality and turnover were probably more pressing issues for the district.

¹⁴³ Inspection reports for 23 March 1949 and 2 April 1951, Te Kopua General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1947-1957 BAAA 1001 1046/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 62-63

¹⁴⁴ Entries for weeks ending 21 March and 13 December 1940, Makomako School Log Book 1932-1942, YCAG, 1653, 1/b, SD vol 3, pp 962-963

Chapter 5: School Resourcing and Administration

Introduction

This chapter examines issues relating to the resourcing and administration of native schools. These include the establishment of new schools, teacher pay, school governance, and the transfer of native schools to education boards. As outlined in the introduction, according to some sources native schools were poorly resourced compared with general schools and their school committees had limited powers. A related set of issues has been raised by John Barrington. A regular theme of his recent writings on native and Maori schools is the bureaucratic delays resulting from the centralised administration in Wellington. The problems caused by the remoteness of bureaucrats from the schools they administered were summarised by Barrington in a 2008 article:

These factors contributed to delays often lasting for many years between Maori requesting a school in writing and promising to gift land for the site (as the legislation required them to do), and one being opened. Lengthy delays also occurred in inspection visits, providing and maintaining adequate school buildings, appointing teachers and providing essential teaching equipment and supplies.¹

Barrington was particularly concerned about applications for new schools, and his writings outline examples of delays, sometimes of a decade or more, between an application for a school and its opening.² Other researchers have provided examples of similar delays in their reports for Waitangi Tribunal inquiries.³ None of the researchers provided evidence as to whether the delays were more significant for native compared with general schools. This report does not address this issue either, primarily because only limited examples of the effects of a remote bureaucracy were found within Te Rohe Potae. In general, the problems

¹ John Barrington, 'Maori Schools and Central Control: A Post-Mortem', in *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, 2008, vol. 43, Iss. 2, pp 3-13

² See, for example, John Barrington, 'Northland language, Culture and Education, Part 1: Education', A report commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2005 and Barrington, 2009, pp 45-53 and 96-101

³ See, for example, Katherine Rose, 'Whanganui Maori and the Crown: Socio-Economic Issues, A report commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust', 2004, Wai 903, A61, and Barrington, 'Northland Education'.

that seemed to be apparent in other parts of the country did not occur to the same extent in the inquiry district. The reasons for this have been alluded to in earlier chapters. There was a degree of antagonism by Maori towards schools within the district resulting from suspicion of government intentions following the wars of the 1860s, and opposition to schools by King Tawhiao. As a result, Education Department officials were usually delighted to receive applications for schools within Te Rohe Potae, and generally attempted to expedite them as quickly as possible. But despite this official enthusiasm, there were instances of delays in establishing schools, of schools not going ahead once they had been approved, and of delays in school improvements. Some of these instances will be discussed in this chapter.

The chapter begins with a discussion of school resourcing, with specific reference to claims from some sources of under-resourcing of native schools. It then looks at the issue of the transfer of native schools to school boards. As was outlined in Chapter 3, five of the 13 native schools established in or on the borders of the inquiry district had been transferred to the Auckland Education Board by 1922. Although Maori could still attend these schools, their character and teaching focus tended to change once they became general schools. In particular, the schools lost their emphasis on introducing Maori children to English, an unfamiliar language for many of them. In the case of four of these schools, the transfer took place within ten years of the school being established, despite the contribution of Maori resources in the form of land for the school site. This chapter also deals with the failure of the Education Department to establish a native school near Raglan, despite the fact that the school had been approved. This issue was raised by a claimant at the research hui held in Hamilton in May 2010. Finally, it provides as a case study an example of interaction between the Education Department bureaucracy and an individual school, namely the attempts to gain an adequate means of crossing the Waipa River for pupils at Te Kopua Native School.

School Resourcing

Establishing Schools

As was outlined in Chapter 2, the Native Schools Act 1867, as amended in 1871, required Maori communities in most cases to contribute land and resources towards a new native school. After the administration of native schools was transferred to the Education Department in 1879, the standard contribution became three acres of land, with no financial

contribution being required. No variations were found to this requirement in research for this inquiry, as all native schools within the inquiry district were established after 1884.

John Barrington has written that the contribution in land required towards native schools was ‘in marked contrast to the “free” education promised in the 1877 Education Act for children attending education board schools’.⁴ The Waitangi Tribunal’s *Wairapapa ki Tararua Report* put this view in even stronger terms, writing that regional education boards established schools when and where they saw fit, entirely at the government’s expense, while Maori communities had to contribute towards new native schools.⁵ The basis for these assertions is unclear, as they seem out of kilter with both the legislative and empirical evidence. The Education Act 1877 did not promise ‘free’ education, and did not empower education boards to initiate the establishment of schools. Under the 1877 Act, communities wanting a school first had to elect a school committee, which could then seek the regional education board’s permission to establish a school.⁶ But even if the board approved a school, it was under no obligation to contribute anything towards the purchase of a site or the erection, maintenance and modification of buildings. In other words, regional education boards could require communities to contribute some, or even all, of the cost of establishing and maintaining a school.⁷ In contrast, the Native Schools Act 1867 provided assurance that the government would contribute towards the establishment and maintenance of native schools.⁸

The possible variations in the process of establishing schools under the Education Act 1877 can be seen from examples from within Te Rohe Potae. In 1903 a school was requested for Mangapehi due to a growing population employed on the railway and at a local sawmill. The Auckland Education Board agreed to provide a teacher, but the community was required to provide not only a building for the school, but also a site, which was donated by local Maori. By 1908 the school was too small for the growing roll, and a new school was requested from the education board. This time the AEB purchased a site from the family of Wehi Ringitanga and built a new school for opening in 1909.⁹ However, the jubilee history of the school

⁴ See, for example, Barrington, 2009, p 43

⁵ Waitangi Tribunal, *Wairapapa ki Tararua Report*, volume 1, p 296. The full passage from the Tribunal’s report was quoted in the introductory chapter to this report.

⁶ Education Act 1877, s 60, 74

⁷ Education Act 1877, ss 75, 77, 80

⁸ Native Schools Act 1867, ss 8 and 9, and Native Schools Amendment Act 1871

⁹ *Mangapehi School Diamond Jubilee 1904 – 1964*, King Country Chronicle, 1964, pp 4-5, 9

records that, in establishing the new school ‘the grounds were fenced, ploughed, pumiced and levelled by the local residents, who had to also bear the cost of this work.’¹⁰ In 1928 a ‘Queen Carnival’ raised £214 for additions and alterations to the school buildings.¹¹ In 1908 a new school opened at Honokiwi, about 12 km north-west of Otorohanga. The Crown provided a site for the school, but the settlers paid the full cost of the building by levying those settlers with families £5 and those without half this amount.¹² In another example, Ruakuri school, near Waitomo, was initially run in a disused cottage on the land owned by local farmer, and its operations were only partially funded by the AEB. The school became fully-funded in 1912 thanks to a growing roll, and the Education Department granted most (but not all) of the money needed to erect a larger school building. The new school opened in 1914, still on private land. A number of Maori attended the school, which was transferred to Waitomo village in 1923 due to a falling roll.¹³

In 1914 a new Education Act placed the responsibility for decisions on establishing new schools in the hands of regional education boards.¹⁴ However, the Act still did not require boards to completely fund new schools. In 1920, Paraketu school was built near Pureora Forest Park. The AEB supplied the materials for the school, but the community provided the labour to erect it, and the land for the site was donated by a local farmer. The school closed in 1930.¹⁵ In the case of schools where boards considered that average attendance was likely to be less than ten pupils, they could require communities to provide board and lodging for the teacher and contribute to salary costs.¹⁶ This provision was not repealed until 1938.¹⁷ Alternatively, part-time schools could be established in districts with scattered populations, with the teacher travelling between schools during the week.¹⁸ A number of general schools within Te Rohe Potae operated as part-time schools. For example, Awakino and Mokau schools occasionally operated part-time and shared a teacher.¹⁹

¹⁰ Mangapehi School Diamond Jubilee 1904 – 1964, p 9

¹¹ Mangapehi School Diamond Jubilee 1904 – 1964, p 10

¹² Hilda Deal ‘Settler’s Action Realised School for their Children’ in *Footprints of History*, November 1992, no 9, p 213

¹³ Vaughan Morgan, *A History of Waitomo: Maori and Pakeha Side by Side*, Hamilton: Outrigger Publications, 1983, p 90

¹⁴ Education Act 1914, s 54

¹⁵ ‘Paraketu School’ in *Waimiha School and District Jubilee 1926-1976* (no publication details)

¹⁶ Education Act 1914, s 54 (6) and (7)

¹⁷ Education Amendment Act 1938, s 3

¹⁸ Education Act 1914, Schedule 5, Part IV

¹⁹ AJHR 1913, E2, p iv

The above examples from Te Rohe Potae illustrate that, in the case of rural districts where the viability of a school might be uncertain, education authorities preferred to push some of the financial risk onto the local community. This would have been particularly common in the early twentieth century, when population growth was driving demand for new schools that strained limited government resources. In addition, education boards provided some communities with only part-time education services. Community contributions continued to be required in later decades, particularly for discretionary capital expenditure. For example, Vaughan Morgan chaired a Waitomo School committee in the early 1950s that raised funds for various amenities, including a swimming pool. He noted that fundraising was easy given the prosperity of farming communities at the time.²⁰ It is unlikely that school fundraising was as easy for predominantly Maori communities.

School Governance

The Wairarapa ki Tararua Tribunal commented on the limited powers granted to the committees of native schools compared with those for general schools.²¹ The Native Schools Act 1867 specified, rather vaguely, that school committees ‘shall have the general management of the school’.²² However, the Native Schools Code appeared to undermine the Act by giving most management responsibilities to the teacher. Committees were left with the primary functions of enforcing attendance and complaining to education officials about matters they objected to in the running of the school.²³ As a result, even basic maintenance and repairs required a request to the Education Department. For example, on 3 June 1936, the teacher at Te Kopua native school recorded that the lavatory had accidentally been destroyed by someone burning leaves. Although a replacement toilet would seem to be a matter of urgency, it was not until 6 July that she got the go-ahead from the department to replace it. The replacement lavatory was erected by members of the school committee on 13 July 1936, nearly six weeks after the initial mishap.²⁴

In contrast, the Education Act 1914 gave general school committees a range of responsibilities and decision-making powers associated with the running of schools. Section

²⁰ Morgan, *History of Waitomo*, pp 91-2

²¹ Waitangi Tribunal, *Wairarapa ki Tararua Report*, Volume 1, p 296

²² Native Schools Act 1867, s7

²³ Native Schools Code 1880, AJHR 1880, H1F, p 6

²⁴ Entries for 3 June, 6 July, 13 July 1936, Te Kopua Native School Log book 1932-1946, BAAA, 1003, 7/e, Supporting Documents (SD) vol 2, pp 618-619

72 required education boards to consult with school committees before appointing a new teacher. The Act also allowed school committees to expend money on ‘incidental expenses’ specified in regulations.²⁵ According to Cumming, by the 1920s school committees had responsibility for the school budget and the ability to make decisions, in consultation with education boards, over a wide variety of matters associated with school operations and maintenance.²⁶ The 1914 Act also stated:

It shall be the duty of the Committee to keep the school in good repair and order, and to provide for the proper cleaning of the school and outbuildings, and for the heating of the school, and to make all such arrangements in regard to sanitary matters, and to the care of the school grounds, gates, and fences as shall conduce to the physical health of the children and to the promotion of habits of order and tidiness.²⁷

School committees usually undertook these duties by paying for them from the school’s annual per pupil operational funding. The Native Schools Code similarly provided that ‘the committee shall see that there is a proper supply of firewood for the use of the school, and shall arrange matters so that the school room may be cleaned every night, and scrubbed out at least once a month’.²⁸ In 1900, the Education Department decided to supply up to 30 shillings worth of sports or other equipment to schools each year in exchange for native school committees supplying firewood.²⁹ In its 1906 annual report, the Department noted ‘a large number of requests for story-books, in recognition of the supply of firewood.’³⁰ If a committee was unwilling to supply firewood, the Department would pay for half a cord of wood procured by the teacher.³¹ The school log books for Te Rohe Potae indicate that it was invariably the teachers and pupils who did the school cleaning, with particular efforts being made at the start or end of each term. According to Simon and Smith, the Education Department in turn supplied all the children’s books and stationery free of charge:

²⁵ Education Act 1914, s 49 (4)

²⁶ Cumming, pp 239-40

²⁷ Education Act 1914, s 49 (2)

²⁸ Native Schools Code 1880, AJHR 1880, H1f, p 6

²⁹ Circular to ‘Chairman, School Committee’ dated 8 May 1900 and circular dated 30 June 1903, Circulars: Native Schools 1894-1905, ABDM, W4494, 1, SD vol 1, pp 32-33, 37

³⁰ AJHR 1906, E2, p 11

³¹ Circular to Teachers of Native Schools dated 8 May 1900, Circulars: Native Schools 1894-1905, ABDM, W4494, 1, SD vol 1, pp 32-33

Thus Native School pupils did not have to purchase their own exercise books, pencils, chalk, textbooks, and so forth, as Public Schools pupils were required to do. With a high proportion of the Maori pupils coming from families confined to a subsistence lifestyle and experiencing financial hardship, this measure was significant in facilitating the children's academic learning.³²

The cleaning arrangements were not always accepted, particularly by Pakeha parents. In May 1906 the head teacher at Hauaroa (Taumaranui) Native School wrote to the Secretary for Education asking for a grant to pay for school cleaning. Among the matters raised was that some of the European parents, who were agitating for a new general school in Taumaranui, objected to their children helping clean the school.³³ The Secretary suggested that the teacher point out to parents that their children received free stationery, which would not happen in a general school.³⁴ In August 1942, the Kaharoa Native School Committee noted that some parents objected to their girls 'scrubbing' the school.³⁵ In October 1958, the Chief Inspector of Maori Schools wrote to Mrs C A Ward to encourage her to allow her children to assist with the cleaning at Kaharoa. The inspector wrote that 'in Board schools the practice of the children doing the cleaning is becoming more and more general'. He also admonished the teacher for withholding free stationery from the Ward children.³⁶

Despite the limitations imposed by the 1880 Code, Barrington notes that in practice the distance of Native Schools from bureaucratic interference at times gave committees a degree of influence. Community dissatisfaction with a teacher, for example, could result in his or her replacement.³⁷ However, no evidence for this was found in relation to Te Rohe Potae, although native school committees did undertake a variety of functions. A committee could act as an intermediary between the school and the community. For example, in August 1895

³² Simon and Smith, p 215. See also Barrington, 2009, p 80

³³ J McIntyre to Secretary for Education, letter received 18 May 1906, in Building and Site Files – Hauaroa 1903-1907, BAAA, 1001, 244e, 44/4, SD vol 3, pp 1107-1109

³⁴ Hogben to McIntyre, 25 May 1906, in Building and Site Files – Hauaroa 1903-1907, BAAA, 1001, 244e, 44/4, SD vol 3, p 1111

³⁵ Acting Head Teacher, Kaharoa Native School, to Education Department, 6 August 1942, Kaharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1942-1964, BAAA, 1001, 941/c, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 376

³⁶ Senior Inspector of Native Schools to Mrs C A Ward and Head Teacher, Kaharoa Maori School, 16 October 1958, Kaharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1942-1964, BAAA, 1001, 941/c, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 392-393

³⁷ Barrington, 2009, pp 73-82

the teacher at Kawhia native school requested that the chairman of the school committee ask the women from the village not to come to the school so often, as they ‘correct children with their own hand’.³⁸ At various times native school committees successfully sought permission from the Education Department for the school to close for community events such as tangi.³⁹ School committees also engaged in fund-raising, using the proceeds to purchase discretionary items for the school.⁴⁰ Clearly the powers of native school committees were limited, and it was not until 1957 that they were given the financial and other formal responsibilities enjoyed by general school committees.⁴¹

Teacher Pay and Related Issues

The Wairarapa ki Tararua Tribunal stated that native school teachers were paid less than teachers in general primary schools.⁴² Until the passing of the Public-School Teachers’ Salaries Act 1901, all 13 regional education boards had different salary scales for teachers. The 1901 Act created a single salary scale and increased teacher salaries, on the recommendation of a Royal Commission in 1900.⁴³ However, the Act did not cover the salaries of native-school teachers, who from 1901 were paid less on average than their public-school counterparts. This was primarily because a portion of the pay of native-school teachers was at risk, depending on the examination results of their pupils.⁴⁴ In 1907, the ‘payment by results’ provisions were abolished, and the salaries of native school teachers were increased in two increments, the second in 1909. As a result, teachers in native schools were placed ‘practically on the same footing as those in public schools’.⁴⁵ However, the pay and conditions of native-school teachers and other primary school teachers continued to be governed by different regulations. In 1938, new regulations ‘placed the salaries of Native-school teachers upon the same basis, in all respects, as those of teachers employed in public

³⁸ Entries for 19 June and 25 August 1895, Kawhia Native School Log Book 1895-1897, BAAA 1003, 1/k, SD vol 2, pp 491, 494

³⁹ For example, entry for 3 October 1933, Rakauni School Log Book 1932-1940 BAAA 1003 5/h, SD vol 2, p 747; letter dated 19 March 1939, Taharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1946, BAAA, 1001, 1030/d, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 288; entry for 1 October 1948, Rakaunui School Log Book 1941-1953, BAAA, 1003, 5i, SD vol 2, p 818; entry for 10 June 1955, Te Kopua School Log Book 1946-1956, BAAA, 1003/7f, SD vol 2, p 705

⁴⁰ For example, entry for 19 April 1926, Te Kopua School Log Book 1922-1932, BAAA, 1003, 7/d, SD vol 2, p 572, and entry for 31 April (sic, should be March) 1944, Te Kopua School Log Book 1946-1956, BAAA, 1003, 7/f, SD vol 2, p 663

⁴¹ Education Amendment Act 1957, SS 8-15

⁴² Waitangi Tribunal, *Wairarapa ki Tararua Report*, Volume 1, p 321

⁴³ Report of the Royal Commission on the Staffs of Schools and Salaries of Public School Teachers, AJHR 1900, E14

⁴⁴ Native Schools Code, AJHR 1880, H1F, p 4

⁴⁵ AJHR 1909, E3, p 8

schools, thus removing minor anomalies that had existed for some time'.⁴⁶ However, native-school teachers continued to receive more generous removal and travel expenses than their counterparts in general schools. This anomaly was removed in April 1951.⁴⁷

A related issue is the level of training and qualifications of native school teachers. Barrington notes that in 1931, over a third of teachers in native schools were uncertificated.⁴⁸ However, he also points out that attracting certificated teachers was a problem for remote and rural schools in general. In 1914, 86 percent of teachers in all schools with fewer than 15 pupils were uncertificated, and 60 percent were still in this category in 1924.⁴⁹ A positive effect for native schools of the reduced number of teaching jobs during the depression was an improved ability to employ certificated teachers. Between 1931 and 1939, the proportion of certificated teachers in native schools rose from 64 to 86 percent.⁵⁰

Barrington and McKenzie note that native schools were more expensive to fund per capita than board schools.⁵¹ For example, in 1886 the cost of native schools averaged £8 2s per pupil, over a third more than the £6 per pupil in general primary schools.⁵² MPs occasionally alleged, on the basis of such figures, that the native school system was too expensive. However, both writers note that such comparisons were unfair, the only valid comparison being between native schools and those board schools in isolated areas.⁵³ McKenzie also notes that native schools may have been less efficient overall because factors such as greater Maori mobility led to school closures.⁵⁴

The Transfer of Native Schools to Education Boards

As was noted earlier in this report, the flow of Pakeha settlers into Te Rohe Potae, particularly in the early twentieth century, resulted in a number of native schools becoming general schools. Under the Native Schools Code 1880, this was supposed to happen on the recommendation of an inspector, once sufficient progress in English was made by 'all the

⁴⁶ AJHR 1939, E3, p 4

⁴⁷ AJHR 1952, E3, p 5

⁴⁸ Barrington, 2009, p 180

⁴⁹ Barrington, 2009, p 101

⁵⁰ Barrington, 2009, p 180

⁵¹ McKenzie, p 12, Barrington, 2009, p 90

⁵² Figures cited by Barrington, 2009, p 90

⁵³ McKenzie, p 12, Barrington, 2009, p 90

⁵⁴ McKenzie, p 19, fn 46

children in a native school district'.⁵⁵ However, by the 1900s, the Education Department policy had changed, as was noted by the native school inspectors in their 1909 annual report. 'The policy of the Department is that, when the preponderating majority of the children in attendance at a Native school consists of Europeans, the school shall be handed over to the control of the Board of Education for the district'.⁵⁶ No evidence was found of consultation with Maori over this policy, or of any attempt to publicise it. Following a transfer, education boards were required, under section 3 of the Native School Sites Act Extension Act 1890, to pay compensation to those Maori who originally donated the land for the school. However, boards were not required to pay anything for improvements made to the site, even if Maori had contributed towards them financially or through their labour.

By 1909, four native schools within Te Rohe Potae had been transferred to the Auckland Education Board (AEB), all within a decade of being established – namely Otorohanga, Kawhia, Te Kuiti, and Hauora (Taumaranui). A fifth school, Oपुरare, was transferred in 1923. At least two of these early transfers took place in the face of protest from local Maori.

The Transfer of Kawhia Native School to the AEB

In 1885, the Education Department suggested to the Auckland Education Board (AEB) that a general school in Kawhia township might be appropriate given that Pakeha were moving to the district, but the board disagreed.⁵⁷ Instead a native school was built there, opening in June 1895.⁵⁸ As the Pakeha population of the district increased, the number of Pakeha pupils at Kawhia Native School also increased, peaking at 17 pupils, or over a quarter of the roll, in 1900.⁵⁹ The school was getting crowded, leading the AEB to agree to a general school in Kawhia, which opened in 1902.⁶⁰ The new school almost immediately proved too small, averaging 60 pupils on its roll in 1903.⁶¹ The AEB therefore applied to the Education Department for a grant of £1,100 to build a new school and teacher's residence.⁶² In 1903, the Education Department sent an inspector to investigate the issue. The inspector recommended that the two schools in Kawhia (ie, the native and board schools) should

⁵⁵ Native Schools Code 1880, AJHR 1880, H1F, p 6

⁵⁶ AJHR 1909, E3, p 11

⁵⁷ AJHR 1885, E2, p 2

⁵⁸ AJHR 1896, E2, p 19

⁵⁹ AJHR 1901, E2

⁶⁰ AJHR 1903, E1, p 64

⁶¹ AJHR 1904, E1, p 17

⁶² AJHR 1904, E1, p 71

amalgamate.⁶³ The department accepted this advice, on the basis that it would be inefficient to have two primary schools in the same township.⁶⁴



Older pupils show off their handcraft work, Kawhia Native School, 1902.

Source: AJHR 1903, E2

In October 1903, the Kawhia Native School Committee and local Maori met to discuss the proposal, which involved their school being transferred to the AEB. The meeting unanimously passed a resolution that ‘objected very strongly and stated that all the Maoris of the district were determined to oppose the transfer by every means in their power’. They agreed to send telegrams to Wellington on the issue.⁶⁵ Despite these protests, the Education Department offered the native school to the AEB. The Board accepted the offer in October 1903.⁶⁶ The decision came just as James Pope was about to retire from his role as Chief Inspector of Native Schools. He is therefore unlikely to have had much say in it. His

⁶³ AJHR 1904, E1, p 73

⁶⁴ AJHR 1904, E2, pp 1-2

⁶⁵ Entry of 8 October 1903, Kawhia log book, 1903, BAAA, 1003, 1/n, SD vol 2, p 535

⁶⁶ AJHR 1904, E1, p 72

successor, William Bird, appeared from his 1904 annual report (after three months in the job) to have disagreed with the decision. He stated that Kawhia Maori were unhappy with the transfer and were requesting a new native school to replace the old one.⁶⁷

The transfer decision came while the head teacher, D'Arcy Hamilton, was on extended leave, and a long-term reliever was filling in. Hamilton returned from England on 16 December 1903, and the children from the school went down to the wharf to welcome him home.⁶⁸ On returning to the school he was greeted with a telegram informing him of the transfer and offering him a post at another school.⁶⁹ He recorded in the school log book that local Maori, 'and many pakehas', were 'bitterly opposed' to the transfer.⁷⁰ A public meeting was held in February 1904 to protest the change, despite the fact that the school had already been turned over to the AEB.⁷¹

Once Kawhia native school was handed over at the end of 1903, the AEB complained that the building was too small to accommodate both European and Maori pupils, and requested £440 from the Education Department to enlarge it.⁷² The department refused on the basis that roll numbers did not justify the expense. Furthermore, the department stated that a new native school had been applied for in the Kawhia district that, if built, would reduce pressure on the township school.⁷³ New native schools opened to the south of Kawhia harbour in 1910 and 1911, at Rakaunui and Taharoa, although it is not clear that these schools would have taken many pupils from Kawhia.

There were substantial delays in establishing both schools. The possibility of a school at Rakaunui was first raised in 1904 and was supported by the local MHR, F W Lang.⁷⁴ However, it was some two years before Bird visited the district and tried to sort out a possible location for the school among the several options proposed. This was not achieved until May

⁶⁷ AJHR 1904, E2, p 4

⁶⁸ Entry of 16 December 1903, Kawhia log book, 1903, BAAA, 1003, 1/n, SD vol 2, pp 540-541

⁶⁹ J D'Arcy Hamilton to Secretary of Education, 24 January 1904, Maori Schools Building and Site Files, Kawhia 1901-1907, BAAA, 1001, 280b, 44/4, 3, SD vol 3, pp 1231-1232

⁷⁰ Entry of 18 December 1903, Kawhia log book, 1903, BAAA, 1003, 1/n, SD vol 2, pp 541-542

⁷¹ Memo from Head Teacher (Seed) to Department of Education, 1 February 1904, Maori Schools – Building and Site Files – Kawhia – 1901-1907, BAAA, 1001, 280b, 44/4, 3, SD vol 3, p 1235

⁷² AJHR 1904, E1, p 71

⁷³ AJHR 1904, E1, p 72

⁷⁴ The following account comes from documents reproduced for a 50th jubilee history of Rakaunui school (1960), Maori Schools: General Correspondence and Inspection Reports - Rakaunui, 1947-1967, BAAA, 1001, 1008a, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 231-239

1907, when Bird visited again and recommended a school at Rakaunui, where local Maori had agreed to donate three acres of land. He also recommended that the schoolhouse be shifted to the site from the recently-closed Raurau school, as this was no longer required for a new school near Raglan (discussed below). In September 1907, Mrs M J Whitcombe, a local Pakeha settler, wrote to the Education Department urging that the new school be established as soon as possible. She pointed out that local Maori were keen for schooling. A number were attending other schools, despite dangerous river travel sometimes being required, and 18 children were attending a household school run by Mrs Cowern, although she was legally allowed only 15 pupils as an uncertificated teacher. There was a setback due to complications over the ownership of the Raurau school buildings, so another option had to be found.⁷⁵ Work on Rakaunui native school did not begin until 1909, and it opened in July 1910. Taharoa native school opened the following year, having first been proposed in 1908. The delay was due to difficulties in finding a suitable site.⁷⁶

Pakeha at Kawhia Native School were always a minority, and generally a small one. The school was therefore not transferred because of the number of Pakeha on the roll. Rather it was transferred due to an emerging new policy, namely that separate native and board schools should not co-exist in the same locality. The Hauaroa Native School at Taumarunui fell under to this policy, along with the policy of transferring schools with a Pakeha majority.

The Transfer of Hauaroa Native School to the AEB

Hauaroa Native School opened in Taumarunui at the start of the 1902 school year. The Education Department had clearly underestimated demand for schooling, for in March 1902 a parent telegraphed the department to say the school was too small.⁷⁷ The teacher also wrote to the department about crowding, and the school committee pointed out that the school had 73 pupils on the roll, including 12 Pakeha. The committee requested that the school be

⁷⁵ No evidence has been found as to what happened with the ownership of the Raorao school buildings and land once the school closed. The land was donated by the Wesleyan church, and may have reverted to church ownership.

⁷⁶ AJHR 1909, E3, p 3 and AJHR 1912, E3, p 5

⁷⁷ Te Manu aute to Hogben (translation of telegraph), 19 March 1902, Hauaroa Building and Site Files 1885-1903, BAAA, 1001, 244d, 44/4, 1, SD vol 3, p 1081

enlarged with the addition of a lean-to.⁷⁸ However the Public Works Department did not tender for the work until July 1903.⁷⁹

Overcrowding at the school worsened once the railway line reached the village in 1903. The population of Taumarunui grew rapidly as Pakeha moved to the district, leading to a request in 1904 for the Auckland Education Board to establish a separate school there. Given widespread demand for new schools at the time, the AEB deferred a decision, later proposing that an additional teacher be appointed to the existing school.⁸⁰ In July 1905, Te Warahi te Whiutahi, the Chair of the Hauaroa School Committee, wrote to the Minister of Education supporting the establishment of a 'school for the Pakeha children'.⁸¹ In December 1905, W T Jennings, Member of the House of Representatives for New Plymouth, forwarded to the Minister of Education a plea from a local resident for a new school in Taumarunui because of the growing population.⁸² In January 1906, J H Broughton, the head teacher at Hauaroa, wrote to the Education Department showing little sympathy for a new school. Broughton said that the 'whites' were divided into two parties – those wanting a new school and those wanting the existing school enlarged. He supported the latter option, saying those not satisfied could send their children to Piriaka School, a seven-mile rail journey to the south. Broughton noted that some parents were already taking this option, and three children from near Piriaka were attending Hauaroa school out of parental preference. He considered that in 'two or three years' Hauaroa school would be handed over to the AEB.⁸³

In April 1906, the AEB telegraphed the Education Department seeking guidance on the call for a new school in Taumarunui. The Department deferred a decision until the effect of a new teacher, just appointed to the school, was apparent.⁸⁴ By then the department was starting to

⁷⁸ Broughton to Hogben, 19 March 1902, 7 April 1902, 26 April 1902, Manuauete to Hogben, 2 October 1902, Hauaroa Building and Site Files 1885-1903, BAAA, 1001, 244d, 44/4, 1, SD vol 3, p 1082

⁷⁹ Under-secretary Public Works to Secretary, Education Department, 19 June 1903, Hauaroa Building and Site Files 1885-1903, BAAA, 1001, 244d, 44/4, 1, SD vol 3, p 1093

⁸⁰ Auckland Education Board to Secretary for Education, 27 January 1906, Building and Site Files – Hauaroa 1903-1907, BAAA, 1001, 244e, 44/4, SD vol 3, p 1101

⁸¹ Te Warahi te Whiutahi to Minister of Education, 29 July 1905, Building and Site Files – Hauaroa 1903-1907, BAAA, 1001, 244e, 44/4, SD vol 3, p 1095

⁸² Jennings to Seddon, 19 December 1905, and Taumarunui Timber and Sawmilling Company to Jennings, 9 December 1905, Building and Site Files – Hauaroa 1903-1907, BAAA, 1001, 244e, 44/4, SD vol 3, pp 1096-1099

⁸³ Broughton to Gibbes, 11 January 1906, Building and Site Files – Hauaroa 1903-1907, BAAA, 1001, 244e, 44/4, SD vol 3, p 1100

⁸⁴ Hogben to AEB, 11 April 1906, Building and Site Files – Hauaroa 1903-1907, BAAA, 1001, 244e, 44/4, SD vol 3, p 1102

oppose the operation of native and general schools in the same locality, as was seen from events at Kawhia. The Inspectors of Native Schools stated in their 1909 annual report that building two schools in the same town was a waste of public money, and was bad for race relations as it ‘would kindle feelings of discord amongst the people’.⁸⁵

The new teacher, John McIntyre, started in April 1906 and immediately wrote to the Education Department about over-crowding at the school, which had 86 pupils enrolled. Like Broughton, he supported an enlargement of the existing school rather than a new school being built.⁸⁶ In May 1906 an angry parent wrote to the AEB complaining about the delayed decision on the new school, as the overcrowding was becoming worse.⁸⁷ Other correspondence on the subject was sent to the Minister of Education during the year.⁸⁸ In June the Hauaroa School Committee tried a different tack, appearing to threaten the Education Department that the committee would not fulfil its duty to supply firewood unless the school was enlarged.⁸⁹ The Secretary for Education responded with a threat of his own:

I may add that the question of whether the school could not with advantage be transferred to the Education Board may still have to be considered, and it seems to the Department that the attitude of the Committee advances a further argument in favour of this step.⁹⁰

In August 1906, the Secretary for Education informed the Auckland Education Board that the Department had decided to enlarge Hauaroa instead of providing an additional school.⁹¹ However the work was delayed, leading to further submissions on the issue. Eventually Education Minister George Fowlds visited Taumarunui, not once but twice, first in October 1906 then in January 1907. Considerable pressure had been put on the Minister. For example,

⁸⁵ AJHR 1909, E3, p 11

⁸⁶ McIntyre to Secretary for Education, 14 April and 26 June 1906, Building and Site Files – Hauaroa 1903-1907, BAAA, 1001, 244e, 44/4, SD vol 3, pp 1104-1105, 1114-1115

⁸⁷ Laird to AEB, 3 May 1906, Building and Site Files – Hauaroa 1903-1907, BAAA, 1001, 244e, 44/4, SD vol 3, p 1106

⁸⁸ See, for example, Jennings to Minister of Education, 17 August 1906, Building and Site Files – Hauaroa 1903-1907, BAAA, 1001, 244e, 44/4, SD vol 3, p 1124

⁸⁹ Te Warahi te Whiutahi to Minister of Education, 25 June 1906, Building and Site Files – Hauaroa 1903-1907, BAAA, 1001, 244e, 44/4, SD vol 3, p 1117

⁹⁰ Hogben to Te Warahi te Whiutahi, 9 July 1906, Building and Site Files – Hauaroa 1903-1907, BAAA, 1001, 244e, 44/4, SD vol 3, p 1116

⁹¹ Hogben to AEB, 9 August 1906, Building and Site Files – Hauaroa 1903-1907, BAAA, 1001, 244e, 44/4, SD vol 3, p 1120

in December 1906 the AEB approved a renewed application from Taumarunui residents for a new school, ignoring the decision already made by the Education Department.⁹² At his January 1907 visit to Taumarunui, Fowlds promised that, if a 'substantial majority of European children' were attending Hauaroa Native School in the new school year, it would be handed over to the AEB.⁹³ As a result, William Bird, the Chief Inspector of Native Schools, asked the head teacher to supply figures on the 'race' of the school pupils as early as possible in the new year.⁹⁴

The head teacher, MacIntyre, had in fact written to the Secretary for Education in October 1906, complaining about the lack of action on school extensions. He also opposed the transfer of Hauaroa school to the AEB, which 'would be greatly to the disadvantage of the Maori children, who are not sufficiently advanced in English'. MacIntyre considered that a call for the transfer came from 'one or two agitators'.⁹⁵ He was referring to an October 1906 petition with 49 signatures complaining about overcrowding, the standard of education at Hauaroa for senior pupils, and the need to send children seven miles to Piriaka school.⁹⁶ The Minister responded to the petitioners with little sympathy. In a letter sent to Jennings, their representative in Parliament, Fowlds denied suggestions that the standard of education was lower in native schools.⁹⁷ However, less than three months later the Minister was assuring Taumarunui residents that the requested transfer to the AEB would happen if figures showed a significant increase in European pupils at Hauaroa. Shortly after making this promise in January 1907, Fowlds received a petition from Te Marae Rongomatane and 108 others opposing Hauaroa Native School becoming a general school.⁹⁸ The Education Department responded, on behalf of the Minister, that 'the whole question of the future of the school is to

⁹² AEB to Secretary for Education, 20 December 1906, William Bird on behalf of Secretary for Education, 11 January 1907, Building and Site Files – Hauaroa 1903-1907, BAAA, 1001, 244e, 44/4, SD vol 3, p 1139

⁹³ Fowlds to Secretary for Education, 7 January 1907, and *Taumarunui Press*, 4 January 1907, Building and Site Files – Hauaroa 1903-1907, BAAA, 1001, 244e, 44/4, SD vol 3, p 1142

⁹⁴ Bird to McIntyre, 11 January 1907, Building and Site Files – Hauaroa 1903-1907, BAAA, 1001, 244e, 44/4, SD vol 3, p 1140

⁹⁵ MacIntyre to Secretary for Education, 23 October 1906, Building and Site Files – Hauaroa 1903-1907, BAAA, 1001, 244e, 44/4, SD vol 3, p 1134

⁹⁶ Jennings to Minister of Education and attached petition, 22 October 1906, Building and Site Files – Hauaroa 1903-1907, BAAA, 1001, 244e, 44/4, SD vol 3, p 1133

⁹⁷ Minister of Education to Jennings, 13 November 1906, Building and Site Files – Hauaroa 1903-1907, BAAA, 1001, 244e, 44/4, SD vol 3, p 1135

⁹⁸ Te Marae Rongomatane and 108 others to Minister of Education, dated 14 December 1906, Building and Site Files – Hauaroa 1903-1907, BAAA, 1001, 244e, 44/4, SD vol 3, p 1144

be brought up for consideration shortly'. The Department assured the petitioners that 'the views of the Natives as expressed in the petition will then receive careful consideration'.⁹⁹

In February 1907, the head teacher provided the Education Department with the requested figures on the race of the pupils at Hauaroa. In the first week of the new school year, the average daily attendance was 34 Maori and part-Maori, and 39 Europeans.¹⁰⁰ These figures were largely in accord with the returns for 1906, which showed 41 Maori and 'mixed race' pupils on the school roll, and 44 Europeans.¹⁰¹ The European numbers had increased by over 20 percent since 1905, when 36 were recorded on the roll, but they still constituted only a slight majority.¹⁰² It had been claimed at the January 1907 public meeting in Taumarunui that the Pakeha roll numbers were kept down by overcrowding, with a number of children being kept out of school or sent to Piriaka on the train.¹⁰³ This point aside, the number of European pupils was insufficient to convince the Minister or the Education Department, and it was decided that Hauaroa would remain a native school.

Meanwhile, in January 1907, the Education Department finally accepted a tender for extending Hauaroa school, and the work was presumably completed during the year.¹⁰⁴ Yet this seems to have done nothing to increase the number of European pupils on the roll. There were 45 at the end of 1907, only one more than the previous year, while the number of Maori and mixed-race pupils had increased to 52, roughly the same number as in 1904 and 1905.¹⁰⁵ Europeans were again in the minority, and Hauaroa remained a native school for a further year. New figures at the end of 1908 showed that the number of European pupils on the roll had risen substantially, to 57, compared with 49 Maori and mixed-race pupils.¹⁰⁶ The Minister's condition (which was, in any case, departmental policy) was considered to have been met. At the start of the 1909 school year, Hauaroa Native School was handed over to the

⁹⁹ J L Severne for Secretary for Education, 31 January 1907, Building and Site Files – Hauaroa 1903-1907, BAAA, 1001, 244e, 44/4, SD vol 3, p 1146

¹⁰⁰ McIntyre to Secretary for Education, 1 February 1907, Building and Site Files – Hauaroa 1903-1907, BAAA, 1001, 244e, 44/4, SD vol 3, p 1148

¹⁰¹ AJHR 1907, E2, p 23

¹⁰² AJHR 1906, E2, p 26

¹⁰³ *Taumarunui Press*, 4 January 1907, Building and Site Files – Hauaroa 1903-1907, BAAA, 1001, 244e, 44/4, SD vol 3, p 1143

¹⁰⁴ William Bird to AEB, 11 January 1907, Hauaroa 1903-1907, BAAA, 1001, 244e, 44/4, SD vol 3, p 1140

¹⁰⁵ AJHR 1908, E2, p 25, AJHR 1906, E2, p 26, AJHR 1905, E2, p 23

¹⁰⁶ AJHR 1910, E2, p 21

AEB and became a general school.¹⁰⁷ If these events had taken place a decade earlier, a general school may well have been established in Taumarunui. However by 1906, departmental policy made the eventual transfer of Hauaroa to the AEB almost inevitable, as Broughton (then head teacher at Hauaroa) noted at the time.

Raglan: A Native School that Never Happened

On 1 June 1900, W Te Ao-o-terangi and 48 others wrote to the Native Minister asking that ‘a Maori School may be established near our kainga at Te Kopua near to Raglan’.¹⁰⁸ The ‘Te Kopua’ in question was on the southern side of the Raglan Harbour. (Its name may confuse some readers, given the existing Te Kopua native school on the Waipa river, discussed below). The request for a native school near Raglan was forwarded to the Education Department, and Education Secretary George Hogben responded in August 1900. He asked if any public school was nearby and requested a list of names and ages of children who would attend the school. After receiving the list of 41 names, Hogben wrote asking why the children did not attend the Raglan public school.¹⁰⁹ In November he received a response from Te Ao-o-Terangi, but in the meantime another letter arrived from Charles Sutton, who claimed to have lived near Raglan for 40 years. Sutton said a native school would attract students away from Raglan public school, as the proposed site was less than a mile from Raglan township. A tidal creek had to be crossed between Te Kopua and Raglan, but there was a ‘good ferry service paid for by the County Council’ that allowed school children to travel free. Sutton claimed that European children from well beyond Kopua attended the public school, and that ‘most’ of the names on the list sent to the department were of Maori children who lived in Raglan.¹¹⁰

Te Ao-o-Terangi’s response to Hogben, sent on 11 November 1900, answered some of these concerns, although there is no evidence he saw Sutton’s letter. He wrote that sometimes the ferry was late, there were no Maori adults at the public school to look after the Maori

¹⁰⁷ AJHR 1910, E3, pp 1, 3

¹⁰⁸ W Te Aoterangi and 48 others to Native Minister, 1 June 1900, Te Kopua no 3 (Raglan) Building and Site Files, BAAA, 1001, 597/a, 44/4, SD vol 3, pp 1150-1152

¹⁰⁹ Hogben to Te Aoterangi, 15 August 1900, Te Aoterangi to Hogben, 11 October 1900, Hogben to Te Aoterangi, 11 October 1900, Te Kopua no 3 (Raglan) Building and Site Files, BAAA, 1001, 597/a, 44/4, SD vol 3, p 1153

¹¹⁰ Charles Sutton to Department of Education, 1 November 1900, Te Kopua no 3 (Raglan) Building and Site Files, BAAA, 1001, 597/a, 44/4, SD vol 3, pp 1156-1157

children, and no way of getting food to them during the day.¹¹¹ In December 1900, Hogben wrote to the Auckland Education Board asking their views. The Board responded the following April, saying that the Raglan School Committee opposed the native school.¹¹² Nothing happened for several months, leading Rewi Maaka to twice visit Hogben in Wellington asking what was happening about the school application. In August 1901, Hogben wrote to native school inspector Harry Kirk asking him to investigate the issue while in the district.¹¹³ Kirk reported in September that the proposed site was a good one. Five children from the Te Kopua kainga were attending the public school, as were three other Maori. Kirk reluctantly recommended no new school because of its proximity to the public school, but admitted he thought it unlikely that the Te Kopua children would attend Raglan school 'in any numbers'.¹¹⁴ Hogben decided to give the Raglan School Committee a year to prove it could attract more Maori pupils.¹¹⁵

Meanwhile, local Maori continued to press the department for a new school.¹¹⁶ In December 1902, Wahanga Wetini and 29 others wrote to the department pointing out that Kawhia had two schools (as discussed above), setting a precedent for Raglan.¹¹⁷ In February 1903, after prompting from Hogben, the Auckland Education Board provided him with attendance figures showing that 18 Maori had attended Raglan school the previous year. Hogben apparently considered this an insufficient number, and he asked the AEB to reconsider its position. The Board relented and agreed to support a new native school at Te Kopua.¹¹⁸ In May 1903, Wahanga Wetini and others wrote to Education Minister Richard Seddon with a new list of names of children they said would attend the school.¹¹⁹ Chief native schools

¹¹¹ To Ao-o-Terangi to Hogben, 11 November 1900, Te Kopua no 3 (Raglan) Building and Site Files, BAAA, 1001, 597/a, 44/4, SD vol 3, pp 1159-1161

¹¹² Hogben to Auckland Education Board, 10 December 1900 and AEB to Hogben, 4 April 1901, Te Kopua no 3 (Raglan) Building and Site Files, BAAA, 1001, 597/a, 44/4, SD vol 3, pp 1162-1163, 1165

¹¹³ Hogben to Kirk, 27 August 1901, Te Kopua no 3 (Raglan) Building and Site Files, BAAA, 1001, 597/a, 44/4, SD vol 3, p 1164

¹¹⁴ Harry Kirk, report of 19 September 1901, Te Kopua no 3 (Raglan) Building and Site Files, BAAA, 1001, 597/a, 44/4, SD vol 3, p 1168-1170

¹¹⁵ Hogben to AEB, 4 October 1901, Te Kopua no 3 (Raglan) Building and Site Files, BAAA, 1001, 597/a, 44/4, SD vol 3, p 1171

¹¹⁶ Pera Kiwa to James Pope, 16 November 1901, Te Kopua no 3 (Raglan) Building and Site Files, BAAA, 1001, 597/a, 44/4, SD vol 3, p 1173

¹¹⁷ Wahanga Wetini and 29 others, 18 December 1902, Te Kopua no 3 (Raglan) Building and Site Files, BAAA, 1001, 597/a, 44/4, SD vol 3, pp 1175-1179

¹¹⁸ Hogben to AEB, 13 January and 23 February 1903, AEB to Hogben, 9 February and 6 March 1903, Te Kopua no 3 (Raglan) Building and Site Files, BAAA, 1001, 597/a, 44/4, SD vol 3, pp 1180, 1182-1184

¹¹⁹ Wahanga Wetini and others to Seddon, 30 May 1903, Te Kopua no 3 (Raglan) Building and Site Files, BAAA, 1001, 597/a, 44/4, SD vol 3, p 1187

inspector James Pope visited Te Kopua on the next available opportunity to prepare another report, this time addressed to Seddon. In his report, dated 4 September 1903, Pope estimated that the school would likely have 30 pupils, and recommended it go ahead.¹²⁰ In December 1903, the surveyor suggested that, due to title difficulties, the proposed site for the school should be taken under the Public Works Act 1894.¹²¹ Three acres was taken for the school under the Act in June 1904.¹²² In July, August and September 1904, Hami Kingi wrote to the Education Department asking that work commence on building the school, each time being told that these things take time or that other applications had higher priority.¹²³

In July 1904, the new chief native schools inspector, William Bird, recommended that the school-house from the recently-closed Raorao Native School, by Aotea Harbour, be transferred to the Te Kopua site.¹²⁴ The department seemed keen to re-use the Raorao schoolhouse because it was relatively new, and also of a unique experimental design – the school and teacher’s residence were incorporated in a single building. It was over a year before an estimate on the cost of moving the building was obtained. In August 1905, a memo addressed to Bird said that transferring the buildings would cost £400.¹²⁵ Bird appears to have been in Raglan at the time, for on 14 August 1905, he telegraphed Hogben from the township. The telegram stated that the Te Kopua Maori were moving to the other side of the Raglan Harbour.¹²⁶ Hogben immediately telegraphed Hami Kingi and John Pegler, a longstanding local settler, asking if this was true.¹²⁷ Pegler confirmed that the Te Kopua Maori were indeed moving, as they owned land on the other side of the harbour on which a lease had expired. They had decided to occupy it themselves rather than leasing it again.¹²⁸

¹²⁰ James Pope to Seddon, 4 September 1903, Te Kopua no 3 (Raglan) Building and Site Files, BAAA, 1001, 597/a, 44/4, SD vol 3, p 1194

¹²¹ Surveyor’s report, 17 December 1903, Te Kopua no 3 (Raglan) Building and Site Files, BAAA, 1001, 597/a, 44/4, SD vol 3, p 1199

¹²² *New Zealand Gazette* 30 June 1894, no 56, pp 1624-5

¹²³ Hami Kingi to Department of Education, 4 July, 15 August, 21 September 1904 and Department of Education to Hami Kingi, 29 July, 23 August, 3 October 1904, Te Kopua no 3 (Raglan) Building and Site Files, BAAA, 1001, 597/a, 44/4, SD vol 3, pp 1201-1202, 1204-1208

¹²⁴ William Bird memo, 27 July 1904, Te Kopua no 3 (Raglan) Building and Site Files, BAAA, 1001, 597/a, 44/4, SD vol 3, p 1203

¹²⁵ Memo from (unintelligible) to Bird, 12 August 1905, Te Kopua no 3 (Raglan) Building and Site Files, BAAA, 1001, 597/a, 44/4, SD vol 3, p 1209

¹²⁶ Telegram Bird to Secretary of Education, 14 August 1905, Te Kopua no 3 (Raglan) Building and Site Files, BAAA, 1001, 597/a, 44/4, SD vol 3, p 1210

¹²⁷ Telegrams Secretary of Education to Hami Kingi and John Pegler, 15 August 1905, Te Kopua no 3 (Raglan) Building and Site Files, BAAA, 1001, 597/a, 44/4, SD vol 3, pp 1211-1212

¹²⁸ John Pegler to Secretary of Education, 17 August 1905, Te Kopua no 3 (Raglan) Building and Site Files, BAAA, 1001, 597/a, 44/4, SD vol 3, p 1213-1215

The Education Department responded to Pegler that a decision on the school was being delayed until the situation was clarified.¹²⁹ On 1 September 1905, the department finally received a letter from Hami Kingi. It did not deny that the Te Kopua Maori were shifting, but said they still wanted a school on the agreed site.¹³⁰ There is nothing on the Education Department files concerning a final decision on the proposed Te Kopua school near Raglan. However, it is clear that the department decided not to go ahead with the project. Instead, another native school opened in the Raglan district in 1907, namely Rawhitiroa Native School.¹³¹ However, it appears that the school was well north of Raglan (and thus outside of the inquiry district) and was only open for a few years.¹³² As a result, in May 1910 the *Raglan County Chronicle* called for a native school in Raglan itself, due to overcrowding at the public school, and the presence of ‘skin disorders’ which were presumably blamed on Maori at the school.¹³³

In May 1913, Whare Paekau wrote to Western Maori MP Maui Pomare saying he and his wife had lived on the abandoned Te Kopua site for 10 years, during which time nothing had happened, and the land should therefore go to them.¹³⁴ The Secretary of Education responded that the government would legislate to return the land to its original owners.¹³⁵ The government was clearly in no hurry, and in May 1923, the Raglan County Council wrote to the Education Department asking permission to mine limestone on the land.¹³⁶ Finally, on 19 July 1923, an Order in Council revoked the 1904 Order taking land for Te Kopua school near Raglan, ‘the said land no longer being required for the purpose for which it was taken’.¹³⁷

The evidence available to explain the decision not to go ahead with the Te Kopua School at Raglan seems remarkably sketchy. It consists of a telegram from William Bird and a letter

¹²⁹ Department of Education to Pegler, 25 August 1905, Te Kopua no 3 (Raglan) Building and Site Files, BAAA, 1001, 597/a, 44/4, SD vol 3, p 1216

¹³⁰ Hami Kingi to Department of Education, 1 September 1905, Te Kopua no 3 (Raglan) Building and Site Files, BAAA, 1001, 597/a, 44/4, SD vol 3, p 1218

¹³¹ AJHR 1908, E2, p 2

¹³² Archives New Zealand holdings for Rawhitiroa Native School end in 1911.

¹³³ *Raglan County Chronicle*, 10 May 1910, in Te Kopua no 3 (Raglan) Building and Site Files, BAAA, 1001, 597/a, 44/4, SD vol 3, p 1219

¹³⁴ Whare Paekau to Maui Pomare, 12 May 1913, Te Kopua no 3 (Raglan) Building and Site Files, BAAA, 1001, 597/a, 44/4, SD vol 3, p 1221

¹³⁵ Secretary of Education to Whare Paekau, 29 May 1913, Te Kopua no 3 (Raglan) Building and Site Files, BAAA, 1001, 597/a, 44/4, SD vol 3, p 1222

¹³⁶ Raglan County Council to Department of Education, 3 May 1923, Te Kopua no 3 (Raglan) Building and Site Files, BAAA, 1001, 597/a, 44/4, SD vol 3, p 1224

¹³⁷ *New Zealand Gazette* 19 July 1923, no 56, p 2048

from John Pegler, both in August 1905. There is no record of a formal decision being taken, but this may simply reflect poor record-keeping by the Education Department. It is possible that the department had become cautious by 1905, after previously giving rapid approval to schools within Te Rohe Potae. The Raorao school closed in 1904 after just six years. In July 1905 a native school opened at Mangaorongo, only to close immediately because of a lack of pupils.¹³⁸ This was only a month before Pope's visit to Raglan revealed the apparent plan of the Te Kopua community to shift elsewhere. Some caution on the part of the Education Department was possibly warranted.

Another native school approved on the borders of Te Rohe Potae failed to go ahead. In 1914 the Education Department's annual report announced that a new school was to be built at Hiakaitupeka near Taumaranui.¹³⁹ In September 1915, the Reverend Egerton Ward wrote to William Bird, on behalf of local Maori, to say that survey problems with the site had stopped progress, but they were now prepared to go ahead.¹⁴⁰ Bird responded two weeks later:

In view of the fact that a considerable time has elapsed since the Department last heard from the Natives it is advisable that another visit shall be paid by the Inspector to ascertain the conditions obtaining now. I hope that it will be possible to arrange for this within the next two or three months.¹⁴¹

There is nothing else recorded on file, and no further mention of the proposed school in the department's annual reports.

The Saga of the Te Kopua River Crossing

Te Kopua Native School, which opened in 1885, was located near the Waipa River. Pupils from both sides of the river attended the school, meaning some needed to cross it to get to school. In addition, there was no teacher's residence until 1950, and the teacher commonly also needed to cross the river to reach the school. The inspector's 1896 report noted that a swing bridge was needed over the Waipa River to enable pupils to safely get to school. 'It is

¹³⁸ AJHR 1906, E2, p 3. Mangaorongo native school re-opened during 1906, but lasted only three years before closing permanently.

¹³⁹ AJHR 1914, E3, p 5

¹⁴⁰ Rev Egerton Ward to Bird, 3 Sept 1915, Hiakaitupeka School site file , BAAA 1001 245b, 44/4, SD vol 3, p 1269

¹⁴¹ Bird to Rev Egerton Ward, 18 Sept 1915, Hiakaitupeka School site file , BAAA 1001 245b, 44/4, SD vol 3, p 1270

the practice for several pupils to cross in a canoe, with great risk at times'.¹⁴² The Education Department took no action before the school was closed down in 1916. When Te Kopua Native School re-opened in 1922, children were still crossing the river in a canoe. In October 1925, for example, the teacher recorded that two new children at the school had to be crossed in a canoe, with one of the pupils (Polly) as the 'ferryman'.¹⁴³ In June and July 1932, the Waipa River was in flood for about a week. The teacher, who had to cross the river to get to school, recorded that she was absent for a day 'owing to losing my nerve for crossing in the heavy flood in my small boat'. She wrote to the Education Department for permission to close the school during the flood. She received permission three days later, but did not record how long the school was closed, if at all.¹⁴⁴

In May 1940, the teacher recorded that the school canoe was lost in a flood, although it was later found downstream.¹⁴⁵ The canoe appears to have been owned by someone from the local community, for in November 1941, the owner temporarily seized the canoe in what seems to have been an attempt to extract payment for its use.¹⁴⁶ In June 1942, the school inspector told the teacher that the Education Department would look into buying a boat for the school.¹⁴⁷ Less than a month later the teacher reported having trouble getting ferried across the river, due to the ferryman making things difficult.¹⁴⁸ In September 1942, the department turned down the boat application, instead agreeing to pay a transport subsidy for the existing canoe.¹⁴⁹ However, in October 1943 the ferryman went on strike when the department failed to pay him.¹⁵⁰ The teacher recorded on 1 November that the ferryman, Mr Hughes, had been paid, but just months later a dispute arose between Hughes and the owner of the canoe over the appropriate division of the department's transport subsidy.¹⁵¹ In April

¹⁴² AJHR 1897, E2, p 5

¹⁴³ Entry for 19 October 1925, Te Kopua Native School Log book 1922-32, BAAA, 1003, 7/d, SD vol 2, p 570

¹⁴⁴ Entries for 27 and 30 June 1932, Te Kopua Native School Log book 1932-1946, BAAA, 1003, 7/e, SD vol 2, p 595

¹⁴⁵ Entry for 20 May 1940, Te Kopua Native School Log book 1932-1946, BAAA, 1003, 7/e, SD vol 2, p 643

¹⁴⁶ Entry for 10 November 1941, Te Kopua Native School Log book 1932-1946, BAAA, 1003, 7/e, SD vol 2, pp 647-648

¹⁴⁷ Entry for 4 June 1942, Te Kopua Native School Log book 1932-1946, BAAA, 1003, 7/e, SD vol 2, pp 650-651

¹⁴⁸ Entry for 1 July 1942, Te Kopua Native School Log book 1932-1946, BAAA, 1003, 7/e, SD vol 2, p 651

¹⁴⁹ Entry for 8 September 1942, Te Kopua Native School Log book 1932-1946, BAAA, 1003, 7/e, SD vol 2, p 652

¹⁵⁰ Entry for 20 October 1943, Te Kopua Native School Log book 1932-1946, BAAA, 1003, 7/e, SD vol 2, p 659

¹⁵¹ Entries for 1 November 1943 and 25 February 1944, Te Kopua Native School Log book 1932-1946, BAAA, 1003, 7/e, SD vol 2, pp 659, 661-662

1944, the school committee decided to try and put an end to the ongoing disputes by agreeing to purchase a new boat from the school's own funds.¹⁵² The purchase went ahead, and department's transport funding therefore presumably went directly to the school. In July 1944 the committee's secretary, Pura Panapa, became the new ferryman, but in September the former ferryman was still arguing over his pay.¹⁵³

When the inspector visited the school in October 1945, he discussed with the teacher the possibility of a bridge over the river, or a new site for the school, to deal with the problem of the river crossing. The latter option was presumably to enable the river to be crossed at a safer place.¹⁵⁴ This proposal came nearly 50 years after the issue of the dangers of the river crossing had first been raised by a native-school inspector. In August 1946, someone from the Auckland Education Board visited the district to examine options for a new site for Te Kopua school.¹⁵⁵ When the school inspector next visited, in February 1948, he again discussed with the teacher options for a new school site, and the issue of a boat versus a bridge for crossing the river.¹⁵⁶ Nothing happened for the next few years, but at least something was done to eliminate the problem of the teacher having to cross the river. In August 1949, work commenced on a teachers' residence.¹⁵⁷ The teacher, D H Strother, moved into the new residence in March 1950.¹⁵⁸

Meanwhile, preparations were underway to move the school to a new site. This had become a major priority, not only because of the river crossing issue, but also because of the state of the school. When the inspector visited in June 1949, he reported an 'urgent need for new buildings'.¹⁵⁹ A site for the new school was acquired in 1950, but the school did not re-locate until 1953. Meanwhile the inspector's report for April 1951 recorded that the school building

¹⁵² Entry for 31 April [sic, should be March] 1944, Te Kopua Native School Log book 1932-1946, BAAA, 1003, 7/e, SD vol 2, p 662

¹⁵³ Entries for 19 July and 27 September 1944, Te Kopua Native School Log book 1932-1946, BAAA, 1003, 7/e, SD vol 2, pp 664-665

¹⁵⁴ Entry for 12 October 1945, Te Kopua Native School Log book 1932-1946, BAAA, 1003, 7/e, SD vol 2, pp 668-669

¹⁵⁵ Entry for 23 August 1946, Te Kopua Native School Log book 1932-1946, BAAA, 1003, 7/e, SD vol 2, p 671

¹⁵⁶ Last entry for February 1948 (no date), Te Kopua Native School Log book 1946-1956, BAAA, 1003, 7/f, SD vol 2, p 677

¹⁵⁷ Entry for 15 August 1949, Te Kopua Native School Log book 1946-1956, BAAA, 1003, 7/f, SD vol 2, p 682

¹⁵⁸ Entry for 31 March 1950, Te Kopua Native School Log book 1946-1956, BAAA, 1003, 7/f, SD vol 2, p 684

¹⁵⁹ Inspection report for 23 March 1949, Te Kopua General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1947-1957, BAAA, 1001, 1046/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 62

was 'old and in very bad condition'.¹⁶⁰ A month later, the senior pupils moved into a prefabricated classroom that had been moved to the site as a temporary solution to the growing school roll.¹⁶¹

The shifting of the school to a new site in 1953 seems to have improved conditions greatly. In March 1956, the inspector reported that the school building and grounds were 'well cared for'.¹⁶² However, the move seems to have done nothing to resolve the issue of children crossing the Waipa River. In September 1953, the teacher recorded that the ferry boat had been washed away and sunk.¹⁶³ The boat appears to have been recovered, or a replacement found, for the children continued to attend school in subsequent weeks. However, between 9 and 12 October 1953, no children were able to cross the river because of flooding.¹⁶⁴ On 3 May 1955 the teacher reported that the boat had drifted 'under a log', although was later recovered.¹⁶⁵ Flooding in April and July 1956 made the Waipa River impassable for the ferry boat.¹⁶⁶ The school closed permanently at the end of that year. As outlined in a previous chapter, this was because the Education Department failed to predict that the opening of a new board school nearby would attract a significant number of pupils from Te Kopua. The closure of the school meant that the issue of the river crossing remained unresolved, after first being raised as early as 1896.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined a variety of issues associated with the resourcing and administration of native schools. Some of these issues are general, in that they apply to all native schools, while others are more specific to Te Rohe Potae.

¹⁶⁰ Inspection report for 2 April 1951, Te Kopua General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1947-1957, BAAA, 1001, 1046/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 63

¹⁶¹ Education Department Internal Memo, 18 January 1957, Te Kopua General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1947-1957, BAAA, 1001, 1046/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 71-72, and entry for 28 May 1951, Te Kopua Native School Log book 1946-1956, BAAA, 1003, 7/f, SD vol 2, p 686

¹⁶² Inspection report for 29 March 1956, Te Kopua General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1947-1957, BAAA, 1001, 1046/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 65

¹⁶³ Entry for 25 September 1953, Te Kopua Native School Log book 1946-1956, BAAA, 1003, 7/f, SD vol 2, p 690

¹⁶⁴ Entries for 9-12 October 1953, Te Kopua Native School Log book 1946-1956, BAAA, 1003 7/f, SD vol 2, pp 690-691

¹⁶⁵ Entry for 3 May 1955 Te Kopua Native School Log book 1946-1956, BAAA 1003, 7/f, SD vol 2, p 703

¹⁶⁶ Entries for 20 April, 11 July 1956, Te Kopua Native School Log book 1946-1956, BAAA 1003, 7/f, SD vol 2, pp 707-708

It has been found that claims that communities wanting to establish native schools were invariably treated less generously than communities wanting to establish general schools are unfounded. Similar legislative provisions applied to the establishment of both types of school, and the situation was not greatly altered by a new Education Act in 1914. Several examples were found of the Auckland Education Board requiring communities to contribute significant resources towards the establishment and maintenance of public schools within Te Rohe Potae, even in the 1920s. On the other hand, the committees of native schools had limited powers and responsibilities compared with those in general schools, and this situation lasted until 1957. In addition, some validity was found for claims that native school teachers were paid less than their counterparts in general schools. This was the case for a short time after 1901, when a unified salary scale was introduced for teachers in board school. The difference came about because part of the salaries of native-school teachers was at risk under the 'payment by results' system. This system was abolished in 1907, and native-school teacher salaries were increased to put them in line with teachers in board schools by 1909.

By the early twentieth century, the Education Department's policy was that native schools would be transferred to education boards once a clear majority of pupils were 'European'. In addition, the department began to shy away from allowing native and general schools to co-exist in the same township. No evidence was found that the department consulted with Maori communities over these policies, or attempted to publicise them. The new policies coincided with a significant increase in the Pakeha population of Te Rohe Potae, as the main trunk railway neared completion. As a result, the Education Department and Auckland Education Board increasingly had to deal with problems resulting from overcrowded schools. In addition, the roll of some native schools became dominated by Pakeha pupils, causing the schools to be transferred to the AEB. Two cases have been examined in which Maori communities objected to such transfers, namely Kawhia and Hauaroa (Taumaranui) native schools. It was concluded that departmental policy made the transfers almost inevitable. Schools that were established with Maori effort and resources were thus taken over in order to save the AEB and Pakeha communities money.

Education Department policy made the establishment of a native school at the Te Kopua kainga, just a mile from Raglan township, unlikely. However, the department relented due to the difficulties caused by children having to cross a tidal creek to get to Raglan School. Yet

after some five years of discussion and planning, the proposed school was cancelled. It appears that the residents of the Te Kopua kainga suddenly moved north of the harbour to occupy land they owned there.

The actual Te Kopua Native School (further south) saw decades of indecision relating to the need of pupils to cross the Waipa River by canoe. A swing bridge was proposed by a school inspector in 1896, but nothing was ever done. Admittedly, no evidence was found for community pressure favouring this proposal. However, there was plenty of evidence of the children's education being disrupted due to pupils (and sometimes the teacher) being unable to get to school because of flooding and other issues associated with crossing the river. One of these issues was that the canoe was in private ownership. This was dealt with by the school committee, who purchased a boat from school funds and ferried children across the river themselves. But decisions were otherwise in the hands of Education Department officials, who were invariably slow to act. This perhaps provides a case study of the situation facing most native schools, where few decisions could be made locally.

Chapter 6 – Assimilation and Maori Culture

Introduction

One of the accusations commonly made about the system of Maori education is that it aimed to assimilate or ‘Europeanise’ Maori. According to Barrington in his 2009 book, senior education officials such as James Pope regarded schools as ‘essential agents of assimilation’.¹ The blurb for Barrington’s book describes the assimilation policy as ‘designed to turn Maori into brown Europeans’. In evidence provided to the Waitangi Tribunal in 1999, Judith Simon stated that ‘the Government, with its assimilation policy, intended to replace Maori culture with that of the European’.² According to Simon and Smith, until the 1930s ‘the entire work of the Native School was governed by a policy of assimilation. Hence, everything taught to the Maori child in the Native School until that time was intended to contribute towards his or her eventual Europeanisation.’³ They later state that, in implementing that policy, ‘primary place was given to the replacement of the Maori language with English.’⁴ Yet in his earlier book with Tim Beaglehole, Barrington put a different view with respect to one of the chief architects of the native school system:

[W]hile Pope believed that the Maori pupils should acquire those European ideas and practices which would be useful to them, particularly in the fields of education and health, he could by no stretch of the imagination be described as a ruthless assimilationist. On the contrary, he came to realize that any changes brought about in Maori society should be gradual, and that they could and should occur without the Maoris giving up all that was best and desirable in their own culture and way of life.⁵

This chapter will discuss these contrasting views. Were the native schools doing no more than trying to impart useful European ideas and practices, while leaving Maori culture otherwise largely untouched? Or were they trying to ‘Europeanise’ every Maori child who

¹ Barrington, 2009, p 46

² Judith Simon, Wai 718, A51, para 25, p 8

³ Simon and Smith, p 111

⁴ Simon and Smith, p 170

⁵ JM Barrington and TH Beaglehole, *Maori Schools in a Changing Society*, NZCER, Wellington 1974, p 157.

attended them? It begins with a discussion as to whether the school system aimed to replace the Maori language with English.

Replacing Maori with English?

The Native Schools Act 1858 required that schools funded under the Act should include '[i]nstruction in the English language and in the ordinary subjects of primary English education'.⁶ There was nothing in the Act specifying what language was to be used in teaching at the schools, and it is clear from inspectors' reports published in the AJHRs that reading and writing was generally taught in Maori and that some of the schools had Maori teachers. In fact the perception that little English had been taught in the mission schools was one reason why the English language provisions were made stricter in the 1867 Native Schools Act. When the Bill was debated in Parliament, some members were clearly under the impression that instruction in the missionary schools had been almost entirely in Maori, although others denied this.⁷ Richmond, the Minister who introduced the Bill, said that little had been done to date 'in teaching the Maoris the English language'.⁸ The Act provided that '[n]o school shall receive any grant unless...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.*'⁹

One reason put forward by Parliamentarians for emphasising English was to enable Maori to participate fully in the democratic process.¹⁰ As the Hon Matthew Holmes told the legislative council when debating the 1871 amendment Bill, 'Maoris themselves were now becoming conscious that the only hope of their ever obtaining any power in the councils of the country, or of taking that position which they imagined they had a right to occupy, was by educating their children and placing them on the same platform as the European, by teaching them the English language'.¹¹ Another argument was that English provided the key to learning other subjects. In the debate on the 1867 Act, former school inspector Hugh Carleton told the house that 'the first problem in Native education was how to give a knowledge of the English

⁶ Native Schools Act 1858, Section IX

⁷ See, for example, NZPD 1867, pp 862, 1051

⁸ NZPD 1867, p 862

⁹ Native Schools Act 1867, section 21, emphasis added

¹⁰ Simon and Smith, pp 161-2

¹¹ NZPD 1871, p 666

language through which, and through which alone, other knowledge could be obtained'.¹² His views were later echoed by James Pope, Chief Inspector of Native Schools, in 1900:

Maori children who can read and speak English with fair fluency can learn arithmetic and geography just as well as European children can....In our efforts, then to make the attainments of our Maori children approximate to those of well-instructed European children we have to bestow our most careful attention on English, reading and writing.¹³

However, not all members agreed with the English language provisions. One MHR objected that schools 'should first teach the Natives to read and write in their own language.'¹⁴ All three members who spoke on the Bill in the Legislative Chamber argued that the provision requiring instruction in English could prove problematic, particularly when recruiting teachers. Walter Mantell referred to the 'considerable difficulty in finding teachers who understood both languages'.¹⁵ The upper house therefore proposed an amendment to ensure that Maori teachers could be employed. When successfully introducing this amendment to the House of Representatives, James Richmond said that 'a Maori might be competent to teach a good deal in English, although he carried on the work in his own tongue'.¹⁶ He therefore considered the amendment to be consistent with the English language provision in the Bill. This is hardly surprising given that the Act, as passed, included the vague qualifier 'as far as practicable'. When the Native Schools Act was amended in 1871, one legislative councillor asked whether 'it was the intention to abolish Maori teaching, or if there was to be a mixture of both English and Maori'. Henry Sewell responded with impressive evasiveness, stating that 'the system which had hitherto prevailed would be continued'.¹⁷

By the time the Act was amended in 1871, four Maori members had entered Parliament. Three spoke in support of the 1871 Bill, and also expressed their general support for the Native Schools Act. Karaitiana Takamoana, the member for Eastern Maori, wanted to ensure that 'English' children also attended native schools to better enable Maori children to learn

¹² NZPD 1867, p 864

¹³ AJHR 1900, E2, p 17

¹⁴ NZPD 1867, p 866

¹⁵ NZPD 1867, pp 1050-1

¹⁶ NZPD 1867, p 1170

¹⁷ NZPD 1871, p 667. The 1871 amendment increased the funding to native schools.

the language.¹⁸ He later unsuccessfully sought legislation to try and ensure that Maori children were taught *only* in English. Simon and Smith note that Maori took several similar petitions to Parliament during the 1870s, including one calling for a law change to prohibit the use of Maori in native schools. Some native school committees developed policies banning Te Reo.¹⁹ Such pressures from Maori may have influenced the Native Schools Code issued in 1880. The Code stated:

In all cases English is to be used by the teacher when he is instructing the senior classes. In the junior classes the Maori 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 Maori as soon as possible.²⁰

Despite the stern-sounding injunctions of the 1880 Code, Simon et al note that ‘under the Department of Education, the curriculum and classroom practice continued to use the children’s strength in their first language as a means to teaching spoken English, and reading and writing in English.’²¹ In fact Pope, the author of the 1880 Code, wrote books in both Maori and English for use in native schools.²² Pope wrote in his 1888 annual report that for the senior pupils ‘there must be abundant translation and re-translation...and this must be continued until easy Maori or English sentences can be translated off-hand without mistake’.²³ The Code itself, particularly after it was amended in 1897, required pupils to translate between English and Maori in order to meet the standards needed to progress to a higher level. For example, to pass Standard 2, pupils were required ‘to give the Maori for words and phrases occurring in the lesson’.²⁴ In addition, the Code required candidates for the first class teacher’s certificate (which gave teachers higher pay) to demonstrate ‘a fair knowledge’ of the Maori language. Simon and Smith note that, although Native School teachers rarely reached the ‘first class’ level, anecdotal evidence suggests that ‘quite a number’ were fluent in Te Reo in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. To help the

¹⁸ NZPD 1871, p 828. The remaining Maori member did not contribute to the debate.

¹⁹ Simon and Smith, p 164. See also Barrington, 2009, p 64

²⁰ Native Schools Code 1880, AJHR 1880, H1F

²¹ Simon et al, *Nga Kura Maori*, p 77

²² Simon et al, *Nga Kura Maori*, pp 77-8

²³ AJHR 1888, E2, pp 9-10

²⁴ Native Schools Code, 1897 revision, p 6, Circulars: Native Schools 1894-1905, ABDM, W4494, 1, Supporting Documents (SD) vol 1, p 11

majority who were not, uncertificated Maori women were employed as junior assistants from the early twentieth century, in part ‘to mediate between the Maori and English languages for the younger children’.²⁵ The Native Schools Code, from 1897, recommended that teachers learn ‘enough Maori to enable them to communicate with the adult Natives’.²⁶

Although Maori continued to be widely used in native schools into the early twentieth century, changes were afoot. One of the inspectors of native schools, Harry Kirk, encouraged teachers to apply the ‘direct method’, already used to teach French to secondary school students. ‘This method of language teaching was based on the belief that the most effective way to learn a second language was to be totally immersed in it.’²⁷ By the time he retired in 1903, Pope had become an enthusiast of the direct method. ‘Year by year and almost day by day it has become more certain that the best and only way of learning conversational English is through conversation itself.’²⁸ This immersion style of teaching was also called the ‘natural’ method because it aimed to replicate the way in which children learned their first language. In 1902 the Education Department produced a small booklet advocating the immersion method for teaching ‘children who speak another language in their own homes’. The booklet was presumably intended for general use, making no mention of Maori, although a copy was sent to every native school. It advised teachers that ‘a foreign language should be learned by children (or adults) as the mother tongue was’.²⁹

Pope’s successor, William Bird, was a convert to the direct method and actively promoted it.³⁰ Bird also advocated the use of English outside of the classroom setting. In his 1906 annual report he urged teachers and school committees to encourage children to talk English in the playground. ‘There are many schools in which this habit is regularly practised, and it is very encouraging to hear the young Maori children calling to one another in English as they chase each other about the playground.’³¹ Bird was in part concerned to improve the public

²⁵ Simon and Smith, p 163, Barrington, 2009, p 102

²⁶ Native Schools Code, 1897 revision, p 6, SD vol 1, p 11

²⁷ Simon and Smith, p 165

²⁸ AJHR 1903, E2, p 18

²⁹ Department of Education, ‘Rough notes on the teaching of English to children who speak another language in their own homes’, 1902, pp 1-2, Circulars: Native Schools 1894-1905, ABDM, W4494, 1, SD vol 1, pp 35-36

³⁰ See, for example, AJHR 1904, E2, p 23

³¹ AJHR 1906, E2, p 12

image of native schools by debunking an alleged perception by some Pakeha (and even some Maori) that the children at the schools were taught in Maori.³²

Some questioned the immersion approach. In 1908, Northern Maori MP Hone Heke called for Maori to be taught in native schools, to protect the language.³³ Alexander Hogg, a member of the 1906 Royal Commission on the Te Aute and Wanganui School Trusts, asked Bird and Education Secretary George Hogben why the native schools did not teach reading and writing in Maori.³⁴ Both Bird and Hogben were adamant that this would undermine the teaching of English by encouraging learning by translation rather than by immersion. Both held the somewhat contentious view that, once they had been taught to read and write in English, Maori could apply these skills to their own language. Hogben told the Commission that if ‘anybody has been taught to read in one language and knows the significance of the characters, he has no difficulty in reading in a very short time in those same characters any other language that he can speak. That is a well known fact. It requires no definite teaching as long as the characters are the same.’³⁵ However, Hogben agreed that translation between the two languages should be taught in secondary schools ‘when they know English and Maori well enough’.³⁶ Bird, in his 1907 annual report, advocated the study of the Maori language at Te Aute in preference to Latin.³⁷ Maori had continued to be taught to the small minority who progressed to the denominational boarding schools. For example, examinations for the Te Makarini scholarships, providing assistance for secondary and tertiary study, included questions requiring familiarity with the Maori language.³⁸

In 1917, the Education Department published a 23-page booklet on English language teaching, for distribution to native schools. The booklet outlined the ‘direct or natural method’ for teaching English ‘and provided guidelines for teachers to put it into practice’.³⁹ On page six, the booklet advised teachers to avoid interactions in Maori in the classroom, ‘if

³² See AJHR 1906, E2, pp 12, 18

³³ Quoted by Barrington, 2009, p 112

³⁴ Report of the Royal Commission on the Te Aute and Wanganui School Trusts, AJHR 1906, G5, pp 90-91, 97, 99. Hogg was MHR for Masterton.

³⁵ AJHR 1906, G5, p 99

³⁶ AJHR 1906, G5, p 91

³⁷ AJHR 1907, E2, p 7

³⁸ AJHR 1909, E2, p 10. The Te Makarini scholarships were instituted by Douglas Maclean to fulfil a wish of his father Donald Maclean (‘Te Makarini’).

³⁹ Simon and Smith, p 166

you can help it'.⁴⁰ However, it also acknowledged that, if children do not understand what is expected of them, 'no harm will be done by telling them in Maori'.⁴¹ A commentator in 1974 noted that that the contents of the 1917 booklet were little different from one published by the Education Department 50 years later for teaching English as a second language.⁴²

The booklet provoked debate among teachers about teaching methodology, in some cases through *Te Waka Maori*, the monthly journal of the Native Teachers' Association launched in 1915.⁴³ Barrington notes that it is evident from articles in the journal 'that many individual teachers devoted considerable effort and thought themselves to devising and sharing with their colleagues methods of teaching English they had found to be effective, rather than just relying on official suggestions.'⁴⁴ Simon et al provide an interesting perspective on the debates:

Some of the arguments by teachers, for and against teaching English through Maori, echo modern debates on bilingual and immersion schooling. Indeed, aspects of reports about some teachers' practices, and even parts of the early official curriculum, have a modern and innovative look to them.⁴⁵

These debates were reflected in a variety of practices by teachers in native schools, with some going so far as to ban the use of Maori, even in the playground, and others condemning this practice.⁴⁶ The oral evidence provided by various researchers indicates that, in the 1930s and 1940s, the majority of native school teachers discouraged the use of Maori language, and many punished pupils for speaking Maori. Corporal punishment was often used, and evidence of this has been presented to other Tribunal inquiries.⁴⁷ In submitting traditional evidence to this inquiry, Te Pare Joseph spoke of the Maori teacher at Te Kopua school, Sarah Mauriohooho, being 'instructed to not allow the children to speak Māori at school'.⁴⁸ There is

⁴⁰ Quoted by Simon et al, p 81

⁴¹ Quoted by Simon et al, p 81

⁴² Barrington and Beaglehole, *Maori Schools*, p 150

⁴³ Simon et al, p 69

⁴⁴ Barrington, 2004, p 187

⁴⁵ Simon et al, p 75

⁴⁶ Simon and Smith, p 166, Simon et al, p 75

⁴⁷ Simon and Smith, pp 141-157, Rachel Selby, *Still Being Punished*, Huia: Wellington, 1999, *Te Reo Report*, pp 8-9

⁴⁸ Te Pare Joseph, Nga Korero Tuku Iho hui 6 (English interpretation), 9-11 June 2010, Wai 898, doc 4.1.6, p 146

no evidence from school log books in Te Rohe Potae of children being punished for speaking Maori. Those punishments noted in the books were primarily for disobedience, fighting, bullying, obscene language, and, in one case, for asking the teacher 'who made God?'.⁴⁹ The most extensive Taharoa Log Book, covering 1933 to 1945, recorded no punishments at all.⁵⁰ Either corporal punishment was rarely or never used during this time, or, more likely, it generally went unrecorded. The evidence from other sources, such as Simon and Smith, is so compelling that the issue of punishment for speaking Maori seems beyond question, and is likely to have occurred in schools within the inquiry district.

Why teachers acted in this way is not entirely clear. Simon and Smith note that corporal punishment for speaking Maori contravened both the Native Schools Code and the 1931 regulations for native schools. 'It seems clear, therefore, that when Maori children were strapped simply for speaking in Maori, it was the teachers rather than the children who were breaking the rules'.⁵¹ According to Barrington, 'no official regulation forbidding the use of Maori in schools appears to have existed'.⁵² Inspectors seemed to take varying views on the use of Maori in schools. In 1932, Tom Fletcher commented on the 'poor' standard of English oral expression at Kaharoa (formerly Moerangi) Native School, within Te Rohe Potae. Fletcher noted that 'the children speak in Maori to no small extent in the playground, and this practice should be stopped. They require as much training in English as possible'.⁵³ However, two years earlier, senior education official William Bird had encouraged the use of Maori in another school within the inquiry district. In May 1930, Bird wrote to the head teacher of Taharoa Native School with a request to 'please hand the enclosed message to the senior boy of your school and ask him to read it to the school pupils. It is a request to them to stop writing on the walls and to keep their school clean'.⁵⁴ The enclosed message consisted of seven sentences in Maori to be read out in class. Ironically, just six months earlier, Tuteao Te

⁴⁹ Entries for 14 December 1932, 27 May, 30 September and 7 October 1941, 2 April 1942, 18 August and 23 November 1943, Te Kopua Log book 1932-1946 BAAA 1003 7/e, SD vol 2, pp 600, 644, 646. Entries for 13 and 28 June 1932, 8 July 1936, Rakaunui School Log Book 1932-1940 BAAA 1003 5/h, SD vol 2, pp 727-728, 757. Entry for 3 November 1942, Makomako School Log Book 1932-1942, YCAG, 1653, 1/b, SD vol 3, p 968. Entries for 7 April, 14 April 1943, 29 March 1944, 2 June 1944, 12, 16 April 1946, 3 May 1946, Makomako School Log Book 1942-1955, YCAG, 1653, 1/c, SD vol 3, pp 973-974, 976-977, 983-984

⁵⁰ Taharoa School Log Book 1933-1945, BACD, 1193, 1/a, SD vol 2, pp 902-931

⁵¹ Simon and Smith, pp 166-7

⁵² Barrington, 2009, p 193

⁵³ Inspection Report, Kaharoa Native School, 15 March 1932, Archives New Zealand, 'Kaharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1946', BAAA, 1001, 940/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 342

⁵⁴ Bird to Headteacher, Taharoa Native School, 13 May 1930, Archives New Zealand, 'Taharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1946', BAAA, 1001, 1030/d, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 267-268

Uira, a disgruntled member of the Taharoa school committee, had written to Bird complaining about the use of Maori in the school:

The schoolmaster's jurisdiction lies within the boundaries of the school. Any child coming within that boundary he must teach. I suggest that he should not allow Maori children coming within this boundary to speak the Maori language. I have observed that our children are given to speaking Maori within this boundary and even in the school house.⁵⁵

Others have also found evidence that parents occasionally pushed to ban Maori language in schools, as was noted earlier in relation to the nineteenth century. According to Barrington, 'several teachers who taught at native schools [in the 1930s] have confirmed that it was sometimes parents, school committee members or prominent local leaders who wanted the Maori language to be excluded from their children's education.'⁵⁶ One teacher claimed that the children 'were allowed to speak Maori in the playground, but the parents would have gone mad if we had allowed them to speak Maori in school.' Another said he 'hardly heard a word of Maori' because of discipline imposed by the chair of the school committee.⁵⁷ Wiremu Parker, a former Education Department official who attended a native school in the 1920s, also claimed that Maori parents supported punishment for speaking Maori in the playground.⁵⁸ In 1930, Apirana Ngata advised the Minister of Education that 'Maori parents do not like their children being taught in Maori, even in the Maori schools, as they argue that the children are sent there to learn English and the ways of the English.'⁵⁹ Some of Simon and Smith's informants confirm Ngata's claim, such as this former native school pupil speaking about his experience in the 1920s:

[M]y grandfather himself was one of those who told the teacher not to let us speak Maori on the playground. Before I went to school I couldn't speak a word of English and my grandfather went to school and told the teacher not to

⁵⁵ Letter from Tuteoa Te Uira to William Bird (translated), 18 November 1929, p 2, in Archives New Zealand, 'Taharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1946', BAAA, 1001, 1030/d, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 262. Te Uira was writing in a private capacity rather than on behalf of the committee.

⁵⁶ Barrington, 2009, pp 192-3

⁵⁷ Barrington, 2009, p 193

⁵⁸ Barrington, 2009, p 111

⁵⁹ Barrington, 2009, p 192

let us speak Maori....We weren't actually punished but we were told strictly not to speak Maori.⁶⁰

Simon and Smith speculate on the motives of parents and grandparents:

In their insistence that Te Reo be banned from the schools it is highly unlikely that Maori ever conceived that its survival would come under threat as a consequence. Rather it is probable that they expected their children to become bilingual. The oral testimonies reveal that the relationship between Maori desire for instruction in English and for economic viability was still being played out amongst parents of Native School children well into the twentieth century. This was reflected in the emphasis many parents and grandparents placed on the children learning English in order to increase their 'life-chances'.⁶¹

Native school language policy appears to have had little impact on the survival of the Maori language. The department collected statistics from time to time on the home language of Maori pupils attending native schools.⁶² These figures showed that in 1920, over 96 percent of these pupils spoke Maori in the home. Of the small number (164) classified as speaking English at home, a quarter were pupils of a single South Island school.⁶³ According to a survey of 1000 senior pupils at North Island native schools, conducted in 1930 (over 60 years after the passing of the Native Schools Act), Maori was the only language regularly spoken in 97 percent of the Maori homes.⁶⁴ As was noted by WS Dale in 1931, this was despite the fact that 'many of the children represent a second generation, if not a third, in which English has been freely taught and used'. In addition, Maori soldiers in the Great War 'were forced to use the Pakeha language when away from their army companies.' Dale spent a month in an unnamed pa with a population of about 150. He claimed that everyone used Maori in daily conversation, including seven people who had attended secondary school. In the words of one

⁶⁰ Simon and Smith, p 147

⁶¹ Simon and Smith, p 165

⁶² 'Maori' includes 'half-castes'

⁶³ AJHR 1920, E3, Table H6. The figures exclude 'European' pupils at native schools.

⁶⁴ NR McKenzie, 'The Educability of the Maori', in Patrick Jackson (ed), *Maori and Education*, Ferguson and Osborn, Wellington, 1931, pp 205-6, 214. A 1935 survey of *all* native school pupils gave a lower figure of 91 percent speaking Maori at home, reported in AJHR 1936, E3, p 1. The 1930 survey excluded schools south of Hawkes Bay.

young woman, who had matriculated, ‘we all speak Maori here’ as ‘the others don’t like to use English’.⁶⁵

Less and less Maori was used in primary schools during the early twentieth century, but the same does not appear to have occurred in post-primary education. Maori was a university entrance subject from 1918, and a university subject from 1929.⁶⁶ In 1930 a delegation representing school teachers met with the Minister of Education to lobby for the Maori language to also be included in the primary curriculum. The Minister professed to be a strong believer in Maori lessons in primary schools, but nothing was done.⁶⁷ This may be because of the opposition from Native Affairs Minister Apirana Ngata (whose views were quoted earlier), and from Education Department officials. By the 1930s, officials seemed to oppose such a change on practical grounds – namely the lack of suitable teachers. The senior inspector Douglas Ball wrote in 1940 that ‘even were it considered desirable to introduce Maori into the curriculum of Native schools, the lack of teachers competent to teach Maori would prohibit the venture’.⁶⁸ The research for this inquiry found no evidence of Maori being taught in Native or Maori schools within Te Rohe Potae. In fact the only evidence found of Maori being used at all were entries in the Makomako school log book in October 1961, when a relieving head teacher wrote a greeting in Maori to his successor. The new teacher wrote a response in Te Reo, and also a farewell six years later. His successor, a reliever, followed suit by also writing a farewell in Maori.⁶⁹

In 1900, James Pope provided his impressions of the first 20 years of the native schools system after its transfer to Education Department administration. In his report, he outlined his views as to what the teachers in native schools should be trying to achieve. They should, he said, ‘set themselves the task of making all their pupils capable of dealing with English *as well as grammar-school pupils of thirteen or fourteen deal with French or German*’.⁷⁰ Pope clearly accepted that English would continue for the foreseeable future to be a second

⁶⁵ WS Dale, ‘The Maori Language: Its Place in Native Life’, in Patrick Jackson (ed), *Maori and Education*, Ferguson and Osborn, Wellington, 1931, pp 251-3. Dale quotes a figure from 1923 that 82 percent of Maori children spoke *only* Maori outside school, but gives no source for the figure.

⁶⁶ Douglas Ball, ‘Maori Education’ in *The Maori Today*, Department of Maori Affairs, Wellington, 1949, p 276

⁶⁷ Patrick Jackson (ed), *Maori and Education*, preface, pp xxiii-xxiv

⁶⁸ Douglas Ball, ‘Maori Education’ in *The Maori Today*, p 299

⁶⁹ Entries for 20 and 21 October 1961, 18 September and 15 December 1967, Makomako School Log Book 1961-1981, YCAG, 1653, 1/e, SD vol 3, pp 1005, 1012-1013

⁷⁰ AJHR 1900, E2, p 18, emphasis added.

language for Maori. He considered it unrealistic to expect Maori children in a ‘Maori district’ to speak and write English fluently on completing primary school:

It must be remembered that for Maori pupils living in a settlement there is no complete break in the use of their mother-tongue as there is in the case of English boys sent to a French or a German school. In such cases the mother-tongue almost disappears, and the pupil has to concentrate attention on the language that is constantly being spoken around him. Our Maori, on the contrary, spend four hours a day in school; during this time they hear good English. Perhaps, also, they spend an hour in the playground, where a kind of English is spoken, the educational value of which is very small. All the rest of their time is spent in the settlement, where they hear Maori, and generally Maori only.⁷¹

William Bird, as Pope’s successor, showed a determination to promote the teaching of English through immersion schooling. Yet he too appeared to accept that the schools were doing no more than teaching English as a second language. In his 1931 annual report, after three decades in senior positions within the Education Department, Bird outlined the three ‘fundamental principles’ upon which he considered the native schools system functioned, ‘and has always functioned’. The first of these was: ‘To give the great mass of the Maori population an elementary but thorough instruction in English and in arithmetic sufficient for simple business transactions.’⁷² An ‘elementary but thorough instruction in English’ would seem to fall well short of an intention to replace Maori with English. This is not to say that officials such as Bird would not have dearly loved to see English replace Maori as the everyday language of native school pupils. They were merely being pragmatic in recognising that this was unlikely to happen in the foreseeable future through the education system. When Te Reo did eventually start to fade from everyday use, urbanisation and television were major contributing factors.

There was, however, considerable neglect of the Maori language by the education system. One of the questions posed in the commission for this report asked to what extent the Crown

⁷¹ AJHR 1900, E2, p 18

⁷² AJHR 1931, E3, p 6

and its agents *supported* or suppressed Te Reo. No evidence was found of significant official support for Te Reo, at the primary level at least, before the mid-1950s. The support of the Minister of Education in 1930 for teaching Maori in primary schools was referred to above, but this support came to nothing. Education officials such as Ball showed no sympathy with proposals to teach Maori, and appeared to have little sympathy for concerns that Te Reo might die out. In fact at times they appeared to see declining use of Te Reo, which became evident during the 1950s, as a positive thing. In 1957, for example, the Education Department reported with approval the declining percentage of new entrants to school with no knowledge of English. ‘This follows the steadily increasing integration of the Maori adult into the economic life of the country. He becomes more competent and more confident in his knowledge and use of English through his occupational contacts and tends to use it more habitually in his own family circle.’⁷³ In 1958 the department again reported that ‘fewer and fewer’ Maori children were entering school with no knowledge of English.⁷⁴ The department did not draw the obvious conclusion that less Maori was probably being spoken as a result. In 1959 it did initiate a refresher course on the teaching of the Maori language. However, the department also noted, as it had done in the past, the difficulty in finding suitably qualified Maori language teachers.⁷⁵ As was outlined in Chapter 1, it was only in the 1970s that the Education Department made a determined effort to address this gap, through, among other things, establishing Maori studies courses at all seven teacher training colleges.⁷⁶

Assimilation Objectives

Parliamentarians expressed a variety of aims when debating the Native Education Bills of 1867 and 1871. For some, the better provision of education for Maori was seen as vital in helping prevent further conflict. Hugh Carleton said it was necessary to ‘either to exterminate the Natives or to civilise them’, and the former option ‘could not for a moment be dreamed of in the House’.⁷⁷ Thomas Ball put similar sentiments in less provocative language:

It was very important that the Natives should be educated, and he believed that a great many of the complications that had arisen were caused by the imperfect means of communication between the two races. He advocated the measure as

⁷³ AJHR 1957, E1, p 37

⁷⁴ AJHR 1958, E1, p 38

⁷⁵ AJHR 1959, E1, p 43

⁷⁶ Walker, p 241

⁷⁷ NZPD 1867, p 863

in the interests of peace and social order,...and that the more they were brought to understand each other the less would be the danger of any future complications.⁷⁸

Similar sentiments were expressed when financial support for schools was extended in 1871. John McLeod told the house that ‘if there was one thing more than another calculated to promote harmony between the Maori and European races, it was a system of education, which should bring them together, so as to enable them to learn each others manners, customs, and language.’ A mingling of Maori and European would be important ‘not only as tending to foster kindly feelings between them, but to the final decision of those difficulties which had so long existed’.⁷⁹ Three other members mentioned the importance of both Maori and European pupils attending the native schools, primarily to improve the standard of English spoken by Maori.⁸⁰

Another member, Thomas Kelly, put a view more typical of the times. He thought ‘that nothing would tend to civilize the Native race, and promote the welfare of the Colony in general and that of the inhabitants of the Native districts in particular, than the creation of these schools’.⁸¹ The notion of schools ‘civilizing’ Maori was regularly repeated in subsequent decades. James Pope wrote in 1888 that the ‘work of teaching the Maoris to speak, write, and understand English is in importance second only to that of making them acquainted with European customs and ways of thinking, as so fitting them for becoming orderly and law-abiding citizens.’⁸² In 1900 he wrote the following about the first decades of the native school system:

It should be remembered that the problem to be dealt with was almost entirely new: it was to bring an untutored but intelligent and high-spirited people into line with our civilisation, and to do this, to a large extent, by instructing them in the use of our language, and by placing in Maori settlements European

⁷⁸ NZPD 1867, pp 865-6

⁷⁹ NZPD 1871, p 328

⁸⁰ NZPD 1871, pp 328, 667

⁸¹ NZPD 1871, p 328

⁸² AJHR 1888, E2, p 9

school-buildings, and European families to serve as teachers and especially as exemplars of a new and more desirable mode of life.⁸³

Thirty years later another native-school inspector, Douglas Ball, expressed almost identical views:

The Native schools, placed in the centre of Native village communities, have had a very important civilizing influence on the Native race. The Native-school teachers, husband and wife, besides their ordinary school duties, have had to set a high standard of living. They have had the health and well-being of their little community largely in their own hands, and in many cases have been the respected and loved advisers of old and young in all matters Pakeha.⁸⁴

Politicians and bureaucrats regularly used words like ‘civilising’, ‘Europeanisation’ and ‘assimilation’ with reference to Maori schooling. However, some officials were of the view that it was undesirable for Maori to absorb too much of European ways. Rather, they wanted education to equip them with the skills to absorb what was good and reject what was bad in European culture. In 1881, James Pope warned against Maori spending more than two years in secondary education at the denominational boarding schools, separated from their communities, as this could threaten their identity as Maori.

At the end of [two years] they would be educated Maoris, 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 reactionists, or a sort of Maori-Pakeha, “neither flesh, fowl, nor good red-herring.”⁸⁵

William Bird, Pope’s successor as Chief Inspector of Native Schools, also stressed the importance of Maori returning to their communities. He told the 1906 Royal Commission on the Te Aute and Wanganui School Trusts that whole idea of Maori education was to fit Maori

⁸³ AJHR 1900, E2, p 16

⁸⁴ Quoted by NR McKenzie, ‘The Educability of the Maori’ in *Maori and Education*, p 206

⁸⁵ James Pope, Report of Inspector-General of Schools, AJHR 1881, E7, p 11. Pope is here quoting an ancient proverb.

‘for life among Maoris’.⁸⁶ Pope likewise told the Commission: ‘If I were a Maori and know what I know I would cling to my race. Also, I would help the Maoris do the same, if possible’.⁸⁷ Some 25 years later, Mere Hall, the principal of Hukarere College, a denominational secondary school, expressed a similar view. ‘I strongly advocate that Maori girls should as far as possible be kept Maori in every way, and not become a weak imitation of a Pakeha’.⁸⁸

In the nineteenth century, some education authorities saw schools as trying to give Maori sufficient understanding of the European way of thinking to help them cope in an increasingly European-dominated environment. This meant, on one hand, that schools would introduce to Maori the perceived virtues of European civilisation, including hard work, thrift, punctuality, cleanliness and hygiene, superior health knowledge, and a higher material standard of living. But they would also, on the other hand, try to protect Maori from the worst aspects of European culture. In the words of James Pope, ‘when Maoris have been armed, so to speak, by means of education, with some degree of familiarity with European ideas, they are, as a rule, far less liable to become the victims of European vices’.⁸⁹ These vices included alcohol, gambling, billiards, indebtedness, ‘the demoralizing surroundings of the Land Courts’, and unethical Pakeha business practices. According to Pope ‘it is very hard indeed to get the better of an educated Maori in a bargain’.⁹⁰

The tools that educators had at their disposal to try to inculcate European virtues were fairly limited. In 1860 the native school inspectors Henry Taylor and L O’Brien proposed, in relation to the Karakarika mission school in the Waikato, that ‘the introduction of a clock would, in our opinion, tend to form habits of punctuality among the children, and introduce generally some regard for the value of time, of which the Native race seems wholly unconscious’.⁹¹ A similar concern for punctuality was reflected in the 1880 Native Schools Code, which stated that a timetable should be used in every native school. ‘This document is

⁸⁶ Royal Commission on the Te Aute and Wanganui School Trusts, AJHR 1906, G5, p 94

⁸⁷ AJHR 1906, G5, p 81

⁸⁸ Mere Hall, ‘Secondary Education of Maori Girls’ in Jackson (ed), *Maori and Education*, p 278

⁸⁹ AJHR 1882, E2, p 8

⁹⁰ AJHR 1882, E2, p 8. William Bird referred to the vices of gambling and billiards in his 1905 annual report, AJHR 1905, E2, p 15

⁹¹ AJHR 1860, E8, p 18

to be hung up in a conspicuous position in the school-room, and its directions are to be always strictly followed'.⁹²

It was hoped that teachers might act as ambassadors for the European mode of living – displaying its virtues and avoiding its vices. The school buildings did not just house classes and teachers – they were to be exemplars of European architecture and construction skills. A memorandum accompanying the 1880 Code enlarged upon the responsibilities of native-school teachers. 'Besides giving due attention to the school instruction of the children, teachers will be expected to exercise a beneficial influence on the Natives, old and young; to show by their own conduct that it is possible to live a useful and blameless life, and in smaller matters, by their dress, in their houses, and by their manners and habits at home and aboard, to set the Maoris an example that they may advantageously imitate.'⁹³ In other words, teachers were encouraged to set a virtuous example in the hope that the Maori would follow.

The ideal model outlined in the Native Schools Code 1880 was a male teacher and his wife.⁹⁴ The wife may teach sewing part-time, but the couple would otherwise exemplify the ideals of European domesticity.⁹⁵ The reality, at least within Te Rohe Potae, was generally rather different. Teachers at the various native schools were often unmarried, and were commonly female. For example, Raurau native school near Aotea Harbour was taught by two sisters, Miss C H and Clair Lundon, from its opening in 1898 to its closure in 1904. Kaharoa Native school had a female sole-charge teacher, Kathryn Pees in the mid-1920s.⁹⁶ Te Kopua school had a sequence of single female sole-charge teachers after it re-opened in 1923 – Emily Churton (1923-1929), Miss G H Rutherford (1929-1937) and Sarah Mauriohooho (1937-1943).⁹⁷ When teachers were married, both generally taught full-time at schools, with the female occasionally being the head teacher. The head teacher at Taharoa Native School, Bertha Baigent, married in 1913 and her husband became the assistant teacher.⁹⁸ At Rakaunui native school in the mid-1930s, the female of the couple was also the head teacher. In 1936,

⁹² Native Schools Code, AJHR 1880, H1F, p 1

⁹³ Native Schools Code, AJHR 1880, H1F, p 7

⁹⁴ Native Schools Code, AJHR 1880, H1F, p 1

⁹⁵ By 1897, the code specified that the wife might act as assistant teacher, Native Schools Code 1897, Circulars: Native Schools 1894-1905, ABDM, W4494, 1, SD vol 1, p 11

⁹⁶ Kathryn Pees to Department of Education, 19 July 1926, Kaharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1942, BAAA, 1001, 940/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 320-321

⁹⁷ Information derived from AJHR, school log books, and school inspection reports

⁹⁸ Notes on the history of Taharoa Maori School, 1959 (exact date unrecorded), in Taharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1947-1969, BAAA, 1001, 600d, 44/4, SD vol 1, pp 300-301

the inspector urged Mr Broadhurst to take on as many of the ‘manly’ duties as possible at Rakaunui, as the Maori parents regarded him, rather than his wife, as the head teacher.⁹⁹ The female of the teaching couple was head teacher at Taharoa native school in the late 1930s, and at Kaharoa in the early 1950s.¹⁰⁰

Health was another area where it was thought, perhaps more realistically, that schools might exert a ‘civilising’ influence. There was a persistent perception that changes to Maori lifestyle were needed to improve Maori health, and that some of these changes could be promoted through education. When the Education Department took over the native school system in 1879, it soon became apparent that, despite a general increase in the number of pupils in the system, the Maori population was falling. The effects of the periodic epidemics that swept through Maori communities were readily apparent from the fluctuations in school enrolments and from the reports of teachers.¹⁰¹ Maori health was clearly in a bad way, and little was being done about it. In his 1884 annual report, James Pope noted that in some districts ‘the Maoris are slowly but very surely dying out’. In other districts they were not, thanks ‘to some small extent’ to the beneficial influence of native-school teachers, Resident Magistrates, clergymen and the like. In Pope’s view, these ‘philanthropic Europeans’ helped counteract a great raft of ‘drawbacks and difficulties’, including ‘Native ignorance and neglect of the sanitary laws’, improvidence and lack of parental discipline, the abuses attending the Native Land Courts, drunkenness, and Maori indebtedness.¹⁰² In the same report, Pope noted that the Native Department was willing to supply medicines in the event of epidemics, but lacked the means to distribute them. He initially appeared to suggest that native-school teachers could perform this function, and thus enhance their relationship with the community, but then indicated that teachers were in fact required by Ministerial directive to dispense medicines.¹⁰³ In subsequent decades dispensing medical aid became a standard function of the native

⁹⁹ Inspection report for 19 August 1936, Rakaunui General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1947, BAAA, 1001, 1007b, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 206

¹⁰⁰ Inspection reports for 23 March 1937 and 15 March 1938, in Taharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1946, BAAA, 1001, 1030d, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 278, 282. Inspection report for 22 March 1951, Kaharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1942-1961, BAAA, 1001, 941/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 382

¹⁰¹ Barrington, 2009, p 82

¹⁰² AJHR 1884, E2, p1

¹⁰³ AJHR 1884, E2, p3

school. In 1909 it was estimated that on average £3-£5 of medicines were supplied to each native school annually.¹⁰⁴

In 1884, Pope published a guide book on Maori health. It was intended primarily as a school textbook, but was also translated into Maori for adults.¹⁰⁵ Pope believed that if the Maori population was to increase again, the process would be helped by better health knowledge. His book is criticised by modern commentators for its Eurocentric approach.¹⁰⁶ At the time, however, it was ‘well received by sections of the wider Maori community’, including those young educated Maori who were later to form the Young Maori Party.¹⁰⁷ Pope’s *Te Ora mo te Maori* was still the recommended text when the ‘Laws of Health’ became part of the official native school curriculum in 1909.¹⁰⁸ Health concerns also saw the introduction of physical exercise into the native schools programme.¹⁰⁹ Under another health initiative, from 1898 scholarships were provided for Maori girls to undertake nursing training.¹¹⁰

As outlined in Chapter 5, the 1880 Native Schools Code required school committees to arrange the cleaning of the school and supply firewood.¹¹¹ In exchange, the pupils were supplied with all their books and stationary free of charge – in contrast to pupils in general schools whose parents had to pay for these items – and schools were supplied with additional equipment from time to time.¹¹² The reality appeared to be that the pupils themselves did most of the cleaning, and there was thus an exchange of books and stationary for labour. For communities short of ready cash, this was probably a beneficial arrangement. The other aim, as Simon and Smith note, was ‘to maintain a clean and tidy school environment while at the same time inculcating European habits of cleanliness and order in the pupils’. The cleaning arrangement seems to have continued until the 1960s.¹¹³

¹⁰⁴ Barrington, 2009, p 123

¹⁰⁵ Barrington, 2009, pp 84-5

¹⁰⁶ Barrington, 2009, pp 86-7

¹⁰⁷ Simon and Smith, pp 226-8

¹⁰⁸ Simon and Smith, p 232 and Barrington, 2009, p 85

¹⁰⁹ Simon and Smith, p 232

¹¹⁰ Simon and Smith, pp 228-9, 230

¹¹¹ AJHR 1880, H1F, p 6

¹¹² Simon and Smith, p 215. A circular to native school committees dated 30 June 1903 asked them to choose items of school equipment ‘in recognition of the fire wood supplied’, Circulars: Native Schools 1894-1905, ABDM, Acc W4494, 1, SD vol 1, p 37

¹¹³ Simon and Smith, pp 213-6

The emphasis on health in native schools expanded in the 1930s, in line with the new philosophy, discussed below, of schools engaging more with their communities. In addition, the deprivations of the depression added to teacher's responsibilities. The chief inspector noted in his 1937 annual report that 'teachers of many Native schools are compelled, in the interests of the children, to attend to their cleanliness, and, in some districts, to provide them with adequate clothing'.¹¹⁴ This happened to some extent within Te Rohe Potae. In 1930 the teacher at Te Kopua began supplying hot cocoa to the children.¹¹⁵ At Rakaunui in June 1933, the teacher sent off to his home in Otago, and to the Maori Methodist Mission, for clothing.¹¹⁶ At Kaharoa (formerly Moerangi) native school, the inspector's report for 1939 stated, in relation to health, that 'both teachers deserve special commendation for their efforts. Suitable foods are prepared for the children, and the general physical appearance has improved considerably since the last inspection visit.'¹¹⁷

In 1931 the Education Department reported that, as well as 'the more formal health instruction of the classroom, rigid daily inspection is carried out in most schools.'¹¹⁸ Such inspections, along with the regular dispensing of medicines, are detailed in the oral evidence collected by Simon and Smith et al.¹¹⁹ In 1935 the department reported that in some schools 'the senior girls act as nurses, each having in her individual care a number of children, whom she treats for sores and for whose general physical condition she is responsible'.¹²⁰ In 1932 a medical examination was carried out on some 1,400 Maori children. Schools Medical Officer Dr Harold Turbott reported that 'when the Maori child attends a Native school he is as a rule better off, because the health education and practical supervision are more suited to his needs.'¹²¹

Some of the Education Department's motives for health education and inspections were more prosaic than instilling civilisation. As is noted later in this report, poor health often had a significant effect on school attendance. In its 1953 annual report, the department noted a

¹¹⁴ AJHR 1937-8, E3, p 2

¹¹⁵ Entry for 9 June 1930, Te Kopua School Log Book 1922-1932, BAAA, 1003, 7/d, SD vol 2, p 584

¹¹⁶ Entry for 30 June 1933, Rakaunui School Log Book 1932-1940, BAAA, 1003 5/h, SD vol 2, pp 745-746

¹¹⁷ Inspection report for 13 June 1939, Maori Schools, General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1942, Kaharoa, BAAA, 1001, 940/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 363

¹¹⁸ AJHR 1931, E3, p 3

¹¹⁹ Simon and Smith, pp 203-9

¹²⁰ AJHR 1931, E3, p 2

¹²¹ Reported in AJHR 1933, E3, p 3

steady improvement in the regularity of attendance in the post-war period, which it attributed ‘partly to the health work leading to a decrease in absenteeism through sickness’.¹²²

Maori Culture in Schools

The curriculum of the native schools was exclusively European until the 1930s, except on the initiative of individual teachers. The senior inspector of Maori schools, Tom Fletcher, commented on this in 1948:

When I first visited Maori schools in 1931 I was impressed by the fact that there was practically nothing Maori in the schools except the Maori children. No Maori song was ever sung, there was no sign of Maori crafts, nor any interest in Maori history as part of the school curriculum. The values in their own culture were ignored, and instruction was on pakeha lines.¹²³

Fletcher was exaggerating somewhat, as Barrington cites a number of examples from the 1920s of Maori arts and crafts, songs, history and language being used within the schools.¹²⁴ An example from Te Rohe Potae is outlined below in relation to Te Kopua school. Maori cultural activities were not part of the official curriculum, but there is no evidence they were officially banned, as indicated by Bird in his 1906 annual report:

In one or two of the schools the teachers have encouraged the making of articles, such as kits and mats, from lacebark and other materials which the children have themselves prepared. This work is included under “Handwork,” and may serve to teach the children not to forget altogether the arts of their parents.¹²⁵

Bird expressed less sympathetic views at other times, but aspects of Maori history were included in the general curriculum of native schools from 1929, including Maori myths and legends.¹²⁶ This was part of a gradual introduction of Maori content into the curriculum, resulting from domestic and external influences. The primary domestic influence was a move

¹²² AJHR 1953, E3, p 2

¹²³ AJHR 1948, E3, p 3

¹²⁴ Barrington, 2009, p 116.

¹²⁵ AJHR 1906, E2, p 14

¹²⁶ AJHR 1930, E3, p 5 and Simon and Smith, p 186

to revive Maori artistic traditions, exemplified by the passing of a 1926 Act ‘to encourage the dissemination of knowledge of Maori arts and crafts’, and the consequent establishment of the School of Maori Arts and Crafts in Rotorua in 1927. ‘The cultural revitalisation movement involved the regeneration amongst Maori of their traditional skills of carving and weaving with the building of new whareniui, as well as a burgeoning development of Maori song, haka, poi and related activities’. Native Affairs Minister Apirana Ngata wrote to the Minister of Education in 1929 suggesting the immediate inclusion of poi dancing and carving into the native school curriculum.¹²⁷

Another important factor in curriculum reform was the popularising of the educational theories of John Dewey, particularly once Douglas Ball became chief inspector of native schools. ‘Influenced as he was by John Dewey’s philosophy, Ball encouraged the teachers to introduce a more child-centred approach aimed at stimulating pupil activity and developing a personal sense of responsibility, within a context of strengthened links between school and community.’¹²⁸ Around the same time, developments in anthropology were emphasising greater tolerance of cultural difference, through the popularising of the cultural relativist theories pioneered by Franz Boas.¹²⁹ A change in educational philosophy was apparent within the wider British empire, and New Zealand educationalists were aware of this. In 1934, Ball quoted with approval from the 1925 report of the British government’s Advisory Committee on African Education: ‘Education should be adapted to the traditions and mentality of the people, and should aim at conserving and improving what was best in their institutions.’¹³⁰

The result of these various influences was two-fold. First, a variety of Maori cultural activities were introduced into the native school curriculum, particularly during the 1930s and beyond. Second, greater effort was made to engage Maori communities in the life of the school, and the school in the life of Maori communities. The changes were outlined in detail in Ball’s 1934 annual report:

¹²⁷ Simon and Smith, pp 191-2

¹²⁸ Barrington, 2009, p 182

¹²⁹ Barrington, 2009, pp 174-5

¹³⁰ AJHR 1934-5, E3, p 3

A strong effort has been made to relate the activities of the Native schools to the needs of the Maori pupils. It is realized that the education provided by the Native schools must have some direct and sympathetic effect upon the social and personal habits of the people. If the schools fail in making contact with the emotional side of the Maori race, their function becomes mechanical and abstract. It is therefore necessary to build upon what the Maori already possesses, assimilating the best of Maori knowledge and custom. Teachers must study communal and social life, and the music, recreations, and crafts of the people they serve. With this object in view, clubs, women's institutes, agriculture, and other activities in which the adult Maori may participate have been organized, and the contributions from the Maoris have been sought. Poi dances and suitable Maori games have been included in the physical drill, and weaving, carving, and taniko work among the handwork activities. Maori stories, folk-lore, and New Zealand history form the major part of the history prescription.¹³¹

The attempt to teach Maori arts and crafts was impeded in the early years by the depression and resulting difficulties in obtaining suitable tools and materials.¹³² Another problem, alluded to by Ball in 1935, was the lack of knowledge on the part of school teachers, most of whom were Pakeha. As a result, '[a]dult Maori assistance in school activities has been sought, chiefly in connection with Maori crafts. The result has been disappointing owing to the fact that in many districts the old skills in weaving, carving, &c., have been forgotten. It has also proved difficult to sustain the interest of the voluntary Maori helpers in these activities.'¹³³ One solution was to try, through the regular 'refresher' courses, to upskill teachers' knowledge of Maori arts, crafts, history and culture. Three refresher courses were held in February 1936.¹³⁴ Among those lecturing was Apirana Ngata, who organised assistants 'to give practical instruction in Maori carving, flax-plaiting, tukutuku and taniko work, and poi dancing'.¹³⁵

¹³¹ AJHR 1934-5, E3, p 3

¹³² Barrington, 2009, p 184

¹³³ AJHR 1935, E3, p 3

¹³⁴ Barrington, 2009, pp 186-7

¹³⁵ AJHR 1937-8, E3, p 3

The oral evidence collected by Simon and Smith et al indicates that Maori arts and crafts, poi dances and action songs became regular parts of the school curriculum from the 1930s through to the 1960s. They also found evidence that some teachers taught Te Reo, although little that Maori history was taught.¹³⁶ Barrington concludes that the curriculum reforms had an uneven effect across schools, but notes the views of Wiremu Parker and Professor Hirini Mead, a former Maori school teacher, that the reforms contributed to the revival of Maori arts and crafts.¹³⁷

One writer, H M Jennings, speculated in 1950 that some Maori parents were initially resistant to the curriculum reforms, for two main reasons: children were not traditionally taught arts and crafts, and these activities would impinge on what parents considered the more important business of the school, namely, the teaching of English.¹³⁸ An example of this was found in relation to Kaharoa Native School within Te Rohe Potae. The 1941 annual meeting of householders, to elect a new school committee, passed a resolution ‘dispensing with any Maori teaching, and wished that no encouragement be given to Maori action songs, hakas, and Maori singing in general’. According to the acting head teacher, the householders felt that ‘their children must first become proficient in European ways and ideas before attempting in the way of Maori expression at all’.¹³⁹ The teacher sought the advice of the Education Department, which advised him to ensure the parents met with the inspector when he visited the following month. The inspector convinced the parents to allow Maori culture to be re-introduced into the school, with a woman from the local community to help in this respect.¹⁴⁰

Evidence from Te Rohe Potae

The evidence from Te Rohe Potae indicates that the extent to which Maori culture was incorporated in the native school curriculum, and teachers engaged with their communities, was heavily dependent on individual teachers. Emily Churton was the first sole-charge teacher at Te Kopua school after it re-opened in 1923. In her six years at the school, both

¹³⁶ Simon and Smith, pp 174-185, 200-201

¹³⁷ Barrington, 2009, pp 188-9

¹³⁸ H M Jennings, cited by Barrington and Beaglehole, 1974, p 204

¹³⁹ R O Bathurst to Education Department, 17 July 1941, Kaharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1942, BAAA,1001, 940/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 369-370

¹⁴⁰ Director of Education to Head Teacher, Kaharoa, 11 August 1941, Head Teacher, Kaharoa to Director of Education, 23 August 1941, Woodley to Director of Education, 28 August 1941, Kaharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1942, BAAA,1001, 940/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 371-372

teacher and school seem to have become very much a part of the local community. The annual December school picnics attracted large crowds – 150 in 1923 – and generally featured a hangi and dancing. After the 1926 picnic, Churton reported that ‘dancing continued till day break as usual’.¹⁴¹ Earlier that year the school committee formed a sub-committee to raise funds through regular monthly school dances.¹⁴² At the June dance, girls from the school ‘performed poi and Hawaiian dances’.¹⁴³ Churton’s log book entries also record school ‘playnights’ attended by parents and children, and a Guy Fawkes party at the school.¹⁴⁴ She attended the regattas held each March in Ngaruawahia, travelling there in 1926 on the back of a truck with 12 other people from the community.¹⁴⁵ In February 1927 the school closed for a half holiday to enable people to attend a picnic and dance at the nearby Ngutunui general school. ‘The settlers and teacher there patronize our affairs very much and we feel we must return the compliment.’¹⁴⁶ Churton also incorporated Maori cultural activities into school lessons. In December 1927 she reported that the six piupius ‘which I started last month for the poi girls’ were completed. ‘There were seven of us cutting and scraping etc for more than two days. Mrs Searancke wove and plaited the tops’.¹⁴⁷ The inspector’s report for 1927 noted that ‘mat weaving’ was included in lessons.¹⁴⁸

Churton’s successors at Te Kopua in the 1930s seem to have engaged significantly less with the local community, and did little to include Maori cultural activities in the curriculum. But in 1940 the inspection report for Sarah Mauriohoho noted that Maori crafts, including taniko work, were being taught, and that Maori songs were ‘included in the repertoire’.¹⁴⁹ In 1942 the school breakup concert, held at the ‘pa’, included action songs and poi.¹⁵⁰ In September and November 1952 the school log book records Mr Panapa and Mrs Kohe from the local

¹⁴¹ Entries for 11 December 1923, 17 December 1926, 16 December 1927, Te Kopua Log book 1922-32, BAAA, 1003, 7/d, SD vol 2, pp 564, 573, 576-577

¹⁴² Entry for 19 April 1926, Te Kopua Log book 1922-32, BAAA, 1003, 7/d, SD vol 2, p 571

¹⁴³ Entry for 19 June 1926, Te Kopua Log book 1922-32, BAAA, 1003, 7/d, SD vol 2, p 572

¹⁴⁴ Entries for 6 November 1924, 21 May 1925, 18 December 1925, Te Kopua Log book 1922-32, BAAA, 1003, 7/d, SD vol 2, pp 567, 569, 570

¹⁴⁵ Entries for 18 March 1926 and 17 March 1928, Te Kopua Log book 1922-32, BAAA, 1003, 7/d, SD vol 2, pp 571, 577-578. The Ngaruawahia regatta remains an annual March event today.

¹⁴⁶ Entry for 18 February 1927, Te Kopua Log book 1922-32, BAAA, 1003, 7/d, SD vol 2, p 574

¹⁴⁷ Entry for 27 December 1927, Te Kopua Log book 1922-32, BAAA, 1003, 7/d, SD vol 2, p 577

¹⁴⁸ Inspection Report for 6 June 1927, Te Kopua General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1946, BAAA, 1001, 1046/c, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 40

¹⁴⁹ Inspection Report for 5 November 1940, Te Kopua General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1946 BAAA 1001 1046/c, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 59

¹⁵⁰ Entry for December 1942, Te Kopua Log Book 1932-1946, BAAA, 1003, 7/e, SD vol 2, p 655

community teaching action songs.¹⁵¹ The programme for the school concert in December 1954 included Maori songs and a poi dance.¹⁵²

At Taharoa Native School, the inspector was already reporting in 1931 that some 'exceptionally good work' had been done in native materials.¹⁵³ However, there was no other mention of community and Maori craft activities until 1940. The inspection report for that year was positive about the two new teachers, Mr and Mrs Nepia, commenting that there was 'a brighter tone about the school work and some clubs have been started'.¹⁵⁴ But in 1942, under new teachers, the inspector was suggesting that greater attention was needed to Maori arts, crafts and action songs.¹⁵⁵ Taharoa soon had a rapid succession of teachers, among the more long-standing of whom were Mr and Mrs Simon. In 1956, the inspector commented on the 'pleasing' efforts of the children in Maori action songs.¹⁵⁶

At Rakaunui there appears to be no mention of Maori cultural activities until 1935, when the two inspection reports mentioned that Mr and Mrs Kirk were teaching some native crafts and 'mat work'.¹⁵⁷ In 1936 the Kirks attended a teachers' refresher course, and the inspector reported that 'Maori handicrafts are being introduced with the assistance of two of the local women, and poi games have commenced.' Mrs Kirk was reported to be helping teach flax weaving and taniko work. Drawing had a 'Maori bias'.¹⁵⁸ The Kirks soon left the school and there was little reference to Maori culture in the curriculum until RR Hodgson started in late 1938. In March 1939, Hodgson noted in the log book that the girls 'were persuaded to do a poi dance'. However, some of the pois collapsed, resulting in another period spent making 'better pois'.¹⁵⁹ In subsequent months, Mrs Martin from the local community came to the

¹⁵¹ Entries for 28 September and 4 November 1952, Te Kopua log book 1946-1956, BAAA ,1003, 7f, SD vol 2, p 688

¹⁵² Programme for 7 December 1954, Te Kopua log book 1946-1956, BAAA ,1003, 7f, SD vol 2, p 699

¹⁵³ Inspection report for 11 August 1931, Taharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1946, BAAA, 1001, 1030d, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 270

¹⁵⁴ Inspection report for 2 November 1940, Taharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1946, BAAA, 1001, 1030d, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 290

¹⁵⁵ Inspection report for 10 June 1942, Taharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1946, BAAA, 1001, 1030d, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 295

¹⁵⁶ Inspection report for 24 April 1956, Taharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1947-1969, BAAA, 1001, 600d, 44/4, SD vol 1, p 297

¹⁵⁷ Inspection reports for 11 April and 30 September 1935, Rakaunui General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1947, BAAA ,1001, 1007b, 44/6

¹⁵⁸ Inspection report for 20 March 1936, Rakaunui General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1947 BAAA, 1001, 1007b, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 201

¹⁵⁹ Entry for 10 March 1939, Rakaunui School Log Book, 1932-1940, BAAA, 1003, 5/h, SD vol 2, p 770

school to teach piupiu making.¹⁶⁰ Also in 1939, the inspector reported that some ‘very good flax work’ had been done, and in 1940 taniko work commenced under Miss Tangiora, the new assistant teacher.¹⁶¹ The 1942 inspection report praised the action songs of the girls.¹⁶² Maori cultural activities seem to have increased in the 1950s. In 1958, the log book recorded a visit by inspector Stafford, who spoke ‘in glowing terms’ of the Maori welcome, actions songs, games and taniko work.¹⁶³ The following year a school poi team was formed, and in 1960 panels at the school were painted with Maori designs.¹⁶⁴

At Makomako Native School, the inspection reports made no mention of Maori cultural activities until 1936, when it was noted that the sole teacher had done a refresher course. The first report for 1936 stated that the ‘spirit of the revised curriculum has been introduced with success, and local Maori history is included’, and the second that ‘Maori arts and crafts are being fostered’.¹⁶⁵ In March 1937, the inspector reported that the ‘Junior Red Cross Club is doing good work, and Maori songs and poi dances have been included in the curriculum’.¹⁶⁶ The following March, 10 of the children performed at a concert in Kawhia that included actions songs and poi dances.¹⁶⁷ However by 1942 a new teaching couple, Mr and Mrs Lee, were being urged by the inspector to encourage action songs, poi and Maori crafts, indicating that these activities had been neglected.¹⁶⁸ There was little mention of these activities again until 1962, when the teacher, William Karaka, reported that women from the local community had visited the school. They were to be responsible for preparing the children in poi, action songs and haka for the September field day competitions in Kawhia. The school won cups in these competitions in 1960, 1961 and 1962.¹⁶⁹ The 1963 inspector’s report stated

¹⁶⁰ Entries for 19 April, 1 May, 5 May 1939, Rakaunui School Log Book, 1932-1940, BAAA, 1003, 5/h, SD vol 2, pp 773-775

¹⁶¹ Inspection reports for 9 June 1939 and 1 November 1940, Rakaunui General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1947 BAAA 1001 1007b, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 214, 220

¹⁶² Inspection report for 11 June 1942, Rakaunui General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1947 BAAA 1001 1007b, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 222

¹⁶³ Entry for 26 March 1958, Rakaunui School Log Book 1954-1964, BAAA, 1003, 5j, SD vol 2, p 878

¹⁶⁴ Entries for 9 November 1959 and 11 June 1960, Rakaunui School Log Book 1954-1964, BAAA, 1003, 5j, SD vol 2, pp 883-884

¹⁶⁵ Inspection report for 21 March and 17 August 1936, Makomako General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1946, BAAA, 1001, 940/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 445, 447

¹⁶⁶ Inspection report for 22 March 1937, Makomako General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1946, BAAA, 1001, 940/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 450

¹⁶⁷ Entry for March 1938, Makomako School Log Book 1932-1942, YCAG, 1653, 1/b, SD vol 3, p 960

¹⁶⁸ Inspection report for 8-9 June 1942, Makomako General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1946, BAAA, 1001, 940/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 466

¹⁶⁹ Entries for 8 June and 11 August 1962, Makomako School Log Book 1961-1981, YCAG, 1653, 1/e, SD vol 3, pp 1007-1008

that the children's 'excellent achievements in the field of Maori arts and culture are helping to develop pride and self-confidence in them'.¹⁷⁰

At Kaharoa (formerly Moerangi) Native School, there was no mention of Maori cultural or school-community activities until 1939, when the inspector reported that he had enjoyed the children's concert, with Maori songs 'very well rendered indeed'. It was, he said, pleasing to note that a Kaharoa district branch of the Waikato Women's Institute had been formed under the guidance of the assistant teacher.¹⁷¹ As noted above, in 1941 Maori cultural activities were suspended on the resolution of local parents, but soon reinstated after the intervention of the inspector. In June 1942 the inspector noted that all classes combined weekly for a one-hour concert that included haka.¹⁷² Mention of cultural activities was even sparser for Parawera Native School.

Evidence has also been collected on the approach used by teachers towards tangi and other cultural events. In the 1890s at Kawhia and Raorao, the teachers generally accepted that children would not turn up during tangi, and they were sometimes informed by community representatives of this.¹⁷³ However, in September 1899 the teacher at Kawhia objected to the children attending a tangi and got 'good attendance'.¹⁷⁴ At Rakaunui, there were occasional extended absences for tangi. For example, in September 1918, the teacher reported that the children had been away all week due, to 'a big tangi at Hauturu'.¹⁷⁵ At Te Kopua, on the other hand, Emily Churton took the initiative when, on 15 March 1923, she closed the school from 11.30 to 1.30 for the tangi of Wiremu Hughes 'a man of some importance in the neighbourhood'.¹⁷⁶ She thereby limited the extent of absence. On 9 November 1959, the head teacher of Taharoa school informed the Education Department that the school had closed at midday at the request of the school committee. The tangi of Mrs Whitiora, 'one of the oldest residents and grandmother and great grandmother of many of the pupils', was being held that

¹⁷⁰ Inspection report for 12 September 1963, Makomako General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1949-1969, BAAA, 1001, 949/a, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 481

¹⁷¹ Inspection report for 13 June 1939, Kaharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1942, BAAA, 1001, 940/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 363

¹⁷² Inspection report for 5 June 1942, Kaharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1942, BAAA, 1001, 940/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 374

¹⁷³ See, for example, entry for 10 July 1898, Raorao log book 1898-1902, BAAA, 1003, 5/L, SD vol 2, p 546

¹⁷⁴ Entry for 11 September 1899, Kawhia log book, 1899-1900, BAAA, 1003, 1/L, SD vol 2, p 524

¹⁷⁵ Entry for 16 September 1918, Rakaunui School Log Book 1916-1926, BAAA, 1003, 5/g

¹⁷⁶ Entry for 15 March 1923, Te Kopua Log book 1922-32 BAAA 1003 7/d, SD vol 2, p 562

afternoon.¹⁷⁷ Less than two years later the committee again wished to close the school, this time for a full day, when another of Taharoa's 'oldest residents' died. The Department was unsympathetic but left the decision in the hands of the local committee.¹⁷⁸

After Raorao school opened in 1898, the teachers found that the new school building was almost immediately requisitioned for community purposes. In September the school log book recorded that the school was closed for 'a Maori meeting and feast' and that the school was wanted for a dance.¹⁷⁹ In March 1899, the school building was needed for an entertainment and feast for King Mahuta. The head teacher therefore started and finished school an hour early, to enable everything to be packed up in time. She appeared to see this as an inconvenience.¹⁸⁰ At Taharoa Native School the May holidays were shifted in 1919, 1922, and 1923 to coincide with 'special Maori meetings at Kawhia'.¹⁸¹

Celebrations associated with the Maori King, particularly the annual March poukai, were an on-going source of absences at native schools in Te Rohe Potae. At Kawhia school, the log book reported every year that the children had not turned up for a day or more due to the visit of the Maori king or for the 'traditional feast to mark anniversary of the installation of the King'.¹⁸² At Rakaunui, the poukai appears to have received no mention during the 1920s, but there were regular events associated with the king during the 1930s and beyond. On 15 March 1932, the teacher closed the school for half a day for a visit by Te Rata. It is unclear if departmental permission was sought for this closure. In March 1933, the teacher reported that all the children were away at the poukai 'in honour of the King'.¹⁸³ Te Rata died on 1 October 1933, and the school committee asked the teacher to close the school for a day.¹⁸⁴ The teacher sent a telegram to the Education Department, which granted a holiday.¹⁸⁵ In 1938

¹⁷⁷ Head teacher, Taharoa Maori School to Education Department, 9 November 1959, Taharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1947-1969, BAAA, 1001, 600d, 44/4, SD vol 1, p 299

¹⁷⁸ File note, 27 September 1961 and Allen Karena to Education Department, 3 October 1961, Taharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1947-1969, BAAA, 1001, 600d, 44/4, SD vol 1, pp 306-307

¹⁷⁹ Entries for 1 and 2 September 1898, Raorao log book 1898-1902, BAAA, 1003, 5/L, SD vol 2, p 546

¹⁸⁰ Entry for 2 March 1899, Raorao log book 1898-1902, BAAA, 1003, 5/L, SD vol 1, pp 549-540

¹⁸¹ Notes on the history of Taharoa Maori School, 1959 (exact date unrecorded), in Taharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1947-1969, BAAA, 1001, 600d, 44/4, SD vol 1, pp 300-301

¹⁸² Entries for 11 and 18 September 1895, 13 and 14 March 1896, 12 March 1897, Kawhia log book 1895-1897, BAAA, 1003, 1/k, SD vol 2, pp 495, 500, 510

¹⁸³ Entries for 15 March 1932 and 15 March 1933, Rakaunui School Log Book 1932-1940, BAAA, 1003, 5/h, SD vol 2, pp 726, 741

¹⁸⁴ Angela Ballara. 'Te Rata Mahuta Potatau Te Wherowhero 1877-1880? - 1933'. *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 22 June 2007, URL: <http://www.dnz.govt.nz/>

¹⁸⁵ Entry for 3 October 1933, Rakaunui School Log Book 1932-1940, BAAA, 1003, 5/h, SD vol 2, p 747

and 1949, teachers took the initiative by closing Rakaunui school early to release children to attend poukai.¹⁸⁶ Most other years, however, teachers seem to have accepted significant pupil absences without taking any action to accommodate the annual event.¹⁸⁷ In March 1948 a new teacher, Mr Golding, attended the poukai and was unimpressed. 'It consists merely of having a big feast (and I mean big) from which money is collected for the Maori King.'¹⁸⁸ In 1954, the teacher at Rakaunui consulted with the pupils over what to do about poukai. They proposed starting school at 8 am so they could finish early.¹⁸⁹

In March 1938, celebrations were held in Ngaruawahia, for the official opening of a new house for the Maori King. The head teacher of Kaharoa (formerly Moerangi) school wrote to the Education Department requesting a holiday for the event. The department agreed, and wrote directly to King Koroki's uncle, Tonga Mahuta, to say that other schools in the Waikato would also be granted a holiday.¹⁹⁰ Te Kopua school was among those that closed for the day.¹⁹¹ At Taharoa Native School in 1937, the new head teacher Mrs Rogers tried to persuade members of the school committee not to take children from the school to the annual meeting for the Maori King at Kawhia, or if they did so to take them only for the weekend. She recorded only one absence.¹⁹² In 1938 the committee chartered a launch to bring the children back on Sunday for the inspector's visit. However in 1939 the committee requested that Mrs Rogers write to the Education Department requesting a holiday for the annual festivities, arguing that Monday was the most important day.¹⁹³ She did so, and the department responded with instructions to keep the school open but to give the children permission to attend.¹⁹⁴ Twenty children were absent that year.¹⁹⁵ In contrast, in September 1956 a request by the head teacher at Kaharoa (formerly Moerangi) for a holiday for the

¹⁸⁶ Entry for 11 March 1938, Rakaunui School Log Book 1932-1940, BAAA, 1003, 5/h, SD vol 2, pp 762-763

¹⁸⁷ See, for example, entries for 15 March 1934, 15 March 1935, 11 March 1939, Rakaunui School Log Book 1932-1940, BAAA, 1003, 5/h, SD vol 2, pp 749, 753-754, 770, and entry for 11 March 1946, Rakaunui School Log Book 1941-1953, BAAA, 1003, 5i, SD vol 2, p 805

¹⁸⁸ Entry for 11 March 1948, Rakaunui School Log Book 1941-1953, BAAA, 1003, 5i, SD vol 2, p 812

¹⁸⁹ Entry for 11 March 1954, Rakaunui School Log Book 1954-1964, BAAA, 1003, 5j, SD vol 2, p 850

¹⁹⁰ Director of Education to Tonga Mahuta, 14 March 1938, in Maori Schools, General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1942, Kaharoa, BAAA, 1001, 940/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 360

¹⁹¹ Entry for 21 March 1938, Te Kopua School Log book 1932-1946, BAAA, 1003, 7/e, SD vol 2, p 631

¹⁹² Entries for 6 and 15 March 1937, Taharoa School Log Book 1933-1945, BACD, 1193, 1/a, SD vol 2, pp 911-912

¹⁹³ Entry for 8 March 1939, Taharoa School Log Book 1933-1945, BACD, 1193, 1/a, SD vol 2, pp 927-929

¹⁹⁴ Letters, Mrs G S Rogers to Department of Education, 13 March 1939 and Director of Education to Mrs GS Rogers 1 May 1939, Taharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1946, BAAA, 1001, 1030d, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 288-289

¹⁹⁵ Entry for 13 March 1939, Taharoa School Log Book 1933-1945, BACD, 1193, 1/a, SD vol 2, p 929

annual celebrations at Ngaruawahia was granted by the Education Department.¹⁹⁶ Yet another different response was received by the Taharoa Maori School Committee in 1964 when requesting a holiday for 'King Koroki Day'. The department advised that it had no authority to grant a special holiday, and the day must instead be observed as a special committee holiday.¹⁹⁷ Despite celebrations associated with the Maori King being a predictable annual event, the department never seemed to have developed a consistent policy in relation to them.

Assimilation in another guise?

Simon and Smith consider that the native school curriculum reforms of the 1930s were largely a continuation of the 'assimilation' policy. By this view, Douglas Ball, the main architect of the reforms, was looking for alternative ways to Europeanise Maori, as he considered that the previous approach had failed. By increasing the engagement between schools and their Maori communities, he hoped to extend the 'civilising' influence of the school.¹⁹⁸ There is some evidence for this assessment. Ball wrote in his 1935 annual report that the 'real worth of Native education as a civilizing agent and as a potent force in the reconstruction of a Native society is not debatable'.¹⁹⁹ However, elsewhere the same report argued that a change in policy was needed, involving 'an analysis of the cultural civilisation of the Maori and the most effective ways in which the two civilizations may be combined with least disturbance to either'.²⁰⁰ These passages are typical of the ambiguities in Ball's writings. In his 1940 essay for the centennial surveys, Ball wrote that the Maori 'cannot, and should not, spurn the past experience of his forefathers. Such a negation of all things Maori would be unnatural'. He thus warned against 'imitative uniformity' with the dominant culture:

There will be uniformity in a minimum number of ideas, chiefly those of health and family, civic, political and economic responsibility, but there will remain

¹⁹⁶ Mrs M I Coad to Education Department, 24 September 1956 and Education Department to Mrs Coad, 27 September 1956, Kaharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1942-1964, BAAA, 1001, 941/c, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 387-388

¹⁹⁷ File note on visit to Taharoa Maori School by the Senior Inspector and Property Supervisor, 16 October 1964, Taharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1947-1969, BAAA, 1001, 600d, 44/4, SD vol 1, p 309

¹⁹⁸ Simon and Smith, pp 193-4, 197-200

¹⁹⁹ AJHR 1935, E3, p 3

²⁰⁰ AJHR 1935, E3, p 1

many spacious fields for racial expression. The Maori cannot become a European, but, if he is to live happily and usefully in a predominantly European society, greater adjustments than have already taken place will be necessary.’²⁰¹

Ball was concerned that a 1930 survey showed that English was rarely used in Maori homes, that the majority of Maori ‘continued to live in primitive dwellings or in a primitive manner in modern dwellings’, and that the social patterns of the Maori had not been modified ‘to the degree anticipated’.²⁰² Unfortunately Ball provided no source for this survey, or any explanation as to what he meant by ‘social patterns’.²⁰³ However, it is clear that he considered that Maori needed to make greater adjustments to the reality of European domination. Furthermore, he seemed to consider aspects of Maori culture, rather than poverty, to blame for persistent low housing standards.

The ambiguities in Ball’s writings probably reflect an overall ambiguity in native school policy during the 1930s. On one hand, as has been seen with respect to Te Rohe Potae, there was a drive to incorporate elements of Maori culture (but not language) in the activities of the schools. On the other hand, the push to encourage teachers to engage with their communities was strongly centred around establishing Pakeha-style institutions. Examples cited above from the inquiry district include the Waikato Women’s Institute and the Junior Red Cross. School programmes, such as those in health, were also used to try and inculcate European values, as indicated by the following extract from a 1934 memorandum to all head teachers of native schools:

The school has the opportunity to present to the growing child ideals of cleanliness, of better and brighter homes, of child-care etc. which must prove beneficial in later life. The school may begin to form and to consolidate habits of personal care, of courtesy in conversation and in daily intercourse, of

²⁰¹ Douglas Ball, ‘Maori Education’ in *The Maori Today*, pp 280-1

²⁰² Douglas Ball, ‘Maori Education’, pp 277-8

²⁰³ Later in the same essay (p 283), Ball mentioned a 1931 survey of native-school teachers which covered social issues, although there seems to be no mention of it in the annual reports of the time. The 1930 survey of native schools also seems an unlikely source for his comments, given its focus on teaching.

consideration for others, of correct table manners, and similar habitual traits which are of such importance as civilising factors.²⁰⁴

It does seem, however, that these ‘civilising’ efforts were short-lived, and attempts to establish Pakeha-style local institutions largely petered out after the 1930s. No mention was found of clubs and community activities within Te Rohe Potae beyond 1939. The expansion of cultural activities, on the other hand, seems to have been sustained in subsequent decades, and was probably assisted by the increasing number of Maori teachers employed. The persistence of this aspect of the new approach was reflected by William Parsonage, who replaced Tom Fletcher as Senior Inspector of Native Schools. Parsonage gave his perspective on the role of Maori schools in his 1949 annual report:

[T]here are peculiar problems sometimes to be met, due to a conflict between [the Maori child’s] Maori environment on the one hand and the new pakeha culture on the other. It is one of the functions of the Maori school to harmonize such conflicting elements, and to make available to the Maori child the best in both cultures, thereby creating in him a deeper pride in his own race and at the same time enabling him with greater confidence to participate actively in the life around him, whether it be Maori or European.

For many years teachers in Maori schools have taken a deep interest in certain aspects of Maori culture – arts, crafts, action songs, history, mythology, &c. – but in some schools there has been, perhaps, a tendency to concentrate on the more material culture, and to neglect the less tangible but more vital spiritual values of that culture. Thus Maori carving has been taught as a craft, but more could have been done to lead pupils to a better understanding of the symbolism and significance of authentic Maori carvings.²⁰⁵

²⁰⁴ Education Department Circular, Maori schools - Policy - Epidemics among and cleanliness amongst Maori - reports on health of Maori 1913-37, 1 February 1934, BAAA 1001/103a 44/1/32.

²⁰⁵ AJHR 1949, E3, p 4

Conclusion

There is no doubt that native schools established by the government and Maori communities had a strong assimilationist agenda. MPs debating the measure generally considered that schools would help improve race relations, primarily because Maori would become more familiar with Pakeha values and the English language. The main architects of the native school system had an overt policy of trying to inculcate European ‘virtues’ within Maori communities. This would happen, it was hoped, both through the way in which schooling was conducted - emphasising punctuality, neatness of dress and good health practices – and also through teachers setting a good example through their conduct. But the chief architect of the system, James Pope, considered that education could also help protect Maori from the worst aspects of European culture, including drunkenness, gambling, debt, and Pakeha greed, and could help strengthen Maori communities. Pope made it clear that he opposed attempts to fully ‘Europeanize’ Maori.

The English language was central to the school curriculum because it was seen as vital to an understanding of Pakeha values and the learning of other subjects. Te reo was commonly used as a tool in teaching the English language, until the early 1900s, when educational thinking increasingly emphasised an immersion approach to language learning. Maori language was taught in the denominational boarding schools, and later at university, but it was rarely taught in the primary schools. In fact Maori was increasingly discouraged in the classroom, and even in the playground. Such bans were sometimes urged by Maori parents, who wished their children to increase their ‘life chances’ by acquiring facility in English. By the 1930s, Maori children were commonly punished for speaking Maori at school, at times through corporal punishment. There is no evidence, from the official sources, of children being punished for speaking Maori in native schools within Te Rohe Potae, but this may be because such instances were not recorded in the school log books. Oral evidence collected by others indicates that such punishments were reasonably common in native schools elsewhere in New Zealand, and they would therefore likely have occurred at schools within the inquiry district.

There is no evidence of any official policy supporting punishment, corporal or otherwise, for speaking Maori in native schools. Indeed, Simon and others have pointed out that corporal punishment for this reason expressly contradicted official policy. This is, of course, of little

comfort to those who found themselves punished for doing no more than speaking their first language. Such punishments appear to have been misguidedly inflicted by teachers in aid of the official policy of immersion teaching. However, the writings of prominent officials contradict claims that this style of teaching was intended to replace Maori with English. It was generally assumed that Maori would learn and maintain their own language through the home and community. It should be noted, however, that this was merely an assumption by officials, rather than an expression of support for the language. On the contrary, education officials generally opposed proposals to teach Te Reo in primary schools.

Maori culture was also never officially banned from the schools, but it was certainly not encouraged until the 1930s. Traditional crafts, songs, and dances were included in the curriculum only if they fitted the personal interests of the teacher, as with Te Kopua native school during the 1920s. During the 1930s there was a radical change in education policy towards encouraging the teaching of traditional Maori forms of cultural expression, along with Maori history. New policies also encouraged teachers to engage more with their communities by trying to establish European-style institutions, such as calf clubs and branches of women's organisations, to involve parents more closely in the school. There appeared to be a deliberate assimilation objective in this latter policy, although the evidence Te Rohe Potae indicates that these sorts of activities were not sustained beyond the 1930s. Maori cultural activities, on the other hand, appear in many cases to have continued, and even been strengthened, in the 1940s and 1950s.

The overall evidence indicates that the situation is rather more complex than a straightforward agenda of 'Europeanising' every Maori child – assuming this was ever thought possible. There was certainly an overt agenda to 'civilise' Maori children and their communities by inculcating Pakeha values that were, in many cases, intended to replace Maori values. But there was also an apparent recognition by some, as Beaglehole and Barrington have written with respect to James Pope, 'that any changes brought about in Maori society should be gradual, and that they could and should occur without the Maoris giving up all that was best and desirable in their own culture and way of life.'²⁰⁶

²⁰⁶ Barrington and Beaglehole, *Maori Schools in a Changing Society*, p 157

Chapter 7: Post-Primary Education

Introduction

Significant indicators of attainment in the education system are the achievement of qualifications, and participation in post-primary education. For much of the twentieth century, merely progressing to secondary school was a mark of achievement for Maori and Pakeha alike. At the start of the century, secondary education was reserved for a small elite, but soon expanded significantly and continued to do so throughout the century. In the second half of the century, education officials shifted their focus from encouraging participation, to promoting the achievement of qualifications and progressing to tertiary education.

This chapter begins with a brief overview of the history of post-primary education in New Zealand until around 1950. It then analyses the extent to which Maori were able to participate in the major expansion of post-primary education that continued throughout the twentieth century. There then follows a section looking specifically at the inquiry district and the extent to which secondary schooling was accessible to Maori within Te Rohe Potae. Finally, the chapter looks at the extent to which Maori have been able to obtain qualifications and progress to tertiary education, particularly since the 1960s.

Secondary Education: A Brief History 1900-1950

State secondary schools in New Zealand were initially established through local Acts, mainly in the 1870s and 1880s, and most were endowed with land to help fund their teaching activities. Other schools received state grants, or aid from School Commissioners charged with administering public reserves for education. The remainder of secondary school income – roughly half – came from fees charged to the families of pupils.¹ To cover these fees, and assist pupils with boarding and other expenses, the Education Act 1877 empowered regional education boards to provide

¹ New Zealand Official Year Book 1893, p 341

scholarships for post-primary education.² However, the number of such scholarships was limited. In 1900, for example, 349 out of a total of 2,792 secondary pupils were in receipt of education board scholarships.³ The remaining 88 percent of pupils received no state assistance, although a small number received private scholarships or scholarships from the schools themselves, paid for out of endowment funds.

The Education Act 1877 also empowered education boards to establish district high schools.⁴ These were primary schools with secondary departments, enabling some of those living in remote areas, and unable to afford board, to access post-primary education. Until 1901, those attending the secondary classes of district high schools were required to pay fees. In 1900 there were just 13 district high schools with some 390 secondary pupils.⁵ This makes a total of approximately 3,200 pupils in secondary and district high schools in 1900, or less than four state secondary pupils per 1000 people in the general population.⁶ By way of contrast, by 1950 there were over 54,000 pupils in state secondary education, at a rate of 28 per 1000 population.⁷

From 1901 the government instituted major reforms to increase participation in secondary education, beginning with subsidies for free places in district high schools. As noted above, in 1900 there were just 13 district high schools with around 390 pupils.⁸ By the end of 1905, the number of district high schools had ballooned to 59, with 2,872 pupils between them.⁹ The schools continued to expand in size and number, and by 1935 there were 85 district high schools serving 5,331 pupils from rural communities.¹⁰

In 1903 it became compulsory for all state secondary schools to provide a number of free places, and pupil numbers expanded rapidly as government subsidies

² Education Act 1877, ss 51-54

³ AJHR 1901, E1, p xxviii, AJHR 1902, E1, p xv

⁴ Education Act 1877, ss 55-56

⁵ AJHR 1902, E1, p xv. No figures could be found for the number of pupils in 1900. The estimate of 390 was obtained by multiplying the average of 30 pupils per school in 1901 by 13.

⁶ Population figure from census held in March 1901.

⁷ NZOYB 1951-2, p 159 and census of April 1951. The comparison is illustrative only, as the 1950 figure includes Maori schools, which were not included in the 1900 figure.

⁸ AJHR 1902, E1, p xv

⁹ AJHR 1903, E1, p xxxiii

¹⁰ AJHR 1936, E1, p7 and AJHR 1937-38, E1, p 33

progressively increased. Under the Education Act 1914, secondary schools were required to grant free places for two years to any child who passed the Proficiency Examination, generally sat in Standard 6 (later called Form 2).¹¹ In 1902 there were 25 secondary schools with 2,572 pupils.¹² By the end of 1916 there were 33 schools with 7,052 pupils, rising to 46 secondary schools with 16,149 pupils by the end of 1930.¹³ In 1902 the first technical colleges – secondary schools providing a more practically-oriented curriculum – were established, and the number of schools and students expanded significantly in subsequent decades. By 1930 there were 22 technical high schools with 6,953 pupils.¹⁴ To summarise, the number of secondary students increased ten-fold between 1900 and 1930, from around 3,000 to over 30,000. During this 30-year period the number of government-funded secondary schools increased from 25 to 44, the number of district high schools increased from 13 to 81, and 22 technical high schools opened.¹⁵ From 1937 the Proficiency Examination was abolished and secondary education became free for all pupils.¹⁶ The result, as can be seen from Figure 6 below, was a further significant increase in participation in post-primary schooling.

Getting a sense of the overall picture of growth in participation in secondary education is slightly tricky. The main measure normally used is the proportion of a population leaving primary school each year that enters secondary school the following year. Yet the Education Department made little attempt to calculate or report these figures until the 1920s. In 1948, the Department produced figures on progression going back to 1917, noting that comparable figures were not readily available before that time.¹⁷ Figure 6 below shows the steady increase in participation in secondary education over a 30-year period, from 37 percent progressing to secondary schooling in 1917, to 85 percent in 1947. The national School Certificate examination was significantly revamped in 1946, resulting in further increases in the

¹¹ NZOYB 1950, p 160. Competitive scholarships were available to those wishing to access free secondary education beyond Form 4.

¹² AJHR 1903, E1, pp xxxii-xxxiii

¹³ AJHR 1917, E1, p 41 and AJHR 1931, E1, p 25

¹⁴ AJHR 1931, E1, p 25

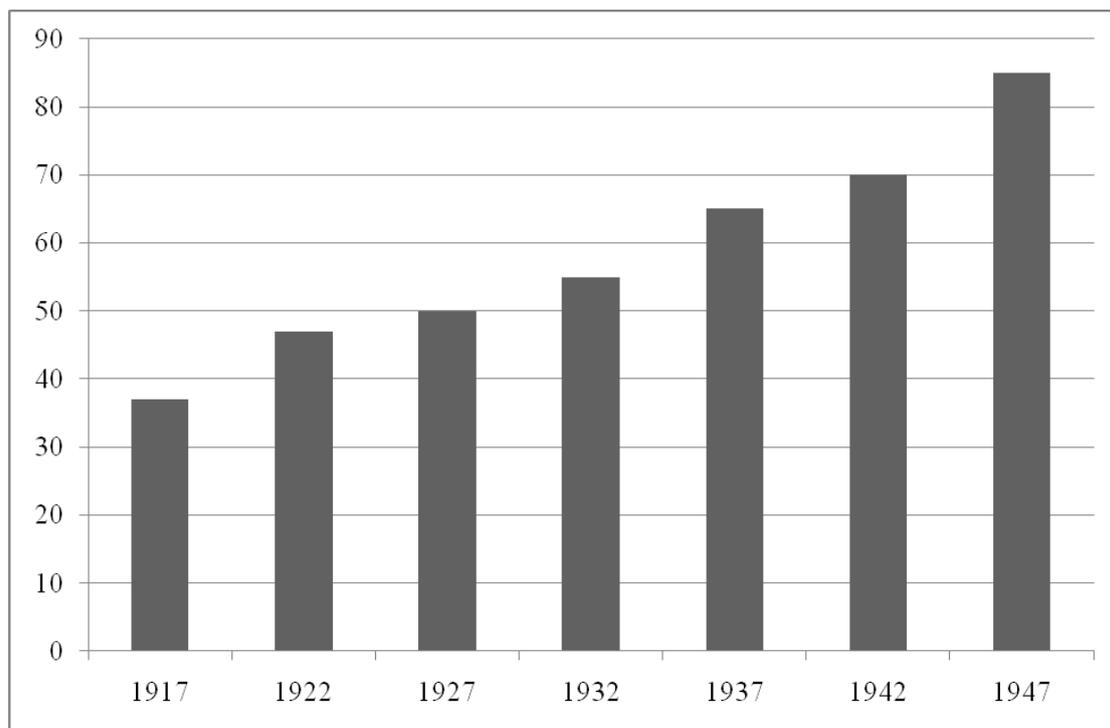
¹⁵ AJHR 1901, E1, p xxviii and AJHR 1931, E1, p 25.

¹⁶ NZOYB 1950, p 160

¹⁷ AJHR 1948, E1, pp 3-4

retention of students at secondary schools.¹⁸ By 1955, 95 percent of those leaving primary school progressed to secondary school.¹⁹ However, the Education Department noted that half the secondary pupils stayed two years or less, many being non-academic pupils who progressed due to ‘social promotion’.²⁰

Figure 6: Percent Leaving Primary School for Secondary Education, 1917-1947



Source: AJHR 1948, E1, p 3

Maori Participation in Secondary Education

This section looks at the extent to which Maori were able to participate in the significant growth in secondary education after 1901. It is likely that until the early twentieth century, few Maori attended general secondary and district high schools in any year. District high schools were rare before 1902, few Maori lived near general secondary schools, and very few were awarded scholarships to attend them.²¹ Instead, Maori had their own secondary schools. All were boarding schools, given

¹⁸ Openshaw et al, p 216

¹⁹ AJHR 1955, E1, pp 33-4

²⁰ AJHR 1955, E1, pp 33-4

²¹ For example, in 1903 a Maori girl had a scholarship to attend Timaru High School, AJHR 1904, E2, p 38. All other boarding scholarship students attended Maori schools that year.

that most Maori lived in remote communities. These schools were among the small number of denomination boarding schools that remained open after the wars of the 1860s. They continued to get per capita grants from the government until the 1880s, when these grants were gradually replaced by targeted scholarships for pupils, initially for those who had passed the Fourth Standard of the Native Schools Code with credit.²² The scholarships were initially valued at £18 per annum over two years.²³ The aim was to provide post-primary education for some of the more able pupils. Until this reform, most of the remaining denominational boarding schools were 'essentially primary schools'.²⁴ At the turn of the twentieth century there were four church-run secondary boarding schools for Maori: Te Aute and St Stephens for boys and Hukarere and St Josephs for girls. All appeared to have developed a largely academic curriculum, led by the work of John Thornton, the principal at Te Aute. In his report for 1902, Native Schools Inspector James Pope described Te Aute as taking up 'rather the lines of the English grammar school'. 'Boys at that institution are skilfully prepared for the matriculation examination, and many of them now succeed in passing it'. Hukarere was described as following Te Aute, with less success, while St Stephens was described as providing a 'sound English education', as was St Josephs to a lesser extent.²⁵

The provision of scholarships specifically for Maori boarding schools meant that, at the turn of the century, Maori were treated more generously than Pakeha with respect to government assistance to access secondary education. In 1901, 76 Maori pupils had government-funded places in denominational boarding schools, a rate of 1.67 funded pupils per 1000 Maori in the population.²⁶ In the same year, there were 963 pupils with free secondary places in general schools, most of them enrolled in the newly-subsidised district high schools.²⁷ If we assume that none of these pupils were Maori, this equates to a rate of 1.25 funded pupils per 1000 Pakeha in the population.²⁸

²² AJHR 1881, E7, p 10

²³ Barrington, 2009, p 142

²⁴ Barrington, 2009, p 142

²⁵ AJHR 1902, E2, p 15. As will be seen in the next chapter, the academic emphasis of the schools was soon to change.

²⁶ AJHR 1902, E2, p 30

²⁷ AJHR 1906, E1, p xxviii

²⁸ Population figure from 1901 census.

Assistance to Maori was thus 33 percent higher than that to Pakeha on this (admittedly slightly crude) measure.²⁹

On a monetary basis the picture is even more striking, as Maori scholarships covered board and were thus more expensive than most general scholarships. In 1900, before the introduction of free places in district high schools, education boards provided £8,143 in scholarships for general secondary education, a rate of £11 per 1000 Pakeha in the population.³⁰ In the same year the government spent £1,834 on post-primary education for Maori, excluding university scholarships. That equates to nearly £37 per 1000 Maori in the population, or three times the Pakeha rate.³¹

Finding out whether Maori were able to participate in the massive expansion of secondary education after 1900 is rather more problematic. While the Education Department assiduously recorded annual statistics on the number of Maori in general primary schools, only attendance at the Maori denominational boarding schools, and the Native district high schools established from 1941, was ever published before 1948. As Barrington notes, the Department assumed that few Maori attended other secondary schools.³² In 1948, the Education Department produced the first comprehensive figures on Maori participation in secondary education.³³ The data revealed that, of the 3,257 Maori attending secondary school, only 27 percent were attending schools established for Maori education. As can be seen from Figure 7 below, the remaining 73 percent, or 2,381 students, were enrolled in general secondary schools.

Thus, between 1900 and 1948, the proportion of Maori enrolled in general secondary schools, rather than Maori secondary schools, increased from close to zero to 73 percent. Clearly there was a transition in between. As noted above, there was a big expansion in district high schools during the first half of the century. These were located in rural districts, and were therefore likely to be more accessible to Maori. By

²⁹ A straight comparison using per capita population is imperfect, given the slightly different age structures of the two populations in 1901.

³⁰ AJHR 1902, E1, p xv. Population figure from 1901 census.

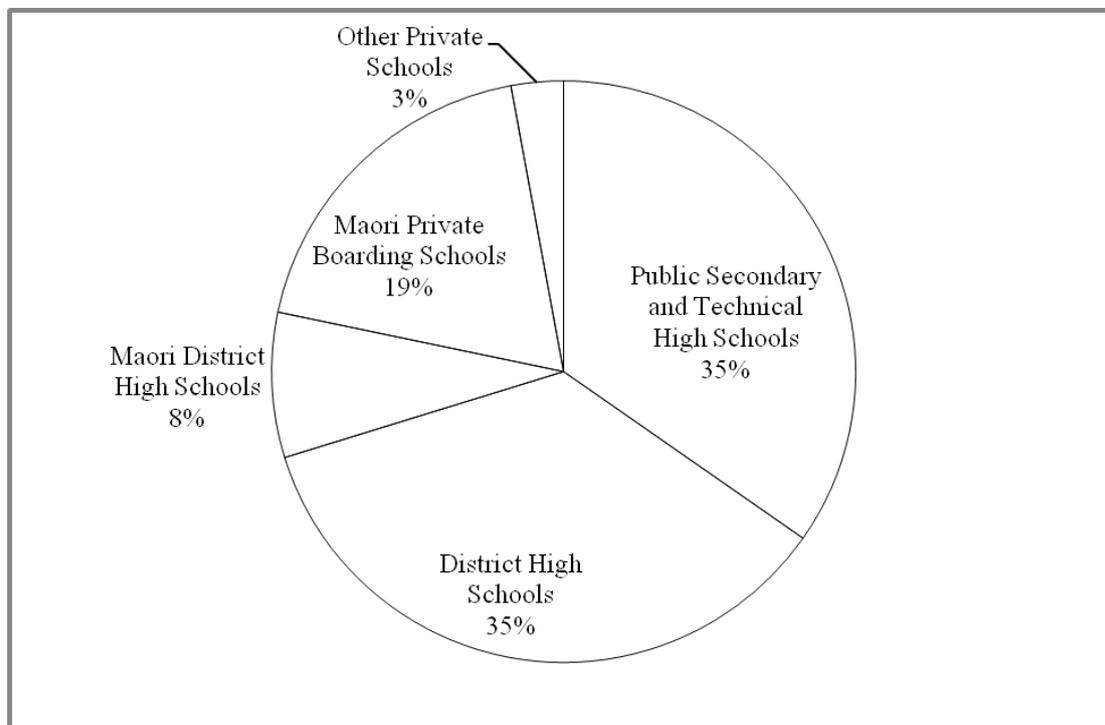
³¹ AJHR 1901, E2, p 22. The figure includes the £70 paid for travelling expenses.

³² Barrington, 2009, p 228

³³ AJHR 1948, E3, p 6

1948, 1,156 Maori were enrolled in district high schools, making up 15 percent of the 7,938 pupils enrolled in these schools.³⁴

Figure 7: Maori Secondary Pupils by School Type, 1948



Source: AJHR 1948, E3, p 6

Figure 8 below provides estimates of Maori enrolment in secondary education at intervals between 1900 and 1948. The dates chosen have generally been those nearest the five-yearly census, with enrolment figures normally collected at the end of the school year and the census being held the following March or April. The figures on enrolments in Maori schools are those published in the Education Department's annual reports, excluding any Pakeha enrolled in these schools. The figures for general school enrolments are the published ones for 1948. It has been assumed there were no Maori enrolled in general schools in 1900.³⁵

³⁴ AJHR 1948, E3, p 6 and AJHR 1949, E1, p 11. This figure does not include Maori District High Schools.

³⁵ In reality there were probably one or two Maori with secondary school scholarships, as some schools such as Auckland Grammar offered scholarships specifically for Maori. However, the numbers would be too small to be material in this context.

No figures are available for general schools enrolments from 1906 to 1940. However, it is assumed that, just as Maori increasingly attended general primary schools over time, they likewise increasingly attended general secondary schools over time. A proxy has therefore been used, namely, the number of Maori awarded Proficiency Certificates in general primary schools over the previous two years. Until 1937, those awarded Proficiency Certificates were entitled to two years free schooling at a public secondary school. It is assumed that Maori attending general primary schools were significantly more likely to have access to a public secondary school than those attending native schools.

Figure 8: Table of Number of Maori in Secondary Education, 1900-1948 (Estimated for General Schools 1906-1940)

Year	General Schools	Maori Schools	Total
1900	0	213	213
1906	23	279	302
1910	47	381	428
1916	72	458	530
1920	76	474	550
1925	171	536	707
1930	268	535	803
1935	317	313	630
1940	819	419	1,238
1948	2,287	876 ³⁶	3,163

Source: AJHR 1901, 1907, E2, and 1910, 1911, 1915, 1916, 1920, 1921-22, 1925, 1926, 1930, 1931, 1935, 1936, 1940, 1941, 1948, E3

A number of caveats need to be made about using passes in the Proficiency Examination as a proxy for attendance at state secondary schools. Not all those Maori awarded Proficiency Certificates necessarily attended a district high or other state secondary school for a full two years. Some may have attended a Maori boarding school.³⁷ Others may have left school before the end the 4th Form or not attended a

³⁶ 1948 figure includes Maori District High Schools. Table excludes private schools other than Maori boarding schools.

³⁷ In 1916, for example, at least 10 former public primary and mission school pupils were attending Maori secondary schools, AJHR 1917, E3, p 21

secondary school at all. On the other hand, some Maori parents may have paid fees to send their children to a state secondary school, just as some Pakeha parents did.³⁸ Some Maori pupils would have continued their secondary schooling beyond two years, for which scholarships were increasingly available over time. Also, some of those Maori pupils in native schools who passed the Proficiency Examination each year may have chosen to attend a nearby public secondary school rather than a Maori boarding school.³⁹ To some extent these unders and overs cancel each other out. However, the caveats outlined would make the veracity of the figures in the 'Public Schools' column of Figure 8 increasingly uncertain for later years in the table.

No figure for the number of Proficiency Certificates awarded to Maori in general schools is available before 1906, so a figure midway between that for 1900 and that for 1910 has been used. As the Proficiency Examination was abolished after 1936, the 1940 figure is the sum of the number of Maori in the 2nd Form of general primary schools in 1938 and 1939. All these students would have been entitled to a free place at a public secondary school in 1940. Similar caveats apply to the use of this proxy as apply in the case of Proficiency Certificates, as outlined above. In particular, many of those who completed Form Two would not have continued on to a secondary school, and many of those at secondary school would have stayed there for more than two years, given that all senior classes were now free of fees up to the age of 19.

The figure for 1940 is probably the least reliable in Figure 8. It can usefully be compared with figures from an Education Department survey conducted in 1938, which found that 404 Maori students were enrolled in general state secondary schools of various types.⁴⁰ The department never published its figures, which seem implausibly low. Many schools may have failed to submit a return, as the figures had just 133 Maori attending general district high schools in 1938, compared with 1,156

³⁸ The proportion of fee-paying secondary pupils reduced over time. The Education Department estimated that by 1920, 91 percent of pupils of government secondary schools had free places, AJHR 1921-22, E6, p 6

³⁹ For example, in 1933 and 1934, a total of 398 pupils in native schools were awarded Proficiency Certificates and would have been entitled to free public secondary education in 1935, AJHR 1935, E3, p 10. About 28 percent of these pupils were Pakeha, so the number of Maori in the above total would be around 285.

⁴⁰ Barrington, 2009, p 228.

in 1948.⁴¹ But we can at least tell from the department's figures that a minimum of 404 Maori students must have been enrolled in state secondary schools in 1938, a figure that is not too out of kilter with the figures in the 'Public Schools' column for 1935 and 1940 in the above table.

An apparent anomaly in Table 8 is the large jump between the estimate for 1940 and the official figure for 1948. However, this is to be expected given that, in 1940, free secondary schooling had only been in place for three years. This allowed little time for the number and size of schools to expand to meet additional demand, or for the culture of schooling to change towards an expectation that the majority of Maori children would proceed to secondary school. This latter point can be illustrated by the number of Maori children progressing to Form 2: there were just 882 in 1939 compared with 1,862 in 1947.⁴²

Figure 9 below uses the data in Figure 8, along with census data and the published data on secondary school enrolments, to calculate rates of secondary school participation per 1000 people in the Maori and Non-Maori population. Where there was no proximate census, as in 1930, 1940 and 1948, the population figures were estimated. In general, the school data pertains to the end of the school year and the census data is from the following March or April.

An immediately striking thing about Figure 9 is that in the years for which the figures are probably the most reliable – 1900 and 1948 - Maori appear to have been represented in secondary education in similar proportions to non-Maori. This is misleading, however, as private schools (except Maori boarding schools) have been left out of the calculations. The figures were omitted because they were inconsistently reported by the Education Department and many of these schools received no government assistance. Leaving out private schools greatly understates non-Maori participation. In 1948, for example, 17 percent of secondary pupils were in 'endowed and registered private secondary schools'.⁴³ In total, this involved 9,053 pupils, of

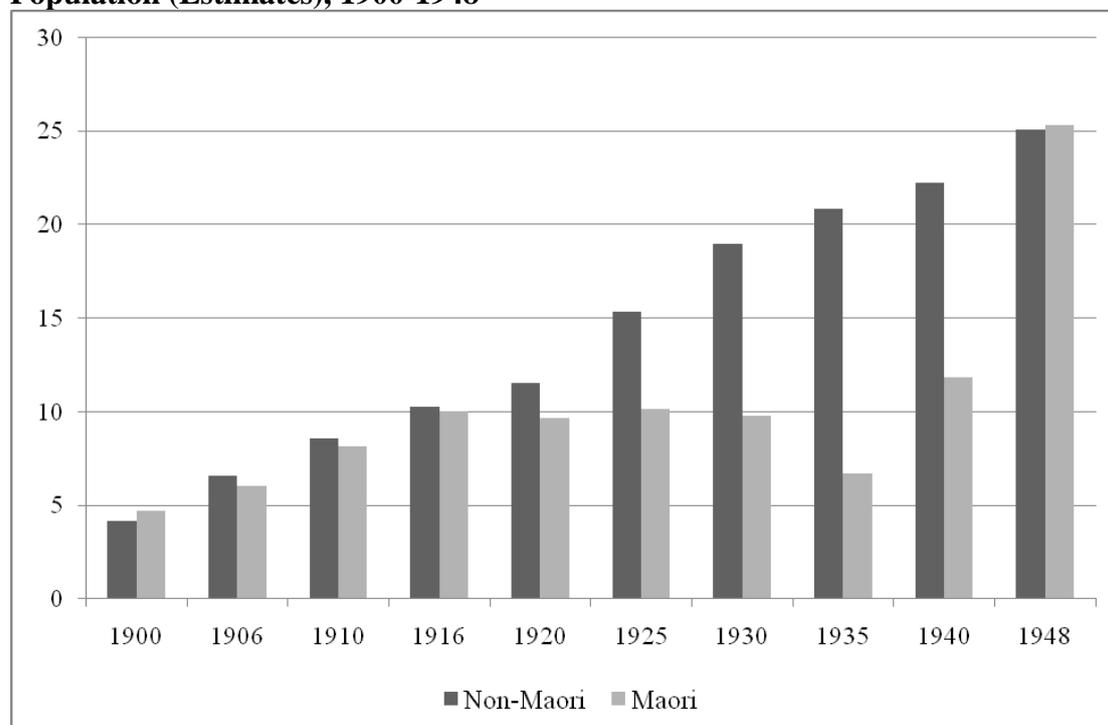
⁴¹ Both these figures exclude Maori district high schools.

⁴² AJHR 1940, E3, pp 8-9 and AJHR 1948, E3, pp 10-11

⁴³ Figure calculated from AJHR 1949, E1, p 11. Figure excludes Maori boarding schools. The majority of private schools were run by the Roman Catholic Church.

whom just 94 were Maori.⁴⁴ Figures for the small number of students taking secondary courses by correspondence have also been omitted, as these figures were inconsistently reported by the Education Department and many students took only one or two subjects.⁴⁵ If private schooling is included, non-Maori progression to secondary education was around 40 percent higher than that for Maori in 1948.⁴⁶ In addition, the Maori population went through a significant demographic change between 1901 and 1926.⁴⁷ Falling infant and childhood mortality resulted in a greater proportion of the population in the younger age groups by 1926, including those of secondary age. Figures based on the total population therefore increasingly exaggerated Maori participation in secondary education over time.

Figure 9: Maori and Non-Maori Enrolled in Secondary Education per 1000 Population (Estimates), 1900-1948



Source: AJHR, NZ population census, and estimates as in Table 1 above⁴⁸

⁴⁴ AJHR 1949, E1, p 11 and AJHR 1948, E3, p 6

⁴⁵ The Correspondence School was established in 1922, and provided secondary lessons to a small but increasing number of pupils over time.

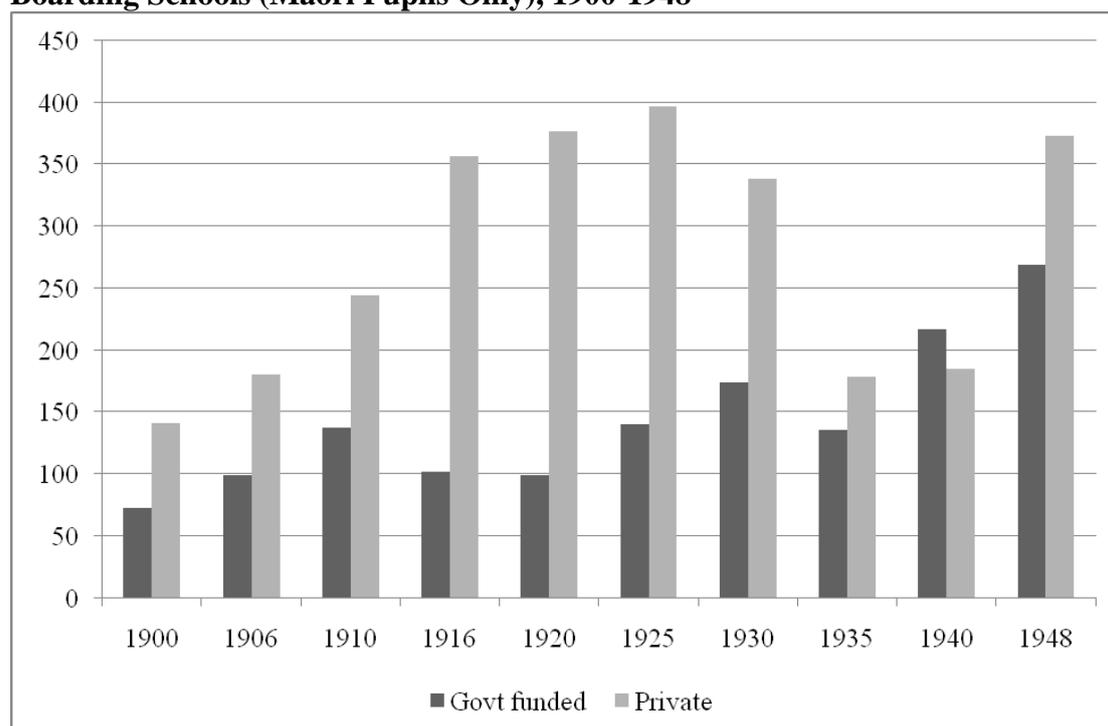
⁴⁶ AJHR 1950, E3 pp 5, 13 and E1 p 18

⁴⁷ Ian Pool, *Te Iwi Maori: a New Zealand Population Past, Present and Projected*, Auckland University Press: Auckland, 1991, pp 102-103, pp 120-121. There was little change in Maori population structure between 1926 and 1945.

⁴⁸ Private schools and the Correspondence School (established 1922) have been left out of the figures. The number of pupils in district high schools in 1900 has been estimated on the basis of 30 pupils per school (as in 1901) over 13 schools.

The trends in Maori participation after 1916, shown in Figure 9, are particularly striking. Despite an estimate that Maori numbers in general high schools more than trebled between 1920 and 1930, the overall participation rate barely increased. During the depression of the early 1930s, Maori participation in secondary education actually fell. As noted above, the change in the age structure of the Maori population between 1901 and 1926 means that the decline in Maori participation may have been greater than shown in Figure 9. As can be seen from the table in Figure 8 above, these trends were driven primarily by changes in enrolments in the Maori boarding schools. These barely increased between 1916 and 1930, and fell 40 percent during the depression. The likely explanation for this trend is that too few scholarships were provided to enable Maori to attend the denominational boarding schools.

Figure 10: Number of Government-Funded and Private Pupils in Maori Boarding Schools (Maori Pupils Only), 1900-1948



Source: AJHR 1901-1949

Figure 10 above shows changes in the number of government-funded and private pupils in Maori boarding schools between 1900 and 1948. The figures show that initially, Maori were able to participate in the growth in secondary education, thanks to increased government subsidies. From 1904, scholarships to attend the secondary

boarding schools became available to Maori attending general primary schools who passed Standard 5. Previously, scholarships were available only to Maori who had attended native schools.⁴⁹ Maori were clearly keen to access secondary schooling for their children, as shown by the growth in the number of private pupils. Between 1901 and 1914, the number of Maori boarding schools increased from four to ten, and the number of Maori attending these schools more than doubled, from 215 to 440.⁵⁰ But between 1910 and 1920, the number of government-funded places fell. This was probably because their value was insufficient to cover the boarding costs of the pupils. Between 1904 and 1919, the average annual value of the scholarships remained at £20.⁵¹ Significant increases were made in 1919 and (temporarily) in 1929, when the value of scholarships was increased to £30 and then £35. In addition, in 1926 a new scholarship was introduced to assist more Maori children to continue their secondary education for a third year.⁵² As a result of these improvements, the number of scholarship holders at Maori secondary schools increased by 76 percent between 1920 and 1930. By 1930 the number of government-funded places at the schools had grown by 140 percent since 1900. However, this increase is trivial compared with the ten-fold increase in general secondary enrolments between 1900 and 1930 noted earlier.

The relative decline in funding for Maori secondary education is most starkly illustrated by the monetary figures. As noted earlier, in 1900 the government spent £8,143 on scholarships providing free places in general secondary schools.⁵³ In 1918, the government spent £85,422 on free places in general secondary schools.⁵⁴ This is a ten-fold increase in 18 years, despite the fact that the 1918 figure excludes the 40 percent of free-place pupils who were attending district and technical high schools rather than secondary schools.⁵⁵ In contrast, expenditure on Maori secondary

⁴⁹ Barrington and Beaglehole, p 180

⁵⁰ Figures calculated from AJHR 1902, E2, p 36 and AJHR 1915, E3, p 18. European students at Maori schools have been excluded.

⁵¹ AJHR 1933, E3, p 5, 1948, E3, p 5

⁵² Barrington and Beaglehole, p 192

⁵³ AJHR 1902, E1, p xv

⁵⁴ AJHR 1919, E1, p 32

⁵⁵ For some reason the Education Department provided no information on the cost of free places at district and technical high schools.

scholarships increased from £1,673 to £2,303 between 1900 and 1918, an increase of just 38 percent.⁵⁶

Maori families were hard-hit by the depression. Between 1929 and 1933, the number of pupils on the rolls of Maori secondary schools more than halved, from 533 to 241.⁵⁷ As might be expected, the bulk of the decline was in the number of private pupils without scholarships, whose parents could no longer afford the fees.⁵⁸ But the number of scholarship pupils declined as well. In 1931, Cabinet reduced the value of Maori boarding scholarships as part of the general retrenchment in government spending.⁵⁹ The number of scholarships was also reduced, although this had little impact in the case of junior scholarships. In 1932, 21 junior scholarships were not taken up, as parents could not afford to let their children continue their education.⁶⁰ As Figures 8 and 9 show, the result was a big slump in Maori progression to secondary education.

In 1936, following a national conference on Maori education, health and welfare, the number of scholarships for students at Maori boarding schools was increased significantly, and their value was restored to the 1930 level of £35.⁶¹ The result, as can be seen from Figure 10, was a significant increase in the number of government-funded pupils at the schools. The number of private pupils also increased, although not to the levels of the 1920s, despite a big increase in the Maori population in the interim. In 1941 the Education Department finally seemed to become aware of the fact that the number of pupils at Maori boarding schools had increased only slightly since the early years of the century, despite a doubling of the Maori population.⁶² However, nothing was done about the situation because of wartime frugality. On the contrary, in 1942 St Stephen's College in Auckland was taken over as an auxiliary hospital, leading to a shortage of accommodation in all the Maori boarding schools. The government did not want any more pupils in the schools, and diverted some to

⁵⁶ AJHR 1901, E2, p 22 and AJHR 1919, E3, p 22

⁵⁷ AJHR 1930, E3, p 15 and AJHR 1935, E3, p 9. The school rolls began to slowly increase again in 1934.

⁵⁸ Barrington, 2009, pp 211-12

⁵⁹ Barrington, 2009, p 210. The cuts were reinstated by 1933, AJHR 1933, E3, p 5.

⁶⁰ Barrington, 2009, pp 210-211

⁶¹ AJHR 1937-8, E3, p 6

⁶² AJHR 1941, E3, p 2

district high schools.⁶³ Finally, in 1946 the government increased the value of Maori boarding scholarships from £35 to £55 for boys and to £50 for girls, and also increased their number.⁶⁴ In 1951, all new Maori boarding scholarships were extended to four years, and their value was further increased to £60 per annum for both sexes.⁶⁵

Another response by government was to add secondary departments onto a few native schools, turning them into native (later Maori) district high schools.⁶⁶ However, this initiative was also delayed by the war, and most of the 13 Maori district high schools were established between 1947 and 1955. None of these was within or near Te Rohe Potae. As noted in Chapter 1, the standard of education provided in these schools was poor, few Maori ever attended the schools, and most of them lasted as Maori schools for little more than a decade.

But increased Maori participation in post-primary education was not driven by more generous boarding scholarships and a few Maori district high schools. Rather, it was driven by free secondary education, and the resulting continued expansion of the high school system. In 1936, the Labour government abolished the proficiency examination and introduced free education for all up to the age of 19.⁶⁷ For those some distance from schools, free bus transport was provided, or alternatively an allowance towards the cost of private board near to a post-primary school.⁶⁸ In 1940 the Education Department estimated that only 41 percent of Maori children proceeded beyond primary school, compared with 64 percent of children nationally.⁶⁹ However, by 1949 the department reported that 63 percent of Maori leaving primary school went on to secondary education, compared with 88 percent of the general population.⁷⁰ Despite the significant improvement in Maori participation, the department was not satisfied with the ongoing gap between Maori and Pakeha, and in 1951 launched a campaign to try and close it. Meetings were arranged between

⁶³ AJHR 1943, E3, p1

⁶⁴ AJHR 1947, E3, p 5

⁶⁵ AJHR 1951, E3, pp 3-4. Before the change, boys' scholarships were more generous.

⁶⁶ AJHR 1941, E3, pp 2-3

⁶⁷ Harvey Egdell, 'Education – Evolution of Present System: Development and Trends in the Last 25 Years' in An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand 1966, <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/1966/education-evolution-of-present-system/6>, accessed 21 December 2010

⁶⁸ Barrington, 2009, p 224

⁶⁹ Barrington, 2009, p 224

⁷⁰ AJHR 1950, E3 pp 5, 13 and E1 p 18

inspectors of Maori Schools and teachers, parents, school committees, tribal committees, and officers of government departments working with Maori. 'It is by such means that we hope to encourage parents to send a greater number of Maori children on to post-primary education.'⁷¹ Whether or not this campaign made any difference, there was a significant rise in the proportion of Maori primary school leavers going on to secondary schooling during the 1950s. Between 1949 and 1959, the proportion rose from 63 to 93 percent, close to that for the general population.⁷²

It would be tempting to think that the big growth in Maori participation in secondary schooling from the late 1930s was in some way associated with Maori urbanisation. However, it is unlikely that urbanisation had much impact. At the time of the 1945 population census, just 26 percent of Maori lived in urban areas, only a small increase on the 17 percent in 1936. By 1956, the urban proportion was still only 35 percent. The period of most rapid urbanisation was between 1956 and 1966, when the Maori urban population reached 62 percent.⁷³ But by then, Maori progression to secondary education had long been over 90 percent. There are two factors more plausibly related to increased Maori participation, both of which made education more accessible. One factor is the Labour government's reforms of the late 1930s, already outlined, which made secondary education more accessible to all. The other is the fact that, during the course of the twentieth century, secondary education was made more accessible to those in rural areas. This was due to the growing number of secondary schools, technical high schools, and district high schools that opened during the century. This is illustrated in the following section, which concentrates on developments within Te Rohe Potae.

Secondary Schools in Te Rohe Potae

In 1900, there were no secondary schools within or near Te Rohe Potae. Those wishing to undertake secondary education therefore needed to board, most likely in Auckland or New Plymouth, or at one of the Maori denominational boarding schools. However, with the large expansion of free secondary places from 1901, there was a big increase in the number of secondary departments attached to some of the larger

⁷¹ AJHR 1952, E3, p 3

⁷² AJHR 1960, E1, p 107

⁷³ Pool, *Te Iwi Maori*, pp 123, 154, 182

primary schools, known as district high schools. As outlined earlier, there were only 13 district high schools nationwide in 1900, but by 1904 their numbers had expanded to 52, including one in Hamilton and one in Cambridge.⁷⁴ Hamilton was growing rapidly, and the district high school there became a fully-fledged high school (ie, with no primary pupils) in 1911.⁷⁵

A district high school did not open within the inquiry district until Te Kuiti school acquired that status in July 1914.⁷⁶ As outlined in Chapter 3, Te Kuiti began as a native school, opening in 1898. It soon became a general school, thanks to the increasing number of Pakeha on the roll. When the school was transferred to the Auckland Education Board in mid-1905, some 60 percent of the 91 pupils were classified as 'European'.⁷⁷ By 1913 the roll had risen to 370, large enough to support a secondary department. By 1917, the roll of the new Te Kuiti District High School had grown to 520, including both the primary and secondary departments.⁷⁸ Given the origins of the school as a native school, it seems likely that some of those on its secondary roll were Maori.

By 1921, new district high schools had opened in Taumarunui and Te Awamutu.⁷⁹ In 1923, the Education Department experimented with consolidating schools in the King Country. Several small rural schools were closed and the pupils bussed to larger more central schools. As a result a new district high school was established at Piopio, about 20 km south west of Te Kuiti.⁸⁰ The second of these 'consolidated' schools was Otorohanga, which became a district high school.⁸¹ As outlined in Chapter 3, Otorohanga started as a native school in 1890 and became a general school in 1894.

By the mid-1920s there were therefore five district high schools within the inquiry district, at Te Kuiti, Taumarunui, Te Awamutu, Otorohanga and Piopio. The next district high school within Te Rohe Potae was not established until 1938, when

⁷⁴ AJHR 1902, E1, p xv, AJHR 1904, E12, pp 2, 32

⁷⁵ AJHR 1921, E1, p 47

⁷⁶ 'History of Te Kuiti School', *Footprints of History*, December 2001, no 26, p 20

⁷⁷ AJHR 1905, E2, p 23, AJHR 1906, E2, p 25

⁷⁸ 'History of Te Kuiti School', *Footprints of History*, December 2001, no 26, p 20

⁷⁹ AJHR 1921-22, E6, p 26

⁸⁰ AJHR 1924, E6, p 17 and AJHR 1925, E1, p 9

⁸¹ AJHR 1924, E1, p5

Raglan school acquired a secondary department.⁸² A seventh and final district high school for the district opened at Kawhia in 1949.⁸³

As small-town populations grew and new primary schools were established, some district high schools converted to full secondary status with no primary pupils. The first such conversion occurred in 1947, when Te Awamutu College became the first fully-fledged high school within the inquiry district.⁸⁴ Until 1954 it was a technical high school.⁸⁵ In 1954 and 1955, Taumarunui and Te Kuiti district high schools also achieved full secondary status as technical high schools.⁸⁶ They were followed in 1956 by Otorohanga District High School, which became Otorohanga College.⁸⁷ Otorohanga had grown to an extent that the school was ‘deconsolidated’ in 1957, with new primary schools being opened in the surrounding district.⁸⁸ In 1958, Taumarunui and Te Kuiti shed their ‘technical high school’ status, as did Otorohanga the following year.⁸⁹

Until Te Awamutu College opened in 1947, the main secondary options available to Maori and Pakeha within Te Rohe Potae were six district high schools. This was an unsatisfactory situation given the large increase in demand for post-primary education after fees were abolished for state schools in 1937. In the early decades of the century, the government encouraged district high schools to focus on training children for a future in agriculture and housekeeping. Parental resistance to such courses, gradually acknowledged by officials, meant the schools tried to broaden their curricula. However, the schools tended to be hamstrung by too few pupils, an inability to recruit suitably qualified teachers, and an inability to supply a range of subjects. The Education Department openly acknowledged the major weakness of district high schools in its annual report for 1937:

⁸² AJHR 1939, E6, p 27

⁸³ AJHR 1950, E2, p 8

⁸⁴ AJHR 1948, E6, p 38

⁸⁵ AJHR 1955, E1, pp 70-1

⁸⁶ AJHR 1956, E1, p 33

⁸⁷ AJHR 1957, E1, p 39

⁸⁸ AJHR 1956, E1, p 32

⁸⁹ AJHR 1959, E1, pp 77-8 and AJHR 1960, E1, pp 84-5

[District high schools] are, in general, seriously handicapped by inadequate staffing. This, of course, is due to the small roll number of the secondary department. Seventy-five per cent of the schools have only one or two teachers, yet the subjects demanded by the pupils may cover so wide a range that two, three or even four teachers may not among themselves possess the necessary specialized knowledge.⁹⁰

Despite these acknowledged problems, the national number of district high schools continued to increase from the 84 in existence in 1937, to peak at 114 in 1955.⁹¹ Two new district high schools opened within Te Rohe Potae during this time. This means that those Maori and Pakeha within the district who did not receive scholarships to attend Maori and other boarding schools, and were unable to travel daily to Hamilton or Cambridge, were probably disadvantaged with respect to access to quality secondary education.

This situation was changing by 1950. District high schools were closing or, as happened within Te Rohe Potae, converting to full secondary status. By 1962 their numbers had fallen to 92.⁹² By 1960, Te Rohe Potae residents, both Maori and Pakeha, could therefore potentially attend one of four full secondary schools (Te Awamutu, Taumarunui, Te Kuiti and Otorohanga) and three district high schools (Raglan, Kawhia and Piopio). For those Maori not within easy reach of these schools, the options were boarding near a secondary school, for which a boarding allowance was paid, or, for those with scholarships, attending a boarding school, usually one of the Maori denominational schools. It is likely that the establishment of four full secondary schools between 1947 and 1956, and the conversion of these schools from technical high schools to conventional secondary schools, greatly improved the quality of education available within the inquiry district. However, not all those going into post-primary education necessarily attended local schools. For example, in 1966 the teacher at Makomako Maori School, by then a tiny school, reported that of the four Form 2 pupils, one would sit a Maori scholarship and do correspondence if unsuccessful, one had been accepted for New Plymouth Boys High School, one for

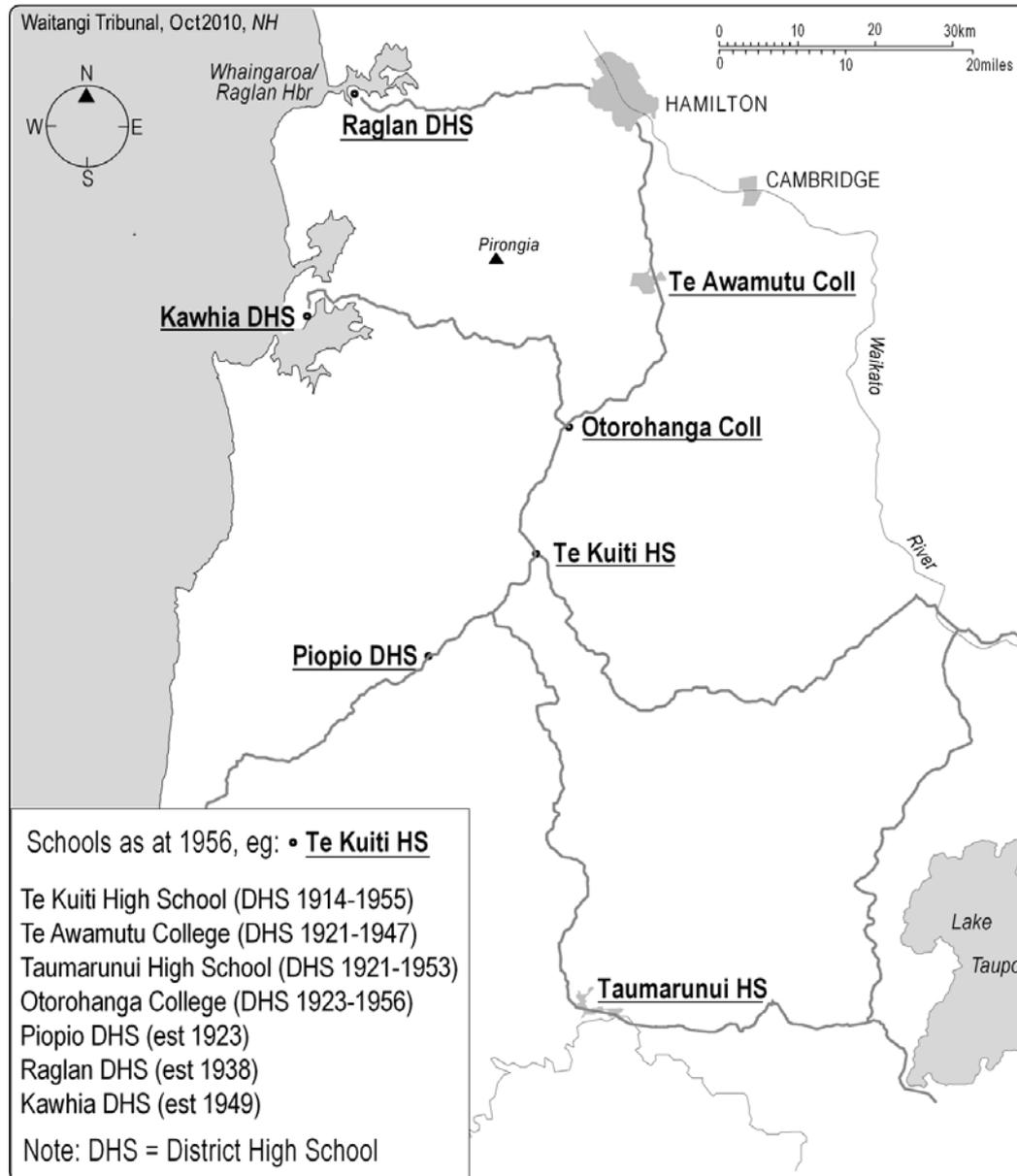
⁹⁰ AJHR 1937-8, E2, pp 4-5

⁹¹ AJHR 1938, E2, p 4, AJHR 1956, E1, p 69

⁹² AJHR 1963, E1, p 62

Hamilton Boys, and one for Fairfield College in Hamilton, where he would board with an uncle.⁹³

Figure 11: Map of Post-Primary Schools Within Te Rohe Potae in 1956



Maori Qualifications: A New Focus

The post-war period saw an increasing emphasis on qualifications, rather than solely on increasing Maori participation in education. The national School Certificate examination was significantly revamped in 1946, and the examination was sat by

⁹³ Entry for 2 February 1966, Makomako School Log Book 1961-1981, YCAG, 1653, 1/e, Supporting Documents (SD) vol 3, p 1010

increasing numbers of Fifth Form students each year.⁹⁴ In 1962, the Commission on Education in New Zealand used the examination results to provide comparative data on Maori educational attainment. The Commission's figures showed that less than five percent of Maori left school in 1960 with School Certificate or a higher qualification, compared with 30 percent of non-Maori.⁹⁵ A year earlier, the Hunn Report noted that only a small number of Maori, compared with Pakeha, completed tertiary education.⁹⁶ As outlined in Chapter 1, on the advice of the Hunn Report, the government established the Maori Education Foundation to assist Maori to complete secondary and tertiary education through competitive scholarships. In 1961 it endowed the new Foundation with £125,000 and provided a pound for pound subsidy on voluntary contributions for the purpose of 'encouraging and furthering the education of Maoris'.⁹⁷ The Foundation's activities expanded rapidly and in 1968 it distributed 1,187 grants, mainly for secondary education, totalling \$181,000.⁹⁸ Officials also recognised the importance of pre-school education for success in the education system, and began encouraging greater Maori participation in this level of education.

From 1960, Maori performance in school qualifications and participation in tertiary education improved substantially. By 1966, the proportion of Maori leaving school with at least School Certificate had trebled since 1960, from five to 15 percent, although the non-Maori rate had also increased greatly, to 52 percent. In 1969 the Education Department reported that 'Maori pupils are coming forward to secondary schools in greater numbers and at a younger age, and are tending to stay on longer and achieve more'.⁹⁹ The proportion of Maori passing School Certificate doubled again in the decade 1966 to 1976 (from 15 to 31 percent), while the non-Maori rate increased by a third (from 52 to 69 percent). For those leaving school with University Entrance or higher, the Maori rate quadrupled between 1966 and 1981, from just two percent to eight percent. The non-Maori rate also increased substantially over the same period, from 20 to 34 percent. Thus, even in 1981, non-Maori were four times more likely

⁹⁴ Openshaw et al, p 216

⁹⁵ Cited in Openshaw et al, p 74

⁹⁶ Hunn, Report on Department of Maori Affairs, AJHR 1961, G10, pp 24-25

⁹⁷ Openshaw et al, p 72

⁹⁸ AJHR 1969, E1, p 32

⁹⁹ AJHR 1969, E1, p 32

than Maori to leave school with higher level qualifications.¹⁰⁰ A significant education gap remained.

A paper produced by Simon Chapple for the former Ministry of Social Policy provides a partial explanation as to why Maori were often not progressing to the higher levels of secondary school and beyond. During the sustained period of relatively buoyant employment from the late 1940s to the early 1980s, Maori could commonly access reasonable wages in the labour market without the need for higher qualifications. For example, in 1961, Maori median incomes for those aged over 15 were 90 percent of those for non-Maori. A considerably greater disparity might have been expected given the younger age profile and lesser qualifications of the Maori population. Median Maori incomes were still 89 percent of those of non-Maori in 1986, although there had been substantial fluctuation between censuses.¹⁰¹ However, by 1996, median Maori incomes had fallen to 79 percent of non-Maori. Unemployment had also risen substantially. Maori therefore had a considerable incentive to continue with secondary and tertiary education in order to increase their chances in the labour market, as was noted by a paper produced for the New Zealand Treasury in 2001:

Both Māori and non Māori participation in post compulsory education and training grew rapidly in the 15 years since 1981, with Māori participation in tertiary education growing very strongly in the early 1990s. This is undoubtedly a response in part to economic restructuring which saw the loss of large areas of low skilled employment, and increased returns to higher qualifications. Participation in the senior school sector is quite sensitive to the state of the labour market, so that when aggregate employment is increasing, as in some periods in the 1990s, the gap between Māori and non-Māori tends to be static.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ Figures calculated by Lewis Holden, *Youth: A Statistical Profile*, Department of Internal Affairs: Wellington, 1984, p 15

¹⁰¹ Simon Chapple, 'Maori Socio-economic disparity', Paper for the Ministry of Social Policy, September 2000, p 12. Chapple attributes these data fluctuations in part to changes in the census definition of 'Maori' over time. Paper available at http://www.publicaccessnewzealand.com/files/chapple_maori_disparity.pdf

¹⁰² The Treasury, 'Reducing Maori and Pacific Inequalities', Treasury Working Paper 01/30, 2001, p 16

The 'Closing the Gaps' reports produced by Te Puni Kokiri in 1998 and 2000 confirmed the trend towards continued improvements in secondary retention rates and school qualifications for Maori during the 1980s and 1990s. Between 1991 and 1998, the number of Maori in tertiary education more than doubled, and the participation rate increased from seven to 12 percent.¹⁰³ By 2009, Maori participation in secondary education had risen to an age-standardised rate of 17.1 percent, far in excess of the 'European' rate of 11.4 percent.¹⁰⁴ A 2007 report by the Ministry of Education showed that most of this dramatic increase occurred between 1998 and 2004, and was driven almost entirely by increased Maori enrolments in lower-level qualifications such as certificates and diplomas.¹⁰⁵

Despite these declining disparities, there is some evidence to indicate that those iwi with links to Te Rohe Potae remained relatively disadvantaged with respect to educational attainment. In a 2005 article, John Gould analysed data from the 2001 population census relating to 16 main iwi identified in the census.¹⁰⁶ His purpose was to compare iwi on a number of socio-economic variables, including educational characteristics. He ranked the 16 iwi on the basis of these variables, with a higher ranking indicating a higher socio-economic status. Gould had earlier written a similar article based on the 1996 census, which provided similar results despite changes in questions, classifications and definitions between censuses. The three education indicators used were: the percentage of the population aged 15 and over with no qualifications; the percentage with a 6th Form or higher school qualification (the study preceded the introduction of the NCEA); and the percentage with at least a bachelor degree as their highest qualification. Those who did not state their level of qualification were excluded from the analysis. Ngati Maniapoto were represented

¹⁰³ *Te Puni Kokiri, Progress Towards Closing Social and economic Gaps Between Maori and Non-Maori: A Report to the Minister of Maori Affairs*, Wellington, 2000, pp 15-20

¹⁰⁴ Ministry of Social Development, 'Participation in Tertiary Education', in *The Social Report 2010*, <http://www.socialreport.msd.govt.nz/knowledge-skills/participation-tertiary-education.html>, accessed 16 December 2010

¹⁰⁵ Ministry of Education, 'Maori Participation in Tertiary Education 2005', The Ministry, 2007, available at http://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/publications/maori_education/maori_in_tertiary_education_-_fact_sheets, accessed 16 December 2010

¹⁰⁶ John Gould 'Socio-economic gaps between Maori and Maori: Outcomes of sixteen Iwi 1991-2001', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol 114, no. 1, March 2005, pp 29-43

among the 16 iwi in Gould's analysis. Other iwi with links to Te Rohe Potae included in the census analysis were Waikato and Ngati Raukawa.

Ngati Maniapoto ranked 15 out of the 16 iwi with regards to the proportion of the population with no qualifications. Waikato were ranked 16, with 44.6 percent having no qualifications compared with 30.5 percent for Ngai Tahu (ranked 1) and 25.6 percent for the overall New Zealand population. Maniapoto and Waikato were also ranked 15 and 16 with regards to the proportion of the population with 6th Form or higher school qualifications. With regards to the proportion with university qualifications, Waikato and Maniapoto were ranked 11 and 12 respectively compared with other iwi, making these iwi only slightly below the average on this indicator. Those identifying as Ngati Raukawa were overall ranked 4 both on lack of qualifications and on university qualifications, and 3 on higher school qualifications. In other words they ranked highly on the education indicators compared with most of the other 15 iwi.

As might be expected, education performance was reflected in income and, to a lesser extent, in employment status. Maniapoto and Waikato were ranked 14 and 15 (out of the 16 iwi) in terms of the incomes of those aged over 15. Those identifying primarily as Maniapoto or Waikato were less likely than those primarily identifying with other iwi to be self employed (ranked 13 and 15 respectively) and tended to have lower status occupations (ranked 15 and 12 respectively). In line with their education status, those identifying as Ngati Raukawa ranked highly on average on all three income and employment indicators.

Focussing on the inquiry district rather than on iwi groups, data from the 2006 census shows that Maori residing within Te Rohe Potae were more likely than Maori overall to have no qualifications, and less likely to have high level qualifications such as a bachelor degree. The figures also show that Pakeha within the inquiry district were more likely than Pakeha overall to have no qualifications, and less likely to have a bachelor degree or equivalent. For Pakeha in the district aged over 15, the 'no qualifications' figure was 30 percent, compared with 23 percent for Pakeha overall. For Maori in the district, the 'no qualifications' figure was 41 percent, compared with

36 percent for Maori overall. Eight percent of Pakeha in the district aged over 15 had a Bachelor degree or equivalent, compared with 15 percent of Pakeha nationally. Four percent of Maori in the district had a Bachelor degree or equivalent, compared with six percent nationally.¹⁰⁷ Educational disadvantage for Maori within Te Rohe Potae was thus to some extent a reflection of educational disadvantage for all within the inquiry district. However, there were still disparities between Maori and Pakeha within Te Rohe Potae. Given that the figures were for everyone aged over 15, they may reflect historical more than current disadvantage in education.

Conclusion

In 1900, Maori were treated more generously than Pakeha with respect to government assistance to access secondary education. However, this situation soon changed as subsidies to secondary education expanded rapidly in the early decades of the century. Figure 9 shows how Maori participation in secondary education fell dramatically behind that for Pakeha between 1916 and 1940. This is because funding for secondary schools for Maori fell far behind that provided for post-primary schooling in general. Assistance to those wanting to access the denominational boarding schools was underfunded for over 30 years. The government did not seem to become aware of this until 1941, by which time wartime conditions prevented any immediate action. In the post-war period the Education Department significantly increased the value, duration and number of Maori boarding scholarships, and tried to encourage Maori enrolment in general secondary schools. The department also established a few Maori district high schools in remote areas between 1941 and 1955. None were within or near Te Rohe Potae, few Maori ever attended the schools, and most of them lasted little more than a decade.

By the 1940s, schools established primarily for secondary education for Maori were becoming increasingly irrelevant. In 1948, 73 percent of Maori in post-primary education were in general secondary schools, thanks to a dramatically increased number of schools since the turn of the century. Within Te Rohe Potae, the first state secondary school did not open until 1914, when Te Kuiti became a district high

¹⁰⁷ All figures from Statistics New Zealand, compiled by Sarah Hemmingsen, 'Socio-Demographic Status Report for Maori in the Te Rohe Potae Inquiry District', QA Draft, November 2010, p 82

school. By the mid-1920s, four more district high schools had opened, at Taumarunui, Te Awamutu, Otorohanga and Piopio. A school bus service was established around the same time, making access to the schools easier. By the late 1920s, Maori within the inquiry district therefore had a number of secondary options open to them other than the expensive and underfunded Maori denominational boarding schools. The government openly acknowledged that district high schools provided an inferior education, but boarding subsidies were an expensive alternative, and correspondence classes were seen as a last resort. New district high schools therefore continued to open throughout the country until the mid-1950s. In 1938, Raglan school became a district high school, followed by Kawhia in 1949.

The removal of most restrictions on access to secondary education in 1937 greatly boosted the number of secondary schools throughout the country. However, the first full secondary school did not open within Te Rohe Potae until 1947, when Te Awamutu achieved high school status. By 1956, Taumarunui, Te Kuiti and Otorohanga had all become full secondary schools with no primary pupils. This greatly expanded the secondary options open to those living within the inquiry district. But for over half of the twentieth century, provision of post-primary schooling had been inadequate. To some extent this was due to the fact that the district consisted of rural settlements and small towns. Most residents of the inquiry district would have been disadvantaged in this respect, although Maori would in general have been more remote from the schools.

Since the early 1960s there have been significant improvements in Maori achievement in secondary education, admittedly from a very low base. These improvements have been reflected in increased Maori participation in tertiary education. Indeed, since 2000, Maori participation has exceeded that for Pakeha. However, there is evidence that Maori within Te Rohe Potae, and with tribal connections to the district, have not participated in these improvements to the same extent as Maori elsewhere. In part this reflects below average qualification levels for all in the district, regardless of ethnicity.

Chapter 8: Restricting Maori to Working-Class Employment

Introduction

A common criticism levelled at the native schools system is that education for Maori, particularly after 1900, tended to focus on practical rather than academic skills. Some claim that Maori were deliberately channelled into lesser-skilled occupations by the education system, leaving the more prestigious occupations requiring academic qualifications open to Pakeha. This was the overall argument made by Judith Simon in her evidence to the Waitangi Tribunal in the Wananga Capital Establishment Inquiry.¹ The Crown did not make any submissions on her evidence, on the grounds that there was insufficient time in an urgent inquiry.² The Tribunal therefore largely accepted Simon's evidence as read in its 1999 report.³ It concluded, on this basis, that central to the native schools philosophy 'was the limitation of the curriculum, designed to restrict Maori to working-class employment'.⁴ Twenty years later, the Wairarapa ki Tararua Tribunal accepted this earlier Tribunal's view that native and general schools had very different curricula.⁵ In particular, 'native schools maintained an emphasis on vocational training – agriculture and woodwork for boys, and cooking, needlework, and home crafts for girls'.⁶ Yet in 1992, three years after the release of the *Wananga Capital Establishment Report*, education historians Roger Openshaw, Greg Lee and Howard Lee put quite a different perspective:

Much has been made of the fact that the Department of Education subjected Maori to a practical, vocationally-oriented curriculum in Maori primary and post-primary schools. While this was undoubtedly true, it would be wrong to assume that this applied only to Maori. Since the introduction of 'free place' post-primary schooling in 1903, the Department had been concerned to minimise pupil 'wastage' by ensuring that pupils took courses suited to their education abilities and vocational requirements. For unabashed reasons of

¹ Judith Simon, Statement of Evidence, Wai 718, A51. Simon provided no pithy quotes that succinctly summarised her position.

² Waitangi Tribunal, *Wananga Capital Establishment Report*, p 3

³ Waitangi Tribunal, *Wananga Capital Establishment Report*, pp 5-9

⁴ Waitangi Tribunal, *Wananga Capital Establishment Report*, p 7

⁵ Waitangi Tribunal, *Wairarapa ki Tararua Report*, Volume 1, p 296

⁶ Waitangi Tribunal, *Wairarapa ki Tararua Report*, Volume 1, p 297

‘social efficiency’, pupils were sorted into one of three types of school: ‘academic’ pupils were directed to the secondary schools; pupils living in the rural areas of New Zealand were sent to the district high schools with the view to their undertaking an agricultural course; and those wanting technical or commercial instruction were enrolled at the technical high schools.⁷

There therefore appear to be significantly contrasting views on this issue among historians. This chapter will attempt to assess the respective positions, using, where possible, evidence from *Te Rohe Potae*.

Contrasting Views Assessed

An important figure in the alleged ‘dumbing down’ of Maori education is George Hogben, who became Secretary for Education in 1899. Hogben was a devotee of the ‘social efficiency’ thesis – that skills and knowledge acquired at school should generally be of practical use in later life – an idea becoming popular in education theory at the time. He also proposed that education should be relevant to the day-to-day experience of pupils, so that those in rural schools should receive instruction in agricultural subjects, for example. He pointed out that secondary school programmes were built around the matriculation and junior scholarship examinations ‘yet not one boy or girl in twenty does or can go to the University’.⁸ While headmaster of Timaru High School in the 1890s, Hogben had advocated a less academic and more practical curriculum as being more suited to the needs of the students, and he carried these views into his tenure as head of the Education Department.⁹ Hogben wrote in his 1901 annual report that ‘the whole of our secondary education would be far more useful to the State if it were more natural, more practical, and less abstract than it is at present’.¹⁰ As a scientist, he advocated that science teaching should largely be of a practical rather than a theoretical nature, including ‘experiments performed by pupils individually with their own hands, or of measurements made by them, or of observations actually made with their own eyes of the facts or phenomena of nature.’¹¹ Such an approach not only taught practical skills but also, in Hogben’s eyes, led to better learning. If pupils

⁷ Roger Openshaw, Greg Lee, Howard Lee, *Challenging the Myths: Rethinking New Zealand’s Education History*, The Dunmore Press: Palmerston North, 1993, p 78

⁸ AJHR 1901, H12, pp 6-7

⁹ Openshaw and Lee, pp 97-98 and Herbert Roth, ‘Hogben, George 1853 - 1920’. *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 1 September 2010, URL: <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2h44/1>

¹⁰ AJHR 1901, H12, pp 6-7

¹¹ AJHR 1901, H12, p 6

were to learn a language, it should be a useful modern one, rather than a dead language such as Latin or Greek.¹²

It should be clear from the above that the term ‘practical’ to some extent meant taking a less academic approach to teaching conventional subjects, a philosophy that persisted for many decades. However, Hogben also intended the term ‘practical’ to be taken in what is perhaps the more conventional sense. In his first two annual reports, he outlined plans to extend manual, technical and commercial training at all levels of schooling, with ‘the gradual recasting of the whole education system’ along these lines.¹³ Such a change was seen as vital in an era when such skills were considered the mark of a modern economy. Hogben was building on trends already underway. In 1895, Parliament passed the Manual and Technical Elementary Instruction Act, supplanted in 1900 by a more comprehensive Act whose provisions were reflected in a new primary school curriculum issued in January 1904.¹⁴ The Education Department’s 1901 annual report stated that the 1900 Act and regulations ‘will, it is believed, offer a degree of encouragement to manual and technical education as liberal as is offered by the State in any part of the world’.¹⁵

Reforms in Primary Education

The revised 1904 primary school curriculum set the tone for primary education for much of the twentieth century. In 1912, the Education Department reported that two-thirds of primary schools ran manual classes. These were usually of a general nature, with the most common specialist classes being agriculture, woodwork and cooking.¹⁶ A revised curriculum in 1929 further strengthened the emphasis on manual subjects, and maintained a strong division between ‘male’ and ‘female’ subjects.¹⁷ School boards employed specialist itinerant agriculture instructors to supervise the teaching of elementary science and agriculture.¹⁸ By 1938, the department was reporting:

Elementary handwork is taught by the staff in practically every school in the Dominion. The boys of Forms I and II (Standards 5 and 6) receive instruction

¹² AJHR 1901, H12, pp 5-6

¹³ AJHR 1899, E1, pp xvii- xix and AJHR 1900, E1, p xxiv

¹⁴ Openshaw and Lee, p 99. The replacement Act was the Manual and Technical Instruction Act 1900.

¹⁵ AJHR 1901, E1, p xxv

¹⁶ AJHR 1912, E1, pp 36-37

¹⁷ Cumming, pp 234-5

¹⁸ See, for example, AJHR 1933, E1, p 29

from special teachers in woodwork or metalwork. The girls of similar standards also receive instruction from special instructors in domestic subjects including cookery and domestic hygiene.¹⁹

Initially, manual training seems to have made limited inroads in the native schools, despite these schools adopting the 1904 general curriculum in 1909. In 1912 the Chief Inspector of Native Schools reported that handiwork was generally being used to occupy pupils while others were being taught other subjects. Agriculture ‘cannot be regarded as being in a flourishing condition, though school-gardens have been established at more than half the schools’. Cookery was being taught at only a few of the ‘best’ schools, and woodwork, while taught well, was a subject at only 16 of the 104 native schools. Only sewing was seen as a branch of handiwork in which ‘the Native schools can easily hold their own’.²⁰ However, the revised curriculum in 1929 resulted in noticeable changes. From 1934 a number of schools built ‘model cottages’, which provided opportunities both for the boys to exercise their woodwork skills and for the girls to practice their cooking and housework skills.²¹ By 1938, the department was reporting that woodwork tools had been provided to nearly half the native schools, and most were providing domestic education and agricultural activities.²² The increased emphasis on practical activities was in part linked to the greater engagement with local communities promoted by the Education Department since 1931, as the chief inspector outlined in his 1937 annual report:

In a number of schools small model cottages, properly equipped, have been erected by the combined efforts of teachers and parents, and these are proving very valuable in providing useful home-training. Home-management, home-decoration, cooking, and housecraft are activities now found in many Native schools, from the primers upwards.²³

However, manual activities remained peripheral to the main purpose of primary schools, whether general or ‘native’. The Chief Inspector of Native Schools reported in 1935 that, whatever else was on the curriculum, the main task of the native primary school was ‘to give

¹⁹ NZOYB 1938, p 173

²⁰ AJHR 1912, E1, p 7

²¹ Simon and Smith, p 116

²² AJHR 1938, E3, p 2

²³ AJHR 1937-8, E3, p 2

to the Native children a thorough training and facility in all branches of English, writing and arithmetic'.²⁴ The oral evidence collected by Simon and Smith from both teachers and pupils confirms the largely academic emphasis of the native schools.²⁵ 'When the pupils of the Native Schools talked about the daily programmes of their schools they indicated that they covered the same subjects as were taught in the Public Schools'.²⁶ Only a small minority of informants mentioned the practical activities at native schools.²⁷ A 1930 survey involving 1000 pupils at 92 native schools found broadly similar standards in native and board schools.²⁸ Simon and Smith conclude: 'If we accept the finding of the 1930s survey, it would appear that the greater proportion of [teachers] placed emphasis on intellectual development, with the quality of their teaching in general exceeding that of the Public schools. Furthermore, in many cases, the teachers were highly innovative in adapting their pedagogies to the background interests of their Maori pupils.'²⁹ The standard of teaching was reflected in superior test results, compared with national norms, for reading comprehension and on some arithmetic tasks.³⁰

The evidence from native schools within Te Rohe Potae would seem to confirm that schools concentrated primarily on the 'three Rs'. If official policy was for the schools to focus on handcrafts and related disciplines, this would be expected to show up in the emphasis placed by the inspectors in their regular reports. However, during the 1920s, the inspection reports for all native schools in the district virtually ignored practical activities such as handcraft and agriculture. The emphasis was almost exclusively on oral and written expression in all its various permutations (including reading), along with arithmetic. The annual examination reports, by which children were assessed to determine their advancement into or through the 'standards', made no mention of manual activities, other than drawing, during the 1920s. The standard subjects marked were reading comprehension, spelling, writing, composition, arithmetic, drawing, and grammar, the latter being for standards 4 to 6 only. After the curriculum reforms of 1929, 'grammar' was dropped from the list, and a new list of 'other'

²⁴ AJHR 1935, E3, p 5

²⁵ See especially, Simon and Smith, pp 93, 100, 104-107.

²⁶ Simon and Smith, p 100

²⁷ Simon and Smith, pp 101-103. Pupils spoke mainly about activities involving school gardens and model cottages.

²⁸ Barrington, 2009, pp 130-1. The general schools used as comparators were those in the Taranaki Education Board district, as these schools had been surveyed in the late 1920s.

²⁹ Simon and Smith, p. 128

³⁰ Simon and Smith, p. 127

subjects' was added to the assessment form, these being; history, geography, 'nature study or elementary science', drawing, and handwork.³¹ After the 1929 reforms, the inspectors took more notice of practical subjects, although there were major variations between schools, or even at the same school at different times, depending on the inclinations of individual teachers and inspectors, and the presence or absence of assistant teachers.

At Makomako Native School, the inspector's report for 4 May 1931 noted that 'suitable' handwork activities were undertaken.³² But by 1936 the school had a new sole-charge teacher, Mr Budden, and the inspector reported 'practically no handwork facilities now being provided'.³³ Two years later, thanks to roll growth, Mrs Budden was employed as an assistant teacher, and the inspector reported that handwork 'has been made a good feature throughout the school'.³⁴ The Buddens seem to have had a practical bent, for by 1939, Mr Budden had purchased a lathe for the school, which was 'proving a centre of interest'.³⁵ Mrs Budden taught cooking, housecraft and sewing. In 1940, the inspector reported that '[y]ou have done very good work on the practical side and have developed woodwork and agriculture very strongly' – although he was negative about almost all other subjects.³⁶

At Parawera Native School, the 1933 inspection report noted that the school show, which included calf and garden exhibits, 'created great local interest'. The domestic club, 'the work for which includes cooking, housecraft and sewing', was 'well organised', and in woodwork, 'a number of useful articles have been made'.³⁷ The 1934 report again mentioned domestic instruction and sewing, and the 1935 report noted that agriculture was 'being successfully developed'.³⁸ However, once the teaching couple, Mr and Mrs Lowe, moved on, practical subjects received little further mention.

³¹ Examples of the forms used can be found in all the 'General correspondence and Inspection Report' files held at Archives New Zealand, BAAA, 1001.

³² Inspectors report for 4 May 1931, Maori Schools, General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1942, Makomako, BAAA,1001, 940/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 428

³³ Inspectors report on Makomako School for 21 March 1936, BAAA,1001, 940/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 446

³⁴ Inspectors report on Makomako School for 14 March 1938, BAAA,1001, 940/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 453

³⁵ Inspectors report on Makomako School for 10 June 1939, BAAA,1001, 940/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 460

³⁶ Inspectors report on Makomako School for 4 November 1940, BAAA,1001, 940/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 463

³⁷ Inspectors report on Parawera School for 3 May 1933, Maori Schools, General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1940, Parawera, BAAA, 1001, 993/a, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 88-90

³⁸ Inspectors report on Parawera School for 18 September 1934 and 12 April 1935, BAAA, 1001, 993/a, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 92, 96-97

At Rakaunui Native School, the sole teacher (Mr Murray) was admonished in 1931 that 'handwork activities are not yet sufficiently extensive, but a beginning has been made'.³⁹ Judging by his school log book entries, Murray appears to have developed the school gardens and, before he left the school in 1933, reported that the children were showing more interest in them 'than was ever anticipated'.⁴⁰ Between 1936 and 1939, a female head teacher taught various domestic subjects, while her husband, as assistant teacher, took woodwork.⁴¹ The teacher's log book for Rakaunui shows the increasing role that specialist itinerant instructors, employed by the Auckland Education Board, played in schools in the district. In March 1939, the agricultural instructor suggested planting the school grounds in native plants.⁴² The log entries for the 1940s and early 1950s indicate that agricultural instructors visited most years, and there were occasional visits from a physical education specialist and a local traffic policeman.⁴³

There is little evidence of practical activities at the other native schools within Te Rohe Potae, even in the 1930s. At Kaharoa (formerly Moerangi) Native School, the inspector reported in 1930 that 'ploughing has been done in preparation for laying down a school garden'.⁴⁴ However, it was not until 1942 that practical activities again featured in the annual inspection reports. That year the inspector noted that the school had plans for growing vegetables, that the assistant teacher, Mrs Kettleworth, was taking agriculture for the senior boys, and that first aid and home nursing were included as extra subjects.⁴⁵ Te Kopua, with its succession of sole-charge teachers, had difficulty fitting in practical subjects. In 1932, for example the inspector reported that 'no science or agriculture has been taken'.⁴⁶ At Taharoa Native School, the inspector reported in 1934 that housecraft, cookery and health were

³⁹ Inspectors report on Rakaunui School for 9 August 1931, Maori Schools, General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1947, Rakaunui, BAAA 1001 1007b, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 179

⁴⁰ Entry for 17 March 1933, Rakaunui School Log Book 1932-1940, BAAA, 1003, 5/h, SD vol 2, p 742

⁴¹ Inspectors reports on Rakaunui School, 19 August 1936, 24 March 1937, 15 March 1938, Maori Schools, General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1947, Rakaunui, BAAA 1001 1007b, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 203-206, 207-209, 210-212

⁴² Entry for 23 March 1939, Rakaunui School Log Book 1932-1940, BAAA, 1003, 5/h, SD vol 2, pp 771-772

⁴³ See, for example, entries for 13 April, 3 May and 27 October 1949, Rakaunui School Log Book 1941-1953, BAAA, 1003, 5i, SD vol 2, pp 822-823, 826

⁴⁴ Inspectors report on Kaharoa School for 6 August 1931, Maori Schools, General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1942, Kaharoa, BAAA, 1001, 940/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 337

⁴⁵ Inspectors report on Kaharoa School for 5 June 1942, BAAA, 1001, 940/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 374

⁴⁶ Inspectors report on Te Kopua School for 19 August 1932, Maori Schools, General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1946, Te Kopua, BAAA 1001 1046/c, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 45

included in the curriculum.⁴⁷ However, the 1935 inspection report stated that ‘agriculture has been neglected’ and that ‘little planned handwork has been taken’.⁴⁸ Mr and Mrs Fergusson retired later that year, to be replaced by Mrs Rogers as head teacher, with Mr Rogers as her assistant. In 1938, the inspector reported that ‘drawing and handwork are receiving better attention’, although the main subjects were not seen as being well taught and the school received a mediocre rating overall.⁴⁹

Expense may have contributed to the limitation of practical activities at native schools within Te Rohe Potae, as most of the schools were small. Equipment was needed for gardening, sewing, woodwork and cooking, and this was not always provided by the Education Department. In 1926, for example, the inspector reported that the Makomako Native School Committee proposed a fund-raising concert to purchase a school sewing machine.⁵⁰ In 1940, Maori and Pakeha parents jointly raised funds for a timber workshop at the school.⁵¹ Agriculture was an exception, as all the schools had ample grounds - indeed, gardening was often necessary to keep them in order. However, the seasonal nature of agriculture meant that for extended periods no practical gardening activities could be undertaken. For example, in September 1941 Sarah Mauriohoho at Te Kopua reported that the children spent a day doing the gardens as ‘nothing could be done during the winter months’, due to endless rain.⁵² The teachers were probably also reticent about spending much time on agriculture, as at certain times of year some pupils absented themselves to help plant or dig potatoes. (For example, in February 1949 the Rakaunui log book recorded an attendance of 10, with the balance ‘out digging potatoes’).⁵³ Little mention was ever made of practical instruction in school log books in Te Rohe Potae, the main exceptions being annual Arbour Day tree plantings, and the regular cleaning of the school in which the teachers inevitably participated. In May 1925, for example, Emily Churton at Te Kopua reported that she and the three ‘bigger’ children scrubbed the school, while another older pupil conducted school for the ‘little ones’ outside

⁴⁷ Inspectors report on Taharoa School for 20 September 1934, Maori Schools, General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1946, Taharoa, BAAA, 1001, 1030d, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 271

⁴⁸ Inspectors report on Taharoa School for 30 September 1935, Maori Schools, General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1946, Taharoa, BAAA, 1001, 1030d, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 275

⁴⁹ Inspectors report on Taharoa School for 15 March 1938, Maori Schools, General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1946, Taharoa, BAAA, 1001, 1030d, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 283

⁵⁰ Inspectors report on Makomako School for 31 May 1926, Maori Schools, General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1942, Makomako, BAAA, 1001, 940/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 408

⁵¹ Entries for weeks ending 21 March and 5 April 1940, Makomako School Log Book 1932-1942, YCAG, 1653, 1/b, SD vol 3, pp 962-963

⁵² Entry for 17 September 1941, Te Kopua Log book 1932-1946, BAAA 1003 7/e, SD vol 2, p 646

⁵³ Entry for 21 February 1949, Rakaunui School Log Book 1941-53, BAAA, 1003, 5/i, SD vol 2, p 821

in the sunshine.⁵⁴ It was generally difficult for such sole-charge teachers to undertake all, or even most, of the handwork and practical activities specified in the curriculum.

Taking selected extracts from inspection reports greatly overstates the priority placed on manual and practical education. The reports, even in the 1930s, overwhelmingly emphasised the core subjects of written and oral expression, followed by arithmetic. All other subjects, including handcraft, painting, cooking, sewing and woodwork, generally received only a cursory mention if they were mentioned at all. This confirms the picture from the Education Department's annual reports that the department, in all primary schools, gave supreme importance to literacy and numeracy, while other subjects were consigned very much to the background. Hogben's 1904 curriculum reforms may have increased the amount of manual training conducted in primary schools, but these activities never gained the prominence that he may have hoped, even after further reforms in 1929.

However, there is another aspect to the reforms towards more 'practical' schooling relating to the style of teaching. Teachers were encouraged to focus lessons on concrete matters of relevance to the everyday life of pupils. For example, in 1937 an inspector of native schools criticised H Rust, the head teacher at Parawera Native School near Te Awamutu, for taking too academic approach to teaching history and geography. He was advised to emphasise 'local, New Zealand and newspaper History' in preference to the history and geography of other countries.⁵⁵ Such an approach may have worked against the interests of those pupils whose imagination and interest may have been stimulated by learning about exotic far-away places.

Reforms in Post-Primary Education

Hogben's reforms had more impact at the post-primary level. He and Education Minister Seddon were keen to extend secondary education beyond the tiny minority of children who obtained scholarships, or whose parents were willing and able to afford fees. As outlined in Chapter 7, starting in 1901 the government progressively increased its secondary school subsidies, gradually opening up free secondary education to an expanding the pool of

⁵⁴ Entry for 1 May 1925, Te Kopua School Log Book 1926-1932, BAAA, 1003, 7d, SD vol 2, p 569

⁵⁵ Inspection report for 22 June 1937, Parawera General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1940, BAAA, 1001, 993/a, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 105

pupils.⁵⁶ The number of pupils in government-funded secondary schools (excluding Maori) increased by 157 percent between 1901 and 1914, from 3,887 to 9,995.⁵⁷ The increase added further pressure for curriculum reforms that would make education more relevant to the less academically-able pupils now attending the schools. The Civil Service Entrance Examination was shifted to the end of the Fourth Form, making it a potential exit qualification for the majority who spent only two years at secondary school. The number of candidates for the exam quadrupled within a decade after 1902.⁵⁸

Technical high schools were established from 1902, and by 1930 there were 22 of them with 6,953 pupils.⁵⁹ A growing number of district high schools, located in rural areas, were encouraged to put greater emphasis on agriculture, as was noted by the Education Department in 1911.⁶⁰ Increased gender-differentiation was introduced to the schools, with girls encouraged to take courses that would make them efficient mothers and housekeepers.⁶¹ A School of Home Science was established at Otago University in 1911 to train teachers in domestic subjects.⁶² In 1914 the Education Department reported that most secondary schools were well equipped for practical work in science, woodwork, and cookery. 'It is gratifying to note the increasing attention given in many of the schools to instruction in subjects bearing on rural pursuits and on the home.'⁶³

In 1917, however, the Education Department was less satisfied. It reported that too many boys were taking the general or professional course, when 'more attention might profitably be devoted towards giving some special preparation to the large number of boys destined to become agriculturists or superior industrial workers'. 'Special preparation' was also prescribed for girls, 'a large proportion of whom will eventually take up domestic duties'.⁶⁴ In 1917 the government made domestic education compulsory for all girls holding junior free

⁵⁶ Openshaw and Lee, p 104

⁵⁷ Figures from AJHR 1902, E1, pp xvi, xxxiii, and AJHR 1915, E1, p 50

⁵⁸ Openshaw and Lee, p 209. In the nineteenth century the examination was called the Junior Civil Service Exam.

⁵⁹ AJHR 1931, E1, p 25

⁶⁰ Openshaw and Lee, pp 102-7

⁶¹ Melanie Nolan, *Breadwinning: New Zealand Women and the State*, Canterbury University Press: Christchurch, 2000, pp 103-136, Openshaw and Lee, pp 107-112

⁶² Nolan, *Breadwinning*, pp 108, 123

⁶³ AJHR 1914, E1, p 42

⁶⁴ AJHR 1917, E1, p 43

places in secondary schools.⁶⁵ By 1928, 91 percent of girls in secondary schools were taking domestic science, 43 percent were taking needlework and 30 percent were learning cookery.⁶⁶ However, the secondary schools were no longer the preferred post-primary destination for many students. By 1922, 47 percent of those proceeding to post-primary education went to district or technical high schools, rather than to the more academic secondary schools.⁶⁷ Over 70 percent of boys at district high schools studied agricultural science, 34 percent studied 'dairy-work', and 62 percent took woodwork and metalwork. Nearly two-thirds of the girls learnt needlework and cookery.⁶⁸

In 1906, Hogben appeared before the Royal Commission on the Te Aute and Wanganui School Trusts. This gave him the opportunity to outline his view that Te Aute, an Anglican boarding school for Maori, was 'really only part of a very large question' concerning the need for a 'radical' reform of education.⁶⁹ Under the stewardship of John Thornton, Te Aute had developed a largely academic curriculum, and a number of graduates had successfully proceeded through university.⁷⁰ Hogben approved of this, but felt the time had come for a change in emphasis. He proposed for Te Aute a core curriculum of 'essentials', namely English, arithmetic, geography, civics and health, but with nearly a third of the time devoted to agriculture and woodwork to 'train [pupil's] observation and give them manual dexterity'.⁷¹ He told the Commission that 'a most important part of our education is to make people recognise the dignity of manual labour. This applies to the European as well as to the Maori'.⁷² Only a small minority should be groomed for university. 'What we have to do for Europeans we may just as well do for the Maoris - namely, select the most fit students; and in selecting them we may select a few more than may be deemed necessary, because we do not want to miss a genius.'⁷³ William Bird, as Chief Inspector of Native Schools, supported Hogben's views, but added his personal perspective that Maori should be trained 'for life among Maoris'. When asked why, Bird responded that 'if you take the best Maori away from their kaingas and put them into the towns, these boys are practically lost to the Maori race.

⁶⁵ AJHR 1917, E1, p 42

⁶⁶ AJHR 1929, E6, p 13

⁶⁷ AJHR 1923, E1, p29

⁶⁸ AJHR 1924, E6, p 16. These subjects were taken in addition to the core curriculum of English etc.

⁶⁹ AJHR 1906, G5, p 82

⁷⁰ One of these graduates, Apirana Ngata, was a member of the Royal Commission.

⁷¹ AJHR 1906, G5, p 83

⁷² AJHR 1906, G5, p 84

⁷³ AJHR 1906, G5, p 84

You do not want to train the individual at the expense of the race'.⁷⁴ Hogben distanced his Department from these views, saying that Bird 'spoke for himself' in this regard.⁷⁵ At times Bird appeared from his annual reports to oppose *any* Maori taking courses to equip them for university. But by the time he retired from the Education Department in 1931, Bird had changed his stance, writing that 'a definite academic side leading to the University is necessary for the few who are capable of attaining professional status'.⁷⁶

Maori witnesses to the 1906 Royal Commission tended to agree with Hogben. Reweti Kohere, a former Te Aute pupil and university graduate, said that only about five boys each year were suited for secondary education. '[A]t present the bulk of the boys who go to Te Aute are sacrificed for the sake of the few who can go on to the University'. He called for agricultural instruction at the school, because 'the Maori should be a farmer above all things'.⁷⁷ Ihaia Hutana, who lived near Te Aute, said that most boys at the school were 'wasting their time', and the curriculum needed to emphasise agricultural and industrial training.⁷⁸ Barrington points out that Maori had been expressing similar views for some time. For example, Maui Pomare and Northern Maori MP Hone Heke, among others, had called for agricultural and trades education for Maori boys and domestic education for girls.⁷⁹ Peter Buck presented the views of the Wanganui branch of the Te Aute College Students' Association to the 1906 Royal Commission. Members of the association had unanimously passed a motion that 'under the present circumstances of the Maori people owning large areas of suitable agricultural and pastoral land, greater prominence should be given to technical education and agriculture in the school curriculum'.⁸⁰ The Commission reproduced these words almost verbatim as one of its recommendations. Another recommendation stated that, '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'.⁸¹

⁷⁴ AJHR 1906, G5, p 94

⁷⁵ AJHR 1906, G5, p 99

⁷⁶ AJHR 1931, G3, p 4

⁷⁷ AJHR 1906, G5, p 71

⁷⁸ AJHR 1906, G5, p 57

⁷⁹ Barrington, 2009, p 152

⁸⁰ AJHR 1906, G5, p 106

⁸¹ AJHR 1906, G5, pp iv-v

Thornton told the Royal Commission that Te Aute graduates from the East Coast included three lawyers, two doctors, 'several' clergymen, and 36 farmers.⁸² Bird commented that these figures showed that the majority of the boys 'might have done without Latin and these other subjects.'⁸³ Thornton made some changes at Te Aute, with agriculture and woodwork classes being introduced before his retirement in 1912.⁸⁴ According to Barrington, Thornton's successor, J A McNickle, experienced difficulty in expanding agricultural and technical instruction.⁸⁵ McNickle was succeeded in 1919 by Ernest Loten, who introduced two separate streams to the school, one leading to matriculation and the other emphasising agriculture.⁸⁶

The 1906 Royal Commission resulted in pressure for curriculum reform in all Maori secondary schools. But other pressures were also apparent. As with secondary education in general, there was a big rise in the number of Maori proceeding to post-primary education in the early twentieth century. Between 1901 and 1914, the number of Maori boarding schools increased from four to ten, and the number of Maori attending secondary boarding schools more than doubled, from 215 to 440.⁸⁷ In line with what was happening in post-primary education overall, the broader range of students attending the Maori colleges increased pressure for a change towards a more practical curriculum. From 1909, senior scholarships at the Maori boarding schools became 'industrial' scholarships or apprenticeships.⁸⁸ Also in 1909, the Education Department reported that the scheme reserving up to six university scholarships for Maori students was to be suspended. The department alleged that the results of the scheme did not justify the expense, with recent recipients 'lacking in application' and 'unworthy of scholarships'.⁸⁹ Maori university scholarships were re-instated in 1920.⁹⁰

Because secondary schools, district high schools and technical colleges were usually too distant for Maori pupils to travel to, the Maori boarding schools were expected to try and fill the role of all three types of school. The girls' schools increasingly emphasised domestic

⁸² AJHR 1906, G5, p 33

⁸³ AJHR 1905, G5, p 95

⁸⁴ Barrington, 2009, p 160

⁸⁵ Barrington, 2009, p 164

⁸⁶ Ernest Loten, 'Maori Secondary Education' in Jackson (ed), *Maori and Education*, p 264.

⁸⁷ Figures calculated from AJHR 1902, E2, p 36 and AJHR 1915, E3, p 18. European students at Maori schools have been excluded.

⁸⁸ Barrington, 2009, pp 163-4. Other scholarships, such as those to Auckland Grammar and the Te Makarini scholarships, were not affected by the changes.

⁸⁹ AJHR 1909, E3, p 10

⁹⁰ Barrington and Beaglehole, p 185

subjects, while the boys' schools expanded their instruction in agriculture, woodwork and the like. Hukarere school already had a substantial domestic curriculum in 1906, and at St Stephen's in Auckland, woodwork soon became a speciality.⁹¹ By the 1920s, the Education Department's annual reports were noting, with evident satisfaction, the wide variety of practical courses that the Maori secondary schools were teaching. In 1927, for example, the department reported that 'in addition to the ordinary school subjects', the girls' schools were giving instruction in needlework and dressmaking, cookery and general domestic duties, first-aid and nursing, hygiene, care and rearing of infants, and preparation of food for infants and the sick.⁹²



Hukarere College, 1913. Source: Alexander Turnbull Library 1/2-048104-F

As has been seen, officials and politicians were particularly keen that secondary schools provide training in agriculture, especially in the case of district high schools and Maori boarding schools. In 1917, Apirana Ngata told Parliament that the 'the aim of the

⁹¹ Barrington, 2009, pp 160-2

⁹² AJHR 1927, E3, p 6

Government should be to train the Maori more and more for a future upon the land'.⁹³ In 1931, Director of Education T B Strong advocated that Maori schools should provide 'a type of education that will lead the lad to become a good farmer and the girl to become a good farmer's wife'.⁹⁴ However, Strong made it clear this was not all he thought the schools should be doing, for he went on to endorse literary education for Maori 'in both the primary and post-primary schools'.⁹⁵ Furthermore, '[s]uch distinguished natives as Sir Apirana Ngata and Dr Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa) are known among all the tribes and are an example to all natives of the educational level their own children may possibly reach.'⁹⁶ Others were less equivocal. In 1936, a national conference on Maori education, health and welfare endorsed an agricultural bias for the boarding schools.⁹⁷ In 1940, native schools inspector Douglas Ball wrote that it 'has generally been assumed that the correct place of the Maori in the economic strata of the country is on the land. This is undoubtedly true to a very large extent'.⁹⁸ Warnings were given from time to time about the inevitable urbanisation of the Maori population, given its increasingly rapid growth, but these tended to be minority viewpoints. As late as 1958, the Department of Maori Affairs annual report noted that '[f]or some time to come the greater part of the Māori population will be country dwellers. It remains as essential as ever to plan for the best possible utilisation of Māori-owned land and to continue steadily with the development of idle portions, so as to strengthen the economic basis of Māori rural communities.'⁹⁹

A Maori agricultural college opened in Hastings in 1912, closing when it burnt down in 1930.¹⁰⁰ From 1926, Maori scholarship holders were approved for admission to Wesley College at Paerata, which had a large farm. Maori made up about a quarter of the school roll.¹⁰¹ In the main, however, schools such as Te Aute were expected to provide agricultural instruction. The problem was that, regardless of the views of politicians and officials, agricultural courses proved unpopular with parents, whether Maori or Pakeha. In 1924 the

⁹³ NZPD 1917, vol 180, pp 628-9

⁹⁴ T B Strong, 'The Education of South Sea Island Natives', in Patrick Jackson, ed, *Maori and Education: Or the Education of Natives in New Zealand and its Dependencies*, Wellington: Ferguson and Osborn, 1931, p 192

⁹⁵ Strong, 'South Sea Island Natives', pp 192-3

⁹⁶ Strong, 'South Sea Island Natives', pp 193

⁹⁷ Barrington, 2009, pp 216-223

⁹⁸ Quoted by Barrington, 2009, p 223

⁹⁹ Department of Māori Affairs Annual Report, year ending 31 March 1958, AJHR 1958, G-9, p. 4.

¹⁰⁰ Ernest Loten, 'Maori Secondary Education' in Jackson (ed), *Maori and Education*, pp 271-2, Barrington, 2009, p 166

¹⁰¹ Barrington and Beaglehole, p 189

Minister of Education, Christopher Parr, complained in Parliament that ‘for some reason parents in agricultural districts are often averse from their children taking an agricultural course’.¹⁰² Te Aute principal Ernest Loten told the Minister of Education in 1930 that ‘a Maori parent is exactly the same as a European...when I suggest an agricultural course they want their boy to take Matriculation’.¹⁰³ In 1925, only 13 out of 46 new Te Aute students enrolled in the agriculture course that Loten had introduced in 1919.¹⁰⁴ The Education Department was unhappy, but it had little influence over the choices of Maori parents. As Barrington notes, the Maori secondary schools were privately owned, and had a large proportion of non-scholarship pupils who were not directly dependent on government assistance.¹⁰⁵

Things became worse, from the Education Department’s point of view, in the 1930s, when Maori families were hard hit by the depression. As noted in Chapter 7, between 1929 and 1933, the number of pupils on the rolls of Maori secondary schools more than halved, from 533 to 241.¹⁰⁶ The few Maori pupils still attending the secondary boarding schools were generally the more academically able, and the schools cut back on their manual activities as a result. Just as growing rolls had led to a more practical curriculum, shrinking rolls led to a more academic one. In his 1936 annual report, Douglas Ball expressed his displeasure on behalf of the Education Department:

For some years the curriculum of many of these schools, especially those for boys, has been narrowed into almost purely academic channels....Such a limitation of curriculum is contrary to modern educational theory, even when applied to secondary schools for Europeans.¹⁰⁷

In 1939, the department again lamented that ‘the almost complete abandonment of practical, technical and agricultural training by the post-primary denominational schools has occasional

¹⁰² Quoted by Barrington, 2009, p 164

¹⁰³ Quoted by Barrington, 2009, p 165

¹⁰⁴ Barrington, 2009, p 165

¹⁰⁵ Barrington, 2009, p 165

¹⁰⁶ AJHR 1930, E3, p 15 and AJHR 1935, E3, p 9. The school rolls began to slowly increase again in 1934.

¹⁰⁷ AJHR 1936, E3, p 5

serious concern'.¹⁰⁸ In 1940, an inspector's visit to St Stephen's College found that just 11 pupils were enrolled in the agricultural course, while 52 were taking Latin.¹⁰⁹

Given its lack of influence over the private boarding schools, the government decided to set up its own secondary schools for Maori. In 1941, three Native district high schools were established on the East Coast.¹¹⁰ These were based on the district high school concept, involving a secondary department tacked onto a rural primary school. The native district high school curriculum was heavily practical, and it was only in the late 1940s that pupils were able to sit the School Certificate examination, which had been revamped in 1946.¹¹¹ The growth of native (later Maori) district high schools was impeded by the war, and a fourth school did not open until 1948. Their numbers peaked at 13 in 1956, with none opening in or anywhere near Te Rohe Potae.¹¹² The Maori district high schools were not a great success. Their combined pupil numbers never exceeded 750, and the schools gradually closed or transferred to education boards after 1956.¹¹³

By the 1940s, Maori secondary schools were becoming increasingly irrelevant. As noted in Chapter 7, official figures published in 1948 showed 3,257 Maori enrolled in secondary education, including 2,031 in general secondary schools.¹¹⁴ The latter included state secondary, technical and district high schools, along with a tiny number were in general private schools. Thus, just 27 percent of secondary pupils were enrolled in schools established specifically for Maori education – namely the denominational boarding schools and Maori district high schools. The figures also showed that 42 percent of Maori secondary pupils attended district high schools – 35 percent being in ordinary district high schools and seven percent in Maori district high schools. In contrast, just 15 percent of all students were in district high schools, reflecting the largely urban nature of New Zealand society and the rural nature of Maori society at the time.¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁸ AJHR 1939, E3, p 5

¹⁰⁹ Barrington, 2009, pp 216-7

¹¹⁰ AJHR 1941, E1, p 4

¹¹¹ Barrington, 2009, pp 243-7

¹¹² Barrington, 2009, pp 241, 246

¹¹³ Hunn, Statistical Supplement to Review of Maori Affairs 1960, AJHR 1961, G10, p 157

¹¹⁴ Figures calculated from AJHR 1948, E3, p 6. There were 613 Maori in denominational boarding schools and 263 in Maori district high schools (see Figure 7.1).

¹¹⁵ AJHR 1949, E2, p 13

Chapter 7 outlined the continued expansion of Maori participation in secondary education during the 1950s, with 93 percent of those leaving primary school in 1958 going on to secondary schools in 1959.¹¹⁶ Some interesting patterns emerge from the statistics on the intended destination of those leaving secondary schools, which were recorded for Maori from 1949. The figures indicate that Maori boys were more likely than those in the general population to go farming on leaving school. For example, in 1949, 32 percent of Maori boys who left secondary school listed 'farming' as their likely destination, compared with 22 percent of all boys.¹¹⁷ The figures were almost identical in 1956. These figures might be seen as confirming that Maori were being prepared by the education system for agricultural pursuits. However, the fact that Maori were more likely to go farming was hardly surprising, given that 64 percent lived in rural areas in 1956, compared with just 29 percent of the overall population.¹¹⁸ In fact the Maori figure of 34 percent was significantly lower than for boys leaving district high schools, 42 percent of whom intended to take up farming in 1956.¹¹⁹ Given the predominantly rural nature of the Maori population until the 1960s, it might be expected that Maori school leavers would have taken up rural pursuits in greater numbers than they did.

The education system had even less success in encouraging Maori to take up manual trades. In 1949, 23 percent of Maori boys who left secondary school intended to take up a skilled manual trade, compared with 28 percent of boys overall. But while the figure for all boys remained at around 28 percent throughout the 1950s, the proportion of Maori boys leaving secondary school to take up a manual trade fell. It reached 17 percent by 1956, and was still only 19 percent in 1961. Meanwhile, the proportion of Maori boys leaving for non-specified work rose from 13 percent in 1949 to 19 percent in 1961 (compared with five percent for all boys). The Department of Education commented on this trend in its 1956 annual report. 'Head teachers of Maori schools frequently express concern at the large number of promising pupils who leave post-primary school before they have completed even two years, and drift into seasonal and unskilled occupations.'¹²⁰ Cumming blames Maori unwillingness to train

¹¹⁶ AJHR 1960, E1, p 107

¹¹⁷ All school leaver figures in the following discussion are from the Education Department annual reports, AJHR, E1, 1950, pp 14, 20, 1957, E1, pp 86, 99 and 1962, E1, pp 69, 81

¹¹⁸ NZOYB 1963, p 67 and Ian Pool, *Te Iwi Maori*, p 123

¹¹⁹ Given that a high proportion of district high school pupils were Maori, Pakeha students at these schools must have taken up farming at a much greater rate than the 42 percent figure indicates.

¹²⁰ AJHR 1956, E1, p 32

for skilled manual occupations on the ‘temptation of easily-earned money in non-skilled jobs’.¹²¹ Of course such ‘temptation’ was most likely related to Maori poverty and family size, and the consequent need to minimise the number of dependents in a household.

For Maori girls leaving secondary school, the largest proportion (35 percent in 1949) listed ‘home’ as their intended destination, indicating a likely future of marriage and child-rearing. This was well above the rate of 21 percent for all girls. While the latter rate fell to seven percent by 1961, as girls increasingly sought to enter the workforce or pursue careers, the proportion of Maori girls heading ‘home’ on leaving secondary school was still 26 percent in 1961. However, the pattern for Maori girls was little different from that of girls leaving district high schools, 22 percent of whom listed ‘home’ as their intended destination in 1961. This indicates that the rural upbringing of the girls was possibly more of a factor in their choices than anything specifically related to Maori education.

Conclusion

In the early decades of the twentieth century, native schools introduced manual subjects into their curriculum, including handcraft, woodwork, agriculture, cookery and hygiene. In this they were following the general primary schools, which were also encouraged by education officials to follow a more practical curriculum. However, both types of school continued to focus primarily on the core subjects of reading, writing, and arithmetic, with the main distinguishing feature being the emphasis that the native schools gave to English as a second language. Given that native schools tended to also focus on health and hygiene, and from the 1930s introduced Maori crafts into the curriculum, it seems plausible that these schools spent more time than general primary schools on subjects of a broadly practical nature. Evidence from Te Rohe Potae shows a greatly increased emphasis on practical subjects in native schools from the 1930s. Even then, however, manual training tended to be given low priority behind literacy and numeracy. It is also worth repeating that, from 1904, over half of Maori pupils in public schools attended general primary rather than native schools.¹²²

At the post-primary level the picture is more complex. For New Zealand overall, expanding secondary rolls after 1901 meant that an agricultural, technical, commercial or domestic

¹²¹ Ian and Allan Cumming, p 319

¹²² See AJHR 1905, E2, pp 24, 18, and Figure 2 in this report.

education was considered to best meet the needs of the majority of pupils. As a result, new technical and district high schools opened, providing alternatives to traditional secondary schools. While Pakeha attended all three types of school in increasing numbers, most Maori lived in districts remote from secondary schools. Those Maori with suitable qualifications therefore generally went to one of the denominational boarding schools, of which Te Aute and St Stephens for boys, and Hukarere and St Joseph's for girls, were the largest. The rolls of these schools grew rapidly in the early twentieth century, and they were forced to cater for students with a wider range of academic abilities than in the past. The schools therefore, with prodding from the Education Department, widened their curricula to include a range of practical subjects. For girls, these subjects included dressmaking, cookery, and hygiene, and for the boys, woodwork and agriculture. A select minority were groomed for the civil service and matriculation examinations, and the Education Department took some satisfaction in their successes. However, girls received little encouragement to progress to higher education, other than teaching and nursing, and their future was seen to be largely in domestic pursuits.¹²³ In this sense they were perhaps little different from girls in general secondary education, for most of whom domestic education was made compulsory in 1917.

There is no compelling evidence that the drive for a more practical curriculum had a significantly greater impact in Maori secondary schools than in secondary schools overall. In fact in the 1930s, Maori secondary schools seem to have returned to a more academic curriculum, despite protest from the Education Department. The department's native district high schools, with a strongly practical curriculum, flourished only briefly in the 1950s, and their combined enrolment never exceeded 750. By that stage, the great majority of Maori in secondary education were in mainstream state schools rather than Maori schools.

The evidence overwhelmingly supports the Openshaw and Lee position that Maori were treated little differently to Pakeha in the drive to make education more practical and vocationally-relevant in the first half of the twentieth century. However, despite similar treatment, the reforms may well have impacted on Maori more than on Pakeha. The move towards a more practical education in secondary schools overall was driven, to a large extent, by rapidly expanding access to post-primary education. A greater variety of pupils meant a greater variety of secondary school courses was appropriate to cater for a wider range of

¹²³ See, for example, Hukarere Principal Mere Hall in Jackson (ed), *Maori and Education*, pp 278-9

aptitudes. In the Maori boarding schools, on the other hand, there was little expansion in access between 1910 and 1945, as was noted in Chapter 7. Thus, instead of a range of practical courses providing greater choice to a wider range of pupils, in the Maori schools some pupils were most likely channelled into courses that wasted their academic potential.

The post-1900 reforms were also based on the notion that it was better to encourage a large proportion of the population to perform at an average level than a just small proportion to perform at a high level. It was thus considered desirable to put resources into enabling many people to qualify for trades and office work, with only a small number progressing to graduate level. In some ways the motivation was admirably egalitarian, yet for Maori it may have been more desirable for a small number of graduates to set an example by making their way in Pakeha society. Instead, educated Maori were generally trained to a level that enabled them to fit into Maori society, but which did little to open up for them a range of alternative possibilities. The focus on the 'practical' also meant that students did not have their imaginations stretched as much as they might be. An example was cited earlier of the head teacher at Parawera native school being advised to focus his history lessons on New Zealand rather than foreign countries. This narrowness of focus perhaps did not work in the best interests of those already living in isolated areas. One of Simon and Smith's informants, a pupil at Te Araroa Native School on the East Cape in the 1940s, recalled a teacher who introduced the class to ancient history. '[W]ith his arrival my interest...soared'.¹²⁴ Other pupils may also have benefitted from having their imagination stimulated in this way, if such an approach had been encouraged rather than discouraged.

However, at least as significant for Maori education was the largely rural location of the population until the 1960s, which greatly restricted educational choice for most Maori. This was a particular issue at the secondary level, where the main options for Maori were the denominational boarding schools and district high schools. These two types of school accounted for 62 percent of Maori secondary enrolments in 1948, with Maori students three times as likely as Pakeha students to attend district high schools.¹²⁵ As was seen in Chapter 7, the chance of attending a district high school were even greater in Te Rohe Potae, which had no full secondary school until 1947. District high schools had small secondary rolls and were

¹²⁴ Simon and Smith, p 93

¹²⁵ AJHR 1948, E3, p 6

therefore unable to provide students with a wide choice of subjects. They were also constrained in their ability to recruit suitable teachers. It was not until they began moving to urban areas in large numbers from the late 1950s that the educational options available to Maori expanded significantly.

Chapter 9: Factors Inhibiting Maori Education in Te Rohe Potae

Introduction

This chapter looks at factors that likely contributed to the education system failing to deliver the desired results for Maori within the inquiry district. It begins by looking at those factors believed by education officials to inhibit Maori progression in the education system, the primary one being the fact that, for many decades, English was an unknown language to most Maori children starting school. The chapter then looks at other factors, less commonly noted by officials, which have been highlighted in research for this report. These include inaccessibility of education, a high turnover of teachers, school quality, poverty, and a disrupted schooling experience for many children within Te Rohe Potae.

The Views of Education Officials

School inspectors regularly expressed views on what might be holding back pupils at particular schools, as did teachers. But education officials only occasionally reflected on general factors that might put a brake on Maori educational achievement. Two of the factors noted by officials are outlined here, namely the fact that English was a second language for a large proportion of Maori starting school, at least until the 1950s, and the later age at which Maori on average began their education.

English Language

The novelty of the English language for most Maori children starting school, particularly in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, was a factor of consistent concern for education officials. This concern persisted into the 1970s. James Pope wrote in 1888 that the existence of a separate native school system was not justified unless the schools taught English well. To improve the quality of English, ‘it has been decided on a very stringent reading of the standards as far as English is concerned, and to allow no pupil to pass a standard who does not do well in that subject.’¹ In his 1900 annual report, Pope commented on the limited time that Maori children spent at school learning English, while most of the day was spent ‘in the

¹ AJHR 1888, E2, p 9

settlement, where they hear Maori, and generally only Maori'.² Pope was not exaggerating. In 1920, over 96 percent of pupils attending native schools spoke only Maori at home. Many of those who did not do so lived in the South Island.³

In 1906 Pope's successor, William Bird, expressed satisfaction with the progress native schools were making in the teaching of English.⁴ This contrasted with the view of the Auckland Senior Inspector of Schools, some years later in 1920, concerning the progress in English by Maori children in Auckland Education Board schools. The inspector wrote that in the upper standards 'the language difficulty presents very serious obstacles to progress'. The Auckland inspectors considered that native schools provided a superior education for Maori children over board schools.⁵ In 1930 the native school inspectors advised teachers to cut back their work in history and geography in order to devote more time to English - although 'skilful' teachers might be able to use these other subjects to improve their pupil's oral English.⁶ In 1947 the Education Department had new reasons for emphasising the teaching of English:

Both [oral and written] English are essential to the Maori if he is to be capable of taking his place in a society that is predominantly English. No longer can the Native pa provide all the opportunities to its growing youth, and opportunities must be sought further afield. It is therefore all the more important that they should be equipped with the language to such a degree that they are able to compete on practically level terms with the pakeha.⁷

In 1953, the Department stated that improved teaching techniques were removing 'disabilities arising from the bilingualism of a majority of Maori children'.⁸ In 1957, the Department noted with some relief that '[e]ach year sees the percentage of new entrants with no knowledge of English diminishing'.⁹ The Department speculated that this was due to 'the steadily increasing integration of the Maori adult into the economic life of the country. He

² AJHR 1900, E2, p 18

³ AJHR 1920, E3, Table H6. The figures exclude 'European' pupils at native schools.

⁴ AJHR 1906, E2, p 11

⁵ AJHR 1920, E3, p 12

⁶ AJHR 1930, E3, pp 3-4

⁷ AJHR 1947, E3, p 34

⁸ AJHR 1953, E3, p 2

⁹ AJHR 1957, E1, p 37

becomes more competent and more confident in his knowledge and use of English through his occupational contacts and tends to use it more habitually in his own family circle.’¹⁰ In 1958 the Department again reported that ‘fewer and fewer’ Maori children were entering school with no knowledge of English, and thus ‘more and more are able to pass through the infant department in the period normal for European children’.¹¹ However, the Senior Inspector reported that English was still the subject that gave most concern, as ‘too many of our young Maoris are being denied opportunities of gaining positions in the professions through failure in English at the School Certificate level’.¹² The inspectors of Maori schools were therefore putting particular emphasis on the teaching of English, including through in-service training for teachers. ‘They realise that, if substantial results are to be achieved, special efforts must be continued for some years to come.’¹³ James Pope was writing on similar lines some 70 years earlier.

In 1965 the Department still saw improved English on the part of Maori pupils as the key to better educational outcomes.¹⁴ Similar concerns were expressed in 1966:

Considerable attention has been focused during the year on the linguistic problems of Maori pupils. In-service courses have been held for teachers working with Maori and Polynesia children and there has been much interest in attempts to adapt the findings resulting from the teaching of English as a foreign language to non-European children overseas in order to assist with the problems encountered by Maori children.¹⁵

Even in 1969, the Department’s annual report ‘recognised that most Maori children enter the school system less well-prepared than non-Maoris, largely because of severe language deficiency and because of a different cultural background’. The Department outlined the efforts it was making ‘to overcome the children’s disability in the use of English’.¹⁶

¹⁰ AJHR 1957, E1, p 37

¹¹ AJHR 1958, E1, p 38

¹² AJHR 1958, E1, p 38

¹³ AJHR 1958, E1, pp 38-9

¹⁴ AJHR 1965, E1, p 50

¹⁵ AJHR 1966, E1, p 28

¹⁶ AJHR 1969, E1, p 28

Age of Entrance

Section 59 of the Education Act 1914 set the minimum age of compulsory school attendance at seven. However, section 2 of the Act defined ‘school age’ as between five and 15 years. It thus became standard practice for parents to send their children to school as soon as possible after their fifth birthday. For this reason the minimum ‘school age’ was raised to six in 1932 as a cost-cutting measure, and was not restored to five until the start of 1936.¹⁷ This had the effect of preventing five year olds from legally accessing free education. However, Maori parents generally sent their children to school at a more advanced age than five. As a result, Maori children were commonly a year or more older than Pakeha children in the same class at school. For example, the median age of Standard 1 children in Maori schools at 1 July 1947 was 9 years 4 months for boys and 9 years for girls.¹⁸ For all primary children in Standard 1 in 1947, the median age at 1 July was 8 years for boys and 7 years 10 months for girls, a difference of well over a year for both sexes.¹⁹ The age gap between Maori and Pakeha tended to be larger in the more senior classes.

One consequence of this age gap was that Maori reached school leaving age earlier in their education than Pakeha. Until 1920, children were allowed to leave school in the year of their 14th birthday. For many Maori children, this age was reached long before they advanced to Form 2, making progression to secondary school less likely. The leaving age was raised from 14 to 15 in 1920, but even this age allowed the great majority of children at Maori schools to leave school at the end of Form 2.²⁰ In July 1949, the median age of Form 2 pupils at Maori primary schools was 14 years five months for boys and 14 years 2 months for girls.²¹

The Education Department noted improvements in the post-war period. In 1953, the Department reported a steady decline in the median age of the pupils in Maori primary schools. For example, the median age of boys in the ‘Primers’ fell from 7 years in 1947 to 6 years 6 months in 1952. In fact at all levels of schooling the median age of children in Maori schools fell by around six months between 1947 and 1952. The Department attributed this

¹⁷ Finance Act 1932 no 11, s 33, Education Amendment Act 1932, s 8, Education Amendment Act 1936, s 2

¹⁸ AJHR 1953, E3, p 2

¹⁹ AJHR 1948, E1, p 14

²⁰ Education Amendment Act 1920, s 10

²¹ AJHR 1953, E3, p 2

primarily to more Maori children enrolling at the age of five years.²² This may be one of the factors that contributed to the rapid growth in Maori progression to secondary schooling during the 1950s.

Inaccessibility of Education

Although the Native Schools Act was amended in 1871 to facilitate the establishment of schools, primary education did not come to Te Rohe Potae in any significant way until the end of the nineteenth century. As outlined in Chapter 2, a number of primary schools were established on the northern reaches of the district during the 1880s, mainly after the passing of the Education Act 1877. These included schools in Raglan, Te Awamutu, Rangiaowhia, and Kihikihi. A native school was also established at Te Kopua, well within the inquiry district, in 1886. However, it was a small school that suffered from erratic attendance, and it closed down for three years shortly after Otorohanga Native School opened in 1890.²³ By 1902, five more native schools had opened, at Kawhia, Raorao (on Aotea Harbour), Te Kuiti, Hauora (Taumarunui) and Parawera. In addition, more general primary schools were opening as Pakeha shifted into the district. By 1915 another four native schools had opened within Te Rohe Potae, excluding two that closed within a few years. By that time it could reasonably be said that primary education had become accessible to most Maori in the district. Secondary education was a different story, however. As outlined in Chapter 4, there were no secondary schools within the inquiry district until 1914, when Te Kuiti became a district high school, and no full secondary schools until the mid-1950s, apart from Te Awamutu College established in 1947.

Teacher Turnover

Native schools within Te Rohe Potae often had trouble recruiting and retaining teachers, with consequent disruption to the pupil's education. At times the schools were forced to close for extended periods. For example, Te Kopua Native School had to close for much of 1909 due to difficulty finding a suitable teacher.²⁴ The worst affected school was Rakaunui. The school closed in 1915 because of trouble finding a replacement teacher, and did not re-open until the following year.²⁵ Rakaunui again closed during 1919 and 1923 because of the lack of a

²² AJHR 1953, E3, p 2

²³ The material here is repeated from Chapter 2 and the footnotes will not therefore be repeated.

²⁴ AJHR 1910, E3, p 3, 1912, E3, p5

²⁵ AJHR 1916, E3, p 6 and AJHR 1917, E3, p 6

teacher.²⁶ In 1950 the school was closed for three months until a replacement teacher was secured in mid-July. The new teacher lasted only a month.²⁷

The schools at times had a rapid turnover of teachers, with Rakaunui again a standout. Rakaunui had three head teachers in just one year (1936), and four head teachers in just seven months during 1938 and 1939.²⁸ Taharoa Maori School had seven head teachers between 1948 and 1958.²⁹ The shortage of teachers during World War Two caused problems at several native schools in the inquiry district, with Kaharoa being the worse affected. In 1940 the head teacher, S E Kettelwell, took leave to join the armed services. In 1942, the inspector commented that 'the succession of relieving teachers' contributed to poor standards at Kaharoa.³⁰ In October that year a parent wrote to the Education Department complaining about the 'large number of teachers that have been in and out of here in a comparatively short space of time'.³¹

One reason for the recruitment problems and turnover was the isolation of some of the schools, in districts where the sole-charge teacher might be the only Pakeha for some distance. In 1942 the teacher at Rakaunui Native School commented that lack of privacy was 'a real hardship' there, after locals had lined up most of the day to use the school-house telephone (presumably the only one in the district).³² Electricity did not arrive in Rakaunui until December 1960.³³ Taharoa township was not connected with the outside world by road until the late 1960s. Prior to that the only access was by boat or horse.³⁴ Being isolated in remote communities at times left the teachers vulnerable to illness, causing further disruptions to the children's education. For example, at Raorao Native School, by Aotea

²⁶ AJHR 1920, E3, p 5 and AJHR 1924, E3, p 4

²⁷ Entry for 19 July 1950, Rakaunui School Log Book 1941-1953, BAAA, 1003, 5i, Supporting Documents (SD) vol 2, p 832

²⁸ Entries 30 March and 25 May 1936, 2 September and 3 October 1938, and 28 January 1939, Rakaunui School Log Book 1932-1940, BAAA, 1003, 5h, SD vol 2, pp 755, 756, 764-765, 768

²⁹ Notes on the history of Taharoa Maori School, 1959 (exact date unrecorded), in Taharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1947-1969, BAAA, 1001, 600d, 44/4, SD vol 1, pp 300-301

³⁰ Inspection report for 5 June 1942, Kaharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1942, BAAA, 1001, 940/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 374

³¹ Mrs P Dunlop to Education Department, 13 October 1942, Kaharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1942-1961, BAAA, 1001, 941/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 378-379

³² Entry for 28 September 1942, Rakaunui School Log Book 1941-1953, BAAA, 1003, 5i, SD vol 2, pp 796-797

³³ Entry for 9 December 1960, Rakaunui School Log Book 1954-1964, BAAA, 1003, 5j, SD vol 2, p 886

³⁴ New Zealand Herald, 21 September 1966, in Taharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1947-1969, BAAA, 1001, 600d, 44/4, SD vol 1, p 311. It appears that the road eventually opened in 1968.

Harbour, both teachers fell ill in August 1903.³⁵ The head teacher was still ill when the school closed in 1904. Due to isolation, teachers at some of the schools were entitled to 'shopping leave'. At Taharoa, for example, the school could be closed for up to five days a year to enable the teacher to go shopping in places with suitable amenities.³⁶ These closures naturally caused additional disruption to the children's education.

Another reason for teacher turnover was the complex rules and regulations relating to teacher salaries and school staffing entitlements. The number of teachers a school was entitled to depended on the number of pupils on the school roll. As was seen in Chapter 3, Native schools within Te Rohe Potae regularly lost and regained their entitlements to a second teacher depending on roll fluctuations. But the salaries and career progression of teachers also depended to a large extent on the size of the school they taught at. This gave teachers an incentive to move on from small schools as soon as possible, and also meant that smaller schools tended to have less experienced teachers. In 1938 the government tried to diminish this problem through new salary regulations. These gave teachers a base salary depending on years of service and provided a country allowance for those teaching in isolated schools. The aim was 'to alter the method of computing salaries in such a way as to make it unnecessary for teachers to be constantly changing schools in order to improve salary and status'.³⁷ However, in 1951 Maori-school teachers lost the advantage they enjoyed of receiving more generous travelling and removal expenses than their counterparts in general primary schools. The Education Department predicted that this change would make it more difficult to staff Maori schools in isolated areas.³⁸

School Quality

As was noted above, native schools were almost invariably isolated, and therefore had trouble attracting teachers. Their small size also limited the pay these teachers could command. These factors potentially affected school quality. Good teachers were unlikely to be attracted to the schools, and if they were, they were likely to leave as soon as possible for a larger school with better pay. The variable quality of teachers at native schools within Te Rohe Potae was seen in Chapter 3. Only Parawera and Te Kopua generally had positive reports

³⁵ Entry for 3 August 1903, Raorao log book 1902-1904, BAAA, 1003, 5/L

³⁶ District Superintendent of Education to Head Teacher, Taharoa Maori School, 13 March 1957, Taharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1947-1969, BAAA, 1001, 600d, 44/4, SD vol 1, p 298

³⁷ AJHR 1939, E1, p 4

³⁸ AJHR 1952, E3, p 5

from the school inspectors. The other four native schools remaining after 1923 tended to have mixed reports, and on occasions very poor ones. In combination with the occasional lack of teaching staff altogether, the district was not always as well served as it might be with respect to primary education for Maori. While little evidence was found of poor facilities at the schools, there is likewise no evidence that facilities were of any more than an average standard.

Poverty

A significant reason why Maori children often struggled in the education system was that they came from households and communities that were poor. One example is provided here – that of the isolated community of Rakaunui, where a school was established to the east of Kawhia Harbour in 1910. Teachers and inspectors commented on the poverty of the district, in particular during the 1930s.

The school log book recorded especially cold weather in July 1932. ‘Considering their scanty resources - clothing, food, etc, it is a wonder pneumonia was not rife.’³⁹ During September 1932 the teacher (Mr Murray) recorded that children had not been sent to school because there was no food for lunch.⁴⁰ ‘Charles Puhi’s children are starving practically. It is useless their coming to school.’⁴¹ The next teachers, Mr and Mrs Kirk, also commented on the poverty of the community.⁴² The Kirks took a proactive approach, and in June 1933 they sent off to their home province of Otago, and to the Maori Methodist Mission, for clothing for the children.⁴³ Their actions appear to have had results, as in September 1934 the school inspector reported that it was ‘a fine testimony to the influence of the teachers to find such clean and well-dressed children coming from homes of a very poor type’.⁴⁴ In 1935 the inspector commented that ‘[t]his school continues to do good work in a very isolated district

³⁹ Entry for 22 July 1932, Rakaunui School Log Book 1932-1940, BAAA, 1003, 5h, SD vol 2, p 731

⁴⁰ Entries for 6-9 and 13 September 1932, Rakaunui School Log Book 1932-1940, BAAA, 1003, 5h, SD vol 2, pp 733-734

⁴¹ Entry for 19 September 1932, Rakaunui School Log Book 1932-1940, BAAA, 1003, 5h, SD vol 2, p 735

⁴² Entry for 30 March 1934, Rakaunui School Log Book 1932-1940, BAAA, 1003, 5h, SD vol 2, p 750

⁴³ Entry for 30 June 1933, Rakaunui School Log Book 1932-1940, BAAA, 1003, 5h, SD vol 2, pp 745-746. The Kirks also purchased a swimming costume for every child, entry for 13 December 1935, Rakaunui School Log Book 1932-1940, BAAA, 1003, 5h, SD vol 2, p 754

⁴⁴ Inspection report for 19 September 1934, Rakaunui General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1947 BAAA 1001 1007b, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 190

where the Natives are living in primitive conditions'.⁴⁵ Poverty persisted in the community in later years. In 1950 a new teacher reported that all the able-bodied men were away on government work schemes, returning for a weekend every fortnight. He noted that the primers (ie, the youngest children) were 'a sad mixed lot. Must be very poor homes and primitive conditions'.⁴⁶ Poverty carried with it the consequences of disease, as discussed below.

Another consequence of isolation and poverty was that the parents had limited experience of the outside world. In 1928 a school inspector attributed poor school results at Rakaunui to, among other things, 'antagonism of a section of the people' and 'indifference of the parents to the education of their children'.⁴⁷ The following year the Director of Education wrote to the Hamilton inspector of police about the alleged attitude of the parents towards attendance at the school.⁴⁸ In the early 1930s, the head teacher was even blunter in his assessment of the local community. Murray was frustrated with the response to his efforts to assist with the numerous health problems in the community, particularly when the advice of a visiting faith healer was preferred:

One boy, Tanu, died. His father was warned to take the child to the Doctor but he refused. I have almost given up hope of influencing these people. They are steeped in ignorance and superstition and there is active antagonism to the Pakeha whosoever he may be.⁴⁹

At the end of 1947, the teacher, Mr Durning, recorded that he had signed off leaving certificates for three of the children. He wrote that all three would soon be 15 'and there seems little possibility of their parents letting them go on to Secondary School'.⁵⁰ The following year a new teacher, Mr Golding, was forced to put the children on correspondence

⁴⁵ Inspection report for 11 April 1935, Rakaunui General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1947 BAAA 1001 1007b, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 193

⁴⁶ Entries for 20 and 24 July 1950, Rakaunui School Log Book 1941-1953, BAAA, 1003, 5i, SD vol 2, pp 832-833

⁴⁷ Inspection report for 26 May 1928, Rakaunui General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1947, BAAA, 1001, 1007b, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 167

⁴⁸ Director of Education to Hamilton Inspector of Police, 20 December 1929, Rakaunui General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1947, BAAA, 1001, 1007b, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 174

⁴⁹ Entry for 18 November 1932, Rakaunui School Log Book 1932-1940, BAAA, 1003, 5h, SD vol 2, p 736. Similar comments can be found for entries on 13 and 16 September 1932 and 30 January 1933, SD vol 2, pp 733-734, 738

⁵⁰ Entry for 28 November 1947, Rakaunui School Log Book 1941-1953, BAAA, 1003, 5i, SD vol 2, p 807

lessons when the school was closed because of an epidemic. In April he was relieved to hear rumours of the school re-opening. 'No work is being done with the correspondence. The parents have no ambitions concerning themselves and their children.'⁵¹ From this evidence, some teachers appeared to have little awareness of the fact that poverty, isolation and limited education often made it difficult for parents to engage with their children's education. The children too had limited life experiences. For example, on 1 January 1954, the teacher took 12 pupils to Te Awamutu to see the Queen. When they visited the railway station, a number of the children were thrilled to see a train for the first time.⁵²

Disrupted Schooling

The schooling of many Maori children within Te Rohe Potae was commonly disrupted because of absences from school or school closures. As outlined above, the children's schooling was sometimes disrupted by difficulties in hiring and retaining teachers and teacher illness. But disruption could come from a variety of other causes, often health related. Schools were occasionally closed because of influenza and other epidemics, most obviously at the end of 1918, but also at other times.⁵³ In July 1926, Kaharoa Native School was closed for a week due to an influenza outbreak, and reopened with only seven pupils.⁵⁴ The school was closed again in July 1928 by the Education Department, this time for two weeks, because of another influenza outbreak.⁵⁵ In March 1937, the department ordered Taharoa Native School to close 'until further notice', presumably for health reasons. The school received permission to reopen a month later.⁵⁶ In June 1938, Taharoa re-opened two weeks late after the school holidays because 20 of the 27 children on the roll had contracted measles.⁵⁷ The head teacher at Parawera, H Rust, wrote to the Director of Education in August 1940 that epidemics of influenza and mumps had 'seriously interfered with attendance'.⁵⁸ The Education Department closed Rakaunui and Makomako native schools for over two months

⁵¹ Entries for 9 February and 12 April 1948, Rakaunui School Log Book 1941-1953, BAAA, 1003, 5i, SD vol 2, pp 809, 814

⁵² Entry for 1 January 1954, Rakaunui School Log Book 1954-1964, BAAA, 1003, 5j, SD vol 2, p 847

⁵³ Entry for 11 November 1918, Rakaunui School Log Book 1916-1926, BAAA, 1003, 5/g, SD vol 2, p 722

⁵⁴ Kathryn Pees to Department of Education, 19 July 1926, Kaharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1942, BAAA, 1001, 940/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, pp 320-321

⁵⁵ Director of Education to Head Teacher, Kaharoa Native School, 13 July 1928, Kaharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1942 BAAA 1001 940/b 44/6, SD vol, p 331

⁵⁶ Entries for 20 March, 22 April 1937, Taharoa School Log Book 1933-1945, BACD, 1193, 1/a, SD vol 2, pp 912-913

⁵⁷ Entry for 7 June 1938, Taharoa School Log Book 1933-1945, BACD, 1193, 1/a, SD vol 2, p 921

⁵⁸ Rust to Director of Education, 18 August 1940, Parawera General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1940-1959, BAAA, 1001, 993/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 126

at the start of 1948 because of a polio outbreak.⁵⁹ It was not only native schools that were affected by health scares. In August 1903, the new general primary school at Kawhia was closed for two weeks due to outbreaks of influenza and measles.⁶⁰

More common than school closures were individual absences due to illness. These were recorded in school log books too frequently to enumerate. The opening entry for one of the Taharoa school log books in October 1933 states that the school opened that morning with only half the children present.⁶¹ At times individual pupils could be absent sick for several months, or even a year.⁶² At others, most of the school could be absent, even though the school was not officially closed. For most days in October and early November 1929, the majority of the children were off sick from Makomako school.⁶³ The Education Department was well aware that poor health was often a major cause of absenteeism at Maori schools. In its 1953 annual report, the Department noted a steady improvement in the regularity of attendance in the post-war period, which it attributed 'partly to the health work leading to a decrease in absenteeism through sickness'.⁶⁴

However there were reasons for absences other than illness. In June 1951 the teacher at Makomako Maori School reported irregular attendance by the infants, which he blamed on illness due to 'lack of sufficient body building foods'. However, he also noted that a flour shortage meant that many children were being kept home 'as they have no lunch to bring'.⁶⁵ Bad weather was a common cause of absences. Children often had to travel some distance to school on poorly kept roads or tracks, or had to cross rivers and streams. The absences caused by the river crossing at Te Kopua have already been detailed in Chapter 5. In November 1895 the teacher at Kawhia Native School reported that the weather had prevented those children who travelled long distances from coming to school.⁶⁶ At Rakaunui in August 1916 the

⁵⁹ Entries for 1 February and 19 April 1948, Makomako School Log Book 1942-1955, YCAG, 1653, 1/c, SD vol 3, pp 987-988; entries for 9 February and 12 April 1948, Rakaunui School Log Book 1941-1953, BAAA, 1003, 5i, SD vol 2, SD vol 2, pp 809, 814

⁶⁰ Entry for 19 August 1903, Kawhia School Log Book 1903, BAAA, 1003, 1/n, SD vol 2, p 531

⁶¹ Entry for 30 October 1933, Taharoa School Log Book 1933-1945, BACD, 1193, 1/a, SD vol 2, p 903

⁶² Entries for 22 April 1938 and 7 June 1938, Taharoa School Log Book 1933-1945, BACD, 1193, 1/a, SD vol 2, pp 920-921, and entry for 18 November 1929, Makomako School Log Book 1925-1931, YCAG, 1653, 1/a, SD vol 3, p 947

⁶³ Entries for 28 September through 4 November 1929, Makomako School Log Book 1925-1931, YCAG, 1653, 1/a, SD vol 3, pp 942-945

⁶⁴ AJHR 1953, E3, p 2

⁶⁵ Entry for 8 June 1951, Makomako School Log Book, 1942-1955, YCAG, 1653, 1/c, SD vol 3, p 991

⁶⁶ Entry for 18 November 1895, Kawhia School Log Book 1895-97, BAAA, 1003, 1/k, SD vol 2, p 498

teacher recorded that two children had been unable to return from a tangi due to bad roads.⁶⁷ At Makomako in April 1927, the head teacher recorded that the children from the Karena family would be unlikely to attend that day because of rain and bad roads.⁶⁸ In June 1938 the teacher at Taharoa reported that nine children were away due to cold, wet weather. Four months later the teacher recorded that ‘torrential rains and gales have resulted in very poor attendance’.⁶⁹ At Makomako school in March 1956, the teacher recorded that a wet week had ‘marred attendance somewhat’.⁷⁰

Community events such as tangi were common reasons for absences from school. The regular March absences associated with the annual Pokai for the Maori King at Kawhia were discussed in Chapter 6. But there were other events too. For example, in March 1941 the teacher at Rakaunui recorded that he had conducted a roundup of missing children ‘after all-night dance at pa’.⁷¹ Work was another reason for occasional absences – either because the children’s labour was required or because the families needed to travel away for work. In November 1895 the head teacher at Kawhia reported that potato planting was interfering with the work of the school. The following March he noted absences due to firewood collection for the marae.⁷² The teacher at Raorao Native School reported low attendance for the last week of February 1904. ‘On Friday last, most of the people here went to the other side of the harbour, to help the natives there to harvest. Several of the children went with them and have not yet returned.’⁷³ In October 1926, Lizzie and Edwin Turinui were withdrawn from Makomako school because their mother wanted them to help with milking.⁷⁴ In July 1932, Rima Tahiaru was absent from Rakaunui planting potatoes.⁷⁵ At Taharoa Native School the teacher noted in July 1937 that two infant boys were likely to be away for three to four weeks as their fathers had temporary jobs outside of district.⁷⁶

⁶⁷ Entry for 21 August 1916, Rakaunui School Log Book 1916-1926, BAAA, 1003, 5/g, SD vol 2, p 717

⁶⁸ Entry for 21 April 1927, Makomako School Log Book 1925-1931, YCAG, 1653, 1/a, SD vol 3, p 938

⁶⁹ Entries for 27 June, 8 November 1938, Taharoa School Log Book 1933-1945, BACD, 1193, 1/a, SD vol 2, pp 925, 924

⁷⁰ Entry for 23 March 1956, Makomako School Log Book 1955-1961, YCAG, 1653, 1/d, SD vol 3, p 996

⁷¹ Entry for 12 March 1941, Rakaunui School Log Book 1941-1953, BAAA, 1003, 5i, SD vol 2, p 788

⁷² Entries for 1 November 1895 and 8 March 1896, Kawhia School Log Book 1895-97, BAAA, 1003, 1/k, SD vol 2, pp 497, 500

⁷³ Entry for 26 February 1904, Raorao School Log Book 1902-1904, BAAA, 1003, 5/m, SD vol 2, p 558

⁷⁴ Entry for 12 October 1926, Makomako School Log Book 1925-1931, YCAG, 1653, 1/a, SD vol 3, p 935

⁷⁵ Entry for 1 July 1932, Rakaunui School Log Book 1932-1940, BAAA, 1003, 5h, SD vol 2, p 728

⁷⁶ Entry for 30 July 1937, Taharoa School Log Book 1933-1945, BACD, 1193, 1/a, SD vol 2, p 914

Yet by the official figures, attendance at native schools did not seem to be a significant problem. To take a year at random, in 1927 the average daily attendance at all native schools was 87.4 percent (the percentage of pupils on the roll who turned up on average each day).⁷⁷ The average for general primary schools in the Auckland education district was only slightly higher, at 88.4 percent.⁷⁸ However, the average figures are misleading. First, they hide a great deal of variability, both year by year and across schools. After Te Kopua re-opened in 1923, attendance was at 85.1 percent.⁷⁹ By 1927, Te Kopua Native School had average attendance of 96.9 percent, while at the other end of the scale, Parawera was at just 80.7 percent.⁸⁰ More importantly, school closures for health reasons or the lack of a teacher were not reflected in attendance statistics. Furthermore, children absent for extended periods for illness could temporarily be removed from the roll, artificially boosting attendance. To take one example, in October and November 1929, eight children were removed from the roll of Makomako Native School after being away sick for some weeks.⁸¹ Similarly, if a majority of pupils at a native school were away on any half day or day, their absences did not count under regulations first issued in 1893. The reasoning at the time was that attendance at native schools was particularly liable to be affected by a variety of factors, including epidemics, bad weather, ‘the visits of pupils to gumfields’, Land Court sittings, and ‘customary Native meetings’.⁸² Such days were classed as ‘excepted’ days.⁸³ The official attendance figures for native schools therefore give a somewhat distorted picture.

Teachers, education officials and communities employed a variety of strategies to try and deal with persistent absence by pupils. In November 1895 the teacher at Kawhia Native School caned two boys for truancy.⁸⁴ In July 1903, a new teacher, W A Leach, met with the Kawhia chief Tauī, who ‘wishes to be invested with authority to prosecute absentees’.⁸⁵ In 1929 the teacher at Rakaunui Native School contacted local police about the possibility of

⁷⁷ AJHR 1928, E3, p 13

⁷⁸ AJHR 1928, E2, p 2

⁷⁹ AJHR 1924, E3, p 15

⁸⁰ AJHR 1928, E3, pp 12-13

⁸¹ Entries for 12 and 18 November 1929, Makomako School Log Book 1925-1931, YCAG, 1653, 1/a, SD vol 3, pp 946-947

⁸² ‘Native Schools: Circulars to Teachers’, 8 April 1893, Circulars: Native Schools 1894-1905, ABDM, W4494, 1, SD vol 1, p 3

⁸³ See, for example, entries for 25 September and 23 November 1934, Makomako School Log Book 1932-1942, YCAG, 1653, 1/b, SD vol 3, pp 951-952

⁸⁴ Entry for 5 November 1895, Kawhia School Log Book 1895-97, BAAA, 1003, 1/k, SD vol 2, p 497

⁸⁵ Entry for 7 July 1903, Kawhia School Log Book 1903, BAAA, 1003, 1/n, SD vol 2, p 529

prosecuting parents because of the persistent absence of their children.⁸⁶ In March 1937 the head teacher at Rakaunui, Mrs Rogers, successfully urged parents attending the school committee meeting not to take their children to the annual festivities at Kawhia.⁸⁷ In April 1956, the teacher at Makomako Maori School met with George Maihi about his children's absence from school.⁸⁸ The Education Department at times wrote to parents about their children's absence, as at Makomako during the 1950s.⁸⁹ In November 1952 the head teacher at Makomako wrote to the District Superintendent of Education in frustration, asking 'what steps can be taken to force parents to send all of their children - of school age - to school, every day'?'⁹⁰ But in fact in most cases there was little that could be done about absences, which were generally for legitimate reasons such as illness. This did not prevent teachers lamenting the effect on the children's education. In February 1948 the teacher at Rakaunui recorded in the school log book that one pupil, Mihi, was a 'trier, but she has missed a lot of schooling', leading to deficient work.⁹¹ The same could no doubt be said of many pupils at schools in Te Rohe Potae and elsewhere.

Conclusion

Education officials consistently referred to difficulties with the English language as holding back Maori education. The later age that many Maori children started school was also noted as a factor. But there were a variety of other contributors found in research for this report. Most children within Te Rohe Potae had no access to primary education until the twentieth century. There were no secondary schools in the district until 1914, and no secondary school that was not attached to a primary school until 1947. The isolation of native schools, a pay scale that favoured teachers at larger schools, and occasional teacher shortages all contributed to a high turnover of teachers in native schools in the district. At times the schools had to close for significant periods because of difficulties in securing a teacher, causing disruption to the children's education. Judging by the school inspector's reports, the quality of education at

⁸⁶ Director General of Education to Inspector of Police, Hamilton, 20 December 1929, Rakaunui General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1947, BAAA, 1001, 1007b, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 174

⁸⁷ Entries for 6 March, 15 March 1937, Taharoa School Log Book 1933-1945, BACD, 1193, 1/a, SD vol 2, pp 911-912

⁸⁸ Entry for 20 April 1956, Makomako School Log Book 1955-1961, YCAG, 1653, 1/d, SD vol 3, p 997

⁸⁹ For example, District Superintendent of Education to Mr Apiti, 17 July 1953, Makomako General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1949-1969, BAAA, 1001, 949/a, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 472

⁹⁰ K D Howie to District Superintendent, Education Department, 24 November 1952, Makomako General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1949-1969, BAAA, 1001, 949/a, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 471

⁹¹ Entry for 25 February 1948, Rakaunui School Log Book 1941-1953, BAAA, 1003, 5i, SD vol 2, p 810

native schools within Te Rohe Potae seems to have been mediocre overall, and occasionally poor.

Poverty was another factor affecting the children's education, not least because it contributed to disease. Epidemics regularly closed schools and children were frequently absent due to illness. The need to contribute to the economic life of the community and poor transport systems also disrupted the education of many children. Poor weather could make roads and river impassable, and the children more vulnerable to sickness. It is likely that these factors particularly affected the native schools within the inquiry district. Until the latter half of the twentieth century some schools were in communities that lacked electricity and roads. Community events such as tangi also contributed to children being absent from school. Frequent absences, for whatever reasons, were likely to have a negative effect on children's education.

Chapter 10: Conclusions

The conclusions are presented in the form of answers to the questions posed in the commission for this report. As there is a certain amount of repetition in the questions, there is also a degree of unavoidable repetition in the answers.

Question 1: How did the Crown and its agents manage the provision of education to Māori of the Te Rohe Pōtae inquiry district? Where issues and problems have arisen, how did the Crown respond?

Education within Te Rohe Potae was initially left in the hands of the Anglican (Church Missionary Society), Methodist (Wesleyan Missionary Society) and Roman Catholic Churches, who established mission schools in the district. From 1847, the churches received government funding to provide schooling, and were subject to occasional inspection by government agents. A new funding system was introduced in 1858 whereby church boarding schools were funded by the state on a per-pupil basis.

The main mission schools established within the inquiry district were at Otawhao (CMS), Rangiaowhia (Catholic), Aotea, Kawhia, Te Kopua, and Te Mahoe (Wesleyan). The school at Te Mahoe near Mokau closed after the teacher was withdrawn by the WMS. The other schools were forced to close between 1860 and 1880, mainly due to the conflict in the region and its aftermath. European institutions were often viewed with suspicion after the invasion of the Waikato. Otawhao school was briefly taken over by government agent John Gorst, under the direction of Governor George Grey, who wished to use the school to try and undermine the King movement. It closed within a year.

Another reason for the closure of the schools was the per capita funding system introduced in 1858. As the schools lost pupils, but still retained their fixed costs, it became increasingly difficult to keep them running. Other aspects of the funding system were criticised by magistrates, school inspectors and politicians. Running boarding schools was expensive, greatly limiting the number of children who could be educated, and the churches had little accountability for how they spent their

government funding, apart from occasional inspection reports. The government eventually responded to these criticisms through the Native Schools Act 1867. The Act, particularly after it was amended in 1871, enabled the establishment of village rather than boarding schools, and removed preferential treatment from church-run schools. In general, the government built schools and teacher's residences on land donated by Maori communities, paid teacher salaries and contributed to the running costs of native schools.

Under the 1867 Act, the mission schools could still access some funding. The remaining mission schools within Te Rohe Potae – Rangioawhia, Kawhia and Aotea - received annual grants, rather than per pupil funding as under the previous system. However, continued hostility to the presence of European institutions by some in the district made running the schools increasingly difficult. After 1867 the school inspectors were prevented from visiting the schools.

The last of the mission schools, at Kawhia, closed in 1880. This temporarily put an end to state-funded native education within Te Rohe Potae, which had in any case been minimal since the late-1860s. The Auckland Education Board had established a few schools in the north of the district for Pakeha settlers. Although Maori were entitled to attend these schools, relatively few Maori lived close to them. If they desired a school to be established under the Native Schools Act 1867, Maori communities were required to request a school from the government and donate land towards its establishment. The Crown thus took a largely passive role, at least until it received a clear request and an offer of land. The suspicion of European institutions that had led to the closure of the mission schools in Te Rohe Potae also meant that communities were unlikely to request government-funded schools to replace them. However, schools were eventually requested during the 1880s for Te Kopua and Otorohanga, and the Education Department moved reasonably quickly to establish them. By 1902, five further native schools had been established in or near the inquiry district.

Pakeha were moving to Te Rohe Potae in increasing numbers as the construction of the main trunk railway neared completion in the early twentieth century, and many of

their children attended the native schools. This led to crowded schools and, in Kawhia, to the Auckland Education Board establishing a school in competition with Kawhia Native School. By around 1900 the Education Department had a policy of transferring native schools to education boards once the majority of pupils were Pakeha. It also started to oppose the building of both native and education board schools in the same locality. These policies meant that by 1909, four of the seven native schools established within or near Te Rohe Potae had been transferred to the Auckland Education Board. Maori were still entitled to attend these schools, but the schools themselves no longer catered primarily to Maori. In particular, they lost their emphasis on teaching English to children who had little or no familiarity with the language. The former Maori owners of the land were compensated when schools were transferred to education boards, although not for any improvements to the land.

Increasing numbers of general primary schools were opened within the inquiry district in the early decades of the twentieth century. However, some Maori communities remained without schooling. Over time these communities requested schools, and the Education Department responded by building six more native schools in Te Rohe Potae between 1906 and 1915. One of these schools – Oparure - was transferred to the Auckland Education Board in 1923, and two closed within six years of opening due to a lack of pupils. This left six native schools in the inquiry district after a new school opened at Makomako in 1926. It had taken nearly 50 years, since the closure of the last mission schools, to give most Maori within Te Rohe Potae reasonable access to primary education.

The Crown made little provision for secondary education within Te Rohe Potae until the 1920s. Maori wishing to access secondary schooling therefore generally had to board, usually attending one of the Maori denominational boarding schools. As was noted in Chapter 7, these schools were significantly underfunded, relative to general secondary education, for much of the twentieth century. The Crown did not respond to this disparity in any significant way until after the Second World War, when the value, duration and number of scholarships to Maori boarding schools was increased. By then there were six district high schools within Te Rohe Potae, with a seventh opening in 1949. District high schools provided one solution to the problem of

inaccessibility of post-primary education for children in rural districts. However, because of their isolation and small secondary rolls, these schools struggled to recruit suitable teachers able to teach a range of subjects. None of these district high schools converted to full secondary schools (ie, with no primary pupils) until 1947. It was not until the late 1950s, by which time three more full secondary schools had opened, that most children in the inquiry district were provided with adequate options for secondary education.

In Chapter 9, other problems relating to the provision of education within Te Rohe Potae were identified. One of the problems consistently referred to by officials over many decades was the unfamiliarity of many Maori children with the English language. In 1920, over 96 percent of Maori pupils attending native schools spoke only Maori at home.¹ Inspector of Native Schools James Pope wrote in 1888 that teaching Maori to speak English was the ‘raison d’être’ of the native school system.² The number of children entering school with little or no knowledge of English continued to be a concern for officials in the 1950s, and even in the 1960s.

Another problem identified by education officials was that Maori children tended to start school at a later age than non-Maori. In 1947, for example, the gap between the median age of pupils at Maori primary schools and at all primary schools was between one and two years at all levels of schooling. One effect of this was that Maori children reached an age where they could legally leave school at a less advanced point in their schooling than Pakeha children. Even those who might otherwise have progressed to the Third Form commonly left in Form 1 or 2. Neither officials nor the government appear to have taken any action on this issue. However, the Education Department did note with some satisfaction in 1953 that the median age of pupils in Maori primary schools had been falling in the post-war period at all levels of schooling. This trend may have contributed to improved participation by Maori in secondary schooling during the 1950s.³

¹ AJHR 1920, E3, Table H6. The figures exclude ‘European’ pupils at native schools.

² AJHR 1888, E2, p 9

³ AJHR 1953, E3, p 2

Another problem identified in Chapter 9 was the difficulty of securing teachers for native schools at various times. On occasions, native schools within Te Rohe Potae were left without teachers for several months, and in some years even had to close temporarily because of problems securing a teacher. At other times schools experienced a high turnover of teachers, with several coming and going over the course of two years or less. In either case the result was disruption to the children's education. One cause of the difficulties was the isolation of native schools, which often made them unattractive to teachers. But another cause lay in the incentives placed on teachers through the salary system and career structure. To put it simply, the bigger the school, the more a teacher was paid. To progress their career, teachers had little choice but to seek a job in a larger school and avoid small schools. Native schools in the main tended to have no more than two or three teachers. No action was taken to help small schools recruit teachers until the 1930s. New regulations issued in 1938 aimed 'to alter the method of computing salaries in such a way as to make it unnecessary for teachers to be constantly changing schools in order to improve salary and status'.⁴ After 1938, teachers were paid a base salary depending on years of service and a country allowance was provided for those teaching in isolated schools. However, in 1951 Maori-school teachers lost the advantage they enjoyed of receiving more generous travelling and removal expenses than their counterparts in general primary schools. The Education Department predicted that this change would make it more difficult to staff Maori schools in isolated areas.⁵

Disruptions to Maori schooling, other than those caused by staffing difficulties, was another problem identified in Chapter 9. Native schools within Te Rohe Potae were on occasions closed for extended periods for health reasons, and absences for illness were commonplace. One reason for the Education Department's focus on health in the schools, including regular health checks, was to try and limit the extent of absences and school closures. Strategies for dealing with unjustified absences included punishment, writing letters to errant parents, and involving the police.

⁴ AJHR 1939, E1, p 4

⁵ AJHR 1952, E3, p 5

Question 2: Were Māori able to access education services to the same extent as were Pākehā in the district, other rural populations, and the general New Zealand population? To what extent did the Crown recognise any disparities?

There were few Pakeha within the inquiry district, apart from its northern reaches, until the early twentieth century, when the Pakeha population expanded dramatically. However, in the nineteenth century, access to education for Maori within Te Rohe Potae was inferior to that for other rural populations, for the general New Zealand population, and for Maori in many other districts. This was because of a lack of schools in areas where most Maori resided. There were no native schools within the inquiry district between 1880 and 1885, and only one for most of the period 1886 to 1894. As was argued in Chapters 2 and 3, this was largely because of residual suspicion of European institutions resulting from the wars and confiscations of the 1860s. Te Rohe Potae Maori remained unwilling to request native schools for their district and donate the requisite land towards them.

It was only between 1895 and 1902 that education became accessible to Maori in the district in any significant way. Officials recognised that disparities existed compared with other areas, and were, initially at least, willing to build native schools reasonably promptly after they were requested. Te Kopua school re-opened after closing for three years, and there were new native schools at Kawhia, Aotea, Te Kuiti, Taumaranui and Parawera. Otorohanga became a general school but was still accessible to Maori, and many other general primary schools also opened in the district. No evidence was found, in research for this report, that primary education was less accessible for Maori within Te Rohe Potae than for Pakeha. Furthermore, by the 1920s the district appears to have been well endowed with schools compared with other predominantly rural areas. In 1923 the Auckland Education Board began shutting down some of the smaller schools in the district and bussing the pupils to schools at Otorohanga and Piopio. The King Country was the first district in the country in which this process of ‘consolidation’ was tried.⁶

⁶ ‘King Country’ was the term generally used by the Education Department for the region.

In common with other rural areas, both Maori and Pakeha within the district had poor access to secondary education throughout much of the twentieth century, as outlined in Question 1. However, the situation was worse for Maori, who tended to live in areas that were remote from the few secondary schools that were established. In addition, the government underfunded Maori secondary education from around 1910 until after the Second World War. In the post-war period the government identified that there were disparities between Maori and Pakeha in terms of access to secondary education. In response the Education Department opened more Maori district high schools, significantly increased the value, duration and number of Maori boarding scholarships, and tried to encourage Maori enrolment in general secondary schools. This campaign appears to have had some success, for by 1959 over 90 percent of Maori who finished primary school the previous year proceeded to secondary education. At the same time, full secondary schools opened within Te Rohe Potae, and by the mid-1950s the district had four secondary schools and three district high schools.

Questions 3: How did provision of education services and Māori educational achievement compare with that of Pākehā in the Te Rohe Pōtae inquiry district, other rural populations, and the overall New Zealand population?

As was outlined in the introduction to this report, and in Chapters 5 and 8, researchers and the Waitangi Tribunal have suggested that the Crown provided Maori, through the native school system and Maori boarding schools, with an inferior standard of education. It has been claimed that teachers at native schools were paid less than their counterparts in general schools, and the curriculum in Maori primary and secondary schools was significantly different to that in mainstream schools. The Waitangi Tribunal has stated that, central to the native schools philosophy ‘was the limitation of the curriculum, designed to restrict Maori to working-class employment’, and that ‘native schools maintained an emphasis on vocational training – agriculture and woodwork for boys, and cooking, needlework, and home crafts for girls’.⁷ In addition, the claim has been made that Maori were required to contribute land towards the

⁷ Waitangi Tribunal, *Wananga Capital Establishment Report*, p 7, and Waitangi Tribunal, *Wairarapa ki Tararua Report*, Volume 1, p 297

establishment of native schools, while no contribution was required from predominantly Pakeha communities towards the establishment of general schools. It is a central assumption of this report that, if these criticisms are valid with respect to Maori education in general, they are likely to be valid with respect to the education services provided to Maori within Te Rohe Potae.

It was found in Chapter 5 that teachers in native schools were paid less than their counterparts in general schools in the early twentieth century. On the recommendation of a Royal Commission, a unified pay scale was introduced for teachers at education board schools in 1901, and teacher pay was increased. Teachers in native schools were not accorded similar salary provisions until 1909. Another difference relating to school resourcing was that native school committees were required to provide firewood to schools in exchange for discretionary items of school equipment. Teachers and pupils were also required to clean the schools in exchange for free exercise books and other learning materials not provided in general schools. For general primary schools, education boards contributed financially towards the cleaning and heating of schools.

The claim that, in contrast to Maori communities, predominantly Pakeha communities had to make no contribution towards the establishment of schools, was found to have no basis in fact. Until 1914, similar legislative provisions applied to the establishment of native and general schools. The main difference was that the Native Schools Act 1867 guaranteed that the government would contribute towards the establishment and operation of schools, whereas the Education Act 1877 contained no such assurance. Examples were found of general schools within Te Rohe Potae in which communities had to contribute land, buildings, labour and materials towards new schools, and contribute to their maintenance. A new Education Act in 1914 transferred responsibility for establishing new schools from school committees to education boards. However, the Act still gave no assurance of government funding to establish these schools. Furthermore, it contained provisions that could require small remote communities to contribute towards the accommodation and salaries of teachers. These provisions were not repealed until 1938. In contrast, the Native Schools Act 1867 and Education Department policy provided a degree of certainty for Maori communities.

If their request for a school was approved, and they agreed to provide three acres of suitable land, a school and teacher would generally be provided at government expense – although there were at times significant delays in doing so.

The claim that native and general schools had significantly different curricula was also found to have little basis in fact. This claim has been made in relation both to native primary schools and Maori secondary schools. It was argued in Chapter 8 that there was a general drive from 1900 onwards to encourage *all* schools to adopt a more practical approach to education. Education Secretary George Hogben advocated that education should be more immediately relevant to children, and that schools should teach practical and vocational skills. Education reforms resulted in more manual activities being introduced into the primary curriculum and more school gardens being established. However, there is little evidence that the reforms had a major impact on the overall work of primary schools. Native schools within Te Rohe Potae seem to have continued to concentrate their efforts very much on teaching children to speak, read and write in English, do basic arithmetic, and obtain some grounding in history and geography. The school inspectors emphasised these subjects strongly in their regular reports, and paid relatively little attention to the manual subjects such as drawing and handcrafts. It is assumed that the same applied in general schools.

The Hogben reforms had a more obvious impact at the secondary school level. As secondary enrolments expanded, more children were channelled into courses in agriculture, woodwork, bookkeeping, cooking and sewing, with the aim of equipping them for their future roles in life. Boys were encouraged to take commercial, manual and agricultural courses, while girls were encouraged to train for their future role as housewives. In 1917, domestic education was made a compulsory subject in the third and fourth form for all girls holding free secondary places. Courses in typing and health-related subjects were also encouraged.

A similar trend was followed by the Maori boarding schools. All the Maori girl's secondary schools taught a variety of domestically-related subjects, including cooking and sewing. For boys, Te Aute developed a strong agricultural curriculum in the 1920s, while St Stephens specialised in woodwork. However parents, both Maori and

Pakeha, often resisted these trends and enrolled their children in academic rather than practical courses. Providing a practical curriculum also proved expensive, which was a particular concern during the depression. By the mid-1930s the Maori boarding schools, particularly those for boys, had reverted to a largely academic curriculum. There is no strong evidence that the Maori boarding schools overall were significantly more practically-oriented than district high schools, technical high schools and secondary schools after 1900.

However, other factors impacted on the quality of education provided to children in Te Rohe Potae. Some were discussed in Chapters 7 and 8 of this report, and were outlined in the responses to Questions One and Two above. The factors include the underfunding of Maori secondary education and the problems experienced by native schools in recruiting and retaining teachers.

Major indicators of educational achievement are progression to post-primary education, the attainment of qualifications such as School Certificate, and progression to tertiary education. For about half of the twentieth century, Maori progressed to post-primary education in similar proportions to non-Maori. For the other half, they did not. In particular, between around 1915 and 1935 a significant gap opened up with respect to proportion of the Maori population in secondary education compared with Pakeha. The gap closed rapidly from the late 1930s, and by 1960, Maori and Pakeha who left primary school progressed to secondary schools in almost equal proportions.

The national School Certificate examination was significantly revamped in 1946, and the examination was sat by increasing numbers of Fifth Form students each year.⁸ In 1962, the Commission on Education in New Zealand showed that less than five percent of Maori left school in 1960 with School Certificate or a higher qualification, compared with 30 percent of non-Maori.⁹ By 1976, the figure for Maori had increased six-fold, to 30 percent, and the non-Maori rate had more than doubled to 69 percent. For those leaving school with University Entrance or higher, the Maori rate quadrupled between 1966 and 1981, from just two percent to eight percent. The non-

⁸ Openshaw et al, p 216

⁹ Cited in Openshaw et al, p 74

Maori rate also increased substantially over the same period, from 20 to 34 percent. Thus, even in 1981, non-Maori were four times more likely than Maori to leave school with higher level qualifications.¹⁰

The 'Closing the Gaps' reports produced by Te Puni Kokiri in 1998 and 2000 showed continued improvements in secondary retention rates and school qualifications for Maori during the 1980s. Between 1991 and 1998, the number of Maori in tertiary education more than doubled, and the participation rate increased from seven to 12 percent.¹¹ By 2009, Maori participation in tertiary education had risen to an age-standardised rate of 17.1 percent, far above the participation rate for 'Europeans' of just 11.4 percent.¹² A 2007 report by the Ministry of Education showed that most of this latter increase occurred between 1998 and 2004, and was driven almost entirely by increased Maori enrolments in lower-level qualifications such as certificates and diplomas.¹³

A 2005 study by John Gould found that iwi with links to the inquiry district were in general less qualified on average than members of most other iwi.¹⁴ In addition, data from the 2006 census shows that Maori within Te Rohe Potae are less qualified on average than Maori overall. The data also shows that Pakeha in the district are less qualified than the national average for Pakeha. In particular, both groups are more likely than national norms to have no qualifications, and less likely to have a bachelor degree or equivalent.

¹⁰ Holden, *Youth: A Statistical Profile*, p 15

¹¹ Te Puni Kokiri, *Progress Towards Closing Social and Economic Gaps Between Maori and Non-Maori: A Report to the Minister of Maori Affairs*, Wellington, 2000, pp 15-20

¹² Ministry of Social Development, 'Participation in Tertiary Education', in *The Social Report 2010*, <http://www.socialreport.msd.govt.nz/knowledge-skills/participation-tertiary-education.html>, accessed 16 December 2010

¹³ Ministry of Education, 'Maori Participation in Tertiary Education 2005', The Ministry, 2007, available at

http://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/publications/maori_education/maori_in_tertiary_education_-_fact_sheets, accessed 16 December 2010

¹⁴ John Gould 'Socio-economic gaps between Maori and Maori: Outcomes of sixteen Iwi 1991-2001', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol 114, no. 1, March 2005, pp 29-43

Question 4: Where Māori educational attainment in the district has been lower than other groups, to what extent did the Crown recognise and respond to any disparities?

In the early decades of the twentieth century, education officials concentrated very much on trying to ensure that the native schools provided Maori with a thorough grounding in the basics – in particular in speaking, reading and writing English. In doing so, they seem to have lost sight of the fact that Maori post-primary education was on the decline. As was seen in Chapter 7, the number of Maori with government-funded places in Maori boarding schools was only 60 percent higher in 1940 than in 1910, despite a doubling of the Maori population in the interim. The number of secondary school pupils in New Zealand quadrupled over the same period, far outstripping population growth of 50 percent. While the number of Maori in general secondary schools undoubtedly increased substantially between 1914 and 1940 (from a very low base), the Education Department made no attempt until the late 1930s to find out how many there were, and did not publish any figures until 1948.

Until the 1940s, the Education Department showed no awareness of Crown neglect of Maori secondary education. In 1919, the rates for Maori secondary boarding scholarships were increased for the first time in 15 years, rising from £20 to £30. Rates were increased to £35 in 1936, but were not raised again for another decade. This parsimony is in striking contrast to the increasingly generous government provision for secondary education overall. In 1900, there were just a handful of education board secondary scholarships. In 1901, the government began funding free places in district high schools, and was soon funding increasing numbers of free places in secondary and technical high schools. Thanks to rising government subsidies, the number of secondary students increased ten-fold between 1900 and 1930, from around 3,000 to over 30,000. In 1937, all restrictions on the number of free secondary school places were removed, and there were further significant increases in enrolments. Few Maori benefitted from this government largesse until the 1940s.

The Education Department's annual report for 1941 showed that it was becoming aware of the chronic underfunding of Maori secondary education.¹⁵ However, the need for wartime frugality meant that nothing was done until 1946, when Maori boarding scholarship rates were increased significantly. In 1948, the Department published figures showing that 73 percent of Maori in secondary education were in general schools rather than those established specifically for Maori education.¹⁶ In the post-war period the department began a campaign to encourage Maori parents to send their children to secondary school.¹⁷ Between 1949 and 1959, the proportion of Maori who started secondary school after leaving primary school the previous year rose from 63 to 93 percent.¹⁸

In the 1960s, the Crown shifted its attention to improving Maori qualifications. The government established the Maori Education Foundation to assist Maori to complete secondary and tertiary education through competitive scholarships. In 1961 it endowed the new Foundation with £125,000 and provided a pound for pound subsidy on voluntary contributions for the purpose of 'encouraging and furthering the education of Maoris'.¹⁹ The Foundation's activities expanded rapidly and in 1968 it distributed 1,187 grants, primarily for secondary education, totalling \$181,000.²⁰ Officials also recognised the importance of pre-school education for success in the education system, and began encouraging greater Maori participation in this level of education. The Crown has since focussed on encouraging improved Maori participation at all levels of education and, as can be seen from the response to Question 3, has had some success in this regard. However, much of the credit for improved participation may lie in Maori initiatives such as Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Maori and Wananga.

¹⁵ AJHR 1941, E3, p 2

¹⁶ AJHR 1948, E3, p 6

¹⁷ AJHR 1952, E3, p 3

¹⁸ AJHR 1950, E3 pp 5, 13, AJHR 1960, E1, p 107

¹⁹ Openshaw et al, p 72

²⁰ AJHR 1969, E1, p 32

Question 5: To what extent did Māori enjoy partnership, autonomy, control or influence over the provision of education services in the Te Rohe Pōtae inquiry district? To what degree were the culture, language and tikanga of Tāngata Whenua recognised and incorporated into education services?

The Crown established native schools within Te Rohe Potae only if they were requested by Maori communities, as provided for under the Native Schools Act and associated regulations. Once the schools were established, a school committee was elected to govern the affairs of the school. However, native school committees had limited functions and responsibilities compared with general schools. The Native Schools Code placed most of the day-to-day running of the school, such as requesting repairs and maintenance, in the hands of the head teacher. Committees were left with the primary functions of enforcing attendance and complaining to education officials about matters they objected to in the running of the school.²¹ In contrast, general school committees had a range of responsibilities and decision-making powers associated with the running of schools. Education boards were required to consult with school committees before appointing a new teacher, and committees could make decisions, in consultation with education boards, over a wide variety of matters associated with school operations and maintenance.²² Committees were responsible for arranging the cleaning, heating and general upkeep of the school and grounds. Native school committees were similarly responsible for supplying firewood for the school, but school cleaning tended to be left in the hands of the teachers and pupils. Native school committees could undertake fundraising, which provided them with the discretion to purchase items and undertake maintenance without the Education Department permission that was normally required. They were eventually given the same functions and responsibilities as general school committees in 1957.

Until the 1930s, Maori culture and traditions were largely ignored within the education system. There were exceptions, where individual teachers took an interest in Maori arts, crafts, song and dance. However, only one example of this was found within Te Rohe Potae. From the late 1920s there was an increasing drive to

²¹ Native Schools Code 1880, AJHR 1880, H1F, p 6

²² Cumming, pp 239-40

incorporate Maori history, crafts and cultural activities into the native school curriculum. Evidence from the inquiry district indicates that this was done unevenly across schools, particularly when a school had only one or two teachers. The school inspectors regularly commented on the extent to which Maori cultural activities were present or absent in the schools. Several teachers attended refresher courses from the mid-1930s that resulted in their incorporating Maori culture into the curriculum to a greater extent. However, all schools maintained a primary emphasis on the 'three Rs', and activities such as Maori crafts and poi dance were always a very minor part of the curriculum. Maori culture continued to be incorporated into the curriculum to some extent until 1969, when Maori schools were turned over to education boards.

Teachers and schools were part of Maori communities, and often had little choice but to recognise tikanga. Chapter 6 outlined the way in which native schools within Te Rohe Potae commonly closed for tangi or events associated with the King movement. In some districts schools hosted regular community dances, and the annual school picnic, often incorporating a hangi, was an annual institution throughout all the native schools within the inquiry district. However, no evidence was found of the observance of tikanga within the context of the day-to-day running of schools.

Reading and writing in Te Reo was often taught to the small minority who attended Maori secondary boarding schools. In addition, until the early twentieth century, lessons in native primary schools commonly incorporated translation between English and Maori. However, the use of Maori in primary schools faded out and largely disappeared for most of the century, except on the rare initiative of individual teachers. No evidence was found of Te Reo being taught in native schools within Te Rohe Potae. It was only in the late 1950s that the education system began to recognise that the Maori language should be taught in primary schools. A shortage of suitable teachers and lack of political will meant little was done until the 1970s. In 1971, the Advisory Committee on Maori Education recommended that 'the school curriculum must find a place for the understanding of Maoritanga, including Maori language'.²³ Maori was already being taught in 171 out of 397 secondary schools, and the Minister of Education put in place reforms enabling the teaching of Maori in primary schools.

²³ Quoted by Walker, *Struggle Without End*, p 240

The Department of Education appointed some 40 itinerant teachers of Maori to service the 250 primary schools that offered Maori studies to 50,000 pupils. By 1973, all seven teacher training colleges had established courses in Maori studies.²⁴ But many initiatives to support Te Reo in the education system came from Maori rather than the Crown. These included Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Maori and Wananga.

Question 6: To what extent did the Crown and its agents support or suppress traditional Māori knowledge and Te Reo Māori in the Te Rohe Pōtae inquiry district?

No evidence was found that the Crown, through the education system, suppressed traditional Maori knowledge. However, it gave little support to it either. As was argued in Chapter 6, education officials had an overt agenda to ‘civilise’ Maori children and their communities by inculcating Pakeha values, which in many cases were intended to replace Maori values. It was also argued that there was recognition by some officials of the need to protect Maori from the worst aspects of Pakeha culture, and retain what were perceived as the more desirable aspects of Maori culture. As noted in Question 5, aspects of Maori culture were incorporated into the native schools curriculum from around 1930. But these were a very minor part of the curriculum, and generally focussed on the material activities such as carving and taniko work. The Senior Inspector of Native Schools pointed out in 1949 that the approach taken tended to ignore ‘the less tangible but more vital spiritual values of that culture’.²⁵

The use of Te Reo Maori was increasingly suppressed in the native schools during the first half of the twentieth century. The Education Department adopted an immersion approach to the teaching of English, generally called the ‘direct’ or ‘natural’ method. Teachers were encouraged to speak as little Maori in the classroom as possible, and even to discourage children from speaking Maori in the playground. This approach had some support from Maori. For example, in 1929, a member of the Taharoa school committee wrote to the Education Department complaining about the use of Maori in

²⁴ Walker, p 241

²⁵ AJHR 1949, E3, p 4

the school grounds and ‘even in the school house’.²⁶ The department seemed to take such messages on board. In 1932, a school inspector commented in relation to Kaharoa Native School, that ‘the children speak in Maori to no small extent in the playground, and this practice should be stopped. They require as much training in English as possible’.²⁷ It was argued in Chapter 6 that there is no evidence that the immersion policy was intended to replace Te Reo with English. Rather, it was assumed by officials that Maori would continue to be widely spoken in homes and communities. In 1920, over 96 percent of Maori pupils attending native schools spoke Maori at home.²⁸

The oral evidence provided by various researchers indicates that, in the 1930s and 1940s, the majority of native school teachers discouraged the use of Maori language, and many punished pupils for speaking Maori. Corporal punishment was often used, and evidence of this has been presented to other Tribunal inquiries.²⁹ No evidence was found of this happening within Te Rohe Potae, although any corporal punishment was supposed to be recorded in the school log book. However, given the strength of the oral evidence at a national level, it would be surprising if children were not punished for speaking Te Reo in at least some of the native schools within the inquiry district. Corporal punishment in this case may have simply gone unrecorded.

Simon and Smith note that corporal punishment for speaking Maori contravened both the Native Schools Code and the 1931 regulations for native schools. ‘It seems clear, therefore, that when Maori children were strapped simply for speaking in Maori, it was the teachers rather than the children who were breaking the rules’.³⁰ According to Barrington, ‘no official regulation forbidding the use of Maori in schools appears to have existed’.³¹ However, officials certainly gave no support or encouragement to Te

²⁶ Letter from Tuteoa Te Uira to William Bird (translated), 18 November 1929, p 2, in Archives New Zealand, ‘Taharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1946’, BAAA, 1001, 1030/d, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 262. Te Uira was writing in a private capacity rather than on behalf of the committee.

²⁷ Inspection Report, Kaharoa Native School, 15 March 1932, Archives New Zealand, Kaharoa General Correspondence and Inspection Reports 1926-1946, BAAA, 1001, 940/b, 44/6, SD vol 1, p 342

²⁸ AJHR 1920, E3, Table H6. The figures exclude ‘European’ pupils at native schools.

²⁹ Simon and Smith, pp 141-157, *Te Reo Report*, pp 8-9, Selby, *Still Being Punished*

³⁰ Simon and Smith, pp 166-7

³¹ Barrington, 2009, p 193

Reo until the 1950s. As outlined in the response to Question 5, it was only in the 1970s that any real support was provided to Te Reo in the education system.

Concluding Remarks

This report has found that the Crown made reasonable provision for primary schooling for Maori within Te Rohe Potae, although there were issues with quality. Schools were slow to come to the district, and there was no significant provision of native schools until the turn of the twentieth century. However, this was largely a result of Maori communities within the inquiry district being unwilling to request schools due to residual suspicion of European institutions. The wars and confiscations of the 1860s cast a long shadow. Schooling expanded rapidly in the early decades of the twentieth century, thanks largely to Pakeha moving to the district and more native schools opening. By the 1920s, some of the smaller primary schools within Te Rohe Potae were closed down and their pupils bussed to larger schools. Not all went smoothly, however. Some native schools were handed over to education boards in the face of protest from Maori communities, some schools were approved but never opened, and some opened, only to close down again within a few years.

There is no evidence that the native schools within Te Rohe Potae were poorly resourced compared with general schools, aside from their teachers being less generously paid from 1901 to 1909. Communities within the district had to make reasonably substantial contributions to the establishment of new schools, both native and general. Native school committees within Te Rohe Potae, like those elsewhere in the country, had little say over the running of the schools compared with board school committees. Native school committees had to supply firewood for the schools, and teachers and pupils had to undertake school cleaning, but the Education Department provided compensation in the form of school equipment, exercise books and the like. The general quality of the native schools within Te Rohe Potae was mediocre, judging by the regular inspection reports. For most (but not all) of the schools, poor reports were more common than good ones. Most of the schools at various times suffered from a high turnover of teachers, in some years leading to the closure of the schools for significant periods of time. The schools were also closed at times for health reasons, particularly in the 1920s and 1930s.

Perhaps the most important findings from this report relate to post-primary education, and particularly the relative underfunding of Maori secondary education between 1910 and 1946. Whereas secondary education in New Zealand expanded dramatically in the first half of the twentieth century, thanks to ever-increasing government subsidies, enrolments in Maori secondary schools largely stagnated. The rates paid for government scholarships at these schools were unchanged between 1904 and 1918, and for most of the period 1919 to 1945. Maori boarding scholarships became no easier to achieve during a period when it was made considerably easier to obtain free places at general secondary schools. Maori might have benefited from this latter trend if they had not, in general, lived too remote from general secondary schools to easily attend them. The first secondary school did not open in Te Rohe Potae until 1914, when Te Kuiti primary school acquired a secondary department. By the late 1920s there were four more of these 'district high schools' within the inquiry district, all sited in places of significant Pakeha settlement. It was only after World War Two that Maori within Te Rohe Potae gained reasonable access to secondary education, helped by improved transport systems and greater government subsidies for transport and board.

In the post-war period, the government tried, with some success, to encourage greater Maori participation in secondary education. By 1959, over 90 percent of Maori pupils who left primary school the previous year went on to secondary school. However, the government was by then becoming more focussed on qualifications rather than solely on participation. As the 1962 Commission on Education pointed out, just five percent of Maori left school in 1960 with a qualification of School Certificate or higher, compared with 30 percent of Pakeha. This outcome could arguably be attributed in part to decades of Crown neglect of Maori secondary schooling. Maori achievement of qualifications and progression to tertiary education increased significantly between 1960 and the present day. By 2009, the rate of Maori participation in tertiary education far exceeded that for Pakeha, although Maori were considerably more likely than other ethnic groups to be enrolled in lower level tertiary courses, particularly certificates and diplomas.

Relatively poor outcomes in Maori education for much of the twentieth century cannot, as has sometimes been claimed, be attributed to a two-stream education system that allegedly operated for the first half of the twentieth century. There is no convincing evidence that Maori were subjected to a practically-oriented curriculum to a greater extent than Pakeha in the early decades of the century. The evidence from native schools within Te Rohe Potae indicates that these schools concentrated overwhelmingly on transmitting the basics skills of numeracy and literacy, and this emphasis was approved of by the school inspectors. In post-primary education, manual, practical, and vocationally-oriented subjects were introduced in both general and Maori secondary schools. However, despite similar treatment in this regard, the reforms may well have impacted on Maori more than on Pakeha. This is because the move towards a more practical education in secondary schools was driven, to some extent, by rapidly expanding access to post-primary education after 1900. A greater range of pupils meant a wider range of student aptitudes to be catered for. Greater variety in the secondary curriculum was therefore appropriate. In the Maori boarding schools, on the other hand, there was little expansion in access between 1910 and 1945. Thus, instead of a range of practical courses providing more choice to more pupils, increased manual instruction in the Maori schools may well have resulted in some pupils being directed along a path that wasted their academic potential.

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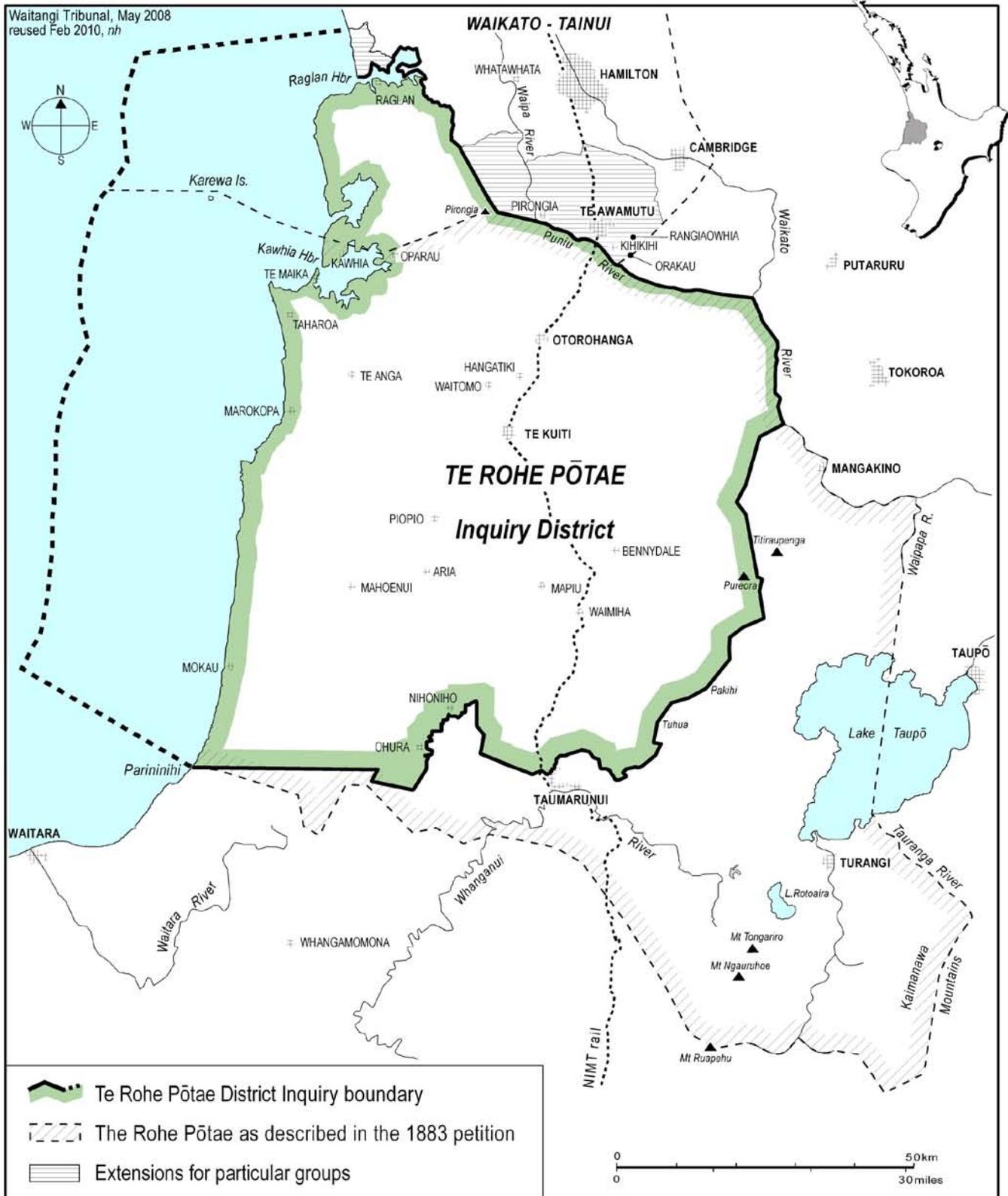
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Appendix

The Wai 898 Te Rohe Pōtae Inquiry District: Overview of Boundary including extensions for particular groups



OFFICIAL

Wai 898, # 2.3.44

WAITANGI TRIBUNAL

CONCERNING the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975

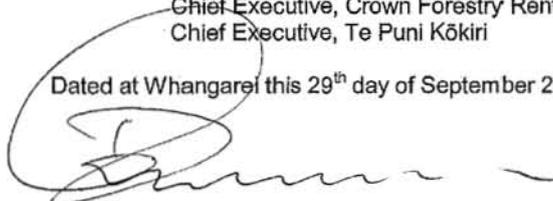
AND the Te Rohe Pōtae District Inquiry

DIRECTION COMMISSIONING RESEARCH

1. Pursuant to clause 5A of the second schedule of the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975, the Tribunal commissions Dr Paul Christoffel, a member of the Tribunal's staff, to prepare a research report on provision of education services to Māori for the Te Rohe Pōtae district inquiry from 1840 to present day. The report should address the following matters:
 - a) How did the Crown and its agents manage the provision of education to Māori of the Te Rohe Pōtae inquiry district? Where issues and problems have arisen, how did the Crown respond?
 - b) Were Māori able to access education services to the same extent as were Pākehā in the district, other rural populations, and the general New Zealand population? To what extent did the Crown recognise any disparities?
 - c) How did provision of education services and Māori educational achievement compare with that of Pākehā in the Te Rohe Pōtae inquiry district, other rural populations, and the overall New Zealand population?
 - d) Where Māori educational attainment in the district has been lower than other groups, to what extent did the Crown recognise and respond to any disparities?
 - e) To what extent did Māori enjoy partnership, autonomy, control or influence over the provision of education services in the Te Rohe Pōtae inquiry district? To what degree were the culture, language and tikanga of Tangata Whenua recognised and incorporated into education services?
 - f) To what extent did the Crown and its agents support or suppress traditional Māori knowledge and Te Reo Māori in the Te Rohe Pōtae inquiry district?
2. The researcher will consult with affected claimant groups to determine what issues they consider to be of particular significance to their claims in respect of the above matters and to access such relevant oral and documentary information as they wish to make available.

3. The commission commenced on 3 May 2010. A complete draft of the report is to be submitted by 23 December 2010 and will be circulated to claimants and the Crown for comment.
4. The commission ends on 25 February 2011, at which time one copy of the final report must be submitted for filing in unbound form. An electronic copy of the report should also be provided in Word or Adobe Acrobat format. Indexed copies of any supporting documents or transcripts are also to be provided as soon as it is practicable after the final report is filed. The report and any subsequent evidential material based on it must be filed through the Registrar.
5. At the discretion of the Presiding Officer the commission may be extended if one or more of the following conditions apply:
 - a) the terms of the commission are changed so as to increase the scope of work;
 - b) more time is required for completing one or more project components owing to unforeseeable circumstances, such as illness or denial of access to primary sources;
 - c) the Presiding Officer directs that the services of the commissionee be temporarily reassigned to a higher priority task for the inquiry;
 - d) the commissionee is required to prepare for and/or give evidence in another inquiry during the commission period.
6. The report may be received as evidence and the author may be cross-examined on it.
7. The Registrar is to send copies of this direction to:
 - Dr Paul Christoffel
 - Claimant counsel and unrepresented claimants in the Te Rohe Pōtae district inquiry
 - Manager - Research/Report Writing Services, Waitangi Tribunal
 - Chief Historian, Waitangi Tribunal
 - Inquiry Supervisor, Waitangi Tribunal
 - Inquiry Facilitator, Waitangi Tribunal
 - Solicitor-General, Crown Law Office
 - Director, Office of Treaty Settlements
 - Chief Executive, Crown Forestry Rental Trust
 - Chief Executive, Te Puni Kōkiri

Dated at Whangarei this 29th day of September 2010.



Judge D J Ambler
Presiding Officer

WAITANGI TRIBUNAL