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Schooling for 'lesser beings'

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Part One:

**The Political Culture, and Historiography,
of
Schooling for Maori**

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Part Two:

**Te Kopua Native/Maori School:
A Biography**

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Abstract

Using Edward Said's notion of 'lesser beings', it is argued that the political culture of schooling for Maori was and still is part of a pervasive Western European intellectual climate and culture which has a quite recent history, and which provided powerful support for the notion of Europe possessing a categorical superiority over all other continents, which in turn justified imperialism or neo-colonialism as civilising missions.

Racism and violence were endemic in colonialism and, despite the claimed moral high ground, were endemic in Aotearoa/New Zealand. War was eulogised in the Native School system more than once. The rise and demise of the World War II Maori War Organisation is illustrative of the rejection of Maori aspirations. There were still no Maori in the senior echelons of the Maori Department in 1972.

The Native, later Maori, School system was overtly designed to 'Europeanise' Maori children and therefore Maori society. Individualism was deeply embedded in English and settler thinking, whilst communal, 'communist' Maori society was to be destroyed.

The thesis examines images of colonialism, empire and imperialism in fiction and non-fiction, New Zealand and British, for adults and children, and notes the attitudes of thinkers like J S Mill and Darwin, of children's authors Jules Verne and G H Henty, and of New Zealand author William Satchell. The images continue, pervasive and endemic, in recent adult novels. Science also played a role, as did history.

Ranginui Walker, who is Maori, is the only historian to have written a history of New Zealand which addressed the issue of waste lands, an issue on which Pakeha historians have a blind spot. New Zealand encyclopedias do not index 'waste land' or 'confiscation'. Only two Waikato histories deal adequately, or even accurately, with confiscation, the central episode in the history of the Waikato. Tourist material is equally illustrative.

The Native Schools section of the Education Department ran the Native Schools like a fiefdom, operating in legislative and regulatory black holes for the first thirty years and for much of the time after that. Teachers were moved around at will.

The practice of James H Pope, the first inspector of Native Schools, is closely and critically examined, and negatively assessed. His official writings were consistently derogatory of Maori, and his decisions in respect of Te Kopua Native School were at times detrimental to the pupils. Pope was a product of his times.

The Te Kopua record is closely scrutinised, and the practice of the Education Department is frequently found wanting. It is probable that the establishment of the school was aimed to destabilise King Country Maori, not to benefit the children. It is a story of Maori co-operation and contribution.

Part Two is a detailed partial biography of Te Kopua, it being argued that until there is a significant corpus of studies of Native Schools a valid history of the Native/Maori School system and of schooling for Maori is not possible

Preamble

There are things to make clear from the beginning.

The first is that I have no idea what I might have written on the topic before us were I addressing it in 1970. It is fair comment that very few, and more probably none, of the ideas in this study were in my head at that time.

The study therefore has a history, involving studies in philosophy, education, and history, [especially but not solely the history of Aotearoa/New Zealand; I have learned much from my readings in the history of many aspects of the lives of people on planet earth, including what they have done in schools and other aspects of what is commonly called education.¹], involvement in CORSO,² studies and reading in the theory and practice of development, and much more.

The reading that has gone into the writing of this contribution to the historiography of schooling for Maori has included the seminar offered by David McKenzie³ and Mark Olssen,⁴ Roger Openshaw, Greg Lee and Howard Lee,⁵ and a range of other material related to the issue of historiography. I have to confess that, whilst I found most of it interesting and illuminating, very little of it helped answer the question in my mind: “Why have I taken notice of so much material that has previously been ignored, and, why have I reacted so differently to material others have used?”⁶

I am not a ‘trained’ historian, but came to history in a course chosen to complete a bachelors degree, during what for me were mind-changing studies in philosophy, especially in ethics and epistemology.⁷ The studies in ethics led to an understanding of the centrality of respect for persons, of the necessity of the [moral] justification for differentiation of treat-

¹I have chosen to use the term ‘schooling’ rather than the ‘education’, for whilst in Aotearoa/New Zealand schooling is an experience common to almost all of us, education is not so common. People familiar with the ‘Peters’ school of philosophy of education will know what I mean.

²A New Zealand ‘aid and development’ agency. It is unique amongst similar agencies in the ‘western industrialised’ world, such as Oxfam and War on Want and Community Aid Abroad [Australia], in that it has programme partners in its own country, partnerships with Maori, the indigenous people of Aotearoa/New Zealand.

³McKenzie, D, “Ideology and history of education in New Zealand ,”

⁴Olssen, “A response,”

⁵Openshaw, Roger, Greg Lee and Howard Lee, *Challenging the Myths*

⁶The New Zealand material, I fear, did not help at all.

⁷Linked also are studies in social science, which have become inextricably linked with the philosophy; that becomes most evident in the work I have done on the theory of learning I have chosen not to give specific references, but the work of R S Peters, Gilbert Ryle, R M Hare, Ivan Snook, Ludwig Wittgenstein, John Stuart Mill, John Austin, Jerome Bruner, John Rawls and Stephen Toulmin come first to mind; there are dozens more.

ment of persons, the right to learn a personality, the importance of techniques that enable one to step back and assess social arrangements.⁸ The studies in epistemology, including especially the history of the development of knowledge and the nature of language as the most important tool humankind has, led to understandings of the nature of knowledge, and of indoctrination.⁹ There was also the essential link between ethics and language, in that, for a language to be a form of communication, truth-telling based on ‘accurate understanding’¹⁰ is central.

Twenty-two years ago, in 1973, when the work in philosophy was under way, John Miller stood most of what I thought I knew about the [Pakeha¹¹] history of New Zealand on its head.¹² As part of the course, we were required to do a study of key episodes in World War II using *only* the *Waikato Times*, published in Hamilton. I was old enough to remember some of the events, and was fascinated by the experience of using ‘primary sources’, and how peoples’ underlying intentions came through when so often the last thing they were thinking about was just that. I was at the same time acting as an attendant at the Waikato Museum of Art and History and came face to face with James Mack's exhibition featuring Te Whiti and Parihaka.¹³ Since then I have read and thought and talked and argued and been active.¹⁴

I have come to have two resentments: That the history I was taught or had picked up was so far from a reasonably accurate account of what happened, and, that I was not taught the ‘Treaty’ history,¹⁵ as I have discovered more and more of that history that has been ignored or seriously mis-stated.¹⁶ I first delved into the Education Department Native Schools files

⁸In particular, John Rawls’ original position. [Rawls, John, *A Theory of Justice*] but I also learned from techniques necessary to use behaviour analysis in the classroom, when one had to be very aware of one’s own behaviour, and I developed the ability to be two persons, one doing the teaching, the other sitting on my shoulder watching and assessing what was going on.

⁹All material *can* be taught in an indoctrinatory way; none need be, in the practice of helping people to learn [as opposed to teaching them], and much, much more.

¹⁰I have learned much of the significance of bias in the formation of understanding, and one of the intentions of this study is to encourage people to recognise the biases that so often operate as ‘understandings’ develop.

¹¹‘Pakeha’ is the term Maori came to apply to the white colonisers of New Zealand.

¹²New Zealand History, Level II, University of Waikato.

¹³My secondary schooling was at Opunake District High School, with ‘those Maoris’ of Parihaka; I was taught nothing. I came to realise Parihaka had a history, but there was no content.

¹⁴Eg workshops and seminars on anti-racism, and membership of the Waikato Anti-Racism Coalition, and I am reminded that the last two photos, [of Maoro] in *Tainui and the Treaty of Waitangi/Tainui me Te Tiriti* were taken by myself. Toataua, Huti, and Stuart, Margaret, *Tainui and the Treaty of Waikato / Tainui me Te Tiriti*.

¹⁵Along with the history of other indigenous, colonised people, and the history of women and working people.

¹⁶A small example: in 1990, the 150th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, I taught a course on ‘the Treaty’ at a Hamilton high school. I discovered a useful source in the *New Zealand School Journal* [Keith, Michael, “Bitter Payment: The Taranaki Troubles”, *New Zealand School Journal*, Part 4, Nos 1 & 2, 1978.] When I showed the piece to my third and fourth form students [four classes in all], *none* remembered having read or studied it.

in the 1980s and was fascinated by the insights their content offered, and the thought then evolved that any thesis I might do could, perhaps even should, be based on them.

There has also been reading of studies that are described as ‘post-modern’ and ‘post-colonial’. Perhaps this summary of the work of Edward Said by AlSayyad best characterises what was and is going on in my mind as I read the material written by James H Pope and others, and why I read it so negatively.

[Said’s] work on Orientalism demonstrates the power of the word and its crucial role in creating, maintaining and producing a constructed image of the “other”. His study ... [revealed] the European nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century bias against Islam: the inability to go beyond reductive, negative generalizations that ignore differentiations in history and culture, and the tendency to assign meaning based not on study but on “inherent basics between a rich, complex, human Christianity and a holistic, anti-human, and uncreative “other”. ... this one-sided relationship played a significant role in the perpetuation of domination. ¹⁷

I have drawn quite different conclusions from material previously worked, and so it is here that this conclusion by Appleby, Hunt, and Jacob is particularly apposite:

Because historical accounts always explain the meaning of events in terms relevant to the immediate audience, curiosity about the past is inextricably bound up in the preoccupations of the present. The past as an object will be read differently from one generation to another. ... The very plausibility of a historical account, dependent as it is upon the interpretative interlarding of values, will always be subject to change.

... Successive generations of scholars do not so much revise historical knowledge as they revisit it with contemporary interest. Each generation’s inquiries about the past actually carry forward the implications of its predecessors’ learning. New versions of old narratives are not arbitrary exercises of historical imagination, but the consequences of the changing interest from cumulative social experience.¹⁸ If history did not involve a relationship with an object outside itself, it would have no capacity to extend the range of human understanding; its disclosures would only be a reflection of ideas already known.¹⁹

The beliefs and understandings people hold in their heads are the foundations for their behaviours and actions. In the context of this study, if the beliefs and understandings of those who managed, and manage, schooling for Maori are racist, then schooling for Maori will be racist.

I have revisited the historiography of schooling for Maori, and found much that concerns me. My reading and study and actions are infused with concepts of human rights and equity and respect for persons, and the absolute necessity for people, singular and plural, to be equitably involved in their own learning if they are to have some genuine autonomy.

¹⁷ AlSayyad, Nezar, “Urbanism and the Dominance Equation, pp 1-2.

¹⁸ It was pointed out to me that I should all the while appreciate one of Dewey’s maxims, that we live in the time we live in and at no other time, ie, we need to ‘judge’ events, attitudes, etc, carefully so as not to attribute a [very] modern meaning to a bygone observation, event, or era. [Greg Lee, personal communication, March, 1998.] I respond to Greg in two ways. Firstly, if what was said or done in those bygone days was detrimental to, in this case, Maori, then that is a moral matter and deserving of opprobrium. Secondly, as I will demonstrate, I believe the attitudes revealed in those bygone days persist to this day, and are similarly detrimental to Maori, they are equally open to moral assessment.

¹⁹ Appleby, Hunt, and Jacob, *Telling the Truth about History*, p265. It may or may not be important that the three authors are women.

It is my hope that this study will in some small way assist in building a more equitable place for Maori, and therefore also for Pakeha, in the society that is Aotearoa/New Zealand.

To close these introductory remarks, I have to say that, as I live, listen, read, and am active in the political culture of Aotearoa/New Zealand, I find it difficult to always be positive. My attitude can be assessed by my suggestion that *Maori Schools in a Changing Society*²⁰ could perhaps be revisited, revised, brought up to date, and re-titled *Schooling for Maori in an Unchanging Society*.²¹ That may be a bit ‘over the top’, but my tongue is not pushing hard at my cheek!

²⁰ Barrington, J M and T H Beaglehole, *Maori Schools in a Changing Society*.

²¹ On the other hand, it may be better to get a considerable number of studies of individual schools completed, and then start afresh on a comprehensive, valid history of schooling for Maori. [My use of ‘valid’ is I realise, open to challenge; so be it!]

Intentions and Style

I began work for this study by reading in the Native/Maori School archives looking for broadbrush, ‘system’ themes in the history of the provision of schooling for Maori, in particular differences across time, or regional differences. I started with Te Kopua only because the school was there for a reasonable length of time, and because it was close to Hamilton. I started at the beginning, and read chronologically through the records for some time, and began to wonder just what it was I could concentrate on, for while the files of the school were a rich source of information, I was finding it difficult, if not impossible, to find a theme.

It was Judith Simon¹ who suggested I concentrate on Te Kopua; there had not at that time been a study of an individual school. On reflection, that has surprised me, and ultimately saddened me. No university teacher of history, education or otherwise, had thought it important to build up a set of case studies of Native/Maori schools.² Te Kopua,³ I later discovered, was an important place in Maori political life,⁴ and was thus, I became quite convinced, targeted as a site for a school by George Thomas Wilkinson, the Government Native Agent.

As I have previously noted, the ‘political culture’ theme has been with me for some years; I read and noted significant numbers of books as they were added to the University of Waikato library. The theme became focused through Edward Said’s notion of “lesser beings”, and became very close to an obsession.⁵

How to put flesh and blood into the biography drawn from the departmental records by meshing it with the ‘biography’ in the heads of the people of the school has not been ad-

¹Research Unit for Maori Education [RUME], University of Auckland.

²Granted, I am unaware of case studies of Board schools. I *am* aware that in at least two Board areas, Auckland [The original board, before South Auckland, later Hamilton, was separated.] and Taranaki, such studies are no longer possible; the records have been dumped! I have more recently learned that since that time, studies of Maori schools have been completed or are underway in Auckland, fostered by Judith Simon and the Research Unit for Maori Education.

³ That was quite fortuitous, and undoubtedly fortunate. As Glenis Tamaki assured me, coincidences are not necessarily coincidences; they frequently have meaning. It could be argued that I was intended to do this study, that the crash in 1950 [I went to sleep on a motor bike, crashed into a bridge, seriously broke my knee, and went from milking cows to teaching children] in some way has meaning. This no longer young, very sceptical Pakeha male is beginning to have his doubts. There have been too many ‘accidents’, ‘coincidences’, for me to ignore Glenis’ perspective. Glenis is Maori; her husband was one of the last Form II students at Te Kopua. We met at the funeral of the husband of a mutual friend!

⁴ A fact I was unaware of when I began; it was a fortuitous benefit.

⁵I even worked on it during a working/solidarity trip to Cuba in January 1996, despite all the other, broadly related, issues that solidarity with the project which is the Cuban Revolution raises.

dressed. It is a process I hope will be worked through, but it has yet to be started. It may be a task not for me to take up, but what I have done so far is available.⁶

The study has three theses.

The first is that Maori were indeed ‘lesser beings’.

The second is that I began reading the archives not expecting that I would find it a positive activity; I was justified in my expectation!

The third is that I have written a *biography* of Te Kopua Native/Maori School. It is therefore a chronological recounting of the life of the school; the biography is structured around each successive teacher in a separate chapter. I have chosen not to identify in advance the themes in the biography, for I believe the impact of ‘stumbling’ on the several, frequently negative, themes in the biography will be a different, and more rewarding,⁷ experience to having the successive episodes drawn together into separate chapters. For the same reason I have chosen not to draw episodes of the various themes together within each chapter. I have chosen also to include large amounts of detail, for I have come to the conclusion that a satisfactory history of the schooling made available to Maori through the Native/Maori Schools system cannot be written until large amounts of significant detail have been written up.

The style of writing is my personal style. As will also be becoming obvious, this study is in a sense autobiographical, for it is the culmination of many more than twenty years of learning, and has also, at times, reminded me of episodes in my personal life and my teaching career.⁸ I have thus chosen to write less formally than the formal, academic style more commonly used in theses. I am reinforced in my decision by my neighbour, Jenny Bills. I gave Jenny an earlier version of “The Political Culture of Schooling for Maori” to read some time ago, and she remarked that she could at times hear me talking as she read. The study is part of aspects of my continuing political activities, learning included, and I cannot be other than immersed in it, and am unable to make it only a detached, academic exercise. It is *my* evaluation of the official departmental record.

There are frequent passages in Part Two of the study where, whilst the text is not treated as a citation, it is the archival record paraphrased. For that reason, there are times when the

⁶ I am aware that a person has begun talking with the people of Te Kopua, and I look forward to playing a supportive role in due time.

⁷ Though it can also be more depressing, but that can still be ‘rewarding’ for an historian

⁸ I retired in 1985 after thirty years of teaching in primary schools, and since have taught in secondary schools. I have not taught since 1991.

style and conventions appear incorrect, because that is what is in the archive. This applies also to abbreviations, for example Arith for Arithmetic. I have followed modern practice in punctuation, and for instance have omitted full stops after abbreviations.

I have chosen to footnote the study, because I have so often in my reading been frustrated by having to look to the end of the chapter, or to the end of the book, to find who or what had been referred to. I have for the same reason chosen to not used the form “Jones, B, 1977a”, but to give, on each occasion a work is cited, both author and sufficient of the title for readers to know immediately the work referred to. I have chosen to not use the Latin terms, such as *ibid* and *op cit*, which are frequently used; those Latin terms have little relevance in Aotearoa/New Zealand, and none at all to the people who are the focus of this study. I have instead repeated the details of the source. The one exception to footnoting is that in Part 2, the biography of Te Kopua Native School, all quotations from the Te Kopua archive, except the logbooks, are dated in square brackets in the text, in the form year/month/day. That is the form necessary in the Access database in which the material from the archive is arranged. My reason for not footnoting those references is that it is economical of both paper and time to insert them in the text.

Acknowledgements

I remember Dr John Miller, University of Waikato, whose Level II paper in the history of New Zealand at the University of Waikato in 1973 first set me off on the path to a deep interest and involvement in history, and James Mack, whose exhibition on Parihaka at the Waikato Museum of Art and History in the same year revealed to me a part of the history of the place where I grew up.

I remember Phil Gawn, from whom I first gained an interest in philosophy,¹ and Stuart Ainsworth, Alistair Gunn and Graham Oliver, all University of Waikato, who extended that interest. It is from them that I gained what I know of the content and practice of philosophy, and who consolidated my commitment to ethics and epistemology and to issues of social justice.

I remember Mitzi and Bob Nairn and the late Ron Kilgour, amongst many others, whose seminars on anti-racism in the 1970s expanded my knowledge and understanding of the issues raised by the history. Ron Kilgour and the late Wattie Whittlestone, amongst many others, helped me to develop the understandings that are described as ‘development’ which I have been engaged in through my involvement with Corso, New Zealand’s own ‘aid and development’ organisation, now better described as a social justice organisation. My understanding of development was enhanced by working with Wayne Robinson.

I acknowledge Edward Said, whose notion of “lesser beings” brought to the surface a perspective which had been lurking in my mind for some years, and which ultimately provided the focus for this study.

My thanks go to Gary Stevens, who sold me my first notebook computer, and Trevor Lowe, who has taught me most of what I know about computers and computing and a good friend the while, who together listened to me describing what I thought I wanted of the computer, and advised me to use Access and Word for Windows. That combination has been eminently successful,² and I record here that the advice they gave me has not been

¹ Phil taught a course titled “Educational Problems”, grist to the mill for Jim Holdom! I was somewhat horrified when I discovered the course was to be largely philosophical, for whilst I had gained a Philosophy paper for my degree as an extramural student in 1961, I had learned and understood little of it, and had not thought it was relevant to my work and life. Phil’s form of philosophy, which I think is best described as conceptual, captured me, and by the end of the year I was buying books on philosophy, one being Gilbert Ryle’s *the Concept of Mind*, to read for enjoyment at well as what I could gain from them.

² The archival material was recorded in Access, where it could be managed and from where, when it had been managed, could be exported to Word and edited.

available from the two books on computing for historians written by historians³ which have since come into the University of Waikato library.⁴

My thanks to Judith Simon, International Institute for Maori and Indigenous Education, University of Auckland, whose advice set me off on the biography of Te Kopua.

My thanks to Greg Lee, University of Waikato, my supervisor, whose friendship and patience and advice and support and attention to matters big and small I have very much appreciated.

My thanks go to Marylyn Hills, whose offer to proffered went way beyond the usual conventions of friendship, was gratefully accepted, and to my family for their moral and practical support and advice

My thanks go to the many staff of National Archives / Te Whare Tohu Tuhihinga o Aotearoa, particularly in Auckland but also in Wellington, for their consistent friendship and assistance, and to the many staff at the University of Waikato Library for their consistent kindness, care and assistance.

Needless to say, those errors which escape our collective care are my responsibility.

*

I wish finally to acknowledge the people of Te Kopua, who welcomed a complete stranger to their marae. This thesis is dedicated to them and their tupuna, and is available to them to use in whatever way they may when they tell their story. Whatever help I can give is taken for granted.

³ Greenstein, Daniel I, *A Historian's Guide to Computing*; Mawdsley, Evan and Munck, Thomas, *Computing for Historians*

⁴ The data, in Access for Windows 95, from which the biography of Te Kopua is drawn, is held on disc at the University of Waikato library, and is available at whatever cost there might be to the library to all who are serious students of schooling for Maori.

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*Until the lions have their historians,
tales of hunting will glorify the hunters.*

[African proverb]

Schooling for 'lesser beings'

*

Part One:

**The Political Culture, and Historiography,
of
Schooling for Maori**

Introduction

"lesser beings"¹

Edward Said's characterisation of peoples such as Maori as "lesser beings" provides the core thesis of this study.

Said drew attention to such attitudes as disrespect and disdain; those attitudes, and others, feature.

The purpose of the Native School system was the 'Europeanisation' of Maori; at no time, I believe, was it ever the intention that the schools should positively and consistently promote tikanga Maori.

Moving to the time after the Native / Maori School system, I believe it was, and is still not the intention that the schools should positively and consistently promote tikanga Maori.

The Nineteenth Century Intellectual Climate

The political culture of schooling for Maori has to be understood as part of a pervasive, 'redesigned' Western European culture which has a quite recent history.²

Martin Bernal argues that the cultural influences of Egypt and the Middle East, especially Phoenicia, were 'written out' of the history of Ancient Greece by European scholars, beginning around the end of the eighteenth century, and completed with the creation of the Aryan Model in the 1830s and 1840s. Egyptian and Phoenician peoples were seen as Africans and Semites, and consequently were rejected by the racism becoming dominant at that time.

"Classics," Bernal wrote,

has incorporated social and cultural patterns in society as a whole and has reflected them back, to provide powerful support for the notion of Europe possessing a categorical superiority over all other continents, which in turn justifies imperialism or neo-colonialism as *missions civilisatrices*.³

Further,

¹Said, Edward, *Representations of the Intellectual*., p17; "... human beings considered to have subaltern status, minorities, small peoples and states, inferior or lesser cultures and races." Said was referring to people who were so defined by white, male Europeans. The mental process that had me 'remembering' him having written 'lesser beings' indicates all too clearly the impression his writing had left on me. See also Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness*: p 6, below.

²The widest analysis is that by Elias: Elias, Norbert, *The Civilizing Process*; I remember being amazed, when I read Hobsbawm and Ranger's *The Invention of Tradition*, just how quickly some sets of ideas could be cemented in place, often without any basis.

“The triumph of racism, of course, was influenced by the northern European need to denigrate the peoples they were exterminating, enslaving and exploiting in other continents. European expansion and the arrogance and optimism that flowed from it were also important in the new predominance of the notion of progress, which itself affected attitudes towards the Ancient Model.”⁴

“The Aryan Model for Greece,” Bernal argues,

has been essential to this appropriation. ... the notion that the colonists possessed a deep civilization going back to Plato and Aristotle was essential to both their own sense of categorical superiority and the acceptance of this European cultural dominance by local elites.

... this superstructural hegemony has survived the collapse of old colonialism and has become even more important to neo-colonialism. The native elites required to mediate western economic control have to be imbued not only with western civilization but also with the idea that it is the *only* civilization. The centrality of this can be seen in the violence of the attack on UNESCO, which threatened to challenge this monopoly.⁵

Bernal drew upon Norbert Elias, who wrote that

“When one examines what the general function of the concept civilization really is, and what common quality causes all these various human attitudes and activities to be described as civilized, one starts with a very simple discovery: this concept expresses the self-consciousness of the West. One could even say: the national consciousness. It sums up every thing in which Western society of the last two or three centuries believes itself superior to earlier societies or ‘more primitive’ contemporary ones. By this term Western society seeks to describe what constitutes its special character and what it is proud of: the level of its technology, the nature of its manners, and the development of its scientific view of the world and much more.”⁶

Elias’ is a broad and fascinating analysis of the evolution of the practice of Western European ‘civilized’ life, dealing with all the important areas of cultural processes. Apart from the general notion of Pakeha being civilised and Maori being uncivilised, there is one clear link between Elias’ analysis and the understandings of James H Pope,⁷ who revealed an example of one of Elias’ themes, that of ‘Manners’, reflected in this example in changes in ‘bedroom behaviour’, in relations between the sexes, in the increasing privatisation of the bedroom and sexual relations, and particularly in the gradual exclusion of children from knowledge about sexual relations. Pope wrote that

Many subjects that would not be discussed in a book intended for European children are fully dealt with in “Health for the Maori.” No harm can come to Native children through plain talk; Maoris, old and young, call a spade ‘a spade’, and from an early age children of both sexes have a pretty complete knowledge of matters that young Europeans are generally quite ignorant of.⁸

Pope’s interpretation of the Maori behaviour and talk he observed and listened to was invalid; Maori did not call ‘a spade a ‘spade’ at all; they just talked about the world as it was, without the intervention of ‘civilization’ and its invented ‘refinements’.

Racism

Any discussion of colonialism must include discussion of racism.

³Bernal, Martin, “The image of Ancient Greece as a tool for colonialism and European hegemony,” p119

⁴Bernal, Martin, “The image of Ancient Greece as a tool for colonialism and European hegemony,” p121.

⁵Bernal, Martin, “The image of Ancient Greece as a tool for colonialism and European hegemony,” p126.

⁶Elias, Norbert, *The Civilizing Process*., p3.

⁷In this age of ‘technology’ and rapid communications, I am fascinated, but not enthused, by the speed with which these ideas became part of the ‘common knowledge’ of people half a world away. Pope learned his understandings in Australia and New Zealand

⁸Pope, James H, *Health for the Maori*, p iv, Preface.

It is possible, even probable, that the first use of racism, and racist language, was by the English on the Irish. Allen argues cogently that

Irish history presents a case of racial oppression without reference to alleged color, or, as the jargon goes, 'phenotype'.⁹

He quite explicitly excludes genetics from the issue; race is a cultural matter, an act of racial oppression is a political act.¹⁰

... racial oppression [is] a sociogenic - rather than a phylogenetic - phenomenon, homologous with gender and class oppression.¹¹

Coolahan, analysing the content of Irish nineteenth-century textbooks, had no doubts about the deep racism inherent in the books.¹² He quoted D B Quinn:

The earliest stages of contact between Englishmen and non-English cultures were likely to be governed by the desire to define and limit their inferiority [or non-Englishness] and to find ways of forcing them into a new English pattern, reforming them or obliterating them.¹³

Of the Elizabethans, Coolahan again quoted Quinn:

Most of them wanted to know about Irishmen in order to learn how to turn them into Englishmen. Some of them recorded Irish culture traits in order to have a precise conception of what to destroy, others to have material for satire.¹⁴

Coolahan concluded that

The use of the Irish as the standard or outlandish reference was well established by 1560 ... It was to last until late in the seventeenth century,¹⁵

and that

One consequence ... was the exclusion of the Irish language and Irish history and tradition from the school programme.¹⁶

AlSayyad introduced a number of concepts that are part of the political culture of schooling for Maori. He began by noting that

Around the middle of the nineteenth century the world witnessed the rise of modern capitalism and the emergence of organised political and economic dominance as represented by colonialism. ... the world, ... was divided into two kinds of peoples and two types of societies: powerful, administratively advanced, racially Caucasoid, nominally Christian, mainly European, dominant nations; and powerless, organisationally backward, traditionally rooted, dominated societies. In short, in the early communication and exchange between cultures the world was divided into colonizers and natives, with both parties recognizing and acknowledging the distinction. ...

The distinction was ... rarely reflective of actual differences. Rather, the colonizers had preconceived notions of the colonized, and these were articulated in literature, political discourse, and the built environment. A constructed image totalizing and eradicating the native emerged as the basis for interaction between the two peoples. This artificial and superficial juxtaposition of "us" and "them," or "us" and

⁹Allen, Theodore W, *Inventing the White Race*, p 22.

¹⁰Allen, Theodore W, *Inventing the White Race*, p 22.

¹¹Allen, Theodore W, *Inventing the White Race*, p 1, emphasis added

¹²Coolahan, John, "The Irish and others in Irish nineteenth-century textbooks,"; I am sure I have read of Irish readers being used in New Zealand, but I cannot find a reference.

¹³Quinn, David Beers, *The Elizabethans and the Irish*, p20. There is an echo in the history of Aotearoa/New Zealand. Noting that the settler defeat at Wairau was " ... the first and last settler commando ever mounted in New Zealand, ... " James Belich judges that " ... one reason why New Zealand settlers did not treat Maoris as their Australian counterparts did the Aborigines was that, when they tried, they got killed."

¹⁴Quinn, David Beers, *The Elizabethans and the Irish*, p21.

¹⁵Quinn, David Beers, *The Elizabethans and the Irish*, p26.

¹⁶Coolahan, "The Irish and others in Irish nineteenth-century textbooks," p55. The parallel with Pakeha in Aotearoa is so obvious that it should not be necessary to note; that I do indicates my scepticism.

“the other”, was perpetuated in administrative policies, in literary discourse, and in architecture and urban form. ...

Perhaps no one has ever articulated this concept of “otherness” and its effect on our understanding of ourselves as well as Edward Said.¹⁷ His work on Orientalism demonstrates the power of the word and its crucial role in creating, maintaining and producing a constructed image of the “other”. His study ... [revealed] the European nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century bias against Islam: the inability to go beyond reductive, negative generalizations that ignore differentiations in history and culture, and the tendency to assign meaning based not on study but on “inherent basics between a rich, complex, human Christianity and a holistic, anti-human, and uncreative “other”. ... this one-sided relationship played a significant role in the perpetuation of domination.¹⁸

AlSaiyyad introduced other concepts resonant with themes in the history of Aotearoa/New Zealand: The empty land,¹⁹ the clean slate, the need for dominance, the rewriting of history, the rise of civilization,²⁰ and motivation, which

is a very important aspect of the dominance equation at the level of individuals, groups or nations. As Paul Ricoeur points out, it is necessary to understand the ‘manifestations of motivations in symbols, to ‘analyse’ how symbols symbolize, how they function to mediate meanings.’ [Taylor, 1986.] In fact, we can pinpoint two general motivations of colonialism, one self-seeking, the other liberal and beneficent. However, the contributors to this book will show that in the long run in the process of colonial dominance the former, self-serving element inevitably develops.²¹

The titles of some of the books I have read which have sharpened my perceptions are frequently all that is needed to make the point. In addition to *Forms of Dominance*,²² already referred to, other examples include *The Invention of Primitive Society: Transformations of an Illusion*,²³ *Power and its Disguises: Anthropological Perspectives on Politics*,²⁴ *Invention of the White Race, Vol One: Racial Oppression and Social Control*,²⁵ *The Rights of Subordinated Peoples*,²⁶ and *The Evolution of Racism: Human Differences and the Use and Abuse of Science*.²⁷

Kates and Millman succinctly summarise the consequences of European colonialism:

Over the last six centuries, the story of how the European world coped with and overcame famine, and the impact on hunger of the emergence of the modern nation-state, colonialism, and international trade, are the selected themes addressed ... much less is known about the impacts on the peripheries whose wealth, crops, labor, and foodstuffs made much of European progress possible.²⁸

and that

... these efforts [of fighting hunger] are plagued by ... an unwillingness to address fundamental social inequities.²⁹

¹⁷Said provides part of the title of this paper. He wrote of “human beings” and “lesser people and cultures”. I read that, without making a note, and then returned the book, it being on short-term loan. In my mind, his words had come together as ‘lesser beings’. I have found no reason to change my wording. Said’s influence is often explicit or implicit in the studies I have read.

¹⁸AlSaiyyad, Nezar, “Urbanism and the Dominance Equation, pp 1-2.

¹⁹‘When we arrive in these new countries, the ground belongs to no one ... The land must be given only to those who exploit it and make it useful.’ [Governor-General Marital Merlin of French East Africa.]; AlSaiyyad, Nezar, “Urbanism and the Dominance Equation,” p3. I deal below with the application of the empty land concept, in the form of ‘waste land’, to Aotearoa/New Zealand, below.

²⁰AlSaiyyad, Nezar, “Urbanism and the Dominance Equation, p 3-4.

²¹AlSaiyyad, Nezar, “Urbanism and the Dominance Equation, pp5-6.

²²AlSaiyyad, Nezar, “Urbanism and the Dominance Equation, pp5-6.

²³Kuper, Adam, *The Invention of Primitive Society*:

²⁴Gledhill, John, *Power and its Disguises: Anthropological Perspectives on Politics*,

²⁵Allen, Theodore W, *Invention of the White Race, Vol One: Racial Oppression and Social Control*

²⁶Mendelsohn, Oliver and Baxi, Upendra, *The Rights of Subordinated Peoples*.

²⁷Shipman, Pat, *The Evolution of Racism*:

²⁸Kates, Robert W and Millman, Sara, “On Ending Hunger, p390.

²⁹Kates, Robert W and Millman, Sara, “On Ending Hunger, p391.

Violence in the intellectual service of self-interest

How was this possible? Tracy³⁰ concluded “ ... that Europeans succeeded because they created forms of organization in which ... the use of violence was subordinated to the rational pursuit of profit.”³¹

Geoffrey Parker put it another way:

... the principal export of preindustrial Europe to the rest of the world was violence, and that the *fidalgos*, the *conquistadores*, the *vrijbughers*, and the *nabobs* were [in effect] warrior nomads who differed little from the Mongols or the Mughals.³²

Parker concluded that

... although in terms of the number of combatants and the scale of resources deployed in European conflicts, this dramatic overseas expansion continued to be the product of ‘small wars’, it still relied critically upon the constant use of force.³³

Steele confined his attention to North America. His conclusions are vigorous:

Colonial North American history was not created in peace and interrupted by war; wars, rumors of war, and costs of war affected every generation of Amerindians and colonists. It is disturbing to recognize that modern North America was established amid such violence, but this sobering realization is better than accepting sanitized myths that make modern levels of violence seem like moral degeneration from some peaceful colonial or pre-colonial Arcadia.³⁴

In the context of warfare in the establishment of the United States of America, attention should also be paid to what can be characterised as ‘the Indian removal process’.³⁵

Hezel, working closer to Aotearoa/New Zealand, concluded that the Carolines and Marshalls, in the western Pacific,

... were scarcely more than navigational hazards to early European and American voyagers bound for the Orient. ... Way stations they remained to those who seized them, and more so to their later masters, who regarded them as a strategic maritime roadway to more vital lands. For the Japanese they were stepping stones to the riches of Southeast Asia; for the United States after the Second World War they were a span in a military bridge that stretched across the Pacific to Asia.³⁶

Brantlinger, in his study of the British imperialism and literature, observed that

... British overseas expansion went on apace, even though the official attitude was frequently to resist that expansion. ... Between 1841 and 1851 Great Britain occupied or annexed New Zealand, the Gold Coast, Labuan, Natal, the Punjab, Sind, and Hong Kong. In the next twenty years British control was asserted over Berar, Oudh, Lower Burma,³⁷ and Kowloon, over Lagos and the neighbourhood of Sierra Le-

³⁰Tracy, James D, “Introduction,” in Tracy, James D, *The Political Economy of Merchant Empires*, p1.

³¹Steensgaard, Niels, “The Dutch East Indian Company as an Institutional Innovation,” in Maurice Aymard, *Dutch Capitalism and World Capitalism*, London: 1982. quoted in Tracy, James D, “Introduction,” in Tracy, James D, *The Political Economy of Merchant Empires*, p1.

³²Parker, Geoffrey, “Europe and the Wider World, 1500 - 1750,” pp161-162.

³³Parker, Geoffrey, “Europe and the Wider World, 1500 - 1750,” pp194-195.

³⁴Steele, Ian K, *Warpaths: Invasions of North America*, p I. Alistair Cooke noted that *three* United States Presidents had been assassinated! [Radio New Zealand ‘National Programme’, 13 Nov, 1995.] See also Hofstadter, Richard and Michael Wallace [Eds], *American Violence*, and Galeano, Eduardo, “The Computer and Me”, *The Nation*, 261:7, 11 Sept 1995. Galeano states that the USA “ ... has devoted itself to invading others at an average of once a year ever since independence.”

³⁵See eg Lancaster, Jane F, *Removal Aftershock: The Seminoles’ Struggle to Survive in the West*, and Wallace, Anthony F C, *The Long Bitter Trail: Andrew Jackson and the Indians*.

³⁶Hezel, Francis Z, SJ, *Strangers in Their Own Land*, p xiii. Peace movement literature available in Aotearoa/New Zealand carried frequent references to the referenda being held in Palau, one of the Micronesian states, as the people struggled to retain the anti-nuclear clause in their constitution against the United States bribe of a reasonably significant level of funding when the Compact of Free Association with the United States was signed, with the threat of withholding the funding if the anti-nuclear clause remained. After several referenda and some suspicious deaths, the Palauans were getting closer and closer to deleting the clause!

³⁷Burma became a part of the empire after the *third* Anglo-Burmese War!

one, over Basutoland, Griqualand, and the Transvaal; and new colonies were established in Queensland and British Columbia.³⁸

That leads us into a story that was no different in Aotearoa/New Zealand, as Ian Wards made clear *thirty*³⁹ years ago! Wards opening chapter is “The myth of moral suasion”, his theme being that whilst the rhetoric asserted that the Colonial Office was taking the moral high ground with respect to the welfare of the Maori, the actuality was that some form of military involvement was explicit or implicit in all proposals for British involvement in New Zealand.⁴⁰

Literature

Fiction

My attention to fiction is premised on the belief that the content of fiction illustrates what is ‘unconsciously’ in peoples’ minds as they write, what they believe counts as ‘knowledge’ of the particular peoples and phenomena they are writing about, and, what they think people want to read, or at least will read.

There is a significant literature examining images of colonialism, empire and imperialism in fiction and non-fiction, and its effects on readers.

One of the writers is Brantlinger, who, using the writings of Anthony Trollope as a source, identified the elements of military force, imperial chauvinism, the racial superiority of white Europeans, and the ‘civilizing mission’ of Britain.

Imperial discourse is inseparable from racism. Both express economic, political, and cultural domination [or at least wishes for domination], and both grew more virulent and dogmatic as those forms of domination, threatened by rivals for empire and by nascent independence movements [the Indian National Congress, for example], began gradually to crumble in the waning decades of the century. Not only do stereotypes of natives and savages degenerate toward the ignoble and the bestial in late Victorian thinking, however; so do the seemingly contrasting images of European explorers, traders, and colonizers. In early Victorian literature the numerous offspring of Robinson Crusoe, such as Marryat’s seafaring heroes, hold out manfully against cannibals, some of whom they usually manage to convert; late Victorian literature is filled with backsliders like Conrad’s Kurtz who themselves become white slavers.⁴¹

To highlight his thesis, Brantlinger quotes Robert Knox,⁴² who

... argues that European colonial expansion and the demise of the ‘weak races’ are inevitable.

‘Since the earliest times ... the dark races have been the slaves of their fairer brethren.’ Nothing has changed in the nineteenth century except that genocide is now masked in terms of ‘protecting the aborigines.’ ...

³⁸Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness*: p20. Ian Wards [see below] suggests that a shortage of resources limited the strength of the military forces sent to New Zealand; the reasons are obvious.

³⁹The fact that this book and its conclusions are not ‘common knowledge’ in Aotearoa/New Zealand is another piece of evidence reflecting the political culture of schooling for Maori.

⁴⁰Wards, Ian, *The Shadow of the Land*, pp 22-23. One of the features of the political culture of Aotearoa/New Zealand that I will use to justify my claim that it is schooling for Maori in an ‘unchanging society’ is the fact that books like Wards remain unknown to the great majority of residents of this country. I refer further to Wards work, and the issue of violence in Aotearoa/New Zealand, below, in the section on the Treaty of Waitangi.

⁴¹Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness*: p39.

⁴²Knox, Robert, *The Races of Men*, [1850].

Knox railed against humanitarian efforts to protect the aborigines: ‘How I have laughed at the mock philanthropy of England!’ ... No late Victorian social Darwinist could have stated this racist theory of history in more explicit, more dismal terms. ...

It is not difficult to regard Knox as extreme, but, he wrote what he wrote, and someone thought it had a market and printed it.

Thoroughly establishment figures had clear views on people who were not European.

Brantlinger noted that John Stuart Mill

... assumed quite readily that the liberal theses he expounded in *On Liberty* [1859] and *Representative Government* [1861] did not apply to Indians or to other ‘lesser peoples.’ And although James Mill believed that colonies in general were a bad idea, emigration and the founding of new, independent communities were another matter, as was the governance of India. Like his son after him, James Mill did not believe that freedom and democracy made any sense as categories in the context of India, or that they should be applied to other nonwhite peoples.⁴³

and Crosby highlighted this quotation from Darwin:

“When civilized nations come into contact with barbarians the struggle is short, except where a deadly climate gives its aid to the native race.” [*The Descent of Man* [1871]]⁴⁴

Cameron⁴⁵ was, I think, the first writer to use literature to try to ‘describe’ New Zealand, but he did not pay much attention to attitudes towards Maori. This most interesting quotation from Bill Pearson is an exception:⁴⁶

Understanding the Maori mind can be just as fruitless as refusal to understand: ask ourselves, none of us would feel easy if we were being observed and questioned by someone humorously determined to understand us. There are dangers in the Pakeha writer, with his different traditions, trying to see Maori from the Maori point of view. He is apt to create a puppet figure of his own, covering his own frustrated aspirations in a brown skin, like a hermit crab.⁴⁷

William Satchell’s *The Greenstone Door* is described as the first ‘New Zealand Novel’.⁴⁸

Satchell lived in Northland after his arrival from England, and became at least at ease in his community, and even committed to it; the community was largely Maori. He married Susan Bryers, daughter of George Bryers, settler, and Mary Bryers, [formerly Herau].⁴⁹

Satchell’s “... novels burn with a fiery anger against the contemptuous attitude of many nineteenth-century settlers toward the Maoris.”⁵⁰ *The Greenstone Door*, however, displays many of the stereotypes of European literature of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Satchell imputes a “... certain love of mysticism ... “ to Te Moanaroa, an important rangatira in the story. It was, he thought “... a natural sagacity and deep knowledge of human nature that enable him to control the turbulent passions of his people.”⁵¹ Why Maori should have “turbulent passions’ is not explained; they are taken for granted. Satchell’s

⁴³ Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness*: p22-23.

⁴⁴ Crosby, Alfred W, *Ecological Imperialism*, p 132.

⁴⁵ Cameron, William J, *New Zealand*.

⁴⁶ Cameron, William J, *New Zealand*, p 87.

⁴⁷ Pearson, W H, “Attitudes to the Maori in some Pakeha fiction,” in *Polynesian Society*, Sept, 1958, quoted in Cameron, William J, *New Zealand*.

⁴⁸ Stevens, Joan, *The New Zealand Novel*,

⁴⁹ Wilson, Phillip, *William Satchell*, p 11.

⁵⁰ Wilson, Phillip, *William Satchell*, Preface.

⁵¹ Satchell, William, *The Greenstone Door*, p 34.

description of the degenerate tohunga in the kainga⁵² was symptomatic of a commonly held theory, that 'savages' were at one time 'noble', but then degenerated to their then savage state. His description of another rangatira characterises a person he certainly could never have met, or heard described, within the Maori community, but it is a characterisation common in the European literature of his youth and his times:

... This pa was neither so populous nor so prosperous as Matakiki, for *brains*⁵³ are not a necessary concomitant of high lineage, and in this respect Te Moanaroa was immeasurably the superior of his chief. Te Huata was a savage of the old school: fierce and bloodthirsty, a cannibal by choice as well as by custom, and a hater of the pakeha [sic]. Of him many dreadful stories were told me by my young companions. He had eaten up a whole tribe so recently that the memory of the dead was still strong in men's minds. For a twelvemonth he had lived on the tender flesh of infants, following with that of young maidens and youths. The well-born of the subjected tribe had gone to provide blood sacrifices at such ceremonies as the launching of war-canoes, the opening of buildings, and, in the end - with the exception of those who had fled to friendly tribes, there to remain as long as they lived, of little more account than slaves - the tribe was extinct.⁵⁴

One of the main Pakeha characters was Purcell. To Satchell's protagonist,

... the career of Purcell remains a romance as deeply clothed in mystery as that of the Man in the Iron Mask. Whence did he come, and why? What tragedy was it that cut one so brilliant off from his kind and thrust him into the arms of savagery.⁵⁵

Jules Verne is well known as a nineteenth century writer of fiction; he displayed the same stereotypes. Whether Verne intended his adventure stories for children, especially boys, I do not know, but they were, and perhaps are still, widely read by young people.⁵⁶ In one of his stories, Verne gave the impression he was a student of anthropology. Whether or not that is true may not be recorded, but what is certain is that he had absorbed a wide range of 'knowledge' about non-white people, including Maori, little if any of it positive.

Around the World in Eighty Days is Jules Verne's best-known adventure book. It has features common to very many books of its kind from the 19th century: the *demonisation* of the people, the animals,⁵⁷ the plants, and even the land, of parts of the world where non-white people lived and worked.

Quite early in *Around the World in Eighty Days*, Phileas Fogg observes that " ... a considerable portion of India is still free from British authority; and there are certain *ferocious* rajahs ..."⁵⁸

⁵²In the glossary of *The Greenstone Door*, a 'home', which is wrong; a kainga is a village. [Reed's *Concise Maori Dictionary*.]

⁵³Emphasis added.

⁵⁴Satchell, William, *The Greenstone Door*, p 43.

⁵⁵Satchell, William, *The Greenstone Door*, p 41. [Cf Brantlinger above: "... late Victorian literature is filled with backsliders like Conrad's Kurtz who themselves become white slavers."

⁵⁶I often see them in garage sales.

⁵⁷An account of an "angry", "furious" elephant, which "dashed the dog against a sycamore as he passed it." That the elephant was being attacked was beside the point. Similar derogatory language is used to describe lions and lionesses. Verne, Jules, *Adventures in South Africa*, pp65-66. [My copy is stamped "Victoria League Book Committee ... Backblocks Settlers and Schools." The book's acceptability is reinforced by that stamp. The Victoria League Book Committee could make an interesting study.]

⁵⁸Verne, Jules, *Around the World ...*, p40, emphasis added.

And, the people are not trustworthy. He was given cat, not rabbit, for his meal at the Bombay railway station. Fogg tells the "rogue", " ... cats were formerly considered, in India, sacred animals. That was a good time.' "For the cat, my lord?" replied the 'rogue'. "Perhaps for the travellers as well!"⁵⁹

Maori attracted Verne's attention, and his loaded pen. That he thought he was well informed on matters to do with New Zealand and Maori became clear in *Among the Cannibals*:

" ... [Maoris] made their reputation in the Indian Ocean.⁶⁰ It is not a question here of time and dull Australians,⁶¹ but of a race both imaginative and intelligent, of cannibals, of anthropophagi,⁶² from whom we can expect no pity." ...

" ... Every European who ventures to these fatal countries falls into the hands of the Maoris, and every prisoner in the hands of the Maoris is a lost man. I advise my friends to cross the pampas and Australia, but I can never advise them to cross New Zealand. I hope it may please God that we should never fall into the power of the [its] ferocious natives. ..."⁶³

In a chapter titled "The Theory of Cannibalism", Verne wrote of the people of " ... this perfidious country."⁶⁴ Verne explored the cannibalistic habits of Maori at considerable length, including the killing of the Rev Volkner⁶⁵ at Opotiki in 1864. "The Maorists [sic] hung him. Their wives tore out his eyes. They drank his blood and ate his brains." Opotiki was a "few leagues" from Auckland.⁶⁶ The dustjacket of that Ward Lock edition has a picture of people [men] one of whom has a bow and arrow whom we can presume are 'Maori'. They actually look rather more like the representations we typically see of Neanderthal people. It was not only Verne who could get it wrong!

G H Henty wrote a large number of books for young people, boys especially. His *Maori and Settler*, because it uses New Zealand and its colonial history as a setting, provides a good case study of the understandings in peoples' minds when managing the Native school system.⁶⁷ His method of working gives emphasis to the claim that he reflected widely held understandings and values. Henty was a writing⁶⁸ machine.

Henty was a born storyteller. He would order ten books from the London Library, read them for historical information and then let his imagination roam. He dictated his stories to his secretary, not revising them.⁶⁹

⁵⁹This implication of degeneration in India has an echo in Blackie's *Continental Geography Readers: Asia*, p48. viz: "The Hindoo religion is a sadly superstitious one. It was once a much nobler way of thinking, but through sloth and slavery of mind it has grown corrupt, as weeds will flourish rather than flowers or fruit when a garden is left to itself."

⁶⁰Geography was not a strong point, it would seem!

⁶¹ie Aborigines.

⁶²anthropophagi: cannibalism. [Concise Oxford Dictionary.]

⁶³Verne, Jules, [a], *Among the Cannibals*, p17-18. [its] is the text in 1964 version

⁶⁴Verne, Jules, [a], *Among the Cannibals*, [Ward lock version] pp 36.

⁶⁵Mr "Walkner" to Verne.

⁶⁶Verne, Jules, [a], *Among the Cannibals*, [Ward lock version] pp 36-38.

⁶⁷Including *Maori and Settler*, I have fifteen of Henty's adventure stories on the shelf, all bought in secondhand book shops or at garage sales.

⁶⁸Perhaps more accurately, a 'dictating' machine.

⁶⁹Richards, Jeffrey, "With Henty in Africa", in Richards, Jeffrey, [Ed], *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature*, p74. What is unremarked in the quotation is whether what counts as 'information', also counts as 'fact'.

In the case of *Maori and Settler*,⁷⁰ George Henty demonstrated a clear negative attitude to ‘natives’. Apart from what he already believed he knew about other ‘native’ peoples, Henty presumably learned much of what he reflected about New Zealand in the books borrowed from the London Library around 1911. What he ‘knew’ about other ‘native’ peoples is reflected in the following ‘information’ distilled from the account of the voyage out to New Zealand.⁷¹

“The natives of Tierra del Fuego are ... the most debased savages ...” [p 81] “The weather looks perfectly settled, but, like the natives of these parts, it is treacherous.” [p98] “The Allens, however, in accordance with Mr Atherton’s instructions, watched the natives closely, and noticed as they came on deck they cast quick and scrutinizing glances round them as if to see what were the chances of a surprise. ... After a stay of about a quarter of an hour the *chiefs departed with their presents, of which, by the care they took of it, it was evident that they considered a case of rum to be by far the most precious.*” [p133]⁷² “The talk with the chiefs was a short one. The stewards brought up two cases of rum,⁷³ and when these were handed over to them the natives rose as if to go. Suddenly the leader drew his axe from his girdle, and with a loud yell buried it deep in the captain’s head. [p140] “... What about the wounded?” Mr Renshaw asked; “They deserve no better fate than to be tossed overboard with the others; still, as that would go against the grain, we will see what we can do.” [p151]

Next, Henty on Maori. There are hints, usually fairly muted, of the ‘noble savage’ attitude towards Maori:

I am bound to say that the natives have as a whole behaved very well to the settlers;... Still, in spite of instances of this kind, I should certainly say do not go near the disturbed districts, for one cannot assert that if hostilities continue they will always be carried on in that spirit.

... the settlers always had the worst of the quarrel. They either had no weapons, or, being isolated in the midst of the natives, dared not use them; while the Maoris, well armed and numerous, would come waving their tomahawks⁷⁴ and pointing their guns, ... settlers ... forced to give way ... Maoris grew insolent and contemptuous, and were filled with an overweening confidence in their own powers, the result of the patience and enforced submission of the settlers.⁷⁵

There is a paragraph about land sales and increasing Maori reluctance to sell; the text illustrates clearly that Henty took for granted English land ownership laws, and had no idea of Maori concepts of land ownership⁷⁶ and, Maori were no different to other natives met on the way:

Drunken Maoris would indulge in insolent and riotous behaviour in the street; for no native could be imprisoned without the risk of war, ...⁷⁷

There is a detailed account of “The New Zealand War”,⁷⁸ suggesting that Henty, as is reported of him, had done his homework in the library from the literature then available. The noble savage could be mixed up with the noble settler:

The irregular corps, on the other hand, thoroughly appreciate the activity and bravery of the Maoris. ... They have suffered from the arrogance and insolence of the natives before the outbreak of the war, and

⁷⁰Henty, G A, *Maori and Settler*

⁷¹Page numbers in parentheses in the text.

⁷²Emphasis added; another stereotype: ascribed fondness for liquor!

⁷³Double standards? The use of rum as gift, or reward, or perhaps even bribe!

⁷⁴There are frequent references to tomahawks in fiction; I am unaware that Maori had any form of ‘axe’, especially for fighting.

⁷⁵Henty, G A, *Maori and Settler*, pp162-167.

⁷⁶Henty, G A, *Maori and Settler*, p 168.

⁷⁷Henty, G A, *Maori and Settler*, p 168.

⁷⁸An interesting title; the story is significantly different to that recounted by James Belich seventyfive years later under the same title, though Henty did have the thought, immediately discarded, that the settlers could be defeated.

most of them have been ruined by the destruction of their farms and the loss of years of patient labour. Thus they fight with a personal feeling of enmity against their foes, and neither fatigue nor danger is considered by them if there is a chance of inflicting a blow upon their enemy."⁷⁹

The second half of *Maori and Settler* is set among the Pakeha conflict with the Hauhau and Te Kooti, but first, some more of Henty's understandings:

Wilfrid and the two young Englishmen found chopping very hard work at first, and were perfectly astounded at the rapidity with which the Maoris brought the trees down, ... 'I would not have believed it if I had not seen it, ... these black chaps could have beaten Englishmen like that! ...'⁸⁰

At one point the story included a massacre of settlers by Te Kooti and the Hauhaus. Further on in the story, Maori who had joined Te Kooti and later left him were 'allowed' to return to their lands:

The settlers, justly indignant that men who had so lately murdered women and children should be allowed to come down among them with impunity, ... bound themselves by oath to shoot the next party of ruffians who made their appearance.⁸¹

Non-fiction - Science

It was not my intention to pay too much attention to science when I first browsed through Galbreath's thesis, *Colonisation, Science, and Conservation*,⁸² but as I browsed I came to realise that I was familiar with the tenor of what he was reporting; the underlying 'tones' are echoed in the writings on the Treaty of Waitangi and conservation issues in *Forest and Bird*, the monthly publication of the Royal Forest and Bird Society, and are particularly evident in the pronouncements of Hugh Barr of the Federated Mountain Clubs.

Science appeared at times in the material available to young people earlier in the history of Aotearoa/New Zealand. A tip of an iceberg is I suspect showing in this extract from a book written for senior primary pupils in 1900.

"Not only are the Maoris declining in numbers, but the native fauna and flora are giving place to the vigorous and hardy European animals and plants introduced by the settlers. The doomed natives seem to be quite aware of their approaching extinction, for they say, 'As the white man's rat has destroyed our rat, so the European fly is driving out our fly. The foreign clover is killing our ferns; and so the Maori himself will disappear before the white man.' There are not more than 40 000 Maoris in the whole of New Zealand to-day."⁸³

European colonialism was quite unsympathetic to the science of the people colonised. Goonatilake argues that modern Western science, despite its original borrowings from Arab and other non-Western societies, overwhelmed the rich intellectual and scientific traditions of various non-European civilisations and has today established an unparalleled he-

⁷⁹Henty, G A, *Maori and Settler*, p 174.

⁸⁰Henty, G A, *Maori and Settler*, p 196.

⁸¹Henty, G A, *Maori and Settler*., pp 325-326.

⁸²Galbreath, Ross Alan, *Colonisation, Science, and Conservation*.

⁸³*Royal Osborne Geography Readers* [Book VI], p156. .cf "Maoris who were not of full Maori blood were arbitrarily allocated to categories 'half-castes living as Maoris' or half-castes living as Europeans [excluded from the census] according to the whim of the enumerator. ... the 1901 Maori census was reported as the most thorough up to that time, but it still consisted of a mere head-count. The census figures from 1878 to 1906 were: 45 542; 46 141; 43 927; 44 177; 42 113; 45 549; 50 309. [*New Zealand Official 1990 Year Book*, pp157-158] The source for the *Royal Osborne Geography Readers* quotation was apparently Julius von Haast. [See Crosby, Alfred W, *Ecological Imperialism*, p 267.]

gemony. He argues that this historical process of displacement was closely related to the growth of European imperialism and colonialism. Today's Western science has pre-empted any scientific formulations outside its own parameters, resulting in an imitative rather than creative science in the Third World. The consequences of these countries having to rely on a scientific tradition alien to their own history and intellectual initiatives are incalculable, and a clear factor in the present-day syndrome of underdevelopment.⁸⁴

Two Recent Adult Novels

We might be tempted to think that the sort of writing practised by Verne and Henty was a thing of the past. We would be wrong.

On the front cover of *The Pagan Land*,⁸⁵ the novel is described as

The brutal, bloody novel about the taming of Africa.

On the back cover, the language is equally lurid.

The Explosive story of a bloody confrontation
between two cultures - the savage and the civilized,
the old and the new ...spear against the gun in

The Pagan Land

South Africa, 1830. To the coastal settler on
the Cape, the land across the Orange river was an
unexplored wilderness where drought, disease⁸⁶
and hostile tribes preyed on the innocent.

But into that pagan land, the Boers trekked with
their wagons, their families and their livestock.

Some for religious freedom, others to escape
British rule, many more for the love of
new frontiers.

And awaiting them was the King of the Matabele
nation, the Great Bull Elephant - waiting with a
thousand impi to crush the interlopers in one
great onslaught ...

‘A GRIPPING STORY ... VIVID AND PLAUSIBLE’

Irish Times

Open the book, and the prospective reader reads, on the first page, before the Title page,
that

The ‘pagan land’ is South Africa in the early nineteenth century. The Cape has been taken over by the British, and the Boers have begun to trek inwards, preferring to face the warring tribes to British rule.

⁸⁴Goonatilake, Susantha, *Aborted discovery*

⁸⁵Marriott, Thomas, *The Pagan Land*.

⁸⁶cf Jules Verne.

THE PAGAN LAND is also a brilliant epic novel of a violently explosive country. Full of verve, and with an assured grasp of background detail,⁸⁷ it marks the emergence of an outstanding historical novelist. Marriott's book, presuming it lives up to its publicists claims, reminds me of my favourite⁸⁸ African Proverb:

Until the lions have their historians, tales of hunting will glorify the hunters.
Perhaps Marriott had been reading Jules Verne.! I am reminded of G A Henty, who got his books from the library, read his history, then dictated his story. I get the feeling that Marriott could have done the same. The history on which the novel is apparently based is a distinctly one-sided version, and is of the same genre as the novels of Verne, Henty, Satchell, and many others I see at garage sales.

Wilbur Smith's *When the Lion Feeds* exhibits a similar version of history. The back cover signals

Rorke's Drift, the discovery of gold, and the build up for the Boer War. [*Daily Telegraph*]
which seems less stereotyped, but inside it was not difficult to find that

... before he could finish [talking] the grass around them was full of Zulus, at least a hundred of them in full war dress.

'Ambush', yelled Steff. 'Don't try and fight, too many of them. Get out!' and they dragged him off his horse.

Horses panicked in the mud, whinnying as they reared. The bang of Klein's rifle was almost drowned in the triumphant roar of the warriors. Mbejane jumped to catch the bridle of Sean's horse; he dragged its head around.

'Ride, Nkosi, quickly. Do not wait.'

Klein was dead, an assegai in his throat and the blood bursting brightly from the corners of his mouth as he fell backwards.

'Hold on to my stirrup leather.' Sean felt surprisingly calm. A Zulu came at him from the side. Sean held his rifle across his lap and fired with the muzzle almost in the man's face. It cut the top off his head. Sean ejected the cartridge case and reloaded.

'Ride, Nkosi!' Mbejane shouted again. He had made no effort to obey Sean: his head held high he barged into two of the attackers and knocked them down into the mud. His assegai rose and fell, rose and fell.

'*Ngi Dhla*,' howled Mbejane. 'I have eaten.' Fighting madness on him, he jumped over the bodies and charged. A man stood to meet him and Mbejane hooked the edge of his shield under his and jerked it aside, exposing the man's left flank to his blade.

'*Ngi Dhla*,' Mbejane howled again.⁸⁹

The stereotypes are there, including the bloodthirsty savage, the loyal savage, and the noble savage.⁹⁰

The images pop up in all sorts of unlikely places, such as this:

"The Sioux' is the nickname by which the Benoir family - French, feudal and astronomically rich - calls itself to point out its fierce tribalism."⁹¹

⁸⁷An affirmation of the accuracy of the history.

⁸⁸And only.

⁸⁹Smith, Wilbur, *When the Lion Feeds*, p 116. It was Smith's first novel.

⁹⁰On the following page, Mbejane has good advice for Sean, who is portrayed as being in a sense inferior to the native.

⁹¹Handl, Irene, *The Sioux*, London: Jonathan Cape, 1965, front dustjacket flap.

The Sioux, according to that same dust jacket flap, received high praise from Fay Weldon, Doris Lessing, and Margaret Drabble, all three highly regarded as writers of fiction. They apparently were quite unperturbed by the nickname the Benoir family gave itself.

The racism is pervasive and endemic.

Histories of Waikato

Waikato is where I live. It is where Te Kopua Native/Maori School was established and eventually died. It is the place of one of the two major confiscations under the *New Zealand Settlements Act 1863*,⁹² the confiscation of the whenua⁹³ of Tainui.⁹⁴ A brief survey of histories written about Waikato is appropriate in a discussion of the political culture of schooling for Maori, for it will help to assess the nature of that culture as it impacts upon one of the regions of Aotearoa/New Zealand with a significant Maori population, and where a significant process of resolution and reconciliation is under way, the so-called Waikato⁹⁵ Raupatu settlement between Tainui and the Crown, represented by the Government. Only two of the histories deal adequately, or even accurately, with confiscation.

One of the earliest published histories of Waikato local government entities was that by C W Vennell of Cambridge.⁹⁶ Published in preparation for the 1940 centennial of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, it clearly reveals the understanding of its author of the history of the place where he lived. It reveals also the understandings of James Cowan,⁹⁷ who wrote the foreword.

Cowan first:

Mr Vennell takes his readers back into Maori history - the period of the musket-and-tomahawk⁹⁸ wars, when, by the great military skill of Te Waharoa and his fellow leaders, Ngati-haua and their kindred tribes repossessed themselves of their country ... He tells of the missionaries and their wives, calmly heroic in the midst of barbarism; then of the traders, and the soldiering era, and the conquest of the Waikato by British troops; and so, by the hard road of peril and countless adventures into the settled, wealthy and beautiful Cambridge and surrounding country of today. All this composes into a perfect picture of successful pioneering and nation-making.⁹⁹

Apart from the use of 'tomahawk', Cowan was at ease using 'barbarism', and took for granted the results of a hundred years of history.¹⁰⁰

⁹² The name of the Act leaves no doubt as to its intentions. It is perhaps not insignificant that it was in my head for a long time as the 'Land For Settlement' Act.

⁹³ Land.

⁹⁴ The other great confiscation was of Taranaki. While for Waikato the proclamation carefully and clearly delineated the land to be confiscated, for Taranaki it read "... as much as the Governor thinks fit." Governor Grey thought fit to take almost all the land between Mount Messenger and Wanganui. *NZ Gazette*, Dec 1864.

⁹⁵ Originally Tainui ... 'Raupatu' is 'confiscation'. While I clearly understand the priority of using te reo, raupatu, its use allows Pakeha to avoid having to read the word they cannot avoid the meaning of, that word being 'confiscation'. In a sense, being 'politically correct' allows the perpetrators to avoid the evidence of their perpetration.

⁹⁶ Vennell, C W, *Such Things Were: The Story of Cambridge, NZ*.

⁹⁷ Cowan wrote at least five major works of history, including *The New Zealand Wars and the Pioneering Period* in two volumes.

⁹⁸ 'Tomakawk!'; Maori used mere and taiaha, nor tomahawk, which was a North American Indian weapon.

⁹⁹ Vennell, C W, *Such Things Were*, pvii.

¹⁰⁰ See however discussion of James Cowan's articles in *National Education* below.

Vennell, writing of the diary of Rev A N Brown, observed that

Entered methodically from day to day, while the missionary was living in the midst of warring cannibal tribes, it tells the epic story of a man's single-handed fight against what must have seemed impossible odds, and his ultimate triumph.¹⁰¹

Vennell devoted a chapter to the killing of Timothy Sullivan,¹⁰² describing in some detail the course of events and the nature of what was done to Sullivan's body, which had been 'mutilated' for

It was an ancient Maori custom to offer the heart of a fallen foe to Tu and Uenuku, the gods of war. Sullivan's was the last offering of the kind ever made in New Zealand. His mutilation was a piece of savagery comparable to the worst excesses of tribal wars forty or fifty years earlier.¹⁰³

Vennell made no apology, for

Living in the peaceful, picturesque district which we know today, it is difficult to believe that such matters were, only a comparatively short time ago. It is only by learning of such terrible happenings, that the amazing progress which has been made, within living memory, by both Maori and pakeha [sic]¹⁰⁴, can be realised by generations who were yet unborn when Sullivan died.¹⁰⁵

David More in his history of the Waikato County¹⁰⁶ deals with the lead-up to the act of confiscation and the fighting which followed, but the account is quite uncritical of the settler government. More seems to regard the act of confiscation as quite uncontroversial.¹⁰⁷ He apparently did not know that the eastern boundary of the county is the Confiscation Line,¹⁰⁸ and the beginning of the story did not begin until Pakeha arrived, for

... This is a new land, still being developed.¹⁰⁹

There is some quite generous mention of the agricultural activities of Maori in the years after Pakeha arrived and before the New Zealand Wars,¹¹⁰ but after the wars Maori get no mention in the index until Prime Minister W F Massey announced the government would accept Maori volunteers for World War I, " ...an announcement that considerably affected the counties of the Waikato."¹¹¹

More reports the manner in which Maori enriched the soil so they could grow their crops before Pakeha and fertilisers arrived, but immediately goes on to record how the soldier settlers exploited that prepared fertility.¹¹² He did not, however, consider it important to widely discuss the activities of Maori as residents of the county, as the index makes clear.

More completed the chapter that dealt with confiscation and its immediate aftermath with this poem:

¹⁰¹Vennell, C W, *Such Things Were*, p x.

¹⁰²Vennell, C W, *Such Things Were*, Ch 23.

¹⁰³Vennell, C W, *Such Things Were*, p 138.

¹⁰⁴I noticed only one example of 'Pakeha'.

¹⁰⁵Vennell, C W, *Such Things Were*, p 139.

¹⁰⁶Now the Waikato District.

¹⁰⁷More, David, *Between the River and the Hills: Waikato County 1876-1976*, pp16ff

¹⁰⁸"The demarcation line goes arbitrarily ..." [More, David, *Between the River and the Hills*, p11.]

¹⁰⁹More, David, *Between the River and the Hills*, p 12.

¹¹⁰As was usual, the 'Maori' Wars.

¹¹¹More, David, *Between the River and the Hills*, p 88. Why the counties were considerably affected is not explained.

THE CONFISCATION¹¹³

Metepiha

*You, Tiriti, beneath the ponga shade
Lie happy, carefree, piping on your flute
Your tribal songs, while Pakehas invade
Ancestral lands and take the craftsman's fruit
From pas where carving and greenstone abound.
They'll burn off trees and sow their wheat and hay
When grants to redcoats portion off the ground.
I am a homeless exile. While you play,
making the kauris in the bush resound
To Amarita's name, I pass away.*

Tiriti

*Yet still you have a night with your own folk;
Fern beds are ready, mellow kumara fills
The pit. The soldiers' evening campfires smoke;
The shadows grow on Hangawera's hills.*

- Eclogue I.

The actual source of the poem is not given, and I found its meaning quite obscure. I could not understand why More included it, and I would be surprised if his readers or their predecessors would have understood or appreciated it.¹¹⁴

Vennell and Williams history of Raglan County¹¹⁵ is of a kind with More's history of Waikato County; no effort was made to critically address the issue of confiscation or the race relations history of the county.

Not until, in the 1970s, Peter Gibbons wrote the history of Hamilton City¹¹⁶ and Laurie Barber wrote the history of Waipa County¹¹⁷ were the issues adequately and effectively addressed.

Two specialised histories are examples of the way in which the critical act of confiscation is trivialised or ignored. Ken Lynch, writing the history of the Waikato Trotting Club as recently as 1992, began his account with

Without doubt trotting races began in the Waikato with the garrison towns during and after the land conflicts¹¹⁸ in the 1860s.¹¹⁹

Lynch could not even get that right; the "garrison towns" were only one, Hamilton, and Hamilton was not established until *after* the war in the Waikato. While Hamilton *was* settled by militia settlers, to call Hamilton a 'garrison' town is only marginally accurate.

Elizabeth Farrelly wrote the history of the Whatawhata Hill Country Research Station in 1986.¹²⁰ Farrelly, like More, gave a brief but generous account of Maori agriculture before

¹¹²More, David, *Between the River and the Hills*, p 107.

¹¹³'Confiscation' does not appear in the index.

¹¹⁴The poem was written by David More himself, based upon a poem of Virgil's of the same title. [David More, Personal communication, January, 1997.]

¹¹⁵Vennell, C W, and Williams, Susan, *Raglan County and Hills and Sea*

¹¹⁶Gibbons, P J, *Astride the River*

¹¹⁷Barber, L H, *The View from Pirongia*

¹¹⁸'conflicts', not 'wars'; so are issues avoided.

Pakeha, but some of her other early history is not accurate, and she avoids the confiscation, or any other conflict, completely.

There are a number of histories of the small town of Gordonton, north-east of Hamilton, the church in particular. Confiscation is almost entirely ignored, and some of the other observations are less than impartial, and ignore the consequences of confiscation and other aspects of race relations, such as employment discrimination.

Edith Williamson wrote the history of the Presbyterian Church at Gordonton, which opened in 1913. The beginnings of Gordonton are not canvassed; that they lived on confiscated land was not noted.¹²¹ But, without citing any sources, Williamson wrote that

By 1862, there was discontent in the Maori villages in the Waikato. The young men were bored.

They were discarding the ancient Maori rituals which, based upon necessity, were carefully designed to keep everyone busy, realizing his own essential place in the life of the community.¹²²

I have not before seen any other writing which hints at such issues.

A history of Gordonton district is no more forthcoming,¹²³ and in Woodlands, an historic house built by the first manager of the land company which farmed the district, the trustees avoided the difficult history entirely in the written material on display at the re-opening of the house.

D H Goodall wrote a monograph of the geography of the Waikato;¹²⁴ the brief excursion into history avoided confiscation.

The history of Tauhei School, not on confiscated land, clearly records the existence of the confiscation line close by, west of the school;¹²⁵ the booklet is a refreshing exception.

Another exception is the history of Methodism in Hamilton. While it is a Pakeha history,¹²⁶ it covers Methodism amongst Maori prior to the confiscation, and it deals briefly but accurately with that confiscation.¹²⁷ I am aware, however, from discussions with members of the congregation, that coming to that positive point of view was not an easy journey.

This survey of the histories readily available to me¹²⁸ reveals that readers are infrequently confronted with the founding act of Pakeha Waikato, the confiscation from Maori of the land on which they, Pakeha and Maori, live. The local newspaper, *The Waikato Times*,

¹¹⁹Lynch, Ken, *The Waikato Trotting Club: Centennial History*, p3.

¹²⁰Farrelly, Elizabeth J, *Whatawhata Hill Country Research Station*. Whatawhata is a few kilometres west of Hamilton.

¹²¹Williamson, Edith, *Willing Feet and an Open Bible*,

¹²²Williamson, Edith, *Rushes an' Raupo to Cows an' Clover*, p10.

¹²³McLoughlin, Terese, and Davidson, Gladys, eds, *1884...Gordon Centenary ... 1984*

¹²⁴Goodall, D H, *The Waikato: Man and His Environment*

¹²⁵-. *Tauhei School Golden Jubilee 1909 - 1959*,

¹²⁶“*Cross Currents* is primarily the white Methodist Settlers’ story. It still remains for Maori Methodists to tell their own story in their own time - to describe the currents they have seen and experienced.” [Graham, Virginia and Payne, Douglas, *Cross Currents*, Foreword.]

¹²⁷Graham, Virginia and Payne, Douglas, *Cross Currents: 125 years of Methodism in Kirikiriroa - Hamilton*

¹²⁸Most were found at garage sales.

avoids using the word as much as possible, that is, almost totally, and even now the settlement has been made with Tainui, it will use 'raupatu', but not 'confiscation', if it can avoid it.

Children's Non-fiction

Colin McGeorge has very usefully delved into the books used to teach young New Zealanders, revealing the ideology, the propaganda and the indoctrination inherent in them, and I do not intend to cover the same ground, but will illustrate from some of the books in my own collection some of the attitudes that were so endemic. The books I will use are representative of a very large number bought in garage sales or secondhand book shops, and which, whilst not always officially listed by the Education Department for use in New Zealand, are mostly very well worn!

The Preface to the *Osborne Geography Reader* laid on the rhetoric:

From the windows of Osborne [one of Queen Victoria's favourite 'houses'] the Sovereign Lady of our Empire looks out upon the sea, the pathway of the British race and its strong bulwark of defence. She sees the stately ships come and go like messengers of brotherhood to the whole British world. As the books of this series will teach young Britons about the land of their birth and that Greater Britain beyond the seas, there is perhaps, a special fitness in the name we have given them - The Royal Osborne Readers.

On Maori, the reader had these gems of information:

Indeed, the Maoris were much superior to the majority of barbarous races ... Their priests had great influence over them, and were able to 'taboo' or make sacred certain persons or things, which might not be touched under pain of death.¹²⁹

The Maoris, who probably did not in the least understand what they were doing, parted with large tracts of land for a few muskets, Jew's harps, looking-glasses, red nightcaps, sticks of sealing-wax, and other similar trifles. Immediately afterwards a treaty was signed, by which the Maoris ceded their islands to Britain, and acknowledged Queen Victoria as their sovereign, though, as private owners, they still continued to hold land. At first they were delighted; but later on they awoke to the fact that they had got the worst of the bargain, and some obstinate fighting took place before they finally submitted to British rule.
...¹³⁰

The Maoris, a brave and intelligent race, are tall and well made, and of an olive-brown colour. They are rapidly becoming fewer; those remaining are gradually giving up their savage life and turning their energies to farming, grazing, and commerce, and their children are being *educated*.¹³¹

The Reader is interesting in the way it reported populations in a "Summary of the Geography of the British Empire." Readers will have learned that if the population was not 'British'; the people were not worth counting: *Canada*: Over five million, chiefly of British origin. There are also French Canadians and Indians. *Central and South America* and *Pa-*

¹²⁹Royal Osborne Geography Readers [Book VI], p155.

¹³⁰Royal Osborne Geography Readers [Book VI], p156. .cf "Maoris who were not of full Maori blood were arbitrarily allocated to categories 'half-castes living as Maoris' or 'half-castes living as Europeans' [excluded from the census] according to the whim of the enumerator. ... the 1901 Maori census was reported as the most thorough up to that time, but it still consisted of a mere head-count. The census figures from 1878 to 1906 were: 45 542; 46 141; 43 927; 44 177; 42 113; 45 549; 50 309. [*New Zealand Official 1990 Year Book*, pp157-158.]

¹³¹Royal Osborne Geography Readers [Book VI], p371. [Emphasis added.] These extracts reveal also an understanding of the reality of the history of Aotearoa/New Zealand.

cific Islands: no population figures given. *Australia*: Over 3 million. [Aborigine population not given.]; and much more in the same vein.

Those perspectives came from adult minds in England, and were passed on to young minds in both England and Aotearoa/New Zealand and other parts of the British Empire. Adult minds in Aotearoa/New Zealand would not have been much different.

Whitcombe's Vivid History Reader, Grade VIII: A History of the Modern World, published in 1937, is interesting in its rendering of the history of India. The chapter titled "Reforms in India", opens with this statement::

When the Indian Mutiny of 1857 was suppressed, Britain was faced with new difficulties in governing the huge oriental empire which had come into her hands. The problem was a perplexing one, for, although some of the native races had stood by the British during the dark days of the Mutiny, there were others who were filled with bitter and revengeful feelings because of the stern way in which the rising had been quelled.¹³²

Further on in the chapter, we are informed that

It is impossible to exaggerate the difficulties which face Britain in the task she has voluntarily taken upon herself in India.¹³³

A direct contradiction of the in my view invalid 'voluntary' thesis of the Whitcombe's book is the Herbert Strang edited *The Romance of the World: The Great Fight for India*.¹³⁴

In an introductory note Strang wrote:

The present volume contains narratives of famous episodes in our conquest of India, from the time of Robert Clive to the disastrous Retreat from Kabul. It does not claim to be a complete history of our struggles with France and the native races; but an idea of the general course of the Great Fight may be gained from the introductory and connecting sections.¹³⁵

The frontispiece to J Hight's¹³⁶ *The English as a Colonising Nation* is a map, "The British Empire throughout the World", on Mercator's projection, "British Possessions Coloured Red."

The book left no doubt of its intentions:

The aim of the Public School Historical Readers is to give, in simple and accurate form, sufficient material for the requirements of the public school course in British History. Book IV traces the history of British colonisation, and should be found helpful by teachers preparing candidates in history for the public examinations of Australasia, in which considerable stress is nowadays laid on the origin and development of our Colonial Empire.¹³⁷

This next example is a book used by my stepmother's sister, a Form VI student at Stratford Technical High School about 1930.

NEW ZEALAND History

¹³²Whitcombe's Vivid History Reader, Grade VIII: A History of the Modern World, p151.

¹³³Whitcombe's Vivid History Reader, Grade VIII: A History of the Modern World, p154. 'Voluntarily' should be taken with a large grain of salt; Brantlinger reports James and John Stuart Mill differently, and Hobsbawm is clear that 'free trade' was never intended to apply to India.

¹³⁴Once in the Tawhiti School [near Hawera, south Taranaki] library.

¹³⁵Strang, Herbert, [Ed], *The Romance of the World; The Great Fight for India*

¹³⁶Professor of History at Canterbury College, now University of Canterbury.

¹³⁷Hight, J, *The English as a Colonising Nation*, Preface

The native race is entirely confined to **North Island**, and is that of the **Maories**. They are a brown-skinned, well-made and intelligent Polynesian race.

The first European to land in New Zealand were **Abel Tasman**,¹³⁸ and after 100 years **Captain Cook** landed in 1769 in **Poverty Bay**. He found the nation very civilized, wearing garments made out of flax, and governed under fixed laws. No real settlement was made till the year 1839,¹³⁹ when the **New Zealand Company** sent out immigrants.

The islands were annexed by Great Britain in 1840, but the Maories kept up a stubborn and dangerous resistance till 1869. They now lead peaceful lives in their reserves¹⁴⁰ in the North Island and many have become well educated, taking their share in the Government.

The colony was proclaimed self-governing in 1907.¹⁴¹

The book is, bluntly, frightening in its quality; much of the rest of it matches the extract. It is probably best described as bizarre. Why a *Form VI* student was using it escapes me!¹⁴²

Annotations in the book suggest it was used for revision purposes. Stratford Technical High School had a good reputation, but a text such as this puts that reputation at risk.

The next example, equally frightening, comes from a book published in the early 1840s.¹⁴³

It is the total New Zealand entry, and extracts from the Papua New Guinea entry. The extracts speak for themselves. Apart from the nature of the descriptions of the indigenous people of the two countries, two other features of interest are, firstly, the names given to the two main islands of New Zealand, and secondly, *no* word is used to identify the indigenous people of New Zealand; they were not 'New Zealanders', a common early practice, and, they were not 'Maori'. By contrast, the indigenous people of Australia were 'New Hollanders', those of Papua were 'Papuan'

NEW ZEALAND

Divided by Cook's Strait into two large islands - *Eaheino-mauwe* in the N, and *Tavai-Poenammoo*, in the S.

New Zealand is fine country, distinguished alike by its bold physical features, its fertile soil, and its salubrious climate. Both islands are traversed a range of lofty mountains, some of them rising to the height of 14,000 or 15,000 ft.¹⁴⁴ Towering peaks covered with perpetual snow - glaciers, torrents, and cataracts - majestic forests on the sides of the higher mountains - open and fertile woodlands on the lower hills - with rich valleys and plains at their base, - render New Zealand both grand and beautiful. The climate is mild, regular, and genial, but somewhat moist and exposed to mists, from the mountains attracting the vapours of the ocean - this, however, gives vigour to the vegetation and fertility of the soil. The prevalence of W winds renders the western shores dangerous, the harbours on the E are the best and safest. The principal native products of New Zealand are its noble pines, surpassing those of Norway, lofty palm trees, and *ti* or cabbage tree, kumera or sweet potato, flax, &c; but European grains and fruits have been introduced, and yield rich returns - wheat about 40 bushels an acre.

The natives are much superior to the New Hollanders - more intelligent, but also much more ferocious - they are a strong well-made race of men, of an olive or black brown colour, with their skins tattooed - they till the ground, and have made *some progress* in *rude arts* - have large carved canoes - and with their

¹³⁸Who did not land.

¹³⁹1839 was the year the ships sailed; they reached Wellington in 1940.

¹⁴⁰There were never any reserves in the North Island, and those which were agreed to in the purchase of a large portion of the South Island were not, fortunately, established.

¹⁴¹*Wheaton's Suggestive Geographies*, p26.

¹⁴²Both women are deceased, so I cannot easily answer the question. I might have got an answer had I known about and attended the centenary of Stratford Technical High School in October 1997.

¹⁴³*Complete System of MODERN GEOGRAPHY*, A.. The book is ell-worn. It was owned at least by Jane Melrose, Airdrie Academy, on Oct 22nd, 1857. It was possibly not used in New Zealand, but was brought here by Jane or her family, but what is certain is that it has been often read. The attitudes and impressions gained would not have helped to improve race relations wherever the reader or readers lived.

¹⁴⁴Mt Aorangi [Cook] is 12 000 feet!

rude tools display considerable ingenuity as mechanics. They are not united under one sovereign, but divided into numerous petty tribes who wage deadly wars with one another, with all the crafts and malignity *peculiar* to the savage. They construct their villages on steep precipices, almost inaccessible to the foot of a European. They are proved to be cannibals; they massacred the crew of the Boyd, in 1809, and devoured them. The power of the chief is reckoned by the number of muskets he possesses. Missionaries have been for some time settled among them - they have gained some congregations, and the schools are attended by about 1,000 pupils - they have also purchased lands, and introduced regular cultivation. The natives are estimated at about 250,000.

An extensive plan for colonising New Zealand was organized, in 1839, on a system similar to that of South Australia, and in that year 1,132 emigrants sailed from Britain, 90,000 acres having been previously disposed of at £1 per acre - this colonial expedition, the largest and most respectable that ever quitted the British shores, has been followed by another - the company having acquired lands on both sides of Cook's Strait - they have fixed their chief settlement at Port-Nicholson, and others in the northern part of the northern island. The soil is well adapted for grain, but will not yield great returns of wool which have enriched the settlers of New South Wales; besides, the great numbers and *ferocious* character of the natives gives reason to *anticipate a fierce and bloody struggle* at no distant period. The British settlements are as yet all in the northern island.¹⁴⁵

The entry on Papua, or New Guinea, includes these 'gems':

The Papuans have been called Oriental Negroes. They are savages, black, dwarfish, and ugly, they wear bones or pieces of wood passed through the cartilage of the nose - they have a kind of huts, and by a rude species of culture raise some crops.

The group of NEW HEBRIDES are also peopled by Papuans, a very degraded race, and hideously ugly.¹⁴⁶

I have found no evidence that New Zealand children were ever caused to wonder whether what was being described in the books discussed in this section might be wrong.

Colonisation

The Treaty of Waitangi

The Treaty of Waitangi is as good a place as any to begin to examine the nature of the act of colonisation of Aotearoa/New Zealand.¹⁴⁷

It must not be forgotten *a treaty had been signed*. Good, bad, or indifferent, a treaty is a treaty, signed usually, as in this case, by the most senior people of a nation, or their deputed agents. William Hobson was such an agent.

Paul McHugh argues that by the time the Treaty of Waitangi was signed, the British Colonial Office " ... declined [to sign a treaty] *until* Maori consented to any British government in their islands, ... "¹⁴⁸ As we will see shortly, the nature of that consent was perhaps not what is implied by an uncritical reading of McHugh's statement.

¹⁴⁵*Complete System of MODERN GEOGRAPHY, A.*, p 300; emphasis added in all cases.

¹⁴⁶*Complete System of MODERN GEOGRAPHY, A.*, p 300-1.

¹⁴⁷Considerable parts of this section of the paper are in a submission to the 1995 Parliamentary Select Committee into cultural safety for nurses.

¹⁴⁸McHugh, P G, "The Lawyer's Concept of Sovereignty, the Treaty of Waitangi, and a Legal History of New Zealand," in Renwick, William, [Ed], *Sovereignty & Indigenous Rights*, Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1991, p 180. McHugh later wrote: " ... the omission of Treaty rights from the new Bill of Rights [1990] is to be lamented. Inclusion would give further and stronger impetus to this Treaty dynamic in New Zealand legal and political, and hence constitutional, life." [p189]. I wish to emphasize a related point

One of the key issues is the use of ‘sovereignty’ and ‘kawangatanga’.¹⁴⁹ There is no question the terms are not synonymous, and it is argued that missionary Williams was ‘political’ in his translation, that he knew that if ‘mana’ were used, it being in much closer parallel with ‘sovereignty’, no chief would have signed. In 1981, J M R Owens judged that

In comparing the English with the Maori text it becomes apparent that Henry Williams was not simply trying to translate, but rather to re-write the Treaty into a form that would be acceptable to the Maoris.¹⁵⁰

Ten years later, in a paper delivered in 1990, M P K Sorrenson had come to the conclusion that:

... they [Lord Normanby, and Hobson, Busby, and Freeman], wrote the English text in the treaty language of their day, adding very little that had not been spelled out in previous treaties, But if they did not create a unique treaty, Henry Williams certainly did in his creative reworking of the main English provisions into a saleable Maori text.¹⁵¹

The Aftermath of the Treaty of Waitangi

What did the treaty come to mean for Maori? Claudia Orange¹⁵² gives some idea in her discussion of the conference held at Kohimarama in 1860. Orange suggests that

One way of charting a course [through the significance of the treaty] is to look at the crises that have occurred in Maori affairs. At such times there was a tendency for government to make use of the treaty in order to support and justify its policies.¹⁵³

The 1860 crises were the dispute over land at Waitara and the growing manifestations of the King Movement in Waikato and Maniapoto. So, in July 1860 Governor Gore Browne invited over 200 chiefs to a conference to be held at Kohimarama. He did not invite any from Taranaki, and few from Waikato.¹⁵⁴ The conference

... became a ‘fuller ratification’ of Waitangi: for some a re-affirmation of the consent originally given; for others, a new commitment. The final resolution bound those present in the pledge - the covenant of Kohimarama. Maori treaty rights confirmed in 1860 became a point of reference for the expression of organized Maori protest in a series of conferences beginning in 1879. ... There was little of the vagueness shown at the earlier conference; speakers had a good grasp of treaty clauses. The rights understood to have been guaranteed were now seen to be unfulfilled. Yet the assurances about the benefits of the treaty, given in 1860, were still so firmly believed, that Maoris were hesitant to find fault with the treaty, or to perceive that its clauses were impossibly contradictory. ... It was apparent from the grievances voiced at these [1879 -1880] conferences that Maoris were intensely disturbed by the direction of events affecting their lives: ... More generally, the sense of Maori mana lost was confirmed by the exclusion of Maoris from various government positions in a general retrenchment of expenditure in Maori affairs that began at the end of the seventies. The representation of Maori interests in the Wellington parliament by the four Maori members, judged generally to be ineffectual, was no compensation.¹⁵⁵

Waste Lands

made elsewhere by Paul McHugh: “The Crown is bound both by the common law and international law to an interpretation of the Treaty of Waitangi in the sense that the Maori as weaker party would have understood it. These obligations explain the preference for the Maori text in resolving ambiguity and conflict with the English version.” [McHugh, Paul, *The Māori Magna Carta: New Zealand Law and the Treaty of Waitangi*, Auckland University Press, 1991, p 236.]

¹⁴⁹ ‘Kawangatanga’: governance.

¹⁵⁰Owens, J M R, “New Zealand before Annexation,” in Oliver, W H, [Ed], *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, p52.

¹⁵¹Sorrenson, M P K, “Treaties in British Colonial Policy: Precedents for Waitangi,” in Renwick, William, [Ed], *Sovereignty & Indigenous Rights*, p29.

¹⁵²Orange, Claudia, “The Covenant of Kohimarama: A ratification of the Treaty of Waitangi” in *NZJH* 14:1, April 1980, pp 61-82.

¹⁵³Orange, Claudia, “The Covenant of Kohimarama:”, p61.

¹⁵⁴Orange, Claudia, “The Covenant of Kohimarama:”, p64.

Land, whenua, is Papatuanuku, Mother Earth. That understanding is in direct opposition to English understanding of land. Right from the beginning, the concept of Crown ‘waste land’ was in government and settler minds. The Royal Charter of 1840 established New Zealand as a separate colony, and included in the Charter was provision for the Governor to make

grants of waste lands to private persons for their own use and benefit, or to any persons, bodies politic or corporate, in trust for the public uses of our subjects there resident ... provided always ... that nothing shall affect ... the rights of any aboriginal natives ... any lands ... *now actually occupied or enjoyed*¹⁵⁶ by such natives.¹⁵⁷

The only land that could be waste was Maori land. The concept of ‘waste’ land was in the English Act¹⁵⁸ on which the first New Zealand constitution was based, and the first parliament was quickly passing ‘Waste Lands’ Acts; Acts numbers 6, 22, and 75; the latter, passed in 1858, in its schedule recorded fourteen provincial acts, ordinances, bills or regulations. While in London the following year, Prime Minister Stafford was able to avert possible disallowance of the 1858 Act.¹⁵⁹ The lists of Acts for most sessions for many years contained amendments to the Waste Lands Acts of either central government or provincial governments, frequently more than one. There were three amendment acts on each of 10 October, 1867 and 12 September, 1870. The bulkiest I found was the 1866 Otago Wastelands Act, at 22 pages, followed by in 1870 the Westland Act at 21 pages, in 1867 the Marlborough and Auckland Acts at 13 and 11 pages respectively, with the 1874 Taranaki Act coming between at 12 pages.

The pattern was set early; the Charter and the Instructions to Governor Hobson in 1840 included Waste Lands, there were additional instructions in 1847, and further instructions in 1850, the later relating to the lands of the New Zealand Company.

While the term ‘waste land’ does not appear, Donald Loveridge’s study of the New Zealand Land Claims Act of 1840 leaves no doubt as to the attitude of the British government and at least some of its agents towards the idea that Maori had sovereign rights over the land of New Zealand, and that the land could be considered almost entirely uninhabited, and therefore waste and at the disposal of the Governor.

For a period prior to the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, the islands of New Zealand were under the jurisdiction of the administration of New South Wales. In the aftermath of the signing of the Treaty, provision had to be made for dealing with land claimed by Euro-

¹⁵⁵Orange, Claudia, “The Covenant of Kohimarama:”, pp 72-78.

¹⁵⁶ Emphasis added. Those words are critical; only if “occupied or enjoyed” could the land be considered ‘owned’.

¹⁵⁷*Charter of 1840.*

¹⁵⁸*An Act to grant a Representative Constitution to the Colony of New Zealand.*

pean settlers to have been bought from its Maori owners. In the Land Claims bill which was introduced into the New South Wales legislature in May of 1840, the preamble to the Bill ... stated flatly that,

neither the Chiefs nor other individuals of uncivilized People, such as inhabit the Islands of New Zealand, have, nor can have, a right so to dispose of the Territory occupied by them, as to convey to individuals not forming apart of their own Tribes, and not being Aboriginal inhabitants of such Territory a permanent interest in the lands, or in any portion of the Lands which are held by them in common, and for the advantage of the said tribes, or aboriginal inhabitants.¹⁶⁰

Gipps, when he introduced the Bill, “ ... stated that the preamble

proceeded upon the principles which he [Gipps] had laid down in his opening address. The Preamble of the Bill stated, that the titles cannot be valid, and declared them to be invalid ... The Bill proceeded upon the principle that the people of New Zealand have not such a right to the soil as would enable them to convey it, and that no subject of Her Majesty could take it.¹⁶¹

In a letter to Governor Hobson, dated 15 August, 1839, Lord Normanby, Secretary of State in the Colonial Office, wrote that if

the country is really, as you suppose, uninhabited, except by a very small number of persons in a savage state, incapable from their ignorance of entering intelligently into any treaties with the Crown ...¹⁶²

This material reinforces the impression that British concepts of land were totally incompatible with Maori concepts. Loveridge reminds us that control of land was essential, including land claimed to have been bought prior to the Treaty signing for, if control was not absolute, it “ ..would place a severe restriction on the Crown’s ability to control the location of future European settlement, and to promote colonization using the profits from the sale of land.”¹⁶³

Wards outlines the very vigorous protestations, including a petition organised by Bishop Selwyn, against Earl Grey’s instructions of 1846 vigorously to acquire wastelands.¹⁶⁴

Wards notes that Governor Grey ensured that the Colonial Office and Lord Grey were well aware that any attempt to acquire land by force would lead to disaster and war, but that Maori

would cheerfully recognise the Crown’s right of pre-emption, and would in nearly all circumstances dispose of their *surplus* lands for a *nominal* consideration, even perhaps without payment, ‘if the Compliment were only paid them of requesting their acquiescence in the occupation of those lands by European Settlers.’¹⁶⁵

Wards also makes it quite clear that Governor Grey had every intention of acquiring as much land as possible from Maori, notes that “Governor Grey himself, in his own devious manner, protested against Lord Grey’s instructions,” and goes on to state that

¹⁵⁹McLintock, A H, [Ed], *An Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, , iii, p 305b. I have not found an explanation as to why that action was necessary.

¹⁶⁰ Loveridge, Donald M, *The New Zealand Land Claims Act of 1840*, p 6.

¹⁶¹ Loveridge, Donald M, *The New Zealand Land Claims Act of 1840*, p 6.

¹⁶² Loveridge, Donald M, *The New Zealand Land Claims Act of 1840*, p 21.

¹⁶³ Loveridge, Donald M, *The New Zealand Land Claims Act of 1840*, p 126.

¹⁶⁴The Charter of 1846, especially Chapter 13.

¹⁶⁵Wards, Ian, *The Shadow of the Land*, p388. [Emphasis added.]

... Grey now set forth on a policy of trickery and deceit. So difficult is it to find one important subject about which Grey did not lie, or, the most favourable view, which he did not misrepresent, the impact of Grey must be judged from what he did and not from what he said.¹⁶⁶

Wards' final chapter is further argument for his conclusion that his characterisation of the contemporary account and perception of the act colonisation was indeed a "myth of moral suasion."

Ranginui Walker is the only historian to have written a history of New Zealand who has addressed the issue of waste lands.¹⁶⁷ Wards,¹⁶⁸ Ward,¹⁶⁹ Sinclair,¹⁷⁰ and Belich¹⁷¹ either did not realise the issue existed, or if they realised it existed, did not consider it important enough to explore.¹⁷² W H Oliver almost gets mentioned twice,¹⁷³ but in fact while 'waste land' is not indexed in *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, there is brief mention by Gardner:

Regionalism dominated the economic development of the 1850s and 1860s. The "Compact of 1856" recognised the fundamentally regional nature of the economy by establishing a quasi-federal framework of public finance under which each province was to take charge of its waste lands and land revenue, ...¹⁷⁴

I am not aware of any explanation as to why those historians did not deal with waste lands, but their failure to do so could be related to the central theme of this paper.

It is, therefore, perhaps not surprising that although the *Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, edited by A H McLintock, with a foreword by the then Prime Minister, Keith Holyoake, and published by the Government Printer in 1966, does not have an index entry for the 1958 Waste Lands Act, does not index waste land, and additionally, while it indexes two Royal Commissions on Confiscated Lands, does not index the act of confiscation itself. 'Confiscation' is not indexed under the heading 'Land', and it is not indexed under the heading 'Waikato', only as "Maori land confiscations compensation" under 'Taranaki'; a heading refers the reader to the "Waitara purchase.", where again 'confiscation' does not appear. That experience sent me looking at the other encyclopaedias I own. In *The New Zealand Junior Encyclopaedia*,¹⁷⁵ confiscation is not mentioned, and while conflict over land is noted, it is not well covered. The Land Wars were, in 1960 - 1962, still the 'Maori' Wars.

¹⁶⁶Wards, Ian, *The Shadow of the Land*: p391.

¹⁶⁷Walker, Ranginui, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle Without End*, Auckland: Penguin, 1990 pp98-99.

¹⁶⁸Wards, Ian, *The Shadow of the Land*:

¹⁶⁹Ward, Alan, *A Show of Justice*:

¹⁷⁰Sinclair, Keith, *A History of New Zealand*, London: Penguin, 1980 [1959]

¹⁷¹Belich, James, *Making Peoples: A History of New Zealanders, Vol 1*:

¹⁷²Rutherford, in his study of Grey, deals with the 1846 wastelands episode, but also fails to index the term.] Rutherford, J, *Sir George Grey*, eg pp166ff.

¹⁷³Oliver, W H, *The Story of New Zealand*, London: Faber 1963 [1960], and Oliver, W H [ed] with B R Williams, *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, [We must not forget the several authors who could have, but did not, address the issue.]

¹⁷⁴Gardner, W J, "A Colonial Economy" in Oliver, W H [ed] with B R Williams, *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, pp 57-86. I am indebted to Rev Bill Earle for drawing my attention to that brief reference. Bill had been alerted to the issue of waste land by myself, and he considered Gardner's reference most inadequate, with a quite inadequate context.

¹⁷⁵Dwyer, T J, [Ed], *The New Zealand Junior Encyclopaedia*

In the “Chronology” of the *Bateman New Zealand Encyclopedia*,¹⁷⁶ published in 1984, it is recorded that in 1863 the colonial government stated its intention to assume control of Maori Affairs,¹⁷⁷ and in 1964 that Sir George Grey confiscated Maori land in the Waikato. The omission, of course, is that land was also confiscated in Taranaki, in Bay of Plenty and, but less clearly so, in Hawke Bay. However, it is impossible to find anything about land, confiscation, etc, from the index. It may be findable under ‘History and Culture’, or under ‘War’, but I did not search. There is no easy way of finding whether waste land is mentioned, but I doubt it.¹⁷⁸

It is reasonable to assume that Bishop Russell, writing in England in 1849, was representative of a widespread view. On land he wrote:

It may be remarked, in the first place, that, so little have the inhabitants availed themselves of the natural advantages of soil and climate, they cannot be said to have taken possession of the country which they call their own. It is still the uninvaded domain of nature; and they are merely a handful of stragglers who wander about its outskirts. ... The country is nearly a wilderness; all swamp or woodland, except a few scattered patches by the seaside, or along the courses of rivers.¹⁷⁹

It is to my mind quite clear that not only was there never any meeting of minds on how land was viewed and understood, there was never any intention on the part of Pakeha to make any attempt to understand a Maori view, nor, any intention to incorporate a Maori view into policy, and, most importantly, there was no capacity to do those things. It was not possible, within the cosmology and the political thought of England, to entertain such concepts.¹⁸⁰

The individual, legal ownership of land was central to English politics and power a long way back, entrenched well before the Domesday Book.¹⁸¹ Governments fostered the Landed Interest as much as possible, including, for example, heavy tariffs in wheat, and Land Tax was for a very long time, at least from before Domesday, the chief means of raising funds for war.¹⁸² Land gave the legal profession its start. Individualised ownership of land was a prerequisite for the franchise.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁶McLauchlan, Gordon, [Ed], *Bateman New Zealand Encyclopedia*

¹⁷⁷They would have called them ‘Native’ Affairs.

¹⁷⁸Native Land Acts and the Native Land Court were also very important, as this extract for the teacher at Te Kopua Native School attests: Captain Beamish had several reasons for the poor attendance at Te Kopua; one was the Native Land Court. His observations are interesting:

...and Mr Searancke also informed me that since the land has been individualised, several having no claim have left. ... but the fact is the Land Court at Otorohanga has upset the lot of them. Te Kopua Native School records. [1890 11 24] Some years later, this letter from Henry Young reinforces the point: “Land court sitting, many natives have had to attend, some children with them, some are up there now.” [1897 09 30]

¹⁷⁹Russell, Right Rev M, LLD, DCL, *Polynesia: A History of the South Seas Islands, including New Zealand: with Narrative of the Introduction of Christianity, etc*, London and Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson, 1849, p 368. Cf Lord Normanby to Governor Hobson, p 25 above.

¹⁸⁰It is still an issue, as a contributor to *Marae*, TV One, 25 Oct, 1997, made clear.

¹⁸¹Godfrey, Andy and Keith Hooper, *Domesday Book: Its Significance as an Accounting Document*

¹⁸²Marshall, Dorothy, *Eighteenth Century England*, London: Longmans, Green, 1962; Godfrey, Andy and Keith Hooper, *Domesday Book: Its Significance as an Accounting Document*

¹⁸³That Maori did not have ‘individualised’ ownership of land was one reason Maori were not included in the franchise for the first parliaments, from 1852 to 1858.

The Treaty of Waitangi was put together by people who had quite clear ideas on the status of land; it would never have occurred to them to ask Maori their understanding of the status of land, and the beginnings of much that bedevils us still were laid then.

Fish and Game

The February 1997 decision of Judge Becroft in the Wanganui District court, that Maori from a hapu or iwi¹⁸⁴ with traditional territorial authority over a river fishery would be able to fish for trout without a licence, has brought forth all sorts of reactions. Judge Becroft's ruling was quite restrictive; any fishing was to be for personal or family consumption or for a tangi or hui. It was not allowed to affect the conservation of the resource, and, the fishing must be in accordance with local protocol and the fishers must be able to prove they were authorised to do so.

In the context of the ruling, the most often quoted history is that one hundred years ago to the month, magistrate Colonel Roberts in Rotorua declined a defence, based upon the Treaty of Waitangi, against charges of unlawful fishing, the magistrate finding that the Treaty applied only to indigenous fish. Evidence given on behalf of the defendants argued that the traditional indigenous fish, the manga or whitebait, had been very seriously diminished since the advent of the trout. That later fact has been conveniently ignored by 1997 editorialists, letter writers, and others.

Colonel Roberts' finding is interesting, given that twenty years earlier, in 1877, Chief Justice James Prendergast, ignoring legislative and other recognition of 'aboriginal rights', declared the Treaty a 'legal nullity', a judgement since seen as dubious, and eventually, but only recently, overturned.

One hundred and thirty years ago, in 1867, the *Maori Representation Act* established four Maori seats in the General Assembly; the following year, the first four Maori legislators joined 110 others, there then being two houses, the House of Representatives and an Upper House, the Legislative Council. There were not ever Maori in the later House. The Maori population was then approximately half that of the Pakeha population.

Also in 1867, two other acts became law: *The Act for the Encouragement of Acclimatisation Societies in New Zealand*, and the *Salmon and Trout Act*.

In the 1860s, societies were formed to introduce fish and game, innocuous of course, and societies were established to further that work. The Treaty [English] says "... full exclusive undisturbed possession of ... Fisheries ...". Were Maori ever consulted when game

¹⁸⁴Hapu': an extended, 'enlarged', family. 'Iwi': A tribe, or an amalgamation of tribes with common heritage.

fish, trout and salmon, were brought to this country and released into the rivers, and the gamefishing structures and rules set in place? We may rest assured the answer is “No”! There were no Maori legislators to protest. That broke the Treaty; there is no need for ‘principles’ to come to that conclusion.

Fish were not the only imports: deer, opossums, rabbits, cats, ragwort, gorse, stoats and weasels and many others were added to the list. Opossums were protected in the early stages of their introduction! If there are problems with gorse and ragwort on land owned by Maori, we know who started the problem; it was not Maori. “Acclimatisation societies introduced Californian quail to replace the native quail that sporting gentlemen had already shot to extinction.”¹⁸⁵

This recent snippet from the *NZ Herald* is one consequence of the fish and game activities:

“Six red deer have now been liberated in the Wainui-o-mata Corporation Reserve above the dam and as these animals are exceedingly tame shooting above the dam has been forbidden by the City Council at the request of the Acclimatisation Society.”¹⁸⁶

The Role of Theories of Social Arrangements

Individualism and freedom of choice and action were by the nineteenth century so taken for granted in English ruling class thinking that there seems to have been very little *ruling class* opposition to it. Not so the working class, supported by such as the Chartists. Kirkpatrick Sale, vigorously and often with undertones of anger, makes quite explicit the double standards operating.

... the British state worked in myriad ways, by acts of commission and omission, to advance the whole process of industrialization, enrich and protect the manufacturing sector, ensure a compliant labor force, and provide regular and prosperous domestic and foreign markets.¹⁸⁷ ...

... the laissez-faire system was never impartial, nor was it meant to be, despite the cool recitation of its tenets as “natural law,” inevitable and impersonal, by Adam Smith and the “Feelosophers.” ... the “free market of labor,” for example: it never existed in Britain because labor was never free to organize, workers never free to travel, the deskilled never free to learn new crafts, and the unemployed never free to enter trades already overstuffed with excess hands, or at least not in any meaningful sense.¹⁸⁸

Sale records that English acts of 1799 and 1800 dealt with ‘combinations’;¹⁸⁹ the acts made it illegal for workers to ‘combine’ to advance their interests; it was the act of ‘combining’ that justified transporting the Tolpuddle Martyrs to Australia.

The associated concept was that of ‘communism’. This was used in Parliament at least twice last century against Maori, the first by leading Taranaki politician J C Richmond:

¹⁸⁵Ted Reynolds, “Quail, trout make more than ripples,” *NZ Herald*, 29 March, 1997, p A2.

¹⁸⁶*NZ Herald*, 10 April, 1997, ‘100 years ago’.

¹⁸⁷Cf Marshall, Dorothy, *Eighteenth Century England*, esp Ch 1.

¹⁸⁸Sale, Kirkpatrick, *Rebels Against the Future: The Luddites and Their War on the Industrial Revolution; Lessons for the Computer Age*, pp 49 -53.

I say substantial justice is partition; and if they cannot agree amongst themselves their boundaries ought to be settled for them by some higher power. That is what substantial justice demands. It is not just that the minority should condemn the majority, who wish to escape from it, to the tribal life - to the beastly communism of the pa - to the slough of barbarism from which they are striving to emerge. That is what English law would give them. Any joint owner is entitled to a partition of the common property. Even if he is one out of many, he has a right to have his portion separated and to do what he will with his own. Any joint owner is entitled to a partition of the common property. Even if he is one out of many, he has a right to have his portion separated and do what he will with his own allotment.¹⁹⁰

The other use was by leading politician Henry Sewell:

It was necessary to bring about the detribalisation of the Natives - to destroy, if it were possible, the principle of communism which ran through the whole of their institutions ... and which stood as a barrier in the way of all attempts to amalgamate the native race into our own social and political system.¹⁹¹

This next quotation, from the *NZ Herald*, I suspect all too representative, sums up much of what has been in my mind as I have worked on this section, and indeed on this paper:

The occupation of their lands by colonisation from home is what we want, and what the colony requires to enable it to pay its way and not be swamped by debt, and inwardly we shall in confidence say to ourselves, very sorry for the noble semi-civilised people, but it must go to the wall, for the Maori is face to face with that civilisation to which he [sic] must succumb.¹⁹²

Those events reveal a deep antipathy to notions central to Maori being; there is no evidence there was any other than very minor objections to those views; I have not seen evidence of any objections at all.

Because this small section has focused on what was said by Pakeha inside parliament, it is appropriate to recall also that, when Maori MPs wished to advance Maori devolution, Pakeha MPs had a simple solution:

In 1894, Hone Heke introduced into the House a Native Rights Bill seeking devolution of power to the Maori Parliament ... the Bill was thwarted by Pakeha members walking out of the House during the debate, which was adjourned for the want of a quorum.¹⁹³

The Role of Violence

Ian Wards' *The Shadow of the Land: A Study of British Policy and Racial Conflict in New Zealand 1832 - 1852*, was published first in 1968, and republished in 1995.¹⁹⁴ I quote:

Generally, historians have, ... concentrated on the nobler Colonial Office determination to preserve the Maoris from the seamier side of organised colonisation, and have thus presented the acquisition of New Zealand as a deliberate attempt to salvage a native people and to initiate an experiment in practical idealism. ... Such a concept ... adds much to the great chapter of the nobility of mankind, but tells little of the realities and has, through over-emphasis and uncritical repetition, hindered our understanding of this area

¹⁸⁹I am sure that I have read the term 'combination' applied to Maori last century, but sadly I did not record the place or places where I read it.

¹⁹⁰ *NZPD*, 1860, p 185, J C Richmond. He was speaking in the debate on the Native Offenders Bill. Ranginui Walker makes quite clear his judgement that Richmond was very racist; Walker, Ranginui, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle Without End*; see Index entries.

¹⁹¹ *NZPD*, 1879, 9, p 361: Henry Sewell. Cited in part in Gallhofer, Sonja, Jim Haslam and Mike Pratt, *Developing Environmental Accounting: Insights from Indigenous Cultures*, Hamilton: Working Paper no 48, Dept Accounting, University of Waikato, 1996, and in part in Sorrenson, M P K, "Maori and Pakeha," pp189 - 190.

¹⁹² *NZ Herald*, 21/10/1882; cited in Gallhofer, Sonja, Jim Haslam and Mike Pratt, *Developing Environmental Accounting: Insights from Indigenous Cultures*

¹⁹³ Walker, Ranginui, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle without End*, p 168.

¹⁹⁴ Wards, Ian, *The Shadow of the Land: A Study of British Policy and Racial Conflict in New Zealand 1832 - 1852*,

of New Zealand's history. *More particularly, and perhaps more unfortunately, it has falsely represented the situation to five generations of Maori people.*¹⁹⁵

Wards opening chapter is "The myth of moral suasion", his theme being that whilst the rhetoric asserted that the Colonial Office was taking the moral high ground with respect to the welfare of the Maori, the actuality was that some form of military involvement was explicit or implicit in all proposals for British involvement in New Zealand. Although there was frequent reference to seeking and obtaining Maori acquiescence, Wards points out that "At no stage does the record reveal that the public advantage was associated with the welfare of the Maori race."¹⁹⁶ He later concluded that

... in determining the pattern of the government which was to exercise control for the Crown, little or no attention was paid to the needs and means of the people who were to be governed. Everything was subordinated to the single act of obtaining sovereignty. ... nothing lay behind the absence of an adequate military strength other than the need to husband military resources of an expanding empire. There was no matter of moral principle, no pledge for the future.¹⁹⁷

Miles Barker's just-published family history, *Barracks, Babes and Bootmakers*,¹⁹⁸ quite unselfconsciously recounts a life frequently lived in military conflict with Maori in New Zealand. With a treaty just signed, some of the chapter headings are illuminating: Two, "The Defenders of Auckland" and "Peacekeeping on the Wanganui," are in the period 1840 - 1855; others indicate that Robert Barker was involved throughout the New Zealand Wars of the 1860s.

The Role of Violence in the Native School system.

Within the Native school system, war was eulogised more than once. During the Boer War, James H Pope proposed that Native school teachers should be the officers in a Volunteer Corps; he seemed quite comfortable with using a military operation to enhance the mana of Native school teachers, and he clearly took it for granted that the teachers, almost all of whom were Pakeha, would be the officers.

It cannot be denied that a master of a Maori school, being also captain of a company, might have a highly beneficial effect on the Maori Volunteers in his district; the establishment of such a relation might gain for the master the sympathy of parents and pupils to a degree hardly to be reached in any other way. It is even possible that some scheme could be devised to keep the chain unbroken from drill in the infant classes, through cadet companies formed from three or four schools in one neighbourhood, up to companies of well-drilled citizen soldiers, partly officered by the Maori¹⁹⁹ school teachers of a particular district.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁵ Wards, Ian, *The Shadow of the Land*: pp22-23. Emphasis added. Wards could, perhaps should, have included *Pakeha*, for the history has likewise been misrepresented to them, which is equally important.

¹⁹⁶ Wards, Ian, *The Shadow of the Land*: p32.

¹⁹⁷ Wards, Ian, *The Shadow of the Land*: p36-37.

¹⁹⁸ Barker, Miles, *Barracks, Babes and Bootmakers*

¹⁹⁹ "Kaiapoi Maori School", "master of a Maori school," and "Maori school teachers of a particular district". Pope's use of 'Maori' is interesting, given he had just referred to 'Native' school work. 'Native' was the standard term, and remained so until after World War II. Did he have an intention in using *Maori*? We cannot know, but I am inclined to the view that the choice of words was not accidental.

²⁰⁰ *AJHR* 1901, E2, p17. Pope was apparently quite unperturbed that "... in March 1900 a large Maori meeting in Wellington demanded the despatch of a Native Contingent to the Boer War. Until 1914, the British Government would not use non-whites against whites." [King, Michael, "Between Two Worlds," in Rice, Geoffrey W, [Ed], *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, vol 2, p 303. Laurie Barber, University of Waikato, confirmed King's statement. [Personal communication, August 1995.]]

Popes initiative has to be seen in the context of “ ... turn of the century imperialism - both in the sense of sentimental and military support for empire and territorial expansion in the islands - ... was playing a major role in the emergence of a New Zealand nationalism.” David McIntyre goes on to describe the nature of the changes, and notes that in the military sphere New Zealand was developing its own armed forces, including the introduction of compulsory military training by the *1909 Defence Act*.²⁰¹

During World War I the Annual Report recorded positive Maori responses to the war, and W W Bird claimed that

There can be no doubt that the Native Schools have played an important part in creating feelings of patriotism and loyalty in the young Maoris, and that the policy of the Government in establishing a system of education for them has been a wise one.²⁰²

The theme was emphasised again towards the end of the war, when Bird wrote that

In inculcating feelings of loyalty and patriotism among young Maoris, and even among the adults, the Native schools are undoubtedly doing very important work, and if any test is required as to the ultimate results that have been obtained through the operations of the schools, it is to be found in the magnificent efforts the people as a whole have made in response to appeals for patriotic purposes, and in the number of young men who have answered the call of Empire.²⁰³

There was an equally positive view after World War II, when T A Fletcher reported that

In 1941 I felt that our schools should make some contribution to the war effort, and I appealed to our schools for £600 to equip the Maori Battalion with a mobile canteen. In a very short space of time more than £900 had been donated, and few schools failed to contribute. The result was that we were able not only to buy the mobile canteen, but also to equip it, and on 19th August 1941, it was officially handed over by the Hon the Minister of Education to the Governor-General, as Chairman of the National Patriotic Fund Board. It was presented ‘as a token of love from the children of the Native Schools of New Zealand.’ The mobile canteen was with the Maori Battalion throughout the North African and Italian campaigns, and gave wonderful service.²⁰⁴

During World War II, in 1941, a Native school logbook recorded that the day after ANZAC Day the teacher forwarded to the Director of Education the sum of £5 being the amount donated by the children towards the Mobile Canteen for the Maori Battalion.²⁰⁵

In 1944, another teacher wrote in the logbook:

At long last the long awaited event - the Invasion of Europe - has come, and the liberation of oppressed nations will come soon - the King's prayer to Almighty God will receive willing response. A short prayer embracing the whole Allied cause has already been in use in the school.²⁰⁶

Both teachers²⁰⁷ were imbued with patriotic fervour; there were several entries recording with enthusiasm the 1937 coronation of King George VI, saluting the flag, and other similar events.²⁰⁸

²⁰¹ McIntyre, W David, “Imperialism and Nationalism,” in Rice, Geoffrey W, *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, p 342 -343.

²⁰² *AJHR* 1915 E3, p 11. The Education Department had in 1913 encouraged teachers to take their pupils to visit HMS New Zealand, and provided incentives for them to do so. [Circulars to NS E37 W2536 box 1 EDF [1913 04 22, National Archives.]] The teacher at Te Kopua, married with a son into his teens and two young children, volunteered for service in France, where he was killed. That he should have so done has haunted me since it became clear in the record, which says nothing about what became of his wife and family; the department apparently had no involvement with them.

²⁰³ *AJHR* 1917, E3, pp12 -13.

²⁰⁴ *AJHR* 1946, E3, p3. As I shall record later, not all was roses!

²⁰⁵ *TKLB* [1941 04 26]

²⁰⁶ *TKLB* [1944 06 06]

The Role of Violence: More Recent Times

That takes us very naturally to consider the rise and demise of The Maori War Organisation, which was formed as a support organisation for the Maori Battalion during World War II. Claudia Orange has described the genesis of the Maori War Organisation, its evolution into an effective *Maori* administration, and its demise at the hands of H G R Mason, Native Minister, and the Native Department.²⁰⁹ If Paraire Paekea had not died, the War Organisation might have replaced the Native Department, for that is what those who built it began to aspire to. Mason and the Native Department had no intention of allowing that to happen.

In 1995, Matiu Rata told a hui that when he was appointed Minister of Maori Affairs in 1972 and first met his senior departmental officials, he was the only Maori in the room.²¹⁰ The department had not ensured that Maori got to play a significant role in the management of their affairs!

On Waitangi Day 1995, Lieutenant Colonel Sir Charles Bennett may have had the fate of the Maori War Organisation in mind, for he was reported as saying that

Equity, justice and partnership between Maori and Pakeha appear to have been swept aside in the Government's fiscal envelope plan to settle Maori grievances, and that it was disappointing that the very things they had fought for had been pushed aside.

'Unfortunately, recent political events in New Zealand have not only negated those aspirations but have also put an envelope of gloom and unhappiness around our people. So much so that we of the Maori Battalion are now beginning to ask ourselves these questions: Did we go overseas for the wrong reasons? Have we been conned by the fiscal envelope of 1995? If the events of today had been transposed to that 1939 era, would we have volunteered?'

The Government should be commended for 'being the first to take a big step forward' towards meeting the problems of confiscated land. It should be realised, however, that nothing can succeed unless it is arrived at by mutual consent. If we are to succeed as a bicultural society, our land and treaty problems must first be permanently resolved.²¹¹

The headline on the news item was "Partnership 'swept aside'".

Exactly three months later, Sir Charles drew this headline: "Top Maori: Big support for radicals"

Radicals warning of the potential for terrorism in response to "crimes" against Maori sovereignty represent the majority of Maori thinking, says the former Maori Battalion commander Sir Charles Bennet.

'As long as this injustice exists, some form of demonstration is bound to happen', he said.

In what seemed unequivocal backing of those the government has labelled "loonies" and police have threatened to charge with sedition, Sir Charles said: 'You must regard radicals as being an essential part of modern society. They are attempting to be pathfinders, to find a way through all the uncertainty.'

²⁰⁷Both were Maori, one a woman of a well-known local family, the other a man returned from retirement to fill a gap during the war.

²⁰⁸If two swallows make a summer, it could be argued that the World War I hopes of W W Bird were well realised in later years.

²⁰⁹Orange, Claudia, "An Exercise in Maori Autonomy: The Rise and Demise of the Maori War Effort Organisation," *NZ Jn Hist*, 21:2, April 1987. [Essays in Honour of Sir Keith Sinclair.]

²¹⁰'Iwi Development', University of Waikato, 28 4 1995. H G R Mason as Minister of Education was also negative towards Maori students.

²¹¹*NZ Herald*, 7 Feb 1995. Shane Jones, a Treaty of Waitangi commissioner had, arising from the events of the day, a very similar message to that of Sir Charles Bennett. [*NZ Herald*, 8 Feb, 1995.]

Sir Charles said if the government gave Maori people the opportunity to have an input into their own affairs, 'all these problems would disappear.

'The majority of Maori people are not in favour of terrorism or extreme measures but would sympathise with the demonstrators on the principle that there are certain wrongs that ... need to be righted.'²¹²

Those two statements by Sir Charles were to my knowledge reported only in the *NZ Herald*, and have gone unremarked since. The 'radicals' are remembered, and frequently vilified, but people of mana such as Sir Charles and Shane Jones are variously reported and then quietly ignored. *That* is the political culture of schooling for Maori.

Also in 1995, to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II, the National Library Gallery in Wellington mounted an exhibition, *Kia Kaha/Forever Strong: New Zealand's Involvement in World War II*, with an accompanying catalogue.²¹³ The nod towards the Maori contribution to the war is cursory; the title is partly in te reo, whilst the Maori Battalion features just once, doing a haka for the King of Greece!²¹⁴

Tourism

Tourist material seldom presents Maori except in traditional attire, doing traditional things, and if the booklet discussed below had not come into the University of Waikato library, I would not have considered the topic.²¹⁵ However, it was acquired, and it was of such a nature that its inclusion is I believe justified. It is another illustration of the political culture of schooling for Maori.

In the 1935 booklet, there are two posed photographs of young Maori women. The first young Maori woman, in colour, showing through a 'whare' cut in the front cover, is revealed when the cover is turned to be naked from the waist up. She is wearing a piupiu, and both her knees are clearly visible. Further on in the booklet there is "A pensive Maori maid in the thermal area," who is definitely bare from the waist up, and may be naked, her nakedness disguised by some carefully placed vegetation. The two parallel posed photographs of young Pakeha women show them in the all-covering swimming costume of the time. There is a typical Maori guide, fully dressed in traditional clothing, a traditionally dressed concert party, and two photographs taken at Whakarewarewa, one of people at the entrance in European clothing, the other of children diving for coins off the bridge in swimming costumes.

The brochure also featured the Goldie painting of emaciated Maori which

²¹²*NZ Herald*, 7 May, 1995.

²¹³-, *Kia Kaha/Forever Strong: New Zealand's Involvement in World War II*

²¹⁴-, *Kia Kaha/Forever Strong: New Zealand's Involvement in World War II*, p13, photo 10.

²¹⁵*North Island New Zealand: Wonderland of the World*, . The booklet is typical in its use of Maori to provide a tourist attraction, in this case at Rotorua, but there is coverage of other parts of the North Island.

... gives a striking impression of one of the first canoes making landfall at Aotearoa [New Zealand], after the harrowing journey from far Hawaiki.

The painting is now regarded as quite inaccurate in its message.

If a recent *Insight* tourist guide is any indication, nothing has changed. I footnote a letter which has gone off to the publishers. Gordon McLauchlan, very well known New Zealand author and commentator, played a major role in compiling the guide.²¹⁶

²¹⁶Dear Editors

Whilst visiting Los Angeles recently, my son's partner showed me your New Zealand guide, and later observed that she did not like the front cover photo of a male Maori doing a haka, particularly his facial expression. I pointed out that such expressions only appear when Maori men are doing a haka.

I had already had my reservations about that photo, the endpaper photo, [which I judge is an historical photo] and in fact all the photos and other illustrations of Maori.

My reservation is that Maori do not appear in the guide as they appear to me every day here in Hamilton, dressed in the sort of clothes I wear, doing the sorts of things I do, or doing the various jobs that Pakeha do. If there are such photos in the guide, I could not find them. Eventually, I went through the guide looking at the photos pretty thoroughly, and also at times the text, and what follows is my commentary on what I took notice of.

"By way of Introduction": very light on women contributors. No person recognisably Maori.

"Table of Contents": It is a long time since the wars were the 'Maori' Wars. For many years they have been the 'land' Wars [see p 131, where Janet Leggett uses 'land' wars. More recently, following James Belich, the more appropriate and historically valid term is 'New Zealand' Wars. See his *The New Zealand Wars*.]

p 5: That photo of a 'Maori' maiden is *not* new, recent, and in my view you have to ask what purpose was to be met by putting, first up, a photo of a young Maori women whose like will almost certainly not be seen by a modern tourist. You followed it with a series of modern, colour, real place/life photos; surely you cannot have thought it was of a kind with those others?

p 26: The first of many reproductions of paintings showing Maori women with *bare* breasts. See also pages 32: p149 fits here - bare-breasted Pania; p 252: note the way the photo is cropped on its bottom side; pp 262-263: p 276.

p 32: Maori do not 'perform' the hongi, they hongi as a greeting. I am also uneasy about the hongi being a 'nose kiss'; that is a Pakeha view. For Maori, it is simply their form of greeting, in the same way that the Cubans I lived amongst for January most often 'embrace' when they greet each other.

P 39: Did you have to put in that 'somewhat irreverent' painting? It just trivialises Maori even more.

Pp 72-73: Why did you have to refer to 'British' rural life and a 'British' festival queen. Do the 'British' have A & P shows? I don't know, but ... NZ is no longer a 'British' colony, and I doubt 'British' people predominate amongst your readers. The similarity between NZ and 'British' farming is not great, at several levels, and, I can affirm after having taught there in 1975, people of New Zealand are *not* English, or British; they sound and act and think like what they are, New Zealanders. Actually, the photo on p 73 *could* have been of a Maori girl; she wouldn't have been doing what she would normally be doing, sorting and packing kiwifruit in the packing shed, but at least it would have acknowledged the role of Maori in kiwifruit culture in the Bay of Plenty.

P 82: At least you have a Pacific Island person dressed as I dress, and doing what I could have done.

P 85: 'Melting Pot' my foot; it's one of those Pakeha myths. Haven't you ever heard of Maori land protests, racism in accommodation, etc. etc. etc.?

P 130: The Marokopa Falls are in the King Country, not in the Waikato. The chapter would be better titled 'Waikato-King Country and Taranaki'; you could even leave out the hyphen, and put a comma after 'Country'.

P 131: The mountain is officially, by Geographic Place Names Board decision, 'Taranaki/Egmont', not 'Egmont'. If I were writing it, I would call it 'Taranaki', and add that Captain Cook had named it after an otherwise irrelevant Englishman, Cook's boss, the First Lord of the Admiralty.

P 131: I've already referred to the naming of the 'Wars'. Paragraphs two and three are good; Janet could have added, after '1862', "and much subsequent legislation designed to part Maori from their land." To call the Maori of the 1860s 'rebels' is to perpetuate a description inserted in the legislation which 'legitimated' the invasion of the Waikato and the confiscation of the Waikato and Taranaki land [For Taranaki, the proclamation read 'As much land as the governor thinks fit.' He thought fit to start well to the north, and finish just north of Wanganui.] They weren't, in my view, rebels, they were just asserting their rights under the Treaty of Waitangi, which guaranteed them the ownership of their land, and said nothing about them 'having' to sell any land to anyone they didn't want to sell to.

p133: The guy in the blue singlet could actually be Maori.

P 138ff: Not even for Rotorua could you have Maori living ordinary lives!!!! For reasons that are quite inexplicable to me, you couldn't even have any Maori.

P 168: It looks like you got three girls from Marsden School for Girls; they're thoroughly Pakeha.

P 170: Kiri Te Kanawa. OK, but ... Kiri has earned the right to be there, but, like Billy T James on another page who also earned his right to be there, she is not leading an ordinary life, doing things any other New Zealander would or could do.

Pp 248ff: Exotic!!! Come on.

It is not that *none* of those photos should be in the guide, it is that they are the *only* photos of Maori, and, almost, of Pacific Polynesian. Maori play a major role in New Zealand life, and, if you work among and with them as I do, you would know that increasingly they are using te reo Maori, often not much more than for greetings, but using the language they are; it has become habitual for many of them, and many would like to use it for much of their daily living and working.

You need to ask of yourselves, very seriously, why you included all those examples of paintings of Maori women which showed them bare-breasted, especially given that there were never any equivalent paintings of bare-breasted Pakeha women. I would be very surprised if that was the usual way Maori women of last century had of wearing their clothes; it is much more likely that the male painters chose to exercise some racist artistic licence.

Another Ethnic Group and Racism: The Chinese

New Zealand has an unfortunate history of prejudice, discrimination and racism against Chinese people.

Chinese men arrived to join others on the goldfields very early on. Barber refers to “ ... unwelcome Chinese ... ” on the Otago goldfields in the 1860s,²¹⁷ and he records that “In February 1873 the first Chinese miners arrived on the West Coast goldfield. Persecution followed accusations of immorality, of undercutting Pakeha shop prices, and of a conspiracy to invade New Zealand with a ‘yellow peril.’”²¹⁸ In 1881 competition for jobs led to virulent xenophobia, and a £10 poll tax was imposed on Chinese immigrants.²¹⁹

William Pember Reeves was “ ... a fierce advocate of ‘white New Zealand’. The venom of his attacks on New Zealand’s Chinese inhabitants - industrious and law-abiding though they were - reflected a cultural arrogance that invaded even the Pakeha intelligentsia.”²²⁰ Reeves’ Prime Minister, Seddon, under whose premiership much important social legislation was passed, was not of the intelligentsia, but ‘ ... he had been a miner among miners, and he genuinely feared the Yellow Peril.’²²¹ The Chinese population had dropped from around 5 000 to 3 700, but the Liberal government in 1896 imposed a poll tax of £100, ten times greater than the first tax.²²² Three years after Seddon’s death, the *Immigration Restriction Act* was passed. Among its provisions was one requiring Chinese immigrants to read a passage of not less than 100 words in English, and Chinese were the only ethnic group to have to pay a naturalisation fee.²²³

In 1905, Edward Terry confessed to shooting Joe Kum Yung in the street in broad daylight. Terry was obsessed with the ‘yellow peril’, and lectured extensively on it.²²⁴

I should add that I am Pakeha, am a retired teacher of five and six year old children, and as part of finishing a Masters degree in Education, am doing original research into the provision of schooling for Maori, and have become particularly sensitive to the sorts of items I have drawn your attention to. I have not read the text in detail, and there may well be other items I would react to if I had.
In peace

Jim Holdom

²¹⁷Barber, Laurie [L H], *New Zealand*., p 51.

²¹⁸Barber, Laurie [L H], *New Zealand*: p60.

²¹⁹Barber, Laurie [L H], *New Zealand*: p66.

²²⁰Barber, Laurie [L H], *New Zealand*: p 74. Barber adds that “This paternalism, with its concomitant assumption of ‘integrate or die’, was basic to the Liberal government’s attitude to Maoridom.” Reeves, amongst his many ministerial duties, was for a time Minister of Education, and therefore responsible for the Native Schools.

²²¹Oliver, W H, *The Story of New Zealand*, p154.

²²²Fraser, Bryce [Ed] *The New Zealand Book of Events*, p 81.

²²³Fraser, Bryce [Ed] *The New Zealand Book of Events*, p 81.

²²⁴Fraser, Bryce [Ed] *The New Zealand Book of Events*, p 279. That he spent much of the rest of his life [he died in 1925] in mental hospitals should not blind us to the fact that he would have learnt his attitudes from the people amongst whom he lived.

A couple of years ago I listened to a person who sounded like any other New Zealander on radio describe the racism he attracted because he was Chinese; he was born in New Zealand.

This next case study of Chinese [and Maori] and racism in Aotearoa/New Zealand is based upon Tony Simpson's Chapter Seven titled "The Great Yahoo".²²⁵

The indiscriminate intermingling of the lower types of the races ... will, in the opinion of the Committee, have an effect that must eventually cause deterioration not only in the family and national life of [those] races, but also in the national life of this country by the introduction of a hybrid race, the successful absorption of which is problematic.²²⁶

Simpson judged that

"New Zealanders born since the Second World War might be astonished to discover that this was the solemn opinion of a 1929 Committee of Enquiry of the New Zealand Parliament, which had not only received it but endorsed it".²²⁷

Chinese market gardeners were allegedly, in those times of unemployment, "... not only paying low wages to, but also sexually exploiting young Maori women who had been forced into their employ."²²⁸

The Committee on Employment of Maoris on Market Gardens, when it went looking, found very few young Maori women who could have been in the situations *Truth* in particular said were being exploited. Simpson describes a number of episodes of various kinds, and finishes with a *Truth* editorial of 1906, titled "The Yellow Yahoo", its burden being the danger to little white girls inherent in accepting fruit as a gift from Chinese fruiterers, and which contained these sentences:

The children of the poor who are sent to these hellish traps to purchase for the mother have their little feet set on the road to Hell, and don't you forget, mothers of Wellington! ... Are you listening, mothers of the grand White Race?²²⁹

That editorial, and Chapter Seven in which it appears, are *not* a pleasant read!

Parliament and the Native/Maori Schools

How can it be expected then that these two cases,²³⁰ so dissimilar in every respect, could be dealt with under an Act and with an organisation designed to meet the needs of only one of them.²³¹

²²⁵Simpson, Tony, *Shame and Disgrace*, Ch Seven passim. 'Yahoo': A depraved and filthy creature bearing only a superficial resemblance to a human being, and here applied to Chinese fruiterers, a creation of Jonathan Swift.

²²⁶*NZPD*, 19 July 1929, p 487. Reported in Simpson, Tony, *Shame and Disgrace*, p 194.

²²⁷Simpson, Tony, *Shame and Disgrace*, p 194. Simpson used 'might', not 'would', I suspect not accidentally..

²²⁸Simpson, Tony, *Shame and Disgrace*, p195.

²²⁹Simpson, Tony, *Shame and Disgrace*, p 220.

²³⁰The "education of pupils whose parents know what they themselves desire, ... need, ... can formulate their ... " [and parents in whom the] "... very desire for education in our sense of the word, has, in most cases, to be implanted and there is absolutely no knowledge on the part of the parents as to the nature of what is to satisfy this desire."

²³¹*AJHR* 1891, E2, p11. Cf Barrington, who cited the remark from a quite different perspective.: "The effect of retrenchment in the 1880s brought the schools to a 'parlous condition', and their premature transfer to education boards was being seriously discussed.

That was a most revealing observation. It tacitly admitted that one or other part of the Education Department's activities was outside the law. It is one of two great gaps in the legislative mandate for the Native School system which James H Pope revealed in his Annual Reports to Parliament.²³² It was those two passages that set me searching the legislative record.

The Native Schools: A Legislative Black Hole

This section aims to demonstrate that, for thirty years after the passing of the 1877 Education Act, there was no, or almost no, legislative authority for what was known as the Native School system, which after World War II became known as the Maori School system. For the first thirty years of its existence, the system operated in a 'legislative black hole', in both legislative provision and in the gazetting of regulations, etc.

The Legislation

There were gaps before 1877. The 1858 *Native Schools Act* applied to “ ... persons of the aboriginal race [whether children or adults] and to half-caste children being orphans or the children of indigent persons.”²³³ The Act voted an annual sum of £7 000 for the subsequent seven years, which “ ... shall be applied, at the discretion of the Governor but subject to the provisions of this Act, ... only to schools set up by religious bodies for Maori children.”²³⁴ Of the £49 000 thereby appropriated, the sum of £3 200 19s 6d was not disbursed,²³⁵ despite the two years that elapsed following the 'sunset' of the 1858 Act in 1865. In other words, the actual disbursement over *nine* years was only £5 090 per annum.

Both the 1858 Act and Governor Grey's earlier 1847 *Education Ordinance* were repealed by the 1867 Act.²³⁶ The *Ordinance* had become redundant through the 1858 Act, and the 1858 Act had already lapsed. It could be said that the legislative oversight of schooling for Maori had been less than careful.

The 1867 *Native Schools Act* applied to “ ... native and Half-caste children ... ”²³⁷; more specifically, the Act later referred to “ ... maintenance of schools for the education of children of the aboriginal native race and of half-castes being orphans or being the children of indigent persons and for the education and maintenance of native children who may be

His defence against proposed take-overs of the schools by the boards was that teaching methods and system of school management were quite different from those used in educating Pakeha. [Barrington and Beaglehole, *Maori Schools...*, p 137.]

²³²The other is dealt with below, in the section dealing with the non-use of the *NZ Gazette*.

²³³Apparently half-caste children whose parents were not indigent were not eligible for subsidy.

²³⁴*Native Schools Act*, 1858, S10.

²³⁵*Native Schools Act* 1867, s3.

²³⁶*Native Schools Act* 1867, s2.

placed in schools which are not subject to other provisions of this Act ... “,²³⁸ ie, the act did not apply to children with Pakeha ancestors in two or more generations. Such children were in effect defined by Parliament as ‘Pakeha’. The Act voted an annual sum of £4 000 for the subsequent seven years,²³⁹ compared with the £7 000 of the 1858 act. Furthermore, the allocated sum was £1 000 less than the *average* expenditure for the previous nine years, which suggests that the churches had done much less than was anticipated.

The Acts of 1858 and 1867 had seven-year ‘sunset’ clauses. There was a period of nine years between the two acts. I can find no evidence of legislation extending the 1858 act, and must conclude that for two years funds for the relevant church schools were in some sense without legislative warrant.

In 1876, a *Native Schools Bill* was introduced, for it was proposed that a bill of that name be discharged.²⁴⁰ It was then proposed that the 1867 Native School Act be re-introduced, but with that the Minister would not agree; why he declined is not revealed.

The Bill that was introduced was the *Native Schools Act 1867 Amendment Bill*. It was introduced on 24 October 1876 by Mr Sheehan, and was given a first reading. It eventually lapsed.²⁴¹

Four months earlier, on 29 June 1867, the petition of Wi Te Hakiro and 336 others had been introduced into Parliament, and part was ordered to be printed.²⁴² It is *most* unlikely it was the source of the Bill that lapsed.

The result was that apparently there was no *legislation* authorising the expenditure of funds on Native schools from 1874 until 1907. The *Native Schools Act 1867* appears to have been allowed to lapse,²⁴³ the *Education Act 1877* stated that the Act did not apply to Maori,²⁴⁴ and it nowhere authorised the department to make regulations for or to administer the Native Schools, nor to defray funds to Native Schools. The 1880 Annual Report of the Department of Education to Parliament stated that the Native schools were formally transferred from the Native Department to the Education Department in July 1879, but there was no legislation and no *Gazette* notice authorising the transfer. The only other reference

²³⁷*Native Schools Act 1867*, preamble.

²³⁸*Native Schools Act 1867*, s3.

²³⁹*Native Schools Act 1867*, s3. By referring to “aboriginal native race”, the act seems to be confusing, for the preamble refers also to ‘half-castes’. I suspect the administrators did not let such niceties worry them.

²⁴⁰*NZPD*, , 29/10/1876, p724.

²⁴¹*JHR* 1867, p XXVII, No 174. ‘Discharge’ in the *NZPD* and ‘lapsed’ in the *JHR* presumably mean the same thing.

²⁴²*AJHR* J4, 1876. The petition was in te reo Maori. The proposals in the petition for the schooling for Maori were very definitely different, evidence of careful and acute observation and thought, and if enacted would have had significant consequences for Maori. It was vigorous in its nature. The petition would merit careful research into its origins, and its content. It would be good to know what the part not printed contained.

²⁴³It was eventually repealed by the *Repeals Act 1891*, which repealed a very large number of Acts..

²⁴⁴*Native Schools Act 1867*, s3., S10.

I have found was “Correspondence relating to the transfer of Native Schools to the Education Department,” in which T W Lewis, Under Secretary, Native Department, wrote [in part] to John Hislop, Secretary for Education, on 26 July 1879.

I am directed by the Hon the Native Minister to inform you that it has been decided to hand over the charge of the Native schools to the Education Department from the 1st instant.²⁴⁵

I cannot find any legislation fully writing the Native schools into the Education Act.²⁴⁶

The Education Act 1904, in the list of interpretations, did not list ‘Maori’, ‘Native’, or ‘Native School’. In the sections dealing with the funding of the Department of Education, there is no reference to Native Schools, but, the act did specifically state that

“Nothing in this Act shall be binding on any Maori; ...”²⁴⁷

In the ‘Analysis’ of the act, ‘Native schools’ appears only once: “Children attending Native schools to be taught physical drill.”²⁴⁸ The only other reference to ‘Native’ is “Attendance of Native children and children in the Chatham Islands.”²⁴⁹

In 1906, the following exchange took place in Parliament:

Mr HERRIES²⁵⁰ asked the Minister of Education, Whether he will take into consideration the low salaries paid to Native-school teachers, their isolated position and their onerous duties, which often include dispensing medicines; and whether he can see his way to raise their salaries, or in some other way ameliorate their conditions?

The Hon Mr Fowlds [Minister of Education] replied, a scale giving higher salaries to most of the teachers of Native schools had been approved. Very shortly - as soon as a few details now under consideration had been settled - it is proposed to gazette the new scale and other regulations affecting the staffing and management of Native schools.²⁵¹

That same year, W W Bird, Senior Inspector of Native Schools, in his Annual Report to Parliament, noted that

A new scale of salaries has been approved, approximating to that set forth in the schedule to “The Education Act Amendment Act 1905.”²⁵² The effect will be to produce a more even distribution of the amount paid as salaries to teachers, and to raise the salaries of assistants generally.²⁵³

I could not find the promised Gazette notice! However, the following year the *Education Amendment Act 1907* for the first time made provision for the making of regulations:

The Governor may from time to time, by Order in Council gazetted, make regulations for the control and management and defining the staff, salaries, and allowances of teachers, and the course of instruction in Native schools and other schools under the Education Department.²⁵⁴

The Minister, when introducing the bill, had this to say:

²⁴⁵AJHR H1a, 1879.

²⁴⁶ There were four ‘Education Acts’ covering the period the Education Department administered the Native/Maori schools, those of 1877, 1904, 1908 [A ‘consolidated’ act.] and 1914.

²⁴⁷s8.

²⁴⁸s137.

²⁴⁹s152; the Minister was authorised to make regulations for “... the attendance at school of Maori or half-caste children, ...”; although there was no reference to ‘Native schools’, the section presumably applied to Maori children attending Native schools, whilst those attending ‘Public’ school would have been subject to Public school criteria. That judgement is based on the interpretation of ‘Maori’ in s8.

²⁵⁰Bay of Plenty.

²⁵¹NZPD, Vol 138, p304, 1906, 10 17. The sceptical will observe that it was just possible Mr Herries knew the scale was developed, but had a point to make; what is now called a ‘patsy’ question.

²⁵²That Act applied to public, ie Board, schools.

²⁵³AJHR E2, 1906, p2.

At present the staff and salaries of Native school teachers are dealt with by Ministerial authority; this is to enable those salaries to be dealt with by Order in Council, which will have the effect of making them more permanent, and enabling those concerned to know what the position is.²⁵⁵

It took thirty years to get to that decision.

The Education Amendment Act 1907 defined a Native School:

A native school means a school for the education of Natives which is under the control of the Education Department.²⁵⁶

The section went on to state that “For the purposes of sections one hundred and forty-one to one hundred and fifty of the principal Act a Native school shall be deemed to be a public school.”²⁵⁷ Those sections dealt with attendance.

The 1908 Act still restricted “Maori” or “Native” to pure natives, half-castes, and those of intermediate blood. In the sections of the Act that constituted the Department of Education, there was no reference to the administration of the Native schools as being amongst the department’s duties. In the section that dealt with the funding of the department and the purposes to which it might devote that funding, there was no mention of the Native schools.

The 1914 Act, as late as a 1948 reprint, did not cover the Maori schools. This was made quite explicit:

Maori schools:- [1] For the purposes of section fifty-nine to sixty-eight hereof a Maori²⁵⁸ school shall be deemed to be a public school, subject, however, to any regulations relating to the attendance at school of Maori children and of children in the Chatham Islands.²⁵⁹

Those were the attendance sections, and for those sections only, the powers relevant to public schools applied to Maori schools. In the ‘Interpretation’ section of the Act, there is a clear distinction between a ‘Maori’ school and a ‘Public’ school, viz:

“Maori school” means a school for the education of Maoris which is under the control of the Education Department.

and

“Public school” means any school established or constituted under Part V of this Act, ...

The Native, later to become the Maori, schools were it seems the result of either an immaculate conception or of a virgin birth!

The distinction was clear when it came to salaries:

The salary paid to the head teacher in a Maori school, or to any teacher in any other school under the control of the Department, shall not be lower than the salary payable to a teacher in a similar position in a public school.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁴s24.

²⁵⁵*NZPD*, 14 11 1907., p876.

²⁵⁶s14(1).

²⁵⁷s14(2)

²⁵⁸Note use of ‘Maori’, not ‘Native’!

²⁵⁹s69. Chatham Islands schools were transferred from the Canterbury Education Board to the Department of Education by s55 of the Finance Act, 1929.

²⁶⁰s79(11).

The 1948 reprint of the *Education Act 1914* authorised the Governor to make regulations, and, in particular, it *specifically* authorised the Governor to make regulations

For the control and management and defining the course of instruction in Maori schools and other schools under the Department.²⁶¹

It was not until 1968, the year before the end of the Maori School system, that there was a separate section in the *Education Act* headed ‘Maori’!

The Governors did *not* over-exercise their 1907 authority to make regulations as it applied to the Native/Maori schools!

By contrast, there are large numbers of Acts dealing with Native land, the Native Land Court, and Waste Land in the statute books. The contrast is too significant to be an accident.

The Black Hole in the New Zealand Gazette

The matter of the *Gazette* is I believe very important. Government administration operates under regulations gazetted by authority of the relevant Acts of Parliament.

The Secretary-General’s²⁶² Annual Report revealed the other of the great gaps in the legislative mandate for the Native schools system James H Pope created for the Education Department.

“Mr Pope, to whose ability and influence the satisfactory state of the schools as a whole is largely due, has expressed his desire to be relieved of some of the most arduous work involved in inspecting schools in places difficult of access. An arrangement has, therefore, been made for a partial exchange of duties between Mr Pope and Mr H B Kirk, MA, who for seven or eight years has performed all the most important part of the clerical work in the Inspector-General’s branch of the Department. Mr Kirk is now on a tour of inspection among the northern schools.”²⁶³

I was alerted to that extract by the Annual Report of the following year of James H Pope to Parliament:

“It was explained in the report for 1884-85 that Mr Kirk and I had been allowed to exchange work to a certain extent. During the past year Mr Kirk has done the greater part of my usual work, while of course, I have done the greater part of his. During the present year circumstances will probably allow me to take a much larger share of the work in the field. In any case I am glad to know that the work will suffer little even if I have to withdraw from it, seeing that Mr Kirk understands it so thoroughly.”²⁶⁴

Henry Borer Kirk had been appointed as a *clerk* in the department.²⁶⁵ I searched the *Gazette*, but could find no notice appointing Kirk as an inspector. James H Pope was originally appointed as an ‘organising inspector’.²⁶⁶ I found no notice that he was appointed ‘Senior Inspector of Native Schools’, the ‘title’ he came to be known by.

²⁶¹S161(i). That was the first reference to the curriculum to apply in Native and Maori schools.

²⁶²ie W J Habens.

²⁶³AJHR 1886, E 1, p xxi.

²⁶⁴AJHR 1887, E 2, p10, 11. I spotted this passage after I had realised the significance of the 1891 passage first cited above. I had earlier noted the appointment of H B Kirk in the *Gazette*, so was immediately aware of the possible significance of Kirk and Pope being allowed to exchange work.

²⁶⁵NZ Gazette, 1879, Vol 1, p568.

²⁶⁶NZ Gazette, 1880, Vol 1, p 89. The item was indexed under ‘Native Schools’.

The Native Schools Codes of 1880 and 1897 were not gazetted. The 1880 Code was included in the Annual Report to Parliament.²⁶⁷ The 1897 Code was not even included in the Annual Report. It was published by the Education Department. Its opening statement is revealing in its non-legislative attitude:

This code will come into force on the 1st day of January, 1897, and will then supersede all Native-school codes previously issued. Alterations to the code may be made from time to time, *and announced by circular addressed to the Native-school teachers.*²⁶⁸

Departmental behaviour had become even more cavalier, more feudal.

I found very few Gazette notices relating to Native schools. During the twentyfive years following the transfer of the Native schools to the Education Department, the only regular Gazette notices, in fact almost the only notices relevant to Native schools, were those announcing Te Makarini Scholarships. There were, however, a significant number of notices regarding sites for Native schools, and long lists related to the Native Land Court and Native land in general. There were frequent notices announcing classbooks for use in Public schools, and notices relating to the Cadet Corps of Public Schools in every volume from about 1890 to 1902. Indian Civil Service Examinations were regularly announced, and there were at least two notices regarding regulations concerning admission to the Forest Branch of the Royal Indian Engineering College!

In other words, regular use was made of the Gazette to announce the acquisition of native land, and to announce decisions and activities in most areas of Government administration and even Indian [as in Indian subcontinent] administration. On the other hand, it was very seldom thought appropriate to use the Gazette to announce and legitimate policy and administrative matters related to the Native schools. One exception was a notice setting out the “Regulations for Attendance of Native Children”, pursuant to *The School Attendance Act, 1901, Section 13.*²⁶⁹ The Regulations applied only to “Every Maori child ... who lives within a radius of three miles of a Native school, ...”²⁷⁰ All other Maori children presumably were subject to the attendance rules which applied to Education Board schools.

The status of Native School teachers, and the New Zealand Educational Institute

²⁶⁷AJHR 1880, H1f, pp1-7.

²⁶⁸Education Department, *The Native Schools Code 1897*, p3. Emphasis added.

²⁶⁹NZ Gazette, 1903, Vol 1, p 1039; 24 April, 1903.

²⁷⁰Regulation no 1.

An issue raised by an episode in which a teacher in a Native school was in disagreement with the department had the teacher writing to the *inspector* for support. When such issues arose for teachers in Board schools, the teachers turned to the primary teachers' organisation, the New Zealand Educational Institute [NZEI], which provided advice and advocacy. Until the later 1930s, Native school teachers did not have that support. They were not for many years eligible for membership of NZEI because they were not deemed to be teachers under the Education Act.²⁷¹

The differences were obvious from the beginning of state administration of education in 1877. The conditions of employment were different in several ways: in regard to required duties additional to teaching; in the structures of the systems of classification in the respective services; in the expectations of the level of education of teachers; and in a number of other ways.²⁷² In the 1880 Native Schools Code it was laid down that there would be no Pupil Teachers appointed to Native schools.²⁷³ The 1880 Code made no reference to 'Public' schools, but in the 1897 Code the distinction was clear:

The public-school service of a teacher who holds a full certificate from the Education Department will be reckoned as service in a Native school, provided that a Board Inspector has reported that the teacher's work has been satisfactory for two or five years, as the case may be.²⁷⁴

Butchers reported that

The Native school teachers are excluded from the provisions of Part XI of the Education Act relating to the incorporation of teachers' associations and the Teachers' Court of Appeal. They are public servants, appointed by the Public Service Commissioner²⁷⁵ ... and subject to the Public Service Regulations, which do not apply to teachers in the public or Board schools. Whereas the public school teachers may discuss the education system at public meetings or in the press, the Native school teacher, 'as an officer of the Public Service, is forbidden to make any communication, directly or indirectly to the press upon any matter affecting his school ... without the express permission or authority of the Director.'²⁷⁶

Eventually, all Native school teachers were invited to join the Institute, and the Native Schools Branch of NZEI was formed in 1934.²⁷⁷ While it is probable the Native School Teachers' Association and the Native Schools Branch of the NZEI were active in the Wai-kato before World War II, I found no evidence of activity in the records of Te Kopua Native School. The teachers did not report [in the logbook] attending any meetings of teach-

²⁷¹Barrington and Beaglehole, *Maori Schools ...*, p 152, citing *National Education*.

²⁷²Native Schools Code, 1880, *AJHR* 1880, H1F, and Native Schools Code, 1897, Wellington: Department of Education, 1897.

²⁷³Native Schools Code, 1880, section X 4.

²⁷⁴Native Schools Code, 1897, section VIII 6, p 14.

²⁷⁵I had been aware as I worked on the records of Te Kopua native School that the teachers were appointed by the Public Service commission, but I had not realised the significance of that fact.

²⁷⁶Butchers, A G, *The Education System*, p 83, citing Regulations Relating to Native Schools, 30 6 1931.

²⁷⁷Ted Simmonds history of the New Zealand Educational Institute does not have an index. 'Maori' appears first in the Table of Contents in Chapter 13, "The Boom Years 1951 - 1958." I scanned the book, and found the first mention of the Native Teachers Branch on page 139, where it is recorded that the President of the Institute was in 1938 " ... presented with a fine gavel, carved in Maori fashion, which is still used by presidents ..." The gavel was carved by the teacher at Karetu Native School. In Chapter 13, on p 177, Simmonds notes that "Education for Maori children began to appear on the annual meeting agenda," which was tacit admission that the matter had not previously been important. I could not find mention of the formation of the Native Schools Branch in 1934. [Simmonds, E J, *NZEI 100 ; an account of the New Zealand Educational Institute, 1883 - 1983..*]

ers. Two teachers, at the school in the 1920s and the 1930s, had difficulties with the department. Neither reported approaching, nor receiving advice or assistance from, NZEI.²⁷⁸

The New Zealand Educational Institute, through its magazine, *National Education*, did in 1938 at least make a determined effort to inform its primary teacher readers. James Cowan's October article, "A Sharp Bargain: How the Maoris Were Chiselled out of the South Island," was vigorous in support of Ngai Tahu claims and in criticism of successive governments.²⁷⁹ In December of the same year, he wrote "The Story of the Waikato: Some Thoughts for the Centennial," in which he noted "Popular Ignorance" of the first causes of the settlement of New Zealand, and that the story of how Waikato became Pakeha land began "... in a series of errors of judgement - to put it very mildly - and developed into a tragedy, the ruin of a people." He also pointed out that

"The hypocrisy of the politicians who declared that the war was intended to settle the waste and uncultivated parts of the Waikato became apparent when the first seized upon were the good Maori farms, the well-cultivated garden lands, where many hundreds of acres were under wheat, maize, potatoes and other crops. The flour-mills, the stock and implements, the very churches in which the Maoris worshipped, were seized."²⁸⁰

Sadly, I have to record that I have little or no evidence, from either my schooling or my membership of NZEI from 1954 to 1985, that Cowan's writings had any significant influence.²⁸¹

Cowan was writing in the year following the 1937 New Education Fellowship Conference.²⁸² The conference speakers, including some from both South Africa and the United States, brought a very liberal view of education to New Zealand, but, they failed to discuss education for native South Africans, for Blacks, or for Maori. Despite their liberality,²⁸³ the speakers were concerned only with education for white children.²⁸⁴

²⁷⁸Ramsay [Ramsay, Peter D K, "A Question of Control: ..."] states that the NZEI recommended the transfer of the Native Schools from Departmental to Board control in 1937. Very heavy pressure from Native School teachers caused the Institute to change its position in 1838. In his brief survey of reasons for the consolidation of a dual system [Which Ramsay believes was never intended, a belief with which I concur.] Ramsay does not record Pope's strong defence of the Native School system in 1891 [AJHR 1891, E2, p11; cf footnote 236.]

²⁷⁹ Cowan, James, "A Sharp Bargain: How the Maoris Were Chiselled out of the South Island."

²⁸⁰ Cowan, James, "The Story of the Waikato: Some Thoughts for the Centennial."

²⁸¹ This *National Education* material is in contrast with Cowan's foreword to C W Vennell's history of Cambridge, p 16 above. It is once again relevant to note that the Ngai Tahu claim is only now, in 1997, being settled, and that in 1993 Harry Evison published a very detailed history and analysis of the history of Te Wai Pounamu [the South Island], which was in 1997 republished in a revised version titled *The Long Dispute*. [Evison, Harry C, *Te Waipounamu: The Greenstone Island* and Evison, Harry C, *The Long Dispute: ...*] It takes more than the publication of a book, even a well-publicised one, to change people's perceptions. A recent article in a very 'right wing' periodical makes much of the small number of Maori living in the South Island in the time of the 'purchase' of the Ngai Tahu land, describes the Waitangi Tribunal Ngai Tahu Report as "... a doorstep of rare abstruseness and mind-numbing repetitiveness which is strewn with assertions in search of a supporting fact, " and accuses Ngai Tahu of having been in the grievance game for 130 years, and in the land-sale game for 30 years before that. [Everton, Alan, "Ngai Tahu's Tangled Web: Laying Bare a Con Job,"

²⁸² Campbell, A E, [Ed] *Modern Trends in Education: ...* is the record of the conference papers.

²⁸³ Dr C E Beeby, soon to become Director of Education, has stated that he owed his appointment as Director to the fact that when then Minister of Education Peter Fraser asked some of the leading speakers of the conference what he should do to reorganise education in New Zealand, they replied that he should appoint Beeby as Director.

²⁸⁴ Holdom, Jim, "The 1937 New Education Conference."

The publication in October 1997 of *Improving Schooling on the East Coast*²⁸⁵ must have engendered a feeling of *deja vu* in those teachers who were responsible for writing *The East Coast Maori Today* in 1941, and in Peter Ramsay, who wrote a study of the report and its aftermath.²⁸⁶ The teachers would judge that not a lot had changed in the fifty-six years since they caused considerable controversy, and would remember that their report, to I think the shame of Ramsay, was quietly ignored and forgotten. Ramsay wrote that

... a potentially powerful report was suppressed. It reflects little credit on either the Institute or the Department that the affair was allowed to end here, and that no positive action was taken to investigate the truth or otherwise of some of the report's statements. That the school teachers believed a real problem existed is shown by the overall tenor of the report. It is disconcerting, therefore, that no public discussion of the actual *contents* of the report ever appeared to have taken place. At the very least one might have expected that the furore would have provoked a full and more reasoned investigation into the condition of the Maori on the East Coast in subsequent years.²⁸⁷

The teachers could also have a feeling of satisfaction that their report was, judging by Ramsay's analysis, a far more perceptive piece of work than that of modern-day review officers.²⁸⁸ In particular, the teachers understood very clearly that they and their schools worked in a crucial social setting, and that the solutions to the problems they described lay first in the society of which they were part. Perhaps because they could be seen to be criticising the government which employed them, the writers of *Improving Schooling on the East Coast* addressed only the schools and the workers and the work within them. On the other hand, perhaps they did not have the depth of perception of the teachers of 1941, for the commentary following the release of the report has equally assiduously avoided seriously addressing the underlying social issues. The appendices to the report give a demographic, educational and social profile of the East Coast Region, compared in most cases with national, ie full population statistics, and national Maori Education Statistics. East Coast Maori are not compared with Maori nationally. These profiles are not incorporated into the body of the report, and there is no analysis of them.

Deja vu would also have been in order for many rural Maori when reports on the sad state of the housing of those people also became an issue during 1997. During August, September and October 1997 housing for Maori featured several times in the news. In August a parliamentary social services select committee urged the Government to take prompt action to deal with substandard living conditions in about 1600 houses in Northland and 350 East

²⁸⁵ Education Review Office / Te Tari Arotake Matauranga [ERO], *Improving Schooling on the East Coast*, ... The *Waikato Times* headline was: "Most East Coast schools failing their pupils: study" [*Waikato Times*, 7 Nov 1997.]

²⁸⁶ Ramsay, Peter D K, "In all good faith" ...

²⁸⁷ Ramsay, Peter D K, "In all good faith," ... p 136. [Emphasis in original]. Ramsay notes that there *was* an opportunity in 1948 for the report to be discussed, but Peter Fraser did not take up the opportunity, and he notes also that the NZEI hastily covered its tracks by stating publicly that the report was never officially adopted.

²⁸⁸ Review officers are the equivalent of the inspectors we all knew until the advent of Tomorrow's Schools.

Coast households.²⁸⁹ In September a 1995 human rights commission report was leaked; its findings were *not* positive.²⁹⁰ The report stated that

The regions commonly referred to as the 'Far North' and the 'East Coast' of the North Island are both characterised by picture post-card scenery, pristine unpolluted coastlines, and populated mainly with Maori people. Notwithstanding this, *both these regions are also recognised as areas having people who are either homeless, or living in substandard, often overcrowded, temporary, makeshift conditions - all requiring emergency housing needs.*²⁹¹

In October 1997, the NZ Labour Party released a report on the Maori Housing Crisis in Northland,²⁹² with an equally negative conclusion. The report notes a 1986 study,²⁹³ which had been followed by a report by the National Housing Commission and the 1986 Royal Commission on Social Policy.²⁹⁴ Whilst the report blames the Government which in 1990 replaced the Labour Government, the reality must be that whatever the Labour Government did in the 1980s, their own report and the other reports²⁹⁵ are evidence it was not effective. What Labour did not remember in 1997 was a 1982 report:

Housing Shock: a survey of about 80 percent of the poorer Maori rural housing in Northland has left members of the tai Tokerau Maori Council aghast. Of 419 houses examined in the survey, 185 were described as being less than suitable for habitation ... a further 151 ere listed as baches, shacks, barns, sheds, cowsheds, tents or caravans.²⁹⁶

It is sadly not difficult to find apparent good intentions not bearing fruit.

Departmental Fiefdom

A Case Study

The following is extracted from a letter, written in September 1931, found in the files of Te Kopua Native School. While the letter illustrates a number of 'interesting' attitudes held by the writer, most likely a senior official, attitudes certainly endemic in the department, its significance here is the attitude it displays towards teachers and how they might be 'managed'. The letter exposes a feudal system, concerned also to keep the budget as trim as possible.

Dear Mr Bird

Just a few lines to advise you of a few happenings since you left Wellington.

²⁸⁹ "Housing for Maori 'affront'," *NZ Herald*, 21 August, 1997.

²⁹⁰ Human Rights Commission, *Report on Maori Housing Development as a Measure of Government's Commitment Towards Meeting its Obligations under the International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights and on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*, Wellington: The Commission, nd [1995]

²⁹¹ Human Rights Commission, *Report on Maori Housing Development*, p 2. [Emphasis in original.]

²⁹² NZ Labour Party, *Report of the Labour Social Services Caucus Committee on the Maori Housing Crisis in Northland*, Wellington: NZ Labour Party [at Parliament], 21 October 1997.

²⁹³ Douglas, Ted, *Fading Expectations: a Crisis in Maori Housing* [No publication details given] [1986]

²⁹⁴ The standard joke was that the five-volume report made an excellent door-stop.

²⁹⁵ The genesis of the Human Rights Commission report is to be found in changes in the then Government's housing policy in 1991 / 1992 and a consequent hui at Orakei Marae in February, 1993. It is difficult to believe that the conditions and the concerns reported in 1995 / 1996 could have developed so quickly.

²⁹⁶ "This Week in Time: 1982," *NZ Herald*, 23 August, 1997.

... Miss Rutherford had again written asking for an urgent transfer as the people with whom she boards are leaving the district. If you want Mangawhariki advertised you will need to let me know in time to get it in the 1st October Gazette. I suppose the place is suitable only for a single woman of somewhat mature years, as the accommodation would not be sufficient for a married man accompanied by his wife. I understand from Mr Ball that it is, nevertheless, a fairly comfortable hutment and I thought it possible you might consider offering the school to Miss Rutherford. The grade and salary are right and she should be able to bach there fairly comfortably. On the other hand, should we transfer Miss Rutherford we would still be faced with the accommodation difficulty at Te Kopua unless we could obtain someone with Maori blood who would not mind boarding with Searancke, apparently the only other suitable accommodation in the district.²⁹⁷ We might secure such a person if we advertised, but it is doubtful. The only suitable persons already in the Service of whom I can think are the following: Miss Matini, Waikeri; Miss Potaka, Matahiwi; Miss Hopkinson, Te Kao [temporary at present]; and, possibly, Miss Sarah Mauriooho, Rangitahi. If any of these were transferred it would not be difficult to secure teachers to replace them as there is suitable accommodation at the schools concerned, particularly Waikeri, for which no doubt a married man could be obtained. If Miss Mauriooho were appointed to Te Kopua²⁹⁸ it might be difficult to secure an assistant who would work in with Miss Jameson, but in favour of her appointment, if she is suitable, the following may be said:

- 1 She would no doubt board amicably with Searancke.
- 2 She would be near her home and could no doubt spend her week-ends there if she wished.
- 3 It would be promotion for her. [Appointment to Te Kopua would also mean promotion to Miss Hopkinson but not to the other teachers mentioned, who might object to the transfer].

The only other suggestions I can make are:

i Leave Miss Rutherford at Te Kopua and erect a movable hut for her as at Mangawhariki - cost about £100. [Roll number at school is only 12].

ii Move her to Pawarenga where there is a house. Against this is the cost of renovating the residence to make it suitable for a *European*²⁹⁹ teacher. It would be cheaper to erect a hut at Te Kopua and besides, it is questionable whether Pawarenga should not be closed and the children boarded at Whangape. The roll is only 13 and the average for the year only 9 [last term 7]. Mrs Stephens should not, of course, be retained any longer than we can help.³⁰⁰

The only other matter requiring attention is Kauangaroa. On the figures for the year it will be graded IIB for 1932: average for year, 29 - last term, 27. The roll is 36 now so, unless it receives a sudden boost, the school will not go to IIIA yet awhile as the minimum average for that grade is 36 and I suppose it would take a roll of about 45 to manage that. ...

I am afraid we may have to leave Miss Churton at Kauangaroa, at least till it goes to Grade IIIA, if it ever should do so. She is in receipt of a Grade II salary and therefore could be transferred to a Grade II school only. As her present school is in Grade IIB there would be no gain in transferring her to a school of similar grade. That leaves only the IIA schools and I have been through the list of these very carefully but I cannot see anyone therein who could run Kauangaroa better than Miss Churton, except possibly Macey at Te Woatu [certificated] and the Chenerys [Mrs Chenery certificated]. If we leave Miss Churton at Kauangaroa it would be necessary to give her a better assistant than Miss Searancke, who Mr Ball says is not very promising, but who, fortunately, was appointed only temporarily.

If it is absolutely necessary to transfer Miss Churton I suggest the following as a possible solution. ...³⁰¹

That letter did not surprise me. I had been aware that several of the teachers at Te Kopua had been shifted at will by the department.

Conclusion

I can only conclude that the Department of Education administered the Native/Maori schools from 1877 to 1969 as a kind of fiefdom. But, perhaps I should not be surprised. Leicester Webb in 1937 concluded that

²⁹⁷Which is an inadvertent comment on the conditions most families at Te Kopua lived in.

²⁹⁸She was to be transferred to Te Kopua, but not until 1935.

²⁹⁹Emphasis added; need I say more!

³⁰⁰I wonder if Mrs Stephens knew of the Department's view of her?

The department seems deliberately to have set out to leave as little discretion as possible either to teachers or to local authorities. ... they tried to exercise the close control over the schools which they had formerly exercised as executive heads of provincial education systems. The conclusion is inescapable that, from the first, even before they had been *embittered* by their losing struggle with the boards, Hislop and Habens had no sympathy with the broad principles underlying the [1877] Education Act.³⁰²

Had Webb looked inside the Native Schools system he would have found Habens and Hislop in their element[s]. Their successors maintained the tradition.

The first Inspector of Native Schools:

James H Pope

Annual Reports to Parliament are a rich source of attitudes; the Annual Reports of James H Pope, Inspector of Native Schools, are no exception. Pope was the founding inspector of Native Schools, and therefore set the pattern and tone for what came to be known as the Native School system. In my view, the best that can be said about Pope is that he was paternalistic. That he had a total disrespect for matters Maori, except when they suited his perceptions of the ideal Pakeha world, is absolutely clear. I find it difficult to believe that it was thought appropriate to write in the terms and tones he so frequently used. George Thomas Wilkinson, the Government Native Agent for the Waikato/King Country, the man whom I believe ‘orchestrated’ the opening of Te Kopua Native School, wrote in similar vein. Pope wrote for over twenty years, and Wilkinson for not that many fewer. I have seen no evidence that either was ever questioned; they were reflecting the political culture of their time.

When I then re-read John Barrington’s commentary on Pope,³⁰³ I found myself unable to accede to his generally positive assessment.³⁰⁴ Barrington records several excerpts from Pope’s Annual Reports without commentary. He records that

“Pope complained that in North Auckland the popular occupation of gumdigging kept many pupils away from school; he also mentioned the apathy of parents, and an ‘epidemic of billiards taking place at inspection time.’³⁰⁵

It was not, I believe, so simple. Apart from the ‘epidemic’ of billiards - did he think they did it deliberately? - I recall that when I first browsed the records of the Native, I read in the record of at least one school in North Auckland of gumdigging seriously affecting at-

³⁰¹ Emily N Churton preceded Miss Rutherford at Te Kopua; she had been ‘transferred’ from Te Kopua to Kauangaroa at the end of March 1929, just two and a half years before.

³⁰² Webb, Leicester, *The Control of Education in New Zealand*, p 41 - 42; emphasis added.

³⁰³ Barrington, J M and T H Beaglehole, *Maori Schools in a Changing Society*, chapter 6.

³⁰⁴ It is not my intention to analyse it, but I believe Renwick’s 1993 biography of Pope is not valid; in the same way that Wards observed that five generations of Maori had been misled by the ‘Myth of Moral Suasion,’ so will many more generations of Maori and Pakeha be misled by that biography. [Renwick, William, ‘Pope, James Henry 1837 - 1913’]

tendance.³⁰⁶ I also noted that the dependence of the people in several communities on the cash economy was all too clear, and I remember reports of Maori starving, I think as a result of floods.

Barrington continued:

‘In addition’, as he [Pope] humorously remarked in 1897, ‘we have had to contend with the usual little fanatical outbursts by which the uninstructed among the more conservative Maoris show forth their peculiarities when a new prophet or medicine-man is obtainable. It seems, however, that attacks of this malady are becoming milder as time goes on.’³⁰⁷

Earlier in that same Annual Report, reporting a new school which had opened, Pope had written:

The educational soil here had been, so to speak, quite unbroken, and was *encrusted with the unhealthy growth of centuries*.³⁰⁸

Barrington did not report that Pope commentary. I do not consider the first extract humorous; the second is so ‘over the top’ as to make me wonder what occasioned Pope to write it, and why Barrington was uncritical of it, was apparently accepting of it.

All writings of those times have to be assessed in the light of the clear intention to ‘Europeanize’ Maori. Mackey, writing of the period before the 1877 Act, was quite clear in his assessment:

“The presence here [in New Zealand] of a native race, numerous, intelligent, and warlike, contributed to the development of an ideal for New Zealand’s first educational endeavour, the Europeanisation of the Maori people.”³⁰⁹

Pope in 1881 was in no doubt:

That the Maori will ultimately become Europeanized and be absorbed into the general population does not admit of doubt. ... Past experience seems to show that *uncivilised* people cannot, without imminent risk of extermination, give up their old ways of life all at once and adopt others, for which they can be fitted only by slow and gradual changes in the conditions, subjective and objective, under which they exist.³¹⁰

The rhetoric is in every report. A very few examples illustrate the quite unrestricted derogation of Maori.

If, as I believe it can be shown, that the Native schools as a whole are effecting considerable improvements in the *mental, moral, and physical condition* of our Maori *fellow-subjects*, ... they are the best means yet contrived for helping the Maoris to help themselves.³¹¹

and

It would of course be futile to say that schools are a panacea for the *ills that Maori flesh is heir to*.³¹²

³⁰⁵Barrington, J M and T H Beaglehole, *Maori Schools in a Changing Society*, p140.

³⁰⁶The same complaint was frequently made against Pakeha parents, particularly keeping their children home to assist with harvesting, and having to milk the cows before and after school. The later affected children I went to school with from 1936 in Taranaki, where the social condition of the children was the subject of a special report that occasioned great concern. The reality was that perceived economic imperatives had to be put first.

³⁰⁷Barrington, J M and T H Beaglehole, *Maori Schools in a Changing Society*, p140. [AJHR 1897, E-2, pp 5, 12.]

³⁰⁸AJHR 1897, E2, pp 5, 12; emphasis added. The report highlights another aspect of departmental practice; Maori communities had no privacy!

³⁰⁹Mackey, John, *The Making of a State Education System*, p 17.

³¹⁰AJHR 1881, E 7, p11. Emphasis added.

³¹¹AJHR 1881, E 7, p11. Emphasis added.

³¹²AJHR 1882, E 2, p 7, emphasis added.

Pope approved of the qualities, etc, of educated Maori, for

As a rule it is very hard indeed to get the better of an educated Maori in a bargain."³¹³

The attitude could be subtle:

Singing: Maoris can be taught to sing English songs very well indeed; their own music, though generally not particularly pleasing to the unaccustomed European ear, contains very minute intervals, which are taken with *surprising accuracy*.³¹⁴ ...

but more often quite overt:

It is quite certain, too, that whatever good is to be done to the Maori in the way of educating him must be done soon. In a few years it will be too late to give him any effective help. *Tangihangas*, altered in character as they are now that getting drunk³¹⁵ forms an important part of the proceedings; the demoralising surroundings of the Land Courts;³¹⁶ the disastrous consequences resulting from the sudden acquisition of considerable sums of money from sales of land by natives who are entirely unversed in European habits of thrift and economy, and to whom the idea of looking out for a rainy day is altogether unfamiliar; - these things, together with the bush public houses and grog-shops, will have done their work, and there will be no Maoris to educate in districts where there have been no schools.³¹⁷

and the following extracts:

... settlements that appeared to be quite on the right track have been injuriously affected by sudden outbreaks of superstition or fanaticism. ... On the whole, the Native appear to be growing more sober and more industrious, and to be gaining more knowledge and respect for the *better class* of pakeha habits and customs.³¹⁸

I allude, then, in the first place, to what may be called the social effects of the great meetings that the Maoris are so fond of holding. Nothing needs to be said about the political aspects of these meetings except that the outcome of them seems always to be practically *nil*.³¹⁹ When a meeting is to take place a collection is made, and the Natives nearly everywhere do their best, by contributing largely, to avoid the imputation of meanness. This often involves not only the getting rid of most of the available food and last penny in cash that the settlement can raise, but also a considerable addition to the liabilities of the people of the settlement. By-and-by all arrangements are complete; a great store of pigs, flour, sugar, potatoes, and luxuries has been gathered together; the people assemble from all quarters, long speeches are made, and the food is eaten. The time passes merrily enough according to Maori ideas - there is a certain rude abundance, and no reason to care for any future that is not at least some days distant. By-and-by, however, the fools' paradise has passed away, and all return to their homes. And now comes the sad part of the business. For months, probably, the children to the settlement have to pay the particularly exacting piper to whose music their parents have been dancing, by going without sufficient food and clothing, and contagious diseases that they would probably have escaped if they had not been subjected to cold and hunger. Perhaps it would be possible to prevent by legislation this kind of neglect of Maoris children by their parents if the principle referred to in the preceding section were extended.

... school work should be done for a time in a temporary - *even a Maori* - building, until it has become plain that the Maoris *are really anxious to have their children educated*.³²⁰

One need hardly hesitate to say that the difference [between having been to, and not having been to, a Native school] would be recognised as that between educated, self-restraining, orderly, and capable children and a set of young savages pure and simple.³²¹

³¹³AJHR 1882, E 2, p 7. And therefore it was easy to eg swindle and 'uneducated' Maori.

³¹⁴Emphasis added.

³¹⁵Pope more than once referred to liquor and drunkenness, never with any understanding that just possibly the fault lay with Pakeha. I suspect he would have had the same attitude to working class people in like situation. Cf G A Henty above, and G T Wilkinson.

³¹⁶A topic Pope addressed more than once. If M P K Sorrenson had only known, he could have got his conclusion from Pope, instead of the detailed research he carried out. [Sorrenson., M P K, *Maori Origins and Migrations*]

³¹⁷AJHR 1882, E 2, p 7, 8.

³¹⁸AJHR 1885, E 2, p14. I here draw attention to the use, again, of the phrase "better class" of European [in this case 'Pakeha'] customs or whatever. Pope had a clear class view of the world.

³¹⁹ Emphasis in original.

³²⁰AJHR 1892, E 2, 13.-14. Emphasis added. Also in this report [p14], Pope had addressed the very real difficulties of Maori trapped in a cash economy going off to dig gum, taking their children with them, and having the children help with the digging and scraping, etc. He suggested perhaps there could be a " ... Children's Labour Act or other humane measure. ." Pope did not address the issue from the perspective of Maori being trapped in a cash economy; he thought of them in a subsistence economy.

³²¹AJHR 1898, E-2, p12. Emphasis in original.

... - chiefs who had themselves been thoroughly educate at a boarding-school, and had become well acquainted with the European mode of life, and able to get on entirely without *tapu*, *makutu*, or *tangihanga*.
....³²²

Parihaka always got a bad press; Pope was no exception:

The only extensive district now closed to us is that connected with Parihaka. The people of this district, except a few who are more enlightened, seem determined to act in accordance with our old proverb, "To cut off their noses in order to do despite to their faces," and sturdily refuse to accept any part of the civilisation that would excuse them from certain destruction if they could make up their minds to embrace it, or that will slowly abolish them if they persist in withstanding it. There is no middle path for them. *Hakas*, *poi* dances, and feasting never yet saved the souls alive of any tribe or nation, and never will.³²³

Pope's writings for Maori children were in the same vein. His *Native School Reader* for Standards II and III had aims additional to being an aid to learning to read;³²⁴ it aimed also to instil a range of ideals and ideal behaviour, and, intentional or not, but presumably intentional, the book presented Maori negatively.

The latter it could do very subtly, and very overtly. It was subtle in a story about gathering the mutton bird. "These birds are used for food; they taste of the fish on which they live, but still they are very nice."³²⁵ It is overt in a story about Hongi [Hika], who in the end got his just deserts!

A long time ago there was a great chief named Hongi; he lived in the north. He was a very brave and clever man, but very fierce and cruel. ...

At last Hongi was shot in a quarrel with people living near his own home. He did not die at once; but he was never well and strong again. He died about a year after he was wounded.³²⁶

Pope wrote negatively about Maori going off getting gum, for it meant that the children could not also go to school.³²⁷ However, if the gum-gathering was for a 'good' purpose, then it was to be applauded. In a positive story in the reader about gum, the storyline is:

Jane wishes to go to school, but she has no good clothes. She will go out to dig gum, so that she may buy clothes." The story then described gum-gathering, and concluded: "[She] will sell it at the store for cash. Then she will buy some new clothes and be able to go to school."³²⁸

The sub-text was the need for 'good clothes' before a child could go to school. The issue of clothing appeared in the beginning of the story of Te Kopua Native School, when James Ireland reported that

... Most of them asked me to delay [opening the school] for a short time till they could get clothes for the children ... "³²⁹

Going to school was reinforced in the story "Go to School". Why?

If I cannot read and write I shall always be a poor man³³⁰ and foolish one, and shall be able to do little good for my friends or for myself. If I play instead of going to school I shall lose very much.

³²²AJHR 1902, E2, pp 14, 16, 17, 18, 19.

³²³AJHR 1899, E-2, p13.

³²⁴They would not have been helpful for Maori children learning to read, for they are quite difficult, and there is clear evidence that learning to read is hindered if the material is unfamiliar. A useful research topic would be a readability study of Pope's writings, and some running records by current children of the appropriate age.

³²⁵Pope, James H, *Native School Reader for Standard II and III*, pp8-9.

³²⁶Pope, James H, *Native School Reader for Standard II and III*, p12.

³²⁷Cf fn 195 above.

³²⁸Pope, James H, *Native School Reader for Standard II and III*, pp6-7.

³²⁹Te Kopua records: [1887 02 22] The issue did not appear again in the notes I took from the Te Kopua archives.

³³⁰'man'; it is labouing the obvious, but 'women' were seldom, if ever, acknowledged in observations of this kind.

A man that can read and write can talk to those who are far away. He can hear the sayings of great men who are dead, if he can read their books; he can also talk to his friends when he can not see them, if he is able to write a letter.

I am sure, then, that it is a good thing to go to school and to learn to read and write. I shall go to school. You may stay here and play if you like, and grow up a useless man; then people will say of you, 'That is a stupid kind of fellow; he knows nothing.' The worst of it is, too, that what they say will be quite true.³³¹

Health featured several times: fresh air, soap, and, where to build a house. An ambivalent one, that last, because

Long ago the Maori used to live on the hills and plant on the flat lands; ... It would be a good thing if houses were still built on hills. ... The Maori used to build on high ground because it was easy to make a strong *pa* there, and also because he could see a foe from afar. Now there is no war, and the Maori builds near the place where he grows his food. Do you not think that the older way was the better?³³²

Approval of something from early Maori was not common!

In a book written for young Maori people, the use of the phrase 'the Maori' is something to question. It was, and is, a 'scientific' way of talking and writing, as anthropologists often talk and write. Why did Pope use the style in this book? Was it 'unconscious', or was it intended to build in the minds of its young readers a notion that they were not of the people being written about? Given the departmental aim of 'Europeanising' Maori, the latter must be considered possible, if not probable.

In addition to the story about work discussed above, there were other more overtly morally improving stories, like 'True Kindness', in which the young, and I guess older, given parents would at times see and read the book, reader was admonished that

It is well to be kind to our friends, and we should always be willing to do them good. ...One of the worst habits a man can have is that of lying about idle all day long. It is a habit that grows. ... lazy man will be ashamed to go to this one's house ... eating their food, and never growing any for himself; ... Truly, such a man is in a bad way. ... Is such a man your friend? If so, do not give him food or clothes; tell him that you have to work for what you eat and wear, and that it is right that he do the same. ... You may follow this good rule, and yet be always ready to help people that are in real trouble and unable to help themselves.³³³

Imposing buildings are important in the photos in the *Reader*, with photos of Parliament Buildings, Government House, Wellington, a view of Wellington, and a view of Wellington Harbour. There were views of Princess Street and The Triangle, Dunedin, and similar views of Invercargill, Christchurch and Auckland. Why Hawk's Crag, Buller Gorge, was included we will never know, especially given there were articles about steamers, the train, the telephone, and the post-office. Those later, I presume, were designed to emphasis the superiority of things European. The readers would learn "How useful the post-office is!", and how, "In the old, old days, when the Maori had New Zealand to themselves, it was not

³³¹Pope, James H, *Native School Reader for Standard II and III*, pp11-12.

³³²Pope, James H, *Native School Reader for Standard II and III*, pp18-19.

³³³Pope, James H, *Native School Reader for Standard II and III*, pp37-39.

easy to travel from one place to another. There were then no good roads³³⁴ on which people could travel by land, and no steamers to take them by sea."

Introducing 'Police', Pope wrote:

We have already had a lesson about the post-office, and have seen what a good thing it is to have our letters carried by the Government, instead of sending them privately.³³⁵ There is another kind of work done through the Government that is even more useful than this; that is the work that policemen do."³³⁶

There are several fables, some involving New Zealand birds and animals, and a range of stories from various parts of the world, mainly European, but only two clearly 'Maori' items. One was the frontispiece, a photo of Te Aute College, the other an article on *murū*.

Pope's *Health for Maori*³³⁷ was similarly derogatory of things Maori. It was written for pupils who had passed the third standard, but I would not be surprised if most Maori children had difficulty with it, as some of the following text will indicate.

Chapter XX was a summary. "After you have read all the preceding chapters, and have mastered them, you may learn these short statements or rules by heart. The rules are the answers to the question, "What must Maori do to become as healthy as the Pakeha?"³³⁸

Most of the rules are reasonable, but three stand out for their attitude:

- 11 Get a properly-trained doctor in cases of illness, and pay no heed to the *tohunga*.
- 12 Persuade your people to adopt the English style of funeral instead of the *tangi*. Always be in favour of having dead bodies buried soon.
- 13 When the holidays come round, try to spend the time happily; but learn to prefer picnics and tea-meetings to the old-fashioned Maori *hui*.

Following the rules, Pope included a glossary of Maori terms, with definitions and explanations in English. The glossary was presumably intended for Pakeha teachers, but the definitions must have 'rubbed off' on the Maori readers. What follows is a brief analysis of Pope's definitions of some of those Maori words, with the assistance of Bruce Biggs *English-Maori/Maori-English Dictionary* and the *Concise Oxford Dictionary*. There are some significant variances.

haka: *Pope:* a kind of dance; a mimetic performance. [*Oxford:* mimetic: of, or addicted to, imitation, mimicry, or mimesis [mimesis: (biol) close external resemblance of an animal to another that is distasteful or harmful to predators of the first.] *Biggs:* [**haka-a**]: dance, particularly the war-dance.

tohunga: *Pope:* A kind of prophet, priest, and medicine-man. *Biggs:* a "skilled person, artisan, expert; priest, wizard.

Maori: Belonging to the country; aboriginal. *Biggs:* **Maaori:** native, indigenous, ordinary.

Pakeha: *Pope:* Not aboriginal; foreign; a white man. A Chinaman or a Negro would hardly be called pakeha now.³³⁹ *Biggs:* [**Paakehaa**]³⁴⁰ white (person).

³³⁴There were not a lot at the time he wrote, even by the standards of those days.

³³⁵How times do change; the Business Round Table would not agree!

³³⁶Pope, James H, *Native School Reader for Standard II and III*, p36.

³³⁷Pope, James H, *Health for the Maori: A Manual for Use in Native Schools*,

³³⁸If in fact Maori were any less healthy than Pakeha. The tone of that sentence is symptomatic of the tone of the book.

³³⁹In the 1990s, tauiwī.

³⁴⁰Note that Biggs capitalised 'Paakehaa', giving it the same status as Maori, English, European, Chilean, Malaysian, etc.

aroha: *Pope:* Love. *Biggs:* **aroha-ina, -tia:** affection, compassion, pity, sympathy, love, like, grace, regret, regretful, yearning; to love, feel compassion, sympathy, or love for.

tangi: *Pope:* To cry; to wail; to lament. *Biggs:* [**tangi-hia**]: cry, lament, mourn, scream, sound, wail, weep.

tangihanga: *Pope:* A wailing; a wake; the ceremonies connected with a death. *Biggs:* not listed. Not only does Biggs not list 'tangihanga', he does not list 'funeral' in the English-Maori section.

karakia: *Pope:* An incantation; a prayer; a religious service. *Biggs:* [**karakia-tia**]: chant, charm, incantation, prayer, spell; pray, recite a prayer. **Whare karakia:** church [building].

Close up, in the schools, Pope is also found wanting on several occasions.

At Te Kopua Native School, he was over-supportive of the second, ineffective, teacher, a former army officer, who was quite unable to see the possibility of fault in himself, and whose methods were probably 'vigorous'. He left the service very soon after Pope had given him a transfer.

There was one particular examination episode where the best interests of the children were subverted to the 'needs' of the system. Probably neither the children nor their parents³⁴¹ would have appreciated it, but at the inspection for 1900, it was quite clear that the 'system' had priority over the pupils. Pope wrote that

Considering that there has been a very long interval since the school was closed for the holidays I think the children have done fairly well. Many who would, under ordinary conditions, have passed, have failed to quite reach the required proficiency, or perhaps I should say to retain it. [1900 03 14]

Pope had identified the consequences of Te Kopua being closed for a lengthy interval for at least some of this group of children; he was prepared to not pass them, whilst acknowledging that if justice had been done they would have been passed to the next standard. As it was, they had to wait another year. Pope's Annual Report recorded the episode thus:

Considering that there had been a very long interval since the closing of the school for the holidays, it may be said that the children did very fairly well at examination. It should be stated, also, that many who would have got through under ordinary conditions failed to quite reach the required standard of proficiency merely because they were somewhat "rusty". It seems to me never justified to play fast and loose with the standards, seeing that "hard lines" are nearly always made up for, with interest, at the next examination.³⁴²

To have "made an exception with the standards" in this case would seem to have been justified; it certainly would not have been "playing fast and loose" with them. I did not find any case where a child 'skipped' a class at an examination, so on what Pope based his judgement "that hard lines are nearly always been made up, with interest, at the next examination" I have not discovered. The affected children were ill-served by Pope's policy.

We can suspect that Pope did not make the link to the fact that the department had ensured a teacher at Omaio ahead of a teacher at Te Kopua.

³⁴¹If they ever got to read the reports; they were, I believe, distributed to schools, but whether teachers passed them on to committee members I do not know..

³⁴²AJHR 1901, E2, p8.

Pope retired in December, 1903. W W Bird, who succeeded him as Chief Inspector of Native Schools, included this sentence in his eulogy to Pope:

It is not too much to say that his memory will ever be held in veneration by the *noble race* in whose cause he has laboured so faithfully and well, ...³⁴³

Assessing all that in the 1990s, with my particular history, I am quite unable to be even vaguely positive. For the same reason, I regret the positive tones of William Renwick's biography of Pope in *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*.³⁴⁴

There is no doubt that Pope was a man of many significant talents. Reweti Kohere wrote that Pope was " ... of a lovable nature and so perfectly transparent that he won your respect and confidence on your first meeting."³⁴⁵ Looking back now, I doubt Kohere would make the same assessment.

A Case Study

Te Kopua School: 1

Te Kopua School features several times in John Barrington's research, in most cases based upon Pope's and others Annual Reports to Parliament.³⁴⁶ An examination of the Te Kopua School archive, and other sources, reveals the history to have been much more complex than Barrington reveals, and that the positive impression he leaves is not valid.

In *Maori Schools in a Changing Society*³⁴⁷ and in "Maori Attitudes to Pakeha Institutions after the Wars: A Note on the Establishment of Schools",³⁴⁸ Barrington links the opening of Te Kopua to the waning of the influence of new religious and political separatist movements, and notes the first school was established in the King Country, at Kopua. The evidence, however, suggests that the principal motivation was Pakeha politics, and that the principal player was George Thomas Wilkinson, the Government Native Agent.³⁴⁹

The story of Te Kopua Native School *apparently* began in 1883 when Warana Te Ahukaramu and Taati Wharekura wrote to Mr Bryce, the Minister for Native Affairs. That the story almost certainly began later eventually became clear. Wilkinson's reports to the Edu-

³⁴³AJHR 1904, E2, p 23. Emphasis added. The use of the term 'noble' was quite common. Apart from deriving from the concept of the 'noble savage', and being patronising, it is quite clear that the users rarely if ever believed their rhetoric. But then, rhetoric is not for believing in.

³⁴⁴Orange, Claudia, [Gen Ed], *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, Vols II, pp393-395.

³⁴⁵Orange, Claudia, [Gen Ed], *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, Vols II, pp395b.

³⁴⁶The 'E' series.

³⁴⁷Barrington, J M and T H Beaglehole, *Maori Schools in a Changing Society*, p136.

³⁴⁸Barrington, J M, "Maori Attitudes to Pakeha Institutions after the Wars: ... ", pp25-26.

³⁴⁹I have indicated already that Wilkinson wrote similarly to Pope; I have a file of his 'gems', but decided not to include any of them in this paper.

cation Department indicate quite clearly that he did not think a school was necessary at or near Te Awamutu,³⁵⁰ and he made this particularly significant observation:

I hope it will not be long before the natives *will be fit* to ask for a Native School in what is now known as the King Country [perhaps at *Kopua* or Otorohanga]." [1884 01 15; Emphasis added]³⁵¹

H B Kirk, Pope's inspector colleague, in his report on the advisability of a native school at Te Kopua, provided confirmation of previous schooling at Te Kopua, and evidence of possible motivations, when he wrote:

The men who have most interested themselves are halfcastes living at Kopua, very much in Native fashion. These men for the most part received some education at the old Wesleyan School at Kopua, and they are most earnest in wishing to have a school for their children. [1885 08 29]

There was further evidence in his first inspection report:

The scholars are mostly half caste or greater castes. Probably as time goes by the *pure Maoris* will abandon their present position of passive hostility and send their children to the school. So far as I can judge the teacher has secured the complete confidence of the Natives. [1887 10 07; emphasis in original.]³⁵²

and the theme persisted, as this extract from Pope's 1889 inspection report indicates:

"A considerable number across the river who are followers of Tawhiao do not attend; I cannot learn their number." [1889 07 03]

I am quite sure the opening of Te Kopua Native School was a political act. Tawhiao clearly wanted nothing to do with the school, at least in its early stages. The political context was almost certainly the most important factor in the opening of the school. The late Sir Keith Sinclair provided suggestive evidence.³⁵³ Tawhiao in 1886 appealed directly to Balance for a council of chiefs, led by himself, to administer "... all the rights and lands confirmed by the Treaty of Waitangi."³⁵⁴ There were vigorous, and varied, Maori strategies to resist and subvert Pakeha intentions. Did Wilkinson have in mind at least two matters in addition to education: Another foothold in the King Country, and, another wedge in Maori political society?

When I told Rewi Panapa of the conclusion I had come to, he agreed immediately. Then he added, that his aunt had been quite clear in her mind that Tawhiao had on more than one occasion threatened to close the school.³⁵⁵

The 'half-caste' Ormsby brothers, Arthur and John, who initiated the process that led to the opening of Te Kopua, were often involved with Wilkinson, especially as interpreters, as he worked within the Native Land Court system to alienate land in the King Country; they ap-

³⁵⁰Te Awamutu is on confiscated land, therefore not in the King Country.

³⁵¹For material from the *departmental* Te Kopua archive, the date of the document is inserted in the text.

³⁵²Note the distinction between 'pure Maoris' and Natives'. I cannot know what significance it might have had, beyond distinguishing between Tawhiao/s people and the "... half caste or greater castes."

³⁵³Sinclair, *Kinds of Peace*, p126; cf Parsonson, Ann, "The Pursuit of Mana", p 164.

³⁵⁴John Balance met and apparently seriously discussed the issue of the treaty on more than one occasion, despite I presume knowing that Chief Justice Prendergast had declared the Treaty a 'nullity'. It does not enhance his stature, and could be one reason he should be de-statued.

³⁵⁵Rewi Panapa, personal communication, 21 October, 1996.

pear frequently in Wilkinson's Annual Reports to Parliament.³⁵⁶ That they were literate, competently literate, in Maori *and* English, is evident; that they accepted Wilkinson's agenda is less evident. It seems probable that they did at least to some extent accept Wilkinson's agenda, for we know that it was the 'pure' natives across the river who were sullen and ignored the school and the 'halfcastes' who attended it, and we have the record of their involvement with Wilkinson noted above.

While the analogy is not strong, these judgements by Henrietta Leyser of the role of intermarriage in the outcome of the Norman invasion, the Norman 'conquest', of England are apposite:

Intermarriage, quite as much as warfare is, or can be, a form of conquest ... The intermarriage of Normans with Anglo-Saxon women explains not only the relative ease with which William I could impose his rule, but also the failure of the Conquest, in the long run, to establish French as the language of the country.³⁵⁷

There is a broad, complex and sensitive issue in this small aside in the broader theme of this study, but I will do no more here than note it.

To return to the main theme of this section: Barrington reports from the Te Kopua archive that

In 1954, the Education Department asked for a foot bridge to be built at the Te Kapua [sic] school situated nine miles from Te Awamutu. The bridge was necessary, the Director commented, because, in order to reach the school, approximately half the children had to cross the Waipa river in a canoe, and this was 'not a very satisfactory arrangement as at times the river rises rapidly and the safety of the children is then endangered.'³⁵⁸

I have to presume Barrington 'dipped into' the archive and found this item. Had he read the whole archive, he would have found that the river was dangerous from the beginning, that there had been numerous plans for bridges, that there had been parent-built footbridges across the Waipa River which were periodically washed away, and that the danger of crossing in a canoe paddled by senior pupils was one reason why one teacher wanted to leave Te Kopua.³⁵⁹ Barrington would also have found that, because there was no 'dedicated' road leading up to the banks of the river, the Works Department advised a bridge could not be built, and he would have found that it was not built.³⁶⁰

G T Wilkinson reported also the continuing problem, never completely solved, of the two streams to the west of Te Kopua which most often were unsatisfactory bridged.³⁶¹

³⁵⁶AJHR, G series.

³⁵⁷Leyser, Henrietta, *Medieval Women*, pp 3 and 73.

³⁵⁸Barrington, J M and T H Beaglehole, *Maori Schools in a Changing Society*, p 244-245.

³⁵⁹Floods also washed canoes away.

³⁶⁰As a footnote, I could not find, in county council records, that local government took any notice of Te Kopua, including bridging the rivers. If the department or the Works Department ever approached the counties, the approaches did not reach 'council' level.

³⁶¹The Waipa River was to the east; the school was in a fork of the rivers.

All the Native schools in my districts, with the exception of the one at Te Kopua, are in a fairly flourishing condition. One reason this one does not succeed is because no provision has yet been made for bridging two creeks that have to be crossed by the children before they can get to school.³⁶²

Access to Te Kopua was never good, often dangerous, and always wet, right to the end!

Te Kopua School 2

There is no evidence that the aspirations of the Maori people who feature in the life of Te Kopua Native School were acknowledged and acted upon *as the aspirations were expressed*. The Department of Education exercised total control, and its officials acceded to Maori aspirations only when they considered they advanced, or at least did not diminish, wider 'departmental interests' as the officials perceived those interests to be.

The biography of Te Kopua is a study of departmental control, manifest in delay, neglect, parsimony, inaction; and indifference. There was indifference indeed even to the expressed concerns of some of its own officers. Danger to children being ferried across the Waipa River was recorded many times by inspectors, the first by Pope in 1889. *The Waipa River was never adequately bridged*, but there is no evidence that the officers concerned 'put anything on the line' in protest at the indifference and inaction. The first reference to mud and slush and the consequent indifferent health and difficulty of access was in 1889. The last reference was by the last teacher, in 1956.

Parsimony characterises the story. The school that opened in 1886 had provision for thirty pupils; though Pope had estimated twentyfive, there were thirtyseven in 1888. When *finally* that building was replaced in 1953, the staffroom was deleted for economy reasons. In between there were innumerable examples of parsimony, especially in the period after the first building became the property of a member of the community.

'Conditions' permeates the story. The piece of land the department accepted as a site for the school was low-lying and wet. Access was always difficult, and frequently created a feeling of isolation, though Te Kopua was only nine miles as the crow flies from Te Awamutu, and less from Pirongia. James Ireland was taken in by canoe. Water surrounded the *new* school in 1953. In 1956 Paul Chalmers' car went into the garage through the mud. Pupil and teacher health suffered. Teachers' mental health suffered; several of them asked to be transferred for reasons of health, isolation, and access. Low attendance figures were frequently linked to 'conditions'. Teachers apparently declined to be transferred to Te Kopua because of the conditions.

³⁶²AJHR, 1890, G2, p6.

It is a story of control. The department set the underlying ethos and purpose of the Native School system. The department set the curriculum. The department controlled all that happened. The department moved teachers at will. The department, apparently without concern, allowed Te Kopua to be closed for significant periods when it moved teachers to schools it thought more important. The department showed no concern for the consequences of those closures on the schooling careers of the pupils.³⁶³ The department invoked Maori support in both the Boer War and the First World War as significant evidence of the merit of the Native School system.

It is also a study of Maori co-operation and contribution. The *men*³⁶⁴ we know gave liberally of their competence and their time, often, though they did not know it, whilst being derogated by officials. They did their first free job in 1889.

Conclusion

I began reading the Native/Maori School archives looking for broadbrush, 'system' themes in the history of the provision of schooling for Maori, in particular differences across time, or regional differences, and started with Te Kopua only because the school was there for a reasonable time, and was close to Hamilton.³⁶⁵ It was Judith Simon who suggested I concentrate on Te Kopua; there had not then been a study of an individual school. On reflection, that has surprised me, and ultimately saddened me. No university teacher of history, education or otherwise, had thought it important to build up a set of case studies of Native/Maori schools.³⁶⁶

A casual comparison of Robin McConnell's biography of Tau Taua³⁶⁷ with the biography of Te Kopua School reveals a number of differences in attitude and other aspects of Taua's experience compared with the experience at Te Kopua. To give one positive example, W W Bird revealed in internal departmental memos a positive and supportive attitude in sup-

³⁶³On the one occasion an inspector did acknowledge the detriment, he was not prepared to make allowances; the system overrode his concern.

³⁶⁴Women of the community appear in the record only in the final years, contributing to programmes in Maori 'culture'. When, for instance, questions were asked about available board, it was in with "Searancke"; Mrs Searancke, or, after she had died, their daughter, was never mentioned.

³⁶⁵A most fortuitous choice, one of many 'accidents' in my life that have led to this thesis. It was the wife of one of the last three Form II pupils At Te Kopua who, when I met her 'by accident' averred that such events are not accidents or coincidences, they have meaning. I have to say that when I look back and survey the events in my life from the motor bike crash in 1951 that had me leave farming and take up teaching that it could be argued that I was intended to write this thesis.

³⁶⁶Granted, I am unaware of case studies of Board schools. I *am* aware that in at least two Board areas, Auckland [the original board] and Taranaki, such studies are no longer possible; the records have been dumped! I have more recently learned that in the last couple of years, studies have been done, or are underway, in Auckland, fostered by Judith Simon and the Research Unit for Maori Education.

port of Taua which was not evident in the Te Kopua record.³⁶⁸ A valid history of schooling for Maori is not possible until a considerable number of studies is available.

³⁶⁷ McConnell, Robin, *Taua of Kareponia*:

³⁶⁸ McConnell, Robin, *Taua of Kareponia*: p 113.

Schooling for 'lesser beings'

*

Part Two:

Te Kopua Native/Maori School:

A Biography

1

INTRODUCTION

Part Two of this study, a biography of a school, is almost entirely based on the files kept by the Department of Education on Te Kopua Native/Maori School, just south of Pirongia, Waikato.¹

The school opened in 1886 and closed in 1956. From the record, the story *apparently* began in 1883 [1883 09 01]² when Warana Te Ahukaramu and Taati Wharekura, parents, wrote to the Mr Bryce³ asking to have some of their girls admitted into a girls' school so they could be educated. That application for a school was rejected, but another quite unconnected application, from a different group of parents in a different place, was accepted, and a little over three years later, in 1886, Te Kopua Native School opened with a roll of five, with J Ireland as Head Teacher. It closed, not with a bang but a whimper, seventy years later at the end of 1956. In between, there was much that was illuminating.

Much I believe was not reassuring, but it will be interesting, as studies of other schools are done, to find how typical Te Kopua was.

"Water, water everywhere." From above, underfoot, mixed with dirt, and between river banks. Coleridge's⁴ words aptly sum up the most continuous local influence on events at Te Kopua. It rained often, the land was low-lying, and it was in the fork of two rivers, the Waipa and the Makararua; the Ngakoaohia was beyond the Makararua. One or more of these rivers had to be crossed by most pupils [and their parents], by some teachers, by inspectors, and by visitors.

Access, whether by road, bridge, including swing bridge, boat or punt features regularly. Boats and punts were supplied, despite oft-expressed safety worries, but bridges? Scarcely ever, and then only when built by the parents, and never a road bridge! Road access, for much of the school's life, was non-existent or difficult.

¹ For details of the archives and other sources, see the Bibliographic Note in the Bibliography.

² When the source is the Te Kopua archive, the date is inserted in the text, as this example.

³ Native Minister.

⁴ Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*.

Water was important in the lives of the teachers and their families. It featured frequently as a reason when teachers wanted to leave the school, it affected their health and it affected deliveries of supplies. It had consequences for the health of the children. It was a factor in the quite frequent closings of the school. There were rare occasions when, ironically, there was insufficient for drinking, or it was not fit to drink.

The school was frequently closed, sometimes for quite lengthy periods. The most notable period was when Rae Cumberland Cameron enlisted for World War I, went to France, and was killed. It closed in June 1916 and did not reopen until August 1922, at least two years after an application for re-opening was made.

The school was built on land originally given by Maori to the Wesleyan Mission to build a church and a school. The evidence suggests that the Department of Education used the fact that the land, and later also the building, did not belong to it as an excuse for not spending money. Comparative studies of other Native/Maori schools will be necessary to clarify whether the Department did use non-ownership as an excuse, whether it was just naturally cautious when it came to spending Government money, or whether there was a parsimonious attitude towards Native Schools because they were Native Schools.⁵

The twenty-two teachers were a varied group. Several came direct to Te Kopua from other occupations; others had previous experience in Native/Maori schools. Some had long careers in the service; others left, after often quite short Native School service, either for other teaching or to other activities. I have made no attempt to follow them after they left the Native/Maori schools service.⁶ To the limited extent possible, I will describe the selection and appointment processes. From one point of view, the record tells us very little, but the process was quite clearly understood by the officers of the department.

Both men and women taught at Te Kopua. The first Maori teacher⁷ [a woman] arrived in 1923. Members of the teachers' families, especially the wives, were often important in teaching and in other school activities. The Departmental record has not a lot to divulge on their personalities, interests and enthusiasms, and foibles, but what it does reveal is often interesting and illuminating. "...not a lot..." is a euphemism for almost nothing. Rayma Ritchie had this to say:

This account is dedicated as a tribute to those hundreds of wives, both Maori and European, of Head Teachers of Maori Schools who from the mid 1880s to 1981⁸ followed their men into unknown territory. In bush clearings, or isolated beaches, in mountains and forests they laboured to make homes for their

⁵ Or, was the Education Department just plain parsimonious!

⁶ The separate listing of Native School teachers in the Education Department's Annual Report to Parliament [AJHR: E2; later E3] ended in 1929; thus did my tracking of the teachers who were at Te Kopua.

⁷ There is not evidence any of the teachers prior to 1923 were Maori.

⁸ Date as in source.

families. They supported their husbands in the school room and played leading roles in the Maori communities in which they lived.⁹

History has neglected them.

They made their mark firmly on the local scene, as tributes made at the time confirm, but the country has failed to recognise the valuable contributions made by these modest women. I hope this small book will help to obtain for them the appreciation they richly deserve.¹⁰

The Te Kopua record is of almost no help to Rayma.

The record does reveal, however, something of the conditions under which they and their families, and by extension the pupils and their families, lived. The school room was possibly adequate for some of the time, given the roll was often quite low, but at other times, [eg when the roll justified two teachers] it would have been quite inadequate even by the space per pupil standards of the time. For some families the first school house must have been a tight fit; the Young family comes to mind, as discussed in Chapter 6.

The record also reveals the range of the teachers' extra-curricular activities. Much work was done on school, grounds, house and garden, and in other kinds of activities, including community work. Given teachers had as part of their duties to be, at the very least, good exemplars, whether many of these activities were truly 'extra-curricular' is an open question.

There is little that is helpful about the people of Te Kopua in the archive, except when there were difficulties, usually in connection with crossing the rivers, within the community, or when there were difficulties between parents and teachers, again very frequently centred on the rivers. The only reference anywhere in the record to the education of the first parents is this by Kirk in his report recommending the establishment of Te Kopua:

These men for the most part received some education at the old Wesleyan School at Kopua, and they are most earnest in wishing to have a school for their children. [1885 08 29]

It is safe to conclude that Kirk was referring to education in English, not education in Maori. The only other evidence of the schooling¹¹ of parents is when they themselves had been pupils at the school.

What *can* be described is the way in which the Department applied what I have chosen to call 'discipline'. There is plenty of the application of discipline to the teachers in the record; there is evidence also of Departmental discipline applied to the committees.

We get occasional, significant insights into the natures of the inspectors. There is much on method, but too often not in sufficient detail to usefully illuminate teaching practice. Only by implication, or by inspector, and on a few occasions teacher description, is there any ev-

⁹Had Ritchie read the Te Kopua record, she would have added water, mud, and slush.

¹⁰Ritchie, Rayma, *Shadow Behind the Blackboard*, 1993: Dedication.

¹¹I will use 'schooling', not 'education', in this study. The children at Te Kopua went to school and received a 'schooling'. It is a much more debatable matter as to whether any of them went through a process that could be described as 'education'. This is not the place to draw the distinction; the debate was vigorous in the 1970s, promoted in particular by R S Peters and others in his 'school'.

idence of teacher or pupil behaviour in the classroom. For instance, did the teacher-training aspect of inspection visits actually bring about change in the teachers' behaviour? The record is silent.

In other words, the record is largely devoid of flesh and blood, and in particular there is almost nothing that illuminates what went on *inside* the school. The inspection reports evaluate, but in reality tell us almost nothing. I have used 'control' when discussing what went on between teachers and children, but the evidence is almost entirely from inspection reports. The record tells us very little of the nature of the relationships between teachers and children; the logbook is the occasional exception.

There are a number of points where we get insights into the attitudes of participants in the life of the school towards each other, either as individuals, or as groups. There are insights into the attitudes of teachers towards various social priorities.

It is possible to describe, though in a fairly limited way, some aspects of the curriculum these pupils followed. More often, the detail is sufficient only to raise questions. What is largely missing is detail on the books, etc, used. We have to presume that there were few other than those prescribed and supplied by the department.

As expected, there is no evidence Maori was used in teaching,¹² but outside the school there is significant evidence of the use of te reo Maori as the first language.¹³

I had hoped to treat quite fully the school careers of the pupils, the nature of the evaluations of those careers, and the outcomes. The task was too large for this study. I do, however, make an assessment of the consequences of exclusion from school consequent on school closure; there are times when it is clear Departmental policy was inimical to the well-being of the children.

The only significant study of departmental policy is that by Barrington and Beaglehole.¹⁴ There are essays in various places, including several by Barrington. More recently, Openshaw, Lee and Lee¹⁵ have presented an assessment of the research. Given that a large part of the evidence available to Barrington in particular is to be found in the Department's Annual Reports plus the records of the Native/Maori schools, of which those for Te Kopua are a small sample, I am at first sight unlikely to find much that contradicts, varies from, or augments what is already available. On reflection, however, it is just the 'close-up' view that I am taking that has discovered times when what has been written is shown to be at least inadequate, where policy did not fit the particular circumstances, where it simply was

¹²Not until the first *Maori* teacher in 1923 is there evidence a teacher could speak te reo Maori.

¹³For a brief discussion of te reo Maori see Appendix 6.

¹⁴Barrington, J M and T H Beaglehole, *Maori Schools in a Changing Society*

¹⁵Openshaw, Roger, and Greg Lee and Howard Lee, *Challenging the Myths: Rethinking New Zealand's Educational History*, especially chapters 2 and 3.

not followed, or where it was made ‘on the run.’ There are times when I reinterpret the record, and there are times when I critique, often sharply, the historical assessments made thus far, including assessments of the Department’s Annual Reports.¹⁶

How then does one effectively write a biography of Te Kopua Native/Maori School? For reasons earlier stated in “Intentions and Style”¹⁷ I have decided that the most satisfactory approach is to follow the teachers, and describe their experiences and their interactions with other people, especially the inspectors and the parents, the committees, and the community. In the course of doing that, many themes will emerge; some of those themes will be explored.

¹⁶ Many of these are in Part One, but those are also in Part Two, that they may be seen in their full context.

¹⁷ At the beginning of this study.

2

1883

False Start

The story of Te Kopua Native School apparently began in 1883 when Warana Te Ahukaramu and Taati Wharekura wrote to Mr Bryce, the Minister for Native Affairs. That the story almost certainly began later is explained at the end of the chapter.

Warana Te Ahukaramu and Taati Wharekura wrote in Maori; what follows is the translation:

Friend, greetings.

This is a word from the people of the Ngatiweroihiko and the Ngatikoura respecting the education of our children.

Friend, in former times in our great anxiety that our children should acquire the knowledge of the Europeans we gave the Haere-awha, Taupuaeharoro and Otawahao Blocks to the government in order that our children might be educated out of the proceeds arising out of those lands. Our children were placed at the school at Te Awamutu down to the time that the war broke out when that establishment was closed and subsequently to that period we have not derived any benefit from those lands which were given for the education of our children.

These are some of our children that we are anxious to have educated, namely Maraea Keremeta, Heera Warena, Herena Keiti, Maata Keiti, Reihana and others, and that is why we ask you to have these children admitted into the girls' school in order that they may be educated.

From your humble servant, [1883 09 01]

Why the reference is to "the girls' school", or where that school was situated, is not clear, and such a school does not feature again. It may have been because some of their Maori boys were being schooled at St Stephens, on the northern slopes of the Bombay Hills¹, and they wanted schooling for their girls. Because it is very unlikely all their post primary boys were at St Stephens, and equally unlikely all their post-primary girls would go to any girls' school not nearby, the reference to "the girls' school" remains inexplicable. If they wanted schooling for their girls comparable for the schooling their boys were getting, they certainly were far more forward-looking than almost all Pakeha in the country at the time. Given, however, that Taati Wharekura made explicit reference to "...children of both sexes ..." in

¹Cf Pope's memorandum [1884 02 10 below], where he wrote that "... the Church was maintaining Waikato children at St Stephens."

his later statement to Wilkinson, perhaps it was a mistake, or a mis-translation, or some other mishap.

What is incorrect is that the land was given to the "government"; it was given to the mission, a fact confirmed in Wilkinson's memorandum below, although we do not know whether Taati Wharekura spoke of "missionaries" or of "government" in his statement to Wilkinson, or whether Wilkinson, understanding the situation, inserted "missionaries" when Wharekura used "government". It is an interesting possibility that Warana Te Ahukaramu and Taati Wharekura did not perceive any significant difference to exist between the government and the mission authorities.

This memorandum from G T Wilkinson² confirmed the general situation, it being a statement made to him by Taati Wharekura:

What Warana has stated is correct - the three blocks [Moeawha, Tapuaekarori, and Otauhao] were given by the Patukoko tribe to the Missionaries. They were given up by Porokoru [since dead] and Waraua. [Blocks south and east of Te Awamutu; [about 2 miles by ½ mile.] These lands were given up to Revd Mr Morgan as an endowment and place for a school. A school was erected at Otauhaku by Mr Morgan and continued in existence until the Missionaries left on account of the fighting in Waikato. No school has since been established in the locality. A large number of our children of both sexes attended that School when it was in existence.

When these lands were given up it was on the understanding that they were to be for the School and Church - [Church of England]. During the fighting the Schools and Churches were abandoned and have not been resumed since. Had the schools been re-established since the War, we would have availed ourselves of them and sent our children. But we would not have availed ourselves of the religious teaching of the Missionaries. It is true that we drove the Missionaries away years ago, but we desire that the schools should be returned for the benefit of our children. I am aware that there are a number of European schools in the Waikato district, but the children will not remain at the schools that are near their homes, they run away and go home to their parents, but at Auckland they could not do that. [1884 01 15]

Why these Maori were enthusiastic about education, but did not want religion, [ie the missionaries back] is not explained, but it is put into context by Michael D Jackson's discussion of the declining attraction of the missions for Maori in the 1830s.³ It is possible the motivations were different, but what appears constant is the interest in Pakeha education, Pakeha knowledge.

However, Wilkinson, in an accompanying Memorandum to John Hislop,⁴ wrote

...The Natives do not suffer much *real hardship* through the Missionary Schools not being re-established in this district *as there are so many Govt schools that could be used by them if they really wanted Education for their children.* [Emphasis added.] But they want something more, they want board, lodging and education. [Emphasis in original.] There is some truth in what Mr Tate [Wilkinson means Mr Taati Wharekura, whose name he has correct at the head of the 'statement' he forwarded with this memorandum to Hislop] says about the Native children not attending regularly when the schools are so near their homes. I don't know how many children from Waikato are at present in St Stephen's School, but it appears to me that the valuable endowments that Waikato Natives have given the Church Missionary Socie-

²Government Native Agent.

³Jackson, Michael, "A study of the meaning and effect of literacy in early nineteenth century Maori society."

⁴Secretary for Education.

ty should entitle them to some consideration at the hands of that body. I hope it will not be long before the natives *will be fit* [Emphasis added] to ask for a Native School in what is now known as the King Country [perhaps at Kopua or Otorohanga]. [1884 01 15]

What is interesting but not necessarily significant is that the initial application by Warana Te Ahukaramu and Taati Wharekura was based upon land given to the *Anglican* church and the school established by Reverend John Morgan at Otauhaku, which is the same place as Otawahao; according to Norris, Morgan called his mission station *Awamutu*.⁵ This was *within* the area of land later confiscated.

Wilkinson clearly considered that the Church of England had responsibilities in regard to the children at St Stephens, but it is his attitude to the request for education in general from Maori that is especially significant. In his view, if the people were really serious about having their children schooled, then they would attend board schools. He ignored the fact that apparently the children would have to live away from home to attend the school. What he meant by the words "... will be fit..." is quite unclear, but it may have had to do with Maori attitudes following on from the New Zealand Wars. How the notion relates to his earlier judgement about Maori using board schools is equally obscure. Suffice to say he seems not enthusiastic about a native school, or at least not in response to this request, or not for a school in this place.

At the end of his Memorandum to Hislop, Wilkinson suggested " ... a Native school in what is now known as the King Country [perhaps at Kopua or Otorohanga]." [1884 01 15] At first glance the suggestion is difficult to understand, for the two places are quite some distance apart, [and also quite some distance from Te Awamutu], given that movement was largely on foot, or by horse or boat, and therefore schools at either place would cater for different groups of children. That Wilkinson had links by marriage to nearby Alexandra⁶ may also have been significant in the final choice of Te Kopua. It is possible Wilkinson wanted a school in the King Country, for the usual 'assimilation' reasons. Te Kopua⁷ in particular, and Otorohanga were places important to Maori, and therefore suitable sites.

The political context may also have been important; it was probably the most important factor of all. The late Sir Keith Sinclair, who had read more of the evidence *in te reo Maori* than most, canvassed the negotiations between the government and Rangitira such as Tawhiao. He noted that the first sod of the main trunk in the King Country was turned in 1885, and the Rohe Potae claim, involving 1.6m acres of land, was before the Land Court in 1886.⁸ It was in 1886 that Tawhiao appealed directly to Ballance for a council of chiefs,

⁵Norris, H C M, *Armed Settlers*, p 6.

⁶Now Pirongia.

⁷Whatiwhatihoe was nearby; Tawhiao's house, a very large one, was there, and Whatiwhatihoe at that time [1886] was perhaps the largest Maori village. [Sinclair, Keith, *Kinds of Peace*, p 43.]

⁸Sinclair, *Kinds of Peace*, p126; cf Parsonson, Ann, "The Pursuit of Mana" in Oliver, W H [Ed], *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, p 164.

led by himself, to administer "... all the rights and lands confirmed by the Treaty of Waitangi."⁹ Williams and Sinclair both describe vigorous, and varied, Maori strategies to resist and subvert Pakeha intentions. Did Wilkinson have in mind at least two matters in addition to education: another foothold in the King Country, and, another wedge in Maori political society?

H B Kirk, Pope's inspector colleague, in his report on the advisability of a native school at Te Kopua, provided confirmation both of previous schooling at Te Kopua, and of possible motivations, when he wrote:

The men who have most interested themselves are halfcastes living at Kopua, very much in Native fashion. These men for the most part received some education at the *old Wesleyan School at Kopua* [emphasis added] and they are most earnest in wishing to have a school for their children. [1885 08 29]

and later in his first inspection report Kirk wrote:

The scholars are mostly half caste or greater castes. Probably as time goes by the pure Maoris will abandon their present position of passive hostility and send their children to the school. So far as I can judge the teacher has secured the complete confidence of the Natives. [1887 10 07]

This theme persisted, as this extract from Pope's 1889 inspection report indicates:

A considerable number across the river who are followers of Tawhaio do not attend; I cannot learn their number. [1889 07 03]

[Te] Kopua was the site of a *Wesleyan* mission. It was at Te Kopua that Te Kopua Native School was eventually established, *outside* the area of confiscation, ie it was in the King Country. Whilst the mission school at Awamutu was still operating, the Wesleyan mission school that had been at Te Kopua was by then closed.

However, the challenge had not ended. Hitiri Te Paerata wrote [in Maori] to Mr Lewis:¹⁰

Friend, greeting.

This is to inform you that we now send our children to the school at Kihikihi, because the Maoris of this district gave a piece of land at Te Awamutu for a site for a Maori School when Mr Morgan was living at Te Awamutu.

Now we apply to you, the Government, to provide a sum of money for the maintenance of the school children and for their other requirements. The money can be sent to the Chairman of the School Committee here.

Ended,

from your good friend. [1884 02 01]

J H Pope¹¹ did not see it as being a Departmental matter. In a memorandum to Hislop, he confirmed the land had been given, but he "... could not see Maoris suffering at hands of C of E ... the land was given for a specific reason. The Church was willing to perform. The

⁹Williams, John A, *Politics of the New Zealand Maori*, p 43. Williams notes the words were quoted in *NZPD 1894, LXXXV (10/9/94)*, p551, [10 September, 1894.

¹⁰Under-secretary, Native Department.

¹¹ Chief Inspector of Native Schools.

Maoris *drove them away* ... they didn't want religious instruction ... the Church was maintaining Waikato children at St Stephens." [1884 02 10] [Emphasis added]

Pope chose to use the condemnatory "The Maoris *drove them away*", [emphasis added] the most vigorous of the language used by Taati Wharekura in his statement to Wilkinson. [1884 01 05] Pope could have used the two other of Taati Wharekura expressions: "... until the Missionaries left on account of the fighting in Waikato," or "During the fighting the Schools and Churches were abandoned and have not been resumed since." He also had available the expression of Warana Te Ahukaramu and Taati Wharekura in their opening letter: "... to the time that the war broke out when that establishment was closed ...".

Why was Pope so negative, even so accusatory? The department's policy was to get as many Maori children as possible into school. Pope is viewed as supportive of Maori,¹² doing his best to advance their interests; there are in this study episodes illustrative of that part of his nature. For Maori, he was to become "Te Popi", a term which also became the generic for 'inspector', and they thought of him with great affection. He was, however, a man of his times, for whom 'natives' were by definition inferior beings. When he was at a distance, with Pakeha departmental priorities firmly in his mind, did he 'revert to type'?

Pope seemed to display little sympathy towards this group of applicants for a Native School. He was content merely to see that these Maori were to be educated; it did not seem to matter whether this would occur in a church school or in a board school. Departmental policy was that Maori schools were for areas away from Pakeha settlement, and it was intended by politicians and the Department that in time the Native Schools would work themselves out of a job, and Maori, when they were sufficiently skilled in English, would be integrated into Board schools.¹³ In this case, the Department considered schooling was available, and the Departmental view was that Maori should avail themselves of it!

Not surprisingly, the Department's view prevailed; there no evidence an alternative viewpoint was argued inside the Department. Because the land had been given to the church, Hislop could be instructed to reply to Warana Te Ahukaramu and Taati Wharekura:

I am to say that no land at Te Awamutu has been given to the *Government* [emphasis added] for Native School purposes.

I am to inform you also that the Government has quite discontinued the practice of relieving Maoris of the responsibility of providing food, lodging and clothing for their children except in the special cases put forth in the Native School Code, a copy of which is sent with this letter.

The Government are glad to hear that the Waikato Natives are sending their children to the Public School, and hope they will continue to do so. [1884 03 06]

¹² See Part I, p 74.

¹³ See p 45 above, where this statement by Mr Bowen, Minister in charge of the 1877 Education Bill, is noted: "... I hope, however, that before long the same system will apply to both."

A memorandum by John Ballance,¹⁴ on notepaper headed “Premier's Office, Wellington NZ” refers to Te Kopua School, and to land at Kihikihi near Te Puniu River. “This land given by the Maoris in a [welcome¹⁵] & nothing is being done.” The memorandum indicates there had been a complaint. Habens put the memorandum aside for Pope when he returned to the office. [1885 05 16] There is no evidence of which people approached Ballance and prompted that memorandum by Ballance on the Premier’s notepaper, and no evidence of what action was taken. It cannot have been from Te Kopua, for the location is wrong; Te Kopua is quite some distance from Kihikihi.

Thus ends this set of episodes. What they indicate is that the issue of a school in that area was being reasonably vigorously pursued. By who is not made clear, however.

An application for a school came, from another place, Te Kopua, and the supplicants were 'half-castes'. Arthur S Ormsby, a parent living at Te Kopua, [and I presume other parents] took up the issue. Was it that they had done some homework and thought out a different strategy, or, was it that they were a different group of people, living at Te Kopua? It clearly was the latter; they were a different group of people possibly, even probably, encouraged by Wilkinson, who may well have been behind the approaches to Stout and Ballance.

The most likely explanation for the confusion is that the Department should, in 1883, have opened a file labelled, perhaps, 'Te Awamutu', closed it after Hislop wrote his letter declining that first application, and should then have opened another file labelled 'Te Kopua' when Arthur Ormsby's first letter was received. The evidence points clearly to two quite separate requests for two schools in two different places, the requests connected in the 'mind' of the Department by the part played by the Government Native Agent, George Thomas Wilkinson, whose motivations were based on the politics he was all too well aware of.¹⁶ The two groups of applicants *may* not have known each other, and probably did not know the other had made application for a school.

There are two other 'Te Kopua' applications in the Departmental files in National Archives in Auckland. Neither application was successful. This file makes three. Whilst I browsed those two files, I did not take notes, but my memory suggests that I thought the Department was much less than enthusiastic about opening either school, and was searching always for a good reason not to accede to the request to provide a school. My memory also suggests that one of the central 'excuse' was the apparent¹⁷ availability of an alternative, Govern-

¹⁴ Native Minister.

¹⁵ Writing difficult to decipher; I think it is “welcome”, but what its import might have been I am unable to assess.

¹⁶I have been unable to find any of Wilkinson's files, letter books, etc, and I do not expect that that sort of detail will have been retained in the memory of the people; it is most unlikely it would have been important enough. However, I think the evidence so far is sufficient to support my conclusion. [In a personal communication, Laurie Barber, author of the definitive history of the Waipa County, [Barber, L H, *The View from Pirongia*, ...] the area in which Te Kopua is situated, told me he had not sighted any significant Wilkinson archive.]

¹⁷Given the nature of the movement of people in those time, the availability was more apparent than real.

False start

ment-funded, school. The availability of an alternative school was clearly operative in the present case. There is, I judge, a research issue here. It may well be that *unsuccessful* applications are more immediately illuminating of underlying departmental policy and attitudes than *successful* applications.

3

1886 - 1889

Open

The story of Te Kopua Native School began, it can be argued, when in 1884 Arthur S Ormsby wrote to James H Pope

... a number of Maoris and Half Castes are desirous of having a school established at this place ... Would the Govt be willing to build a school on two acres leased by the Wesleyan Body for 21 years rent free?

You are doubtless aware of the great difficulties in the way of any one individual native conveying even a small portion of land.¹ It is probable there would be thirty or forty children. [1884 01 22]

As shortly became clear, Arthur Ormsby was a ‘halfcaste’, and it was the halfcastes who largely provided the motivation and the energy to get the school open and to ensure its continuation. They had been educated at the earlier Wesleyan mission school at Te Kopua; on the basis of the letters they wrote, that schooling was very effective. Whether they learned to read and write *in Maori* at the Wesleyan school cannot here be established, but learn to read and write in Maori they certainly had; Ormsby later used that ability to try to get action from government.

Pope, in a memorandum, stated he thought there would be no objections within the Department to building a school on land leased as Mr Ormsby had suggested; if there were no objections Pope thought that he could be instructed to visit the district quite soon. [1884 02 05] There apparently being no objections, Pope wrote to Ormsby that he would visit Te Kopua next time he was in the district. [1884 02 10]

Wilkinson, after a four-month interregnum, reported that Robert Stout² had been in the area and had been spoken to by the natives. Stout directed that the matter of schooling provision should be attended to. Hislop wrote to Wilkinson, asking him to

¹It is possible Ormsby would have liked to give some land for a school site, but was prevented by Maori understandings of the nature of the ownership of land, and the resistance, following the close of the New Zealand Wars, to the selling of land under any circumstances.

²Minister of Education. Later Sir Robert Stout. My suspicious mind wonders about the timing of Stout’s visit; it seems too coincidental to be a coincidence.

tell the natives that “Mr Inspector Pope” would shortly be in the district and would see the people about the establishment of a school. [1884 06 24]

There was another delay, occasioned probably by his itinerary, before H B Kirk, Pope’s assistant, visited the district. There is no evidence explaining the delay. He confirmed the Natives would not give a section, but that the Wesleyan trustees were willing to lease the land. He also confirmed that the ‘pure natives’ would not actively oppose a school, and that the most significant actors were halfcastes, especially the Ormsby brothers. He estimated there were about twentyfive children, and recommended that a school be built. The full memorandum is interesting for its general style and content.

I have made enquires as to the probability of a good attendance being maintained at a school, if one should be opened at Kopua, and have today seen the men, and the site on which it is proposed that the school should be erected. It does not seem possible to induce the Natives to give a site just now, or for some time to come. They have the strongest possible objection to parting with land or having title dealt with in any way.

The Wesleyan trustees seem totally in accord; they are agreeable to lease ... two acres could be selected anywhere.

The men who have most interested themselves are halfcastes living at Kopua, very much in Native fashion. These men for the most part received some education at the old Wesleyan School at Kopua, and they are most earnest in wishing to have a school for their children. Five of them came in to Alexandra to meet me this morning and rode back to Kopua when I went to look at the site. The pure Natives at Kopua have few children and appear to have no feeling either for or against the school. Only one native of note, Tarahuia, was at the settlement today. He said he was quite willing that a school should be established. He has no children. Of the halfcastes the two Ormsby brothers are the most active.

I think the circumstances of the case are such as would justify the Government in building a school on leasehold land. There can scarcely be any lack of children and the good influence of a school here can hardly be over-estimated.

There are some 25 children, and there are some further over the river ... one man promised to have a child next year.³

I do not think any active opposition will be offered by the *Natives*.⁴ Some will almost certainly hold aloof for a time, but the half castes are evidently sufficiently in earnest to keep up a reasonable attendance.

I think a very good school committee could be chosen.

Wahanui’s⁵ influence should be secured if possible. I understand he is not inclined to oppose a school if its establishment does not involve the giving up of land. Perhaps while he is in Wellington he goodwill might be secured. Mr Wilkinson thinks he can secure Rewi’s⁶ favour if he should show any dislike to the school.

There must be a pig-proof fence ... the teacher’s cattle must not trespass.

The half-castes are anxious to know the decision of the Government as soon as possible. [1885 08 29]

The aftermath of the New Zealand Wars in the Waikato is clear.⁷ Kirk appeared to understand why it was that the ‘Natives’ were not enthusiastic. He judged that the

³I wonder what his wife thought when he told her, if he did?

⁴Emphasis added; in this example, ‘halfcastes’ are not ‘natives’. Earlier, Kirk had written of *pure* natives.

⁵MP for Western Maori.

⁶Rewi Maniapoto, probably the rangatira with the highest mana after Tawhiao.

⁷Cf Belich, James, *The New Zealand Wars* ...

‘halfcastes’ were more enthusiastic than the ‘pure’ Natives. If he was correct, and the evidence is that he was, it demonstrated a divergence of opinion about schooling among the people of the community at Te Kopua. The later record does not indicate if or when the ‘pure’ Natives came to terms with the school and sent their children.

Given the admitted, and evident, good influence of the Wesleyans, it has to be wondered on what basis Kirk asserted that “ ... the good influence of a school here can hardly be over-estimated.” He can, I think, be taken to be asserting the taken-for-granted superiority of European, especially English, culture and learning. Ball, and Beaglehole and Barrington, accept uncritically the apparent good intentions of people such as J H Pope and W W Bird. I have indicated that I believe their general attitudes, their conclusions about what was desirable and what was undesirable, to be unacceptable

James Ireland opened Te Kopua Native School on 8 November 1886, almost three years after Arthur Ormsby's first letter reached the department.

4

1886 - 1889

James Ireland

Because the Maori¹ School at Riverton was to be closed, the teacher, Mr James Ireland, was transferred to Te Kopua, to become its first teacher, but not, however, without discussion in the department.

In the view of Habens, the Department owed Mr Ireland some consideration as an old [he was indeed - he was in his seventies] teacher who had been able and useful. Pope however had grave doubts as to Mr Ireland's ability at his advanced age to accommodate himself to an entirely new sphere - and even had doubts as to his efficiency in any school. [1886 09 08] Pope later, referring to salary increments, observed he did not think " ... the latent £10 ... should be released; its withdrawal was caused by the " ... technically unsatisfactory nature of last year's work." [1886 10 21] If Ireland was to go to Kopua, Pope considered the department would be relying on his daughter rather than on Ireland himself. Pope recommended that if Ireland would accept six months salary as compensation the Department would probably best "consult" its own interests by dispensing with his services on those terms. Sir Robert Stout² instructed the department to put the offer to Ireland. [1886 09 08] Pope wrote to Ireland in terms of his memorandum:

Because of your advanced age you might prefer stay amongst family and friends [and not] encounter the worries and annoyances of opening a new school.

You might prefer not take your family to such an out of way place, away from the comforts and proximity to town. You have to be aware the arrangement involves being accompanied by Miss Ireland, who would have to take a very full share of the school work without [receiving?] adequate remuneration for herself. She might [object?] to such an arrangement.

I know that the Department fully recognises that you have, on the whole, done very good work at Riverton and it would, I think, very likely be willing to grant you [retirement?] on such terms as that you should stay in Riverton School until the end of the year and then receive six months' full salary as a retir-

¹Note use of 'Maori', not 'Native'; a very rare occurrence.

²Minister of Education.

ing allowance. I have no authority to promise anything, but if you wish to remain where you are, and authorise me to move on your behalf, I will [be happy?] to put these terms for you. [1886 09 08]

Habens apparently overrode Pope, or convinced him his judgement was incorrect; Pope had to write a letter he clearly did not fully endorse. The exigencies of departmental life!

Ireland, however, was not tempted; it appears he did not appreciate the implied qualification in Pope's "on the whole". He replied:

With a keen sense of gratitude I thank you for your offer in your letter of Sept 8. But if I am allowed a choice I elect to go to Kopua for the following reasons: My years have not been few, but you know that they lie lightly on me. I feel that for school work I am physically as good a man as ever I was and in some respects better. It is true I would part from my friends with some regret. But I would have to do that at any rate; for I would have to seek employment, which it is not likely I would find in Riverton. As to Kopua being out of the way, there will be some advantage as well as disadvantage. There will be no High School next door to draw away all my best pupils.³ I do not fear [w/that?] with congenial labours and recreative studies our time will flow happily on. Annie has quite made up her mind to give earnest attention to her school duties. In short my hopes are high that with the permission and approval of the Department we will make the Kopua School as much of a success as could be reasonably expected.

As this letter partakes in some degree the character of a private one, it may not be too familiar for me to acknowledge that your remark that 'on the whole I have done good work in Riverton' ...revives my spirits when they are inclined to droop. [1886 09 18]

Habens noted on Ireland's letter:

I think it is plain that Mr Ireland should go to Kopua; his letter shows that he and Miss Ireland understand that they are jointly responsible for the success of the school. The sooner they arrive at Kopua the better. [1886 09 18]

James Ireland was seventythree, but, he did not want to retire; he had to have an income. Old Age Pensions were not introduced until 1898. In 1886, £125 a year was at the very least an adequate income. The country was in the 'long depression', unemployment was high, and 1886 was the beginning of the first, and only, period of 'mass exodus', ie emigration, experienced by New Zealand.⁴ 1888 was the year 'sweated labour' in the clothing industry was first exposed by a person other than a unionist⁵.

The explanation for James Ireland's persistence came three years later, when he wrote to the Colonial Secretary:

Sir,

The object which I have in view in addressing you at present is to solicit a retiring allowance.

To which I plead the following reasons: I have been in the service as Native Teacher over twenty years. The most of the time at Riverton in Otago. But I have been now nearly three years at Kopua in the King Country. Having been the first to open a school in that district.

My second reason is that my age is now seventy-six years, or at least will be so on the 3rd of September.

I believe these to be the principal reasons required by the Civil Service Act in its chapter on Superannuation Allowances.

A kindly consideration and a favourable answer would be gratefully received. [1889 07 26]

³ That is a very interesting observation. I do not know what that specifically means; Riverton must have been fairly 'advanced' to have had a high school in 1886.

⁴ Dept of Statistics/Te Tari Tatau, *New Zealand Official Yearbook 1990*, p 372 [panel]

⁵ For a wider, more general overview of this time, see eg Sinclair, Keith, *A History of New Zealand*, 1980, pp161-2.

Ireland had done his homework, with his and his daughters' interests clearly, and I would judge, legitimately in mind.

The Ireland family left Riverton on 6 October,⁶ and arrived at Alexandra [Pirongia] on 28 October, to the surprise of Wilkinson. There is the first of many references to 'conditions', usually with water at its centre. Wilkinson had to arrange for natives to take them up the Waipa River. They were met by Arthur Ormsby, who helped the family to settle in. "The river being unnavigable for boats and the absence of roads in this Dist make travelling with baggage difficult." [1886 10 28] Later, Habens wrote to Wilkinson:

I am sorry you had so much trouble about Mr Ireland. I did not know he would have to invoke your aid. His instructions were to report himself to you when he had settled down at Kopua.

Similar instructions had been given to Miss Hazzard, who went to Te Woatu, and to Mr J Hosking, who went to Tapapa. [1886 10 28] Wilkinson responded:

This place Alexandra⁷ is the boundary of Civilization. South of this is Native Country minus roads, etc, all transport [excepting Kawhia] has therefore to be done whether by canoes, or pack horses which requires time to arrange about with natives. There are no such difficulties in connection with the Woatu and Tapapa Schools as they are close to good Coach roads. Mr I had to wait in the hotel here with his family two days whilst arrangements were being made to get him and his baggage [some 2 tons] to Kopua. [I was pleased to assist Mr I and offered my services to see and get him to Kopua as soon as possible. Being a stranger and not speaking Maori, I thought it right to do so. [1886 11 03]]

In Wilkinson's view, it seems, being Maori denied a person 'Civilization'.

On 8 November, 1886, almost three years⁸ after Arthur Ormsby's first letter reached the department, James Ireland opened Te Kopua Native School with a roll of 5, which he expected to gradually increase, [1886 11 08] particularly after the holidays. [1886 12 31]

There is the possibility that Ireland was teaching at the end of December; the first election of a school committee was held on the 29th Dec.⁹ The names were to be forwarded by the Returning Officer.¹⁰ [1886 12 31]

Having settled into Te Kopua and opened the school, Ireland wished to recoup his removal costs. He had received a voucher for the boat fare from Bluff to the North Island, and for the rail fare to Te Awamutu, but the other details of their removal are interesting. They were separately listed, that Ireland might be reimbursed, and the contractors and others paid:

Rail fares: Riverton to Bluff	£1 18 11 ¹¹
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⁶ The letter of appointment to Te Kopua was dated 22 October!

⁷ Now Pirongia.

⁸ Seldom in this study did the Department move rapidly.

⁹ There was other evidence that terms and holidays, and weekends, were not inviolate. School was certainly held on Saturdays, in particular for inspections, and there is evidence throughout the record that holidays were moveable, on an individual school basis.

¹⁰ The names were not in the file.

¹¹ Currency was in pounds, shillings, and pence [pennies], with the symbols £, s, and d. Therefore, £1 18 11 is one pound, 18 shillings and 11 pence, or, £1 18s 11d. 18s could also be written 18/-, and 18s 6d as 18/6. There were 12 pennies in a shilling, and 20 shillings in a pound. There was one further higher-value coin, a guinea, worth £1 1s, and several lower-value coins, a half-crown, [2s 6d] and a florin, [2s], a shilling, a sixpence, a threepence, a penny, and a half-penny. I remember seeing a quarter-penny, but cannot

Coach fares Te Awamutu to Alexandra	£0 10 00
Conveyancing bedsteads, boxes etc from Alexandra to Mr Ormsby at Kopua	£0 10 00
Canoe for taking same from Mr Ormsby's to schoolhouse	£0 10 00
Conveying goods in punt from Alexandra to Kopua	£1 10 00
Goods bought ex Mr Aubin	£2 2 3

What is particularly noteworthy about the account is that the fares by rail and coach were paid in full, whilst the accounts for Maori assistance were paid only half. The record gave no explanation for this discrimination. Neither is there any explanation as to why Ireland received only £4.10.00 out of a total £12.13.2¹² [1886 11 08]

Ireland later wrote pointing out that his salary had not arrived,¹³ and added:

I opened the school at Kopua on Nov 8 with 5 pupils. They have been coming in gradually. I believe we shall have an accession after the holidays. I will likely be put to inconvenience for want of the School Material. Miss Ireland will send you a full account of the Riverton Sewing Material. Everything was locked to the cup-board and a careful inventory taken which will be forwarded to you. [1886 12 31]

It appears that the Department had not supplied at least some of the materials Ireland required, but Departmental discipline was minute; it still wanted to know about the sewing materials at Riverton. He and Annie had been well trained, or had learned from experience; they had recorded everything!

Sewing continued to be an issue. Ireland wrote:

To obviate any further censure of Miss Ireland for not teaching sewing I beg leave to mention that we have not gotten [underlined in red in Dept] any sewing material. But possibly the present arrangement is better for the school as Miss Ireland gives all school time to school work. [1887 05 18]

'Sewing' was apparently not 'school work'! Further, why did Habens reply that "Miss Ireland must not take up sewing until after the next visit of the Inspector?" [1887 06 01] Given that Annie had been teaching sewing at Riverton, and that sewing was considered an important domestic skill for Maori girls to learn, the edict is inexplicable. But, the discipline imposed by the department was clear.

There were continuing difficulties with materials. Ireland:

I may mention also that we have never had a single book in school on Arithmetic or Geography. Of course I can teach these things without any books but that implies extra labour and inconvenience. [1887 05 18]

Habens replied¹⁴ that the "Delay Arithmetic and Geography books due bookseller."

There are hints about teaching methods in the episode. Were the books for the children, or for the teacher? Did Ireland do, or at least was he comfortable about doing, most of his

remember what it was called; it was seldom in use by the time I was old enough to take notice. The £1 was a note, value equivalent to \$2, and there was a 10s note, value equivalent to \$1. New Zealand changed to decimal currency in 1967.

¹²See: Govt Native Agent to Sec for Educ [1886 11 08], Habens' memorandum on.

¹³Not the first time a teacher made that complaint.

¹⁴By telegraph. There will be many occasions in this story when the language is somewhat 'shorthand', which means the message had been sent by telegraph.

teaching either orally or with the blackboard as his only teaching 'aid'? Were text books seen as important sources of information for these children?¹⁵

Teachers were to plant school and house grounds with plants supplied by the department,¹⁶ but it wasn't as simple as that. Ireland learned some plants were arriving, and he wrote:

But with the present fence the thing is impossible. There are sometimes nearly a dozen of pigs in the garden at once. They only laugh [underlined in blue in dept] at the wire fence. A very little outlay [£4] would make it pig proof. [1887 07 06]

He soon pointed out that he had cleared the ground at his own expense, and had planted the plants sent to him. However, Wilkinson reported that Arthur Ormsby thought Ireland's fence was not up to it; a ditch and bank fence¹⁷ was the only solution, at a cost of £5, and Ormsby would do it himself for that, if no one else would. [1887 08 00]

Ireland would have been pleased with this comment by H B Kirk during the first inspection at Te Kopua:

Garden: A great deal of work has been done and the garden, for a new one, presents a very creditable appearance. [1887 10 07]¹⁸

Gardens, fences and stock featured all too often as sources of frustration and conflict for teachers and for community. Following his inspection visit the next year, Pope reported:

Much trouble is caused by pigs and cattle; it is suggested that a three-sod bank around the whole fence would cure the evil. It is said that the cost would be about £3.15.¹⁹ I have given the committee authority to remove the gate leading to the school grounds from private property to a more convenient position; they have undertaken to do this at their own expense.²⁰ A good deal of useful work has been done in the gardens and the general appearance is satisfactory. If it had not been for Mrs Ireland's²¹ illness there would have been an excellent garden here. [1888 09 11]

The first inspection, by H B Kirk, was in October 1887, eleven months after the school opened. Kirk commented upon the race composition of the pupils, and the politics of the place.

The scholars are mostly half caste or greater castes. Probably as time goes by the pure Maoris will abandon their present position of passive hostility²² and send their children to the school. So far as I can judge the teacher has secured the complete confidence of the Natives.²³ [1887 10 07]

¹⁵ The fact that the department distributed various English illustrated papers to Native Schools, and issued instructions and advice as to their protection and management, which included making them available to parents, is an indication that it did regard print as a significant source of information, and an important source of influence in its efforts to assimilate these people into Pakeha society. [Circulars to NS E 37 Acc W2536, box 1, [1880 08 14]] The practice was discontinued in 1910. [Circulars to NS E 37 Acc W2536, box 1, [1910 02 04]]

⁵This list of trees and shrubs established and in good conditions was included by Habens in a circular in 1886: mulberries, olives, arrowroot, carob, date, white ash, furcraea, ramia, oriental plane, passion fruit, acer nigunda, wattles, other plants. [Circulars to NS E 37 Acc W2536, box 1, [1886 09 13]]

¹⁷Ditch and bank fences were never a major feature of New Zealand fencing. My father had used them in England, where gorse especially was used with the wire.

¹⁸ Native school teachers were to be good exemplars, including having good kitchen gardens. Ireland clearly took his responsibilities seriously.

¹⁹It was; Chas Ormsby built it for that amount.

²⁰The first of many examples of community being expected, or offering, to provide what government really should have provided.

²¹The only reference, if my memory is accurate, to Mrs Ireland in the record; I wonder if is my typing error! [The point is not, I judge, sufficient to send me to Auckland to check it out.] I am however minded that Wilkinson had referred the Ireland 'family'.

²²Cf Sinclair, *Kinds of Peace*, esp chapters 3 and 4.

Kirk allocated the following marks [out of 10] for the various aspects of teaching practice:

Records:	4.8	Organisation, buildings:	5.25
Discipline:	7.0	Methods:	6.4
Extras - sewing, drawing, drill:	7.66		

The school had been open a year; Kirk judged that

The school has made an excellent beginning in literary work and should pass in two standards next year without difficulty. [1887 10 07]

Pope confirmed that assessment in 1888. What Kirk's remark did mean was that because no pupil was promoted, all were faced with an extra year in school before they could pass from Standard 4.

There is a note in red, written presumably in the Department: "Not bad for a new school". Yes, but he *was* an old teacher!

For his Attendance Register Ireland scored: "Not tidily done", which attracted this note in red by Pope: "An old fault."²⁴

The marks given for Method ranged from 5 - 9. Singing, taken by Miss Ireland, was not graded.

Kirk's remarks on 'Method' are informative on what was regarded as 'good methods':

The teaching is well adapted to secure the interest of scholars. There is some want, as far as I have seen the methods, of exercises calculated to impress facts on the mind of each scholar. There should be more care taken to secure [emphasis in red] good pronunciation.

"...exercises calculated to impress facts on the mind of each scholar" I interpret as 'drill', or rote learning.

'Maori' pronunciation of English was a continuing concern. In 1892 a long circular went to Native School teachers on the differences between English and Maori, and how to overcome the difficulties of teaching Maori children to pronounce English *properly*.²⁵

On Reading, Pope wrote:

Letters and words instead of phrases are dealt with.²⁶ I saw reason to believe careful phonetic work is much needed; this is attempted, but the work is not sufficiently thorough.²⁷ [Marks 8]

and on English:

This subject is treated for the most part as a mere tack on; no lessons are more valuable and effective than well devised English lessons. [Emphasis in original] [Marks 7] [1888 09 11]

English was the subject of a memorandum from Habens to all schools:

²³ "pure Maoris" and "Natives"! Were 'Natives' not the same as 'pure Maoris', were they in fact 'half caste or greater caste'? The paragraph is confusing from this distance.

²⁴ Ireland has my sympathy; mine also were not always tidy!

²⁵ [Emphasis added.] Circulars to NS E 37 Acc w2536 box 1, 1892 02 17

²⁶ Ie, fluency not strong.

²⁷ Ie not sufficiently impressed on the pupil's minds.

The work done in all efficient²⁸ Native Schools shows that it is quite possible to attain excellent results in the department of instruction specially denoted in the Code by the name of "English". The power of using the English language is perhaps the greatest boon that the schools can confer upon their pupils, and the best reason for the institution and maintenance do such schools is wanting if they fail in this respect. I am to ask you to be careful in future not to pass any pupil who in your judgement is weak in the English required for the standard for which he is examined. In any other subject you may sometimes overlook a slight deficiency provided that the candidates work in all the other subjects is more than satisfactory; but, on account of the paramount importance of English, you will be so good as always to require proficiency in this subject as a condition of granting a pass for a standard.²⁹

I do not know whether 'English' included spoken English, or only written English. It is clear the Department was going to make these Native children proficient in English, or they would not gain the benefits ensuing from being advanced in all other subjects to be studied. Only rarely in the record is there evidence of teaching 'across the standards' in any subject.

Commenting on 'Tone', Pope wrote:

The relations between teachers and children and teachers and parents is [sic] very good indeed; a fair amount of interest in their work is taken by all the children and the general aspect of the school is satisfactory and pleasing. [1888 09 11]

At this 1888 inspection, Pope's examinations resulted in 20 promotions from Primer 3 to Std I, while 18 were not promoted.

37 children are qualified as being in fair attendance at the new school. The school has passed in Standards I & II. [1888 09 11]³⁰

In summary, Pope thought that

On the whole instruction has produced satisfactory results. The experiment of sending Mr Ireland to Te Kopua has been very successful. With the aid of Miss Ireland he has made the school a most useful institution. The success is all the more gratifying because this is the first school established by the Department in the King Country properly so called. [1888 09 11]

I wonder what was going through Pope's mind as he wrote that, given that two years earlier he was quite critical of James Ireland's efficiency and wanted him retired. He repeated the assessment in the department's Annual Report.³¹ We can presume none, or almost none, of these children had been in a school before, which adds to Ireland's mana.

There is ample evidence that Annie Ireland was much more than 'just' a sewing teacher. [1887 06 01] I noted above that she was not to teach sewing until the inspection. As a sewing teacher, she was paid £20 a year.³² It can be argued that she was cheap labour for the department. She undoubtedly was important to her father, certainly at least so far as the transfer to Te Kopua was concerned.

In his report, Pope wrote:

²⁸'Efficient': a term often used, though never clearly described.

²⁹Circulars to Native Schools E 37 Acc W2536 [1888 08 10]

³⁰Pope's numbers don't tally, but I guess he was entitled to make mistakes on occasions, even if he didn't accord the same privilege to the teachers.

³¹AJHR E2 1989

³²Ireland's salary in 1886 was £125; it went up to £145 in 1887, and £175 in 1889.

I can with confidence recommend the appointment of Miss Ireland as mistress at the school. [Her] teaching is conscientious and the results obtained by her are good. [1888 09 11]

Thus did Annie become a 'qualified' teacher.³³ This is not to denigrate her, but to draw attention to what appears to have been the standard selection and appointment process for many years: The inspector made an assessment, and acted upon it. The evidence is that the assessments were more often better rather than worse, but the process is much different today!

The physical conditions in which Te Kopua operated were important from the beginning. Pope raised two of them in a letter to the department after he had visited the school. The department at most times had financial restrictions imminent or operating; Pope was aware of them on this occasion. He again affirmed the very good work being done by the teacher he had originally wanted to retire from the service.

On the present journey I have tried to keep down expenditure, but I now have to ask for a considerable sum which I hope will be granted. The school is doing excellent work; but it is an outpost of civilization;³⁴ and the whole of the expenditure asked for is required either for sanitary reasons or to prevent damage to life. [The Kopua site is in the midst of rivers, swampy ground, etc.] The mistress suffers much from ... throat and similar ills - all probably caused by damp.³⁵ The back door of the house is much exposed and the ground around it is very muddy; it is thought that if this space were inclosed [sic] and roofed in, the teachers' comfort would be greatly increased. ... The estimated cost is £8. ...

A bridge of some kind is very much needed to enable the children living across the Mangakururua to get to school when the river is high, without endangering their lives. ³⁶ I can give my personal testimony as to the danger, as I saw children crossing under circumstances in which I should be sorry to see my own children doing it. The work of making a bridge is not the work of our Department, but after seeing what the state of affairs is here in moderately bad weather, I have no hesitation in urging the Department to undertake the work as being absolutely necessary for securing the safety of the pupils in this particular case. Either the Education or the Native Department has the plan [prepared by Mr Hursthouse] for a suitable bridge.³⁷ Mr Ormsby thinks that the work now would cost £60, and that he as Chairman of the Committee is willing to be expected to find half this amount if the Govt will pay the other half. [1889 07 03]

The following year, Pope had a small niggle on what I have called 'order':

There is too much "whispering" - A good deal of this would be done away with if teachers faced the whole of their classes.

but not on punishment:

No cases of corporal punishment are recorded; the punishments are of the mildest character.

Pope was very complimentary about relations with the community. His use of 'unexceptional' was unusual; he presumably meant that he could not take exception to the relations:

Tone: The relations between the teachers and those amongst whom they work are very good indeed; unexceptionable in fact.

Maori politics were still an issue. Pope included this in his inspection report:

³³Her salary went from £20 to £35.

³⁴There's that word again!

³⁵The first reference to illness blamed on damp conditions

³⁶The first of many references to crossing rivers, and to associated dangers.

³⁷Eventually, a swing bridge.

A considerable number across the river who are followers of Tawhiao do not attend; I cannot learn their number. [1889 07 03]

His summary is contradictory:

Work is plainly the business of all the children. Still there is some need for a little tightening of the [?]; the discipline on the whole is not quite good enough. It is very fair and might easily be made good. The teaching is conducted with vigour and success. [1889 07 03]

Illness and epidemic, allied with rain and flooding, with predictable consequences for attendance, were endemic at Te Kopua. Influenza struck early. Ireland wrote the first of many letters by teachers and committeemen about epidemic and illness, and the effect of them on attendance:

The average for Miss Ireland has been reduced mainly by long continued rain - flooded creeks and an epidemic Influenza. I had a very severe turn of the Influenza myself. [1889 08 28]

Pope at times became involved in the lives of the parents in positive ways. Arthur Ormsby wrote to him:

I have to acknowledge receipt of your book The State which you kindly sent me, I have found it very instructive and interesting. As you are aware the property tax is very unpopular here. Several people who came to my house have modified their opinions with regard to it after reading that portion of the book.³⁸

...We are all very sorry to hear that you had been very ill & we hope you are quite well again & shall be glad to see you again in the course of another year. [1889 10 24]

Ormsby and others were obviously competent readers, and Ormsby at least a competent writer. He was 'halfcaste'. The competence is perhaps a little unexpected; there weren't that many well-literate people in those days, especially in isolated, non-business/non-professional enterprises. The Wesleyan missionary teachers had been successful!

From one point of view, it is good to see that Pope thought it worth sending him the book. It is a warming episode, and gives one small glimpse of the reasons why Ti Popi had such mana with Maori. However, as a careful reading of Pope's Annual Reports and other writings reveal, his respect for Maori was *not* high, and his purpose in sending the book would have been to further Europeanise Maori, in this case Ormsby.

Crossing the river was still an issue. Ormsby, writing as chairman of the committee, said he would

... build the bridge for £30, ... serviceable and substantial ... assistance of the natives ...cannot follow Hursthouse's specifications. ...It is a work urgently needed. [1889 12 16]

Pope's memorandum recommended accepting Ormsby's offer; he noted that the Natives gave at least as much as the Govt, and that Ormsby was accustomed to contract work. Habens noted that the matter had been under correspondence for a very long time.

It seems that the river is a very dangerous one, that by this proposal a bridge worth £60 will be constructed at a cost of £30 to the Govt. I recommend that the proposal be accepted. [1889 12 16]

³⁸It would be interesting, but outside the scope of this study, to place that observation in the context of the debate about the property taxes.

It was not the first time the Department was to be subsidised!

Ireland's retirement was imminent. In July³⁹ he had written asking about his superannuation, and in due time Habens attached this memorandum to Ireland's file:

I think the kindest course would be to dispense with his services at Dec 31, and give the compensation that would then become due. [1889 10 09]

A letter went to Ireland in those terms; he responded:

I duly received your memorandum re compensation for loss of office. As I am depending on that now for sustenance and must husband it well. But getting out of this is likely to be expensive. I therefore beg leave to petition you for a free ticket for a passage by rail from Awamutu⁴⁰ to Auckland for myself and two daughters with luggage and oblige. [1889 11 16]⁴¹

James Ireland's superannuation allowance was £210.5.7, which seems to have been according to regulations, and he appeared to have received his travel allowance, though I was unable to confirm this from the record. Sir E O Gibbes letter concluded with

I am to say that the Department greatly regrets the loss of your services. [1889 12 00]

James and Annie Ireland retired with honour. The Department's Annual Report recorded:

Very good results shown. The master, Mr James Ireland, has retired after long and faithful service. Miss Ireland, who was the mistress - and a very good one - has also left the service.⁴²

It was in July 1889 that Pope recommended the addition of a porch to the house. Not until the following April, after Ireland had retired and Beamish was at the school, was it completed. [1890 04 25] Such delays were common at Te Kopua.

³⁹See above; [1889 07 26]

⁴⁰'Te' omitted.

⁴¹After I had typed his letter, I added this note: "He may be 70 something, but his writing is still better than most I see, including my own, despite the steel nib he used." I also note the reference to "two daughters", which suggests that the reference to "Mrs Ireland" above was an error by either the writer of the memorandum above, or myself when typing it into the record.

⁴²AJHR E2, 1990. I wonder what she did? Did she continue to look after her father, for we can presume she did the housekeeping?

5

1889 - 1890

Captain W H L Beamish

Captain W H L Beamish had been in the British army, he had worked for the Property Tax Department, and he had lived for quite some time in the Chatham Islands. What work one would do for the Property Tax Department in the Chatham Islands in the 1880s does not quickly come to mind, nor what he did before his seven months in the Property Tax Department.¹

In November 1889 he wrote to the Department of Education:

I have the honour to request that you will be good enough to consider favourably this, my application for the Situation of Teacher in a Native School.

I have been a Fellow Commoner and Senior Freshman in the University of Dublin [Trinity College, Dublin]. I also passed a good examination at Sandhurst for the Army. I have lately been some seven months in the Property Tax Department.

I am a married man. [1889 11 16]

Why Captain Beamish considered he might be a suitable person to teach in a Native School is not stated; nor why he chose a Native School as opposed to a Board school.²

Habens wrote to Mr Crombie, of the Property Tax Department, and recorded that Mr Crombie spoke well of Mr Beamish's attention to his duties. Beamish had lived in the Chathams "for years." Pope was instructed to consider Beamish whilst making his recommendations for [staff] changes in January. [1889 12 06]

¹ Suffice to say I suspect Captain Beamish had had an interesting career.

² There would seem to be no doubt about his academic qualifications, but, see footnote 4 below.

By the end of December, Beamish had been selected for Te Kopua; the letter of appointment was dated 1 Jan 1890. It seems that his daughter was to have been involved as well.³ His salary included entitlements of £20 for a 'certificate', £20 for 'attendance',⁴ £30 + £40 for 'III',⁵ and £20 for something I could not read. There was, predictably, no entitlement for 'seniority', and there was no allowance for 'passes', perhaps because he could not take any credit for whatever passes there had been at Te Kopua in 1889, or perhaps there had been some passes, but not sufficient to attract a salary increment to the incumbent. [1890 01 01]

Beamish arrived at Te Kopua around the middle of January, 1890.

Thus did Captain W H L Beamish become a teacher in a Native School. There is no evidence that any person from the Department had met him. His qualifications, his army service, and the comment on his industriousness from the tax department appear have been sufficient.

He met almost immediately one of the perennial problems: poor pupil attendance. He wrote to Habens a fortnight after he opened the school:

"I have ventured to write to you a private letter.

The School: the Attendance first day was only 14 increasing to 18. This is owing to harvesting operations being in full swing, absorbing many of the older children, but I find that two families have left the district and another J Ormsby has removed to a distance. On looking over the Register this will lessen the attendance by at least 12. The Reynolds also have sent 3 of their older children to the state school in Alexandra & Mr Wilkinson who must be an authority gives me very little encouragement for a large attendance.

Two boys have also left for St Stephens - Ormsby and Hughes. However, I can only do my best.

I have been most civil and courteously treated by all.

Now what I want particularly to ask you about is my daughter's joining me. ... The loneliness of the place for a few days especially of an evening can scarcely be imagined. [1890 02 12]⁶

Beamish appeared to be seeking a subsidy towards the fare for his daughter from Chatham Islands to Te Kopua. I can not be sure, but it seems highly probably he got it. He also referred to a bridge; the locals seemed to be planning a bigger bridge, one big enough to take

³ She is not recorded in the Annual Report: AJHR, E2, 1890. Perhaps in the event the attendance did not allow her employment. However, she did arrive at Te Kopua, and did teach sewing; see below.

⁴ Ireland would have got that had he remained at Te Kopua.

⁵ 'III' was I presume the 'teaching classification' Beamish was given based upon his level of academic attainment. Level III was for attainments between Matriculation and Bachelors and Masters degrees. [See AJHR, 1878, H2, p 15.] What being a "... Fellow Commoner and Senior Freshman in the University of Dublin [Trinity College, Dublin]" might mean is more problematic than I had at first sight thought.

⁶In his letter seeking an appointment as a Native School teacher, Captain Beamish had stated that he was a married man, a prerequisite for appointment to a native school. Violet joined him at Te Kopua, but Mrs Beamish was 'invisible' in the record. The final paragraph of that letter clearly meant that Beamish was *living on his own* at Te Kopua. That may explain why he got the subsidy. Where Mrs Beamish was remained a mystery.

Captain Beamish

a cart, and, he had found a 'logbook' of Ireland's; not having been himself supplied with one, he had made notes in it.⁷ [1890 02 12]]

This was *not* the last time farming operations, in particular harvesting, interfered with attendance, though whilst such activities could get in the way of school learning, they could not affect the future of the school. There is here a blurring of the crucial distinction between the number of pupils on the roll, and the daily attendance. Both could have an effect on a teacher's salary, but the latter should not, except under extraordinary circumstances, affect the viability of the school

In March, Beamish wrote to Pope, [1890 03 19] raising eight matters.

He wanted to vary the rules for awarding attendance prizes, because some who lived well away, over the creek, etc, seemed to him as worthy as those with good attendances but who lived close by.⁸ He noted that attendance had reached 27, although the harvest was not complete. Why he thought the Department would be interested in the fact that his daughter Violet was to break her journey in Wellington, and that she had to buy for her wardrobe, etc, I cannot know, but tell them he did!⁹

He had obviously been told he should not have written privately to Pope, but he justified it.¹⁰ He also noted that the weather was extremely hot and dry; it exceeded the memory of the oldest inhabitant.¹¹

Beamish reported that there was, in his opinion, an " ... almost complete absence of discipline. But I am doing my best to put that straight but it is a wearying process and trying to the temper."¹²

In a positive mood, Beamish requested leave to visit Otorohanga where a school was to be opened; Habens had apparently advised him to so do, and Beamish was sure it would do him good. This is one of the few examples, until at least the 1930s, of a visit to another teacher being advised as a form of in-service training, or indeed of any training at all outside the school. Training was apparently restricted to inspectors' visits.

Finally, Beamish reported he was having great difficulty with Ireland's timetable.¹³

⁷It would give me great pleasure to find those logbooks; none prior to 1922 are extant, to my knowledge, except the 'private' logbook of William Coughlan, owned by his son, and available through the Research Unit on Maori Education, University of Auckland.

⁸ His proposal was rejected; Pope was "... disappointed that the Code worked in such a disappointing way at first, ... But it is the Code; and on the whole it does not disappoint." [See Part One pp 70 – 71 above for discussion of another occasion when the rules seriously disadvantaged the affected pupils.]

⁹ The issue seems footling, and there was no obvious intent behind it, but ... it must have been important to Beamish!

¹⁰ He wrote again privately not that much later.

¹¹ Only very occasionally were heat and drought a problem for the community!

I was reminded after re-reading those notes from Beamish's letter that Pope had grave doubts as to Mr Ireland's ability at his advanced age to accommodate himself to an entirely new sphere, and had wondered why it should be a 'new sphere' for Ireland.¹⁴ Beamish was in a new sphere, and that letter in my judgement is a symptom of a man who is both very lonely and very much out of his depth. That should not surprise us, for there is no evidence he had any form of introduction to the complexities of teaching, let alone teaching in a Native School.

A month later, Beamish was writing again. He canvassed further the effect on salary of attendance, and he discussed the isolation, reporting difficulty getting even weekly stores and difficulty in riding in and out. The bridge was still not built because Ormsby had too much of his own work, and, attendance was a worry,

... Added to by dysentery and 'La Guppe'¹⁵ plus the Cribbs having gone to Otorohanga and John Ormsby living quite 5 miles away so they only come some twice weekly. [1890 04 14]

For a person who had lived in the Chathams for some years, it is perhaps surprising to find that isolation was a problem.

Order was a particular concern:

I have also had great trouble in restoring some kind of discipline in the school which in Mr Ireland's time must have been very lax, & as a natural consequence I believe the children look upon me as being somewhat too severe, but I must note that the parents seem glad of it & help me as much as they can, but native children have not that respect for their parents that European ones generally have, & there is the difficulty only the other day. I had prepared my returns and rode over on the Saturday to visit Capt Morton at Otorohanga & then discovered that a ½ caste girl Ngapawa Brown had entered herself at the last moment on his roll. I had to make the whole return out again and now find that she has come back here again after attending there I believe for one day. Such is the uncertain state of matters in this district. Expecting daughter Violet ... which may improve the attendance again as no doubt the sewing class has an attachment for the female scholars & having had none hitherto has again helped to lessen the attendance. [1890 04 14]

Beamish's views on Ireland's teaching style, and on the respect 'native' children had for their parents, are illuminating. His irritation over a girl who enrolled at another school for a day, then returned to his, and put out his returns, etc, is equally illuminating. It appears not to have occurred to him that there were probably very good reasons, reasons relevant to her parents probably more than to herself, which caused the apparent disruption for a family; there was a dearth of sympathy on Beamish's part.¹⁶

¹² Pope and Kirk had noted that Ireland's control was not always as good as they thought it could be, but, they had also noted the very good relationships between Ireland and his pupils and their parents. I must note that Beamish had been in the army!

¹³ Given he had not worked a timetable before, and had no experience in school except as a student, that is not entirely surprising. There was no evidence any advice was offered, though no doubt it was when he had his first inspection.

¹⁴ Chapter 4, p 1.

¹⁵ Probably influenza.

¹⁶ A judgement I will make now rather than later is that Beamish is revealed in his own correspondence as a querulous sort of person, rather too concerned with his own interests, and not greatly aware of or concerned with the interests of others, his pupils included.

It was in July 1889 that Pope had recommended the addition of a porch to the house. In April 1890 Beamish wrote a slightly ascerbic letter to the Department; the delay, and the reasons for it, turned out to be not untypical at Te Kopua.

At last, the porch to the Teacher's Residence Kopua School is finished. After paying for materials the amount remaining, 27/- for labour [out of which some carting had to be paid for] was insufficient. Mr Ireland left this for me, as he was leaving and the tank had to be moved. I waited until the dry season was over before commencing and there has been great difficulty in getting the materials on the ground. Hence the delay. [1890 04 25]

On that same day, Violet Beamish arrived at Te Kopua to become the sewing teacher. Two months later, Pope wrote, on his first inspection of the school under Beamish:

Miss Beamish manages the sewing satisfactorily and she also assists her father with the literary work. [1890 06 28]

In April, Beamish wrote to Wilkinson that a punt would be better than a bridge, for it would probably cause a better attendance at school, and would shorten the distance to Alexandra by nearly three miles. In May there was a long letter from Wm T Hughes on behalf of the committee suggesting a punt instead of the bridge, but it turned out Ormsby had purchased the materials and didn't want to give up the project, which the Committee would help build, [1890 05 02] so the bridge was persevered with. In due time, Wilkinson reported that it was complete, and that Ormsby wanted his work checked, so that he could be paid as soon as possible. [1890 07 14] Hursthouse reported that he had inspected the foot bridge erected by Arthur Ormsby over the Makararua River. It was a useful rough bridge well worth the thirty pounds subsidy. The span was 118ft, which indicated it was a very substantial bridge, and, he reported that “...there should be no difficulty in repairing the bridge from time to time.” [1890 07 30]

Pope, in his report on the inspection, [1890 06 28] again drew attention to the matter of 'good pronunciation'; present also was the long-standing distinction between 'accurate oral reading'¹⁷ and comprehension, or understanding.¹⁸

Pope seemed reasonably comfortable with Beamish's teaching, but then he probably had to have a similar attitude much of the time, given that qualified, or even experienced, teachers were very hard to come by.¹⁹ Pope concluded that

On the whole, Captain Beamish is making a satisfactory start in acquiring school method.

¹⁷ In my career, 'barking at print'.

¹⁸ Pope wrote that “It is most important that the children should have plenty of drill in the production and recognition of elementary sounds. [Emphasis in original] I noticed that the children could not distinguish "good" from "could" or the sounds represented by t, th and s respectively from those for which d, t, and sh stand. Care should be taken not to make the children read matter that is too difficult for them to enunciate properly and comprehend thoroughly.” Given the strong emphasis on phonics, that was a sensible piece of advice; it is sensible also for a whole language approach to helping children learn to read.

¹⁹cf Barrington and Beaglehole, *Maori Schools in a Changing Society*, especially pp 150-151, who note that the shortage of *certificated* teachers continued well into the twentieth century.

What it would be useful to know is, was this because most people can 'teach' just because we all do it anyway in the natural course of passing on knowledge and skills, and, to what extent it was because he was advised of, or pointed in the direction of, 'good practice'. We do know he went to see Captain Morton in Otorohanga with whom he would most likely be compatible, they both being military men.

There seems to be a difference between 'school method' and 'order'; this next section in Pope's report gives that impression.

Order [as such] is greatly improved and may almost be called good.

Was Pope ambivalent in his retrospective assessment of James Ireland? As I noted, James and Annie left with honour. What then to make of Pope's next paragraph, with its inherent contradiction?:

Considerable effort however is required Anyone following Mr and Miss Ireland was bound to have a difficult task before him. Captain Beamish has found it so, but I hope that he will soon begin to find that he has surmounted the greater part of this difficulty. I think that the relations between master and parents will soon be very good. The children, although much more quiet and orderly than they used to be, do not yet show as much energy and "moral" earnestness about their work as they did under the former teacher. ... Captain Beamish appears to me to be taking to his work well & I have little doubt that before very long he will feel the real professional interest in it. One thing seems certain - he is not likely to fail through neglecting the work that he has to do. My own observations and all that I have heard from residents with regard to the school show that Captain Beamish is exceedingly hard working. There has been a little friction but this was caused entirely by the teacher's desire to have his school in first-rate working order according to his ideas before sufficient time had elapsed for the growth of the desired modification. Captain Beamish's accounts of these small troubles agrees entirely with that given by trustworthy residents who have spoken to me about them, and they are now quite at an end. [1890 06 28]

The answer, I think, lies in this sentence:

The children, although much more quiet and orderly than they used to be, do not yet show as much energy and "moral" earnestness about their work as they did under the former teacher.

It was possible, perhaps even probable, that Pope, whilst preferring quiet and order, could also recognise that it was possible to achieve very satisfactory results if you could, without allowing too much unquiet and disorder, have the children 'Head down and tail up on the set task.'²⁰

It is clear from Pope's inspection report that Beamish was endeavouring to run his school-room not unlike the way he had run his army company. His approach clearly was military in its nature and Pope was, I judge, saying that a teacher cannot impose that sort of regime in a hurry. He did not, however, appear to regard it as undesirable.

Beamish's letters to the Department continued to be pessimistic and negative. He blamed the weather, and the rivers, and people living too far away from the school, and much more, for the poor attendance; he also implicated the Native Land Court. His observations are interesting:

²⁰ See Nicholls, John, "How to tell if children are working to their potential."

... Mr Searancke also informed me that since the land has been individualised, several having no claim have left. ... but the fact is the Land Court at Otorohanga has upset the lot of them. [1890 11 24]

His spirits were low, but there is no evidence he looked at himself

I have passed a bad winter and I think I may say "Terrible Spring" - floods, rain and mud. Nothing would induce me to repeat it. I have had great difficulty often in getting fresh meat and many of the necessaries of life. I am sorry that my first experience should have been so unfortunate and also that the school should have been so unsuccessful. But I have done my best and could do no more. necessitate selling furniture etc at loss ... what prospect another school? Shall I have to wait for long? ... two of us ... However I am sure both Mr Habens and you will do your best for me. I cannot do better than leave the matter entirely in your hands.

The damp winter and clayey ground have given me a touch of Rheumatism which is sometimes not easily shaken off. [1890 11 24]

Pope was encouraging in his telegraphed reply:

In reply to your letter of 24th inst which would have been answered before if I had been at home I may express the opinion that the best thing for you to do is to try to keep Kopua School going as long as you can and if possible, prevent its utter collapse. It may be that the fine weather and the election of a new Committee will bring about some change for the better. Meanwhile both Mr Kirk and myself agree in one thing, that another school should be offered you when a suitable vacancy occurs. I am sorry that it is not possible for me to say when this may be; all that I can do is to promise to keep your letter in mind and to do what I can to forward your case as soon as there is a suitable opportunity [1890 12 05]²¹

Beamish replied to Pope's telegram on 'Auckland Club' notepaper; his address was c/o Captain Thomas, St Stephens Road, Parnell - not the least salubrious address.

Dear Mr Pope

Thank you for your memo and the expressions of goodwill on the part of yourself and Mr Kirk.

At the end of the holidays I shall return to Kopua and will do my best but have not much confidence in the future of the School. The new Committee will no doubt improve it somewhat, but not to the extent that will be required.

According to the Code the attendances under 15 is only paid at the rate of £7.10 per head. In that case my pay will be so nominal that it will barely enable me to exist and of course my daughter will receive nothing, and I assure you the loneliness of the place can only be compensated by 'good pay'.

I met Miss Hazzard on my journey down and she tells me she wants to leave Te Woatu which is far better than Kopua.

Wishing you and yours the compliments of the season.

Believe me,

Yours sincerely, [1890 12 18]

However, Pope was not going to move Miss Haszard. Her case was less urgent, so Beamish remained on the list of proposed removals. [1890 12 22]

But, Miss Haszard *did* move. Pope wrote:

Dear Sir

In order that you may understand that there is no reason why you should allow any of your holiday arrangements to be disturbed by the thought that it is possible that your contemplated removal might take place before the opening of the school, I hereby inform you [with the approval of the Inspector-General] that it is exceedingly improbable that any definite decision will be arrived at before the end of the coming session of Parliament. I have to add that it is at present impossible to say what course will be pursued even then. I suppose that the principal elements of uncertainty are [a] the state of the revenue,²² and [b] the nature of the Government policy. [1890 12 31]

²¹ That was an unusually long telegram, and quite unusual in its content. Pope was I think quite worried about Beamish!

²² Once again, the consequences of the depression of the 1890s are evident.

The copy of Pope's letter was annotated in red: "Teacher removed to Woatu School." Beamish was at Woatu for the following two years, Violet teaching with him in 1891, after which they disappeared from the Department's Annual Report. Pope continued to be supportive of Beamish to the last; he wrote this in the Annual Report:

Kopua has suffered through removal of families to Otorohanga, and through the present master having had to succeed very popular teachers. As is usual in such cases, some little friction resulted from the change. In this instance it was caused by the wish of the new teacher, who is energetic and painstaking, to have his school in first-rate working order according to his own ideas, as speedily as possible. This, of course, was a highly laudable wish, but it is generally desirable to make changes of an important nature with considerable slowness and deliberation. By the time the inspection took place the aspect of the school had become tolerably satisfactory, but it has since been found necessary to close the school.²³

The use of Annual Reports to Parliament to inform politicians, other administrators, the public, and teachers of Departmental policy and recommended practice may be unremarkable, but to make extensive use of identified schools and teachers to instruct teachers about such matters as school management suggests that a Privacy Act was *not* in mind!

What Pope did *not* report upon was access to Te Kopua. G T Wilkinson had this to say in *his* Annual Report to the Native Department:

All the Native schools in my districts, with the exception of the one at Te Kopua, are in a fairly flourishing condition. One reason this one does not succeed is because no provision has yet been made for bridging two creeks that have to be crossed by the children before they can get to school; ...²⁴

Habens wrote to Wilkinson, and to the Chairman of the School Committee, stating that the Minister²⁵ had decided that the roll was far below the number required and that the school would close. The tone of the letter was that there was no room for debate. Wilkinson would arrange for the custody of the buildings, and perhaps Ormsby was a suitable person to have the key. [1891 01 12]

I am left to wonder what would have happened if they had not been able to move Miss Haszard, and so move Beamish! Would Te Kopua have stayed open? Certainly the letters to Beamish from Pope suggest that that would have been the case. Pope's Annual Report indicated that Miss Haszard returned to Woatu when Beamish departed, so why did she move in the first place; was there some encouragement of her?

Pope had selected Beamish. It is at least possible that Pope was, consciously or otherwise, either not willing, or not able, to admit to the unsuitability of Beamish for teaching.

²³*AJHR* 1891, E2,

²⁴*AJHR* 1890, G2, p6. The following year Wilkinson reported Te Kopua was closed through " ... paucity of attendance." The others [schools] managed to keep up the average attendance fairly well; but the parents do not appreciate as much as they should do the generosity and forethought of the Government in providing schools for the special benefit of their children, and, in return therefore, see that the children attend them more regularly. [*AJHR*, G5, 1891, p 6.] Wilkinson's attitude is interesting!

²⁵There is little evidence that Ministers played any significant part in decision-making. Decisions were made by the officials.

Te Kopua was to stay closed for four and a half years; Henry Young re-opened the school on 18 July 1895. He re-opened it with a roll of 21. It is unclear what the roll was when it closed, but Beamish implied that it was fewer than 15. Some children were denied schooling, which in the view of Departmental policy was undesirable. How many did not get any further schooling, or what the consequences were for all the children affected by the several significant closures of the school, would involve more investigation than is possible in this study.²⁶

²⁶It is significant that the school was to be closed several times for extended periods; it may be possible to make evaluations of the attitudes of departmental officials, and of the department's policies in action from these episodes. One of Henry Young's pupils had a gap of several years between classes, and Pope when examining Frazer's pupils recognised the effects of an extra month on the Christmas holidays on school performance.

6

1895 - 1899'

Rev Henry Young

In May 1895, Wilkinson wrote to Habens, enclosing a letter from Mr Wm Searancke, 'half-caste,' asking for Te Kopua to be re-opened. Wilkinson recommended that the request be agreed to; the cost would be low, only salary really, for the buildings were in good order, requiring little maintenance. The people were of good standing. He also observed that because land was being thrown open for settlement, perhaps other bodies could be interested in providing the necessary bridge or bridges to get the children to school. [1895 05 18] Habens telegraphed reply instructed Wilkinson to tell the Natives the school would be re-opened.

Two points are noteworthy: The speed of decision,¹ not always a feature of Departmental processes, and the use and crossover between 'half-caste' and 'native'.

In the meantime, there had been building up in the Department, from June 1894, a considerable file of letters from and to Rev Henry Young, who had first appeared in the Annual Report teaching at Whirinaki in 1886.² He wanted to be appointed to Mangamuku, and then to Ahipara, but he was not wanted by the Natives of either district. In the case of Mangamuku, it seems the Natives did not want any teacher who lived in the area, but someone from well outside. The letters reveal a person of strong views, which he seemed quite willing to express, at least to the Department, and one suspects to any one else prepared to listen.

¹Young re-opened the school about two months later.

²*AJHR*, E2, 1887, Native Schools staff list.

Young was appointed, by form letter, to Te Kopua. [1895 08 01] The letter set out the regulations and other necessary information. For the third time, a suitable person was fortuitously available just when the department needed a teacher for Te Kopua.

The Young family was however already at Te Kopua. Young wrote from Alexandra, reporting that it had been quite a trip from Rawene, and it was still quite a trip to get to Te Kopua. One of the natives had come to see him, and he reported that they were all glad that he was there and starting the school, and would help get he and his family to Te Kopua. There had been many hassles on the way from Rawene through Onehunga to Te Awamutu by rail, and then, by unspecified means, on to Alexandra. The costs had been partly borne by the Department, partly by Young; the Department had advanced some of the cost, which Young was to pay back at the rate of £1 a month. [1895 07 03] The file had me wonder whether it was a usual procedure. Departmental officers appeared to think they had some responsibility to Young, or they perhaps had some good reason to accede to his request for help. Also in his letter reporting their arrival, Young sent a long list of requisites, including slates.

The school re-opened with 21 scholars, 10 boys and 11 girls. Young reported that

No school having been available to the children since the end of 1890, very few are fit for the Standards: 14 out of the 21 will have to be in the Infants class; and there is no "G B C" Lesson Card, with which to teach them. New scholars are expected - but, no slates. [1895 07 1]

The implication is that several of these children would be older than usual for infants. The closure had cost many of them up to four and a half years of learning to read and write.³

A few days later, Young telegraphed the Department:

Request appoint daughter Edith Young as full time assistant in regular school work, and Mrs Young as Sewing Mistress, three afternoons, of two hours each, each week." [1895 07 19]

There was no response to the telegram in the file, but Mrs Young and Edith Young were both recorded in the Department's Annual Report⁴ as being employed accordingly. Their employment could have been assured by this letter from Young a month later:

You will be pleased to hear that we have 25 scholars now and would have 30 at once if the bridge could be repaired. [1895 08 08]]

In the meantime, Young had written asking if the Department could

³I have seen no other reference to a 'GBC' card, and have been unsuccessful in inventing appropriate words beginning with those letters. It has been suggested that I mis-read the archive, and that it was an 'ABC' card. That is indeed possible, but I think I would, as a retired teacher of infants, have been very likely to have interpreted n unclear letter as an /A/ if that were reasonable.

⁴AJHR E2, 1896.

... kindly give me an approximate idea, as to what time the Inspector will be likely to visit this school, for Examination?

The reason for asking is this; The Primer class is larger than can be comfortably worked; some of the children might be taken to form a SI Standard; provided, that 8 to 10 months are likely to elapse, before Examination, to work them up; otherwise, it will be useless to attempt it.⁵ The work here is virtually that of a new school.

...I see.... that salary commences from the day teaching actually begins. I was here, ready to begin work on the 8th of July; but there was no material for me to begin school; and so I employed my time till the supply of the requisites came - 10 days after - in clearing out drains, repairing a culvert, mending the fences, nailing the paling fence around the house and garden, repairing the broken gate, and cutting down furze, on the school property; thereby saving the Department expense. I did this under the impression, that, as I was ready for the work of teaching, my salary would cover these 10 days of pretty hard work; but if the rule of the Dept forbids it, of course nothing further need be said about it.

We have been clearing away the furze from the paddock fence, *after school this week*,⁶ and find the old wire utterly rotten and useless. The posts are good, but it will need a coil of barbed wire, 30/-, to put the fence in anything like a safe condition. I do not object to give the labour; but cannot afford to buy the wire. [1895 08 14]

Obvious in the letter are two matters of considerable importance: the consequence of the long closure on the school learning careers of the children, and, Henry Young's nature and the way he worked. There are many examples of his energy, his enthusiasm, and his lack of attention to Departmental procedures in the record, and some examples of his capacity for doubtful judgement and occasional intemperance, but his fundamental goodwill is I think incontrovertible.

There is no evidence of why the delay, but Young had cause to telegraph: "Salary not arrived, for two months." [1895 09 04] It seems likely from a note in red that the salary was posted about the time Young wrote. A later letter from Young recorded delays in receiving mail, and telegrams.

No telephone, only a weekly mail; anything sent to Pirongia early in the week does not reach us till Saturday afternoon, and ours in return, do not reach Auckland till Monday afternoon. [1896 12 02]

Illness was an issue quite soon. Mrs Young had a severe attack of Eczema. Her doctor advised that she should go to Rotorua, and Henry Young asked for leave for a few days. The

⁵ It is difficult for a person with my teaching history, largely spent teaching Juniors [Infants], to understand the wide teaching and learning ramifications of the system of 'standards' under which Young and all his colleagues worked in both the Native School system and the Education Board system until the 'standards' were eliminated by the first Labour Government in 1936. I do remember very large 'boys' of 14 and 15 years, but not any girls, in about Standard 3 or 4 when I was a 'primer' at Awatuna School on the southern slopes of Mt Taranaki in 1936-37; they were a consequence of the straightjacket the 'standards' imposed.

⁶ Emphasis added.

letters went back and forth for some time, and leave was eventually granted. However, the doctor then changed his mind, and Mrs Young went to the hot springs at Kawhia instead, so Young didn't take the leave. Young was apparently quite happy to leave his daughter and others to look after the school for the few days he expected to be absent. There was no sign the Department thought that inappropriate. [1895 11 02] Mrs Young was still away in late January, but Edith covered her sewing full-time, ie two hours on each of three afternoons. Sewing does seem to have been an important part of the curriculum.

Bridges continued to be a major issue, but tangential was the appearance of "Ellis and Co" as suppliers of materials. [1896 01 22]⁷

As I have already noted, Henry Young often took initiatives, frequently of an 'extra-curricular' nature, and thereby often did things not entirely by the book. The following is a good example.

When the men were rafting timber for bridge, I availed myself of the opportunity of getting a little timber from the Mill; such opportunity is only occasional. With the timber I have made two forms, three dual desks for schoolroom - there were only 15 desks, for 38 scholars -, and have enough for another desk; have made three new gates, and repaired two others.

I intended the timber, save that for making the forms, for odd purposes, for myself; from it was made, as above intimated.⁸ And when the invoice came, and it was 24/-, I thought the simplest way would be to send it on, and to obtain the chairs, with some for ourselves, from Auckland.

But if this involves any difficulty, kindly return the invoice to me, and I will send one for 25/-, for "chairs and forms", as suggested. [1896 02 12]

He was not always appreciated, for he caused the Department some difficulty in the process. Habens wrote:

In the circumstances mentioned in your letter of 12th inst the claim of 24/- for timber has been passed for payment. Please observe however the inconvenience that arises from any departure from the terms of an authority for expenditure. [1896 02 26]

In other words, Habens warned Young not to do it again, but to do things in the specified manner. Taking initiatives was not necessarily a good idea! Departmental procedures and checks and balances had little inbuilt flexibility. Young did not learn the lesson easily!

In the meantime, the saga of the bridges went on. Young wrote this letter for the committee and the other parents:

⁷For Waikato people, that will prompt the question: Is this the beginnings of Ellis and Burnand, well-known timber millers and merchants in the Waikato, now manifest in Placemakers? The answer is almost certainly "Yes."

⁸ Young's choice of words makes sense, I think, but only just!

The School Committee wish me to make application to you for a grant of £20 to £25, to erect a foot-bridge, on wire, over the Waipa, for the safety and convenience of the scholars, that come to school from the East side of the settlement.

There are now 10 children that have to cross the river twice daily, in a small canoe, that [can] carry but three or four at a time, so that several journeys have to be made each morning and afternoon. There is no house near to the crossing, and the thing depends entirely upon one big boy.

While the summer and autumn continue, the risk is not so great; but in winter and spring, the water is so swollen and rapid, that it is positively dangerous, and dire disaster could hardly be avoided.

There is another difficult stream, about half a mile beyond the Waipa, several families live beyond that, and some new houses have recently been built.

The Committee, together with the other Natives, pledge themselves to erect a bridge at their own expense, over this stream, if the Department will put one across the Waipa. There are several children that are waiting to come to school, who live beyond the second stream, but are utterly unable to do so until there is a bridge. The bridge recently built on the west side, over the Makararua, affords facility for the children on that side to come to school; and they avail themselves of it. But there are a still larger number of children to be considered on the opposite side. If a similar facility were afforded to these, they could attend regularly without special risk.

There are 38 children attending the school now, and would be over 40 if the streams were bridged, and there are many young children coming up, that give fair promise of keeping the school full for some years to come. [1896 02 28]

The commitment to schooling of these people is, on evidence like this, high. There are many examples of parental preparedness to put significant effort and resources into schooling for their children. Young reflected the common perceptions when he regarded these parents as 'natives', not as 'half-castes', let alone as 'people'.

Given that a few years earlier people had left the district because they had lost their land, it is interesting to find new houses were being built. The record unfortunately divulges nothing on who they were for.

Pope, having read Young's letter, wrote a memorandum for Habens:

"This district is exceedingly well watered and is undoubtedly dangerous; but it seems to me that it would be rash to make any recommendation with regard to a bridge after being away from the district for so many years. We put up a rather expensive bridge some years ago, too. I propose that we advise caution and promise to look into the matter after the Inspector's visit." 1896 03 1]

whereupon Habens wrote to Young and the Committee:

The proposal contained in your letter of 20th cannot be properly considered until an Inspector has visited your school and surveyed the position on the spot. Should the Inspector's report be favourable to your

Henry Young

view, the Department will carefully consider the matter. Meanwhile I suggest that every precaution be taken to prevent the incurring of danger by children attending the school. [1896 03 10]

Young's response was as follows:

I find that material for Waipa Bridge would cost £25. Natives would have to give all labour besides building second bridge. [1896 03 10]

The department sent this telegram to Young:

In case Mr Pope does not reach Kopua before 27 June please postpone the mid-winter holidays until after the examination. [1896 05 30]

I was reminded at several points in the record that holidays then were different; there was, apart from the statutory holidays, only the mid-winter holiday. Holidays were not always sacrosanct; the inspector's visit took priority.

Young's first inspection at Te Kopua was in July 1896, over a year after the school reopened. In the event, it was Kirk who appeared, not Pope, and there was almost no criticism in his judgements.

Order: There is a little too much whispering at times; there is, however, nothing that approaches disorder.

Tone: The children work well; their behaviour is good. They seem attached to the school and to the teacher.

Cleanliness of pupils: The children are clean and well-dressed. Slates are cleaned without spitting.

Method: The teaching is painstaking and conscientious. More test work is necessary - work calculated to show whether each child in the class has profited to the fullest possible extent by the lesson.⁹

Summary of results: The results are decidedly good. Reading is the only weak subject.¹⁰

Special: ...in spite of physical difficulties, the school will continue to do well. The committee has begun on a shelter shed - it will be of great use.¹¹

Miss E Young's lesson in reading was "A good lesson."

When Kirk arrived for the examination the four Young children were in Standard III and Standard II, with the twins in Standard I. There were three local children in Standard I; the remainder were in the Infants. Hannah Searancke, an Infant, left at the end of the June quarter.¹² Under 'Attendance', the Examination Form asked for "number of attendances since last examination", but in this case "since last examination" was crossed out, and

⁹ Kirk obviously liked to see individuals answering; he understood the teacher had to be sure each child actually could do, or knew, whatever was in hand.

¹⁰ I am surprised, given the importance attached to learning to read, that Kirk did not place more significance to that defect.

¹¹ On whose initiative? There had been no mention in the correspondence.

"since school re-opened" inserted. Earlier examination schedules recorded "number of months since pupil entered any school". It is a pity the change was made; the later information would be much more useful.¹³

Examinations in Geography were from Standard II up, but this time at least did not seem to have affected promotions.

Whilst the absence of ages means that the effect of the long closure cannot be accurately assessed, we can I think safely conclude that the fact that the highest class gained is Standard III is one consequence. There was clear evidence in a question from H B Kirk,¹⁴ asking if Tom Searancke has passed Standard II before. Tom Searancke *had* passed Standard I, in 1889, the last Standard he had passed. [1896 07 29] That was a seven year gap between Standard I and Standard II. He was likely to have been sixteen years of age! Presuming other children were in similar circumstances, once again we must note the commitment to schooling, especially considering that the school leaving age was 13 years.

Necessary urgent repairs were noted by Kirk, to cost some £27-28, included a new kitchen for the residence [£15.10], wire netting to exclude sparrows, with labour 5/-, repair of top/bottom sashes which were either opening or not opening, [which drew this later memorandum: "Alteration to windows in school to enable upper sashes to open. [£1]"], and mounting the school bell [10/-]. Less urgent was another classroom [Kirk recommended postpone consideration], and a pump [the teacher was to sink the well].¹⁵

Very urgent was the need for a swing bridge over the Waipa River. The Natives would give the labour [£35]. Kirk noted that some children crossed the Waipa " ... by canoe at great risk. One or two accidents have occurred." [1896 07 20]

Mr Kirk had also suggested there was a special need to enlarge the school house. Habens asked of Pope why there was a special need for the enlargement of the house, to which Pope responded: "Mr Kirk thinks it quite safe to say wife and ten children."¹⁶ There were

¹²Why she left, and why the fact was recorded, are facts not made clear.

¹³The details of the examination were as follows: Three Maori children were promoted to Standard II, and 16 to Standard I. All four Young children went up a standard. It seems a mark of 5 usually warranted a pass, but, not always! There were two passes at 3.5, a fail at 4.5, and a pass at 4.5. The child who failed with a mark of 4.5 did not have a mark for Arithmetic, whereas the two with passes at 3.5 did have marks for Arithmetic. It appears a pass mark in Arithmetic was a crucial variable. The three Young girls got marks of 6, the Young boy a mark of 5. There were no Maori children with marks of 6, but quite a number with mark of 5.5, .5 higher than the Young boy; Maori girls and boys seem to have similar marks. It was possible to not be given any marks. The lowest mark was .5, and marks went up by .5. Most girls were marked 1 or .5 for sewing; there were apparently none examined but not given a mark. [1896 07 20]

¹⁴Inspector of Native Schools.

¹⁵As I frequently note, these teachers had wide out-of-school responsibilities.

¹⁶There was later evidence that the Youngs boarded a child, Jane Ormsby. [1896 07 29]

four Young children at school, the eldest having just passed into Standard IV. The Youngs had a son old enough to help build the new kitchen, and one, or more probably two, daughters taught in the school. There is sadly no plan of the house in the record.

Habens, Kirk and Pope wondered whether the local body would build a bridge. [1896 07 29] It did not, but given that there are no letters in the file asking the local body to so do, it is perhaps not surprising. Perhaps it was sounded out, and found to be unco-operative.¹⁷

There were always little and bigger things to exercise the mind. Young wrote that because there were now 45 scholars they needed more desk room. The Board School at Alexandra, he reported, had more desks than it needed; why not ask the Board for them? And, as a result of the examinations, they needed more metal inkwells; the porcelain ones would not fit the desks. There were now more scholars using ink. [1896 08 19]

In light of the 1897 inspection, where Standard III was the highest standard reached, it seems children started using ink at Standard II. In my youth, in the 1940s, it was Standard III or IV. I regard Standard II, under normal conditions, as being quite young to start using ink, particularly as they were using the very difficult, straight steel dip nibs.¹⁸ In hindsight, in this aspect as in so many others, these children were being set up to fail.

Pope agreed they should ask the Auckland Education Board for the necessary desks. The board agreed to supply them, but the Departmental reply on the inkwells was clearly unsatisfactory, for Young had to note that the "Inkwell holes are 1 3/4"¹⁹ in diameter, for which I need the correct size of inkwells."

Young also asked for a little book, recommended by Kirk, on "Maori Conversations"; it would be helpful in sewing and for translations. Kirk could not remember which book it should be, but a Pope memorandum reported that Williams' *First Lessons in Maori* would be suitable. Young asked that the book be sent with the next parcel of school requisites. [1896 09 05]

In a letter not in the file, Young had been asked to whom the Department could write about the extra bridges. He replied:

Mr William Searancke, as Chairman of the Committee, and Mr Arthur Ormsby, did all the work of planning and building the other Bridge, last year, and did it well.

You may communicate with them; for they are men of practical skill, and business integrity.

¹⁷The Waitomo County Council minute books were indexed; the very few references to Te Kopua had little or no relevance to the school. The Raglan County Council minute books were not indexed; I briefly skimmed, but Te Kopua did not come to light.

¹⁸ I was *most* inept with them at age nine!

We have no Public Body here, save the School Committee; and the Chairman is the one practical leader; and Mr Ormsby works with him when occasion demands. [1896 09 05]

That was a thoroughly positive testimonial. Young in a latter letter confirmed that there was no relevant local government.

The question of improvements to the school house had been raised during the inspection.²⁰ In a follow-up letter, Young informed the department that "A stove would be a real help and relief in our busy household." He suggested that a medium size 'Shacklock' was very durable, and could effect a great saving of labour, in the length of wood it would burn. He had done his homework, for he was able to tell the Department that "De Berg is Shacklock's agent in Auckland." The fireplace dimensions would be: width 4ft, depth 3ft; 'throat' of chimney 4ft by 2ft by 3 inches.

He added a postscript:

Perhaps it would be as well for me to add, that the least expensive way to build a kitchen, would be to get the timber from the mill, down the river; and there is a Half-Caste carpenter near that does work very reasonably who might put it up. A settler near here had a kitchen so put up recently, at very reasonable outlay. [1896 09 14]

'Settlers' only occasionally appear in the record; even less frequently are they active participants. A few days later, Young wrote yet again, with more information.

KITCHEN: He had drawn up specifications, and would take them to Alexandra to get tenders.

STOVE: It was necessary to have a recess, made of galvanised iron, or it would keep too much heat from kitchen.

WELL: He expect to get a good supply of spring water, at 15 to 20 feet, in well, but he would have to let them know the length of piping needed. [1896 09 21]

The Department, it seems, replied to Young about the stove, but he was not satisfied they knew quite what was best. He thanked them for the catalogue of stoves; however, they were not in anyway suitable, and, they were too expensive.

de Bergs can supply a Shacklock, suitable in every way, and very durable, and, it needs no setting, for £7, carriage paid. I will gladly contribute the extra £1 for the sake of having that, and there will be no further cost to the Dept beyond the £6 you kindly name. Shall I obtain it? We could use it temporarily, in the present fireplace, until the kitchen is put up. [1896 09 28]

Young was a persistent person!

¹⁹ The /" after 1¾ means that the diameter was one and threequarter inches.

²⁰ The inspections were very thorough, and addressed all aspects of schooling, including all buildings, the grounds, and such like.

Bridging continued to take much time and thought. It was established that the site was in Native Country, and not under control of any local Governing body; control was by Government, probably through either the Lands or the Native Departments. All road matters were administered by the Lands Department. This information led Habens to ask The Under Secretary for Crown Lands if his Department could do anything in this matter. A memorandum in red noted that £500 was provided in the Supplementary Estimates. [1996 10 17] Kirk had provided yet another report, [1896 10 19] complete with map, drawing attention to the benefits to travellers generally of the proposed bridge, and recommending trying the "Public Works Dept".

The letter Young was replying to was not in the file, but its contents are easily implied. Young wrote:

I am sorry not to have apprehended your meaning ... I quite understand that bridge-building etc is not the province of the Educ Dept. Except under exceptional circumstances, and the bridge asked for over the Waipa would be a real acquisition to the public, as well as the school children, and it would be only fair if the Dept of Public Works were to bear part of the expense. No other public body seems to have any jurisdiction here ...

...purchase of materials is all that is asked of the Dept, the people here are quite prepared to fetch the timber, etc, and to do the work of putting up the bridge and this would mean fully £1 for £1 towards it. The Inspector saw how risky it is, to cross the children with the appliances now available; and being alive to this, the people are anxious to do their best to improve it, before a disaster occurs.

They are very different in this respect to the Natives in the North; they would do nothing, for government or any one else, without the most exorbitant charge; they had no public spirit.

I hope for the sake of the dear children, that something will be done.

PS The bridge put up last year is a real boon. [1896 09 26]

Young was a real trier!! Full marks to him.²¹

Young's letter was effective; he wrote to Habens following unrecorded letters and actions:

Permit me, on behalf of the children and their parents, to convey my sincere thanks to you, for using your kindly influence, and putting forth such persistent effort to obtain the substantial grant that has been voted, for erecting a Bridge over the Waipa.

It will be very helpful indeed; and will save all of us much anxiety respecting the children, when the weather is bad, and the river in flood.

We are all very thankful. [1897 02 08]

²¹ Young seems to have less than positive memories of his time in the North! It has to be recalled that the "Natives of the North" did not want Young as a teacher.

Young was still giving considerable attention to extra-curricular activities, most, admittedly, aimed to improve the ease and comfort of living for his family and himself.²² He wrote a long letter about the new kitchen for his house, to house the new stove. William Searancke, he reported, would do the work for £3, ie 7/-, a day, whilst he, Young, would supervise, and assist out of school hours, and his son, apparently for nothing, would assist full time. Searancke was about to build his own house, but would let it stand over for a few days to do Young's kitchen. Young described the kitchen, and other alterations, to be built onto the existing house, added a rough sketch map, and noted that the old pantry would become the boys' room. He gave details of the cost of materials, and repeated that he would supervise, to ensure the quality was correct. He also would

... put up the bell, the wire netting to exclude sparrows, alter windows, put on locks, and put up stays to bridge etc, without involving any further cost than that of materials and carriage.²³ [1896 10 09]

I doubt they make teachers like that any more, or put them in the position where it is necessary, though I do remember much more minor parallels in my own career as a Sole Teacher, and just a little as an STJC.²⁴

Young went on to explain that because several new settlers²⁵ from England and South America²⁶ had taken land between Te Kopua and the Pirongia Ranges, they were having new houses, etc. built. Because several carpenters had gone to Thames, where the wages were better, carpenters were hard to come by, hence the details in the previous letter. Young made no mention of any children from those houses perhaps attending Te Kopua.

The stove didn't come easily. Gibbes wrote to Young, asking him to please explain why he bought an "Orion" instead of a "Shacklock" stove, which caused Young to reply that "Shacklock" was the maker, "Orion" was the model, and that

Mrs Young and the daughters desire me to thank you and the Dept for it; it is a real boon, and when the Kitchen [which is nearly built] is completed, and the stove put in its proper place, it will be very helpful.
[1896 11 21]

Gibbes also reprimanded Young. He told him to do things the proper way regarding accounts, receipts, and other matters:

²²His family being large, and the house not, he was most probably quite justified, particularly by today's standards.

²³This was not last time keeping sparrows out of the schoolroom was an issue.

²⁴Senior Teacher Junior Classes, now usually the AP, Associate Principal.

²⁵In other words, land was being alienated from Maori ownership, parallel with what was happening throughout the North Island. The King Country was thoroughly 'open'. There seems no direct link with the population of children available for the school; most of the new settlers' children would have gone to Board schools.

²⁶Given my deep interest in the history and politics of Latin America, that intrigues me. If they were English, they would most likely have arrived from Argentina; if they were Spanish, from anywhere except Brazil.

See the printed "Instructions to Teachers". eg "Mr William's²⁷ receipt should be obtained in full, the initials only are not sufficient. [1896 11 21]

There are continual reminders that conditions were different then:

I am sorry to have to make application to you, for a bell, to hang on the top of the school. We found a bell here when we came and it has remained here till yesterday when the native, to whom it is said to belong, came and took it away.

I have just got the ironwork made, for mounting it on the school, and it would have been mounted, but one of the screws was too large.

We shall be sorely inconvenienced till we get another, as several of the families live nearly a mile away, and have no clock, and have to be guided by the early bell; and the growth of furze, acacia, etc, is so tall, that the hand bell cannot be heard any distance away.

Is there an unused school in the district, from which a bell could be obtained; or shall I try in Auckland, to obtain a second hand ship's bell.

Kindly let me know as early as convenient, as we need the bell very much. [1896 10 13]

The department's records were up to it. de Castro's²⁸ memorandum to Gibbes reported that "We do not appear to have paid for a bell." Gibbes promptly wrote to Messers E Porter and Co, Auckland: "Please supply bell, at a cost of 33/- [£1 13 0]; and to Young: "Bell on the way."

The Department's Annual Report recorded this assessment of Te Kopua in its first year of re-opening:

There is good reason to believe that, in spite of considerable physical difficulties, this lately reopened school will now do well. A swing-bridge over the Waipa is needed. It is the practice for several pupil to cross in a canoe with great risk at times. Results were decidedly good, reading being the only weak subject.²⁹

Again, a bridge did not eventuate, despite all that had been written and agreed to, and Kirk the following year recorded a near fatal accident involving children crossing the river in a canoe. [1897 04 28]

Whilst it is not strictly relevant to Te Kopua, this observation by Pope in that same Annual Report to Parliament regarding the newly opened Te Houhi School seems at this distance bizarre:

²⁷ One of the suppliers Young had dealt with.

²⁸ Frederick Knox de Castro, Chief Clerk and Accountant in the Education Department.

²⁹ *AJHR* E2 1897, p 5.

The educational soil here had been, so to speak, quite unbroken, and was encrusted with the unhealthy growth of centuries.³⁰

For 1897, that observation reflected the Social Darwinism that was endemic. This selective interpretation of Darwin's evolutionary perspective led to the invention of the notion of primitive society,³¹ and its opposite, superior society.³² M P K Sorrenson captured something of the ambivalence the actual reality of Maori competence and skill created in Pakeha.³³ Suffice to say that J H Pope, and H B Kirk, on this evidence, *did not* have a positive view of Maori history and culture. It is not easy to always recognise its consequences in the record, and there are places where Pope and Kirk and others in their writings and actions appear to deny the underlying ideology.

There is a long series of letters, telegrams, and memos in the record dealing with unpaid, double paid, and mislaid accounts, etc, and detailing the procedures which should have been followed. It is increasingly clear that Rev Henry Young was inclined to 'get on with it', and not be too worried about the niceties of Departmental procedures. Mail and other delays did not help. However, the sum total was that Habens was driven to write this letter; it was first handwritten by Habens. The original was filed with the typed copy. Typed letters at that time were not usual:

Absence from Wellington has prevented my dealing with the case in which you recently sent in for payment by the Government, certified as correct, a claim in which £1.18.6 out of £3.3.10 was for goods bought for your own private purposes. I regret to notice that in your letter of 13th ultimo you have offered no explanation of the grave inaccuracy, to say the least of it, involved in your action in this matter.

In dealing with claims against the Government the Department has to depend largely upon the accuracy and integrity of the local officers primarily concerned with the expenditure, and I very much regret to have to say that the effect of this and some other transactions in which you have previously been concerned will be to make me extremely cautious as to accepting any certificate from you in the future. To put it plainly your action in sending in this claim would certainly be regarded by the Treasury as having the appearance of fraud, seeing that if it had been paid through any want of vigilance in this Office you would have been the gainer; and I cannot admit that your attempt to put the blame upon the tradesman has any value whatever as a defence.

I have only to add that I shall feel it my duty to bring under the notice of the Minister any further ground of complaint against you of this kind, and that you must not expect me again to shield you against the

³⁰AJHR E2 1897, p5.

³¹Kuper, *The Invention of Primitive Society*:

³²Darwin postulated the 'survival of the fit', by which he meant the survival of those fit for their ecological niche; Social Darwinists such as Herbert Spencer amended it to read 'Survival of the fittest.'

³³Sorrenson, M P K, *Maori Origins and Migrations*.

consequences of neglecting the demands of common honesty in your money transactions with the Department.

I had to send back to you for prepayment the "collect" telegram which you sent to me on this matter. Upon what grounds could you think it right to charge the Government with the cost of the message?"³⁴
[1897 03 09]

That was as severe a reprimand as most teachers are ever likely to get. Young wrote in reply:

May I ask you to re-consider, somewhat, the unfavourable verdict, suggested in your letter to me of the 9th inst, just to hand?

If I had land near, and could appropriate the things, solely to my own private use, there would be more meaning in the charges. But, since everything had is used to improve the school property, and can be mine to use only for the time being, does not this make a difference that is very real? Nor is this all the truth regarding the situation; - I have toiled early and late, out of school hours, working all Saturdays and holidays; and have paid others to help me, in clearing, repairing, and restoring the wilderness and dilapidation I found here. When I found that material for the kitchen etc, would cost more than I had reckoned, [the market price having risen, after my previous enquiry], I paid the freight of Porter's goods myself; and expended but £2, instead of the £3 asked for, to pay the carpenter; and did the rest of the work myself in the holidays, so as to lessen the outlay. I should not have named these things, but, for the very serious charge preferred in your letter, and which seems to make my conduct border upon felony.

That I have made a grievous mistake, and done wrong, officially, I admit; and humbly apologise for it; but the moral wrong suggested, was as far from my thought, as from my action; and the sense in which I spoke of the things as mine, was, that I would pay for them, rather than involve the Office in any difficulty respecting them. [Pope memorandum in red: "Possibly Mr Young means that, having ordered barbed wire and netting for Government work without authority, he took over the wire and netting to avoid trouble."]

Charging the Telegram to the Office, was done in haste, without thinking; otherwise I should have prepaid it, as it was only right to have done so.

In the future, I will leave all repairs, or improvements, till such time as the Department see fit to have them done, in proper order: I see now, that to attempt to participate is worse than useless. I did not intend giving trouble, and am very sorry I have done [1897 03 22]

Despite all that, with its implication that gratis extra-curricular activities were perhaps unwise, Young wrote a month later that he had finished sinking the well, and asking for a pump and the necessary pipe. He added that " ... Morrins of Auckland would be the best Ironmonger,³⁵ but this only a suggestion."³⁶ [1897 04 13]

³⁴Telegram read: "Barbed wire and netting belong to my account."

³⁵We don't have *them* anymore.

It is likely, indeed probable, that the Department's insistence upon correct procedures restricted initiative, and resulted at times in less well-developed school properties, or less adequate provisions for the pupils.

It is easy to forget this was a hundred years ago. Young had sent this memorandum to the Department late the year before, when the correspondence was shuttling back and forth:

No telephone, only a weekly mail; anything sent to Pirongia early in the week does not reach us till Saturday afternoon, and ours in return, do not reach Auckland till Monday afternoon. 1896 12 02]

I have noted before that holidays seemed not to be sacrosanct, and that the inspection visit was a major item in the life of any Native School. This next episode is illustrative. Young wrote to the Department, first citing the relevant item in the Code:

As the Easter holidays will occur this year only three or four days before the visit of the Inspector, kindly give us permission to defer having the two days until the following week after the Inspector has been. [1897 03 20]

Habens replied that the Inspector's visit would probably be later, so the changes were unnecessary, and

... in any case school should not be held on Good Friday; but the Easter Monday holiday may be taken after the examinations, if you would like to have it so, and are sure that it would not run counter to the religious sentiment of any of your neighbours. [1897 03 20]

At the time of Kirk's inspection visit [1897 04 28] 38 of the 40 children on the roll were present, a pretty good percentage.³⁷ Of the 38, 36 were examined; there is no evidence why the other two were not. Perhaps they were very early in their school careers. The highest standard passed into was Standard III. Twentysix of the children passed into the next standard; their marks ranged between 4.5 and 7.5. Nine children failed; their marks ranged from .5 - 3. One infant was 'ticked' only, not marked as Pass or Fail. No pupil with a 'standard' was absent, which in itself is a very significant fact; gaining a pass was important! With no evidence of age to help, there were three Maori boys in Standard III, but no Maori girls; the other two in Standard III were a boy and a girl Young; because no ages were given, I cannot tell if they were twins? That Standard III was the highest standard any child passed into reflects the fact the school was closed for those several years. That is why the absence of ages is frustrating. We can only assume that some, perhaps most, of those Standard IIIs were much older than nine or ten.

³⁶He was being most careful in his dealings with the Department!

³⁷There had been some fluctuation in the roll. It was 38 in early 1896, and was up to 45 in August. As is already evident, and will become increasingly clear, the roll could fluctuate quickly, frustratingly often without any clear reason.

The Young's got very good marks for their teaching and their care of the school and its equipment and environs, usually 8, but there were a couple of 9s, and one 10 [the maximum]. The remarks were thoroughly satisfactory. Again, I have to record that "Slates are cleaned without spitting." Kirk observed that "Miss E Young has improved very much in teaching power."

Some of the admonitions given to me during my career have long histories, viz: "English: Answering in complete sentences needs attention," and "Children should not be allowed to crouch over their desks when writing."³⁸

Kirk wrote this special comment:

This school still, to all appearances, holds a high place in the opinion of the people, and it deserves to do so. The efficiency of the staff is quite satisfactory. If mutual relations remain good the school should have a prosperous career: if they become unpleasant the children will cease to face the difficulties of attending a school that is so far from their homes as this is.³⁹ [1897 04 28]

on which Pope wrote in red:

I hope this is not ominous. The class room is again asked for. It would undoubtedly be very useful, and should be granted if it can well be afforded.⁴⁰ My own opinion is that many other schools have more urgent needs of one kind or another. Looking at the statistics of the school, and considering the circumstances and the history of it, I fully concur.

There was never to be a second classroom! One has to ask, Which comes first, the chicken or the egg?

Kirk also discovered that

On March 19th the canoe bringing the children across the river capsized. Fortunately the five occupants were boys of some size, and the river was not at its worst. [1897 04 28]

The whakapapa of these young people is illustrated in part by these details of names on the Examination Report. Of the 16 family names, 9 were Maori, 7 were Pakeha. Of the 26 children with Pakeha family names, 17 have Pakeha given names, 9 have Maori given names. Of the 14 children with Maori family names, 5 have Pakeha given names. [1897 04 28] It is not difficult to believe that collectively these people remembered and respected their mixed whakapapa.

³⁸I straightened my back as I was typing!

³⁹That last is a very interesting observation. I have seen no other reference to the children attending Te Kopua having to travel distances greater than usual. I am at a loss to understand why it is there, though I do understand that Kirk was making the point that the school stood high in the estimation of the parents.

⁴⁰The influence of budgetary restraints!

Canoes did not feature in the 1898 Annual Report observations on Te Kopua; it was a quite undistinguished report:

The pupils do honest and hearty work, and appear to be happy in their school life. The institution seems to hold a high place in the estimation of the people, and if relations between teacher and parents remain good the school should have a prosperous career.⁴¹ Examination results were satisfactory. There is a good garden here, and grounds have been greatly improved.⁴²

Sixteen days⁴³ after Kirk's inspection visit, Habens wrote to Young:

In Mr Kirk's report there is a note to the effect that a canoe capsized in the Waipa with five children in it. Could you inform me what actions have been taken by your committee with regard to the Department's letter of Feb 10th. [1897 05 14]

The department's letter of 10 February is not in the file, only Young's of 8 February thanking the department for the grant to build the bridge over Waipa. Young replied that the delay over the bridge was due to Hursthouse; he was not getting material, nor giving instructions. He had been in touch with Hursthouse, urging the importance of the bridge. Habens then wrote to the Surveyor - General. I couldn't read the detail, but a further memorandum stated that Hursthouse costed the bridge at £300, but suggested instead a punt, on an overhead wire, capable of carrying 15 passengers, which he estimated would cost £50 or a little less. [1897 05 22] The word 'parsimonious' comes to mind!

Speed, however, seems not to have been of the essence. Young wrote in July, asking why the delay. He still considered a bridge better than a punt. He added:

There are higher floods now than at any time since we came to Te Kopua. [1897 07 24]

The letters and the inaction continued. Lands and Survey wrote, suggesting they should get the plans and specifications offered by the Committee, and pointing out that their surveyor [Hursthouse] could not build a safe footbridge for the sum mentioned.

Henry Young then wrote a long letter [1897 08 20], pointing out that they couldn't expect Hursthouse to approve anything the Committee might build. He had said he would not do it; it was not courteous to even ask him to pass any bridge the Committee might build.⁴⁴ The Committee would accept a punt if a bridge was just acceptable, but ... how were little children to manage it? He went on:

⁴¹ This I an odd use of 'career'!

⁴² *AJHR* E2 1898, p6.

⁴³ It could easily have taken that many days for Kirk's report to reach the Department.

⁴⁴ Hursthouse would make an interesting study!

If there can be found a way out of the difficulties which official technicalities seem to present, perhaps it might be desirable to ask Mr Hursthouse to delay, a little, preparing his plan for the Punt.

and then observed that

Two of the members of the Committee, one Half-Caste, are intelligent, with a fair education, and with practical knowledge of such work. They have put up two or three bridges of smaller size, but upon the same principle, in the neighbourhood, that are thoroughly satisfactory, and they could do this one, if it is put into their hands. The school attendance is seriously interfered with, through each of the accommodations which a bridge would afford.

One committeeman was 'half-caste'; what was the other? Maori, or Pakeha? The half-caste would be Ormsby; the 'other' was presumably 'native', but I am unable to confirm who it might have been.⁴⁵

Pope's response was to get Hursthouse's opinion of the Natives' plans, and to insist on the terms of the department's letter of 30 August.⁴⁶ Sir E O Gibbes asked Young to send the plans and specifications, and asked Lands and Survey to tell Hursthouse to delay work on the punt until the Committee's plans and specifications arrived and were assessed. [1897 08 20]

At the end of September, Young continued the correspondence. In a letter concerned with unsatisfactory attendance, he suggested that whilst part of the cause was that

Five elder boys were at home doing farm work and three others, one in Standard III and two in Standard II will probably not return because of their age, this because of they and some elder girls being debarred from school at the right age when the school was closed,⁴⁷

he was sure that

The greatest hindrance is incessant rain, high rivers, and no bridge; the flood is so high no child is here from the other side. I hope plans, etc, for a bridge are being advanced, for a punt cannot be worked by little children.

Pope annotated Young's letter:

Young prefers bridge; his remarks about the punt, if not based on a mis-apprehension, seem to deserve attention. [1897 09 30]

Young had written that about a punt on several occasions, and it seemed Pope and others, in the Department and elsewhere, were not listening.⁴⁸ My judgement, made now rather

⁴⁵Because names don't in themselves tell anything, I am never sure about committeemen, but I judge that very seldom were there Pakeha committeemen; Young may have meant that, if there were only 'Natives', they would not be competent to do the work, but because one of them was 'half-caste', they could together manage the task

⁴⁶Not in file.

⁴⁷That is, I think, the *only* reference by any person of the consequences of the school being closed. I do not remember any others.

Henry Young

than later, is that the Department of Education, abetted by the Public Works Department, completely failed this community and its school in so far as provision of adequate access was concerned. The deleterious consequences on the schooling of the children is clear.

Illness struck again, this time causing Mrs Young to write the only letter in the record from a teacher's wife.

I am writing to ask if you will allow us to close the school for a week. My husband has been suffering much pain, for the last three months from carbuncles on his leg, and though they are nearly gone now, they seem to have affected his general health, which is run down, and he has lost his appetite. He has stuck to his work all the time but does not look fit to be in school, and will I fear break down, except he leave home for a few days rest and change, he has been taking Doctor's medicine but that does not take the place of rest.

Our daughter, the School Assistant, is not at all well either, through extra work and effects of influenza, or she could have taken charge of the school.

The attendance is small now, in consequence of the elder boys being away planting, and others through sickness. Mr Young has always enjoyed good health, and will soon be all right again I hope. He does not know I am writing this. [1897 09 30]

No doubt Departments are often in a quandary, but their employees seldom know of it. The case was new to Pope, as this memorandum to Gibbes makes clear:

I do not know how to deal with this. It would perhaps be as well to tell Mr Young that if he asks for a few days leave the Dept will grant it.

Young telegraphed asking for a week's leave for he and his assistant. The record does not divulge how he reacted if indeed he learned of Mrs Young's letter, but he did take her advice, as indeed had the Department. [1897 10 16]

On the day that Mrs Young wrote her letter, Henry Young told the Department that:

Land court sitting, many natives have had to attend, some children with them, some are up there now.
[1897 09 30]

This was another to add to the two reasons Mrs Young had given for the low attendance.

The bridge saga went on. Hursthouse reported, "Cannot put in a bridge for under £300. The flat bottomed boat is almost ready." [1897 10 26]

In the first reference to ferrying, Gibbes, in a memorandum to the Hon Mr Walker,⁴⁹ noted first that there was a precedent for granting an allowance for ferrying children, [He recom-

⁴⁸This type of correspondence was repeated throughout the record; except for extreme examples, I will at most only very briefly refer to it for the remainder of this study.

⁴⁹ Minister of Education.

mended an attempt to get the work done for £5 a year.], and second that under the Public Works Act 1894 Sec 144, children going to or from school were free on ferries. Kirk added his advice to the debate. He recommend that the Survey Department proceed with fixing the punt, and a grant of £10 [£10 when Gibbes suggested £5?] to pay a competent person to get the children over the river. They should reconsider the situation if pupil numbers got too low. The "Teacher and Cttee" should be advised. [1897 10 26]

Young replied that he was disappointed the punt was going ahead, for the parents did not like the idea; it would be too heavy, and was no good for the little ones. He continued:

One of the parents said to me, last evening: 'When we asked for the bridge over the Waipa, we promised, if the Govt did that, we would put one over the Mangawhero; and as soon as the grant was voted, we put up our bridge, so the little children can get over, and now we wait all this long time, and are willing to do all the work, the Govt want to give us a Punt; and it will be no use for our little children.' I am afraid this man's feeling is shared by most of the others; and that all the people here are sorely disappointed. There are one or two, who still cling to the hope of having the bridge, even now. [1897 10 26]

Perhaps not surprisingly, Young wrote early in the new year:

So far, the Punt has not been of the slightest service, as no scholar can use it. I hear that Mr Hursthouse intends doing something else to it; but, when all is done to it that can be done, there is little promise of its meeting our need; ie ready and safe transit for the little children when no adult is near to help. [1898 02 08]

The issue did not go away. Hursthouse:

...so much trouble ...punt in place, lines, etc. but owing to the length of these ropes and the hold the current had on them it was found that no one but a strong man could work it. Since then I have seen the Chairman of the School Committee, and at his suggestion have provided a wire rope for hauling purpose, with blocks, etc. He has undertaken to fix the rope and make the required approaches, etc. I will visit Kopua as soon as possible and see the work done, but am not at all sanguine of succeeding in making it so easy to work that the children can cross themselves, and at the same time have it available at any state of flood and secure against being carried away, and also, so arranged that it can be pulled from the opposite side by a youngster wishing to cross - all of which points are desired. [1898 03 12]

Young and the Committee and parents would have been fully entitled to say, and probably quite emphatically and perhaps not always politely did say, "We told you so!" I wonder how it sounded in te reo Maori?

This next need [or want] was written about for more than two years, but it must have been an issue for some time, given the nature of Te Kopua.. The Young family had most likely had a cow and horses for some time, but Young eventually wrote to the department concerned that the school glebe was not room enough for cow, horses, etc. There were only Henry Young

two acres for buildings, playground, house, etc, so there was little left for the teacher's animals; something needed to be done. There was a government-owned section of about 30 acres nearby which was too small for anything else. The 'Board' [no indication of which 'board'] told him it could make a grant if application were made. Pope's memorandum suggested they should consult the Committee, and check Young's accuracy and completeness; the issue would perhaps be best left until the Inspector next visited Kopua. [1897 11 20]

After the Christmas holidays, Young replied to the resulting Departmental letter that there were no fears of any difficulty on the part of the Natives, for they made no use of it. Fencing, etc, would be no great cost, for one side was fenced already. The land would be a boon to all future teachers; two acres for all school purposes was very small. Teachers, he wrote, needed cows and horses in a place like that! [1898 02 08]

In the same letter, Young reported that when he re-opened the school, several scholars were detained by harvest work, and that there were five families afflicted with influenza. [1898 02 08]

The next inspection was in March 1898. The Youngs would have been entitled to be very satisfied with it. The marks were good, and there were several positive comments:

Log-book: Contains many interesting entries ... A very large amount of time is devoted to geography, but as this subject is remarkably well taught I do not see my way to object very strenuously. Perhaps however there might be a [word unclear] reduction in geography time without disadvantage ... I think the place is in very good order, and becoming decidedly pretty. Discipline: Positive, Committee report it to be positive ... *The use of saliva is only occasional.* [emphasis added] On the other hand, Mental arithmetic is weak. [1898 03 22]

It is a great pity that that log-book is apparently lost.⁵⁰

Pope was less positive when dealing with matters of curriculum. His 'standards' would seem to have been somewhat higher than Kirk's, for the marks are lower and the remarks more critical. It is unlikely the Youngs' teaching practice had changed that much. Pope wrote these remarks:

Reading: Hardly sufficiently fluent when new matter has to be dealt with.

English: [Std] IV: Weak in correction of faulty sentences.⁵¹

Writing: Copy book writing of seniors is but fair, at the best.

Dictation and Spelling: In the lower classes the spelling is weak.

⁵⁰ Logbooks up to the closing of the school in 1915 have not surfaced; I have asked of those of the community for enquiries and searches, but there has been no reward.

General: 1/ It is undesirable to repeat when giving out a dictation.⁵² 2/ It is of the greatest importance that prevention of errors should be preferred to correction of them, eg. as in the case of a first standard [Standard I] session in writing plurals. 3/ For children to write dictation standing is sure to lead to their writing becoming cramped.⁵³ 4/ The use of the methods here is accompanied by great earnestness and industry. I think, however, that some attention to the kind of criticism given above is desirable. [1898 03 22]

That last remark implied that the Youngs had not been making any apparent effort to change their methods in the direction indicated.

In summary:

Weakness appeared in one or two subjects, notably in reading of Juniors. On the whole however, the results of the examination were satisfactory. Some of the work [especially the geography, the health work, and the dictation], was very pleasing. [1898 03 22]

Pope agreed that the site was too small, and that additional land was needed. Habens then sent memoranda to the Survey Department and to Young, asking for information, especially on ownership, and, asked Young to point the land out to the surveyor when he arrived. [1898 03 22]

Inspectors and teachers had to deal with the lot, with everything. Because the furze had been largely cleared away, Pope recommended there should be a WC for the girls, screened properly from observation. A 'back door' was needed also for emptying the boys' WC, and, glass and putty were needed to repair windows. [1898 03 22]

The mind boggles: What did the girls use before? There had, it seemed, been the one toilet⁵⁴ for boys and girls, hidden away in the furze. We can speculate that there was a rule that only one pupil was to be down the path to the toilet at any one time, though my memories of young people, both as one, and as a teacher of the species, is that they would not always have obeyed the injunction! I'm intrigued also with a 'WC' which needed emptying "from behind". A WC is a water closet, and doesn't need emptying from any direction! They would seem to have had the kind of toilet then used in town, which was emptied by the night cart driver every so often, rather than a long-drop, which is what I used at home in rural Taranaki until some time after WWII. The school I attended had flush, that is, WC, toilets.

⁵¹ I could not tell whether he was referring to Oral, or to Written, which is a pity. It is probably he was referring to Written, but ...

⁵² It was thought that children would listen less diligently if it they thought the teacher might repeat the dictation if they asked. In other words, the teacher should "Make them listen!"

⁵³ For children to write standing up is unusual, to say the least; I'm surprised his remark was not stronger.

Pope apparently had no difficulty over broken windows. This school was a glazier's dream; broken windows were mentioned often, and my silent questions were: Why were its windows broken so often? For how long had they been broken? What were the conditions inside the school and the house whilst they were broken? By 28 April, 1898, Habens had authorised £3 for the girls' WC and the boys' 'flap'. This took only five weeks!

There was more:

Mr Young is to propose a scheme to prevent the school from being flooded with every heavy rain. Three sheets of plain galvanized iron to render kitchen fire-place safe should be supplied; cost with freight 18/-. [1898 03 22]

Again, the mind boggles; the range of issues these people had to deal with is astounding. Fancy having to find the cost of iron, and freight! I presume the source of much detail was the head teacher; or, perhaps Pope had made enquiries in Alexandra or Te Awamutu on his way to the next school? When the inspector arrived for an inspection, the head teacher was required to have a 'Requisition for Material', and a 'Requisition for Repairs', ready. Pope wrote that Young's for 'Material' was "Fairly reasonable, neat, ready." [1898 03 22] What 'fairly' means in this context is not clear; it was meritorious that it was 'neat'!

During the inspection, Pope recorded the 1898 Committee as follows: George Emmerly, W Searancke, ⁵⁵ Ormsby, Kiri Katipa, Wi Karena. [1898 03 22]

Each inspection report included details of roll and attendance. Of the 33 on the roll, 29 [Maori 17B, 12G; 3E] were present for the examination. The highest quarterly average for 1897 was 35.02, the lowest 21.41.⁵⁶ That was a very wide fluctuation; the reason is not evident. Of significance were the 20 "Who might attend but do not." In other words, there were over fifty children of school age in the community, only sixty percent of whom attended. It may be for that reason, given that compulsory attendance had been extended to Maori in 1894⁵⁷ that Young later wrote:

"The Committee here are anxious to adopt the 'compulsory Clause', so as to compel some careless⁵⁸ parents to send their children to school. [1898 06 17]

⁵⁴Probably 'dunny' to the children. I won't explore what the men might have called it!

⁵⁵ Initial or name undecipherable.

⁵⁶ Such data always seems ridiculous; what does .02 of a child look like? In one sense, it is a bureaucratic nonsense, but from another, when the intention is to compile statistics for a total system, then it does make sense. I used to wonder why we did not round up or down for the school records, and the exact figure for the Department's purposes.

⁵⁷School Attendance Act; see Barrington and Beaglehole, *Maori Schools*, pp 139-140 for commentary on its application.

⁵⁸Parents to blame, as usual; the same implication is explicit or implicit in these allegedly enlightened days!

The department sent copies of the School Attendance Act *in Maori*, along with two forms. There is no direct evidence the inspector took any action whilst he was in Te Kopua, but it may be that his discussions with committee men had led directly to Young's letter.

Six months later, [eleven months after Young first raised the matter] there had accumulated in the file, from the surveyor and others, a series of letters, maps, etc, dealing with additional land for the teacher at the school. Young had suggested that, given the land the school was on was leased, obtaining firm title to additional land, besides giving the teacher land for the necessary animals, ie cows and horses, would provide a secure site for the school, which could be removed to it. [1898 09 13]

Just a few days before, Te Kopua featured in the *Waikato Times*.⁵⁹ Someone had clipped the item and sent it to the Department,⁶⁰ where it was filed.

A Band of Hope meeting was held here last night [August 26]. The scholars contributed recitations - which are too numerous to mention by name - in a very pleasing manner. They sang two rounds very nicely, "A Life of Purest Pleasure" and "Good Night"; also a temperance song, "I'll Drink Water from the Spring." Miss Mary Weeks recited "The Miller and his Ass", which was both amusing and instructive. A dialogue, "Question and Answer", by Tukere and Koro Teanga, Dick Ormsby and Frank Young, was well given; also one by Miss E Young and Dick Ormsby, entitled "The Echo". Mabel and Jennie Young gave a recital on the organ. Revs W Warena and H Young spoke on the evils of the drink traffic. The doxology and benediction brought a most enjoyable meeting to a close. Seven pledges were taken, bringing our roll number up to fifty. [Own Correspondent] [1898 09 17]

Unless children were encouraged to pledge, a roll of fifty implies a numerous community, for most likely there were quite number who did not attend the service, and some who did who were not pledged.

In the light of the press report, this next episode can only have been unfortunate. Whilst I have always understood two visits were made to each school every year, the non-examination visit was seldom recorded; this next is the first evidence of a second visit in one year to Te Kopua.

Pope discovered on that visit that relations with the Wesleyan Mission over wandering stock and access to the school had got very strained, to the extent that Pope moved very

⁵⁹1898 09 17

⁶⁰It is actually more likely that the department took subscriptions in the more important newspapers, and had a position for a person whose task it was to read the newspapers and clip and file as appropriate. Newspaper clipping were common in other Education Department files I have worked on. The *Timaru Herald* was one of the more frequent editorial commentators on education matters; a study of the politics of its editorials would make interesting reading, I think, for I have judged them to be in general conservative.

quickly. He clearly had spoken to several people, but had judged it wiser to not attempt to resolve the issue on the spot.

Pope's memorandum to Habens, and the draft letter, set out the difficulty:

I have the honour to enclose a rough draft of letters that I have sent to the Revds Messers Young, King, and Warena at Kopua. These gentlemen were when I was at Te Kopua two days ago busily engaged in a kind of dispute about the pathway that leads into the school site at Te Kopua. I am trying to pour oil on the troubled waters; some calming agency is greatly needed. This draft will explain itself. PS: The same draft served for both letters mutatis mutandis.

Rev H Young,

Te Kopua,

Dear Sir,

I venture to go somewhat out of my way in order to remark on the state of affairs existing at Kopua on the occasion of my recent visit. I may inform you that it seems to me inadvisable to speak on this subject at any length, seeing that there was manifestly considerable feeling on both sides in connection with the unfortunate dispute that was in progress. It seemed to me better to wait awhile with the hope that all might be in a calmer mood.

I judged from what I heard and saw that your position was that there was no special reason why you should keep your front gate fastened in order to prevent your horses and cattle from straying and pasturing on ground to which you have no right, and so to meet the wishes of the two missionaries, Revds Messrs King and Warena; they on the other hand had resorted to the extreme course of blocking the road with heavy piles so as to render it useless for horses or cattle.

Now, I greatly deplore the existence of the spirit that has led to this kind of warfare, and am writing this letter in the interests of peace, sincerely hoping that both sides will come to an amicable understanding, and that there will be no need at all to bring this matter directly under the notice of the Education Department. I venture to suggest the adoption of some such course as this:- that you give a written undertaking to do your best to prevent the straying of your cattle, etc, on to the ground to which you have no right whatever; thereupon let the other side pull down the obstructions that they have set up, probably without right also, and allow free ingress and egress to horses, and even cattle, when directly under the care of yourself or responsible members of your family. [1898 11 25]

The Rev Gittos, of the Wesleyan Church, wrote to Pope:

... the trouble ... might have been avoided if Mr Young had acted wisely and not have intruded so persistently upon the good natures of our Maori ministers and provoking them to the action they took ... if they had consulted me

... you have been misinformed re public road through the mission property ... public road is down the outside line of the Kopua Block our private rights ... no wish block any private ways ... if Mr Young can prevent in any other way the trespassing of his stock keep his stock out of mission farm the obstruction shall at once be removed.

Henry Young

As in the past we wish to do all we can to further the interests of the Kopua School but must protect against any interference or intrusion on the part of Mr Young, or any Teacher who may succeed him.

Mr Young as you know has been most unfortunate in coming [into] collision with the Maoris in every district where he has yet been. We hope he may be more successful in the future. [1898 12 14]

Young had a past, which caught up with him!

There was another Pope memorandum, difficult to read, but aimed it seems at other people in the Department, which says he did not suggest the Department would use 'force'. Pope was just suggesting the Department would not want to even know the matter was an issue. He seemed to be pouring oil on troubled Departmental waters also. [1898 12 14] Pope could be quite a diplomat, yet he also had a touch of steel.

Young had written his letter, to the 'superiors' of the Te Kopua Wesleyan missionaries before he received Pope's letter. He wrote to Pope:

Before you wrote to me, I had written to the chairman of the Mission committee, instead of the Department, reporting the obstruction to the gateway, and the cutting of the furze, intimating that if one is removed, and the other cut, there will be an end of the whole difficulty, so far, as I am concerned. I have waited for their reply; but it has not yet reached me. I also added, that I should keep a "lock on the gate for the future," so that the scholars, or others, can not leave it open. I do not wish one of my animals to enter this ground; but so far, was unable to prevent the neglect of others.

I, and my family, have done everything we can, to benefit those ministers in their homes; and to help them in their work; and, in the face of that, to have them - not common Maoris, with no education, but ordained Christian Ministers - acting as they were when you arrived, was unlikely, for the moment, to make any one feel warmly. I have no intention of taking any further steps. If the thing is not attended to, I shall simply leave it. Others, around here have complained loudly, about the obstruction to the gateway. [1898 12 05]

Young's distinction between "common Maoris, with no education" and "ordained Christian Ministers" is informative; I wonder if he would have drawn the same distinction were he faced with the same issue as a head teacher of a Board school, and therefore dealing with Pakeha missionaries

The episode was recorded in the Department's Annual Report as follows:

At a subsequent visit I found a rather serious misunderstanding in progress; mere mention of it may perhaps tend to prevent repetition.⁶¹

A long letter by Young, dated 5 December 1898, is a mystery. It seems to have arisen from some 'discussion' between he and his daughter over the timetable which Pope must have

⁶¹AJHR E2 1899, p6; as I have noted before, privacy was not an issue.

overheard, and perhaps later wrote about in a letter not in the file. Young wrote at length about the work they did around the place - his son doing various things, he taking out stumps, paying a man to do work at his own cost, which he implies should have been the Department's, and, he does not regard his daughters' work in school as a substitute for his - not in any way - they are additional - he was often in school before his daughters arrived - they all often in school quite some time after school helping the laggards:

Considering my eldest daughter gives whole time and energy to school work, without a fraction of pay, there does not seem much room for the Department to complain; we earn all we own. 1898 12 05]

Later, Young wrote"

Kindly dismiss all thought, that I regard my daughter's services as a substitute for my own. I extended my reference to her service, as a fact to be noted, nothing more. I perfectly understand, that when school is open, my work is inside it; unless, like at Whangape, I have to go to fetch scholars across the river; a bridge would have avoided that necessity. [1899 01 13]

Young is on the defensive, yet also on the offensive.

In the meantime, school life with its multifarious activities and priorities must go on. Young wrote to the department regarding the WC, etc; he had called for tenders, but there had been no offers, because carpenters had gone to Auckland or Thames, and the one at Te Awamutu would not come 15 miles for so small a contract.

I will try to erect it myself, at the beginning of the holidays; am sending today for the material. It is very unsatisfactory, having no separate accommodation for the girls. My son will help me put it up.

Wishing all the officers of the Dept a very pleasant Christmas and New Year. 1898 12 17]

Young was very good at felicitations of that kind.

The next examination inspection, by Pope, was in March, 1899. It was again positive:

Timetable: I like the table; there might, however, be more grouping,⁶² much time could be saved.

Discipline: One or two of the very little ones [implies that children were beginning school at a quite young age, which is positive in so far as attitudes to the school are concerned] had not yet been *quite broken in* [emphasis added], but generally the order here is quite satisfactory.

Punishments: The rule is mild. No punishments recorded.⁶³

Tone: So far as I can learn there is a fair amount of accord between parents and teachers. The relations of children and teachers are good. The work goes on with spirit.

⁶²this referred to the grouping of classes in, eg, geography and arithmetic.

⁶³No corporal punishment; I don't remember any being noted at any inspection to date.

Cleanliness: One or two of the children were rather shabby, generally the appearance was good. Many children were neatly dressed. The books seemed to me to be rather ragged; also the cupboard is not so neat as it might be.⁶⁴

Reading: Not sufficiently fluent.

Speech: Mispronunciations should never be tolerated; they lead always, to bad spelling and other similar evils.

Writing: The very best letter forms should be selected by the teachers; and when once selected they should be closely adhered to.

Arithmetic: The weakest subject; but mere [emphasis added] bookwork is good. [ie, it is neat.] See all "tables" be [sic] thoroughly mastered. The Arithmetic is rather weak here.⁶⁵

Drill: Turnings in drill should be more systematic. Extension exercises are fairly well done. Military drills, turning to, is not good; there is want of steadiness in school drill.⁶⁶

General: The methods in use here are generally good; at least they are such as experience has shown to be successful. It will be sufficient here to call attention to two or three points with regard to which too much can hardly be said.

The obstruction referred to in my November report has been removed and peace now reigns. A conversation with last year's committee after the examinations was very satisfactory. Most of the unpleasantness that gave trouble some time ago has disappeared and the master's zeal and success were highly spoken of. [1899 03 08]

Buildings: Three [broken] panes of glass. The school is exceedingly draughty, through faults in the original construction.⁶⁷ There is reason to believe that the teachers are suffering in health through the draughts. Mr Young will consult a carpenter ... and submit a remedial scheme.

Gardens and Grounds: These are utilised by the master and his family to a very high degree. The people of the district cannot but be benefited by such an example.

Pump: Mr Young wishes to have a small hydraulic ram in exchange for the pump supplied by the Department, which is unsuitable for the locality. He is to make enquiries on the subject &⁶⁸ inform the Department. [1899 03 08]

Pope didn't miss much. He had crossed out an extra 'l' in Philip Searancke's name in the examination schedule.

⁶⁴Inspectors [male] have been known to run a finger round the picture rail to check the dusting; I never scored highly!

⁶⁵Given that the comment was related to the 'memory' aspect of Arithmetic, what did it imply about attitudes to 'theory', creativity, 'thinking', etc?

⁶⁶The marching into school, etc, should, it seems, have a military aspect.

⁶⁷Again, no mention of how broken. Would be very interested to know how long ago they were broken? Did they have to put up with broken windows and draughts until the Inspector arrived? It seems they did! I wonder how long the draughts had been a problem? The school had been in use fifteen years.

⁶⁸'&' often used, at least by Pope.

The hydraulic ram did not feature again, which was not surprising. I'm surprised it featured at all, for a ram requires a good head of water, and that was one thing flat-as-a-board, low-lying Te Kopua could not provide.⁶⁹

Pope had written comments on the schedule, just above the names of the four pupils in Standard IV recorded in the scholarship register:

Healthy and stout; Healthy and generally suitable; Healthy looking; Healthy boy, young.

The only reason for those comments that I can surmise is that if they were sickly, or something of that kind, he might not have recommended them for the examination register, which was the first step towards a scholarship. What "generally suitable" might have meant raises a host of questions. That one of the four was "young" was significant, for more generally pupils at Te Kopua were old for their standard.

There were 19 passes, 4 into Standard IV, with marks ranging from 4.5 - 8.0. 10 pupils were failed, with marks between 1.0 - 5.5. I have been unable to find a justification for failing pupils with 5.5 marks, and even 4.5, when there were 6 passes at 5.5 and passes at 4.5.

Three children with only 44 'attendances' were not examined; these would have been 'new entrants', and therefore not eligible for Standards.⁷⁰

Illness was never far away. Pope was not long gone when measles struck, and Young asked by telegram for " ... authority close school till Easter seven of family down with measles." [1899 03 27] Habens telegraphed in reply: "Very sorry to hear of the sickness in your family. Please close school and report on fourth April as to whether it will be safe to re-open." Young on 4 April responded: "Patients improving. Hope re-open sixth."

A letter from Young to Pope [1899 03 16] after the Inspection visit, suggested that Young had accompanied Pope on a journey.⁷¹ The journey was, it seems, very arduous; two days 'riding' or walking, but two other days when the horse and the buggy were not available to the owner from whom they had been leased, and therefore should have been paid for.

⁶⁹ We had a hydraulic ram on the farm at Awatuna, Taranaki; hence my knowledge of the necessary conditions for one to operate.

⁷⁰ Some of the examination results were as follows: Frank Young and Ruby Young, Rev and Mrs Young's children, were not passed into Standard V from Standard IV. Neither was given a mark in Arithmetic, and Ruby only 0.5 in each of the other three 'main' subjects, and only 0.5 for sewing. The other Young child, Alec, sailed into Standard II with 4.5, plus 1.0 for sewing. Ruby had 5.5 plus 1.0 for sewing in going from Standard III to Standard IV; Frank got 7.0. There is a conundrum there.

With one exception, failure involved failure to gain a mark in a subject; the exception received 4.0 plus 1.5 for sewing. Perhaps three 0.5s told against her. No pupil failed who received a mark in 'English and Composition' or 'Reading and Oral spelling'. I have not found what the difference between 'Oral Spelling' and 'Dictation' might be; perhaps there wasn't one. The 'Infant'⁷⁰ boys did sewing, and were examined in it. ⁷⁰ All got 1.0. [1899 03 08]

⁷¹ There is reference to Rotorua as Pope's next destination, but the trip is a mystery.

Young himself "ruined" a pair of new boots, and had to renew those, and also his coat. Pope had given him £1; that would cover the cost of boots and coat only, with nothing left for the horse and buggy, for four days total - two 'driving', but two also 'not available to the horse's owner to use', therefore should be paid for, and the buggy should be paid for. If it had to come out of Pope's pocket, Pope should not worry; if can come out of Departmental funds, then ... ? Young concluded with

I hope that the rest of your trip will be safely and pleasantly gone through, before Easter arrives, and that you will find Mrs Pope and the family well.

Another felicitous remark!

So far as I can read Pope's lengthy reply, if Young felt himself aggrieved, then he should write to the Department, and

It is by no means unlikely that the Dept will see its way where I do not.

Pope seems to have paid Mr Ormsby, judging by a later letter from Young, and in that letter Young noted that he had not talked to Ormsby, but had taken it upon himself to write to Pope.

By mid-1899 Young had decided they had been long enough at Te Kopua, and wrote to the department when he heard there might be a vacancy at Parawera, about the same distance to the east of Te Awamutu as Te Kopua was to the west.

I have been informed that it is contemplated to open a new School at Parawera ...kindly give the appointment to me ...

We are in no immediate hurry to leave here; and by no means tired of Te Kopua; but, there are two reasons ... scope for daughters - trained, one certificated, the other 4 years, good, etc. They like to live and work at home ... etc.

And , the other reason for wishing to leave here ... this place is so utterly shut in with streams, and rivers, and almost impassable roads, for 3 or 4 miles either way, that it is a very serious drawback to a family. All our provisions have to be brought in the most laborious way; and at twice the cost of Parawera; no vehicle can be brought nearer than 2 miles, unless a heavy dray, just in the height of summer. For a small family ... but, for us, a constant expense The school room, too, is so badly ventilated that we are either sickened with vitiated air or get sore throats through having the windows opened that are in line with our heads, as we stand to do our work. My daughter has to go for medical treatment now, to her throat; and it is all owing to the bad air or fierce draft [sic] of the room we teach in; a school built now, would be better ventilated.

We have no fault to find with the Natives here. The income is too limited, and the locality renders the situation difficult. We have done very much to improve the place, and this would be a loss, to leave behind.

Henry Young

In some respects, we would prefer the East Coast ... but to Dept, it would mean greater expense ... Parawera would mean but little expense. [1899 05 03]

Henry Young followed the theme of keeping expense down for the Department on several occasions.

Young had met Rev Taimona Hapimana, of the Church of England. Young asserted that there was a wish for a 'Christian' teacher at Parawera, and then continued:

I may add, that Taimona, is one of the most excellent and worthy maoris [sic] - both as a man and a Minister, - that I have met with: courteous, cultured, and a most earnest worker.

Young's letter continued:

It seems that Parawera Natives have been noted for their attachment to Hauhauism;⁷² but are now emerging into the freer air, and more hopeful condition, of a growing interest in Bible truth for themselves, and a desire to have their children educated. Taimona has for some time been visiting them regularly to conduct divine service for the people, and Sunday School for the children. And I learned ... that he had been talking some months ago with them, about me and my daughters, in connection with a contemplated school for their children, when they expressed an earnest wish, that, if they had a school, they might have a Teacher who would be able to help them on the Sabbath, by teaching them more about the Bible, and Bible Religion, as well as teaching the children in the school during the week. [1899 05 27]

A few days later, Young wrote that his daughter was in Hamilton Hospital with tonsils, the result of vitiate air or poor ventilation. [1899 06 01]

Young was caught himself. His teeth gave him trouble, so he telegraphed the department:

Kindly give leave absence Friday must see dentist; daughters will conduct school. [1899 10 25]

In his reply, Kirk gave the reason for his delayed [18 Nov] reply, and added, whilst not actually saying whether he granted the leave:

I hope that no inconvenience resulted.

But, Kirk could not resist also disciplining Young; he later advised

I may point out that the telegram is in effect a private one - should not have been made "Collect". [1899 10 25]

Measles affected the Te Kopua community for much of the 1899 year. Young, writing about the attendance at the school, informed the Department that there had been

...a very considerable falling off [because of] measles, [the reason why the school was] .. closed last Easter. It has been hanging around ... during the last month several families have all been laid aside with a second attack; my own, partially so, one of mine, especially, having had a severe attack. I did not think

⁷² Not surprisingly, Young was negative about Hauhauism; it did not ever get a good press.

the malady widespread enough to ask you to close school; but it will made our returns exceeding poor, for the quarter ... persisting of fearful weather."

The pre-occupation with attendance was because salary was partly attendance based, but, the consequences for the community were serious, Young having noted that " ... a number of deaths have called for Maori Tangis,⁷³ which hindered [attendance] as well." [1899 11 24]

Young was perhaps more concerned about the effect on his salary than the effect on the families and the community. Another consequence was that

My stock of medicines has been so run down, that it is nearly exhausted; and I hardly like to apply for more; as it is not many months since we had a supply. But the extra demand has necessitated using it faster than usual: cough mixture, especially; and I have several bad cases on hand among the children, now.

If the weather became more settled, it might perhaps bring about an improvement. [1899 11 24]

Worse was to come. Young telegraphed the Department that

Whooping cough now added to measles three my family ill Kindly authorise closing school until Dec eleven. Waiting Pirongia reply. [1899 10 25]

Young had, either on horseback or on foot, made his way to Pirongia, where he waited for the reply. Kirk's memorandum read "In the circumstances, I recommend [closure]," so Hogben telegraphed "You are authorised to close till eleventh."

The department could move in a hurry when necessary!

In the meantime, Gibbes had copied Young's earlier letter to the Justice Department, asking it to "Please see letter below referring to the teacher's stock of medicines," to which a Justice Department official replied: "I have authorised the purchase of a supply of medicines. [1899 11 29]⁷⁴

Dr William Habens had died, and George Hogben had succeed him as Inspector-General of Schools and Secretary for Education.

Rev Henry Young was a member of the Congregational Church. He wrote confidentially⁷⁵ asking for a testimonial from Pope and Kirk for admission to the Presbyterian Church.

⁷³ Young's use of "Tangis", tangi with an /s/, indicates his lack of knowledge of te reo Maori, in which number is not indicated with and /s/.

⁷⁴ The first Minister of Public Health, J G Ward, was appointed on 18 November, 1900 in the Seddon Ministry of 1893 - 1906. Justice was the one Ministry which had a country-wide mandate, and frequently it was a Resident Magistrate who was the administrative link between the Education Department and the Native Schools.

⁷⁵ Young's letter was to have been put in an envelope before circulation to Pope and Kirk, though there was no envelope in the file.

Henry Young

The difference between Congregationalism and Presbyterianism lies simply in Church Government. In all the great doctrines of the Gospel, and in the vital principles of Religious liberty, they are at one. But I have for several years had a growing conviction that the organisation of the Presbyterian Church renders it far better adapted to meet the needs of the people, especially in the country districts.

I feel it is my duty ... to return to the work of the ministry. I am not tired of the work God has enabled me, and my family, to do in Native School service, but we find it increasingly difficult, to educate and train our younger children, amid the surroundings of a Native School: there is nothing to stimulate or uplift them, but rather the opposite. With the older children, whose education was well on before we entered on the Native School work, it was very different. The influences, associations, and surroundings, in the Ministry, would probably be more helpful, than what would we now realise. My own heart, too, is yearning for the work to which I gave myself years ago; while the experience I have gained in school work would be helpful, in more ways than one. [1899 09 27]

Pope wrote the reply, including with it the testimonial he and Kirk had written.

As it seems that you will never be quite contented till you get back to regular ministry I suppose we must do our best to forward your plans of leaving us, but it really seems rather a pity that you and Miss Young should leave us now that you have just about got into our ways and are doing satisfactory work for us. Of course the [work] would not be so complete were it not for the unwritten law that we are not to appoint women to school unless in cases of very great urgency or difficulty.⁷⁶

The testimonial observed that

.... from the layman's point of view Mr Young is an able preacher. At Kopua Mr Young and his family have done good work amongst the children in giving them just views with regard to drinking and other evil habits of the time. Generally, we think it probable that Mr Young would be a strenuous and efficient worker in the field in which he aspires to serve. [1899 10 09]

Pope's letter suggests that, despite the quite considerable number of years he has been with the Native School service, Young had only "just about got into our ways" and the Youngs were doing "satisfactory" work. That reads as 'damning with faint praise'. I doubt it was what Pope meant, but it is what the Youngs could have read into it.

Earlier in the year, when he was seeking a transfer, Henry Young, after referring to a book, *Our Indian Sister*, by Rev E Storrton, which Pope apparently had given to him, went on to promote his son to Pope:

I may, perhaps quietly add, that, if anything is done after awhile, to remove me to Parawera, or elsewhere; my son Willie, would like to take up the work here, if that were agreeable to the Department. He is well qualified for teaching; and having an enthusiastic interest in Cricket and Football, he would be popular

⁷⁶ That observation is inexplicable. There were women as Head Teachers of Native Schools; the Misses Haszard have already featured in this study, in the Captain Beamish chapter above.

among the Maoris. ... I have done much to the place here, I should naturally, other things being equal, like him to have the advantage of it, in preference to a stranger. [1899 06 10]

Apart from why a child should be classified 'M.2',⁷⁷ the following letter from Young illustrates the aspirations of one parent for his children, plus one of the dynamics of whanau, which Young, it seems, did not fully understand; the use of 'contract' seems too Pakeha:

Willie Coffin, a Half caste, and whose children are "M.2", has a very bright little girl of 8, who is in the II Standard. He is very anxious to put her at Hukarere. They are members of the English Church. Is there not some provision for taking in little girls there, on similar terms to those on which little boys are taken in at St Stephen's? He has also a niece, a Maori, Paku Ngati by name, aged 9, that he would like to put in with Turia Coffin, his own child. Turia was "Loaned" to a family, where the home proves to be very unsuitable to the child; and he can break the contract only by sending the child away, to a distant school. The other girl - Paku - has no mother. [1900 01 24]

We know not what De Castro's private thoughts might have been, but his reply was quite unsympathetic;

...Dept is not concerned with any arrangements for the reception of children at St Stephens or at Hukarere, unless the children in question have passed Standard IV, or live in a district without a school. [1900 01 24]

Young, for reasons not in the record, neither went to Parawera nor left the service for the Congregational Church, but was transferred to Omaio, east of Opotiki. His spirit lingered on. His successor, William Frazer, wrote to the department that there " ... should be two forms ... what has become of them?"

De Castro, in a memorandum to Gibbes, supplied the information that formed the basis of Hogben's letter to Young:

In February, 1896, you were paid 24s. for timber on the ground that you had made, amongst other things, two forms for the school. The forms are not now in evidence. Please say what has become of them.

to which Young replied:

...as the forms were used in our kitchen, for the sewing class, one of them was unwittingly sold at the sale for 1/6, and the other one, I have just learned, was coolly carried off by the man who had bought the other. I had regarded one of them, as really belonging to me,⁷⁸ for the labour of making the two; but had no intention of its being sold, but left there. But I have written to the man who took the one away, to return it. I have also written to my son, who is still in Te Awamutu, to have one made, to complete the pair; so the thing will soon be put straight, all being well." [1900 04 20]

⁷⁷ Perhaps 'halfcaste' or 'quartercaste'.

⁷⁸ Underlining could be by Dept, not by Young; see Gibbes/Dept note above.

When they were safely ensconced at Omaio, Young and his daughter can only have been at least quietly satisfied by the reference to Te Kopua in the Department's Annual Report:

"The school grounds are made excellent use of by the master and his family; this is a very important kind of object-lesson in a country district. The arithmetic is rather weak here; in other respects there is great reason to be satisfied. The English and the spelling deserve high commendation, and so does the health-work. On the whole the results are very decidedly good. The Master's zeal and success give great satisfaction."⁷⁹

Henry Young, Mrs Young and Miss Edith Young were last reported in the Native School service at Omaio in 1903.⁸⁰ Their mana was high at Omaio.

Great teachers we had, the Youngs. The father, Mr Young, and the four girls. Mabel was a nice one. Jennie, she's good, but she's hard! When I went to work in Auckland, I stayed with them, and she was all right with me then.⁸¹

⁷⁹AJHR E2 1900.

⁸⁰AJHR E2 1904.

⁸¹ Binney, Judith and Chapman, Gillian, *Ngā Mōrehu: The Survivors*, p 57.

7

1900 - 1901

W Frazer

W Frazer was thirty-five years of age when he was appointed to Te Kopua. [1900 02 17] His name does not appear in the Annual Report of the Department in the preceding years, and the record divulges neither what he and Mrs Frazer were doing before he was appointed to Te Kopua, nor what his qualifications for teaching were. His salary was £105 1 1; Young had received £128 14 15¹

Frazer did not commence his duties until the beginning of March. [1900 03 01] The Young family was on the way to Omaio on 10 February. Pope's comment in his inspection report confirms the children missed at least a month of school. [1900 03 14] The conclusion can be drawn that the department thought Omaio more important than Te Kopua. It is not the only time in this story that, despite its protestations, the department appears to have thought other schools more important than Te Kopua.²

Frazer experienced his first inspection just a fortnight after re-opening the school. [1900 03 14] Pope recorded that the new committeemen were W Searancke³, Te Katipa, George Emmery, Walter Searancke, and Mr T Hughes.⁴

Pope then reported that "The dry weather has been at work here as elsewhere," an observation that was *not* often called for at Te Kopua! His observations on 'Order' and 'Tone' again suggest that Pope preferred a non-authoritarian form of discipline but, in this case, he was not going to allow anyone to interpret his remarks as indicating that he was in any way

¹AJHR E2, 1900

²It is of course possible, even probable, that many schools experienced the same kind of decisions. Only further close examination of the records of other schools will reveal if what happened to Te Kopua happened to many schools.

³W Searancke was probably Wm (William) Searancke.

⁴This is not the only time the form of reporting names and salutations varied. Why T Hughes should be *Mr* T Hughes escapes me! I am almost sure all were Maori. Why Te Katipa should not have an initial also escapes me.

countenancing 'dis-order'. He pointed out that the order was not near as good as it might be, but, positive as usual, things were getting better. On what he based this judgement is a mystery.

Order: The order is fair and, I should imagine, on the upward grade. The master without being in any way weak has a very pleasant way with the children. The order is going to be good.

Tone: The children are taking well to the master; so also are the parents, so far as I can hear. I confidently expect to find a very good tone here next year.⁵

Cleanliness appears again, as does spitting, although perhaps the cleanliness of the children was only a surface impression!

A good appearance was made, the children *appearing* to be clean. They were all comfortably dressed. No spitting was observed. [1900 03 14]⁶

Seven pupils passed, with marks ranging between 4.0 and 6.5. Ten pupils failed; their marks ranged between 0.5 and 4.5. Again, the significant variable appeared to be failure to score in Arithmetic, not even gaining 0.5 marks. Six of the ten who failed were 'Infant' boys.

This next aspect of the inspection made it quite clear that the 'system' had priority over the pupils, though whether any of the participants in it or victims of it realised that is another matter. Pope commented that

Considering that there has been a very long interval since the school was closed for the holidays I think the children have done fairly well. Many who would, under ordinary conditions, have passed, have failed to quite reach the required proficiency, or perhaps I should say to retain it. [1900 03 14]

Pope had identified the consequences of Te Kopua being closed for a lengthy interval for at least some of this group of children; he was prepared to not pass them, whilst acknowledging that if justice had been done they would have been passed to the next standard. As it was, they had to wait another year. The Annual Report recorded the episode thus:

Considering that there had been a very long interval since the closing of the school for the holidays, it may be said that the children did very fairly well at examination. It should be stated, also, that many who would have got through under ordinary conditions failed to quite reach the required standard of proficiency merely because they were somewhat "rusty". It seems to me never justified to play fast and loose with the standards, seeing that "hard lines" are nearly always made up for, with interest, at the next examination.⁷

⁵ He had a way with words; what he really meant is less clear.

⁶ Emphasis added.

⁷ *AJHR* 1901, E2, p8.

To have "made an exception with the standards" in this case would seem to have been justified; it certainly would not have been "playing fast and loose" with them. I have not noticed any case where a child 'skipped' a class at an examination, so on what Pope based his judgement "that hard lines are nearly always been made up, with interest, at the next examination," I have not discovered. The affected children were ill-served by Pope's policy.

It is unlikely that Pope made the link to the fact that the Department had ensured a teacher at Omaio sooner than a teacher at Te Kopua!

In his comments upon curriculum areas, Pope used 'still' very frequently. I suppose Frazer would have clearly understood that Young had not corrected all errors the children were prone to, which may have given him confidence; if an experienced teacher was not always totally successful, he could feel less guilty if he were not. More importantly, Pope's use of 'still' had no merit; the possibility of a child at primary school, and even more to the point, at a Native primary school, not 'still' needing guidance in all areas of learning, is very unlikely indeed!

Reading: Increased fluency is still necessary in Standard I.

Pronunciation: Great care is still required with the younger children.

English: Formation of sentences and correction of errors still need attention.

Commenting further on English, Pope wrote that "Maori difficulties need attention," from which I infer that the children were 'following' Maori grammar and word order when writing English.

It was not a lot of help to Frazer to tell him that Arithmetic was "The weakest subject at the present time," and that in Geography "Standard II needs hardening up." Perhaps it was a case of having to say something, because the space was on the inspection form.

Writing in his inspection report about methods in general, Pope recommended that

"Grouping" is a commendable practice, but in a Maori school it must be used with much caution; care must be taken that none of the work done by a group is beyond the capacity of any of the classes composing it. This rule applies very specially to reading. ... There is very little use in teaching the ABC; it should be picked up. Great care must be taken in teaching any branch of language work - reading, English, dictation - to adequately prepare pupils for the work to be taken in hand. The Teacher's work is rather to prevent mistakes than to correct them. Where original work is given it should be well within the children's powers.

The 'grouping' observation appeared in a modified form in the Annual Report:

.... "Grouping" is, properly, made considerable use of here; and it really is an admirable device, but care must be taken in the case of Maoris that no work done by the group is beyond the power of any members of it.⁸

Pope's advice, to ensure that all members of a group could do the work being addressed, is admirable, but he was at pains to make clear that the caution he expressed didn't apply to Pakeha. No doubt he had his reasons,⁹ but at this distance, and as a retired teacher of primary children, Juniors especially, I cannot understand why he should express the caveat. What 'grouping' entailed, and what it replaced, is not explained. There is no evidence that individualised instruction, as practised in the 'dame schools' of nineteenth century England¹⁰, was encouraged. Examinations resulting in pass or fail and 'grouping' are in theory essentially contradictory. The presumption was that children were taught in the classes they were classified into at the annual examination,¹¹ but perhaps there was evolving an understanding that the children in any given class were not necessarily a homogenous group, and that further grouping could well be desirable. Certainly it is possible for a child to, eg, score well in Reading and not well in Arithmetic; it probably is the case more than it is not the case. If the consequences of the actuality of the system of standards, examinations, and passes were becoming understood, that understanding represented a definite advance. Nothing I have read in the record gives me any advice on Pope's thinking.

I can make no sense of "There is very little use in teaching the ABC; it should be picked up." Knowledge of such things as the names or sounds of the letters of the alphabet are, if the children are in school, best learned in some systematic way, as enjoyably as possible. Other advice given by the inspectors about making sure the children knew their lessons contradicts this advice, for instance Pope's observation that Geography in Std II needed "hardening up."

⁸AJHR 1901, E2, p8.

⁹As I observe more than once in this study, these people were "men of their times", and to them Maori were by definition inferior to Pakeha, and so different provision was 'natural'.

¹⁰Gardner, Phil, *The Lost Elementary Schools of Victorian England*. It became clear to me, as I read the several descriptions of the practice of the 'dame' [A very few were men] teachers, that they worked with one child at a time, whilst the other children got on with their reading and other studies. That is 'individualised instruction'. I used the practice in the last few years of my career as a teacher of junior children in a contributing school, when helping children learn to read. I knew of no other teacher who used the technique, though I know it was practised.

¹¹In which regard it was apparently the case that children, if successful, passed into the next standard at the time they were examined. In the case of Te Kopua, that was for a good many years March or soon after. I wonder what happened if a child, examined and passed in March, then moved to a school examined in June. Was the child re-examined (and perhaps failed?) or did that child have to wait until *June the following year*, ie fifteen months later, before being again examined and so able to move to the next standard? Frazer, following this examination, wrote asking for certificates, etc, so parents of children promoted to Standard V could consider further schooling, I presume at St Stephens or Hukarere. Could eligible children go on to further schooling then and there, or did they have to wait until the beginning of the next school year?

The later part of Pope's report, stating that

Great care must be taken in teaching any branch of language work - reading, English, dictation - to adequately prepare pupils for the work to be taken in hand,

followed by

The Teacher's work is rather to prevent mistakes than to correct them. Where original work is given it should be well within the children's powers,

makes any attempt to characterise Pope's understanding of the teaching/learning process difficult. In spelling, it is understandable to have pupils learn a set of words, and then devise a sentence for dictation containing only words already learned. In reading, teaching the recognition of words at sight in isolation prior to the reading of text was perhaps usual, for reading books frequently had a list of new word at the beginning of each chapter. For English, which would include written English, the model seems quite inappropriate.

We have no way of knowing what verbal or demonstrated advice was proffered, but if Frazer was confused by the written advice in the record, he has my sympathy.

That Frazer was able to write

Please forward half a dozen Standard Certificate Forms, and four or five forms of application for use when parents apply to get their children into one of the higher schools. [1900 03 30]

indicates that he thought it possible that the parents of the promoted Std IV pupils might want them to go on with their schooling. However, the first part of the next letter indicates the parents were not sending their children on to a higher school, but they did want them to continue in some sort of schooling. In a Board school, they would have simply gone on to Std V, but the Native schools, until about this time, stopped at Std IV.¹²

Frazer clearly understood that the marks pupils were given, and the passes they gained, could affect his salary.

I am somewhat at a loss to know what to do with Mary Searancke, Victoria Hughes, and Rangi Katipa. You may remember they passed Standard IV when you were here last March. To make a V class will take a deal of my time from the other classes, and if they would leave before next examination it would hardly be fair for me or the other children. Is there a higher IV? Can you tell me the work demanded for V Standard? If I keep them in the IV will their marks count next year?

Tony and Daisy Ormsby are now living at Kawhia.

¹²Cf Barrington and Beaglehole, *Maori Schools*, p 144; the revised *Native Schools Code, 1897*, now detailed the standards to apply to Standards V and IV.

I have several children in the preparatory class who will not be good enough for the I standard this year. Is it possible to get any marks for them? Or do their marks only commence to count when they are in Standard I?

to which Pope replied:

There is no objection to your working in the same standard for a time children who have passed Standards. The attendances of children so working would count, but their gaining 'effective' marks in that standard is of course out of the question. You will find full information in the Code and the Standards of Education with regards to Standard V. The Code also gives very full and complete information about marks. I send you a copy of the "Standards of Education."¹³ [1900 08 11]

There were at that time no Ormsby children attending Te Kopua.

We are familiar with rabbit plagues in the South Island, but Te Kopua experiencing a rabbit problem is something new!

I have the honour to ask if I shall be permitted to purchase two rolls of wire netting at the Dept expense. The reason I ask is this viz: The place is over-run with rabbits and I find it impossible to grow anything in the garden. I have sown seeds twice this season and have had them destroyed both times by the pests, so my labour was lost.

If the teacher's garden is to be an example to the Natives, I think the least the Dept can do is to make the fence rabbit proof.

The Natives themselves all have their gardens enclosed with wire netting. [1900 06 15]

The departmental reply made clear a duty of teachers which was made less clear when Young was at the school:

You do not send an estimate of cost or specifications of gauge along with your request for.... Netting. Teachers are always expected to ascertain the cost of what they ask for - approximately at all events." [1900 06 15]

The second sentence is confirmation that Frazer was new to the service. He did his duty, and informed the department that

Wire is 15/6 roll. Roll is 50yds ... need 3 rolls. Hoping for an early reply as the season for gardening is passing and without netting the rabbits destroy everything. [13 08 1900]

Frazer was just a little cheeky to assert, in *August*, that " ... the season for gardening is passing...", but then, he may have realised the Department was not always as speedy as it might be. I suppose he got his wire, one of his duties being to set a good example for the natives, but the record is silent!

¹³I would have expected the document to be standard equipment in a Native School.

Despite the fact that at some time Mrs Frazer was appointed as assistant, the record is silent until the next inspection, almost a year to the day after the previous one. The themes are constant, but they bear repeating, for the Department's priorities become clearer and clearer, as the inspection in 1901 demonstrates. [1901 03 14]

Schoolroom is scrupulously clean. The floor is, evidently, constantly kept in good order. It is perhaps to be regretted that the buildings have been so long unpainted.

Desks are free from ink stains. Long and hard wear has made maps rather shabby. Clock is right. Bell is very bright. Portrait of the late Queen is decently draped. Blackboard of bad construction is out of order. Children [in school attire]¹⁴ are satisfactorily clean; they make quite a respectable appearance. There was no indication of the prevalence of unlawful methods of cleaning slates.¹⁵

The garden is very neat and pretty; there are some elegant flower plots with a capital assortment of flowers in front of the house, and fruit and vegetable gardens at the side of it. On the whole there is much reason to be satisfied. The principal improvement is in the matter of tidiness.

The timetable has been constructed with care and thought. The following features may be noted: In Stand. IV four hours are devoted to arithmetic work, including mental.¹⁶ Time given to English might with advantage be increased. The work of valuing the table¹⁷ would be much easier if there were a table of distribution of subjects.

That Frazer got such high commendation for his timetable suggests that he was not new to teaching. If he was not new, there was no evidence of where he taught. On the other hand, the timetable might have been Young's.

Read with Pope's observations about 'grouping' in 1900, this next observation is interesting. Pope was correct, [it was possible, though not probable, that the pupils could read at the higher level] but why did he not also tell Frazer that it was undesirable, even wrong, for pupils to work at levels they had already successfully mastered? Given the nature of the examination and promotion system, that would be the case for Standard IV pupils reading at a Standard III level.

...Standard III and IV read work for fourth class. This is wrong; if taken together they should use books for Class III;¹⁸ it is hurtful for children to read work that is beyond them.

¹⁴ What counts as 'school attire' is a mystery. I can only presume the children had a set of clothes for wearing to school, and another set for wearing out of school.

¹⁵ The use of "unlawful" applied to the cleaning of slates is unusual, to say the least! I presume he meant there was no use of spit.

¹⁶ There was nothing to indicate what is meant by this cryptic observation.

¹⁷ I presume Pope meant 'timetable'.

¹⁸ The use of 'Class' instead of 'Standard' is not uncommon.

If Frazer was new to teaching, Pope's assessment of his management of Te Kopua indicates he quite likely was a 'natural' teacher:

Order: Pupils seem to be well in hand; what little noise there is, is legitimately connected with the work. Changes are effected rapidly & without disorder.

Punishments: The rule appears to be mild, but very effective. The master thinks well of his pupils, & his references to them are always indicative of kindly feeling.

Tone: Pupils work diligently. There is a good understanding between teachers and pupils. W Frazer has a very pleasant way of speaking to his pupils; this, I am convinced, is very powerful for good."

Pope's assessment of the school appeared in the Annual Report thus:

The rule here is mild, but effective. The master's relations with his pupils are kindly. The school did remarkably well, and gave promise of satisfactory future development - that, of course, if the existing attendance can be increased, or at least maintained. The people of this district well understand what is for their good, and it may be hoped that they will do their best for the school.

Pope took it for granted that schooling was a benefit. There is ample evidence that most often these parents went to considerable trouble and expended much effort to ensure their children received their schooling; Pope's comment that " ... it may be hoped they will do their best ... " was an unfortunate mis-reading of their usual attitude; it may say more about Pope's attitude towards Maori!

I have before remarked on issues surrounding the nature of this part of the Department's Annual Report to Parliament. For what purpose were observations such as the one above included? It is most unlikely that under normal circumstances these parents ever saw the Annual Report. The report was circulated to all Native Schools; I have not seen instructions that the report was to be shown to the committees. Were such observations designed to reinforce communities in their good behaviour if such was reported, or to shame communities into good behaviour when the opposite was reported? Perhaps they were designed as a form of in-service training, by describing good or bad practice.

There are repetitions in the remarks in the inspection report on curriculum areas, but there are new and interesting points as well, particularly concerning "reading backwards",¹⁹ and ways of teaching spelling:

Reading: Children are getting on, but pronunciation is not quite as good as it was; and pronunciation is all important - it carries correct spelling & good English with it.

¹⁹ At times recommended as a proofreading technique; most unusual in helping children learn to read. It could only have been designed to ensure the readers knew words at sight.

Pronunciation: this is the only matter in which there has been retrogression; it is slight.

English: Except in pronunciation, some progress is being made.

Methods: Children should not lounge while reading.²⁰ Word-by-word reading is [no] real use, but only when the words of the lesson are taken backwards; forward reading should always be taken in a natural tone of voice; else we have broken and disjointed utterances.

The English language with its anomalous spelling does not conveniently yield itself to the Alphabetic method. Of course this method has to be taken up eventually, but its use should be deferred until all has been got that can be got out of the phonic and the Look and Say methods. In using simultaneous reading great care must be taken to secure correct pronunciation from the very beginning; otherwise ineradicable [sic] bad habits will be formed. Every reading lesson given to Maoris should be carefully prepared in class before actual reading begins; that is every obstacle to correct reading and pronunciation should be removed before the children read. Children must never be allowed to stumble through a lesson with the hope that fewer faults will occur by and by.

English lesson by Mistress was, like all her work, definite and strong; there were two main faults in a lesson good in principle: - [1] The teacher was too easily satisfied in the matter of pronunciation; [2] It was assumed that when a question was once answered, all the children in the class had mastered the detail in hand.

Pope's several points of emphasis in that section of his report indicate where he thought the important issues in the teaching and learning Maori children lay. When he advised that

Every reading lesson given to Maoris should be carefully prepared in class before actual reading begins; that is every obstacle to correct reading and pronunciation should be removed before the children read. Children must never be allowed to stumble through a lesson with the hope that fewer faults will occur by and by,

I understand him to have believed that solid oral work, and the pre-learning of all vocabulary in the passage, was necessary before reading could be successful. His choice of words suggests that he did not include comprehension when assessing 'correct' reading; central to his concerns appears to have been that the reading should 'sound' correct.²¹ Reference to phonics is to be expected, but I was a little surprised to see "Look and Say"; I had thought it was promulgated later than 1900.²²

²⁰ I sat up immediately I re-read that whilst proofing.

²¹ This was H B Kirk's 'direct method', which had been outlined in the Department's Annual Report for 1902. [AJHR E2, 1902, pp 14-15.]. Cf Barrington and Beaglehole, *Maori Schools*, pp 134-135.

²² The much-maligned look and say method has a longer history than the fury it engendered when it became standard practice after World War II; the fury suggested it had a reasonably short history. Its combination with phonics suggests a reasonably viable reading-learning practice.

The names of Kahu Hughes and Philip Searancke were entered in the Scholarship Register.²³ Kahu was described as a "Healthy looking girl" and Philip as a "Remarkably strong well grown boy." I can only observe that I find these remarks fascinating. The same applies to these remarks by Pope:

This district is further ahead than most of those we have to deal with; The European element has comprised men of ability and worth.

On the whole the two days' work that we have done here has been very pleasant. The school has done remarkably well and gives promise of satisfactory developments in the future, if only the present attendance can be maintained or somewhat increased.

What is one to make of "The European element *has comprised men of ability and worth*?²⁴ Does not now comprise? The gratuitous point presumably is that the qualities the Natives have are due to Maori women marrying Pakeha men. Neo-Darwinism in action?²⁵

The attendances of two pupils [422 and 411 half-days] indicate that the school year had been well over the 400 half-days that were the requirement in my teaching career.

As I read through the inspection report, it became apparent that W W Bird had accompanied Pope. Bird eventually succeeded Mr Kirk, who was appointed Professor of Biology at Victoria University College, now Victoria University of Wellington, but at this time Bird was "Organising Instructor and Practical Teacher."²⁶ Pope recorded that

Mr Bird gave his usual English lesson. This will be very effective if teachers will only take a considerable amount of trouble in rendering themselves able to wield the lesson well; that is to bring out all its points.

The handwork demonstration was given on the first evening of our stay at Kopua, where we were detained by inclement weather. All lessons appeared to meet with thorough appreciation.

The 'handwork' note implies the demonstration was made to parents as well as to teachers. These demonstration lessons were the first 'non-written' in-service training recorded in the Te Kopua archive.

During the inspection, and later when back in Wellington, Pope had also to deal with the bridge and the punt.

²³ Once entered in the Scholarship Register, children were eligible to go to a Maori secondary school, for instance, St Stephens and Hukarere.

²⁴ Emphasis added

²⁵ I have an extensive collection of books written for young people published from later in the nineteenth century. The attitudes towards 'natives' are at times shattering. It is no wonder racism is endemic still in the 1990s! Also, the role of the 'half-castes' in the initial opening of Te Kopua has still to be explored, but it seems probable that it was significant.

In the course of the usual inspection of the buildings, Pope " ... agreed to painting, two coats, with the best paint, inside and out of school and house, along with a range of other work." The total cost was £36.5.0. If the organ could be repaired for £2, the department should make a grant. Hogben recommended to Hon W C Walker²⁷ that he approve an expenditure of £35. Walker approved, and Frazer was instructed to call tenders. [1901 09 26] As a consequence a builder, C J Rickit, wrote saying much more needed doing, plus there was the extra cost of paying Maoris 5/- to cross river, if he was unable to ford it with a team of horses. There were several notes in the file indicating the Department thought Frazer was not doing anything about the repairs, etc, but eventually he wrote reporting that he had " ... advertised in Waikato papers viz *Times* and *Argus*, but only one contractor had tendered, ... " ie, Rickit. Frazer agreed more tenders were needed. He thought someone competent should see the school and report on what was necessary. The barge boards on the school were in a very bad state of repair, and several other repairs were also necessary. [1901 10 08] Frazer wrote with the tender from Rickit, on which Pope observed that "Mr Rickit does not intend to lose anything by this contract." Pope thought Rickit was overcharging. Pope did not want to recommend the acceptance of the quotation, but thought they should get professional advice. Public Works was asked to send its man on to Te Kopua after he had been to Te Woatu, for Rickit has put in a very comprehensive quote. It seemed there was a *lot* of work to be done; the place must have become pretty run down. [1902 02 10] The memoranda indicate that the house had two bedrooms; if that were so, how had the Young family fitted in? At last, in 1902, when Frazer was well gone and C T McFarlane was in residence, McFarlane received a letter from the Department:

The Minister has sanctioned the acceptance of Mr C T Rickit's tender of £74 8 6 for repairs, painting, etc, provided that he is willing for the same amount to give a second coat of paint inside and to repair any blocks or plates that need attention. The chimney is to be rebuilt [should be all iron], and not iron and wood, to obviate danger from fire. Please see that vines are cleared away sufficiently to remove all obstacles to the work. [1901 03 14]

In addition to the indication of the wide duties of a Native School teacher, it took a year to get the work approved, and quite likely another two or three months before it was finished; Rickit cannot have been impressed, and, it is no wonder Frazer asked to be transferred,

²⁶He had been appointed to this position at the beginning of the year, to introduce into the schools the new scheme of handwork and manual instruction drawn up by Hogben. [Beaglehole and Barrington, *Maori Schools*, p 130.]

²⁷ Minister of Education.

with this added to other issues! Frazer wrote to the Department in August 1901, outlining his concerns and his wishes:

...Likely to be a school ... at Parawera. ... [I would] very much like appointment. Owing to sickness, wet weather, and removals, this school has got very low. So far this quarter I have not averaged 12. [1901 08 06]

The migratory tendencies of the Te Kopua community is a continuing theme. It will be useful if in due time evidence emerges which explains the phenomena.²⁸

Parawera must have been a difficult school to be appointed to. Young had failed to be appointed to it, and Frazer went to Whareponga instead of to Parawera. The circumstances and time of his transfer are not recorded; the Frazers just departed. Frazer was still in the service in 1929, at Tokomaru Bay, aged 64, on a salary of £285.²⁹ On the evidence of this record, he contributed long and effectively and sympathetically to schooling for Maori.

²⁸Loss of land was an issue at several points in this story; whilst loss of land was a major cause of families moving, there most probably were other reasons. On the matter of land and its alienation from Maori ownership, the Annual Reports of the Native Department are illuminating; in the case of Te Kopua and the King Country, more particularly those sections contributed by Government Native Agent G T Wilkinson. Included in the reports are tables of "Lands finally acquired" and "Lands partially acquired". Suffice to say here that Wilkinson was very, very vigorous in his efforts to open the King Country to Pakeha settlement and to encourage Maori to sell their land.

²⁹*AJHR* E2 1930. That was, unfortunately, the last year the department included the staffing of Native Schools in the Annual Report.

8

1901 - 1903

Charles Thomas McFarlane and Margaret McFarlane

Charles Thomas McFarlane and Margaret McFarlane arrived at Te Kopua in Term 3, 1901. The record tells nothing of their careers before becoming Native School teachers. Margaret McFarlane is not in the record as teaching at Te Kopua, but was included on the staff in 1904; why she does not get a mention in the files may reflect a failure to file all correspondence, or it may merely be that she was a woman and an assistant, and as was often the case, they got less mention than their role warranted.¹

McFarlane was informed by telegram, in response to correspondence not in the file, that

...salary is paid from date ready begin work. Native school committee no power to deal with questions concerning opening and closing schools. [1901 11 13]

Pope noted in a memorandum that McFarlane was new, so they should show leniency over his taking advice from the Committee on the opening of the school.

Prior to that, the Government Life Office had written to the Department, stating that McFarlane wanted to use some of his spare time canvassing for insurance. Someone must have assessed there was a sufficient number of potential clients in the district to warrant such an appointment; the implication must be that there were significant numbers of Pakeha living near Te Kopua, for I doubt many Maori would be likely clients. The department's reply was an unequivocal refusal of the request. [1901 10 22]

¹*AJHR*, E2, 1905, Native School Staff List.

McFarlane's first inspection was at the end of April, a month later than usual. [1902 04 26] Kirk was still with the Department, and he found things "Generally satisfactory; mental arithmetic slow." He dwelt on Mental Arithmetic in Standards I and II at length:

The exercises were concrete and good, but they constituted an examination rather than a lesson. At this stage, when say, addition is being taken it would be well to go over the combinations in groups: Instead of going from 8 plus 5 to 9&6, it is advisable to take 5 & 8, 5 & 18, 18 & 5, 25 & 8, 35 & 8, 38 & 5, and so on.² All questions should be answered in complete English sentences.

His pedagogical advice was sound, and exhortations to ensure children answered in complete sentences, somewhat less sound in retrospect, are with us still. He also had some sound advice in the language area. After commenting that the Reading lacked fluency, he advised:

Seeing that children cannot read well what they do not understand, all probable difficulties should be dealt with before the children actually begin to read. This remark does not apply, of course, to practise in reading at sight. The children are inclined to stop after each word;³ fluency should be aimed at from the first.

English, in an assessment of work in the Primers, was

Not very strong: there is a lack of good spoken English. The lesson covered too much ground and was too discursive. There was nothing to show that children that made mistakes at the beginning of the lesson had learnt during the lesson to avoid that mistake.

Kirk told McFarlane that Dictation and Spelling were "A little weak in the upper standards." I hope he gave McFarlane some sound advice that he did not record.

Kirk gave McFarlane 9 out of 10 and "Good order" for his discipline.

There is very little punishment: standing on the form is generally sufficient and that is not often necessary.

TONE: The children work honestly and appear to be fond of the teacher. I observe that they do not salute him.

The whakamaa⁴ engendered by having to stand on a form and be the object of the other children's attention would have been a vigorous punishment; for Maori, it would *not have been a mild punishment*. I wonder what "saluting the teacher" involved? Physically, or verbally?

Kirk thought the children " ... look clean... " and he did not " ... notice any objectionable habits," whatever *they* might be. Spitting would be one!

If a teacher wished to "help children learn what they should know" rather than "teach them what they should know", the advice would be different. Within the constraints of then cur-

² That was sound advice; it is still.

³ An issue in an earlier year, the result I suspect of too much emphasis on teaching children to recognise words in isolation.

⁴ Shame.

rent understandings of learning and teaching, Kirk gave neophyte McFarlane some sound general advice:

Mr McFarlane teaches carefully and intelligently; but it can do no harm to suggest the following questions that he should put to himself at the beginning of each lesson: [1] Exactly what do I wish to teach these children this half-hour? [2] What is the best way of teaching it? At the close of the lesson he should be in a position to answer such questions as these: [1] Have I succeeded in teaching each child in the class what I intended to teach: And have I ascertained by careful and sufficient test work & individual test work, that I have succeeded. If not, why?⁵

Kirk concluded by judging that

The school is a very small one, but it is a good one. It is to be hoped that the people will not allow it to be closed. Mr McFarlane gives promise of being a very good teacher. The results are, in the main, decidedly satisfactory. [1902 04 26]

Just a few days later, Hogben sent McFarlane a telegram advising him that [W W] Bird would be visiting " ... about Thursday and Friday next in connection with handwork." [1902 05 02] Bird had visited Te Kopua with Pope the year before, and had given demonstration lessons, [1901 03 14] but he was now visiting on his own, but he was apparently dealing only with handwork; during the visit in 1901 he also " ... gave his usual English lesson."

I have previously noted that holidays appeared to be movable, but in this case permission to vary the dates was only reluctantly given.

I wish to know whether you can grant me permission to take the mid-winter holidays during the week commencing Monday July 21st instead of the week provided by the code.

Mrs McFarlane will be in Auckland expecting to be confined during that week and if convenient I would like to have the holidays then. [1902 05 15]

The reply noted that for once the request would be granted, then went on to note that

The Department, however, nearly always regards requests for alteration of dates of school holidays with disfavour. Its view is that holidays are instituted and arranged for the benefit of the school children mainly, and after full consideration; and that, as a rule, they should be tampered with as little as possible. [1902 05 15]

In the event, McFarlane was presumably not at his wife's confinement; the holiday was not taken because the contractor was working in the school. Because the contractor had not finished, the school re-opened after the holiday a couple of days late. [1902 07 14]

McFarlane's letter conveying that information drew this response from Sir E O Gibbes:

I observe that the word until is spelt untill in your letter of the 14th instant. As letters from Native School teachers are recorded in the office, and become official documents, which are brought before Ministers and officers of high position, it is well for teachers to endeavour to avoid leaving themselves open to remark.

Gibbes' letter speaks for itself!

⁵The wording of this observation suggests the report was written 'after the event', and not seen by McFarlane until after it was seen within the Department.

Early in the New Year, McFarlane wrote asking for a transfer⁶ to Puniho, Taranaki,⁷ and, if that was not possible, then he made a general application for transfer. [1903 01 13] However, he was transferred to Otamauru. He and Margaret were at Otamauru and their next school very briefly, then stayed in other schools for considerable periods. Margaret was last in the record at Whareponga, in 1928, but Charles was still in the record in 1929,⁸ at Matapihi. His salary at Whareponga was £185 0 0; at Matapihi it had gone up to £295 0 0, which indicates he had received a very considerable promotion.⁹

Like many of the teachers in this record, Charles and Margaret McFarlane entered Native School teaching quite unprepared, but went on to long and apparently honourable careers.

⁶For reasons unstated.

⁷There were three Native Schools in Taranaki, open collectively for 15 years in the decades either side of 1900. The two in South Taranaki were in the decade before 1900, which suggests that Te Whiti was less influential there; I wonder about the influence of the campaigns of Titokowaru in South Taranaki. There is no doubt the history of confiscation and of events centred on Parihaka largely kept Native Schools out of Taranaki. [Barrington's maps record a school in Taranaki that, if the National Archives listing is accurate, did not exist, but miss the three that did exist because they were not open in 1990. See Barrington, J M, "Maori Attitudes to Pakeha Institutions after the Wars: ... ", *NZJES*, 6:1,1971. p 27.

⁸The last year Native School teachers were separately listed in the Annual Report to Parliament

⁹It is very unlikely there had been a significant general salary increases; the depression of the 1920s would have precluded salary increases.

9

1903 - 1904

William Nixon Coughlan and Isabelle Aida Mary Coughlan

William Nixon Coughlan was born on 1 July 1874. Coughlan was prior to his appointment to Te Kopua a curate at Egmont Village.¹ He met at Egmont Village a young woman whom he asked to marry him. She responded that not until he had reversed his collar and worn it properly would she so do.² Thus did Coughlan leave the church and become a teacher in a Native School. He was therefore a new teacher,³ and thus received an impressive set of documents in his envelope: Native School Code and supplement, a copy of the Civil Service Reform Act, and the Insurance Act. Coughlan wrote he would comply with that last as soon as possible.

It appears the Chief Postmaster Auckland wanted Coughlan to be a sub-postmaster; it is probable McFarlane, his predecessor, was one also.⁴

Coughlan opened the school on 23 March 1903. Te Kopua was closed for four weeks.⁵ He reported that the house and grounds were not left in the best of condition, so he had much more to do! He had asked, in a letter dated 6 March, for an Inspector as soon as possible. The Department acceded; the visit was on 25 March, two days after the re-opening of the school, and eleven months after the previous examination inspection. The inspector was probably due about that time anyway, so perhaps the department did not *accede*.

¹ Inland from New Plymouth.

² Richard Coughlan, their son, speaking at the launch of *Nga Kura Maori: The Native School System 1867 – 1969* at the University of Auckland, 9 July, 1998.

³ Confirmed in his Logbook and by a later request for leave to visit another school for advice and training. [1903 09 07]

⁴ There was provision for the Head Teacher of a Native School to also be a Postmaster in the 1897 Code. See Department of Education, *The Native Schools Code 1897*, p 19.

⁵ Coughlan's logbook, first entry. Coughlan's son has his logbooks, which he took from school to school. A copy is held at the Research Unit for Maori Education, Education Department, University of Auckland. They are understood to be his 'personal' logbooks. The common understanding, however, is that logbooks were an important part of the record-keeping of each school. I am reminded that Beamish appeared to express some surprise that he had found a logbook left by Ireland, and because he had not been supplied with one, had made some notes in it. There are no inspectors' signatures in Coughlan's logbook, which confirms its 'personal' status.

Pope arrived for the annual inspection visit and

Thought it desirable to dispense with inspection on the present occasion, and to talk over with the Master and his assistant⁶ the various matters likely to cause him difficulty or perplexity. We have, I think, dealt more or less completely with all the salient points connected with our work. One result of the discussion has been to give me the impression that our most recent addition to our staff is likely to turn out satisfactory. ... no need despair utterly [the school] will stay open. I judge that the Maoris are taking well to the new staff. ... I have no doubt that Mr and Mrs Coughlan will do well here; they have made an excellent impression on the Maoris. [1903 03 25]⁷

The visit was recorded in the Annual Report thus:

As the new master, Mr Coughlan, had been in charge only three days, no ordinary inspection was held. Both he and his wife had already made a very favourable impression. ... Kopua has in the past done very good work, and, with the assistance of the elders, there is hope for its continuance.⁸

Pope had a new inspection form to complete. He was consistent with previous years, and with Kirk the year before, especially in Reading. Pronunciation drew the remark that "Too much care cannot be spent on securing absolute correctness," whilst in Reading Coughlan should "Teach children to read clause by clause; not word by word."⁹ Accept no mispronunciation." In English, Pope noted that "The aim is to have English fluent, abundant, and correct. Endeavour to make the children converse with one another in complete sentences."¹⁰ He recorded that the "Children talk whilst doing their lessons; otherwise they are orderly," and for Tone he "Gathers it is likely to be improved." He does not record on what he made that prediction. He noted also that "Mr Coughlan thinks the children clean." The Admission Register and the Summary were neat, but the Attendance Register was untidy. [1903 03 25]

English was 'Spoken English' and 'Writing', and what in my career were called 'Printing' or 'Writing' was 'Slatework'.

The committee was W T Hughes [Ch], Thos Hughes, George Emery,¹¹ W T Hughes¹², and Wm Searancke.

What is important is that the children were not examined, and therefore could not be promoted; again, the children appear to have suffered to suit the greater convenience and priorities of the Department. They had missed up to seven weeks of schooling, which of

⁶Coughlan's wife; she is invisible as a person at this point, but is named a few lines later!

⁷ Pope's decision to dispense with the inspection was a sensible one. He clearly turned the visit into in-service training.

⁸AJHR E2 1904, p10.

⁹As a former teacher of Junior, ie Infant, children, I found the quite varied advice on the teaching of reading interesting. There is a potential research topic in the variations, for a person knowledgeable in philosophy, learning theory, and the history and the theory and practice of, the teaching and learning of reading.

¹⁰The advice is consistent with the recommended method devised by H B Kirk and described by Pope in his Annual Report of 1902. He noted "That previous attempts of this kind, however, have generally been made with children of *civilised peoples*. [Emphasis added] AJHR 1902, p14.

¹¹There was only one /m/ in a previous year. At the end of 1903 it was 'Emmery', and on other occasions 'Emore' or 'Emmore'.

¹²Were there two men of these initials, or did Pope get his wires crossed?

W N Coughlan

course has to be added to the six weeks of the Christmas vacation. It could be argued they were penalised twice!¹³

A few days after Pope's visit, Coughlan wrote to the Department:

On the advice of the Inspector I beg to call your attention to the state of the drain, and tank, of the Teacher's house.

The wood work of the drain is now rotten, and the sides and top are falling in leaving the drain exposed in some places and blocked in others. In this state it is dangerous to health and limb.

The tank has no cover upon it, and always gets full of leaves, which decay and impart a very unfavourable taste to the water.

To have the drain repaired with a hard wood, and to have a cover made for the tank, will cost £2.10.0. [1903 04 01]

Pope noted that the work was very necessary, whereupon authority was given, in quite some detail; Coughlan was *not* to stray from the straight and narrow of departmental rules and specifications! Given the conditions listed, it appears that the maintenance of the house and its environs had not had regular attention; previous reports have indicated likewise. I would have expected action much sooner than this, for the teachers had made timely requests, and/or, probably more importantly, the visiting inspectors had inspected closely and diligently and reported accordingly.

Human error has a long history! There were similar sagas at other times; they took much time and energy. I record this one as an example, whilst remembering the alacrity with which officers of the department chastised teachers over, for example, their spelling mistakes.

Coughlan was informed in April that

Fifteen pairs of dumb-bells¹⁴ will shortly be sent to you by the Department. Please acknowledge their receipt and inform the Department whether they arrive in good order and condition. [1903 04 02]¹⁵

Four months later, Coughlan wrote to the Department: "Dumb bells not arrived. Never at Post Office." [1903 08 04] The Department telegraphed the Postmaster: "Calico bag containing dumb bells not arrived - please investigate." The mistake was the Department's; the letter to the Postmaster was apologetic:

.... I must express regret that the mistake made in this office has been the cause of giving you the trouble of having a search made for the missing package.¹⁶

The package was recorded as being on the way back from Hapua, but a label in the file indicates it was sent to Kopua, Parenga, Auckland. Towards the end of October, the Department could advise "On way. Advise condition, and return calico bag." Coughlan could reply: "Received in good order and condition." The episode, apart from recording

¹³ In the event, the children were not examined until June, 1904!

¹⁴ Dumb-bells were used for drill, now called physical education.

¹⁵ They were sent in a calico bag.

¹⁶ Hapua is in Northland.

the Departmental policy to introduce dumb-bells into the drill programme, serves to remind us that people make mistakes, that such mistakes are part of the vagaries of institutional life, are frustrating, but have to be lived with. I wonder what Coughlan and others muttered to themselves, including the person who made the original mistake.

Much more importantly, we are reminded of an important 'out-of-school' duty of Native School teachers by this letter Coughlan wrote to the department about his supply of medicines:

I beg to call you attention to the state of the Medicine Chest here; the supply is very low indeed, none of the principal medicines being in stock.

The following is a list of what there is here: Paregoric; Laudanum; Ipecacuanha Wine; Quinine; Tincture of Aconite and Calomel, and Salts; Salvolatile; Wine of Colchicum; Tinc [of?; probably tincture of iodine.]; Carbolic Oil; Hydrate of Lime; Castor Oil; Sugar of Milk. [1903 04 09]

He was told to supply a list of what he was short of, and the Justice Department would supply his needs.¹⁷

Native Schools played an important role in a vaccination campaign in Maori communities. Coughlan recorded this episode in his logbook:

After having an interview with the parents about vaccination, I am pleased to state that they asked me to write and ask that a vaccinator be sent to vaccinate the children. I wrote to the Inspector at Te Awamutu and result was that Dr Pairman was sent along, and 15 adults and 18 children were vaccinated successfully. All the school children were operated on, and I feel sure that they will be better able to resist the Smallpox if it comes their way.¹⁸

Coughlan later sent a newspaper cutting to the Department and was able to report that "...all Maoris here vaccinated, including me and Mr Searancke," [1903 07 21] to which the Department replied, "Thank you."

In the same letter, Coughlan demonstrated a commendable perceptiveness when he wrote that "We have two girls here in the P.P. class who are a great deal above the rest, and I believe would pass St I at the next examination, if I prepare them for it. Can I present them?" [1903 07 21] He could do so; whilst the system failed children all too easily, it was apparently also able to move at least young children through more quickly if a teacher was alert to the possibility. We should also note, not for the first time, that children were 'prepared' for examinations. In these more modern days it is called 'teaching to the test'.

Coughlan indicated a commitment to his work with this next letter:

I beg to ask for one and a half days leave commencing on the last Thursday of this month for the purpose of visiting the Te Kuiti Native School.

¹⁷I presume the logic of the Justice Department providing this service to native schools is based on the fact that Resident Magistrates were, in many districts, the Department of Education's 'agents' in administering native schools

¹⁸Coughlan logbook, 1903 06 15.

Now Mrs Coughlan¹⁹ and myself have a little experience in Native School work, we feel that it would be a great help to ourselves, and an advantage to those under our charge if we could spend a day in another school. [1903 09 07]

Pope noted "These are promising teachers and I think leave should be granted." The request was granted in a long-winded letter, and Te Kuiti was advised. Communication links were before faxes and couriers: Coughlan wrote on 13 September in a letter that arrived after three weeks [2 October] that they were taking the leave later, "... as soon as the rivers, which are now in flood, are fordable." [1903 09 07]

The visit was successful. "Mr and Mrs Stanton did all they could to help us. We are very well satisfied. ... at Otorohanga we called on Mr Winkelmann who has just retired from the service; he also gave us a great deal of advice."²⁰

Major and minor hazards continued as a feature of school life for the Coughlans, as they had for their predecessors and would for their successors.

The major hazard was a measles epidemic. Coughlan wrote that it was not serious, he was "... trying to confine it to famalies [sic] in which it has occured. [sic] School is not seriously affected..."

The minor hazard was the Departmental attitude to mis-spelling. Coughlan's drew this response:

Permit me to draw your attention to the misspelling of two simple words in your letter, viz: families as famalies, and occurred as occured. You will no doubt appreciate the importance attached by the Department to the avoidance of such errors in correspondence received from its teachers. [1903 11 06]

Coughlan could not escape difficulties with the punt. The rope broke early in the new year; Mr Hughes procured a new one,²¹ as it was very necessary to replace it. They did not know they should get permission from the Department. Fourteen out of the 19 children at the school the punt. The old wooden blocks were worn out, and Coughlan suggested that light iron ones would be much better. There was much correspondence with and between Chief Engineer Roads, several others, and the Department, but finally, without protest, the committee's expenditure was paid. In amongst the letters and memoranda was this intriguing note from C W Hursthouse, Lands Department surveyor: "... it might be charged to "Rohepotae tracks"; what is position of that?" The position was that £100 was allocated, £100 was authorised but funds available were Nil, though H. O. Registers had expended £39.0.5. [1904 02 08] On one of the few occasions when 'local' money, in this case government, might have been used, the kitty was empty!

¹⁹Mrs Coughlan is acknowledged in the record, but she does not appear as a Teacher in the Department's Annual Report. *AJHR* E2, 1904, Native School Staff Lists.

²⁰Coughlan logbook, 1903 10 21.

²¹Coughlan logbook, 1904 02 08.

While there was no record that Coughlan wrote to the Department on the topic, he made six entries in his logbook in 1903 recording wet weather, including whole weeks that were wet, and the effect of the weather on attendance. He also noted the effect of potato planting on attendance.²² There was an occasion when " ... all the natives are away at the Land Court..." so he had himself to go to meet his brother and bring him to Te Kopua; Mrs Coughlan was left in charge.²³

In December, the men erected a flagstaff for the school; The "Hoisting of the Flag" took place on 16 December, at 3 o'clock. ... Mrs Polly Emmery hoisted the Flag. Speeches were made by the Chairman, Mr Hughes and the Teacher."²⁴ Two days later, the committee election took place. Elected were "Mr Hughes [Chairman], W. Coffin, T. Hughes, G. Emmery & A. Box. A great deal of interest was taken in the election, and I feel sure that after the holidays there will be a greater attendance at the school."²⁵

Coughlan opened the school after the holidays on 1 February, 1904, and recorded that the new committee was working hard to increase the attendance.²⁶

The Departmental record gives no warning, [for example a letter from Coughlan requesting a transfer] of the impending transfer of the Coughlans, except for this letter from W T Hughes to the Department:

The Secretary for Maori Schools,

Greetings. This is a communication from us the members of the Committee & the people living at the Kopu, Kakepuku, asking that Te Kakarana,²⁷ be left to be the teacher for our school and that he be not moved from this because this school was in a very bad condition before him, on his arrival. the people here saw how good he was and the children came together for he was such a good teacher and so kind, our fear is lest a new one be sent who is not such a good one as Te Kakarana and there would again be no children for fear of an objectionable one, therefore it we earnestly appeal to you for to move him from this, children from other kaingas come to this school, there are now near twenty and will not be many days before there are over twenty.

That is all.

From

W. T. Hughes Chairman

and the Committee & the people living at Te Kopua. [1904 02 05]²⁸

Few better testimonials have been penned, though it must be noted that there is no mention of Mrs Coughlan! But, it was in vain; it attracted this *speedy* reply from the Department:

²²Coughlan logbook, 1903 11 04. If the department was informed, the letter is not in the file.

²³Coughlan logbook, 19013 07 22. The importance of the Native Land Court; *all* it seems meant just that, at least all the men.

²⁴Coughlan logbook , 1903 12 14 and 1903 12 16

²⁵Coughlan logbook , 1903 12 18

²⁶Coughlan logbook, 1904 02 01.

²⁷'Kakarana': Presumably this was a transliteration of Coughlan, and a confirmation of the accolade which is the remainder of the letter; it is the only occasion when the people of Te Kopua gave their teacher a 'Maori' name.

²⁸ The letter is unedited.

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 5th February asking that Mr. Coughlan be not removed from the school at Te Kopua. In reply I have to thank you and the people for their appreciation of their master [words joined in carbon copy of typed letter], but the Department is of the opinion that his [ditto] services will be very valuable just now in a larger school, and I feel sure that the Maoris of Te Kopua would not wish to stand in the way of his promotion. Another teacher has been selected for your school, and the Department hopes that you will accord her the support you have hitherto given to the school and its teachers.

P.S. Your new teacher is Mrs Tennent, the teacher of the Native School at Te Pupuke near Kaeo, near Auckland.²⁹ [1904 02 07]

In the light of Coughlan's logbook entry, and a later 1930 departmental letter circulated amongst the inspectors and officials, it is reasonable to surmise that Departmental officials decided the best interests of the Department, but not necessarily of all, would be met by transferring Coughlan.³⁰ In fact, Coughlan was told by W W Bird that he was too good a teacher for Te Kopua, and thus was transferred.³¹ Not for the first time, Te Kopua was thought less important. Coughlan recorded in his logbook that he had "Received a memo from the Dept, notifying me of my removal to Waima,"³² and later, "Closed Te Kopua School today. I will leave for Waima next week."³³ He noted that Waima had been closed for three weeks when he re-opened it.³⁴

William and Mrs Coughlan went on to become deeply immersed in their Maori communities, in their language and culture, and in their concerns.³⁵

William Coughlan was still in the Native School service in 1929 at Omaio.³⁶ Coughlan was Headmaster, on a salary of £295 0 0. [Mrs] I A M Coughlan was Assistant on £160 0 0, and Miss A A Coughlan Assistant on £60 0 0. Like several other schools, teaching was at times quite a family affair.³⁷

²⁹The departmental geography was not perfect; Kaeo may have got its mail via Auckland, but it very certainly is not 'near' Auckland.

³⁰Perhaps they subscribed to utilitarianism, John Stuart Mill's "The greatest good for the greatest number." [Mill, John Stuart, *Utilitarianism*, 1863.] I would be less sure they were familiar with Mill's *On Liberty*, 1859!

³¹Richard Coughlan. [See footnote 2 above.]

³²Coughlan logbook, 1904 02 23.

³³Coughlan logbook, 1904 02 26.

³⁴Coughlan logbook, 1904 03 14.

³⁵His son, Richard Coughlan, has been in touch with the International Research Institute for Maori and Indigenous Education, University of Auckland, and it was he who proffered the information above and who loaned Coughlan's logbook for copying. [Personal communication, Dr Judith Simon, International Research Institute for Maori and Indigenous Education, University of Auckland, August, 1994.] [See also Appendix 6, "Te Reo".]

³⁶Coughlan was the second teacher to be transferred from Te Kopua to Omaio; Henry Young retired from Omaio after being transferred there from Te Kopua.

³⁷Miss E M Coughlan also taught at Omaio, 1925-1928.

1904 - 1906

Margaret J Tennent

Mrs M I Tennent,¹ accompanied by her daughters, arrived at Te Kopua some time after Coughlan left, the first woman appointed to the school as head teacher. Because Te Pupuke was closed in 1904, it seems that once again the Department was lucky; there was a teacher available to transfer to Te Kopua when they needed one as a result of wishing to transfer the incumbent. Born in December 1844, and therefore in her sixtieth year, Tennent had entered the Native School Service in 1886 at Omaramutu, east of Opotiki, where she was Assistant for ten years. Two of her daughters also had brief sojourns at Omaramutu. Tennent was Head Mistress at Te Pupuke from 1897 to 1903, with two of her daughters also often on the staff. Her daughters do not appear in the Annual Reports as being with her at Te Kopua, but Rosemary quite clearly was appointed early in 1906; however, because she was not still in the school at the end of that year, her name was not included. In addition to that brief appointment, Tennent's daughters may well have provided unpaid labour at Te Kopua.²

The record does not tell us whether Tennent was welcomed to Te Kopua as the department had hoped when it had written to Hughes that " ... the Department hopes that you will accord her the support you have hitherto given to the school and its teachers." [1904 02 07] Not until Bird visited at the end of June for the annual inspection, fifteen months after the 1903 inspection, do we get an indication as to how Tennent was faring.³ [1904 06 28]

The inspection report was in general positive. In particular, Bird noted that

The tone is satisfactory; people still show a keen interest in the school and attended in numbers. In other words, the hope expressed in the letter to Hughes appears to have been realised.

In the areas of 'conditions' the report was negative:

¹That she was Margaret Tennent was revealed in the first of the records involving the Misses Wylie, who followed Mrs Tennent at Te Kopua.

²AJHR, E2, 1897-1905.

³Tennent apparently had no reason to write to the Department prior to this visit; her first letter asked for leave for illness.

Garden and Grounds: The grounds are very wet. Gorse encroaches on the school area. In fact, Te Kopua is a wilderness of gorse and water. The garden is not of course at its best now.

Learning correct English was again strongly emphasised. Bird wrote:

Timetable: I do not see any Conversational English set down for the youngest classes on Mondays and Wednesdays. These classes should get an English lesson every day and if possible twice a day.

English: Fair: the children should be encouraged to speak out in sentences. ... youngest classes would be better if made to speak in complete sentences.

Pronunciation: I noticed some defects: 'sick' for 'six'; 'glass' for 'grass'.

The practical and apparently successful outcome of Bird's previous work as an Organising Instructor⁴ is evident in this next section in the Inspection Report:

Manual/Craft: Some really good plasticine work has been done. ... the children also do basket weaving and mat weaving very well. [1904 06 28]

Bird noted that the "Children sing very well: and considering the time they have been at the work follow the pointer well." What "... following the pointer ..." has to do with 'singing' as such escapes me! Bird indicated that the children had not been singing, at least in that way, for very long, which suggests either that singing was new in the programme, or more probably that Coughlan and the McFarlanes and perhaps even the Youngs had not been using a pointer when teaching singing. [1904 06 28]

Two boys and four girls passed, one into Standard III; three into Standard II, and one into Standard I. Jack Searancke with 4.5 marks missed promotion from Standard I to Standard II, whilst Edie Box with 4.5 marks passed from PP into Standard I. Jack did not receive a mark in Arithmetic; it seems, again, that no mark in one of the 'main' subjects meant a fail. [1904 06 28]

The names of the fourteen children who were examined are neatly balanced between the two cultures. Six had European family names, six had Maori family names [including Emore]. There were seven Maori given names and seven European given names. Six of the children had a given and a family name from each culture.

Conditions, health and access appeared again, having not drawn a comment for a number of years. Attendance was affected by "... occasional floods...", with Bird noting that

... the teacher does not enjoy very good health here. The climate probably causes her frequent attacks of bronchitis. Te Kopua is I know a very difficult place to get to or from as one is practically surrounded with rivers. [1904 06 28]

Bird was scarcely gone when previous issues again became significant.

⁴His task was "... to introduce into the schools the new scheme of handwork and manual instruction drawn up by Hogben." See Beaglehole and Barrington, *Maori Schools*, p 130.

The Department was informed that the punt had broken loose and had drifted to Ngaruawahia, more than thirty miles downstream. E Garmonsway recovered it, and was paid £1 by W Coffin, not a munificent reimbursement. Wm Searancke wrote asking for a refund, whereupon the Department wrote to Mrs Tennent asking her for any information she might have. An official noted that "Searancke not a member of Cttee." [1904 06 29] They did not miss much, but the record does not reveal whether the £1 was refunded.

Tennent's letter to the Department informed it that

I am leaving today for Te Aroha to spend midwinter holidays. As I am suffering with bronchitis and my daughter is recovering from influenza. [Adults and children here are ill with colds and influenza.] Can you kindly grant me an extra week of holidays? As the difficulty of getting from and to this place is considerable.⁵ [1904 06 30]

on which an official noted that "The Inspector's report endorses the statement of illness. Grant."⁶

Shortly after returning from her mid-winter holiday, Tennent wrote:

Permit me to draw your attention to the difficulty of getting goods conveyed to this place. Even in summer they charge £1 per load; and now it is all but impossible to obtain any goods from outside sources.

In these circumstances will you kindly consider the advisability of making the usual allowance for carriage of goods? [1904 07 21]

Bird, responding to Gibbes' request for supporting information, informed him that

Te Kopua is situated seven miles from Pirongia. There is no store nearer than Pirongia, to reach which two rivers at present unbridged have to be crossed. Hitherto we have had male teachers at the place but the present teacher Mrs Tennent has only here [sic] daughter to assist her. I consider Te Kopua an exceedingly difficult place to get at. Mr Pope generally managed to get lost there and I had much difficulty crossing the rivers during my last journey. If we had male teachers there would be no grounds for granting this request but under the circumstances I recommend an allowance of £3 per annum - that is at the rate of £1 quarterly in the Autumn, Winter and Spring of the year. This I was informed by Mrs Tennent would meet her needs. The general question of allowances needs revision. [1904 07 21]

Tennent's understanding that the allowance was "usual" is not borne out by Bird's memorandum. Whilst Bird's implied view that women were clearly much less capable of carrying their goods and chattels than men is not surprising, I would be surprised if the men had not had to hire a carrier quite frequently.

I have earlier noted occasions when the Department responded very vigorously to teacher mis-spelling. The mis-spelling of 'her' in this memorandum from Bird is not the only example of mistakes by inspectors and others. Also in this memorandum, Bird originally wrote " ... not such grounds ... ", which he crossed out in favour of " ... no grounds for ... ".

⁵Structure, etc, in original.

⁶An unstated consequence was that those children lost another week of schooling.

I did not keep count, but I suspect inspectors, and officials, were not much better than teachers at avoiding the occasional 'careless' mis-spelling.⁷

Responding to the Annual Requisition from Te Kopua, there was the following note in the file:

VIDE ANNUAL REQUISITION 1904-5: The teacher applies for the following: 1 dust pan 1 door mat, whereupon Tennent was " ... authorised to purchase ... at reasonable cost." [1904 08 16]

In my career, we requisitioned, the Education Board placed the order with a firm, which sent the materials to us, and the Board paid the bill. For a dustpan and a mat, we would have ordered it, and the committee would have paid the bill out of its grant. These teachers certainly had to deal with many issues, big and small.

Searancke supplied to Tennent a quotation for repairs to the bridge across the Makararua River. He gave detailed costings of materials; it is the next paragraph that is illuminating:

The quotation for carting is from Te Rau-o-moa, but I am doubtful if the timber is to be got there as they are not cutting now and the Otorohanga way would mean crossing the Waipa, and a lot of furze clearing from the School to the bridge. [1904 10 05]

This prompted the following from Tennent to the Department:

... this bridge is the connecting link with Pirongia:- the dangerous bridge that Mr Bird crossed in June. The first flood after that swept away all the woodwork and one of the wires is broken; and yet the mail boy has to climb across with the mail bag strapped round his neck.⁸

The department, however, was no help. It was not a legal road, the Roads Department would not, or could not, repair the bridge, and the Education Department had no funds from which a grant could be made.

I suggest therefore that the Maaoris [sic] should direct their application to the local body upon whom the responsibility for the maintenance of the bridge properly falls. [1904 10 05]

The department apparently did not think it had any responsibility to make contact with the local body and give it a hurry-up. The archives of the old Raglan County Council appeared to be silent on the issue.

There may have been a link between the attitude of the department and the key item in the following year's Inspection Report. There was apparently no communication between Te Kopua and the Department from the end of October 1904 and Bird's inspection at the end of June 1905. The most significant item in the report was probably that under 'Tone', there on the basis, I presume, that the attitude of parents and community was part of the overall 'Tone' of the school

⁷ Eg see 'Maaoris' [1904 10 05], and 'wen' [1905 06 29].

⁸ I wonder how the pupils got to school!

Tone: The people take a passive interest in the school. The committee has not held a meeting. The parents attended the exam. The children work satisfactorily." [1905 06 29]

That stands in marked contrast to Bird's much more positive 1904 judgement; why the re-assessment is not explained. I wonder if Bird even remembered what he had written the previous year.⁹

In Arithmetic, Bird wrote that

Classes P and S1 were weak, S2-4 fair. I saw several counting fingers. One number at a time taught in all its relations would be a better plan.¹⁰ [1905 06 29]

Counting on fingers has very frequently been a crime!

It was in the area of English that Bird had the most concerns, not unlike those of 1904, for example concerning pronunciation and answering in complete sentences.

Reading: Weak on the whole; upper classes were better.

English: This is altogether unsatisfactory and needs every possible attention.

Punctuation: Rather poor. This is where the weakness in reading also comes in. The children should be taught to pronounce every consonant and such combinations as /sh/, /th/.

Methods: The extra subjects are taken by Miss R Tennent and the general school work is managed entirely by Mrs Tennent. The instruction of the preparatory classes of course is the most important part as upon it depends the whole fabric. I noticed that children were inclined to spell out words that they did not know - instead of proceeding entirely by sound. I strongly recommend that the whole of this class be thoroughly drilled in phonic work.¹¹ ... The fault in the English ...complete sentences were not given by the children. ... judged from Exam results very weak and in regard to the pronouns more care is required, as wen [sic] in S3 the children were unable to distinguish between he, she, her, his. Results are fair on the whole but the English work throughout the school seems to me to be in great need of improvement. [1905 06 29]

The examination results were not good; four passed, nine failed, and only one Primer passed into Standard I. Catherine Warena [Standard IV] was entered on the scholarship register. There were no anomalies in marks this time. Jack Searancke, after another year in Standard I, got 7.0, which was very good. Dorothy Shakespeare's 8.0 marks were exceptional. James Hughes and Catherine Warena each received 6.0. [1905 06 29]

Whether there was a link between the inaction of the committee and the examination results we cannot be sure, but there very likely was, as there would have been to this memorandum by Bird, which Mrs Tennent would not have known about. It was not acted upon:

CONFIDENTIAL: Mrs T has been many years with the Dept. It is time for her to retire. She does very fair work, but is not able now to cope single-handed with the special requirements of a Native School. Her daughter assists with extra subjects, the light part of work. The other daughter wants her own Native

⁹ However, it has occurred to me I did not compare the two sets of names closely, and it may be there was a considerable turnover of pupils; such was not unusual.

¹⁰ The remark relates, presumably, to this advice to McFarlane in 1902: "The exercises were concrete and good, but they constituted an examination rather than a lesson. At this stage, when say, addition is being taken it would be well to go over the combinations in groups: Instead of going from 8 plus 5 to 9&6, it is advisable to take 5 & 8, 5 & 18, 18 & 5, 25 & 8, 35 & 8, 38 & 5, and so on. All questions should be answered in complete English sentences." (1902 04 26)

¹¹ In other words, phonics ruled. We are long before the days of regular, legitimate 'look and say'.

School. It seems to me that the proper thing for these young ladies to do is to lend their assistance in the school. However Te Kopua is not particularly important though it is deserving and action should I think be delayed pending the decision about superannuation. [1905 06 29]

The attitude to Te Kopua is revealing, as is the attitude towards Tennent. There is another example of 'secrecy' within the department below. Mrs Tennent was one of the very few teachers to attract such secretive Departmental behaviour; it is possible, though not probable, there were other episodes which were not filed in the 'school' files.

The crossing of the river was still a difficulty. Gibbes wrote to Tennent, noting that the Inspector had referred to five children who were unable to attend school because of the bridge. The department's response was that if the bridge could be put into good order at a cost not exceeding £7 she was authorised to have the work put in hand; Mr Searancke could probably attend to it. There was also the matter of Repairs; the recent report authorised not more than £3.11.0, to include painting the ferry. Mrs Tennent could vary amounts, but was not to exceed the total. [1905 07 13] The Department, as usual, was not reckless with its funds!¹²

Illness, especially Influenza, continued to be a trouble for Tennent; the form of the salutation was in those days pretty standard, but in the 1990s it reads oddly in this context:

I have the honour to report that an epidemic of influenza, of a somewhat severe character, accompanied with fever, has attacked the children of this settlement. Two have not yet got it, and five are nearly well. The sixth boy was a very bad case. The family is prejudiced against the doctor. I asked the father to let me treat the boy - he was not expected to live then; he is now getting better I am thankful to say.

Mr Wm Searancke comes or sends regularly for medicine and most of his children are improving.

I have a fair supply of medicines for the present emergency.

Mr Searancke this morning advised me to close the school for six days and see how the children progressed. I have acted on his advice, as the attendance for the last two days was 3 boys each day. [1905 08 10]

This was very sensible advice, to which the Department did not object. It will be recalled that not many years earlier a teacher was reprimanded for taking advice from the committee without first asking the Department.

Tennent had to write at the end of the month that " ... after six days reopened school. Eleven able attend, four still very ill, one infant, two months, died." [1905 08 31]

Three weeks later, Tennent reported that:

Polly Emore died. Mr Emore taken other three, still ill, to Otorohanga.

The two European children are convalescent, and so is my daughter." [1905 09 21]

A month after that she wrote:

¹² Was this Hogben's influence living on beyond his death in 1899, or was it just normal departmental parsimony? We cannot tell from the archive.

I am ill with cold and influenza and unfit for school duties this week.

I very much regret it but hope soon to be well enough to again resume my duties. [1905 10 02]

The school was closed for one week 2 - 6 Oct inclusive. The worst of the attack was over in a week, and I was most anxious to re-open as the school has suffered so much through sickness and deaths in the last three months. [1905 10 16]

This two-month episode speaks for itself. Its effect on the community must have been at least depressing, perhaps devastating. Tennent's desire to re-open the school as soon as possible could have reflected the link between attendance and salary. More recent thinking would have had them close the school as soon as the influenza struck, with the accompanying advice to all to stay at home as much as possible to contain the spread of the attack.¹³

Tennent's next letter is not surprising.

I beg your kindly consideration of my application for removal from here for the following reasons: [a] The excessive wet and damp of the location are rapidly crippling me with rheumatism. [b] Not only mine but my daughter's health has been bad and getting worse ever since we came here, although she was a robust girl previously. So ill has she been lately that I was compelled to send her to Te Aroha for a change and medical advice.

The school and residence are by the river at the lowest end of the settlement where it is almost a ---- well like a quagmire.

The N. S. [Native Schools] Report says that the Raorao School buildings are proposed to be removed to Te Kopua, Raglan, and as Raglan is a much drier place I trust you will favour my removal there as I am most anxious about my daughter and could hardly venture to face another winter here. [1905 10 30]¹⁴

Gibbes in his reply offered the usual felicitations in lots of words; her application would be considered. Mrs Tennent was now sixty. Bird agreed with Tennent, but, there was no suitable vacancy. The daughters, he judged, did not take much interest in the school, except in the extra subjects. He thought it would be best to retire Mrs Tennent. The Minister gave his approval of the retirement of Mrs Tennent in terms of the Teachers' Superannuation Act. [1905 10 30] The terms were considerably more generous than when James Ireland retired.

However, the wheels as usual did not move quickly, and in the New Year Tennent wrote stating the roll was over twenty, and applying for her daughter Rosemary to be appointed assistant. She had, Tennent pointed out, always assisted with the drawing, singing, drill and handwork. [1906 02 05]

Tennent's health continued to be a problem. She telegraphed that

... present condition of my health necessitates my seeing a doctor without delay. My Asst Miss R Tennent is competent to the whole charge of the school during the two or three days that I expect to be absent. Kindly wire reply. [1906 03 05]

¹³ Poliomyelitis epidemics always led to country-wide school closure.

¹⁴ The application for a school to be established at Te Kopua, Raglan, was declined.

The record includes the doctor's advice that she apply for leave of absence, but does not reveal whether she took the advice. What it does reveal is her pending retirement. Gibbes wrote:

I have to inform you that on your retirement at the end of June you will be succeeded at Te Kopua by the Misses Wylie, until recently in charge of the Te Houhi Native School. [1906 05 03]

But, there was still her final inspection. The inspector was Mr Jno M Porteous, who makes the first of many appearances in this biography.

Of the twenty children who were examined, 14 failed, which was hard on the children, and a sad way to go for Mrs Tennent; it could have been in part a reflection on her apparent decreasing competence. It is at least equally likely that the poor pupil performance would have been a consequence of difficult access, weather, and influenza. For whatever reason, these children were not well served.

There was only one pupil in Standard IV, two in Standard III, two in Standard II, and one in Standard I. Thirteen of the 31 on the roll were in the Primers. Few children at this school reached the senior classes.

It is now quite clear from the archive that failure in a 'core' subject meant failure, whatever the total marks. There were many high marks given for sewing, but, sewing could not make up for weakness in Arithmetic or Reading and Oral Spelling. [1906 06 05]

It was not a harmonious inspection visit. Porteous recorded:

"Miss Tennent took it upon herself to say that she "wanted certain boys to have another chance", after they had been marked failures. Her request was indiscreet for one in her position, as was also some exhibition of annoyance. Viewed from the results [that and the number of passes] the examination would appear not to have been very satisfactory. However, some very good work was done: the remaining work was not up to the usual standard of Native Schools.¹⁵ [1906 06 05]

It is unclear whether Tennent saw this assessment. What she certainly *did not see* was a memorandum, written by an official in the department on Porteous' next observation, that it be omitted from the copied report sent to the teacher:

"The irregularity of attendance owing to the weather and also to the river which the children have to cross must necessarily militate against better work being done." [1906 06 05]

Did the Department see it as to some extent justifying Tennent's protest to Porteous? Its deletion appears to have been a form of dishonesty. This may be the only deletion from an inspector's report I saw; I do not remember any others, and certainly I am sure there were none as serious as this.

The comments on the key subjects reflect the failures in the examination.

Arithmetic: A weak subject. The results show that arithmetic is a very weak subject: nervousness on the part of the pupils would not be sufficient explanation.¹⁶

Reading: Certainly not up to standard of reading met with. ...very weak in Standard 1 [the work in the appendix¹⁷ was beyond their powers.]

On the other hand, these comments suggest that Tennent had worked effectively on some at least of the advice proffered in previous years:

English: Good: some of preparatory work very good

Dictation/Spelling: Good

Pronunciation: On the whole good. The sound values of the letters seem to be receiving a good deal of attention. Miss Tennent takes a good deal of interest in her work.¹⁸

Subjects that played no part in pupil promotion got positive remarks:

Singing: This was very good: rounds and part songs were well sung.

Drawing: Some good work was seen. Plasticene work was well done: as were paper folding and paper weaving.

Drill: The [dumbbell¹⁹] exercises were performed with a very fair amount of precision and energy. [1906 06 05]

Other parts of her work were also commented upon positively:

Records: A good record. Well kept in every particular. Very neatly kept. Also kept with every care.

Organisation: The cleanliness and tidiness are carefully attended to. All appliances and furniture were in very good condition except for maps.²⁰

Garden/Grounds: In a very satisfactory condition.

Timetable: This document shows that the time allotted to the various subjects is quite satisfactory.

Order: Very good.

Punishment: None recorded: none seem necessary.

Tone: The children are anxious to do well and show interest in their work.

Cleanliness: The pupils were very tidy and clean in their appearance. [1906 06 05]

There is much that was good in that section of the report, including, perhaps, unintended support, in the sentence "The children are anxious to do well and show interest in their work," for Tennent's request that some of the boys have another chance.

Thus did Mrs M I Tennent retire from twenty years of Native Schools service. She had occasion, apparently, to write asking about the refund of expenses incurred in her removal from Te Kopua, but Gibbes was strictly formal.

Your expenses were carefully considered. The Dept regrets it cannot refund, or make any allowance; there is no precedent. [1906 08 08]

¹⁵Porteous was new to the service. One has to wonder on what he based this assessment!

¹⁶Again, what understanding and experience did he have to support that assessment? He should have been aware of whakama; he being a stranger could have been relevant.

¹⁷That is the only reference to an 'appendix' I have seen. Porteous *may* have been referring to the Native Schools Code, but that was surely not regarded as an 'appendix'!

¹⁸This is quite contrary to other assessments in the record, but it is an assessment of *Miss* Tennent, not *Mrs* Tennent. There are however contradictions in various inspectors' assessments of Tennent that are noteworthy at least.

¹⁹Both Oxford and Webster dictionaries spell the word thus: dumb-bell.

²⁰Note that maps were often a problem item.

and

The Public Trustee has been advised that you have retired from the service, and it will be necessary for you to communicate with him, if you have not already done so, as regards obtaining a refund of the deductions that have been made from your salary under the provisions of the Civil Service Reform Act. [1906 10 03]

There was no letter of thanks and felicitations in the file. Mrs Tennent had given long service; she was allowed to retire in, I believe, an unsatisfactory manner.

1906 - 1907

Lillian and Mabel Wylie

The realities of the conditions of rain, water, damp, difficult access and illness made the eighteen months Lillian and Mabel Wylie spent at Te Kopua very unhappy ones. The sisters first applied to be transferred out of Te Kopua after only six months, early in 1907.

Mr T and Mrs Wylie opened Te Houhi Native School in the December quarter of 1893.¹ Miss M A [Mabel] Wylie joined the staff the following year, and spent eight of the following twelve years there, plus a year each at two other schools. Her sister, Miss L [Lillian] Wylie replaced their father [Mr T Wylie] as Head Teacher at Te Houhi in 1904, and became a licensed teacher in 1905.² There is no evidence of what she had done before 1904, nor is there any explanation as to why she, apparently without Native School experience, qualified to become a licensed teacher and became a head teacher, a status Mabel, despite her very much greater experience, did not achieve until she replaced Lillian as Head Teacher at Matata in 1910.

Te Houhi Native School was closed in 1906, so once again the Department very conveniently had teachers available to transfer to Te Kopua

From 1901 to 1905 at Te Kopua, McFarlane, Coughlan and Tennent had each been on a salary of £100. Lillian Wylie was on a salary of £60 at Te Houhi, and was appointed to Te Kopua on the same salary. However, in 1907, her salary increased to £100.

It appears, from Lillian Wylie's first letter to the Department [1906 07 07], that they had met Margaret³ Tennent, the first time at Te Kopua succeeding teachers had met their predecessors, and thus it appears also that the school was not closed because the new teacher had not arrived, which had been the case on most previous occasions. The school

¹AJHR, 1897, E2, p 5. As I reported earlier, Pope, in recording the opening of the school, wrote "The educational soil here had been, so to speak, quite unbroken, and was encrusted with the unhealthy growth of centuries."

²Like Margaret Tennent before her, Lillian Wylie does not appear in the *New Zealand Gazette* listings of licensed teachers.

³I am suddenly aware that I did not use 'Margaret' in Mrs Tennent's chapter. Her given name does not appear in my notes from the archive, so I presume it appeared in the Department's Annual Reports. I was aware it was apparently never used by herself or the Department.

did not, however, open immediately after the mid-year holidays, because the prevailing conditions prevented the new teachers from immediately re-opening it.

Early in July, Lillian Wylie wrote to the Department, describing their arrival at Te Kopua.

My sister and I arrived at Te Awamutu on the 28th and were coming on to Te Kopua the following day, but we were told we could not possibly cross over the rivers as they were too high. So on Saturday we came to Pirongia and it never ceased raining until Wednesday, so we came to Te Kopua in the afternoon and had a dreadful time, we had to walk a mile and a half through mud and water, we could not get our clothes dry, so it was useless to think of opening School this week. We have not got our goods here as the river is still too high to cross, and it has cost us a lot more than we expected as everything had to come round by Pirongia. The roads from Te Puhi railway station being impassable. I will send in all receipts for cartage of goods etc when they are brought here.

Mrs Tennent told us she had asked for a new stove, the old one is quite useless. Could we have one as soon as possible, as we have no way of getting bread?⁴

Will you kindly send Salary to the Te Awamutu Bank & oblige? [1906 07 07]

The authorisation for the repairs, including a No 1 Orion stove costing £6 0 0, which John Porteous had identified as a need during his inspection visit just before Tennent left, was put in train quite quickly; it was posted in early July. The repairs to the verandah cost £4 12 6, the 400 gallon galvanized tank cost £4 0 0, and a large window pane for the residence cost £8 0 0. There was a *lot* of glass replaced at Te Kopua; it was in many repair requisitions. Because no inspector ever questioned the breakages, I have to presume they were common, and expected. [1906 07 07] There was rarely evidence as to the causes of the breakages.

The consequences of the conditions they experienced when they arrived at Te Kopua caused Mabel Wylie to write to the Department, only two days after her sister's letter.

Since we arrived at Te Kopua my sister has been ill and she is now unable to get about. We therefore cannot open School to-day. She must have got a chill coming from Pirongia. It has rained a great deal, which of course made the roads in a frightful state, and we had to walk a distance of a mile and a half through mud and water, and then had to sit in our wet clothes as the wagon could not come on with our luggage. I shall open School my-self tomorrow, and will do my best to carry it on until my sister is well enough to teach. [1906 07 09]

A week later, Lillian wrote thanking the Department for approving tank, stove, and verandah repairs; they were being ordered that same day. She continued by telling the Department that " ... apparently it will be some time before they can be brought here as the river is still too high to cross, and we haven't got our luggage and goods here yet." [1906 07 16]⁵ In the meantime, Gibbes had written expressing regret at " ...the discomfort you experienced in getting to Te Kopua, and of your sister's illness. I hope she is now better." [1906 07 13]

⁴ Being a Native School teacher was *not* all bread and roses!

⁵ It was at least nine days before they got their baggage.

It seems Lillian's health continued to trouble her, to the extent that in October she wrote to the Department asking

Will the Department kindly grant me leave of absence for a few days, I have to go to Auckland to consult a Doctor about my health. My sister will carry on the school in my absence. I have to thank the Department for the increase of allowance for removal to Te Kopua. [1906 09 08]

The leave was sanctioned, but she was to be sure to forward a doctor's certificate. However, Lillian had to write from Auckland that

When I was in Auckland I was very ill and was unable to return to Te Kopua for 10 days. Owing to my illness I could not make up the returns at the usual time, but I will not let this occur again. I am enclosing the Doctor's Certificate. [1907 10 10]

The Department replied that the certificate had been received, and they trusted she was recovered from her recent illness.

Lillian had not recovered. She wrote to the Department in early February 1907 that she had been in bad health ever since her visit to Auckland, stating that she had been laid up for much of the time, that the place was much too damp, and could they leave as soon as possible. She was aware that there was a vacancy at Oparuri School, where it was much healthier, and asked if she and her sister could be transferred there. She also informed the Department that gorse and trees had grown right up to the fence around the school and house, and presented a fire risk, and that it was advisable to have the gorse cleared for a chain or two around the residence. [1907 02 09] The reply was that Oparuri was already filled. Bird did note on the filed letter that the sisters' case was one for favourable consideration. The sisters were similarly disappointed when they later applied for the vacancy at Wai-iti.

Just a few days later [1907 02 15] Lillian Wylie telegraphed the Department asking for urgent leave because a friend was seriously ill and she had been asked to go Rotorua at once. "I can't wait for permission, must leave tomorrow. My sister, former teacher at Te Houhi School⁶, is here on a visit and she will take my place during my absence, which I hope will not be more than a few days." The Department wired approval.

The Wylie sisters had their first inspection,⁷ by W W Bird, in July 1907. [1907 05 27]

Bird's report was largely positive. He found the buildings in good order, the schoolroom was remarkably clean, and a credit to the teacher. The desks were thoroughly clean, the

⁶Lillian's reference to "My sister, teacher at Te Houhi School, is here on a visit." is mystifying. The reference is apparently to Mabel, who in fact had much more experience than Lillian, but for whatever reason was not licensed to teach. Mabel appears as Assistant at Te Kopua in 1906 in the Department's Annual Report. She appears to have been living, and by implication teaching, at Te Kopua later in the year. [See [1907 11 04] below]. So, what the state of affairs was in February 1907 is a mystery. Was there a third Wylie sister?

⁷If there was a 'six-month' visit early in the year, there is no record in the file.

board⁸ was in good order, and the cupboard was tidy. The grounds were in fair order and the garden was also fairly good. The cleanliness of the pupils was all that could be desired, and the order was very good indeed.

Bird's comment on punishment introduced a new dimension: "Corporal punishment is given but it is evidently not overdone." [1907 05 27] This was, I am sure, the first use of the word 'corporal' in an inspection report. Previous Inspectors' euphemisms had not seemed to imply 'corporal', and I had mentally noted its absence.⁹

It was, however, a "Great mistake to omit [in the timetable] definite provision for English conversation in P class."¹⁰ Reading was very good on the whole; phonic work was "...exceptionally well taught. The method of teaching reading deserves special notice." However, "English was rather weaker than other subjects."¹¹ Bird reported that he "...should like to see the teacher insist upon sentences, and the children should speak out clearly and distinctly..." and he noted that Pronunciation had "... improved under the phonic system." [1907 05 27]

Bird found the Arithmetic "Very good indeed," and he approved of Mental Arithmetic being taken before the senior class. did its Arithmetic on slates; it was "A good plan to follow." However, "The lesson would be improved by the teacher's setting questions for all the classes, the answers being written on the slates. In this way a greater number of questions can be asked." Further, he recommended that the "Arith of class AP should be confined to the numbers that the children can comprehend; I should not teach counting beyond

⁸ The black board.

⁹ In a circular to Native Schools in 1879, John Hislop announced the policy on punishment thus: "The discipline in a Maori <sic> School should be mild but firm. Maori children when in School are so easily managed that you should hardly ever have much difficulty in dealing with them. You should, if possible, avoid inflicting corporal punishment. If you should ever have to resort to it you will record the fact in your Log Book." [Circulars to Native Schools E 37 Acc W2536 box 1 EDF 721: CIRCULAR NO 5: 1879.] In 1908, Hogben re-stated it thus: "The following are the instructions with regard to discipline and punishment in Native Schools. Attention is specifically directed to No. 4. 1. The discipline in a Maori school should be mild but firm; Maori children when in school are easily managed, and teachers should hardly ever have much difficulty in dealing with them. [Note the similarity to the wording in the 1879 circular by Hislop on duties of Native School teachers.] In the exercise of authority the teacher should be firm, kind, prudent, impartial, patient, and uniform; for lax discipline means frequent irritation, incompetency, and punishment. 2. Teachers are required to do all in their power to secure the good behaviour of their pupils, in the school and the playground, and when proceeding to or returning from school. Habits of cleanliness should be enforced, and pupils should be taught to be honest, truthful, considerate of the property and feelings of others, obedient to their teachers, their parents, and the laws of the country. 3. All degrading and injurious punishments must be avoided. The "boxing" of children's ears or striking a child upon the head is strictly forbidden. A violation of this rule may subject the offending teacher to dismissal. 4. Corporal punishment may as a last resort be inflicted by the head teacher only, and on the responsibility of the head teacher, who is expected at once to enter the particulars in the log book. 5. Corporal punishment may be inflicted for offences against morality, for gross impertinence, or for wilful and persistent disobedience. It must not be inflicted for failure or inability to learn or for trivial breaches of school discipline." [Circular memorandum for Teachers of Native Schools: Circulars to NS E 37 Acc W2536 box 1 EDF 742.]

¹⁰ That was a continuing theme in inspection reports; were the teachers particularly deaf to that advice, which was very nearly an instruction?

¹¹ That was *not* a very useful comment, unless it was supported by suggestions as to how to remedy their practice. If however English in this case was spoken English, then Bird did give advice on practice. As I indicate at several points in this study, it is not always clear what the terms mean, especially those that refer to aspects of language.

the numbers the children actually need, viz the first ten numbers in one year, and the first 20 in another year." Bird, judging by his comment that he "... was pleased with the way the classes were handled in these lessons," considered the teaching techniques of Lillian [and Mabel?] to be of a better than satisfactory order. [1907 05 27]

Turning to the subjects that were examined that did not count for pupil promotion purposes, Bird found "... the Drawing: work to be satisfactory and the books clean." In Drill, the "... dumbbell drill was done with energy and precision, though the range was not extensive." Singing was very good; and "the teachers had begun to use the solfa system with very creditable results." [1907 05 27]

Why there was a six month delay in the writing of this next letter is not recorded. In July 1907, Wylie wrote to the Department to report that the Chairman of the Committee had spoken to her about the rope for the punt, which was taken by a flood in January. She wrote that the children were swimming the river; could she, therefore, order a new rope? [1907 07 26] The Department gave her permission to buy a rope. The episode is inexplicable, and I have to ask, rhetorically, whether there was dereliction of duty on the part of Lillian Wylie, or W W Bird, or the Chairman, or all of the above.¹²

Lillian and Mabel Wylie's last few months at Te Kopua were unhappy ones. Lillian wrote in August that she was ill, and that the damp seemed to affect her very much. She asked to be transferred to Waiotapu, but if that was not possible, could they be transferred to any small school. [1907 08 10] A fairly desperate plea, which Bird again recommended for favourable consideration. Bird did *not* recommend action to alleviate the conditions.

In September, influenza was the problem. Wylie wrote:

I regret to say my sister and I were both ill last week with influenza and were unable to open school. The children were all laid up with influenza at the same time. The Chairman wrote today saying it would be desirable to close school for a day or two longer owing to the children being ill still and the weather being so bad. [1907 09 30]

In November, Mabel Wylie telegraphed the department from Rotorua that Lillian had met with an accident to her foot ... She had accompanied her sister to the sanatorium at Rotorua, Lillian being unable to travel alone. She was trying to get an assistant, and wished to remain in Rotorua for a few days. She asked for a reply, but there is no record of one. [1907 11 04] A few days later she wrote that she had

¹² It really is difficult to believe the continuing 'saga' of the crossing of the Waipa River; to have the children swimming it is on reflection bizarre, and it is difficult to believe that so many senior, responsible, overtly moral men could so often put these children at risk. The wonder is that none died crossing the river.

... Returned to Te Kopua and opened School on Friday the 8th. I regret to say I could not get an assistant in Rotorua, so I will have to teach the School my-self for a few weeks. My sister unfortunately sprained her foot very badly, and will be obliged to stay in the Rotorua Hospital for some weeks. She will return to take charge of the School as soon as possible. [1907 11 09]

There is no record of any reply to Mabel's telegram, or to her letter. However, before the end of 1907 the transfer of Lillian and Mabel Wylie to Matata Native School was approved.

I imagine they left without regret. Both appear to have ended their Native School careers at Matata, Lillian in 1909 and Mabel in 1913.

12

1908 - 1909

Johannes Ehrenfried Zimmermann

Johannes Ehrenfried Zimmermann was born on 12 October, 1863, so was aged 44 years when he was appointed to Te Kopua. There is no evidence of his earlier career, but Te Kopua was apparently his first experience teaching in Native Schools. His salary was to be £100 per annum. However, for reasons not given,¹ Zimmermann was not eligible for superannuation; he therefore asked for 5% of his salary to be deposited with the Public Trustee.² [1908 01 08] By April, Mrs E E Zimmermann had been appointed Sewing Mistress, for two hours per week, on a salary of £6 per annum. [1908 04 01] With that letter there was also an attendance return, showing an average of only 6.3 pupils. As in so many cases of this kind, the context of returns is not always clear. I suspect this return applied only to the pupils on the sewing roll. If that was the case, the number is still low, because there were nine girls on the roll at the end of 1908. What it perhaps indicates is that boys were no longer receiving sewing instruction.

Zimmermann wrote that he meant " ... to attend the meeting of teachers³ which is to take place in Auckland on 23rd, otherwise I might have been able to move a day or two earli-

¹ Perhaps because he was not a New Zealand citizen.

² In more recent times, the deduction would have been deposited with the National Provident Fund. If Zimmermann was born in Europe, he may not have become naturalised, and therefore would be restricted in some of his options. Certainly that was an issue in Taranaki in 1881. [See Arnold, Rollo, *New Zealand's Burning*, ... p 35.]

³ The meeting was convened by W W Bird to take advantage of teachers being in Auckland to discuss the proposed new syllabus for Native Schools then being developed. The attendance exceeded Bird's anticipations. The syllabus was freely discussed and few alterations were thought necessary. Teachers attended the three-day conference at their own expense, and Bird reported that the teachers "... showed a level of enthusiasm which speaks well for the service and should be a source of gratification for the Department." [AJHR, E2, 1908, p 14. The syllabus was gazetted in 1909; *NEW ZEALAND GAZETTE*, 30 September, 1909.] The syllabus runs to 33 pages. I briefly scanned it, and discovered that the Native School day was only 4¼ hours, 9.30 - 12.00 noon and 1.00 - 3.00 pm, with no interval in morning or afternoon school. That sent me searching the previous Codes, where I discovered that from 1880 the school day had been from 10 am - 12 noon and 1.00 - 3.00 pm, with no interval in morning or afternoon school. [AJHR 1880, H1f, p 6. *The Native Schools Code 1897*, Wellington: Government Printer, [Department of Education], 1997, p 19.]

er."⁴ [1908 01 08] This is the first, and for a very long time, the only, mention of any sort of 'meeting of teachers'. However, he was able to report that he had opened the school on 27 January 1908, so, for the second time, there was no loss of schooling for children because the new teacher was not available to take up duties. One of his first tasks was to arrange for the election of a school committee for the year, but there is no record of a return stating who made up that new committee.

On 1 April, Zimmermann sent in his salary abstract⁵ and the attendance return referred to above. He also wanted " ... remedies for the use of the natives." The Department's reply to that request was to instruct him to send in a list of the quantities he required to the Public Health Department.⁶ Zimmermann shortly after wrote that he did not have enough ingredients to make up a cough mixture; most remedies [were] old, and he could not read the labels. [1908 04 20] I find that interesting, because there had often been requisitions by his predecessors. However, he eventually reported that he had got his supplies, in triplicate!

In May, Zimmermann wrote that because the inspector was due, he presumed he would be correct in postponing the holidays. He also asked on what day they should observe Empire Day. [1908 05 11] If he was replied to, the reply is not in the record, but his letter implies that there were by 1908 holidays in May. The matter is confused, however, by a later letter, written shortly after Mr Porteous' inspection/examination visit on 19 April: "Owing to severe attack of influenza and bronchitis I closed the school from 20th with the consent of Mr Porteous and hope to be sufficiently recovered to reopen on 27th." [1908 05 2] There could not have been 'holidays', ie the two-week May holidays I took for granted, so perhaps the holidays Zimmermann was referring to were the Easter holidays.

John Porteous, in his inspection report, was generally positive. He could use a fine-tooth comb as well as any; in the Admission Register, one name was not indexed! In other respects the register was carefully attended to, and other records were neat, and well-kept. The buildings were in a clean condition; the teacher had a "good conception of what was

The immediate question is, why should Native Schools have shorter hours than Pakeha, Board, schools? I have to confess now that I have paid less attention than I should have to the Codes, the syllabi, for Native Schools, for I should have been aware that syllabi are fruitful sources of ideology. The other issue of course is the one now unearthed, the differences between the syllabi and the other rules for Native Schools and for Board schools. There are potentially very fruitful research topics therein. One other example lies in the syllabus for holders of Junior Scholarships. There are clear differences in the requirements for girls and boys, both in the core requirements and in the alternatives available. The discrimination against the girls is clear.

⁴ That comment suggests Zimmermann was already a teacher, otherwise it is difficult to image how he knew about the meeting, and, how he would have been qualified to attend it. An attendee at the conference would have had to have had experience in the Native Schools service to have been able to effectively participate in it.

⁵ I have not sighted a 'salary abstract', but they were often mentioned, and appeared to have been a necessary prelude to being paid.

⁶ Note that medicines were no longer supplied by the Justice Department, and that there was by then a Health Department.

necessary."⁷ The appliances and furniture were in good condition, the maps, pictures, etc, were "carefully guarded", and slates were clean and in good order. The gardens and grounds were in a "fair state", the huge hedges had been cut, and there was a general improvement. [1908 05 19]

Turning to the assessment of the management of the pupils, Porteous noted that Order was "Good; marching in and out orderly. The habit of obedience to orders is noticeable." That is an unusual choice of words, and what it is meant to convey is unclear, unless he was bored with writing "The children are well-behaved." A few punishments were recorded, but they were not severe, and " ... of course these are to be resorted to only when absolutely necessary." Corporal punishment is implied, but cannot be confirmed! The cleanliness of the pupils was "Very satisfactory, faces and hands were satisfactorily clean, states were cleaned properly." Porteous recommended that "As is done in other schools, a rigorous inspection should be made before marching into school." Referring to Tone he wrote "There appears to be a good working spirit among the children, and I think the people take a fair amount of interest in their school." [1908 05 19] Porteous only 'thought' the parents took a fair amount of interest in their school. In the light of subsequent events, it might have been wise for Porteous to have investigated more closely, instead of, as seems most likely, only asking the teacher and perhaps the chairman of the committee.

Turning to curriculum matters, Porteous found the

Timetable "Unsatisfactory in so far as some subjects are taken simultaneously in all classes. This is not at all a desirable or economical arrangement. By the process of dovetailing the subjects, and where desirable of grouping classes, a more workable Timetable could be obtained. Five hours of Arithmetic in the PPs while reading and Conversational English each receive 2½ are extravagant." The later criticism is quite explicable, but the former is much less so; I frankly do not understand it, for the procedures suggested *can* be taken to be very similar to those being critiqued. [1908 05 19]

On the Language subjects, Porteous reported that Reading was "Very Fair" in the Standards but, more phonic work was required. The English was also "Very Fair"; perhaps slightly acidly, he observed that the " ... directions of the syllabus will give assistance." Writing was "Very good indeed in all classes." Dictation and Spelling were "Good"; Slatework was "Very neat and well arranged," and Copybooks were "Very good and clean; the lower classes practise with lead pencil."⁸

⁷ Further confirmation that perhaps Zimmermann was teaching before he joined the Native School service.

⁸What else *would* young children practise with? A simple answer comes to mind: They could have been using slates and slate pencils; that was the first mention of 'lead pencils'.

As usual, Pronunciation was important; it was "Imperfect in a few cases; v's & l's were confused."

More generally on the Language subjects, Porteous judged that

The methods proceed on good lines. English and Reading are taught by methods which are desirable. I should like to see, however, more evidence of thoroughness, in eg word building and the use of phonics. Writing was exceptionally good throughout. It is desirable that the English, Reading of the PPs receive thorough, skilful and systematic treatment. [1908 05 19]

When those remarks are analysed, it is possible to draw the conclusion that inspectors became bored with what they had to do, a possible consequence being that they wrote what came close to nonsense. This section, " ... more evidence of thoroughness, in eg word building and phonics ... " affirms acceptable existing practise, but these two sections, " ... taught by methods which are desirable..." and " ... receive thorough, skilful and systematic treatment,"⁹ are meaningless without content, for they state what I would have thought were standard practice. The remarks on Arithmetic: "Not good in PP."; on "Good lines'.... more evidence of thoroughness..." are in the same category.

Perhaps whether or not we presume Porteous actually did give advice, or gave demonstration lessons, etc, will depend on how positive we are feeling!

This next section of Porteous' report was not seen by the Zimmermanns; a note in red, "Omit", beside it is self-explanatory. It is the first inspection report, apart from the very adverse assessment of Mrs Tennent, to contain an assessment private to the Department.

The teachers appear earnest and energetic in their work. [Mrs Zimmermann assists in school.] and already show good methods. Mr Zimmermann had a very bad cold and appeared to be ill. [1908 05 19]

The comment "already show good methods" suggests that the Zimmermanns *were* new to Native School teaching. If they were new, they were quick learners, for that was report for practised teachers, it is a positive report, and we can only hope Porteous had made clear that was his judgement. That "Mr Zimmermann had a very bad cold and appeared to be ill," is confirmed by this letter from Zimmermann already noted:

Owing to severe attack of influenza and bronchitis I closed the school from 20th with the consent of Mr Porteous and hope to be sufficiently recovered to reopen on 27th. [1908 05 25]

Zimmermann also asked for a 'sowing' [sic] book: Though the mis-spelling was marked by an unidentified departmental reader, if a letter drawing his attention to it was sent to Zimmermann, it was not filed. In earlier years were reprimanded for their mistakes.

⁹ What else *would* be wanted? Unskilful?

Shortly after the inspection Zimmermann requested permission to purchase sewing material so the children could make clothes for their own use, ie, so they could do 'useful' work. In reply, Gibbes informed him that

the practice once observed of supplying material in quantity for the purpose of making articles of clothing has been discontinued, although there is of course nothing to prevent a child from providing its [sic] own material for making garments at the usual sewing lessons. The calico and flannel samplers now provided by the Department are considered sufficient for the purpose of instruction in needlework and of examination tests at the annual examination." [1908 05 30]¹⁰

Near the end of the winter of 1908, Zimmermann wrote to the Department:

There have been several deaths among the natives within the last fortnight and on Friday last one of the scholars, Mira Rawhiti, passed away. He had been ailing for some months [He had missed the examinations] and when I saw him on Sunday last he did not seem to be dangerously ill; nevertheless I arranged with his mother to take him to the doctor on Wednesday. But on that day he got much worse, one side of his body becoming paralysed. The doctor was brought the following day but the poor lad was beyond human help; he died on the next day.

I presume that I shall be justified in closing the school on Tuesday afternoon to give the children and myself the opportunity of attending the funeral. [1908 08 17]

Zimmermann referred to a 'funeral', not a 'tangi', which perhaps indicated his distance from the life and language of the people amongst whom he and Mrs Zimmermann worked. The department did reply that he was indeed justified in closing the school.

The next sequence of letters and events covered the three months from mid-September to mid-December, 1908. At issue was the low attendance of the pupils, and the future of the school. It began when Bird wrote to the Department from Auckland

I have to report that I met the Teacher of the Te Kopua Native School here yesterday and he informed me that the attendance of the children at the school had been of late very unsatisfactory. There have been very few weeks lately in which the attendance has not been less than half the roll number, and the average appears to be somewhere about fifty or sixty per cent.

I have asked Mr Zimmermann to report fully to the Department on the matter. At the same time I questioned him as to the relations between himself and the people - They have no complaints to make or fault to find. Poor Zimmermann looks worried to death over the matter and I am sure he is a fine fellow - thoroughly conscientious and an earnest man. He says it is disheartening to him to find only one or two children at school when he opens in the morning and that the people take their children away for very trifling excuses.

I do not think we can afford to keep a man in a place where so poor an appreciation of his effort is exhibited. Several of the children can without much difficulty attend the Board school at Kakepuku. The only course seems to be to tell the people that failing a substantial increase in the attendance, the school will be closed at the end of the year. Mr Zimmermann and his wife would suit Rangitahi very well. It is a pity they cannot be transferred there now. [1908 09 10; emphasis in original.]

¹⁰This seems an example of 'finance driving provision'. There is perhaps an issue worthy of study in 'minor' items such as this one. It is I think an example of something that I think I am increasingly becoming aware of, that the attitude of the department was becoming 'less generous'. Whether it reflects changes in personnel, eg Hogben, Bird, Porteous, or changes in the political climate, or the minister/s, or budgetary restraints, I do not at this time know, and it may be very difficult to 'document' the phenomena I think I am reading about. This is written *after* documenting the determined efforts to close the school after Douglas's departure, when the phenomena first really began to impinge on my consciousness.

Bird was of the opinion that "*Several* of the children can without much difficulty attend the Board school at Kakepuku." As we shall see, W Searancke did not agree, but we *can* ask what Bird thought those not included in 'several' were going to do? Stay home and miss the asserted benefits of schooling!

As instructed, Zimmermann wrote to the department to report that he had spoken to [Mr W] Searancke, and that the Committee had met in the last week before the holidays; the average attendance that week was 15.2. Zimmermann listed the names, and the attendances [presumably for the past term, of all the pupils; their attendances ranged from 88 down to 6,¹¹ out of a possible 94. [1908 09 14]

Sir E O Gibbes then wrote to Mr W Searancke, Chairman of the Te Kopua Native School Committee:

I have the honour to inform you that the Department's attention has been drawn to the fact that the attendance at the Te Kopua Native School has for some time past been very unsatisfactory. This state of affairs can only be regarded as indicating a complete want of appreciation on the part of the Committee and parents of the benefits of a school, and I have to request you to be so good as to bring the matter before the Committee without delay. Unless a substantial increase in the attendance is shown before the end of the year the Department will be compelled to consider the question of closing the school. To keep the school open under the conditions existing at Te Kopua is not possible.¹² [1908 09 16]

Searancke's reply is equally 'English' in its nature, especially in its opening:

Yours of 16th inst duly to hand. The poor attendance is not for want of appreciation of the benefits of a school.... or want of interest on part of the Committee ... simply through sickness [sic] on the part of the children, wet weather and scarcity of food for the children in some cases.

But [sic] now I am pleased to be able to say the attendance has improved again very quickly, and I can only express the hope that we may be able to keep it up. In the event of this School being closed, the few children attending this School could not reach any other. [1908 09 28]

Thus did Searancke reject Bird's assertion that the children could easily go to the board school at Kakepuku. However, Gibbes would have been entitled to be just a little, but only a little, suspicious of such a rapid turnaround in the attendance, and find some credibility in this next letter from Zimmermann, who was not the only teacher at Te Kopua to accuse the parents of letting the children do as they liked:

There has been marked improvement in the attendances. Mr Searancke and other members of the Committee have done their best ... also four more names on roll. The last three weekly averages were 18.0, 18.5, 21.8, the highest attendance was 23, and the present roll is 24. The Committee are very anxious to keep the school, but sometimes they seem to be inclined to let things go their own way, or rather to let the children do as they like.

However, I feel sure they are now fully aroused to the necessity of keeping up the attendance, if they wish to retain the school. [1908 10 02]

¹¹ The pupil who attended for three days out of 47 would have gained very little, if any, benefit from the three days.

¹² In those words Searancke vigorously rejects Bird's assertion above that the children could go to the board school at Kakepuku.

In his response to Zimmermann, Gibbes wrote that he was pleased to learn that things were improving. However, he wrote, "In the event of their [sic]¹³ being a falling off later on will you please report." [1908 10 06] Zimmermann replied in December that the situation was much better; the average attendance slightly exceeded 18, the average roll was 21.1, and the roll when he wrote was 20. [1908 12 14]¹⁴

In assessing that sequence of letters, I am reminded that almost every inspection report refers to good relations, good tone, good attitude of children and parents, and so on. What credibility can such comments have when the Department so very quickly, so very easily, brought out the big stick? There is no evidence that Zimmermann, Bird, or Gibbes remembered the several deaths, including that of a pupil, or that it had clearly been a difficult winter for the people of Te Kopua. I understand all too clearly, because I faced it often in my own career, that there are times when ways have to be found to stop people and have them reassess the situation, but I have to judge that there was a significant want of feeling and sympathy on the part of the officials of the Department in the present case.

There is no evidence that any effort was made to talk with the parents, with the community, to gain an appreciation of their understandings of the issue. The only tool the Department had was coercion.

That the improvement in attendance persisted is reflected in the fact that in April, 1909, when W W Bird inspected Te Kopua, Mrs E E Zimmermann is recorded as being the Assistant

This next letter from Zimmermann, reporting his illness, and seeking his removal from Te Kopua because of the conditions, can be interpreted as giving support to my previous comments, though I should not be interpreted as lacking in sympathy for Zimmermann. It is quite clear that living at Te Kopua was not like living in paradise!

The climate here, being very changeable and wet, seems to have had a very bad effect on my health which previous to coming to Te Kopua was excellent. Since May I have had to consult the doctor five times, and yesterday he informed me that I was completely run down and needed a rest and a change. As the holidays are so near, I shall soon have a few weeks rest; but I feel that this will not brace me up sufficiently for another winter in Te Kopua. Would it be possible for the Department to remove me to another school within the next few months? I may perhaps state that as the Waipa has to be crossed, summer is the best time for moving.

¹³ Again we are reminded Departmental officers, in this case Gibbes, also were capable of error; confusing the 'their' and 'there' used to be a quite heinous crime!

¹⁴ What must again be noted is the rapid fluctuation in the roll.

I am aware that we have been here only a year, [and] would not make this request but for the fact that, had it not been for the help of my wife, I would have had to ask for sick leave on two occasions. [1908 12 14]

Bird noted that he was inclined to support Zimmermann. Bird thought his was a case for favourable consideration, whereupon a letter went to Zimmermann informing him that there was no suitable vacancy, but that he would be favourably considered as soon as there was opportunity.

I am surprised this next letter by Zimmermann was not written much earlier in 1909 than April, or even earlier, in 1908.

Zimmermann reported that there were some needed repairs before winter set in. The roof of the kitchen leaked very badly in heavy rain. He had tried to mend it, with only limited success. The fireplace was very dangerous; mortar had come out, and mice had made the holes bigger. Mr Rickit¹⁵ had reported [report not in the file] that the chimney completely rebuilt would cost £8.0.0. He could not, he said, ask for the repairs the previous year, as the heavy rains had not come when the Inspector was there for the annual inspection. [1909 04 01] F S Severne¹⁶ reported to Sir E O Gibbes that a new teacher was to be placed in charge of the Te Kopua Native School very shortly, and it was perhaps desirable to have the works carried out before the present teacher left. The repairs appeared to be very necessary. The Minister gave his "Approval" in his scrawl¹⁷ and Gibbes passed for payment Rickit's account for £21, which included one guinea¹⁸ to Searancke for inspecting and approving the work done, this arrangement being on the advice of Zimmermann before he left.

The file records that Zimmermann was appointed to Te Whaiti, and that W H Holloway was appointed to Te Kopua. Like Zimmermann, Holloway was new to the service. [1909 05 03] Zimmermann went to Te Whaiti, but Holloway does not again appear in the record for Te Kopua. Whilst not specifically looking for it, I did not notice his name when searching the Department's Annual Reports for other teacher movements.

This was happening at a time of change in inspection policy. Holloway's appointment letter makes it clear that the rules for inspection, and the forms used, were under review. The

¹⁵Builder. C J Rickit was obviously an important tradesman in early Te Awamutu; there is a display in the Te Awamutu Museum which is a replica of his shop.

¹⁶Clerk in the Department of Education

¹⁷The very close-up involvement of the Minister continually surprises me; it is hard, at this distance, to conceive of the Minister having to approve what were simple, routine, repairs.

¹⁸£1 1 0, ie 21 shillings. I remember seeing examples [it was a gold coin] in my extreme youth.

Head Teacher would in the future examine all pupils up to Standard III; the inspector would probably check the Head Teacher's assessments. The Inspector would examine all pupils in Standards 4 - 7,¹⁹ but could accept the Head Teacher's examination at his discretion.²⁰ This is also confirmation that promotions took place when the Inspector visited, not at the end of the year. [1909 05 22]. The date of the inspection was therefore significant.²¹

Why Zimmermann had written for books for Standard 5 is not obvious, for no child was promoted to that standard; there had been no pupil in Standard 5 at Te Kopua to this time.

W W Bird's inspection report of 22 May, 1909, opened quite differently to all previous reports. It is the first time I have seen a comment that recognised the children as personalities, and treated them as human.

I have not seen cleaner children anywhere; their appearance reflects credit upon the teacher and upon themselves. I had no occasion to find fault and found the children very satisfactory to deal with.

Bird gave high marks in that part of the report: three 10s and a 9. The tone continued. Oral English was very good. "I was glad to note complete sentences were used in answers." Written English was "Very good. Here and there a confusion in the tenses was evident, but the work had been satisfactorily taught." Reading also was "Very good. The younger classes read with good pronunciation and readily comprehend what they are reading about.". The Writing was "Fairly good." Spelling in the lower classes was good; moderate in the upper ones.

Bird found the Arithmetic in the P class to be first rate, in Standard II it was weak, in Standard III it was very good, and in Standard IV it was very good indeed. Bird added that "Careful and neat methods of arrangement should be insisted upon."²² For Singing, Bird noted that the "Part songs were sung very sweetly with good enunciation; just a little 'sliding' noticeable; modulator work good." In Drawing, "Natural objects have formed the subjects of lessons with fair results."

Bird found that in Nature Study and Geography, "The children in the upper classes especially were quite at home in their work."

¹⁹Few Native School teachers would have had Standard VII pupils to examine. In 1916 there were just 22 Maori and seven European pupils in Standard VII, just 0.5 percent of the total. See the Department's Annual Report, *AJHR*, E3, 1916, p 4.

²⁰George Hogben, in a circular to Native Schools, set out new regulations which allowed Head Teachers to examine pupils, and to organise their Schools, ie grade [classify] their pupils, as they thought best. An Examination Register, introduced for the first time, was to be kept. [Circulars to NS E 37Acc W2536 box 1 1909 11 11]

²¹I fortuitously acquired, in a copy of Davey's *Fifty Years of National Education in New Zealand: 1878 - 1928*, two certificates for a pupil in Wairoa in the 1890s. She was passed into Std 4 in May 1893, and into Std 6 in June 1895. The latter is entered on a certificate destined to be completed each year, Std 1 to Std 6; in this pupil's case, it is the only entry - the Std 4 pass is not entered.

Moral Instruction and Health appeared for the first time.²³ Bird reported that he was " ... glad to note from the logbook that lessons on Health had been taken consistently. For Handwork, Bird found "Very fair specimens of modelling in plasticine²⁴ were shown," and in Sewing²⁵ he reported that "The eldest girl has received useful practical instruction; the sewing in P class appears also to be carefully taught." Phys Ed [Physical Education] involved "A useful set of breathing exercises followed by dumbbell and extension drill performed in a satisfactory manner."

On Zimmermann's discretion in determining promotions, Bird wrote: "I quite agree with the Head Teacher's judgement in this respect." On the associated grouping of classes and the disposition of staff, Bird recorded: "This is entirely satisfactory. Mrs Zimmermann has taken charge of the Class P with very gratifying success." Following this theme, Instruction of Class P was "Very good indeed. I have suggested as another help in teaching of English that conversations be held by the children upon objects presented to them. I was glad to find that in each subject a good preparation is being given on approved lines."²⁶

Both Standard V pupils, a boy aged 14.6 and a girl aged 12.6, were absent. One boy listed as being aged 14.1 received no marks for writing, spelling, or composition. Bird wrote "Probably weak mentally." and added "Said to be over 18 years of age." The boy was not actually given a 'Standard', but he presumably continued in Std IV. His brother was age 11.3 in Std I, and "Too weak" for Std 2. Four out of six boys passed, but no girls. Four pupils who were 'exempt'²⁷ had ages ranging from 5.0 to 11.0. One was in Standard I, aged 11.0, the rest were P class, ages up to 9.9.²⁸ {1909 05 22}

²²This remark means that he thought they were not being insisted on!

²³In a circular to schools, Head Teachers were informed that Inspectors would deliver copies of *Special Reports on Educational Subjects No 8: Outline of Scheme for Teaching Hygiene and Temperance* to all schools whilst on their rounds. [Circulars to NS E 37 Acc W2536 box 1 1909] There were 18 of these, published between 1899 and 1940; this is the only one noted in Circular to NS, but later ones may well have been announced in the *Education Gazette*. I have No 14b, *Speech Training*, one of three published in 1925, when the Department had a real rush of blood to the head. [Cf Ewing, J L, *Special Reports on Educational Subjects*:²⁷]

²⁴It was 'plasticene' on a previous occasion.

²⁵The words had to be written into the report by inspector.

²⁶I am reminded of the 'Gloria Tate' method recommended to New Zealand teachers teaching English in Pacific Island schools in the 1960s and 1970s.

²⁷There is no evidence as to what the term meant.

²⁸There is a whole issue in this, the progress of the pupils through the 'system' but I have not yet worked out how to get into it. It will I think be necessary to set up a database for all pupils, and monitor/manipulate their progress through the system. However, that is a task beyond the scope of this study. Whilst it is clear that many of these children made only very slow progress, I am reminded that the problem was widespread. I have clear memories of my Infant days, in the late 1930s, when boys in their mid teens at my two-teacher school in Taranaki were in Standard III. One of them was found in the gravel pit on the way home from school with a somewhat younger girl. It was a *cause celebre* but we must remember they were indeed 'young men'. [Zimmermann received a copy of the report on Te Kopua although he had transferred to Te Whaiti by that time.]

It is difficult to equate the apparent ages, the examination results, etc, with the Inspector's remarks about the ability of Mrs Zimmermann, and the quality of the programme, or for that matter with the positive remarks of previous inspections.

At the end of May, 1909, Zimmermann wrote to Bird concerning a possible application by Mrs Charles Ormsby to teach at Te Kopua. She was from Queensland, and had visited Zimmermann with her husband:

As she will have sent in her testimonials to the department, I may only say, that I have always heard her well spoken of, and I believe that, if she can [and we think she can and will] adapt herself to the new methods, she will make a successful teacher at Te Kopua. [1909 05 28]

Later, Charles Ormsby wrote to the department to inform it that Mrs Ormsby regretted she was unable to apply.

Once again, Te Kopua was without a teacher. Zimmermann apparently left in late May, and it was not until late September 1909 that Gibbes wrote to W Searancke, Chairman of the Te Kopua Native School Committee, informing him that

The appointment ... now held over for reconsideration by the Government [note: by Government, not by the Department] ...attendance far from satisfactory ... actually worse than returns indicated ... state of affairs that cannot be allowed to continue ... Department reluctant to take the extreme step of closing any school that is loyally supported, and it now devolves upon the people to show cause why such steps should not be taken, and, if possible, to give the Department some assurance and guarantee that there will be no recurrence of that irregular attendance which has been a feature of the Te Kopua School. ... Please put the matter before them for their serious consideration. [1909 07 23]

In reply, Searancke wrote he

...was not a little surprised at the tone of same. As the attendance at the time of Mr Zimmermann's transfer was better than it had been for some time previous.

At the last examination some of the Schollars [sic] have "passed out" of School - others again have left the district, so that about 15 or 16 would be the most attendance at present, for a time at least.

If this School is closed it means that these get no education whatever as their [sic] is no school within many miles.

Referring to the low attendance you quote, I may say the same thing would have happened again this season, as the rivers have been in high flood and the Country generally under water so that the children could not possibly have attended during that time.

I may [??]²⁹ that some of the children attending this school have to travel 3 miles crossing creeks and the Waipa River, which are dangerous at the best time, and the tracks ... , owing to the country being low lying and wet.

There are only two children attending resident within less than one mile of the School, so that I think you can easily account for the poor attendance in winter time as the tracks are often knee-deep in mud for the children to plod through.

The School Committee have always been serious to do all they can to keep the attendance up to the mark, and are quite prepared to continue, as they are fully aware of the disabilities the children would be placed under if this School is closed. And we can only express the hope that your Department per se [sic] its way clear to reopen again at the earliest date as it is now nearly 3 months since Mr Zimmermann left. [1909 08 16]

²⁹ Writing indecipherable.

Gibbes very quickly responded that Searancke's letter would " ... receive serious consideration ... [and that] the Government ... [would] communicate in due course." {1909 08 20}

In the meantime, the people of Te Kopua had not been idle, for it was shortly after that [Mr Walter] Symes, MP,³⁰ wrote to Sir James Carroll, acting Prime Minister,³¹ to inform him that he had been

requested by the Maoris in and around the Kopua district to bring under your notice that there is at present at Kopua a School and a Teacher's residence, both empty, whilst there are over twenty children of school age, all willing and their parents are anxious to send them to the school but cannot do so for want of a teacher; this is a serious matter that ought to be remedied at once - I therefore on behalf of these people ask you to give this matter your early and favourable consideration. Kia ora [1909 08 26]

Carroll's response was that he had drawn the matter to the attention of Geo Fowlds.³²

It was presumably in response to a request from the Minister of Education that W W Bird wrote this report for the Department:

Te Kopua School is situated on a flat practically surrounded by rivers ... all of which are unbridged and are frequently unfordable. Flat ... overgrown ... gorse and scrub ... very damp and unhealthy. The Committee has written: "This season the rivers have been in high flood, and the country generally under water, so that the children could not possibly have attended during that time."

...considerable difficulty finding suitably qualified teachers ... health of ... three teachers ... undoubtedly affected by the damp climate ... last ... transferred on this account. Dept done what it could ... three offered position ... declined [Bird restated the 'official' view on roll, attendance, etc] ... very little inducement ... where climatic conditions are apparently so unhealthy.

Site held by Wesleyan Church tenure lapses if not used for six months ... under the circumstances I can only suggest that the Wesleyan Trustees be approached with a view to their assisting the Department to obtain a teacher. It may be that among the young Missionaries in training, someone may be found to take up a case of this kind. [1909 09 16]

It was almost another month before Gibbes wrote to the Wesleyan Trustees in terms of the recommendation in the last part of Bird's memorandum, " ... that among the young Missionaries in training, someone may be found to take up a case of this kind. [1909 10 11]³³

A few days after Gibbes had written to the Wesleyan Trust, Searancke wrote a 'hurry-up'

³⁰ I am mystified. The only Symes in the Parliamentary record is Mr Walter Symes, MP for the *Egmont and Patea* electorates, both a long way from Te Kopua, from 1896 - 1908. This episode was in 1909!

³¹ Sir James Carroll was the first Maori person to represent a non-Maori electorate, and was I think the first and only Maori person to be Prime Minister; he would I think rank second only to Sir Apirana Ngata in mana among Maori MPs.

³² Minister of Education. It was in the middle of all this that Sir E O Gibbes sent the following 1909 circular on the *Suppression of Tohunga Act 1907* to all Native Schools: "The attitude that teachers must take in respect of Tohungaism must necessarily depend to a great deal upon circumstances, but seeing that their principal business is the maintenance of efficient schools, it may be said generally that this object will not be promoted by any action on their part that would directly offend the prejudices of the Maoris. It will probably be necessary for them as a rule to treat the Tohunga question with a very light hand. The aim would be to overcome the difficulty as a whole, in time, by means of steady, patient, well-directed effort towards the general enlightenment of the people.

Nevertheless, the "professing or pretending to possess supernatural powers in the treatment or cure of any disease" is a matter that may well be found to interfere prejudicially with the duty, which is also cast upon teachers, of caring for the sick, and, therefore, if any flagrant case of the kind should come under their notice it should be reported to the Department, with as much circumstantial detail as will afford the means of determining whether or not a prosecution should be instituted.

In other directions, offences against the Act are not the concern of teachers." [Circulars to NS E 37 Acc W2536 box 1 EDF 1909 08 20]

Whilst there is no evidence this was an issue at Te Kopua, it could well have had the effect of reinforcing any negative attitudes teachers might have had towards Maori culture and beliefs.

letter, pointing out that it was " ... now some time since they had heard from the Dept ... in your communication you hinted at the probability of this School being closed ... coming under the Govt. Retrenchment Scheme."³⁴ [1909 10 20]

There is no record of a reply to that letter, but there is evidence that a month later the Department was taking steps to replace Zimmermann.³⁵ [1909 11 22] It is also evident that Te Kopua was, again, short-changed. It was to be closed for two terms, until the replacement teacher, R A Douglas, re-opened the school.

³³The Wesleyan Trustees did not reply until the end of February, [9110 02 28] when they recommended Mokena Patupahi, [spelling unsure] [a married former student at Three Kings, Auckland], to which the department had to reply that the post was filled. There was no word of thanks in the Department's letter!

³⁴ That is, I am sure, the only time there was explicit reference to budgetary restraints.

³⁵He had been transferred to Te Whaiti

1910 - 1911

Robert Alexander Douglas

Robert and Mrs A Douglas apparently began their careers in the Native School service in 1904 at Wharekahika Native School.¹ They continued at Wharekahika until 1909, although Mrs Douglas was not teaching that year. She did not appear in the department's Annual Report as a teacher at Te Kopua, although she did teach there².

The beginning of the process that led to the transfer of Douglas to Te Kopua was this memorandum written by W W Bird for George Hogben:

Te Kopua Grade IIa: .. unless school resumes before end of this month the buildings will revert to the Wesleyan Mission Board ... I propose Mr R Douglas be transferred immediately ... He has not proved very successful at Hicks Bay, and the change may be only preliminary to his retirement, but I should like him to have one [more] chance. [1909 11 16]

Hicks Bay was not to be without a teacher; Bird had a recommendation to replace Douglas. What is clear is that this is another example of Te Kopua not rating highly, for Bird and Hogben were clearly prepared to appoint to Te Kopua a teacher they were considering dismissing.

Soon after, Wm Searancke wrote to W T Jennings,³ [1909 11 24] who wrote to Geo Fowlds,⁴ who wrote to Hogben, to ask Hogben to draft a letter so that he, Fowlds, could reply to Jennings. The reply canvassed the history, the conditions, etc, and went on to say

¹Douglas was aged 28 when he entered the Native Schools service. It appears probable that all, or very nearly all, those who entered the service had entered from other occupations. I am reminded that originally there was no provision for pupil teachers in the service, and apparently no provision for entry-training. There is another perhaps interesting research topic in searching out the previous occupations, and for that matter succeeding occupations of those who did not retire from the service.

²To be included in the Department's Annual Report, people had to be in a position on 31 December.

³MP for Taumarunui. His thirty-year career started with ten years as a Member of the Legislative Council for the Auckland Provincial District, followed by twenty years as MP for Egmont, Taumarunui and finally Waitomo. It was I think unusual to be an MLC before being an MP. I am at a loss to understand why the MP for *Taumarunui* was asked by the people of *Te Kopua* to take up their case. It is a long way from Pirongia to Taumarunui. However, it is not as far as Pirongia to Patea; these people surely had their net cast wide when necessary!

⁴Minister of Education.

that three teachers had declined the position,⁵ and Jennings was then informed that, "To meet the difficulty it is now proposed to remove Mr R A Douglas. He will take up his new duties with the least possible delay."

Hogben had, therefore, accepted Bird's advice, and had recommended to the Minister of Education that Douglas be transferred to Te Kopua. His memorandum included information on salaries⁶ and on transfer costs⁷. [1909 11 16] The minister clearly approved the transfer⁸, and Douglas, two days before Searancke wrote to W T Jennings, was sent a telegram informing him that

You are transferred to Native School Te Kopua Waikato. Prepare to leave at once. Wire collect how many members in family stating adults and children. [1909 11 22]⁹

Douglas informed the Department that they would leave as soon as possible, but the weather was an issue, and, because Mrs Douglas' teeth were causing problems, the doctor had advised they should spend a week in Auckland; they would leave for Te Kopua immediately afterwards. [1909 12 00]

Douglas and his family arrived at Te Kopua on 30 December.¹⁰ The school re-opening is not recorded, but the punt which had caused so much difficulty for earlier teachers engaged Douglas' attention quite soon. He was obliged to inform the Department that a meeting of the Committee had agreed to buy "Eight Fathoms of New Rope and Two Blocks. ... The punt worked one side of the river in turn." The matter was "Urgent." [1910 02 15] The file reveals no evidence of the department's response to the request.

Autumn was still in full swing when Douglas wrote to the Department, revealing that he thought he had not got a good deal in the transfer to Te Kopua. He had, he thought, been " ... honest and straightforward with the Department take this opportunity to say that he was very disappointed with the transfer. He hoped to do some good work for the Department."¹¹

⁵There are no letters in the Te Kopua file of letters offering appointments, or letters declining the offers.

⁶Grade IIA: £125 - £135; Grade IIB: £135 - £150.

⁷The adult boat fare from Hicks Bay to Auckland was £6; the adult rail fare, Auckland to Te Pahi, was not given; Te Pahi is a trig station west of Otorohanga, and there must in 1910 have been a railway station close by. Previous teachers had used Te Awamutu station

⁸I wonder if he considered the costs before giving his approval!

⁹Reply: "Myself, wife, boy three years and baby ten months." [1909 11 26] Talk about puppets on a string! The Department transferred teachers at will. See Appendix 3.

¹⁰Douglas informed the Department by telegram.

¹¹ This is one of the better examples of a style of writing quite foreign to letter writers to departments who live in the late 20th century

Douglas had glanced at the Quarterly returns, and had asked around district. He had found that one or two pupils had left because they were over age, and one or two had gone to Board schools whilst Te Kopua was closed, and were not returning.

Moreover, we do not like the place; it is too low-lying and shut in. Mrs Douglas has been in indifferent health since we came here. [1910 04 03]

This could be labelled “The Te Kopua jinx!”

Gibbes was equally honest in his reply, which is also revealing of the department's attitude to teachers who were not deemed 'efficient'. Douglas had been 'punished', disciplined, for his inefficiency, but because he had not been told that was why he was transferred, he was not aware he was being disciplined, and therefore could not be expected to take remedial action. It was a most interesting, but unrewarding, theory of learning.¹² In the event, because he was discouraged by his experience at Te Kopua, his effectiveness was likely to be even lower. However, the Department now came clean!

I am sorry to have to agree with you that the school is a poor one, and I regret very much to hear that the locality does not suit Mrs Douglas's health. Nevertheless, it is necessary for me to point out that your management of the Wharekahika School was regarded by the Department as by no means satisfactory. The unfavourable nature of the Inspectors' reports on your work for several years shows that, from the point of view of efficiency, your school occupied a low position. Your transfer to another school was considered necessary by the Department not only in the interests of the Wharekahika School but also in your own interests. You were accordingly transferred to Te Kopua chiefly with a view to giving you a further opportunity of showing whether you can do successful work in a Native School. Your request for a transfer to another school is noted, but it must be borne in mind that the Department, before giving effect to such request, will be guided by the results of your work at Te Kopua. Evidence of successful work is an essential qualification for transfer to a school of higher grade. [1910 04 15]

It should be note that Douglas had *not* applied for a school of higher grade, but of the *same* grade. Douglas acknowledged the frank and open nature of Gibbes reply; he informed Gibbes that there were only twelve children. He told Gibbes he wished to apply for the teachership of Rakanui, which was being established in the Kawhia district. [1910 05 02] Gibbes informed him that the post was filled. [1910 05 19]

Whilst there is no evidence of any communication in the record, the department clearly thought it had good reason to be concerned that the Wesleyan Trustees would reclaim the school site and buildings.¹³ There was also the question of Douglas' salary, on which he

¹²It reinforces my belief that theories of learning are deeply political in their consequences.

¹³At this point, it is interesting to note that in July, 1908, the department wrote to the Wesleyan Mission Property Trustees, requesting the renewal of the lease, for we " ... expect [the] school to continue for another 21 years." [1908 07 21] The Trustees agreed to the renewal. [I note the address for the Trustees was now c/o Buddle & Button, not c/o of Whitaker and Russell.]

had written earlier, concerned that his salary was to be reduced because of his transfer.
[1910 05 04]

It was these two concerns which led Bird to write a memorandum for Hogben, in which he thought it fair to regard Te Kopua as having been "open" from the date on which the teacher was transferred to it. It had retained Grade II, in which it was placed at the time the transfer was made. He went on: "I may add that by the terms of the lease on which the ground is held, the closing of the school for six months involves the reversion to the Trustees of the land and all the buildings thereon."

Bird was well aware that there had been more than six months between the departure of Zimmermann and the arrival of Douglas.

Hogben continued what in retrospect was a kind of fiction, an apparent defensive move against the Wesleyan Trustees:

As the teacher was appointed on the 20 Nov and instructed to proceed at once to Te Kopua the school should, I think, be regarded as open, and salary should be paid accordingly.

The teacher should perhaps be warned not to give up the property to the lessors or any other persons without the express authority of the Department to that effect. [1910 05 12]

It *is* possible Hogben was wanting to ensure that the school could continue if the department decided it should, whilst being well aware of its difficulties. It can also be argued that Hogben's stature was *not* increased by the fiction!

The next event reveals the Department at its disciplinary best! Douglas wrote to the Department that 14 May was the date appointed for the annual visit to the school. It was a very wet day, but all the available children, ten in number, had assembled, as well as some of the Committee. The Inspector, however, did not come. Douglas concluded:

I kept on with school every day this week, which should have been the First Term Vacation, in expectation of the Inspector's arrival. I am, therefore, having the vacation from May 23rd.

I imagine that the wet weather caused the Inspector to pass on, but I think he might have let me know of any change in his plans. [1910 05 21]

On his return to Wellington, Porteous noted on Douglas' letter that

Inspectors do not pass on for such a reason: the fact that no word was received by teacher should have indicated to him that the Inspector was still to be expected.

Porteous had written to Hogben at the time:

I have to report that on visiting Te Kopua School yesterday [23rd] I found that the school was closed, and the teacher was so far as I could find absent from Te Kopua.

It may be that the term holidays were being taken.

The teacher was advised [by letter; inserted] per Mr Herlihy that the examination would be held on the 23rd inst. I had telegraphed to Mr Herlihy on 14th inst asking him to advise Douglas [Note 'Mr' omitted;

R A Douglas

he was *not* pleased] of the date. Herlihy informed me that he had done so immediately on receipt of the telegram.

Porteous informed Gibbes that

Floods delayed my return from Wharekawa. I telegraphed, however, at the first opportunity to Herlihy asking him so advise Douglas for the 23rd May. Herlihy received my wire on the 16th and immediately wrote to Douglas. It seems that Douglas did not receive Herlihy's letter before the 21st. I think Douglas ['Douglas' replaces 'he' crossed out] should have communicated with the Dept concerning his holidays instead of imagining things. The school can be taken in August by Mr Bird.

Gibbes therefore wrote to Douglas:

In reply to your letter of 21st ultimo I have to say that it appears from a report received from the Inspector that your school was visited on the 23rd May, when it was found that the school was closed. Flooded rivers and bad weather had delayed the Inspector, but at the first opportunity [14th May] an attempt was made to advise you of the date on which your school was to be visited. It was assumed that this notice, which Mr Herlihy, of Parawera Native School, was asked to send you, did not reach you in time. Had you communicated with the Department and awaited instructions before closing school for the vacation you would have followed a course less likely to lead to confusion. The very fact that you received no word was evidence the Inspector had not passed on. Under similar circumstances in the future please communicate with the Department before taking action. [1910 06 06]

In defence of Douglas, we may, at this distance, note that Porteous should have been well aware of quite frequent delays with the mail, and further, that if a telegram could be used to give approval for the closing of the school [1910 07 28] why could Porteous not have telegraphed Douglas direct, or communicated through the Department, instead of working through another school, which would put additional pressure on that teacher? We can also observe again the department's cavalier attitude to vacations. The episode reveals the Department in a disciplinarian, negative state of mind, which if general could not have been good for the schools it was managing.

Whilst she does not appear in the Department's Annual Report as being on the staff of Te Kopua in 1910, Mrs Douglas was apparently employed¹⁴, for she sought, and was granted, leave of absence to go to Auckland, [1910 07 03] and was two months in Auckland, until the end of September. [1910 09 26].

Douglas wrote again about his discouraged state " ... sometimes almost enough to break a man's heart." Douglas detailed the efforts he and the committee were making to improve the attendance, to which the department replied that unless there was a considerable improvement the school faced permanent closure. [1910 07 03]¹⁵

Attendance did not improve, for on Dominion Day,

¹⁴ Presumably she was the Sewing Teacher.

¹⁵ That 'threat' was a direct contradiction of the request to the Wesleyan Trustees to renew the lease noted above.

As there is no flag here for the children to salute, and as there were only seven children at school, and as I wanted to go in hurriedly to meet Mrs Douglas returning from leave of absence I thought it best to give the children a whole day's holiday today. [1910 09 26]

Whilst there is evidence in the file that Douglas' action did not meet the regulations, there is no evidence he received a disciplinary letter.

Douglas' problems did not go away, and in October he wrote a four-page letter pouring out his heart, detailing the comings and goings of children, the efforts being made, and

I find a pretty general feeling throughout the district that the Closing of the School is inevitable at the end of the year owing to the scarcity of children.

I think some action should be taken against the Ormsby children under the Compulsory Clauses of the Education Act. They attend very badly. I will drop a line to the Police Officer at Te Awamutu to investigate the matter. Their father seems rather sore at having had to take them away from a Board School in order to please the Committee of this School.¹⁶ [1910 10 01]

It was enough to break a man's heart!¹⁷ Douglas felt he had been very unfortunate at Te Kopua, and was not looking forward to another winter, when he would teach only ten children. He wanted another Grade II school, or school with about 25 pupils, perhaps Pamoana or Horoera. He had heard of a lady, resident locally, of considerable teaching experience, who would be prepared to carry on the school. [1910 10 01]

Bird noted that Douglas was very negative, and not capable of doing satisfactory work in a Native School. He was afraid it was out of the question to offer Douglas another school. However, Bird felt he would be on firmer ground were the school to be inspected before the end of the year.¹⁸ Gibbes therefore wrote to Douglas, informing him that it was hoped to examine Te Kopua, if possible before the end of the year; his request would be considered upon receipt of the Inspector's report. [1910 10 02]

John Porteous conducted the inspection a month later. [1910 11 07] It was, at best, a 'lukewarm' assessment.¹⁹ In the course of the report, it became clear that there was only one pupil in the standards, in Standard IV, the other nine being in the three Primer classes. The youngest pupil was age 6.3. The pupil who was promoted to Standard IV was aged 11.10. A pupil on the list, who had in the meantime left, was aged 17! With respect to the physical state of the school, the grounds, buildings, books, etc, Porteous found them carefully attended to; there had been some effort to improve them. Given it was two and a half

¹⁶ If they were available, the logbook and/or the committee minute book would give further information on the issue.

¹⁷ Again!

¹⁸ It had been hoped it could be inspected in August [1910 06 06]; it was now October.

¹⁹ In my career I was never sure whether 'very fair' was better or worse than 'fair', but it was quite clear that too many of those words in a report meant the report was *not* positive. The two words were liberally used by Porteous.

years since he was at Te Kopua, [1908 05 19] I have to wonder on what that judgement was based.

Turning to the teaching, Porteous found the Timetable was neatly made out and generally very satisfactory in construction, and that the Scheme had been prepared in a fair manner. With regard to Douglas' Methods, Porteous judged an attempt had been made to use methods along the lines suggested; with very fair results. He was damning with faint praise! He was directly critical in this next judgement:

The methods are still however very mechanical, and lack interest. An absence of enthusiasm and responsiveness on the part of the pupils is noticeable; this is due largely to the manner of the teacher.

In 'Special Remarks'²⁰ Porteous reported that

Mr Douglas appears to be conducting the school somewhat more satisfactorily than was the case at Hicks Bay. I do not think he could manage any school much larger.

Douglas got good marks for his Records,²¹ which were neat, though a misunderstanding may have existed in the marking of 'late' pupils in the Attendance Register. Order appeared to be very satisfactory, and under Tone, the pupils were reported to work very well.²² Cleanliness was very satisfactory. Under Manners/General Behaviour Porteous noted that "Manners do not receive much attention." What he intended by that remark is *not* obvious! Did he mean that Douglas did not 'teach' manners, or, did he mean that when a pupil was not well-mannered, Douglas did not correct him or her?

Porteous judged the Oral English to be very fair. The one pupil in the standards was making satisfactory progress in Written English. Reading was very fair, with little expression; Comprehension was fair, and word building very fair. The Writing was very fair, and the Spelling was satisfactory.

The Arithmetic of the Standard IV pupil was good. Geography/Nature Study were fair, and Moral/Health²³ received some attention, but Physical Instruction²⁴ was "Not taken by teacher on account of attendance. It appears to me that there is little justification for ne-

²⁰Annotated 'Omit' in red, ie, it was not to be included in the copy which would go to Douglas.

²¹The average was 8; the roll was 10.

²²This does not agree with his earlier remarks that "An absence of enthusiasm and responsiveness on the part of the pupils is noticeable; ..."

²³This referred to Hygiene and Temperance

²⁴It has stopped being 'Drill'.

glecting this subject." Porteous judged the Singing to be rather poor, and he thought fewer hymns desirable.²⁵

Porteous found the 'Grouping of Classes' satisfactory, and in assessing Douglas' 'Discretion in Determining Promotions', he gave cautious approval when he noted that "The teacher made the promotions in May and the pupils have made very fair progress in their new work."²⁶ The 'Instruction in Class P' was very fair. "I do not consider that this work is as thorough as it should be."

Very shortly after Porteous' visit, Douglas sent a telegram and several letters to the department, reporting meetings of parents, their determination to boost the roll, and to boost the children's attendance, etc, and he reported sickness among adults and parents. [1910 11 11]

Douglas was still at Te Kopua in 1911, for we find him, again, wanting "Another rope for punt. Needed despite a native [sic] splicing old one." [1911 03 06]

In April Douglas sought, by telegram, " ... permission close school for a few days. Epidemic of colds and sickness only six children well." [1911 04 19] The Department advised him to "Take term holidays now."²⁷ Gibbes followed the telegram with a letter informing Douglas that if he did close the school, he was to tell the Department at once and, if he was ill, he was to obtain a medical certificate, and forward it to the Department.

No action was taken against Mr Ormsby for the poor attendance of his children, [1910 10 01] but in May 1911, Douglas completed a certificate under S157 of the Education Act 1908 as evidence in a case against two parents for not ensuring their children attended Te Kopua Native School regularly. [1911 05 06] It was the first truancy case at Te Kopua.

Two children were involved. One, aged 8 yrs, living ¼ mile²⁸ from the school, had not attended for the previous three weeks. The other, aged 9yrs 8mths, lived 1¼ miles from the school. The parent of the latter child did not appear, but he was convicted and fined 2/-, with costs £1 12s, which included unspecified translations costs.

²⁵ That is interesting, given that schooling was supposed to be free, compulsory and *secular*.

²⁶ To this child and teacher of post-standards/proficiency schooling, promotions in May seem bizarre; did children leave school when they were promoted to Standard 6, or at the end of the year in which they were promoted?

²⁷ A further example of the department's attitude towards holidays.

²⁸ This child was shown as 'left' at the examination on 7 Nov 1910, while the other was recorded as 9yrs at time of examination 7 Nov 1810, and passed from P2 to P3; attendance figures were not given.

It is interesting that it was thought necessary to translate for one of the parents, for there is other evidence that that parent was competent at writing letters and presumably reading them.. I would be surprised if he could not read and understand any summons presented to him. I do have to wonder why the translation was provided. Was he, for example, refusing to accept a document in English, perhaps because of the charges against him? Whatever the actual circumstances, it is further evidence that te reo Maori was alive and well.

The matter continued. Douglas wrote that a plea had been entered that one of the children was an Idiot. The case had been adjourned to enable the child to be medically examined, and he was subpoenaed to attend at Te Awamutu to give evidence on the matter. His request to close school that he might attend the court was granted. [1911 06 23] When the case was finally heard, Constable J Landers reported that Doctor Reekie stated that one of the children was mentally weak and in bad health and was not fit to attend school for 12 months or more. The case was eventually dismissed.

Very shortly after the court case, Douglas wrote the following letter to the department. It illustrates something of the underlying attitudes which Douglas held, and which would not have made his work any more effective, in particular his reference to the 'native mind'. We cannot know, but there may have been a link between the court case in Te Awamutu and the withdrawal of the pupils. He wrote:

... many children withdrawn, and there is now a Roll of Eleven.

I am very much annoyed and disgusted that this should have occurred on the eve of the Annual Examination, especially as most of the children were taken away without any word of their intention to do so being brought to me. The children who have been so withdrawn were the best pupils that I had and I was depending on them to make a showing at the approaching examination.

Some ... applied for admission to Kakapuku [sic] District School, about 2½ miles from here on the other side of the Waipa River. This fact helps to confirm my belief that there is no need for a separate Native School in this place. The few children that are here can easily be sent to the three European schools that are in the vicinity.

At the Kakapuku School a new male teacher has been appointed in place of *an unpopular female teacher* and no doubt this *appeals to the native mind*.²⁹

I consider that the conduct of the parents of these pupils is very wrong, after the fuss that was made at the end of last year. All my friends and acquaintances are of the opinion that I have been very badly treated here; and if things in the school do not improve very soon I shall have to resign. [1911 05 25]

I am reminded of the letters written by Beamish; they reflect a similar attitude, self-centred and lacking in awareness and sympathy for the people of Te Kopua, with no understanding

²⁹ Emphasis added!

that just possibly some of the cause of the difficulties lay within himself. Douglas reveals racist attitudes towards Maori, and perhaps negative attitudes towards women teachers.

The inspection, by John Porteous, was very much as the previous year, and the report adds nothing to our understanding of events at Te Kopua.

The 11 pupils' ages ranged from 5.2 - 12.11; ten of them were present for the examination. Graham Searancke was promoted to Standard V. The only pupil not promoted was absent and at age 10.8 had the highest attendance of all pupils, 349. Apparently, Douglas did not recommend promotion for that pupil, although the marks at the examination the previous November were reasonable, and merited promotion from P3 to Standard I. [1911 05 29]

Douglas sent a medical certificate in support of his letter of resignation.

Owing to the state of Mr Douglas' health I have advised him to seek a less lonely post and one at least in immediate contact with a few white neighbours and if possible in close touch with a town possessing a medical man. He is subject to fits which have a depressing effect upon him and are a source of great anxiety to his wife especially on account of their isolated situation. John S Reekie MD ChM. [1911 06 30]

Of particular significance is the reference to " ... a few white neighbours ..."

Douglas' resignation, effective from 30 June, was accepted by Gibbes with the usual felicitations,³⁰ which quite frankly the officials of Department cannot have entirely agreed with. Douglas left Te Kopua on 30 September, 1911. [1911 08 18]

Douglas' resignation set in train a series of reports and events, in which the Department, led apparently by Bird, tried to close the school, and the community, most often in the overt form of Searancke, worked steadfastly to retain it.

We cannot know whether W W Bird wrote his memorandum to Hogben on his own volition, or whether he was asked to write by Hogben, or Gibbes, or whoever. What is clear is that if he ever wondered about the role of the teacher they had wanted to retire earlier, ie Douglas, in Te Kopua's difficulties, he did not allow his wonderings to influence his recommendations to his superiors. This applies particularly to his observations about one parent.

Te Kopua School, Maniapoto County³¹, has been struggling for some years and has now reached a condition such as does not warrant the Department in maintaining it any longer. At my last visit May 29th there were ten children present out of a roll of 11. There are one or two others in the district who might come but who are withheld by their parents.

³⁰ Except that they were not usual in so far as Margaret Tennent was concerned, unless by some strange chance her letter did not get filed.

³¹ I have not before or since seen reference to 'Maniapoto' County. The King Country was for a long time Te Rohe Potae. It first came under 'local body control' as part of Raglan County, and in 1922 was incorporated into Waitomo County

Five children left just before my visit to join the Board school at Kakepuku on the E. side of the Waipa River about 2½ miles from Te Kopua. This want of support on the part of the parents does not show any great desire on the part of the parents for the maintenance of the Native School. The children might indeed all attend some of the European schools in the vicinity³² - the Ormsbys used to go to Titahi School.³³ One man - living some 200 yds³⁴ from the school refuses to send his child aged 8 because he doesn't like the teacher. I informed him that I would advise the Dept to prosecute him. After that has been done I think the school should be closed. The place is wretched in every way - damp and unhealthy and the Dept cannot expect any teacher to remain there to teach 10 children. This should take place after Mr Douglas resigns, which is to take place shortly. [1911 06 26]

Bird's attitude is clear. Gibbes continued the story.

This has been a struggling school for years, and it is no longer worth maintaining. I doubt that we should be able to get a successor to the present teacher, who is leaving on 30th Sept.

We hold the site from the Wesleyan Mission Property Trustees under a lease which has 18 years to run, but it contains a provision that if the school is closed for more than six months, the lease is forfeited and the buildings become the property of the Trustees.

The buildings are about 25 years old, and could I believe be made good use of by the Education Board nearby. Therefore I propose to ask the Trustees for permission to remove them, though I doubt that permission will be granted. [1911 08 18]

Hogben approved Gibbes' proposal. [1911 08 19]³⁵

A letter to the Auckland Education Board asking if they would take over the buildings for use at Kakepuku if the Department should be in the position to make the offer elicited a positive reply. However, Mr Dalton, their supervisor, reported that moving the buildings would not be cheap; there were difficult roads, or rather, tracks, the Waipa River was in a steep gully, the river bank at the crossing being 20 feet deep. He didn't think it advisable to move the buildings, for the land around was being taken up³⁶ and he thought they would be needed before very long as it was very nicely situated and in the centre of the best land round there. As a consequence of his report, the Auckland Education Board changed its mind, and declined the offer.

In the meantime, a letter to the Wesleyan Trustees³⁷ had their Secretary, F L Prime, reply that the Department could have the buildings, which must have surprised Bird at least. The Department wrote to Douglas, asking him to send a rough ground plan of the residence, for

³²The policy of the Department was to Europeanise schools as soon as possible. This little observation reminds me of the probability that the two other 'Te Kopua' applications for Native Schools in the archives were declined at least partly because other Board schools were, in the eyes of the Department, available.

³³Now, if not then, Te Tahi, on the Pirongia - Kawhia Road, three kilometres west of Te Kopua, across the Moakurua River. There was no, and still is not, direct access by road between homes on or near the west [left] bank of the Moakurua River and the Pirongia - Kawhia Road

³⁴'Yds' was the abbreviation for 'yards'. 200 yards is approximately 180 metres.

³⁵That was quick!

³⁶Presumably by Pakeha farmers.

³⁷Not in file.

the office plan was lost. [1911 10 09] The plan Douglas sent showed eight rooms, the four back ones, including the kitchen, being in a lean-to.

The one group not written to was the people of Te Kopua. Searancke wrote pointing out the school had been closed for a month; what was the Department doing? Some children had gone to other schools, some were at home; Searancke noted that "We could muster up from 15 to 20 children." The reply informed him that it was not intended to re-open the school; the buildings were at the disposal of the Education Board for Kakepuku. [1911 11 19] Bird noted that the school building was "much superior" to the Board's school building at Kakepuku.³⁸ He still could not, or would not, justify sending a teacher to Te Kopua.

Rev Gittos of the Wesleyan Trustees wrote offering to purchase the house, for it would be less than a new house for their Native Minister, Piripi Rakena.³⁹ However, the Department must have been getting messages from the Te Kopua community, because they saw difficulties. The Department suggested Piripi could live in it at a nominal rental, and keep it in ordinary repair, for Mr Searancke would require the school to be re-opened. [1912 01 15]

Despite there being only the one letter from Searancke, messages of some kind must have been received from Te Kopua, for Bird wrote to Rev. Piripi Rakena.

You are the man who knows all the sheep in your flock; please let me know therefore the truth about the numbers of children available. [1912 03 08]

to which Rakena telegraphed in reply

Twentythree children all ready please to send teacher at once you wait some letter in the mail. [1912 03 19]

The letter was in te reo Maori; in translation, it gave details of the families, and continued:

But, let the matter of a master be attended to at once. Let him be a good master, healthy, zealous in all things, and a good teacher. ... It is advisable to have this school reopened. The reason why children gradually left is - in the first place - because the master was useless.⁴⁰ In the next place, roads are now open ... buggies can go through. ... I think that this school will now thrive, there are many small children growing up here. There are a number of our children who can get no schooling during 6 months of the year. [1912 03 19]

Porteous' response was as follows:

I can safely say that if you can produce these children and give your word on behalf of the people that their attendance at school will be regular, there is every reason to believe that the Department will re-open the school. Will you assemble on Tuesday, 7th May ... for the purpose of making investigations as to the advisability of re-opening the school."

³⁸This remark suggests that the building at Kakepuku was *not* the best the Auckland board had!

³⁹ That the Wesleyan Trustees maintained a Minister at Te Kopua indicates there was a significant population for that Minister to service. Contradictions between the 'messages' of different actors were endemic at Te Kopua.

⁴⁰That observation is not surprising; what is surprising is that Bird did not allow the teacher's ineffectiveness to influence his decision-making. Or, perhaps it should not surprise; perhaps Bird really did want Te Kopua closed for good.

Piripi Rakena had to 'give his word'!

It was Porteous who visited Te Kopua on 7 May. His four-page report, with [another] sketch map, contained detail of families, expressions of support,

and [the parents] guaranteed that, provided the means of access was improved, they would send all their children to the school. ... These two rivers are dangerous to cross.⁴¹ ... Both Searancke and Ormsby pointed out that many factors had contributed to the ill-fortune that has attached itself to the school. ... the intervals that usually elapsed before each new teacher⁴² ... Their last teacher was subject to fits,⁴³ ... breaks in continuity of school work coupled with the dangerous crossings. ... they ask that the bridge over the Moakurua River be repaired and that a similar swing bridge be made across the Waipa at the point where the boat was used. Both Searancke and Ormsby estimate the cost of a new bridge and the repairs at about £20. ... they promised to do the work if the Dept will provide the materials. ... I recommend the Department give favourable consideration. William Searancke should be asked for a description of the new bridge and an estimate of the cost. ... The Deputation expressed itself as desirous for a good teacher. ... Mrs Charles Ormsby, .. . a European and married to a settler, a half caste.⁴⁴ She is Australian, and has taught in Australia and Fiji ... 12 years at a Grammar School in Queensland.⁴⁵

"These two rivers are dangerous to cross". We have read those words so often in this story, yet there is still no evidence that viable bridges were provided; very specifically, the Department apparently made no effort to involve the Waitomo County Council. The Waipa River is not a 'creek', and my respect for these 'natives', with the knowledge, the skill, and the willingness, to bridge it, is high.

Bird's attitude had not changed. Portia had nothing on him; he was going to get a pound of flesh!

The Dept will be able however to judge of the desire on the part of the people for the re-establishment of the school by the estimates they offer for the repairing and erecting of the bridges - viz £20. ... Not in interests of school to appoint Mrs Ormsby. ...more likely that the school will succeed and be conducted regularly if the teacher was not connected in any way with the families connected with the school. [1912 05 28]⁴⁶

The demands made of these people were I believe quite unconscionable. It has never come to my notice that such demands were made of Pakeha before schooling would be supplied. In a sense, it was a form of blackmail.

Gibbes telegraphed Searancke:

⁴¹ Moakuarua and Waipa .

⁴²It was time this matter was emphasised to the department!

⁴³There is no evidence that Douglas suffered from this difficulty in the file. Did the department know, was it a recent affliction, or had the community at Wharekahika, for whatever reason, not shared their knowledge with the visiting inspectors? At this distance, we can regret that the people of Te Kopua did not confide in Bird or Porteous.

⁴⁴ That *is* an interesting combination: 'settler' and 'half caste'!

⁴⁵ Mrs Ormsby appeared in the previous chapter, but was not available to apply for the post of teacher at Te Kopua.

⁴⁶ I had presumed that was the reason Bird would not agree to Mrs Ormsby on a previous occasion; she was of a Te Kopua family. We cannot know whether Bird was reasonable in his caution; there certainly are different dynamics when a teacher is of the community. One the other hand, Mr Searancke was to write that Mrs Ormsby's " appointment would be very popular with the parents."

I have the honour ... the Department has decided in the interests of the number of children available to re-open Te Kopua School. Further the Department has agreed to your request for assistance in the construction of bridges to enable the children to cross the rivers Moakurua and Waipa, and it is prepared to pay the cost of the material to an amount not exceeding £20, *on the condition* that the people supply the necessary labour. As soon as the work has been commenced, the Department will take steps to provide a teacher, giving you timely notice so that all the children may be available upon the reopening of the school. [1912 06 11] [Emphasis added.]

Searancke expressed the

" ... very great satisfaction of all interested.

We are experiencing very heavy floods just now, but as soon as the rivers are down, I shall see about getting the work under way so as to be ready for a teacher as soon as possible. May I venture to ask if your department has considered the application of Mrs Ormsby ... her appointment would be very popular with the parents. [1912 06 24]

The letter was not directly answered; Gibbes telegram was unequivocal;

Teacher selected when will bridges be ready wire reply. [1912 07 05]

As I have indicated, the record is almost bare of communications from Te Kopua, but communications there must have been, otherwise I cannot believe the Department would have finally reopened the school. Bird at least seemed determined it should close for good. Whether the Te Kopua people made good use of their MPs, Maori and Pakeha, whether they had someone else depute for them,⁴⁷ or whether they even used the telephone, which by then would have been available at some places, I cannot tell. Perhaps they used all of the above, plus a few my fertile mind has not thought of! Whatever the manner of their lobbying, it was a successful case of resistance, though we must be aware the risk of closure was far from removed. The people of Te Kopua did not often win; this time they had, but not, I suspect, without a lot of effort, and with the very considerable commitment of time and effort required to meet their 'bridge' commitments.⁴⁸

Te Kopua School was closed for ten months! It was reopened by Rae Cumberland Cameron.

⁴⁷It is most unlikely they would have visited Wellington themselves.

⁴⁸I am increasingly coming to the view that the attitude of the department was becoming 'less generous'. If my judgement is correct, I cannot tell whether it reflected changes in personnel, eg Hogben, Bird, Porteous, changes in the political climate, changes in the attitudes of the ministers, or budget restraints. It may be very difficult to 'document' the phenomena I think I am reading about. I have become aware of the possibility of a change in Departmental attitude *after* documenting the determined efforts to close the school following Douglas' departure, when the phenomena first began to impinge on my consciousness.

1912 - 1915

Rae Cumberland Cameron and Martha Elaine Cameron

Rae Cumberland Cameron and Martha Elaine Cameron did not arrive at Te Kopua in a blaze of glory! Once again, the weather made sure of that. [1912 07 13] They arrived at Pirongia, on the way to Te Kopua, only a week after the letter of appointment was written, which was alacrity indeed. There is no information on their history before Cameron was appointed to Te Kopua, except that his name is not in the lists published in the Annual Reports, so he was not formerly a teacher in a Native School.

Wm Searancke informed the Department that the

Teacher for Te Kopua has arrived in Pirongia and has made arrangements for coming up on Friday next. Owing to heavy floods the telegram from yourself and also from Mr Gibbes were delayed in delivery.¹

The Order for the timber for Bridges has been sent to the mill, but has not yet come to hand, but may at any time now. Please apologise to Mr Gibbes [sic] as above for my not replying to his telegram.

Will do my best to get as many children together for the opening. [1912 07 22]

Cameron wrote to the Department that he had " ... opened Te Kopua today , with 17 children present. Owing to the bad state of the roads I could get no supplies out and so was detained in Pirongia for over a week." [1912 07 29] The school had been closed for ten months, since the end of September, 1911. Cameron had, apparently, been told to report the attendance figures for the first four weeks; the weekly averages were 16.0, 15.8, 16.4, and 16.6.

Cameron informed the Department, on the letterhead of the Alexandra Hotel, Pirongia, that "The two bridges are now completed, and are both satisfactory jobs." [1912 11 22]

Cameron was quickly made aware that the Department's accounting procedures were minute and disciplinarian. Gibbes:

With reference to the voucher for £20 15 7 forwarded by you in favour of Wm Searancke, I have to advise you that only £1 5/- can be refunded as that appears to be the only amount paid by the claimant.

I have returned herewith the other accounts and have to ask you to forward duly certified vouchers in favour of the respective claimants. You should give full measurements of the timber supplied, so that computations may be checked. Details are also required of the item "account rendered 8d."

I suspect Searancke had gathered in the various invoices from the people who had supplied him with materials, and was either going to reimburse them when the Department paid him, or had already paid them, and had himself to be reimbursed. Whatever, the record is silent, but we can presume the invoices were eventually paid. I like the "... account rendered 8d." in Gibbes letter; they did not miss much, but whether that was 'efficiency' or effectiveness' is another matter.

I do not know why this next piece of information should have been in the file in Wellington, but from it we learn that the weather could even interfere with committee meetings. Cameron sent this note to Searancke: "re School Comm meeting - if you would notify Ben Ormsby for Wednesday afternoon [After School] and I will notify the rest. PS Friday as the weather is so unsettled." [1912 12 03]

After the holidays, Cameron re-opened the school on 27 January, 1913, with an attendance of 24, with two or three more pupils expected during the week. [1913 01 27]

Cameron's salary in 1912 had been £108.² He wrote early in the new year, querying his £122 salary, and drawing attention to reasons why the roll and attendance figures on which it was in part based were not fair to him; the extended sickness of two girls, pupils moved away during the closure who did not return until Christmas, etc. [1913 02 10] However, despite the very best sympathetic efforts of various officials, on the evidence of memoranda in the files the code precluded any amendment to his salary.³ What the code did allow for was an assistant if the average attendance was above 21. The average must have been over 21 for 1913, for Martha Elaine Cameron is recorded as Assistant Female, on the princely salary of £20.⁴

¹This piece of information highlights the unreasonableness of the Department when Douglas did not learn that the inspector was delayed in May, 1910.

²Douglas had received £140 in 1910. Cameron received £122 in 1913, £135 in 1914 and £135 in 1915.

³As I have noted before, basing salary partly upon roll and attendance figures was a form of 'performance pay', and as I also observed, it could be quite invidious. In the current case, Cameron might have been the best teacher ever at Te Kopua, and have done more than any other to encourage parents to enrol their children and then ensure they attended very regularly, but that would have made no difference to the extended sickness of the two girls, or brought about the return of the pupils moved to avoid disruption to their schooling consequent on the extended closure of the school, for which the Department was clearly responsible. In other words, Cameron suffered financially for reasons quite unconnected with his performance, good or bad.

⁴See [1913 10 04] below

This next event could have reflected improved roading. It also reflected a social phenomenon. Cameron wrote informing the Department that "This school was closed on 20 2 1913 to enable the teacher and some of the pupils to attend the Te Kuiti Show." [1913 02 22] It would have been the younger children who missed out, and I note that apparently no parents were involved, which in later years would not have been usual.⁵

With two bridges recently built, this letter from Cameron not surprisingly raised eyebrows in the department. Whilst it was very nearly a re-run of earlier series of letters and events, it does show the Department agreeing to bridging expenditures without demur, and it illustrates one of the consequences of the extreme mobility of some of the people of Te Kopua.⁶

There is a man named Kiri Katipa living on the other side of the Moakurarua Stream who had three children attending the school. There is another almost ready to come. The children have to wade the stream and are only able to attend school during the summer. ...

I have made some enquiries and find that a good suspension bridge can be erected for about £4.

The Natives will find the posts and the labour if the Dept will subscribe the cost of the timber, wire, etc.

Will the Dept do anything in the matter.

As the work would want to be finished before the wet weather sets in, I would appreciate an early reply.
[1913 02 25]

Gibbes wrote to Cameron in very short order, pointing out that it was only a few months since a grant had been made for a bridge across this stream, and would he please supply further particulars and a rough sketch showing the relative position of the two bridges and the distances. 1913 03 06]

Cameron obliged with the sketch map Gibbes had asked for. It showed that the school and bridges B and C made a triangle, and the issue was the wet and muddy track between B and C, which was not used in wet weather. [1913 04 03] Bird quite quickly agreed that it was a reasonable request. In winter, he reminded his colleagues,⁷ Te Kopua was a perfect labyrinth of gorse and water. He believed the expenditure of £4 would add materially to the comfort of the children and secure their attendance, [1913 04 09] whereupon Gibbes informed Cameron that the department would contribute £4 towards getting Kiri Katipa's children to school. [1913 04 11]

⁵A & P [Agricultural and Pastoral] Shows became important highlights in the rural school year. At Awatuna, on the southern slopes of Mt Taranaki/Egmont, we had three such shows to close the school for, Hawera, Stratford, and Awatuna itself, the latter not every year. Not all schools were strategically placed, and able to claim two shows which their farmer parents 'had' to attend for the knowledge they could glean. I don't doubt they did glean some knowledge, but it wasn't the central reason for attending. We didn't complain about the fiction!

⁶Whilst some families, eg Searancke, Ormsby, Hughes, Herangi, and later Tamati, amongst others, were stable, there was what at times must have devastating, for families and for the schools, movements of pupils.

⁷As if they should have needed reminding!

Over a year later, in June 1914, Cameron informed Gibbes that while the timber had been supplied, the Katipa family had left the district, but was returning shortly, and the committee had promised to erect the bridge. [1914 06 08]

In July 1914, Cameron was listed in a Departmental memorandum to go to the first of the Physical Training camps organised by the Department,⁸ in Auckland. Cameron asked for, and received, a first class pass on the railway to Auckland.⁹

The saga of the bridge resumed in June 1915, when Porteous, as part of his Inspection Report, wrote:

The teacher informed me that some material [about four pounds worth] which was supplied by the Department for a bridge has never been used, and is lying somewhere near the spot where the bridge was to be built. The family for whose benefit it was to be used has left the district. I have asked the teacher to get an offer for it. He never thought it worthwhile to report the matter to the Department. [1915 05 03]

Cameron did not respond to the instruction until December 1915, when Gibbes instructed him to "Please accept Mr Searancke's offer of thirty shillings [30/-], and pay it into the Public Account Bank of New Zealand and forward the bank receipt." [1915 12 03]

Cameron did not do that, for in June 1916 Searancke was written to, reminding him of his offer of 30/-, observing that payment had not been received, from which they assumed it had not been collected, and the Department would be greatly obliged if he would remit the money direct to the office. [1916 06 16] Searancke replied that he had paid Mr Cameron £1.10.0, as he considered he was partly to blame for having put the Department to the outlay. He added that he had no way of knowing if Mr Cameron was still in camp or not, or he would drop him a line.¹⁰ [1916 07 04]

The Department reminds one of a terrier. De Castro wrote to 'Paymaster Army', stating he wished to communicate with one of the department's former teachers, Rae Cumberland Cameron, who had joined the 14th NCO camp in February last. [1916 07 07] However, Cameron had embarked with the 14th Rifles, and his address was now "13689 Sergeant

⁸Phys Training Classes Native School teachers, EDF, National Archives, Wellington. [File opened 17 April, 1914.] The camps were held fairly consistently until 1921, there was a gap until 1931, when there were several over quite a short period. There were a couple in 1943, a brief revival in 1948, after which they faded away. The initial camps in which 125 Native School teachers, about half the staff, were involved, was going to cost the department about £125. Bird thought teachers should attend, and that he and Porteous should also. Teachers received one pound a week allowance if they had to arrange board and lodgings, ie could not return home each evening. Some classes were in the holidays; teachers had to attend, but could take an extra week's leave after the holidays officially ended, and so would get full leave. At Rawene, there was no accommodation under 25/- for ladies and 30/- for gents. The department responded it was not able to go above £1.00; I presume Native School teachers in the Hokianga missed out. There was *no* retrospective granting of holidays to those caught in a camp in the early stages of the scheme. I found no evidence of parents being consulted over the variations in holiday times.

⁹Phys Training Classes Native School teachers, EDF, National Archives, Wellington. [1914 07 23]

¹⁰"Drop him a line" is a very 'Pakeha' expression. This is the first intimation that Cameron was not at the school, but was in the New Zealand army and on the way to be killed in the trenches of the Western Front, and, it is the first intimation that Te Kopua Native School was once again closed.

McRae¹¹ Cumberland Cameron "F" Company, 2nd New Zealand Rifle Brigade, 14th Reinforcements, c/o G.P.O., Wellington." The department persevered, writing to Searancke, telling him it would be " ... glad to know if you hold Mr Cameron's receipt for 30/-."¹² Searancke responded that he had depended on Mr Cameron; he had " ... paid him on the Road.¹³ I am sending you my cheque for the 30/- as you evidently have not been paid, and if Mr Cameron has gone to the front I shall make him a present of it, but if still in camp, I am writing him about it." [1916 07 13]¹⁴

Porteous wrote this memorandum to the clerks in the office:

From my intimate knowledge of Mr Searancke, I am convinced that his explanation of the transaction above referred to is the true one. Mr Searancke has for many years past been the most faithful supporter of the school, and has acted for the Department in many directions, in matters connected with it. The confidence placed in him by the Department has not, as far as I know, been misplaced in any instance. As the matter stands now, Mr Searancke's honesty is impugned, and it seems to me that the Department out of consideration for his feelings should not accept his cheque, but should express its confidence in his honesty. [1916 07 27]

Searancke finally got a letter, and a cheque for £1.9.6.¹⁵ [1916 09 06] However, he returned it, for Mr Cameron had already refunded the amount.¹⁶

It was over three and a half years since Cameron had written asking for that small, home-made bridge. It cost much more than that in the time and energy of Searancke, Cameron, [though he may not have expended a great deal], the inspectors, and the clerks and others in the department. One wonders if the Department forgot at times the stated reason for its being, the provision and servicing of schooling, in this case for Maori children. It too often showed itself to be small-minded, petty, and even mean.

Porteous could be more perceptive than most; he appears to have appreciated that the Department's administrative zeal was getting well ahead of courtesy and respect. Did it make any difference to the attitudes of the Departmental officials that they wanted the £1 10 0

¹¹I guess the army had it right; he was always 'Rae' to the Education Department. The Army did indeed have it right, as John Wilson confirmed. [Personal communication, 17 November, 1997, in response to a newspaper notice I had circulated seeking contact with descendants of the Camerons.]

¹²If their reading had been up to their doggedness, they would have known that Searancke had already told them he didn't have a receipt; otherwise, why would he want to drop a line to Cameron.

¹³This was out in the country, and paying a debt when you met someone as you passed on your horses or in your gigs or buggies was quite usual.

¹⁴Stamped on Searancke's letter: Received cheque £1/10/0 [including 6d exchange;-ie, it was worth only £1.9.6.]

¹⁵The Department couldn't even refund the exchange the bank charged on the cheque!! If Searancke had cashed it, he would have had another 6d exchange deducted, so he would have received only £1.9.0 of his original £1/10/0 cheque.

¹⁶It must have been Mrs Cameron who refunded Searancke, for Cameron was overseas, and there was insufficient time for mails to get to France and back.

from a Maori person? Probably not, because financial administrations very easily get petty-minded and self-serving.¹⁷ I hope that that was the explanation.

In the meantime, Cameron had, before his departure to war, had his first inspection, carried out by W W Bird. Perhaps the most important information in the report was that there were 29 pupils listed, which gave credence to the advice of Piripi Rakena.

Bird compared Cameron very favourably with Douglas. It seems not to have concerned Bird, or Hogben for that matter, that the comparisons would be seen by Cameron.

For his Records, Cameron got an average mark of 9 out of a possible 10. Bird reported that Order was very good during the whole of his visit; it had very much improved, and formed a pleasing feature of the new regime. He observed nothing to which exception could be taken. Property, Cleanliness, Buildings, and Offices were satisfactory, and the only fault Bird could find with the Appliances, Books, and Furniture, was that the desks showed recent ink stains. The Gates And Fences had received attention but want [painting] all round, while the Gardens And Grounds were in fair condition. [1913 05 19] Bird wrote that

The increased interest in the school and the creation of a school tone where none formerly existed struck me as being pleasing features of my inspection.

Efficiency Of School: The teacher has in a comparatively short time put new life and vigour into the school which is now doing very well. [1913 05 19]¹⁸

Reporting on Cameron's Discretion in Promotions, Bird was pleased on the whole with the teacher's proposals; particularly considering the short time he had had at his disposal, he had followed the right course.¹⁹ Te Kopua now had its first Standard VII²⁰ and its first Standard VI [a new pupil, Moses Kirkwood].²¹ There were some very high ages; eg a P1 at 13. 4, two Standard I pupils at 10. 3²² and 13. 4. There were many new names, with unfortunately no indication where the pupils came from.²³ Katie Hughes was back, in Standard II at age 10 3. [1913 05 19]

¹⁷I still remember the 1955 Post Office clerk who, with his colleagues, had denied a whole series of casual drivers in the Post Office Garage the uniform allowance the regulations allowed them. Why? Because, said my supervisor, it saved money, and saving money was how you got your promotion. It was my second industrial action. The first was at teachers' college. Both were successful, and some of the reasons I took them lie behind the undertaking of this study.

¹⁸This assessment is in contrast with that of Porteous a couple of years later. [1916 07 27]

¹⁹Presuming Bird's assessment was valid, Cameron warranted such commendation. To successfully administer and mark the 'standards' tests, Cameron must have put himself through a rigorous self-training programme. There is no evidence of any visit by an inspector in the first term of 1913.

²⁰Victor Cameron, 15 yrs 11 mths, presumably their son. Std VII was the option for children who could not get to high school. I remember it being talked about when I was at primary school, in the late 1930s, early 1940s. Victor was probably not unusual at almost 16 years old to finish primary school, but, he was unusual to still be at school at that age. It *could* reflect that he was the son of a teacher, but, that is not likely, because Cameron was almost certainly new to the service.

²¹This is a name to keep an eye on. Carmen Kirkwood is currently a leading member of the Huakina Development Trust, the active and effective environmental arm of the Tainui Maori Trust Board, concerned amongst others with issues affecting the Managua Harbour.

²²10 years 3 months. I have used the Departmental style.

²³The early Admission Register was unfortunately also not in the archive.

Bird found the Timetable a satisfactory arrangement and the Schemes Of Work seemed to be adapted suitably to the requirements of the school.²⁴ The Methods Of Teaching appeared to be satisfactory and the school was managed and conducted in a creditable manner. The Grouping of Classes was satisfactory, but, with the present attendance the teacher had too much to do.²⁵ [1913 05 19]

In Oral English, Bird found the work very satisfactory, and in Written English, sentence structure was fairly well done, though the written essays were somewhat meagre. Reading was good in the highest classes and satisfactory elsewhere. For the P class Bird wished to emphasise the need for teaching the sound value of the consonants, not their names.²⁶ Recitation was good, while Comprehension and Writing were very fair. For Spelling, Bird thought that in the lower classes practice was desirable. Arithmetic was satisfactory, considering the circumstances, whatever they might have been. [1913 05 19]

In Handwork, Sewing was taught, but Bird did not examine it.²⁷ In Drawing, Bird hoped that the nature drawing was going to be extended, as he considered it very suitable; he thought the work was done in a pleasing manner. Nature Study and Geography he found very satisfactory, and in Moral Instruction and Health, he thought that the pupils answered very well.²⁸ The Singing was fairly satisfactory; Bird recommended full use of the sol fa method. Physical Instruction was very fair. [1913 05 19]

The repair schedule was not filed with the inspection report, but in a letter to Cameron, Sir E O Gibbes referred to work on the bath [a first], and drew attention to a privy for the teacher.²⁹ [1913 05 28]

The supply of firewood attracted a 'reward';³⁰ the reward was that year to be the supply of the swing ropes the pupils had asked for.³¹ The punt had been sold to Wm Searancke for a

²⁴The implication always is that the current teacher is wholly responsible for the Schemes of Work. In my career, the 'Scheme' belonged to the school, and each head teacher/principal worked on it according their different perspectives. Given that he was new to teaching [as had most of his predecessors when they were appointed to Te Kopua], it would I believe have been impossible for Cameron to have written completely new Schemes of Work. He would have inherited the schemes left by Douglas and his other predecessors [If they had left them behind], and, at that stage of his time at Te Kopua, most likely had made very few, if any, amendments. Given that the 'requirements of the school' would not change a great deal in any one year, it is not surprising the schemes were suitable. If they were not, previous inspectors would have been remiss in not ensuring that teachers suitably rewrote them.

²⁵However, it was not until near the end of the year before Cameron wrote, asking for his wife to be appointed assistant. Bird's comment could be taken to mean he thought the staffing scales too restrictive.

²⁶It seems Bird favoured a 'phonic' approach to the teaching of reading.

²⁷Results in sewing were never considered when deciding whether or not to pass a pupil, so perhaps if Bird was short of time it was to be expected he would omit sewing.

²⁸From which we can presume he thought they had remembered the content very well.

²⁹Another first; why, and, what did the teacher use before?

³⁰The supply of firewood for the school by the parents was a feature from the beginning of Departmental control of the Native Schools, as I understand it. In 1882 it was linked to the awarding of prizes for attendance, etc [Circulars to Native Schools E 37 Acc W2536

nominal 5/- in recognition of his longstanding support of the school; the 5/- was to be used to put up the swing ropes. [1913 05 28]³²

Mr Searancke gave another 10/- for books, and because the swings were already up at no cost, the 5/- he had paid for the punt could be added to it, so Cameron had 15/- to buy books for the school; could the Department supply them with suitable books. He was advised to buy the books himself; if the Department were to buy, they would need an idea of what Cameron wanted, and of what the school already had. [1913 08 08]

Sickness and epidemic again struck in the middle of winter. Cameron wrote:

As my wife was taken suddenly ill on Friday the 13th inst & as I had to go to Te Awamutu for the Doctor that morning the school was closed for the day. [1913 06 16]

and

At a meeting parents and committee held on Sunday it was decided that the children should be kept at home all this week and in consequence the school will be closed. The children had all been vaccinated the previous Sunday and most of them are not in a fit state to attend at present. [1913 07 28]⁶

On previous occasions when a committee had made decisions like that, the Department had pointed out that they did not have that right, and should have sought permission. The old order doth changeth, it seems!³³

It continued to be difficult to get anyone to do repairs; a carpenter in Te Awamutu had promised to come out and estimate the cost of the repairs to the school and residence. Wm Searancke had offered to do the fence at 6/- per chain, all wire, and clear away all the gorse, blackberries and briar to within 6ft³⁴ on each side of the fence. [1913 08 08] This was a continuing story!

In October, Cameron wrote to the department reporting weekly attendance averages of 23.3, 28.57 and 26.94, which gave a three-week average of 26.27. The school, now Grade III, was therefore entitled to an assistant. Mrs Cameron was capable of teaching the in-

box 1 EDF 1882 02 28] This apparently is the first mention of firewood in the Te Kopua archive, unless I had not thought any previous mention not sufficiently significant to be recorded.

³¹Over quite a number of years, the Department had paid committees up to 30/- a year in recompense for supplying firewood to schools. They could get pictures or rounders or cricket or any other game, or library books. [Circulars to NS E 37 Acc W2536 box 1 EDF 1914 07 03]

³²In August 1914 a circular went to all Native Schools, stating that, consequent upon the outbreak of war, the Department and the schools were to avoid all expenditure not absolutely essential to the efficiency of the service. It applied especially to new buildings. [Circulars to NS E 37 Acc W2536 box 1 EDF 1914 08 12] About three months later, the Department announced to Native Schools, under the heading FIREWOOD REWARDS that it had decided to withdraw the firewood rewards, as part of the war effort. "A considerable number of schools, with a spirit to be commended, have already intimated their willingness to forego the reward, and the Department has no doubt that, realising the necessity for the saving of expenditure in every possible direction, the Native Schools as a whole will cheerfully accept the decision to suspend the grant this year." [Circulars to NS E 37 Acc W2536 box 1 EDF 1914 09 29]

³³The sceptic would say "Perhaps!"

³⁴Ft was the abbreviation for feet, meaning more than one of the, or foot, meaning only one. A foot was equal to 30cm.

fants, and in addition, of teaching sewing and cookery.³⁵ [1913 10 04] The Department agreed; Martha Elaine was appointed, on six months probation,³⁶ on a salary of £20 per annum.³⁷ She was born 25 Dec, 1878, therefore was nearly 35 years of age.

Mrs Cameron had resigned at the end of May, 1914. She had lost her home help, and was not able get their young children looked after.³⁸ There were administrative difficulties over her documents, and over her resignation, which I will not detail, except to note that the Post Office benefited from a lot of telegraph traffic.

The photograph is unfortunately not in the archive, but Cameron wrote to the department, enclosing a photo of the school children taken some time before by Rev Kirkwood. The photo showed the new swings put up by Mr Searancke and Rev Kirkwood. He added that the gardens were in full swing, but were not very great that year, owing to the rabbits, the birds, the poor soil, and last but not least, their neighbours' pigs. He was going to have to ask a long suffering Department for a rabbit and pig proof fence the following year. [1913 11 13] Bird recommended the department agree to a request for an animal-proof-fence.³⁹

Christmas came and went, and life apparently was uneventful until March, when Cameron wrote that the school was closed on Monday 9th March. "I had two teeth drawn." [1914 03 10]

The next inspection, by John Porteous, was in May. [1914 05 03] Many aspects of the life of the school were 'satisfactory' or 'fair', though specific comments were inclined to be negative. The general tone of the report was very much less positive than that of Bird the previous year. Whether that was because Porteous had 'higher' standards than Bird, or because Cameron was not working as effectively, I cannot be sure, but it was probably the later, if scribbling in the books, and the comments on the quality of Cameron's record-keeping and his care of the grounds are valid indicators. It seems fair to judge that Cameron was not having a good year.

The roll was well down, to 16. Porteous had noted that "Numbers [were] weak. Absent through illness." [1914 05 27]

³⁵As was usual, there is no evidence of suitability.

³⁶The first time 'probation' has been mentioned.

³⁷For the first time, the Public Service Commission was revealed to have been directly involved in an appointment. There was lots of paper work, and she needed a doctor's certificate, which the PSC paid for.

³⁸Another consequence of the isolation of Te Kopua!

³⁹Another continuing story, one common to Native Schools. One does have to ask, "What happened to the fences previously erected?" This ex-farmer [1947 – 1950] is not satisfied all was as it should have been.

In Standard I, the work required in Arithmetic did not appear to be appreciated, but Porteous did not say who by; the pupil, or the teacher. Sewing, for some reason, was not taken. Moral Instruction/Health was 'ticked'; this was, and is, the most non-committal and 'uninformative' remark possible!⁴⁰ Singing was poor; apparently because several of the pupils had "defective ears." In P1 not much progress had been made by one boy whose age is much too high for this Division.⁴¹ [1915 05 03]⁴²

In English, Porteous drew attention to deficiencies. He was concerned by the lack of a definite time for instruction and teaching in Oral English,⁴³ and he considered more definite teaching was necessary in that subject.⁴⁴

Porteous judged that the Discipline was inclined to be lax; scribbling on books was not at all be allowed. The pupils were interested in their work, but their manners, however, required attention.

The Gates and Fences were in rather poor order, and, referring to the Gardens and Grounds, Porteous thought the whole place had a very neglected appearance.

Porteous' summary was not encouraging. The school had dwindled in numbers, owing to children having left the district; the teacher stated that of those leaving, some did not belong to the district. The prospects for the school were not encouraging. [1915 05 03]

In his Repairs report Porteous noted that a barge board had become loose, and that "In one place a full length of spouting is missing."⁴⁵ Douglas already had the glass for the new windows.

Cameron still had things to learn about the department's procedures. Gibbes wrote, complaining that

⁴⁰In 1915, the department issued a 'Circular to Native Schools' with the heading TEACHING OF MORALS. For the guidance of teachers in connection with the teaching of morals as defined in Section XV of the Regulations, the Department has procured a text book issued by the Bureau of Education, Philippine Islands, entitled "Good Manners and Right Conduct" Though not written for Maori Children, the book contains many suggestions and devices for teaching morals that are well suited to the requirements of the Native Schools, and I have to ask you to make as full use of it as possible in dealing with the subject. The book is to be the property of the school and is not to be taken away when the teacher leaves or is transferred." [Circulars to NS E 37 Acc W 2536 box 1 EDF, 1915 03 30] I am intrigued by the combination of 'Good Manners' and 'Right Conduct'. It was perhaps more desirable to be polite before one was honest!

⁴¹He was aged 8 years 2 months.

⁴²There were the usual conundrums in ages, and results, but most pupils were promoted. Mary Marston, aged 11.6, was not promoted out of P2. She received 7 marks out of 15 for Reading and Composition, was "W" for Writing/Spelling, and for Arithmetic.

⁴³He did not explain what the difference between 'instruction' and 'teaching' might be.

⁴⁴That could mean more drill and repetition, but it could also mean that Cameron was not planning the topics that would be talked about during each lesson, and was not firmly ensuring that all the children took part in the discussions, spoke in full sentences, etc. For full details of the procedures being used, see Pope's 1902 Annual Report. [AJHR 1902, E2, pp 14 -15.]

⁴⁵Where *would* spouting go to?

I cannot find any authority for the expenditure involved in Messrs Rickit and Sons account of £1.12.26 for repairs. The claim has been passed for payment but in future please remember it is not open to you to incur liabilities on the Department's account unless you first obtain authority to do so.⁴⁶

Gibbes continued:

In the matter of the broken window panes I must ask you to be so good as to explain how the damage was done and by whom. If any of the school children are responsible, the parents should make good the damage and you are expected to see that they do.⁴⁷ [1915 09 16]

Cameron replied that windows had often been broken; to best of his knowledge, only four had been broken since he took over the school, two by children while cleaning them, the other two accidentally by cricket balls.⁴⁸ [1915 10 01]

Referring to the inspector's remarks⁴⁹ Gibbes wrote to Cameron asking him for a list of the children now attending the school, showing [a] those who lived at Te Kopua, and [b] those who attended from other places, stating the locality and the distance from the school. He also wanted the number of children under school age in the district legitimately served by the school.⁵⁰ [1915 11 16]

In his reply, Cameron reported that of the children attending the school 7 were living with their parents, and there were 3 whose parents did not live at Te Kopua, [Staying with grandparents in each case.] All school-age children living in the district were attending.⁵¹ Two children would soon be of school age, and there were eight other children under school age. Several Native children were attending Pokoru school, but in every case they lived much nearer to that school than to Te Kopua, and had never attended Te Kopua. [1915 11 26]

Gibbes reported to Hogben that the Te Kopua attendance was very low again. Was there, he asked, any good reason for maintaining the school if the buildings could be used elsewhere? A school was wanted at Te Mawhai [near Te Puihi]. Bird realised that the teacher's report was to the effect that the prospects were no worse than they had been for some time. There were ten children available for school and ten others to draw from. He also noted that the teacher had offered his services to the Defence Dept and was to notify the Department whether he was going to be accept or not.⁵² [1915 11 27]

⁴⁶I wondered if Cameron had gone ahead on the basis of Porteous' report.

⁴⁷That was a new strategy. I know it was wartime, and the department was shortly to issue a circular urging frugality, but to expect parents to pay for glass broken by their children was most unusual. Most previous years, the frequent broken glass went unremarked.

⁴⁸The first evidence of why glass was broken!

⁴⁹3 May was the previous inspection; why Gibbes waited five months was not explained.

⁵⁰A nice turn of phrase.

⁵¹Which had *not* always been the case.

⁵²There had been very positive messages from the department about the war. Apart from circulars about being frugal, the department had in 1913 encouraged teachers, and had provided incentives for them to do so, to take their pupils to visit HMS New Zealand.

The following February, F S Severne noted in the file that Cameron was now in camp.⁵³ "The question of the future of the school had better be considered later on when they knew what the teacher was going to do." Severne had an idea that Douglas had not attracted all the children to the school. His departure might cause an awakening.⁵⁴ Severne added that it was not feasible to remove the buildings. [1916 02 07]⁵⁵ The school did not re-open in 1916.

There was a memorandum by Severne on a letter to Searancke: "Mr Cameron left to join the Expeditionary Forces on the 3rd January." [1916 06 07]], and shortly after W J Anderson⁵⁶ wrote to Searancke, asking would he let him know the number of children, their names, ages, and distance from school, and, in whose charge had Mr Cameron left the keys. [1916 06 27]

Searancke replied, on the Department's letter, that two were all the children that he could guarantee. His brother was in temporary residence of the teacher's residence by permission of the Mission Department. [1916 07 03] The Department was in its usual minute mood; they wrote to the Mission; asking if they could have any materials that had been left in the school. The Wesleyan Trustees were very slow to reply; it turned out Mr Prime had recently died, and they had to ask the Department for copies of *its* files.⁵⁷ One of the Trustees was to have visited the Department during their Conference in Wellington, but, someone forgot. Finally, in May 1917, the Mission wrote to the Department. One of their members had visited the school. It was worth so small an amount as to be hardly worth negotiating. As the buildings were serving a useful purpose in the work of the Methodist Mission among the Natives, it was thought that the Department could well abandon any question of compensation. They had no desire to appear to be confiscating the property erected by the Department. That was not their attitude. Their point of view was, what was in the interests

[Circulars to NS E37 W2536 box 1 EDF 1913 04 22] William W Bird and John Porteous included this message in their 1915 Annual Report: "THE NATIVE SCHOOLS AND THE WAR: The children attending the schools have shown a great interest in the conflict which is now disturbing the peace of the world, and, with their parents, have evinced the utmost loyalty. Upwards of £200 has been subscribed by the children towards various patriotic funds; one tribe gave a large block of land for the purpose; useful gifts and comforts for the soldiers were sent in considerable quantities; while the Maori Expeditionary Force consists very largely of our old scholars, who are prepared to offer their lives for the Empire. There can be no doubt that the Native Schools have played an important part in creating feelings of patriotism and loyalty in the young Maoris, and that the policy of the Government in establishing a system of education for them has been a wise one." [AJHR 1915 E3, p 11] That was a new, and decidedly original, reason for establishing an education system!

⁵³He left to join the Expeditionary Forces on the 3rd January. [1916 06 07] Any letters from Cameron related to his enlistment have not survived.

⁵⁴On what Severne based that assertion is a mystery, given that the only information he had was that all the children of school age were attending Te Kopua

⁵⁵He had a better memory than Bird.

⁵⁶Director of Education.

⁵⁷The Department sent copies of the leases to the Mission's solicitors.

of the Natives in that locality. If the Department's officers were in Auckland, would they please visit. [1917 05 22] Porteous in a memorandum recounted the history of the school, and added that " ... under the circumstances it would appear that no other course is possible ...," and that the department should gracefully accept the position. [1917 06 08] The department wrote to the Trustees to inform them it was happy to accept their proposal " ... at the moment."

Why would a man, probably close to or into his forties, with at least three children [There were two pre-schoolers, and Victor, aged 15], volunteer to go to a war from which he must have known his chances of return were not good. We know Cameron's performance seemed to have slipped, and that the roll of the school had dropped; the two may have been connected. There is no evidence of what happened to Martha and the children. I sent an "Information sought" notice to all significant newspapers in New Zealand seeking to make contact with the Cameron's descendants, without results.⁵⁸ I am therefore unlikely to ever find out, but the matter will stay with me, even haunt me, for a long time.

⁵⁸ Well, not quite! I have an order for a copy of this study from the Hamilton Public Library; my warped sense of humour has me occasionally joke about having an 'advance order'.

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1915 - 1922

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These five and half 'non-years' in the life of Te Kopua are included here because they enable us to see the Department at work, in a sense 'close up'. Most of the time, it was not supportive of the people and the school, and it can be argued that it showed itself adept at finding ways of avoiding what seem to have been its clear responsibilities. I am far from convinced that the Department had the right to require the community to provide as much as they did, in both the matter of the bridges, which were an on-going sore point, but in the matter of the repairs to the school and house. We see, also, for the first time, the Department using, as a 'reason', the fact that the property did not belong to it, and they did not see why they should spend government money on private property.

In early 1918, Wm Searancke wrote to the Department, informing them that someone had asked him about buying the wire for the swing bridge; would they please let him know if it would sell, [1918 01 21] to which the Department replied that there was unlikely any more use for the footbridge: " ... you are in a better position than the Department to estimate what the wire is worth. The Department feels it can rely with confidence upon your judgement." [1918 10 28] Searancke told the Department that the best offer was £2.10.0. Severne recommended acceptance of the offer; Searancke sent them £2.10.0 in the middle of May, 1918.

A Mr Cooper, of Puketotara,¹ Te Awamutu, wrote to the department:

I wrote to Auckland re the Native School & as we have a good number of both natives and Whites say 19 & there are a great number coming on & as the school is idle for the want of a teacher we have the sanction of the Wesleyan Mission who are the Trustees to reopen same & we want a teacher for the coming term if possible. There is a five room house so would suit a married man. Our last teacher was a Mr Ray Cameron who lost his life during the present war. At present the children have 4 miles to walk.

Trusting you will give this matter your immediate attention.

Yours truly F L Cooper. [1920 02 06]

¹This was three kilometres west of Te Kopua on the Pirongia - Kawhia Road, with the Moakurua River to cross. There was not then, and still isn't, direct road access to Te Kopua for people living on, or close to, the Pirongia - Kawhia Road. Access to Te Kopua from Puketotara would have been difficult.

Cooper was informed that a visit by an inspector was necessary, as was a list of the children concerned, with their particulars, on the form provided. [1920 02 13]

About the same time, Arthur S Ormsby wrote to the department: ...

There are about 20 children in the district of school age and a big number just under so you can see that a school is urgently needed. 2/3rds are Native, 1/3rds are Europeans.² [1920 02 11]

The department's reply to Ormsby told him about Mr Cooper, and gave him similar information. [1920 02 27]

Porteous, in a memorandum to G M Henderson,³ said the school must be visited and the buildings inspected; they did not belong to the department. They must know the position of existing schools; would Mr Henderson please arrange a visit [1920 02 27]

Mr Cooper wrote again to the department, telling them that the school was indeed delapidated [sic]. 14 panes of glass were broken, the maps had been taken away.

I am a settler on the next section & will look to the Dept's Interest if you will allow us to use the school for meetings, also for a Concert & Dance. There is a Committee of Five of us who are interested to see the school is kept in good repair ...W.C.s & the Tanks have been removed. I will inform the parties to kindly put them back on the Property. [1920 04 25]

The Department again asked Cooper to furnish a list of prospective pupils. An inspector, he was told, would shortly be in the district. The school was the property of the Methodist Mission Trust. [1920 04 30] After his visit, Henderson wrote a two and a half page report, with a lot of detail on the house and the school, the nature of the repairs needed, etc. He estimated repair costs of £150 for the school and £70-80 for the house. A Miss Cannons⁴ lived two miles from the school. He had talked to her father on the telephone; if she did become the teacher, she would live at home, so the Department would not need to repair the house.⁵ He had found that the local missionary, Piripi Rakena, had no power to make any arrangements. The local people, he thought, seemed very much in earnest.⁶ They had repaired the bridges over the Waipa, and were willing to repair fences and gates and replace the water-closets. Henderson suggested that they should communicate with Miss Cannons and find if her credentials were satisfactory; call tenders for the necessary repairs to the school; make arrangements with the mission authorities, and, when the school was ready, appoint Miss Cannons to reopen it. [1920 05 22]

² To Cooper, there were "natives and Whites"; to Ormsby there were "Natives and Europeans". Ormsby was 'halfcaste', but apparently thought of himself as 'Native'.

³This is G M Henderson's first appearance in this story; there were now three Inspectors of Native Schools. Eighteen years later, G M Henderson, in the context of Peter Fraser's *1938 Education Amendment Bill*, offered a spirited defence of the Native School system. He included in it "... the equipment of a race of people largely disinherited for a self-respecting life in contact with a dominant race." And "One thing that education, both in public and Native schools has done for the Maori is largely to kill out his language. This is an evil, and should be rectified." [See Henderson, G M, "Education Board and Native Schools,"

⁴Cannons Road is still on the map of the district.

⁵He was a good departmental officer; always an eye out to save money.

⁶Within the Department someone, very likely Porteous, had written the following memorandum in red: "They always have been when the school was closed." This reflected a deep cynicism, and was perhaps partly true; it would not have occurred to the writer of the memorandum that perhaps the struggle of keeping a school going under difficulties largely created by the Department might have been why the earnestness did not continue!!

However, Porteous noted, on Henderson's report, that the school was so unsatisfactory for many years that he was doubtful about spending much money in repairing the buildings. The parents understood also that it would be their business to see to the bridges and keep them in repair without any expense to the Department. He noted that Mr Henderson did not say anything regarding the race of the children - the numbers of Europeans and Maoris. [1920 05 26] Another note, in pencil, on Henderson's report stated that there was "No action." Miss Cannons wrote, giving her experience, qualifications, etc. She was then teaching at Maihihi School. [1920 06 15] A memorandum on the back of her letter suggested she was on the unemployed list. Her salary was £250 [£200 - £210 plus £40 grading increment.]⁷

The Public Works Department, reporting on the Waipa River bridge, noted that there was no other means of access to the school. There had been a big flood in June 1919, when the anchors at one end of the bridge washed out. It would cost £25 to replace the bridge. The PWD was prepared to put in the bridge, but, was the Education Department prepared to pay? [1920 10 07] Porteous was now of the opinion that it was not any longer a matter for the department, for these Te Kopua children now attended the public school.⁸ [1920 10 11] The Department wrote to the Auckland Education Board, informing them that they were passing the matter on to them; it was now their problem. [1920 10 18] Ormsby wrote that he was away on urgent business when Mr Henderson visited. Henderson, he understood, had decided to recommend that the school be reopened. Since then they had been patiently waiting.

... 18 children are unable to get any schooling. There were more coming on, unless steps were taken to remove the hardship. Additional hardship will be imposed on the parents, for they will be compelled to send their children or remove themselves to a place where they are near a school. I await your reply. [1921 02 19]⁹

Ormsby included details not in his previous letter, nor in the Inspector's report.

Henderson had erred; there was a memorandum, in red, very likely written by Porteous, on Ormsby's letter:

The Inspector was not called upon to inform the people, when he made his investigations, what he has decided to recommend.

Henderson had also written to Miss Cannons, apparently without telling the Department.¹⁰

The Department passed on Ormsby's message to the Auckland Education Board. [1921 02 21] The story was continued by Ormsby, who telegraphed the department:

When are you reopening Te Kopua Native School. Over twenty children now school age please reply

⁷ She was, therefore, and *very* experienced teacher; we will not often read that figure for a Head Teacher at Te Kopua.

⁸ Unfortunately, the school is not named.

⁹ That of course is a direct contradiction of Porteous opinion, noted above, that "... these Te Kopua children now attended the public school."

¹⁰ I did not record from the archive the evidence for that judgement.

Porteous, in a memorandum to Severne, observed that it did not seem to him that the telegram should have been sent Collect.¹¹ The Department wrote to the Auckland Education Board, canvassing the issues, and asked if there was a reasonable prospect of the children attending another school. [1921 04 01] Miss Couch¹² wrote that, owing to the prolongation by the Board of Education in sending a teacher to undertake the teaching there, the Kopua settlers had asked her to fill the vacancy for a month gratis. After considering the matter, she had agreed to their request. Miss Couch wrote that she had attended the West Lyttleton School for two years and the Rapaki School for four years, and

Having passed the sixth standard; she was considered to be well grounded in all knowledge required for the training of children.¹³ Should [your Department] honour me with its confidence, I trust that by blending kindness with strict regulating and firmness of discipline, I shall do my utmost to give you no cause to regret. I am twenty one years of age. [1921 04 24]

Ormsby, continuing to harass the Department, wrote to observe that the bridge over the Waipa was not of vital importance; there was a bridge one mile higher up, near a residence with eight children. He pointed out that ten children with no education lived on the school side of the river. Twelve children attended distant schools. The school was repaired; all they now required was furniture and books. Ormsby added that

This is the first school opened by Govt. in the King Country in 1885. It did good work until 1914¹⁴ when the teacher enlisted for the war. Trusting to hear from you as soon as possible. [1921 04 24]

Ormsby was determined. He wrote to Hon C J Parr MP.¹⁵

Re Te Kopua Native School:

Dear Sir,

About six weeks ago I wrote to the Director of Education re appointing a teacher for the above school. A young lady has been teaching at this school for the past month free gratis and the parents who are anxious to have their children educated are now paying her pending her official appointment or some other teacher. As I have not yet had any communication from the Director of Education I shall be greatly obliged if you could have this school officially opened and thus give these backblock children an opportunity of being educated. Thank you in anticipation. [1921 07 07]

The Minister's telegraphed reply to Ormsby read:

I shall be very pleased to make enquiries and ascertain the position with a view to seeing what can be done. [1921 06 14]

Whilst the Minister appealed to the Director, "Please enable me to further reply to Mr Ormsby," a telegram from the Department to Ormsby asked how many children were then attending school at Te Kopua; he was to reply by collect telegram. Ormsby's telegram to

¹¹This was not the first time Departmental officers had expressed that view. I doubt Ormsby would have agree.

¹² Miss Elizabeth A Couch was the sister of the wife of Piripi Rakena, the Maori Wesleyan Missioner; she was threequarter white, one quarter Maori.

¹³... well grounded ... "I would be interested to know whether passing Std 6 was considered sufficient qualification for teaching in an Education Board primary school in 1921. Miss Couch did not report who had made that judgement, but whoever it was considered Miss Couch's qualification adequate for a Native School.

¹⁴It was 1915 when Cameron enlisted, but the point is not important.

¹⁵ Minister of Education.

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the Department stated that Miss Couch was then teaching nine children at Te Kopua school; there were ten more to attend when a permanent teacher was appointed.

The 'battle' continued. There were several letters to [Dr] Sir Maui Pomare,¹⁶ in pencil. An example:

Dear Sir,

Re our interview at Taumarunui with you at Te Heuheu tangi re the opening of the Kopua Native School. We will place before you our facts concerning the re-opening of the school. This school is one of the oldest Native Schools in the King Country and since the war it was closed down on account of the teacher going to war. I might also state that the Inspector was here last winter 12 months and made a report which is not satisfactory to us. At the present time we are running the school now for 2 months putting our hands into our pockets to pay the teacher Miss Couch, which she is staying with her sister at the Kopua Mission Station [Mrs Rakena Piripi [sic]]. Therefore you can see that we are trying to help ourselves in educating our children but have been corresponding to the Education Department through Mr A S Ormsby placing our facts and details about 2 months ago and got no reply yet.

We put before you Dr do the best you can for us. I might also state that the nearest school to this is Pokuru, the distance is about 4 miles and two rivers to cross [Waipa and Mangawhero] so therefore is impossible for us to send our children there. At the present time there are 9 children going to our school and if the Department will reopen the school again the number will be approx 18.

However these are the main facts we place before you so do the best you can for educating our tamariki maori¹⁷ so that they could compete with our pakeha friends and uplift our maori race.¹⁸

Hoping to hear from you later. Hea ano o tamariki Chas Searancke Jun, Thomson Searancke, [?] Searancke. [1921 06 19]

Arthur S Ormsby wrote to Hon Dr Pomare,¹⁹

Would you kindly do what you can towards getting the above School re-opened, all the information in connection with the matter has already been supplied to the Director of Education.²⁰

Porteous wrote a memorandum for the Director, J [John] Caughley, [1921 10 06] who wrote a memorandum for the Minister, C J Parr. [1921 10 12] The intent of these memoranda is summarised in this letter to Ormsby:²¹

Sir,

Referring to your letters of 24th April and 7th June last and to the Department's reply thereto of the 19th July last, I have now to inform you that as a result of correspondence that has passed between the Department and the Wesleyan Mission Trustees it has been definitely ascertained that the Trustees, to

¹⁶MP for Western Maori, and Member of the Executive representing the Native Race. He was knighted in 1920.

¹⁷Maori children.

¹⁸It was unclear from the handwritten text whether there was an upper or lower case /m/ for Maori; and a lower case /p/ for pakeha. Ormsby's final sentence, "However these are the main facts we place before you so do the best you can for educating our tamariki maori so that they could compete with our pakeha friends and uplift our maori race," is interesting, perhaps even revealing. Ormsby would appear to have been well immersed in the current ideology. I wonder if he was aware of the constraints placed on Maori capacity to compete? See Barrington, John, "Learning the 'Dignity of Labour': secondary education policy for Maoris.

¹⁹It was a carbon copy of a typed letter, sent from Te Kuiti.

²⁰Ormsby sent a list of the children, in their families: Charles Searancke Jnr: Poly [sic?] 11, Matilda 8, Mereaina 7, Ngapawa 6, Besie 5; T W Searancke: William 10, Thomas 7; Charles Searancke Snr: Ngaeha 10; Rereama Rere: Nupa [?] 7; F L Cooper [E²⁰]: Murray 5; S Norman: Robson 10, Douglas 13, Irelina [?] 8; [?] Cannons: Albert 14; D Emery: John 14, Tom 12, Henry 8, Catherine 6. [1921 08 00]

²¹The various writers, especially Porteous, blamed the Trustees for allowing the buildings to fall into repair, and for allowing the natives to remove things, etc. Porteous in particular is I judge less than sympathetic in at least this case, eg "I see no reason why the people interested in the opening of the school should not put the school building in repair. In many districts people provide a suitable building for a school." That is a most interesting observation; further studies of individual schools will establish its validity. I would be very surprised if it ever applied to Board administered schools.

whom the Te Kopua Native School buildings now belong, are not prepared to expend any money in putting them into repair, although otherwise willing to consider any application for their further use for school purposes. As pointed out in its letter of the 19th July the Department cannot undertake to incur any expenditure upon buildings that do not now belong to it, and I am therefore writing to inform you that only upon the following conditions will it be prepared to reopen and to resume control of the school, viz., that the people of Te Kopua themselves put the school and residence into proper repair, or, as an alternative, that they put the school itself into repair and guarantee suitable accommodation for the teacher. [1921 11 03]

It was Chas Searancke who replied:

re your conditions

Firstly: We will undertake the following repairs to the school building: will put in all broken panes in windows, set up a drinking tank, also set up the WCs. Secondly: I or we, undertake to find a single teacher a place to live in. Thirdly: We will not undertake to repair the teacher's residence, it is beyond our financial strength, it will cost over one hundred pounds to put the place in good order.

In appointing a teacher for the school we request you to give it to a single teacher [gentleman preferred] as there is a lot of riding to be done in the way of getting in and out of the place.²² [1921 11 15]

A memorandum in red pointed out that single men were not appointed to Native Schools.²³

Ormsby followed up with a letter to the department, making much the same points as Searancke. He added. "Miss Couch the late teacher has left the district and we do not know of any suitable person at present." [1921 12 07]

It was a long Christmas! It was May before Henderson again visited the school and reported on the work done. "The people of the place have replaced one of the privies which were removed, and replaced the tank." He reported that the man who was moving in the matter was Mr Charlie Searancke. There were twelve children on the left bank, or school, side; they were not going to any school. On the other side was Kakepuku School. There was a good road. Te Kopua was in a fit condition to re-open. A white settler, Mr Cooper and his wife, were willing to board a lady teacher. Miss Cannons was now teaching in the Salvation Army School, Eltham. It would require £20 - 50 to put the present bridge in a good enough order [1922 05 07]

A memorandum in red noted that Mr Henderson in his previous report had stated the people had repaired the bridge.

Porteous, in a memorandum to Caughley, stated that the bridge was responsible to some extent for the roll fluctuations; it was a concern of the parents. He added:

In view of the undertaking given to the people to appoint a teacher when the building was put in a proper state of repair, and in view of the fact that the repairs have been effected, I recommend that steps now be taken by the Department to fulfil its obligation. [1922 05 16]

²² Ignoring the fact that apparently women cannot or should not ride a horse, it is worth remembering that this is 1921, yet there still is not road access to this place, once an important centre for Tawhiao. It says something about County Council priorities, and about the economic and political position of those people living there.

²³ Government policy was that only *married* men were to be appointed to Native Schools. "As a rule the Government will appoint a married couple, the husband to act as master of the school, and the wife as sewing mistress." The Native Schools Code, *AJHR*, H1f, 1880, p 1. By 1897, the Code had been amended to read: "*Suitable* [Emphasis added] persons will be selected to take charge of the schools. A mistress may have charge of a Native school, but, as a rule the Government will appoint a married man, whose wife can, if required to do so, act as assistant teacher. All teachers enter the service on probation." [*The Native School Code 1987*, p 4.

On that same day the Wesleyan Mission Trustees were informed of what was proposed, to which they responded that the school was available on the same terms and conditions as before.

Miss Frances Cowern was to be the teacher. Given that there is no evidence of Miss Cowern's career prior to her appointment to Te Kopua, I think it is reasonable to ask what about Miss Cowern made her more suitable than Miss Couch. The Department clearly rejected the community's efforts and aspirations in favour of its own perhaps unstated policy, that they would not willingly, or even unwillingly, appoint a local person to a Native School.

However, we must, I think, note that G M Henderson apparently made judgements and acted in ways that were more supportive of the people of Te Kopua. *That* judgement is made in the light of the article he wrote eighteen years later, in which Henderson clearly revealed perspectives sympathetic to Maori.

1922

Frances Cowern

The Department wrote in July 1922 to the parents of Te Kopua, advising that Miss F Cowern had been appointed to the school, and adding "It is to be hoped there will be a full attendance of children at the re-opening of the school." [1922 07 21]¹ There is no evidence of Cowern's career prior to appointment to Te Kopua.

Cowern advised the Department that the average attendance at Te Kopua was 7.2. [1922 08 18] Caughley² immediately wrote to Ormsby, pointing out that, on the information he had supplied, a substantially larger number were expected to attend when the school was reopened.

The Department cannot keep the school open for seven children only. It would have no option but to close, in which case it would not re-open. I shall be obliged if you will let this be known to the persons for the benefit of whose children the school has been re-opened. [1922 08 21]

Ormsby Senior³ responded that there were about 18 children 18 months ago; seven of those had left, but 12 were now attending. The weather, when Miss Cowern opened the school, was rough and stormy and there were heavy floods.

Only one man the Father of the five children Mr Chas Searancke Jnr is taking any interest in the welfare of the School. He has recently repaired two of the swing bridges required to cross the children, he also repaired the school buildings and carted the school books from Te Awamutu. Your threat to close the school if the attendance does not go above 7 is rough on the back block children. [1922 09 02]⁴

The average attendances for the last three weeks of September were 9.8, 12.2, and 11.4.

¹ We have read that before!

² John Caughley, Director of Education

³ No initials in the original.

⁴ Emphasis in original. Neither Te Awamutu nor Pirongia would in 1922 have been regarded as 'the backblocks', yet Ormsby, perhaps admittedly with his tongue in his cheek, considered he could legitimately use the term.

In November, G M Henderson, unannounced,⁵ inspected the school. He tested the children, but it was not a formal examination, and no results of his tests are extant. [1922 11 09] He gave no reason for his decision to visit. Henderson wrote that, despite his visit being unannounced, the children were very clean and tidy.⁶ Both Tone and Manners were very satisfactory, Discipline was satisfactory, and Cowern's Records received marks ranging from seven to nine.

Cowern had a satisfactory trial Timetable operating, and her Schemes were similarly satisfactory.⁷ Henderson reported that

The methods used are somewhat old-fashioned. I tested the children in Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Drawing and Oral English. I found the Reading and Oral English very satisfactory; but the Arithmetic is weak. I have recommended: 1/ Teaching of Arithmetic by concrete methods eg Composition of numbers by means of sticks. 2/ Reading in Primer class by the phonic method, the values of the letters to be taught and not the names.⁸ [1922 11 09]

Henderson recorded that Cowern gave a nature talk to the children, who answered freely the questions that followed the talk.

Henderson's note about the nature talk and the questions which followed are similar to many other inspector's observations, and suggest that a common teaching technique in nature, history, geography, and health and moral instruction, was to give a talk on a topic, and then to question the children to see how well they had remembered what they had been told. In addition, the answers were always to be in complete sentences. Little or no use seems to have been made of written resources. Whether the questions were to be repeated the following day, or before the next lesson, was not mentioned.

The other point to be made is that apparently the lesson was given to *all* the children. If that *was* the case, it was in my opinion not good practice. To expect five year old children to make sense of material which would not bore 13 year olds is quite unreasonable.

Henderson summed up his visit thus: "The children seem very intelligent and eager to learn." [1922 11 09]

Reporting on the buildings, Henderson noted that

⁵That was most unusual; up until this time, visits were always planned, that the community, the parents, might be present. The inspector's examination visit was frequently a highlight of a community's year. [See Barrington and Beaglehole, *Maori Schools*, eg pp 155-156; the Te Kopua archive does not record any significant involvement of parents in inspections.]

⁶By his qualification Henderson can be interpreted as suggesting that on normal school days the children's cleanliness and tidiness could not be taken for granted, that for 'announced' visits the children were 'spruced up' for the examination. Interesting!

⁷Cowern would not have had the advantage of a previous teacher's timetable or schemes, so it is reasonable to presume she was a trained teacher, and perhaps had been in a Board school.

⁸That seems to have been a fairly standard piece of advice.

The desks are all of the old type and are not fixed to the floor. They are unsatisfactory for the children to use.⁹ [1922 11 09]

The initiating letter from the Department is not in the file, but for some reason Chas Searancke Jnr wrote, regretting that the Department could not see its way to refund him.

He continued:

Have you got any word from our teacher Miss Cowern, whether she is coming back or not.

If she is not, has the Dept got another teacher yet. If so, I would like to get an early start this year, as you know we had a very short year last one.

Drop me a line and oblige. [1923 01 10]

The reply was that Miss Cowern had resigned for health reasons, that Miss Cannons was not available, and that no other person was in sight. Steps were, however, being taken, and the Department hoped to be in a position to re-open the school. [1923 01 12] There was no prior evidence that Cowern was not well. We do know that she was still there twelve days after the Department wrote to Searancke, for she wrote to the Department to inform it that the books in the school at the end of 1922 were: Zealandia Song Book, Progressive Arithmetic Books Stds 1, II, III. [1923 01 24] The school was *not* over-supplied with books. What, for example, the children learned to read from is a total mystery.

Frances Cowern left as quietly as she arrived, apparently unheralded and unfaREWELLED, with her personality not revealed. There is no evidence where she lived whilst teaching at Te Kopua. Given that the house had not been renovATED, she must have been board-ING, unless her family lived in the area.¹⁰

⁹ The school had a series of platforms, each taking, I think, five two-child desks. That the desks were fixed to the floor is new to me. They would make cleaning difficult, and would greatly inhibit flexible teaching behaviour.

¹⁰ I had thought I had evidence somewhere that that was the case, but if I have, I have successfully hidden or lost it.

1923 - 1929

Emily N Churton

Emily N Churton¹ was an assistant teacher at Pipiriki Native School in 1922, so had at least one year of experience before being appointed to Te Kopua.² As we will learn at the end of this chapter, she was from the Wanganui area.

In the first logbook entry in the archive,³ Churton wrote:

The "look and say" method is an unheard of thing here. Even the babies know their A B C and numbers up to 20 which I find very unfortunate. The more advanced pupils are atrocious readers - in fact are backward in almost everything.⁴

That final sentence really was quite uncalled for; had she forgotten the school had been closed for six years!

Churton's complaint that "The "look and say" method is an unheard of thing here. Even the babies know their A B C and numbers up to 20 which I find very unfortunate," has a 'modern' ring to it. She implied that they had been drilled in A B C and numbers up to 20, and that phonics had prevailed, and she thought *neither* good practice. Those children had been taught by teachers who had listened to and followed the advice of the inspectors. Why Churton had a different view we do not know.

A few days later, she recorded her first committee meeting:

¹ I stumbled in an Annual Report of the Native Department upon correspondence between various officials and MPs and H Churton, of Wanganui, who wished to establish a school for Maori girls. As will become clear, Emily Churton was from the Wanganui area, and I have wondered whether she was a descendent of H Churton. There is a small research topic in the school Churton was proposing. [AJHR, 1877, G4, pp 13-14, which record a series of correspondence between Mr H Churton, of Wanganui, and Mr D Pollen, Native Minister and officials of the Native Department, concerning Mr Churton's desire to endow and have constructed a boarding school for Maori girls at Wanganui, and perhaps other schools thereafter. The Government, through Mr Pollen, agreed to assist with finance, management and maintenance, to the extent of passing any necessary legislation. Because she was from Wanganui, it is therefore possible that Emily Churton was in some way related to Mr H Churton. It occurs to me that there might be a research topic in the private, as distinct from church, provision of schooling for Maori.

² Ellen Churton had been assistant the year before, 1921. I did wonder if 'Ellen' was actually 'Emily', but probably not.

³ The logbooks for the years up to the school's extended closure in 1915 are, sadly, missing.

⁴ TKLB, [Te Kopua logbook] [1923 02 13]

The [committee] meeting lasted about two hours and was all in Maori but I sat it out all right.⁵
That suggests Churton was Maori, a fact confirmed later.⁶

A committee consisting of Chas Searancke, Chair; W F Searancke, Sec; G Searancke, P Searancke, and Rev J Tamati was elected soon after. [1923 02 19]

Churton recorded in March the " ... funeral of Mr Wiremu Hughes, a man of some importance in the neighbourhood,"⁷ and in April that "Mr Punga Hughes died yesterday after a very long illness."⁸

Churton seems to have taken some events in her stride:

We also had a rather curious assembly at school today. Two babies, one 3 months old and the other 4 years; also a cat which attends rather regularly. There are half a dozen pigs that often take it into their heads to stroll into school now and then.⁹

A few days later, she "Addressed the children on Anzac Day before dismissing them at 2.30."¹⁰

In May 1923 the Wesleyan Mission Trustees received an offer to buy the teacher's house at Te Kopua. They thought it wise to sell, for the house was deteriorating.¹¹ They also thought it wise to acquaint the Department of Education of the offer and the response they thought to make to the offer, and to ask the Department if at any future date it might have any use for the house. [1923 05 08] The Department responded that it had received the trustees' letter. It did not express any view, which was surely unusual, and quite uncharacteristic. Was it another way of saying that it didn't really care?¹²

Churton's first inspection, by G M Henderson, was in June 1923. The report was almost perfect. She got full marks for her Records, which were "All in good order and neatly kept." Discipline, Tone, and Cleanliness were all good; there was some Hakihaki.¹³ Manners, and Buildings, Offices, Books, etc, were very satisfactory. Only the report on the

⁵*TKLB*, [1923 02 16]

⁶ I discuss the fact the committee business was conducted in te reo Maori in the Appendix 6: Te Reo.

⁷*TKLB*, [1923 03 15] I would have expected a Maori person to have used 'tangi' rather than 'funeral'.

⁸*TKLB*, [1923 04 11]

⁹*TKLB*, [1923 04 11]

¹⁰*TKLB*, [1923 04 25]

¹¹ There is no evidence in the record as to where Emily Churton lived while she taught at Te Kopua, except that she apparently was not living in the teacher's residence. The point is even more intriguing when we find that she at times had one or more of her siblings living with her.

¹² A year later, Henderson in the course of his inspection learned that "The land has been sold by the church authorities to Mr Chas Searancke, who intends it to remain as a school property." [1924 05 30]

¹³ Hakihaki: itch.

Fences and Gates was negative; they were in poor repair but the playground had been cleared of blackberry and weeds.¹⁴ [1923 06 12]

Henderson found Churton's Timetable suitable, and her Schemes satisfactory. Her Methods Of Teaching were judged very satisfactory. His teaching suggestions were:

1/ Continued use and extensions of the dramatic dialogue¹⁵ in teaching English. 2/ The teaching of Oral English to the little ones before reading. 3/ Use of sticks in teaching composition of numbers and coins in teaching money problems. 4/ Use of head voice in singing and also a much softer tone.

Reporting on the Instruction of Class P, Henderson noted that

The teacher handles the little ones well. I have advised her to pay more attention at first to the teaching of Oral English than to reading, and to make the reading interesting by giving it concrete meaning and getting the children to act it as much as possible.¹⁶

Oral English was very good. "The older children speak well and put a certain amount of expression into speaking and reading." Written English was very satisfactory. Reading was good. "This subject is well taught." Both Comprehension and Spelling were good.

Arithmetic was satisfactory. "I have strongly advised the use of concrete methods in all arithmetic teaching."

Handwork was very satisfactory, Drawing was satisfactory, Nature Study and Geography were not taken, whilst Moral Instruction and Health "Received attention." Singing was good, with a somewhat harsh tone. Physical Instruction was good.

Turning to Organisation, Henderson found the Grouping of Classes satisfactory, and Churton's Discretion in Promotions quite satisfactory. [1923 06 12]

As a result of the examination aspect of the visit, only three pupils were not promoted; the marks overall were good, even very good. Of the 39 scores recorded, 32 were at midpoint or higher, with the highest at 90. Of the seven below midpoint, two were just below, at 12/25. The senior pupil was Polly Searancke, aged 13 years, promoted to Standard IV

The ages, on examination day, are illuminating: Standard III: 13.1; Standard II: 9.4, 11.6, 12.9; Standard I: 8.10, 7.10, and 11.9. Time since admission in all cases was 10 months.

¹⁴These points were aimed at the committee at least as much as the teacher.

¹⁵That is a new one; I wonder what it meant? A form of drama, play acting?

¹⁶That also is new, and I guess links to "dramatic dialogue". Henderson's advice has a modern ring to it. I think it possible that Henderson had judged he had a receptive ear in Churton, who already has indicated that she was person with clear ideas on method which were not standard for those times.

All had been attending other schools; no names in the 1915 Examination Report were among those entered in 1922.¹⁷

Overall, Henderson judged that the Efficiency of the School was very satisfactory. [1923 06 12]

In retrospect, I wonder if Churton reflected upon the judgement of the pupils she had recorded in the logbook in her early days at the school.¹⁸ The discrepancy between that judgement and Henderson's examination report is clear, and it is difficult to believe that Churton herself, despite the very positive report from Henderson, could have effected such an improvement in just five months. From this distance, and having read all the archive in which she is recorded, I judge Churton to have been a very active, lively person, who may possibly have been prone to making judgements perhaps a little too quickly.

Only three days after Henderson's visit, Churton recorded that

One of my pet pupils who has been ill for some weeks died last night to my everlasting sorrow.... On Sunday I am taking the children over to pay our respects to his bereaved family.¹⁹

We are continually reminded that Te Kopua, while really not far distant from Te Awamutu, or even from Hamilton, was still isolated in many respects. Churton wrote:

A regular mail service was also organised. A school boy will ride to Te Kawa every Friday to collect mail for all those who are willing to pay a sub of 4/-. There are five subscribers.²⁰

In August, the school was closed to allow Churton to sit an examination.²¹ There is no indication of the examination Churton sat, but it is possibly related back to a 1912 initiative of the department, designed to make it easier for uncertificated teachers in isolated schools to improve their qualifications.²²

At the February 1924 meeting held to elect a new committee, Mr Chas Searancke argued that someone else should take the responsible position. He was, however, unsuccessful, for Churton recorded the following committee: Chairman: Chas Searancke; Secretary: Wm

¹⁷Te Kopua Register of Admission. This will have been a consequence of the being closed for a long period. It has long been judged that mobility interferes with effective learning; these children had enough barriers to dissuade most people. However, it also contradicts the frequent assertions of the parents that there was a significant number of children who could not get to a school!

¹⁸*TKLB*, [1923 02 13]

¹⁹*TKLB*, [1923 06 15] Her use of "pet" may have been rhetorical; I hope so.

²⁰*TKLB*, [1923 06 18] We presume the 'school boy' was one of her pupils. His absence from school for much of the day did not attract any comment from, eg, the inspector. He would have been in STD II, probably aged 11 or 12 years. I would not be surprised if it was a 'Churton initiative.' Perhaps it was a fundraising venture.

²¹*TKLB*, [1923 08 24]

²²Hogben issued the following circular to all Native Schools: "GRANT IN AID OF INSTRUCTION FOR UNCERTIFICATED TEACHERS. For the purposes of assisting uncertificated teachers in outlying districts to obtain full qualification a sum of money has been allocated to the Education Boards to be expended in establishing and maintaining classes of instruction including tuition by correspondence classes. The classes so arranged are to be strictly for the benefit of teachers who are working to obtain a certificate and

Searancke; The other three members were J Searancke, [?] Bishop, and Rev Te Aho Bishop.²³

Churton telegraphed the Department to ask: "Is it correct all schools having ten days Easter? Does this apply to Native Schools?". [1924 04 19] The Departmental reply was that "School due reopen today Tuesday. See section nine regulations." [1923 04 22] However, other matters intervened. Churton wrote that the department's wire " ... arrived after the Railway strike had commenced so I was unable to return until the 30th, when the first train ran, thus extending the holiday longer than I should have. In this case, will you advise me whether to take or forgo the usual term holidays which commence on the 19th inst." Churton was informed that the first term holidays were not to be taken. This may not have been a problem for Churton, but I wonder what it did to any holiday plans of the parents of the pupils. There is no evidence the committee was consulted.

The issue did not end there. In July 1924, the Department wrote to Churton, instructing her to make up the time lost by dispensing with the August term holidays [1924 07 10] This upset Churton, who wrote to Henderson, seeking his advice and help, and pointing out that she had already made up all but two days of the lost time.²⁴

... Do you think they have forgotten that we have forgone one holiday to make up the lost time, and to be exact, that only two days remain to be accounted for?

I am inclined to think by the tone of their letter that they have forgotten, and seeing the matter recently brought up again in my return last of month are under the impression that we have not paid for it. I am backward in reminding them as they may be right and - well, you know, they draw conclusions about people who are always worrying about holidays and it's not the holidays I'm worrying about, *it's the justice of the thing and the children should be considered.*²⁵

Even granted that the Dept is right, I don't think it fair that they should blame me for what I could not help, namely a Railway Strike. I can't help thinking that the Dept is taking advantage of my ignorance about such matters and I am writing to ask your advice as I am not sure what to do or to think about it.

Yours faithfully E N Churton. [1924 07 22]

Churton's letter was effective. Henderson obviously corrected the Departmental officials, for Churton was informed that

... in instructing you by memorandum dated the 10th July that the second term holidays were to be dispensed with, the Department overlooked the fact that the time lost through school closure between the 22nd and 30th April was made good by dispensing with the May term holidays. The second term holidays are accordingly reinstated and may be taken forthwith. [1924 09 10]

teachers of Native Schools may share in the advantage. ...obtain first the approval of the Department" [Circulars to NS E 37 Acc W 2536 box 1 EDF [1912 07 12]]

²³TKLB, [1924 02 04]]

²⁴Given that the lost time was not really her fault, it having been brought about by the railway strike, I think she was never sure that justice was done by making she and the children forego the May holidays. I like her reference to 'justice'.

²⁵Emphasis added. I like that last, " ... it's the justice of the thing and the children should be considered." It is I think the only such observation in the archive.

Churton responded that

With the Chairman's approval I intend to leave the above holidays until Xmas and take them then making seven weeks in all, there being less than three months now till that time. [1924 09 14]

The Department did *not* approve:

I have to inform you that the Chairman has no authority in the matter. The holidays are to be taken now or not at all. [1924 09 18]

which meant that the August-September term holidays were taken in late September. Again, were there consequences for parental plans? The Department did not apologise for the error; there was no sign of sensitivity to the feelings of the teacher, but an evident determination to adhere to the letter of the regulations. It was the Department at its disciplinarian best, or worst, depending on the point of view. There was also a repeat of the somewhat cavalier attitude to holidays in the Native School service.

The other issue raised by this episode is teacher support. In my career, when such issues arose, I turned to the primary teachers' organisation, the New Zealand Educational Institute [NZEI], which provided advice and advocacy. Emily Churton did not have that support.²⁶ She was not eligible for membership in the NZEI. Native School teachers were not for many years eligible for membership of NZEI because they were not deemed to be teachers under the Education Act.²⁷

Eventually, all Native School teachers were invited to join the Institute, and the Native Schools Branch of NZEI was formed in 1934.²⁸ I have not found evidence the Native School Teachers' Association, or the Native Schools Branch of the NZEI, were active in the Waikato.²⁹ No teacher at Te Kopua reported attending any meetings of teachers.³⁰

²⁶According to Barrington and Beaglehole, *Maori Schools*, p 152, " ... The teachers felt their isolation, ..."

²⁷Barrington and Beaglehole, *Maori Schools*, p 152, citing *National Education*. Butchers reported that "The Native School teachers are excluded from the provisions of Part XI of the Education Act relating to the incorporation of teachers associations and the Teachers' Court of Appeal. They are public servants, appointed by the Public Service Commissioner and subject to the Public Service Regulations, which do not apply to teachers in the public or Board schools. Whereas the public school teachers may discuss the education system at public meetings or in the press, the Native School teacher, 'as an officer of the Public Service, is forbidden to make any communication, directly or indirectly to the press upon any matter affecting his school ... without the express permission or authority of the Director.'" Butchers, A G, *The Education System*, p 83, citing Regulations Relating to Native Schools, 30 6 1931. That proscription first appeared a Native Schools context in the 1909 "Regulations relating to Native Schools," Section II.5, [*New Zealand GAZETTE*, 1909, Vol II, p 2492.] It may well have been promulgated in a Gazette notice at some earlier date.

²⁸*TKLB*, p199.

²⁹The Native Schools Branch of NZEI.

³⁰Ted Simmonds' history of the New Zealand Educational Institute does not have an index. 'Maori' appears first in the Table of Contents in Chapter 13, "The Boom Years 1951 - 1958." I scanned the book, and found the first mention of the Native Teachers branch on page 139, where it is recorded that the President of the Institute was in 1938 " ... presented with a fine gavel, carved in Maori fashion, which is still used by presidents ..." The gavel was carved by the teacher at Karetu Native School. In Chapter 13, on p 177, Simmonds notes that "Education for Maori children began to appear on the annual meeting agenda," which was tacit admission that the matter had not previously been important. I could not find mention of the formation of the Native Schools Branch in 1934. [Simmonds, E.J, *NZEI 100; an account of the New Zealand Educational Institute, 1883 - 1983.*]

G M Henderson's inspection visit in May 1924, just after the holidays Churton and the children did not have, resulted in a report very similar to that of 1923. [1924 05 30] The fact that Moral Instruction and Health were "Treated incidentally." was not apparently a problem, given its importance in earlier years. Churton's Timetable was suitable, but it "Should be on the proper form."³¹ Churton's Methods were judged very satisfactory and the results were good. Her grouping of the classes was quite satisfactory, and all her promotions were approved.³² Two of the promotions were from Standard IV to Standard V; there had been very few pupils in Standard V in earlier years, and to have two in one year was quite a landmark. The sexes were listed separately on the examination form for the first time, with the girls listed before the boys. Unfortunately, no ages were given. One pupil, Eva Searancke, received 100 for Arithmetic; very few pupils scored full marks.

In one of the few examples of a Pakeha politician taking an interest in Te Kopua, Frederick Lys, MP for Waikato, wrote to the Department:

As the administration of Native Schools is under the control of the Education Department, I shall be glad if you will have a report obtained as to the condition of the Te Kopua Native School, Te Awamutu, and the surroundings generally. I have been given to understand that the building requires to be painted and new tanks supplied, and that it is essential that a new swing bridge should be provided to give access to the school grounds. If it is found necessary that these improvements should be made, I shall be glad if you will give effect thereto. [1925 06 26]

In a memorandum for the Director, Porteous advised that "Mr Henderson reports that the school building has been sold to Mr Charles Searancke. With regard to the bridges I feel sure that sooner or later an application would be made for a bridge." [1925 07 03] Page 1 of the reply to Lys is not in the file, but the Department's unsympathetic attitude is clear from what is available. Lys was informed that the

... school is also regarded as a matter for the people concerned. As a matter of fact there should be little difficulty for them to arrange for the ferrying of the children across the river, if they cannot make use of a bridge at another part of the river.³³

On 5 November 1924 the community had a bonfire and "Burnt Guy Fawkes"³⁴ A few days later, Churton recorded that there was discord between Chas Searancke and other people of the community, and there would be no end of year party, for they were all milking, and harvesting was early that year.³⁵

³¹Nothing could be perfect!

³²Only one pupil was not promoted.

³³Dated probably [1925 07 04]

³⁴*TKLB*, [1924 11 06]

³⁵*TKLB*, [1924 11 09]

Emily Churton re-opened Te Kopua for 1925 on 20 April; it had remained closed because of infantile paralysis.³⁶ They had a little play that night to celebrate the return to school; the evening finished at 11.00pm, and several grown ups attended.³⁷ A few days later, Churton wrote that

Three of the bigger children and myself scrubbed the school; it took till playtime. Another older pupil conducted school for the little ones outside in the sunshine under my supervision of course. Everything is so nice and clean now.³⁸

At the meeting of parents, the following committee was elected: Chair: Chas Searancke snr; Secretary: Walter Searancke; members were F L Cooper,³⁹ Chas Searancke Jun, and Pare Kauai.⁴⁰

A highlight for Churton was the arrival of her piano. It was old, and well out of tune. She couldn't⁴¹ get a tuner, so she was going to get a hammer, and other necessary tools, and tune it herself.⁴² Churton was an active and independent young woman!

Whether Churton thought the visit of G M Henderson for the 1925 inspection visit as noteworthy as the arrival of her piano she does not tell us, but the visit was noteworthy for the fact that it was the first time in the history of Te Kopua that a Standard V pupil stayed on at school and was promoted to Standard VI; the pupil was Polly Searancke, aged 15.2.

Average attendance for the preceding four quarters ranged from 8.428, to 11.79, but despite the low roll, there was no suggestion the future of the school was uncertain.

As was the case on other visits, Henderson appears to have in most cases awarded lower assessments than Churton. One family's children were aged 13.7, 11.5, and 13.5 respectively. Henderson had annotated beside their names that "Age prompts promotion tho' marks low" despite the only clearly low marks being the 10s that two of them had got for Arithmetic. One of that family, for example, received 60 for Arithmetic.⁴³ I was unable to satisfactorily understand the marks, or the 'evaluations, eg G, or VS, etc, that Henderson noted beside Churton's marks for these three pupils.⁴⁴

³⁶Poliomyelitis

³⁷*TKLB* [1925 04 21] It could have been an evening of games and fun, or, it could have been 'little play', a small play of some kind.

³⁸*TKLB* [1925 05 01]

³⁹F L Cooper was the first identified 'settler', ie Pakeha, to serve on the Te Kopua Native School Committee.

⁴⁰*TKLB* 1925 05 04]

⁴¹Churton wrote "can't" in the logbook. Paraphrased, it becomes couldn't.' As I wrote in "Intentions and Style", I retained the style, tone and integrity of the archive as much as possible and as accurately as possible.

⁴²*TKLB* [1925 05 19] I like the spirit.

⁴³This pupil got 100 for Arithmetic in 1924.

⁴⁴'G' most probably stood for 'Good', and 'VS' for 'Very Satisfactory'.

Donald McKinnon at age 9.7 in Std I had been admitted to his first school only two months earlier; he was promoted to Standard II. Ata Searancke at 5.11 has been in school for 11 months. Ata therefore had started school at age 5, in one of the few cases I have had clear evidence of a pupil starting at age 5.

The inspection report was again positive, but not quite as positive in some respects as earlier reports. Overall, Efficiency of the School was judged very good. Churton got top marks for her Records, and nearly top marks for Discipline, Tone, etc. Her Grouping of Classes was good and she showed good judgement in her Discretion in Promotions. Reporting on Instruction of Class P, Henderson recorded that very good work had been done. "The P children speak and do their work well." However, he did consider that "Not enough time [was] given to Oral English and Reading in P Class."

Pronunciation was a "... little faulty at times in Oral English; The pupils speak freely and fairly correctly," yet was on the whole very good in Reading. Henderson however was not fully consistent; it is unlikely pronunciation was better in reading than in speaking.

With respect to Churton's Methods of Teaching, Henderson wrote:

Good methods are used and the teacher is enthusiastic in her work. She holds school for the Primer children on Saturday where she tells them stories and helps them on with their English. Reading is well taught. I have recommended the teacher to use the method of word-matching in teaching reading to the P class.⁴⁵ [1925 06 19]

I recall no other time in the history of Te Kopua when it is recorded that the teacher, on a regular basis, held school on Saturday. Churton was undoubtedly energetic and enthusiastic.

Churton had been at Te Kopua very nearly three years before she had cause to raise the issue of rivers and the crossing of them, though why she was prompted to note that "Polly is ferryman but I do it when there is no one else,"⁴⁶ is unexplained. Polly, I presume, was Polly Searancke, aged now sixteen, and near the end of her Standard VI year. I note that 'Polly' was 'ferryman'.

Only very occasionally at Te Kopua had the weather been too hot, especially in November, but in 1925 Churton gave up drill because it was too hot. "I take swimming during the

⁴⁵ I wonder what "the method of word-matching in teaching reading" might have entailed?

⁴⁶*TKLB* [1925 10 19]

lunch hour instead and come in at 1.15pm. All the chn have learned to swim except 3 little ones."⁴⁷

The end of year party, which had all the children and parents, and some others, present, ended at midnight.⁴⁸

In March 1926 Mr F L Cooper wrote to J A Young.⁴⁹

I don't want to mislead you in anyway the said school is one of the oldest in the Dominion being an old Mission Station Property recently sold to a Native. The school was erected by the govt but became the Mission Property by forfeiture. We have a teacher found by the Education Dept.

What is wanted is a New Tank for Drinking Water for Our Present one is a wooden bottom one not fit for Cows to Drink out of.

Trusting you will give this serious thought for benefit of our 19 white & 1/2 caste children and Health Sake.

PS: I am willing to cart the Tank Free of Charge & am only sorry to say I cannot afford to pay for one myself. [1926 03 11]

The Minister of Health wrote to the Department of Education in terms of Cooper's letter, asking quite bluntly why the tank was in such a bad condition. That caused Director of Education J Caughley to write to Churton:

Complaint has been made to the Minister of Health that the school tank at Te Kopua is in a most insanitary condition and that the water is quite unfit to drink. The Department is aware that the tank will shortly require replacing and you should bring this matter before the Inspector at his next visit. In the meantime could not steps be taken to have the tank cleaned out. When was it cleaned last and is a new tank absolutely required immediately, and, if so, what capacity. [1926 03 22]

to which Churton responded that the tank had no top whatever, and Yes, there was rubbish, including leaves and various insects. There was rot, and whenever the tank was cleaned out it leaked very badly; clean or dirty, it leaked continually, and there was continual dampness. The tank was past repairing, a new tank was not absolutely necessary immediately, but a new one would be required later, [1926 04 20] whereupon the Department instructed Churton to get prices for the supply and fitting of a new No 24 gauge galvanized iron tank, and a quotation to get the old tank properly cleaned. [1926 05 26] Henderson, on his inspection visit, reported that a 400 gallon tank would cost £4.⁵⁰ [1926 06 05]

In April 1926 the committee election was held, the only change being that Tahuna Searancke was elected Chairman. The committee met and formed a dance committee to raise

⁴⁷*TKLB* [1925 11 15]

⁴⁸*TKLB* [1925 12 18]

⁴⁹Minister of Health, MP for Hamilton, and formerly MP for Waikato.

⁵⁰ \$8! The cost of living *has* gone up!

money for the school. The two first dances were on wet nights; they raised 12/3⁵¹ the first night, and £5.9.9 the second night.⁵² [1926 04 19]

Term Two 1926 was not a good term. Influenza amongst the children caused Churton to ask permission to " ... close school indefinitely from Monday July 19. Eighty five percent absent with flu." [1926 07 20] Permission was granted to close the school that week, but Churton was to stay at her post meanwhile.⁵³ The school was to be closed for the ten half days; it was later closed for 18 half days because Churton was ill.⁵⁴ The Education Department informed the Health Department of the influenza, but there is no evidence of action by the latter department.

Henderson carried out the 1926 inspection in May. It was most notable for it being the first time a pupil at Te Kopua, Polly Searancke,⁵⁵ gained a Proficiency Certificate. There was, interestingly, a 41 mark difference between Churton's and Henderson's assessments, Henderson being the harder marker. [1926 06 05]

Attendance for the previous twelve months fluctuated from 18.404, to 14.316, to 10.516, to 11.5.⁵⁶

The inspection report was very similar to previous years. Henderson reported that "The methods used are effective as the children are well on with their work," an assessment supported by the fact that all pupils were promoted. Again, this was a first for the school. However, Henderson did find cause to note that "More care should be taken in filling out the requisitions and examination forms," which was quite uncharacteristic of Churton. Henderson also noted that the committee was fencing in a school garden.⁵⁷ [1926 06 05]

Included in the examination list was Florence Churton, in Std V; on later evidence, she was Emily's sister.⁵⁸

⁵¹12 shillings and sixpence, equivalent to \$1.25.

⁵²That was a very successful evening. Again, I suspect Churton had been in one of her 'encouraging' moods!

⁵³Churton must have got through a lot of planning and cleaning in that time! That instruction has appeared before, and I have wondered if it meant Churton was not to leave the district, but not necessarily that she had to be at school for the four and a half hours each day.

⁵⁴«National BAAA [Auckland] file 1001/29b» is "Attendance Returns from schools." It begins in 1926, and contains the statistics of school closures and pupil attendance. This detail is not always available in the school files, or in the logbook. The detail given in this paragraph is in the return dated 30 September, 1926. Churton did record the two episodes in the logbook; *TKLB* [1926 07 26 and 1926 08 30]

⁵⁵Age 16.2. Polly was a good example of the general perseverance shown by the people of Te Kopua.

⁵⁶What I do not have is the *roll* number, which would enable an assessment of the level of *absence*.

⁵⁷ If it was for a school garden, a garden for the children to work, it was yet another first for Te Kopua.

⁵⁸*TKLB* [1926 08 30]

In his report on the buildings and grounds, Henderson noted that the roof and the building needed painting, the spouting needed repairing, and a new tank was required. The out-houses were satisfactory, but there were no gates and fencing.⁵⁹ He gave details of materials needed, and the costs: 3 gallons of paint and 1 gallon of red oxide for roof would be £4, 6 lengths of spouting 10/-, 50 super feet of heart totara or matai £1.10.0,⁶⁰ a 400 gallon tank £4. Henderson advised that authority should be given to the teacher to supervise that the work was satisfactorily carried out.⁶¹ Chas Searancke wrote that he would do all the things Henderson had detailed at the costs given, and he would carry the tank for nothing unless he could buy one for less than £4. Henderson recommended that he do it, but Porteous thought the matter not as simple as that. He noted on Searancke's letter that

This building is the property of Mr C Searancke. The school and ground, before WWI⁶² was the property of the Wesleyan Church Trustees. The government built the school and residence, but the buildings eventually became the property of the Wesleyan Church. The school was reopened on condition that the school building was put into proper repair. The Dept is now being called upon to keep it in repair and supply tank and spouting. The Dept pays no rent for the building, and the question arises whether it would not be better for a small rental to be paid and for Mr Searancke to be expected to keep his property in repair and in a suitable condition for school purposes.

Searancke was informed that his offer was accepted, and that the work was to be done to the satisfaction of the Department. A copy of that letter went to Churton, who was asked to report on the work. In November, the Department wrote to Churton, asking her to "Please state what the present position is regarding this work." [1926 11 03] Churton replied that the necessary materials had been purchased. A tank has not been purchased, but she had every confidence that as soon as the weather cleared sufficiently to allow the roads to dry, Mr Searancke would make every effort to complete his contract; the weather had really been his only obstacle all along. [1926 11 19] A month later she was able to report that the work had been satisfactorily completed [1926 12 14]

There was some confusion over the accounts, and the Department applied its usual fine-tooth comb.⁶³ It was well into 1927 before all was settled.

In June, a buggy load of people went to a dance at Ngutunui.⁶⁴ In July, the school was closed for a week " ... due to 85% of the children with the 'flue'." [sic]⁶⁵ In August, the

⁵⁹ I have wondered how so much glass got broken; now I have to wonder where all the fences and gates got to!

⁶⁰ Sixty-two years later, we do *not* order heart totara or matai with such abandon!

⁶¹ As I have noted before, inspectors had much wider responsibilities than during my career. The same applied to teachers, though in this case not so obviously.

⁶² Porteous, of course, was wrong; the *land* only was the property of the Wesleyan Church Trustees; the department leased the land from the trustees at a peppercorn rental to build the school and residence on.

⁶³ What is of minor interest is that there was a District Supply Store in Otorohanga that possibly was a government store.

school was closed for two weeks because the teacher had the flue [sic]; her sister took the lowers for a week. Churton did not take the August term holidays because the school had been closed enough.⁶⁶ Her sister left for Wanganui at the end of all that.⁶⁷

At the close of the 1926 school year, Churton wrote to the Department to report that

With regard to the annual "breaking up" of the school, I have to report that a sum of £13 was realized to defray the expenses of the annual picnic, prizes, the Christmas tree and a combined concert and dance. £5 was donated by the School Committee, £4.10/- by the Dance Committee, and £3.10/- was collected by the pupils of the school and others. [1926 12 13]⁶⁸

The Department replied that it was pleased to note the support given by members of the school committee and others and also the interest displayed in the activities of the school. It would have been nice if they had acknowledged Churton's efforts!

There were a number of social events in the first term of 1927. On 18 February, Churton "Gave a half holiday, so we could go to the Ngutunui picnic and dance. They patronise our events, we should return the compliment,"⁶⁹ and a week later they held a dance, where the string band for the waltzes was made up of Churton and two schoolgirls. They got a holiday on 29 February, given to celebrate the Duke of York's visit no doubt. In addition to Anzac Day, Churton recorded that "My family of lizards has increased to 12." More had been brought by a pupil. It was very interesting, but she thought the winter cold later would be hard on them.⁷⁰

Henderson visited the school in June 1927 on the annual inspection visit.⁷¹ He reported that Chas Searancke had cleared the grounds of blackberry and sowed them in grass.

Churton got the usual 9 and 10 marks for her records, etc. With regard to Class P, it spoke well for the teaching that there are only two children in the division, and one was passing into Std I. In Oral English, the children were told stories, and talked intelligently about

⁶⁴*TKLB* [1926 06 04]. This was the first evidence of teacher social activity outside Te Kopua. Whether the 'dancers' were adults or children is not stated, but I have presumed they were adults. The episode perhaps reflects a closer identification between Churton and the community than was the case with previous teachers. She was the second 'not married' teacher, and was perhaps younger than her predecessors, Cowern excepted. Most significantly, perhaps, she was also the first *Maori* teacher.

⁶⁵*TKLB* [1926 07 26]

⁶⁶That could be described as commitment beyond the call of duty; it certainly demonstrated a commitment to her pupils which was commendable, and which, I might add, was and is not uncommon amongst teachers.

⁶⁷*TKLB* [1926 08 30] Whether the sister was Florence, in Standard V, or another sister staying with her, we do not know. It could have been Florence, working under Emily's direction with the younger children. I know from experience that Form I and II [Standard V and VI] pupils can be thoroughly effective teachers of lowers, ie infants.

⁶⁸Cf *TKLB* [1926 12 20], where Churton recorded that each committee member and she gave £1 to pay for the end of year function, which included a haangi.

⁶⁹*TKLB*, [1927 02 18]

⁷⁰*TKLB* [1927; Term I entries.]

⁷¹*TKLB* [1927 06 07]. Churton recorded that one proficiency was awarded, and that the bell was mounted; it could be heard for miles.

them, which is a clear indication of one technique used by teachers for helping children learn the vocabulary of another language, in this case English and then to use it. In Reading, the older children read a number of library books, and all children were encouraged to do the same.⁷²

In another first, mat weaving, along with other activities, was taken in Handwork. Unfortunately, there was no indication whether the mat weaving was Maori weaving, with flax. Given Churton's other activities, it was quite probable. Mary Searancke was promoted to Standard VI at age 15.8. Arthur Swan, aged 8.6, was promoted from P2 to Standard I after only 12 months schooling. One pupil only⁷³ was not promoted, which indicates either Emily Churton was being a very effective teacher, or the pupils were a more capable group than was usual, or, most likely, a combination of both. Disruptions due to weather, rivers, punts, bridges, etc, were, by comparison with other tenures, minimal during Churton's time at Te Kopua,⁷⁴ and that fact would also be very important, though there were the disruptions and other consequences of influenza.

Daisy Kauai, at age 15.3 gained her Proficiency. In a number of cases Henderson again gave marks lower than those awarded by Churton.

Henderson reported that

The paint supplied by the Dept was put on by the Maoris but has not produced a very satisfactory result.⁷⁵ A new tank has been provided. There are posts all round the section. If wire and staples were provided the Maoris would erect the fence. [Chas Searancke has cleared, ploughed and sown down the playground⁷⁶ in grass.] If wire for the fence were provided he would renew the fence. The posts are standing quite good. [sic] [1927 06 06]

The Department wrote to Churton, authorising her to expend £3 on wire and staples, but it had to be " ... certified by you." [1927 06 27] Almost a year later, Churton sent a Farmers Trading Company account to the Department. [1928 05 312] There is no explanation for the *very* long delay, but then, delays of that order between authorisation and completion are endemic in the history of Te Kopua

Churton sat another unspecified examination in Wanganui in the August 1927 term holidays, and shortly after her return to school she received "Another and I think rare green lizard, and two brown and another yellow were sent." Churton had brought her violin from

⁷²I do not recall library books being mentioned in this way before.

⁷³Ernest Campbell, who had been only 3 months in Std 3; he was not at Te Kopua in 1926.

⁷⁴Or, perhaps, Churton did not report episodes, but got on and found a way round or through them; it would be in character for her to do so.

⁷⁵Given it is Te Kopua, one could suspect that dampness was the culprit.

home, and she was going to train another person on her mandolin. There were eventually five instruments in the band and it sounded entrancing. On Labour Day the committee gathered to do some fencing and to put up a flagpole. It was a wet day, and unfortunately they had to take it down again because they forgot to fix a runner and rope for the flag! In December, Churton wrote that the six piupiu which they had started in November for the poi girls were completed.

It was a "big" work although there were seven of us cutting and scrapping [sic] etc for more than two days. Mrs Searancke wove and plaited tops. I made a piupiu myself in my spare time; it is also finished.⁷⁷

They held the annual picnic on 16 December, amid a record gathering. An ice-cream cart and fruit van created added excitement besides being a novelty. There were races for adults and children. Dinner was cooked in the old Maori Haangi fashion. Father Christmas was present at the evening function and distributed presents from the Xmas tree which was liberally decked with toys, balloons, etc. Prizes were also distributed to the deserving ones.⁷⁸ About 150 guests were present and dancing continued till day break.⁷⁹

After the close of the school year, Churton wrote to the Department to inform it of some of the activities she had organised, not all of which she had recorded in the logbook. She told them of £14 that had been collected, which went towards instruments for the school band, school lamps, kerosene, and four dozen⁸⁰ cups and saucers. Very successful combined dances and concerts had been held every month, with most of the music supplied by a string band of five taught by herself. The proceeds were used to run the annual picnic, and to pay for the prizes and toys for the Xmas tree. The main feature of the picnic was the dinner [pork and potatoes] which were cooked in the old Maori Haangi fashion and served on flax plates [konos].⁸¹ [1927 12 17]

Granted that the ordinary things of life are seldom recorded, the first term of 1928 was not a good one.⁸² Little Donny Searancke died in March after a long illness. Churton closed the school for a halfday, and took a wreath for the pupils. Churton spent most of the Easter

⁷⁶The first use of this term, if I remember accurately.

⁷⁷*TKLB*, [1927 10 21]

⁷⁸No names were given, unfortunately.

⁷⁹*TKLB*, [1927; Term III entries.] Where the 150 people came from is a mystery; Te Kopua I would have thought could not have itself mustered anywhere near that number.

⁸⁰That is, 48

⁸¹The very first mention, in over 40 years, of an activity which might have been typical of a Maori community,

⁸²*TKLB*, [1927. Term I entries.]

holiday in bed with flu', as did many of the adults, and in late April and early May, the school was closed for nearly a fortnight through sickness.

After the event, Emily Churton informed the Department that she had been compelled to close the school for those two weeks due to the influenza epidemic; 60 percent of the pupils and she were affected. Would the closure, she asked, affect the May holidays? [1928 05 05] The response from the Department was that because the school had already been closed for almost a fortnight, the Department could not permit the usual term holidays to be taken. Would Churton please explain why she did not, in accordance with the Native School regulations, obtain the sanction of the Department before closing the school owing to the epidemic of Influenza and why, after having closed the school, she did not immediately take steps to forward immediate advice to the Department regarding her action. [1928 05 14]

Churton replied that

We were all seized with Influenza very suddenly. Twentyone children were present the day before the closure, but only one turned up the next day - I also, was unable to attend.

Even so, I would, as soon as possible, have notified the Department but seeing that I can send or receive letters only once a week and seeing that at the time the mail carrier was in Auckland, I was unable to send notice regarding the closure of the school sooner than I did.⁸³ [1928 05 31]

The response was that her explanation had been accepted, but the Department trusted that in future she would strictly comply with the regulations. [1928 06 29] The Department was short on sympathy!⁸⁴

G M Henderson's 1928 inspection visit was very soon after the closure for influenza. [1928 05 25] The tone of his report was much less positive than in earlier years.

Class P, Henderson recorded, had not received sufficient attention recently,⁸⁵ especially in the matter of Oral English. "The children between 5 & 7 years of age are the ones that profit most from oral lessons in English and teachers in Native Schools can't afford to neglect them." Oral English was "Satisfactory. More could be done with this subject, especially in lower classes." Written English showed certain weaknesses which were " ... probably traceable to insufficient teaching of Oral English in the lower classes." Arithmetic

⁸³ We are reminded again that communication for those living at Te Kopua was *not* perfect!

⁸⁴ In June, the school was closed for a further 18 half-days due to sickness. BAAA 1001/29b [1928 06 30]

⁸⁵ Perhaps because they had had the flu'!

was very fair; " ... there are signs that the children need more practical work handling money and counters and shopkeeping."⁸⁶

Churton got her usual 10s and 9s for her records, and "Good energetic methods are used." However,

There is some falling off in the work. This is probably due to much of the teacher's time being spent on Std 6. This is a mistake. Standard 6 can be left to themselves more than any other class or this should be the case if they have been properly taught lower down.

This assessment by Henderson differs from his assessments of previous years. Apart from the observation that too much time was spent with Standard VI, there is no obvious explanation as to why Churton's practice should have changed quite significantly. We know that sickness had been serious, and it is probable Churton and the children had, after recovering from influenza, to continue with school because in the view of the Department they had lost too much school. That a bout of influenza could be viewed in the same light as a holiday I find somewhat bizarre, but it appears from several episodes that that was the case. What having to miss a holiday whilst quite likely not fully recovered from a serious epidemic of influenza did to their attitudes we can only speculate, but it likely was not positive. Henderson made no mention of sickness in his report. It is possible, but unlikely, that Henderson had changed his standards, his criteria, of assessment. Perhaps Emily Churton had done something Henderson did not like, and that affected his judgement. Perhaps Henderson himself was not feeling well, or was tired, or was burned out, or had done too much inspecting without a break. If it was Henderson's standards of judgement that caused the differences, it is unlikely he was unaware of the changes in his perspective. Reflecting back on Churton's very active life in the school and the district, I find it hard to believe that her effectiveness would have been lower except through some issue such as extended sickness of herself and her pupils.

As a result of the Examination, Mary Searancke, aged 16.7, was not awarded her certificate. Eva Searancke, aged 14.5 and Madge Melville, aged 14.8, received Certificates of Competency. Eva was awarded a scholarship to Turakina Maori Girls School,⁸⁷ but Madge apparently stayed at home.⁸⁸ Unfortunately, for some reason no other results were entered.

⁸⁶I wonder how frequently these children went shopping, and how much money was available for them to spend. Their shopping centres would have been Te Awamutu, Otorohanga, and Hamilton, in that order. As a relevant aside, Jenny, my wife, taught secondary girls in Rotorua in the late 1960s who had not been to Auckland. I remember her saying that the lack of experience made teaching Social Studies and Geography more difficult

⁸⁷*TKLB*, [1928 05 30]

⁸⁸*TKLB*, [1928 05 30]

That year, Henderson had given some pupils marks higher than those awarded by Churton, which contrasted with the generally less positive assessments Henderson gave Churton's practice that year, and contrasted with his practice in previous years, when in general his marks were lower than Churton's.⁸⁹ [1928 05 25]

In his inspection report on the buildings and grounds, Henderson noted that the buildings did not belong to the department. He went on to recommend that the Department should make a grant of £5 to cover the cost of additional fencing material and 7 panes of glass; "Mr Searancke says he can do the work if that amount is granted to assist him. There are now 21 children in the school and something should be done to assist." As a result of Henderson's report, there is in the file a memorandum by John Porteous which retraces the history of the changes of ownership of the school, and of repairs carried out, etc. Porteous then suggests two alternatives. Either the Department pay Chas Searancke rent, say 5/- a week, for the use of the school building, Searancke then to be responsible for the maintenance of the building, or, " .. Mr Searancke should transfer the property to the Department." [1928 06 23] W W Bird concurred, but Bell⁹⁰ observed that they should "Continue as at present." Porteous continued the theme a little later, and further recorded that

Mr Searancke has discovered that the Dept spent a large sum of money on a Maori Building at Kauangaroa⁹¹ and naturally expects the same treatment at Te Kopua. [1928 07 12]

There is an implied criticism of Searancke in Porteous' memorandum. There was no evident outcome of this flurry of Departmental cerebral activity. Its significance is that it is a further indication that at least some Departmental officials were at pains to minimise expenditure as much as possible, potentially at the expense of a Maori person. It is fair to state that Henderson does not appear to have been one of them.

Weather, whilst not recorded as affecting the children's schooling, did affect the teacher and her holiday. Churton wrote that it was " ... too muddy for the car to get out, and a holiday without a car would be no holiday at all."⁹² At all events Maurice and I are lying low

⁸⁹ There is another research issue here; someone needs to go through inspection reports with a fine tooth comb and try to make sense of the fluctuations and the possible causes. I would be interested to see what patterns eventuated at other schools.

⁹⁰ Mr A Bell, MA, Assistant Director of Education.

⁹¹ This was the school to which Churton was to be transferred in early 1929. It would have been through Churton that Searancke learned of the expenditure, for it was Churton's home community.

⁹² A small example of the ease with which New Zealanders were in thrall to the motor car. A tip of that iceberg is the fact there was around 1920 a serious proposal that a suitable national memorial to those who died in World War I would be a *national memorial highway*, a concrete road from Bluff to Auckland. Chris Maclean and Jock Phillips, *The Sorrow and the Pride: New Zealand War Memorials*, p 81.

waiting for the fine weather and good roads and then we won't be seen for dust what."⁹³ This was the first mention of a car as a form of transport. In September, Churton wrote that it had been " ... very dull lately. Duke and Mick etc went to Kawhia on Friday. I would have loved to have gone too but wasn't asked - wouldn't have dreamed of pushing myself where I wasn't wanted!! Never mind, when the roads are dry I'll go off too and ask for no one's company."⁹⁴ Is that Te Kopua wreaking its malevolent influence again? That is a quite different tone to Churton's writings before this; she would seem to have lost her enthusiasm for Te Kopua.

Emily Churton recorded a reality of living in a rural community in those times

Mr Cooper's house was burnt to the ground ...It was simply dreadful to stand and watch ...not able to do anything.⁹⁵

The circumstances of Emily Churton's transfer, in March 1929, from Te Kopua to Kauangaroa, are illustrative of the almost total control the Department had over Native Schools and the teachers working in them.⁹⁶

The story of Emily Churton's transfer begins with a memorandum by a Departmental official.⁹⁷ The vacancy at Kauangaroa, brought about by the withdrawal of the appointed teacher, could be filled by the transfer of " ... Miss Emily Churton ... who has some Maori blood in her and whose relations are in the Kauangaroa district. [She] should be more suitable for the position." [1929 03 22] There was apparently a causal connection between 'blood' and 'suitability'.

Churton received this telegram:

Department has arranged transfer you Kauangaroa same salary. Please arrange move during Easter. [1929 03 25]

Churton replied that

Wires and telegrams received Good Friday. Cannot travel before Monday next owing bad roads and holidays. Will do my best suitable accommodation for European with C Searancke, easy terms. [1929 03 30]

Searancke did not give up easily. He sent this collect telegram:

⁹³*TKLB* [1928 08 20] That is the only mention of Maurice, and there was no evidence of his relationship to Emily Churton, but it is likely he was her brother. Dust must have been a rare commodity at Te Kopua!

⁹⁴*TKLB*[1928 09 03]

⁹⁵*TKLB* [1928 09 03] The Mr Cooper was presumably the Mr Cooper who had taken a sympathetic interest in the school earlier, and who was on the committee.

⁹⁶ Another interesting research question would be to compare the role of committees in Native Schools with the role of committees of Education Board schools.

⁹⁷ The text of the memorandum is in Appendix 3.

re Te Kopua Native School. Could you re-appoint Miss Churton to our school? School, being so isolated, would be hard to find suitable teacher. [1929 04 11]

Four days after the Department sent the telegram telling her she was to be transferred, Churton recorded her last day at Te Kopua before her departure for Kauangaroa Native School: "So fare well [sic] Te Kopua."⁹⁸ I presume she was suitably farewelled by the community she had given a lot to, but unfortunately there is no record. I sense a sadness in her brief logbook entry.

Why did the Department transfer Churton to Kauangaroa? Did she ask for a transfer? I am sure she did not. It was apparently an 'emergency' transfer. There is no evidence Churton was asked if she wanted the transfer; just a telegram and a letter from the Department. There is no evidence in the Kauangaroa file; there is evidence only of why another teacher was required there. There is no evidence as to why a teacher of "Maori blood" was more necessary at Kauangaroa than at Te Kopua.

There was a series of 'collect' telegrams from Searancke to the Department asking about an appointment to Te Kopua, followed by a telegram suggesting that his daughter, Mary, be appointed. There was eventually a memorandum by John Porteous⁹⁹ suggesting that "Mr Searancke appears to have sent quite enough "collect" telegrams. I cannot recommend his daughter Mary, who has only a 5th Standard qualification."

That memorandum was not untypical of Departmental attitudes, or at least of Porteous' attitude; he often seems very mean-spirited. Given that the Department had left Te Kopua without a teacher, why should Searancke use his own money to prod the Department to appoint a replacement for Churton and re-open the school?

The only conclusion to draw is that as usual Te Kopua did not rate very highly in the department's priorities.

Perhaps not surprisingly, Te Kopua was again to be closed for an extended period.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸*TKLB* [1929 03 29]

⁹⁹Senior Inspector of Native Schools.

¹⁰⁰*TKLB* [1929 05 19]; Georgina Rutherford recorded her arrival, and the long closure of the school. It was closed from 2 April to 10 May 1929, ie 58 half days. [BAAA 1001/29b: [1929 05 10]]

1929 - 1935

Georgina Helen Rutherford

Georgina H Rutherford went to Te Kopua from Putiki Mission School but, because she was on probation¹ at Te Kopua, and because she still had to supply a medical certificate, I assume she was not considered by the Department to have been a certificated teacher at Putiki. Her appointment and arrival at Te Kopua happened so quickly she did not have time to supply the required medical certificate before she started at the school. [1929 05 02]

Rutherford wrote that there was not much time to brush up for the Inspector's visit, and that the children were not used to drill, and had no individual towels. However,

Those are troubles soon overcome. I hope also to start tooth-brush drill. The children are eager and responsive and my first week here has been a pleasant one.²

While Henderson's inspection report [1929 05 22] on Georgina Rutherford in some of its aspects related back to Emily Churton, it clearly indicates that Rutherford was *not* new to teaching. The remarks are positive, and imply a significant level of experience. She was awarded many marks of 8 and 9, with quite a number of 'Goods'. Henderson recorded that "Very good methods are employed by the present teacher." Her 'Discretion on Promotions' was Good, and her 'Instruction of Class P' was Very Good. The Scheme was carefully prepared. With due respect, those are not the assessments to expect of a person new to teaching.

¹ Rutherford was the only sole charge teacher at Te Kopua to be on probation. The only other teacher to be on probation when she began was Martha Elaine Cameron, but she taught with Rae Cumberland Cameron, her husband, who was the Head Teacher. However, I think the record makes it clear that Rutherford was *not* an inexperienced teacher. [These matters have their legislation and their administrative requirements. I recall that when Jenny, my wife, a certificated secondary teacher, took over the Juniors in my growing sole charge school in 1966, she was, until she was issued with a provisional 'White Report', going to be paid as an uncertificated teacher. I indicated the proverbial would hit the fan if she were paid at that rate. The Education Board arranged an inspection visit, and fed the consequent grading into the system before her first cheque was written.]

²*Te Kopua Logbook [TKLB]*. Those are *not* the observations of an inexperienced teacher.

In his remarks on the subjects of instruction, Henderson noted that Oral English was "Good. The children speak readily and have confidence in their English." Written English was "Very satisfactory. Maori errors still in evidence."³ [1929 05 22]

Three of the pupils had Arithmetic classifications one class lower than their English classifications. Of two who were still in the school at the end of 1929, both were classified in the higher class, [1929 05 22] which indicates that it was no longer the case that Arithmetic was the crucial subject for pupil classification. It also indicates that Rutherford, if she was not teaching the pupils at different levels in the core subjects, that is, teaching the children in some subjects at levels different to their classifications, the class or standard they were in, then she should have been.

In July 1929, Rutherford wrote to the Department, enclosing a plan for a privy drawn by Chas Searancke. [1929 07 03] T B Strong⁴ replied that " ... provision is not made for a urinal ... it should take the form of a corrugated iron screen attached to the privy, with necessary trough, etc." Rutherford attempted to hurry the Department along in July, and when that proved to be unproductive, wrote that

Something will soon be done in the matter, as it seems to me, that two closets, one for the boys, and another for the girls, should have been provided years ago.⁵ [1929 08 13]

Rutherford's attitude is interesting; the two teachers preceding her since the school reopened in 1922 were apparently unconcerned.

Strong wrote, advising her to " ... proceed with Mr Searancke ... The Department cannot understand Mr Searancke's stated inability to erect a simple urinal in conjunction with the privy, but in the circumstances considers it advisable to permit him to proceed with the latter. The former presumably will have to remain in abeyance."

While that correspondence was being exchanged, W F Searancke wrote to the Department, reporting the

... inconvenience caused by our teacher who is boarding across the river from the school. The people who are crossing her night and morning are just about unable to keep it up, owing to the commencement of the milking season.

When the Inspector was here he asked her to try to find lodgings ... she has so far not been successful. [1929 08 01]

³These errors were a frequent topic of discussion in the Annual Reports to Parliament; their continued existence reflects the fact that te reo Maori was still the language of the home and of the local economy and society. See Appendix 6.

⁴Theo B Strong, Director of Education. He was apparently known in education circles as "Too Bloody Strong"!

⁵There were two before World War I; the long closure must have taken its toll!

John Porteous suggested that "Mr Searancke might be asked if there is suitable lodgings ...[He could] draw Miss R's attention to the inconvenience she was causing ... arrangements do not appear to be quite satisfactory," whereupon Searancke was asked if he could find suitable accommodation, or, " ... could not some of the bigger boys ferry her during the milking season?" [1929 08 06] The Department was not going to spend money if it could help it, and it did not appear to consider that any risk attached to the "bigger boys" ferrying Rutherford, which was at odds with many previous judgements.

At the end of 1929, Rutherford returned a new form, a TEACHER'S ANNUAL EXAMINATION REPORT, the first form I have seen which was standard to *all* schools, that is, Education Board and Native. There was no mention of 'Native' anywhere on the form; it appeared only when the school name was written in the provided space, ie "Te Kopua Native". All pupils were promoted. Pawa Searancke gained Proficiency, and went to Turakina Maori Girls' College. The two Kauai boys and Hepa Hughes left to help on their parents' farms.⁶

Dr Henderson⁷ visited the school in February, 1930, for a health inspection, and found everything satisfactory.⁸

Dr Henderson may have said that to Rutherford, but he reported somewhat differently to the Department of Education. He reported that the health of the children, and their cleanliness, were very good. The buildings and grounds, he understood, were owned by a native [Mr Searancke]. He observed that the grounds were flat and damp in winter, that there was no shelter shed, and that the school had old-fashioned desks which tipped over too easily.⁹ The washing facilities were "Very scratch," there was no basin in the school,¹⁰ and there was no boys' urinal. The report was quite strongly critical, but having been received, it was apparently ignored. This was another case of the Department inaction in the interests of these children and their teacher. [1930 02 13]

⁶*TKLB*, 1930

⁷Dr Henderson was an SMO, a School Medical Officer.

⁸*TKLB*, [1930 02 13]

⁹They were reported loose in an earlier, 1922, inspection report; obviously nothing was done to fix them to the floor.

¹⁰*That* I find difficult to believe; teachers and inspectors had been delinquent.

Early in 1930, relations between Rutherford and at least the chairman of the school committee turned very sour.¹¹ This is the first case of serious disagreement between a teacher and the Te Kopua community. Rutherford:

Dear Mr Bird,

I hope you will excuse my writing to you, but I am feeling very distressed over a meeting of the school committee that was held last night in the school. The meeting was in the evening & I attended & with me came a Miss Allen, a daughter of Mr Morgan's¹² sharemilker. The meeting went along fairly well until Fred Searancke proposed his father Chairman, in place of Duke Searancke, his brother. This was decided upon, & at length Mr Searancke rose, & after a little talk, suddenly turned on me & simply roared at me. I can only describe the way in which he spoke as a roar, & he said he had some complaints to make. First, he told me I was too strict, & that the children, especially the little ones, his own children, hate¹³ going to school. Then he said his children were constantly telling him I complained of various things at school, & in future I was to make my complaints to him. Next, I brought two children to the school from across the river after he had told me I was not to, & that as Chairman he was not going to allow these things to go on. He [was]¹⁴ warning me & I was to take care that I followed his wishes.

I was quite staggered, especially as I have always thought how well I got on with the children, though I knew the Searanckes disliked me exceedingly, owing to my living with the Morgans, & going the long way to school, instead of keeping open Mr Morgan's privet [sic] property. I found when I came here, that two or three children had been at school a year, & not through the first primer, & I certainly made them work, & I do all the children in school time, but they get on, & seem glad to be getting on.

When Mr Searancke had finished, I rose & said I was glad to know what was in his mind as I knew where I was. I said I knew I was strict, but the children always seemed happy, & as for his children going home with various tales about the teacher, children often got hold of a thing the wrong way, & make it quite different from what it really was. As for that, I told I often hear very queer things about myself, which I know the children must have overheard someone saying, but I always know children are apt to make mistakes & have taken no notice - it would hurt too much if I did.

Then I sat down & Mr Searancke rose again & said he apologised if he had made a mistake, & if I were wrong he hoped I would apologise too. I said I certainly would if I felt I were in the wrong only I didn't feel I was. Then I told him, as I had told him before another time, that Mr Henderson told me to get as many children as I could, from my side of the river. Searancke took no notice, & said he would not allow them to come, & there the matter ended.

After Mr Henderson told me to get what children I could from across the river, I succeeded in getting two little European boys, but the Searanckes were furious with me for having them & I was told to tell their parents to send them to the Pokuru school. It was soon after that, that Searanckes told me I must find other means of transport across the river, than by their taking me, so I had to tell the parents of those children that I would not be able to have them as, though I was going to cross myself, I could not take the little boys, as I felt not trustworthy in a boat. These people left soon after that, but new people have come in their place who very much wanted to send two children. What authority have I in the matter? I had to refuse the children as I was afraid of Mr Searancke.

I feel I simply cannot stay here, Mr Bird, I feel completely crushed. Is there absolutely no other school I could go to? I don't care where I go, or how far back or what grade or anything. Could I apply for one of the Grade I European schools? I don't care if it is miles away from everywhere, but if I stay here it will break me up. I would rather scrub floors.

Trusting you are not wearied out with reading this.

Yours sincerely

¹¹Rutherford was Pakeha, as this internal departmental memorandum makes clear: "Please consider transferring Miss R whenever suitable vacancy occurs and replacing her at Te Kopua by a Maori or half-caste teacher." [Initials not clear.] [1932 06 23] This memorandum *may*, but also may not, suggest that the fact Rutherford was Pakeha was relevant to the difficulties between her and the chairman of the committee.

¹²Mr Morgan was the person with whom Rutherford boarded.

¹³Double underlined in original, possibly but not probably in the department.

¹⁴Inserted in the original by the writer as a correction.

Georgina Helen Rutherford [1930 02 08]
 Bird replied by return mail¹⁵ to Rutherford that he was sorry about the matter, and that Searancke had no authority. "The Department cannot allow him to dictate to you in any way whatever.¹⁶ Nor can you refuse to admit any child, and you may not invite them to leave an existing school. You are free to live wherever you choose. Your attitude to the Chairman is quite right. I am writing to him to let him know where he stands. Your request for transfer has been noted, and that you will go miles away if necessary." [1930 02 11] This was not her first appeal to be transferred, but Rutherford was to be at Te Kopua until early 1936; she did not, apparently, rate high in the Department's priorities!

Bird's letter to Searancke was quite explicit:

The Department understands that at the meeting to elect the School Committee, you were appointed Chairman in place of Duke Searancke and that you thereupon made complaints to the teacher and, among other things, forbade the teacher to take children to the school from across the river and that you warned her that she was to take care that she followed your wishes. The Department understands that you thereupon apologised if you had made a mistake.

In view of the above I feel compelled to say that you have no authority to dictate to the teacher or interfere with her in any way. If you have any complaints to make about the conduct of the school, the proper course is to make them to the Department, nor can any children be refused admission to a school, which is conducted out of the public funds unless the school is overcrowded. I may add that the teacher is free to live wherever she may choose so long as she carries out her school duties regularly and punctually.

In view of the great difficulty the Department experienced in getting a teacher to go to Te Kopua, the Department would have appreciated a greater amount of sympathy and support from those connected with the school than the teacher has apparently received. Unless she has this, she cannot be expected to stay.

W W Bird

Chief Inspector of primary schools.¹⁷ [1930 02 11]

The episode apparently passed over, or at least Rutherford managed to work with little overt friction, for the subsequent record is largely silent on the matter. However, there were a number of times when it was clear that relations were not positive.

There is another issue buried in that episode, the issue of the two little European boys the Searanckes objected to. I cannot at this distance with only the official record available say more than that the issue was there, and, that it is the first time such a tension has become overt; covert it may have been, but I suspect not. Relations between Maori and Pakeha have seemed equable.

¹⁵ That Bird replied by return mail, a quite unusual phenomenon in the history of Te Kopua, indicates that he thought the matter quite serious.

¹⁶ Whilst the point should not be laboured in this instance, I note again that the Department leaves no doubt that Native School committees were not to try to influence the teachers in their work.

¹⁷ Note the absence of any salutation, such as "Dear Mr Searancke" at the beginning of the letter, or "Yours Sincerely" or "Yours faithfully" at its end. Note also the quite explicit threat in the final paragraph.

When D G Ball made his first inspection visit to Te Kopua, Rutherford was not at the school, and Miss V Short was relieving, the first relieving teacher in the school's history. [1930 05 07] There was no explanation for Rutherford's absence, nor was there any background on Short.

While the report stated that fourteen children were present, only 12 names were recorded.¹⁸ No marks, etc, were recorded; the only entries being the time since entry to school. Ball assessed that the Records were " ... not in good order. Entries in Weekly Summary have been omitted, including all entries for 3rd term 1929. All records should be dated." The Scheme, he ordered, was to be rewritten. The Timetable was "Unsuitable. A new one is immediately necessary." There were good comments on the remaining aspects of the inspection. In Summary, Ball wrote that "Except for the neglect in keeping records, very good work has been done. A bright school."¹⁹ [1930 05 07]

After she returned, Rutherford wrote that she wished to inform the Department that her registers and records were now up to date, and she much regretted that the Inspector had any cause for complaint of them.²⁰ [1930 06 06]

When inspectors wrote 'unsuitable', or 'to be rewritten', they did not leave evidence as to why, any indication of what was wrong, nor what they recommended. I have to presume they discussed with the teacher what they considered was wrong, and what they thought should be done, but the advice was not apparently recorded for the information of the department.

The conundrum in this case is that in 1929 Henderson had assessed Rutherford's scheme as having been carefully prepared,²¹ which makes Ball's assessment difficult to understand.

Very early in 1931, Rutherford wrote to Ball. The letter has echoes of the troubles of early 1930.

I do want to thank you so much for the books²² you so kindly sent us. They really are a splendid collection, and I am particularly charmed with those for the primers - they are so beautifully illustrated, especially the Simple Reading Steps, and easily graded. They will be much appreciated.

I applied for the vacancy in the Waihora Native School but as I have heard nothing as yet, conclude that I am not favoured. I wish more than words can express that I might be transferred somewhere. For some reason the Searanckes are informing people that I will not be returning this year, on whose authority I do not know. [1931 01 06]

¹⁸The two not recorded may have been primers.

¹⁹Miss Short, of course, was not responsible for the state of the records.

²⁰Rutherford did not mention she was rewriting the School Scheme.

²¹See [1929 05 22] above.

²²There is, unfortunately, no list of titles.

That was a very sad letter. I do not know what import to attach to the fact it was written in early January, when Rutherford should have been on holiday.

During June 1931, Rutherford read "*Good Wives*" to the children, and started "*Little Men*. She reported that "The children enjoyed "*Little Women* and *Good Wives* so much they begged me to read them "*Little Men*" instead of a change of story."²³ Rutherford must have been a good reader of stories; Louise Alcott books are not really suitable for primary-age children, especially the younger ones. To hold the attention of these children, for whom English was not their home language, suggests quite considerable skill.

Ball visited for the annual inspection in early May. [1931 05 07] There was now no apparent link between the inspection visit and the examination and promotion of the children. Promotions now appeared to take place at the end of the year.

Ball's assessments of the different aspects of Rutherford's work were varied. It seems probable that at least some aspects of administration were not among Rutherford's strong points.²⁴ Her Records were "Not so strong" and the Timetable was to be "Put on wall immediately." Ball was obviously impressed by the children's Oral English; they were fluent, and discussed freely. "The children are delightfully free and outspoken in their oral expression." Their Writing, however, was not strong and was careless and untidy. "In the general work the standard accepted is poor. Insist²⁵ on a high standard in all work." In Arithmetic, speed work in the four rules and tables was only fair; Rutherford should give more oral practice. She should also take practical arithmetic freely, using the methods Ball had demonstrated.²⁶

The history stories, Ball judged, might have been more thoroughly memorised. That very interesting comment confirms what I had suspected, that history stories were to be told and discussed and perhaps even drilled until the children could remember them. Success in history teaching, it seems, was reflected in children who could remember the stories when the inspector asked for them to be re-told. In Geography, the children could discuss freely the matters covered, but Rutherford should go more thoroughly into cause and effect.²⁷ Nature Study was very well taken. Most of the children's Nature Study books were well

²³*TKLB*, [1931 07 03]

²⁴I have a fellow feeling.

²⁵Emphasis in original.

²⁶Ball made reference to an arithmetical device without figures, but there is no indication of what that might have been.

²⁷By which I presume he meant such matters as Canterbury being dry because it was East of the Southern Alps in a westerly wind zone, and was thus in a 'rain shadow' area. I clearly remember learning such facts in school a few years later.

kept and illustrated, and the children discussed freely the topics taken. Health was good, with a daily inspection.²⁸ [1931 05 07]

In June 1930, Rutherford recorded that "We had school today instead of Monday as I have to go to town, and there are no cream lorries on a Saturday now, only Mondays." Apart from the fact that in those days dentists, and others, worked on Saturday, the more significant facts are that Rutherford took teaching on Saturday for granted, and that she was living in what was an isolated district without her own transport.²⁹

Judging by her entries in the logbook, Rutherford had an interest in handwork. In July 1931, she wrote that the children enjoyed making covers for the School Journal, and later in the year raffia work featured, including the children making a tray, and a cloth for it.³⁰

Rutherford found one family was a problem; they were absent a lot; including the previous six months. "'They are useful at home', said Mother." The children had not made good progress at school. A 12 year old was only in Std I; while another child, aged 8, had still to learn his letters,³¹ by which I presume Rutherford meant he could not recognise the letters of the alphabet, or could not write them, or both.

Rutherford had health worries that year also. During July she was unable to do her usual work for a week owing to a heavy cold.³² "However we managed to carry on, the older children helping me."³³ Later in the year, she was absent from school for two weeks when an old damaged rib coughed out of place during a cold; it refused to go back again, and set up an inflammation.³⁴

Also in November, she " ... started P 4 on *A L Real Stories*, Series 2, individual books."³⁵

They had their break-up in December. There was no money available from the school committee, so Rutherford herself spent £1 on little gifts and sweets for each child.

"We had a concert all to ourselves, each child giving an item, and chorus songs. We quite enjoyed ourselves, and the "prizes" were much appreciated.

²⁸Moral instruction was no longer referred to in inspectors' reports.

²⁹*TKLB*, [1931 06 27]

³⁰*TKLB* entries in July and September, 1931.

³¹*TKLB*, [1931 09 11]

³²Rutherford was absent for 20 half days that term. [NAA 1001/29b [1931 09 08]]

³³*TKLB*, [1931 07 10]. I have mentioned before that older children can be good teachers of younger children, and, they learn much of benefit to themselves from the experience.

³⁴*TKLB*, [1931 11 16]

³⁵*TKLB*, [1931 11 27]

Each child took home his [or her] work³⁶ for the year. There were five Searancke children. Bessie took home 10 pieces of work, Biddie 9, Dollie 4, Hoana and Ernest 1 each. Of the two Swanns, Arthur took home 4 and Bobbie 3, while Piko Hughes took home 6 and Manira Hughes 2.³⁷

That was another sad entry. Rutherford, I increasingly am coming to believe, was a lonely, isolated person, who had contact with the parents only through the school, and that seldom. There are few records in the logbook of the committee, except for electing the new committee in February; in some years, even that meeting was not recorded. The committee had not raised money for the break up, and no parents attended the function.³⁸

On 1 February 1932 Rutherford

Re-opened the school after Christmas holidays, but apart from welcoming the children, no school was held as the room which we left so clean last year, with scrubbed floor and desks, clean windows and fire-place, was all in dirty disorder. There had been a death last week, and the school room used to make the coffin and house the people who attended.³⁹

Rutherford was *not* impressed. It is I think significant that she did not refer to the event as a tangi.

Rutherford observed, in somewhat disapproving tones, that one pupil was not returning to school, being too old, and too useful at home. She also recorded a kind of "summer sickness".⁴⁰ A few days later,

... not being able to shut door, two sheep got into the schoolroom. The state of the room was indescribable. Two of Mr Searancke's daughters swept the room out, and Arthur and Pat Biddie scrubbed.⁴¹

In March, Rutherford took a half day because she had toothache,⁴² and also in March Biddie Searancke started a frock, made from a flour bag;⁴³ she finished it at the end of April, the same time that Arthur finished his tea cosy, and Bobbie finished his bag.⁴⁴ Sewing, as an aspect of training Maori girls for their roles as wives and mothers, had long been taught; this is merely the first account of articles children made. Boys had sewed for many years. Older people will wryly smile at the mention of a "flour bag"; they featured often for cloth-

³⁶I presume the 'work' was art and craft, and that the number after each child's name was the number of articles each child had made and took home.

³⁷*TKLB*, [1931 12 18]

³⁸The contrast with Churton is marked; Churton and the adults of the community raised the necessary funds.

³⁹*TKLB*, [1932 02 01]

⁴⁰*TKLB*, [1932 02 14] Ten years later, this was a problem for my contemporaries and myself; it struck in the summer and autumn, and was some form of 'stomach bug' which caused vomiting. I don't recall my father ever taking my sister or myself to the doctor. We treated ourselves by not eating, except grapefruit; we believed, rightly or wrongly, that the bug didn't live on citrus fruit.

⁴¹*TKLB*, [1932 02 14]

⁴²*TKLB*, [1932 03 02]

⁴³*TKLB*, [1932 03 15]

⁴⁴*TKLB*, [1932 04 28]

ing during the depression of the 1930s, but more typically as underclothes. Sugarbags were also used for clothing.⁴⁵

In April, two boys were recorded as having arrived late, at quarter past ten; they had three miles to walk.⁴⁶ They were reluctant students; Rutherford later learned that they played under the bridge on the way to school, and she eventually gave each one smack with a ruler.⁴⁷ This is one of a very small number of references in the logbooks to corporal punishment. The recording of corporal punishment was a requirement under Departmental regulations for all schools,⁴⁸ and it appears that the teachers at Te Kopua seldom used corporal punishment.

In February 1932, the Department without much question supplied paint for painting the school; that it did not own the building was not on that occasion remarked upon. Rutherford had to write asking for more paint; what they had only just reached round the school, and it needed another coat. [1932 02 24] Fletcher, in a memorandum on Rutherford's letter, noted that 3 gallons of cream paint had been supplied for painting the inside of the school. The building, he observed, was used for dances and church services,⁴⁹ and the interior walls had been much scribbled on by the patrons of the dances. Fletcher also recommended that 2 gallons of roof paint be supplied, but the exterior walls would have to wait.

The 1932 winter weather was apparently the worst for some years. In June, Rutherford recorded extreme cold; she closed the school, and asked the committee for wood, and asked them to mend windows, and repair the fastener on the door. She was miserable, but at least Mr Kaui sent some firewood.⁵⁰ At the end of the month she was " ... absent owing to losing my nerve for crossing in the heavy flood in my small boat." She made up on the time lost on Saturday.⁵¹ At the end of July Rutherford was absent for four days with influenza⁵²

Rutherford informed the Department of her troubles:

⁴⁵See Simpson, Tony, *The Sugarbag Years*

⁴⁶*TKLB*, [1932 04 15]

⁴⁷*TKLB*, [1932: 09 26 & 11 15] The use of ruler for punishment ruler I am sure was illegal, but, the inspector did not annotate the entry!

⁴⁸One case where there was not discrimination!

⁴⁹These were quite unrecorded by Rutherford in the logbook, in contrast to Churton's involvement in the dances.

⁵⁰*TKLB*, [1932 06 01]

⁵¹*TKLB*, [1932 06 27] Rutherford was away for ten half days in Term II, in addition to the day when the Waipa was flooded, which she made up on 20th August. [NAA 1001/29b [1932 08 19]]

⁵²*TKLB*, [1932 08 01]

Owing to the heavy and continuous rain we have had here the last two weeks, the Waipa, over which I cross twice a day to school, has risen so terribly that I am loosing my nerve for crossing.

Never since I have come to this school has the river flooded to such an extent, and it is a thing of terror, and though I have not failed to take my daily trips in my little boat, this nightmare of crossing is before me day and night.

Would I be allowed to close school for two or three days while the river is so flooded? I will make it up in any way, all the next holidays, or anything you suggest, but the terrible swirl and flood I cannot tackle alone. Searancke's [sic] have offered to board me during the winter, but not to cross me but I cannot live there. All the Maoris [sic] have small houses and large families and there is nowhere else on that side of the river where I could stay.

Please let me know as soon as possible; as I have already said, the river is a thing of terror just now.

Georgina Helen Rutherford. [1932 06 23]

Whilst the letter to Rutherford is not in the file, an internal memorandum recommended she be given permission to close the school, and that she should make up the time on Saturdays. It continued:

Please consider transferring Miss R whenever suitable vacancy occurs and replacing her at Te Kopua by a Maori or half-caste teacher. [Initials not clear.] [1932 06 28]

The Departmental sympathy was not of a high order! I cannot believe that no suitable vacancy came up for another three and a half years.

The report written by T A Fletcher following his inspection visit in August 1932 took a quite different form; it consisted of a brief report similar to previous reports, supplemented by a much lengthier report confidential to Rutherford.⁵³

In the General part of the report, Fletcher wrote that

The oral work in the school is of a good standard but the formal work, particularly in Arithmetic and Spelling, is weak. Little progress has been made by the Infant children, owing chiefly to irregular attendance. The school can be graded as Fair.⁵⁴ [1932 08 19]

It was not a positive assessment, which was confirmed in the section which was confidential to Miss Rutherford, in which Fletcher advised her that

Arithmetic is weak in all classes throughout the school and every effort must be made to raise the standard of proficiency. In Std 1 the pupils can only add two simple units together and are very weak in the other fundamental rules. Two out of the five pupils are not equal to the work of this class in any subject.⁵⁵ Reading and Recitation in the upper classes are very good, all the children reading with fluency, expression and comprehension.⁵⁶ Oral Expression is good. The pupils speak freely and enter whole-

⁵³In my career, there were two types of visit, one for teacher grading purposes, resulting in a grading mark for the teacher, plus a written report. The other was a three-yearly report on the school, called for many years a B5 report, a report to the school committee, and, if my memory is accurate, if it was thought necessary, a supplementary report to the Head Teacher/Principal, which was intended to inform that person of matters of concern which the inspector thought politic to keep from the committee. In the case of the Native Schools, the two functions were combined in the one report. I have no evidence of any report going to the committee.

⁵⁴The sentence originally read "The school can be graded as Very Fair". However, the "Very" was crossed out; whether that meant he adjusted his original assessment up or down I am unsure, as the comparative status of 'Fair' and 'Very Fair' has always in my mind been unclear. I am inclined to the view that 'Very Fair' was inferior to 'Fair'.

⁵⁵There had not however been any criticism of Rutherford's promotions, for it seems clear those two pupils would have been better retained in the Primers. Admittedly, I do not know their ages, and perhaps there had been an 'unstated' social promotion.

⁵⁶How did Fletcher know they read with comprehension; did he question them adequately after their oral reading. If it was based solely on his 'hearing' of their reading, then the judgement is suspect. There has been evidence that children learned their books off by heart; in my career, we said that any child who could read orally with success but did not understand what she or he read was 'barking at print'.

heartedly into the work in this subject. In all oral questioning answers in complete sentence should be insisted upon. Composition is good in Stds 3-6, though some of the sentences are a little too long. The same weakness was evident in the work of Stds 1 and 2, where long strings of clauses were joined together by "and".⁵⁷ Writing and Drawing are very fair; a higher standard should be insisted upon in both subjects. Handwork is Good. History and Geography are well known. Singing is good. [1932 08 19]

In November, Rutherford received some suggestions for dealing with stammering, one of the few instances of a teacher receiving printed teaching advice.⁵⁸

The next episode Rutherford recorded illustrates the apparent tensions in her relations with the community. She wrote:

I forgot the cupboard key, so asked a senior pupil to go and ask his father for a file, for he lived only a few yards from school. He wouldn't go, so I smacked him with a ruler, and he cried. His father was almost abusive, said the child was sent to learn to read, not to break open cupboards; why did I need a lock - there must be something valuable. I have no key to the outside door, and things have gone missing..⁵⁹

They had a break-up party that year, with a "treasure hunt". "Mrs Searancke made a cake for the children, and we gave them tea outside. Another friend kindly came all the way over, with a Punch and Judy Show, which was enjoyed immensely."⁶⁰ That was a much more positive ending to a school year!

The first committee meeting⁶¹ for 1933 saw Ngahihi Hughes elected as Chairman, with Charles and Maruea Searancke and Fred and Jack Kauai. In May, Rutherford wrote that "... there were very few flowers around, but children had found a few to brighten the school room." She also noted that there had been no work on the building; the four windows and the fireplace were

... still unmended, porch door cannot shut - a year ago I wrote same thing.⁶²

In June, she wrote⁶³ to Mr Hughes asking for firewood, and started making cocoa, she supplying the cocoa and sugar, the children the milk.⁶⁴ However, Mr Hughes was not forthcoming, and she had a miserable time,⁶⁵ and a month later she recorded that "... they had been out and got some more [wood] today."⁶⁶ In September, the Inspector paid an unex-

⁵⁷ Not just children in Native Schools had that weakness.

⁵⁸TKLB, [1932 11 15] In fact, the only example that comes to mind is the irregular Departmental series *Special Reports on Educational Subjects*, one of which was received by Johannes Zimmermann. [See Ewing, John L., *Special Reports on Educational Subjects*:]

⁵⁹TKLB, [1932 12 14]

⁶⁰TKLB, [1932 12 16]

⁶¹This was the only recorded committee meeting! TKLB, [1933 02 17]

⁶²TKLB, [1933 05 22]

⁶³That is a reminder that telephones were rare, and even more rare in a community such as Te Kopua. It is an illustration of the state of relations between Rutherford and the community. I would have expected an informal note, or even a personal request when the Chairman of the committee came visiting to see how things were going; the distances were not great.

⁶⁴TKLB, [1933 06 02]; I hadn't thought of that aspect of my primary school life for ages!

⁶⁵TKLB, [1933 06 30]

⁶⁶TKLB, [1933 08 03]

pected visit; which was much appreciated.⁶⁷ What is surprising is that he was at the school the following month for the annual inspection visit; there was no explanation.

In the meantime, in a letter which serves to remind us that this teacher lived at Te Kopua for several years without her own transport, Rutherford wrote to the Department to inform it that she had to travel eight miles by cream lorry every morning, and often got a lift home with various other lorries. However, she believed she might not be allowed to continue, as a result of new regulations. Would the Department please check for her, and get her a permit if one should be necessary. [1933 09 05] In response to questions from the Department about whether she paid, and if others were carried, she replied that she had not ever paid. The Department wrote to the Ministry of Transport, which replied that the carriage of free passengers was not prohibited, and that " ... Miss Rutherford's position appears to be met." The morning cream lorries would have been reasonably consistent, except in the winter when the herds were dried off, but her afternoon transport must have always been a worry. I wonder how often she had to walk home? It is no wonder she asked to be transferred, with her travel difficulties added to her distant relations with the school community.

The previous year's Proficiency Tests must have been distributed to Native Schools that year, for Rutherford recorded that they were proving a great help to one pupil, who had quickly shown improvement in her English since using them.⁶⁸

In his inspection report, Fletcher noted that Rutherford had made improvements where needed, though not necessarily as much as he would have liked. The school was graded "Good." In his Suggestions, Fletcher wrote:

1/ Please note our discussion on Drawing today, especially as to the necessity for grading the scheme. If light and shade are to be introduced, watch carefully the general direction of the lines of light on the object. Shading should then be done in the same direction. Prohibit the use of rulers in all but geometrical work.

2/ When teaching a new type of sum in Arithmetic, give plenty of practical work, and then a large number of easy mental examples until the principle is fully understood. [1933 10 04]⁶⁹

I am intrigued with the emphasis on Drawing, alongside the advice on a 'core' subject. The emphasis may reflect the influence on D G Ball of the writings of John Dewey and, perhaps, the principles, policies and practices emanating from the New Education Fellow-

⁶⁷*TKLB*, [1933 09 06]

⁶⁸*TKLB*, [1933 09 13] They must have at least helped; Waiata Searancke gained her Proficiency. This was an example of 'teaching to the test'!

⁶⁹ It has occurred to me that Fletcher is including much more advice on method in his reports than had been the case in reports by previous inspectors.

ship.⁷⁰ I am minded that one of my informants on the impact of the New Education Fellowship conference had been in the Native School service in the 1930s, and remembered clearly moving from an interesting, innovative, vibrant service to the staid, non-innovative, uninteresting Board service. Dewey's writings featured in the Native School column in the *Education Gazette* in the 1930s at least.

Following Fletcher's inspection visit, N T Lambourne⁷¹ wrote to Rutherford in the first, and I think the last, letter of its kind:

.... I wish to express the Department's satisfaction at the high standard of efficiency

It seems, because the marks are not in Rutherford's hand, and because he signed it, that Fletcher did the concurrent examination. However, based on Rutherford's examining, all pupils were apparently promoted, with one only doing Arithmetic at a lower class.

The average ages of the pupils on 1 January 1933 were: Std III: 11 yrs; Std II: 8.5 yrs; Std I: 9.3; P4: 9.5; P2: 6.1. [1933 11 30] The Primer 4s were older than the Std Is and Std IIs, and the Std Is older than the Std IIs, a rather surprising situation.⁷²

In November, Georgina Rutherford was absent for nine days with a poisoned knee.⁷³

Beginning with Fletcher's 1933 inspection visit [1933 10 04], when he reported on some necessary repairs, there was a quite typical long saga, with letters going to and fro, and people not doing what they said they would do, or should have done. My reason for including the saga in this story is because in its later stages it illustrated again some of the difficulties faced by teachers at Te Kopua, and some of the Departmental attitudes which did not make their lives any easier. It also illustrates again the great amount of time and energy which went into what *appear* to be quite small and straightforward matters.

There were difficulties over timber ordered from the Otorohanga Timber Company, which it seems the chairman of the committee, Mr Hughes, should have paid for with money in hand, but didn't, despite the best efforts of other committee members.. [1934 09 15]

Mr Ball recommended that some paint be supplied when eventually the timber was paid for and used, but the paint did not arrive at the school. Finally, the Department established that

⁷⁰Barrington and Beaglehole, *Maori Schools in a Changing Society*, p 198. On the New Education Fellowship, see Holdom, Jim, "The New Education Fellowship Conference and its impact on New Zealand Education."

⁷¹Nelson T Lambourne, Director of Education.

⁷²Waiata Searancke gained her Proficiency; she totalled 261 marks out of 400. She was aged 14.4, it being 9 years 4 months since she first entered Te Kopua on 3 July, 1924, a day after her fifth birthday. There were two blips in her progress; two years in Std IV, and 2 years in Std VI.

⁷³*TKLB*, [1933 11 09]

the paint was still at the Te Kawa railway station, and admonished Rutherford; it was surprised she had made only one enquiry from the Stationmaster. She was asked to take steps to get immediate delivery of the paint.

Rutherford's reply was vigorous:

I wish to say that both Mr Searancke and I made, not one or two, but many enquiries, and on every occasion were told the paint was not there. We did not receive the usual card of advice, we had asked the stationmaster to inform us, and we asked the boy on the rural delivery if he saw it. Mr Searancke was as much dumbfounded as I was, on reading your letter after our many enquiries.

That you are ignorant of the difficulties over country railway stations, rural deliveries and party line telephones is easily seen in your hasty judgement and quickness to blame. [1935 11 22]

The Department responded that it in the circumstances it could not have come to any other conclusion, and that Rutherford's grievance was against the Stationmaster.

Notwithstanding the foregoing I have to remind you that when you are notified that any goods have been ordered for your school it is your duty to advise this office promptly if they do not come to hand, and not wait until you are asked by the Department six weeks later to indicate whether or not they have been received. [1935 12 04]

On the day the above letter was written, Rutherford wrote that

I am pleased to be able to report that the painting of the school roof is now completed. [1935 12 04]

In the meantime, other aspects of life went on. The 1934 year began with an ultimatum from Georgina Rutherford that there would be no school if the materials did not arrive, which had the effect of them coming at last.⁷⁴ What she did not specify was to whom the ultimatum was directed and what the materials were.

The 1934 inspection visit by D G Ball was in April, barely six months after the 1933 visit. There was a section which in 1933 would have been confidential, but in 1934 apparently was not, and the visit was not followed by a letter of appreciation, as the 1933 inspection had been. The report perhaps contained more advice than its predecessors, and it was not accompanied by an examination report. There does not seem to have been a visit later in the year for examination purposes.

In the main, Ball considered Rutherford's methods effective, although he suggested a little variety in treatment would be beneficial. In general, the Primer division was well advanced, although in reading, one girl relied too much on memorisation of the complete passage. In her case, additional word drill was necessary.⁷⁵ As all the standard classes took History, they could be grouped together for that subject, a piece of advice which re-

⁷⁴TKLB, [1935 02 12]

⁷⁵ That was an unusual solution to the problem!

flected the generally more flexible approach evolving in Native School practice.⁷⁶ The Standard 2 pupils were not strong at continued narrative.⁷⁷ Reading was very good in all standards, and the recitations were rendered clearly and with feeling. The written compositions had definitely improved, especially in the variety of sentence structure. Ball suggested that Rutherford should not teach Arithmetic tables by rote but should use the methods demonstrated. Subtraction, he reported, was weak, but the other rules were good. A suitable Nature Study Scheme should be put into operation immediately.⁷⁸ The drawing lessons were better graded than in 1933, which indicated that Rutherford had taken note of Fletcher's advice the previous year. Before permitting the children to sing, Rutherford should always give the correct note, and the songs should be conducted. Sewing should be treated more systematically. [1934 04 24]

In a letter to the Department, confirmed by her entries in the logbook and by her attendance return,⁷⁹ Rutherford reported that

... owing to heavy flooding of the Waipa, I was unable get to school yesterday, and today the boat was out of reach. I will be unable to cross tomorrow. I regret very much I am unable to hold school but several of the children are in the same plight. We are unable get to the canoes, so even if able to cross, the attendance will be very poor. I propose making up the time next holidays, if the Department is willing. [1934 06 21]

The Department responded that it would be unnecessary to make up the lost days; there had been a change of policy!⁸⁰ [1934 06 26]

Truancy cases took a long time to resolve. This story ended, unresolved, in 1935. For only the second time in the school's history, Rutherford initiated a truancy case, involving two pupils aged 11years and 10years, and both in Primer 4. That information alone suggests that the issue was much deeper than a court charge of allowing the children to be truant would resolve; for the pupils to be those ages in Primer 4 indicated significant learning or other difficulties. Considerable time and effort and cost were expended to get the case to a conclusion. Nine months later, after the parents had been fined, the truancy had recommenced. In retrospect, we can wonder about the merits of what was done. I cannot imagine the case established, let alone improved, relations with the parents concerned, and it

⁷⁶ It was my practice when teaching in Sole Charge schools in the 1960s.

⁷⁷ That is a new curriculum subject! It might have been oral story telling.

⁷⁸ That comment totally surprised me; what had been going on in previous years, when Rutherford had been commended for Nature Study, or, had Rutherford for some reason lost interest in Nature Study?

⁷⁹ *TKLB*, [1933 06 27]; NAA 1001/29b "Waipa flooded: 10 half days." [1934 08 17]

⁸⁰ I have not looked for the new policy; I did not judge it sufficiently important in the context of this study.

may not have advanced relations with the remainder of the community. The case against the parent was that the two pupils were kept

... from school for any and every excuse. One has been absent all this term, with the exception of one week and a day, while the other has been absent off and on for 36 days. ... when they do come they are usually an hour late. [1934 11 15]

The Department wrote to the Te Awamutu constable, setting out the case and asking him to lay the necessary information, etc.

Rutherford's memorandum for the constable set out the case:

I cannot get a reason for these children's irregularity and arriving so late for school. The mother has never attended school, nor has their eldest child, so I take it the father is not interested in education. Since writing to the Department the older pupil has not been absent.

The Department wrote to the parents, drawing their attention to the very heavy fine which was possible:

You should realise that it is in the interests of your children to attend school regularly so that they may receive a good education and thus be equipped to take their places in the world.

Such rhetoric is with us still!

The Department informed Rutherford that one parent was fined 4/- and 6/-,⁸¹ and he

... promised to send his children regularly to school in future and I trust the Department's action will have the desired result.

The fine was to go to school purposes; Rutherford asked that it go towards books for the library. The Department recommended Whitcombe and Tombs Supplementary Readers, as selected by the inspectors.⁸²

In August 1935, Rutherford wrote that she was still having trouble. Lucy had missed 22 half days that term, and Joe aged 11, had missed 16.

There is no reason, for they have good coats and warm clothes, so I think that missing a day or two every week or so has become a habit. [1935 08 07]

No further action was recorded in the files.

In the meantime, in June 1934, Rutherford noted that the school was closed because of the river and the canoe; neither she nor the Searanckes could get to the canoe.⁸³ She gave one pupil two cuts with the strap for continual disobedience,⁸⁴ and there were cases of measles in the district.⁸⁵ Soon afterwards the district nurse inoculated all the children against ty-

⁸¹ I wonder why he received *two* fines?

⁸² *Not* my choice of books for a *library*. I would have chosen library books, with some preference for a greater proportion of fiction. The Department was *not* at its creative best!

⁸³ *TKLB*, [1934 06 27]

⁸⁴ The pupil refused to return the next week in consequence.

⁸⁵ *TKLB*, [1934 08 04]

phoid.⁸⁶ For the end of year break-up, she had the " ... usual trouble of providing the children with a treat, however little."⁸⁷ In the third term of 1934, the school was closed for 23 days, including Labour Day.⁸⁸ Rutherford was away for one of those days, and there were 36 "excepted half days",⁸⁹ in blocks of 8, 10, 10, 2 and 6. Whatever the reasons, that was almost five school weeks, and the consequences for pupil progress cannot have been positive.

In the new year, 1935, Rutherford recorded that she held morning school only for February.⁹⁰

In the first, and only, recorded example of its kind, there was conflict between Pakeha and Maori children.

A parent complained to me three pupils have been frightening her eldest child on their way home from school. I have punished the three, and am also keeping them at school every day until I leave. [1835 02 22]

A few days later, there was a further development:

I met the parent today, and he told me he was taking the two pupils away because he said the Maori children had them 'set'. He said a lot of other things about my Maori children too, so I said at last it was a good thing they were going as I could see there would be complaints all the time. [1935 03 04]

T A Fletcher carried out the 1935 inspection visit in April. The atmosphere, he reported, continued to be very free. The teacher was a very conscientious worker. He graded the school as being Good. The Oral work was especially strongly developed. Rutherford, he advised, must insist on sentence answers by the Primers; a little more drill in phonics and word building was necessary to give the children greater confidence in tackling new words. They should also be given practice in phrasing. The History stories were well known.⁹¹ [1935 04 13] There was no examination.

May 1935 was the month of the Silver Jubilee of King George V. The Te Kopua Native School Committee thought it would be a good idea to take the children to Te Awamutu for the celebrations, and to take them to the sports and the pictures, which would cost £1. The committee asked Rutherford to request of the Department if 10/- per child granted to be expended on the school, could be extended to £1, otherwise the children would not be able

⁸⁶*TKLB*, [1934 09 19]

⁸⁷*TKLB*, [1934 12 18]

⁸⁸*TKLB*, [1934 12 19]; [NAA 1001/29b [1934 12 19]

⁸⁹Whatever they were! 'Excepted half days' have been reported previously, but not in such large numbers. I have seen no explanation of the purpose they served, or the reason for school closure they described.

⁹⁰*TKLB*, [1935 02 28]; cf file 1001/29b: 1935 05 10: Fourteen halfdays were lost owing to heat. [In 1934, flooding had had a similar effect!] That was the first time that that strategy for coping with February heat was reported.

⁹¹That was further confirmation that good history teaching involved having the children know the stories thoroughly.

to attend, which would be a pity, as some of them had never been to Te Awamutu, and very few of them had seen a picture. [1935 05 02] The Department replied that it regretted it could not increase the amount to £1.⁹² The episode is illuminating on the social conditions the people of Te Kopua lived in.

One of the depression-generated austerity measures introduced by the United Government of the 1930s was to deny schooling to five-year-olds. Rutherford must have had two under-sixes in school but not on the roll, for she recorded that “ ... she put two on roll because now six years old.”⁹³

Cocoa was on the menu again during the winter, with Rutherford providing the cocoa and sugar and the children providing the milk. The cocoa was made in a tin [I guess a 4 gallon petrol/oil tin] supplied by Mr Hughes. But, Mr Bingham, a parent, wanted a tin for his calves, so Mr Hughes sent him up for the tin at the school. Result: Cocoa was "off".⁹⁴

Firewood was a continuing story, for Rutherford, without elaborating, wrote that she was " ... again having a trying time with the wood ... " ⁹⁵

In what was I think the only reference, Rutherford recorded that some children had ringworm. She used iodine, which didn't work, so she wrote to the Health Department, which recommended she use Condy's Crystals.⁹⁶

The river took its toll again!

I did not hold school yesterday, as I had a fall into the river, trying to pull up my boat. I was saturated to the waist, so went home.⁹⁷

Influenza was mentioned almost every week during the second half of the year. The school was closed for a week because Rutherford had it, and a pupil was away for four weeks, whilst another was still away at the end of the year.

The closing of 1935 was much more positive than previous years:

... A Christmas tree was provided this year for the children, and a splendid "feed". A number of parents were present, to watch the first and take part in the second. The children sang, and gave recitations and altogether a very pleasant time was spent.⁹⁸

⁹² The logbook does *not* record that the pupils attended the celebrations.

⁹³ *TKLB*, [1935 05 31]

⁹⁴ *TKLB*, [1935 06 14] In other words, the children no longer had cocoa each morning at playtime; that was the time when we had it at Awatuna.

⁹⁵ *TKLB*, [1935 06 21]

⁹⁶ *TKLB*, [1935 08 06] I haven't heard *that* remedy mentioned for a very long time; it was a regular household and cowshed item in my youth.

⁹⁷ *TKLB*, [1935 10 09]

⁹⁸ *TKLB*, [1936 12 19]

Rutherford's examination return included the results of the first recorded examination in First Aid. Three of the 12 primers were promoted, including one who, with a 1 January age of 11 years 2 months, had been late starting school; he had been at school only 2 years.⁹⁹ Only 1 of the 5 children in Standards II to V passed in both English and Arithmetic. I could not find an explanation for the fact that 65/100 in Arithmetic was not a pass mark in Standard III and IV, but 50 was a pass mark in Standard II, whilst being a fail mark in Standard V. [1935 12 19]

Suddenly, the record revealed Georgina Rutherford was no longer at Te Kopua, revealed by Chas Searancke's telegram to the department:

Teacher transferred have you any teacher in view for my school.

A Departmental memorandum in pencil on Searancke's telegram recorded that "Miss Sarah Mauriohooho, Parawera, appointed from next Monday. " [1936 02 26] Rutherford recorded her transfer to Whakapara¹⁰⁰ in the log on 21 February; she left Te Kopua on 25 February, 1936.

The ultimately *ad hoc* nature of the Department's management of staffing is again illustrated by this episode, with Rutherford leaving three weeks into the new year, and Mauriohooho arriving at the beginning of the second month of the school year, presumably leaving a gap at the school she had come from, and leaving the Te Kopua children without a teacher for only three days. That at least was good; such a quick change of teachers was not usual!

The sharpest contrast between Georgina Rutherford's stay at the school and that of Emily Churton is that Churton recorded a number of social events, often not directly involving the school, plus very active end of year gatherings at the school. She wrote of dancing till dawn, for instance, and of going to dances and other episodes of social contact with young people in the district. By contrast, Rutherford did not record an end of year function until 1931, for which there was no money and almost no people; whilst there were break-up functions in succeeding years, they were very low-key events compared with those Churton recorded. In Rutherford's time, there were no social events recorded in which she was involved which did not involve the school.

⁹⁹ That same pupil had been the subject of an earlier truancy case. I note now what I could have noted then: How was it that a pupil did not start school until two months after the *ninth* birthday?

¹⁰⁰A Native School 20km north of Whangarei.

It is also possible that Rutherford being Pakeha was an issue in the Te Kopua community. We have no way of knowing whether her personality and her attitudes were more important than her being Pakeha, but there are examples which suggest that her knowledge of and sympathy for tikanga Maori were not high. It may well have been the case that the two combined to create her difficulties. It may also be relevant that her predecessor was Maori, the first Maori person to be appointed to Te Kopua, and the community had come to appreciate the 'benefits' that accrued when the teacher was one of their own people.

What also stands out in this particular story is that the Department managed to avoid transferring Rutherford for some four years, despite a number of quite heart-rending pleas. We cannot know why that was the case, but I cannot believe it was an oversight.

1936 - 1943

Sarah Mauriohooho

Sarah Mauriohooho was appointed to Te Kopua from Parawera, not a great distance away on the other side of Te Awamutu, and the place where her family lived. [1936 02 26] I presume she was the S Mauriohooho who apparently began her career in the Native Schools service at Te Huruhi, Waiheke Island, in 1913, and later, besides Parawera, taught at least at Oparure and Rangitahi Native Schools before being appointed to Te Kopua. There was no evidence of an application from Mauriohooho for the post. Her Term I attendance return showed Te Kopua was closed for only three days during the change of teachers.¹ [1936 05 08]

There is an implied criticism of Rutherford in Mauriohooho's first logbook entry:

The schoolroom which had not been cleaned for a lengthy period was scrubbed today. All the children worked with might and main, and it was a pleasure to watch them admire the clean floor afterwards. They all went away very happy.²

There was also a Committee meeting that afternoon. The Chairman was J Searancke, and the other members were C & F Searancke, Jack Kauai and T Emery. They had a working bee while they were at it, the committeemen clearing tracks of blackberry,³ etc, and getting in a supply of firewood. Rutherford would have welcomed the activity!

The Department granted Mauriohooho permission to close the school to allow her and the children to attend a Combined Sports Day at Te Awamutu. [1936 03 26] She recorded that the children were keen participants, and she hoped the weather would hold. "The children very seldom get away."⁴ That was only the second such request from Te Kopua,

¹ BAAA 1001/29b: Term I 1936.

² *Te Kopua Logbook [TKLB]* [1936 03 06]

³ Blackberry also was a continuing story!

⁴ *TKLB*, [1936 04 08]

illustrating again the comparative isolation, and the contributory economic circumstances, of the community. It was the first school trip to actually get away from the school.

Mauriohooho was the first teacher at Te Kopua, especially after World War I, to place an emphasis on rituals based on the royal family and events in New Zealand history. She recorded that the

School closed for Term Holidays. Sang "God Save the King", gave Three Cheers and then dismissed them.⁵

When school re-opened for Term Two, Mauriohooho admitted Richard Rawiri, aged 9 years 9 months, who had not before attended school owing to the distance he lived from school.⁶

The separate girls' privvy Rutherford had so seriously wanted suffered an ignominious fate in June, after what must have been a much drier autumn and early winter than was most often the case at Te Kopua. Mauriohooho wrote to the Department to inform it that

Mr Searancke told his daughter to burn the blackberry that had been cut earlier ... embers did not go out [and] burned the girls' lavatory. He will rebuild if the Department will supply the materials. [1936 06 03]

D G Ball recommended accordingly, whereupon the Department wrote to Mauriohooho re the "...girls' out-office⁷ ... it is not considered necessary to have an elaborate structure and only a one-seat out-office is required." Mr Rickit quoted materials at £2.10/- for a building 5ft long, 3ft wide, and 6ft high. Mauriohooho wrote that the materials were " ... delivered Thursday last. Friday, the Committee men carted the materials from the main road and put them across the river. Yesterday, Monday, they commenced to erect the building and it was completed satisfactorily this morning." [1936 07 14] That was very quick by Te Kopua standards, and it indicates a committee working constructively together for the good of the school. It is in sharp contrast to the state of affairs often described by Rutherford, when relations within the committee and the community, as well as between community and teacher, were clearly not good.⁸

Mauriohooho's Examination Report showed that all the pupils were promoted, but Ernest Searancke, for the second year, was classified III for Arithmetic. Whilst his 35 [50 in 1935] did not gain him a 'pass', other children's marks of 45 and 55 did; in 1935, a mark of 60 had not warranted a pass. [1936 12 12]

⁵TKLB, [1936 05 08]

⁶TKLB, [1936 06 01] 1936 was the year I started school on the southern slopes of Mt Taranaki; only perhaps in the inland hill-country should such a circumstance have obtained. I would like to know where he lived.

⁷The euphemism elicits a chuckle every time I read it.

Like the rest of us in 1936 and especially 1937, the children of Te Kopua were affected by an epidemic of infantile paralysis.

Last evening the news came over the air⁹ that all schools are to close owing to an epidemic of Infantile Paralysis.¹⁰ The children attended school as usual and the day was spent in cleaning up the school and playground. Before dismissing I impressed upon the children to be out in the fresh air as much as possible during the holidays as a preventative from the epidemic. They then sang the "National Anthem", "Three Cheers for the King", and were dismissed.¹¹

That was the first reference to radio in the Te Kopua archive. Radio broadcasts to schools date from around 1930,¹² but Miss Mauriohooho had heard the news on the radio at home. The first reference to *buying* a radio, on subsidy, was in February, 1956; the school closed at the end of that year!

At the end of December, committee chairman Chas Searancke wrote in pencil¹³ to the department:

I have much pleasure in inviting yourself [Director] and ex inspectors and present inspectors of the education Native side of the Department to be present at the Te Kopua Jubilee 50 years to be held at Te Kopua on 6 Feb 1937. Will you kindly let me know whether any of them will be present so that I could arrange my programme accordingly. [1936 12 29]

Lambourne¹⁴ himself declined. He sent the invitation on to all the inspectors, but there was no evidence of inspectors attending the jubilee. The school re-opened for 1937 on time.¹⁵ What happened to the jubilee is a mystery, for, apart from recording that the school committee was unchanged for 1936, with Chas Searancke as chairman, the first logbook entry was not until April, when Mauriohooho recorded an unconfirmed report that schools were to close because of an epidemic of infantile paralysis. A telegram five days later confirmed that schools were to close until further notice, and teachers were to stand by. Standard classes were to be supplied with papers and books for home work, and were to be told to take their work to school for correction. Schools were closed for 22 halfdays because of the epidemic, and re-opened after the holidays, on 24 May; while teachers were to stand by until 12 May, the end of the term.¹⁶

⁸For example, see Rutherford's memorandum to the Department [1933 10 29]

⁹Radio broadcasts to schools date from around 1930, but Miss Mauriohooho had heard the news on the radio at home. The first reference to buying a radio, on subsidy, was in February, 1956, only a year or so before the school closed!

¹⁰The medical name for the disease is poliomyelitis. I remember the epidemic; school did not re-open until 1 March 1937; it was my second year at school.

¹¹*TKLB*, [1936 12 15]

¹²Ewing, J L, *Development of the New Zealand Primary School Curriculum 1877-1970*, p 174.

¹³Letters in pencil were quite frequent in the archive.

¹⁴Nelson T Lambourne, Director of Education.

¹⁵The attendance return for Term I 1937 records only the closure reported in the logbook; BAAA 1001/29b

¹⁶*TKLB*, 1937 04/05 entries; BAAA 1001/29b: attendance return: Term I 1937

For the first time since World War I, attention was paid to providing accommodation for the teacher at the school. A Departmental memorandum noted that

... a small house could not be built, for the Department did not own the site, and there was no authority to expend government money on the provision of a teacher's cottage thereon. ... shall discuss the matter with the Inspector.... [1937 02 19]

There was further toing and froing, which led to Searancke writing to the Department:

As instructed by your Inspector to make a plan and sketch for a cottage for our present teacher and costs: 1/ Bathroom: 10x6: with all convenient hot and cold water, enamel bath and porcelain basin and match-lining throughout. 2/ Kitchen 12x10: with high pressure boiler and Orion with enamel front and cylinder hot water complete lining with matchlining dressed and oiled. Also table, 3 chairs and cooking utensils, and 1/2 dozen Dinner Set and cutlery, and lino for floor, and cupboard and sink hot and cold water 1200 gal tank. 3/ Bedroom 10x10: with fireplace, lining to be scrim and paper. 3/4 Bedstead and mattress and blankets and etc complete. 1 Drawer and looking glass and room to be covered with oilcloth complete. Price complete and furnished £160.0.0 up to date.

Help me to finance either from the State allowance or the government building scheme, and I am prepared to pay most of the rent to pay for the said house. [1937 03 30]

What is perhaps so surprising is that it was Searancke who was doing this planning work; in Board schools, that would have been done by a Board Sites Officer and a Board Architect.¹⁷ Whatever, the Department passed the buck by responding that

the correct procedure is for you to make application, under the Housing Scheme, to the Waikato-Maniapoto Maori Land Board, Auckland. You could introduce the subject by stating that you have to board the school-teacher and require extra accommodation. The Department is prepared to pay a reasonable rent, the amount of which would depend upon the capital value of the accommodation provided. [1937 04 05]

The 1937 inspection was carried out by A H Denne during his only visit to Te Kopua. He concentrated almost entirely on language in his advice. It would be better, he thought, if Mauriohooho separated P3 and S1 into two groups for Oral English and Dramatization; with the pupils' diffidence the chief obstacle to be overcome, she should give plenty of practice to break it down. Oral Expression was weak, and Mauriohooho should keep down collective answering by the children. The topics selected should be of direct interest to the pupils themselves, ie their own experiences and activities, events and operations taking place in their own district, or other parts if of outstanding importance.¹⁸ Reading suffered from a lack of voice modulation. The lengthening and shortening of syllables to obtain the expression peculiar to the English, should be regularly drilled. In Written Expression there were several instances of lack of knowledge of English idiomatic expression, eg "You can think to yourself" for "You can imagine." Denne also noted that the Schemes for Hand-

¹⁷ The inclusion of household effects is I think unusual; I would have expected the teachers to provide their own furniture and other necessary items such as crockery, etc.

¹⁸ That advice reflected the increasing realisation that learning to talk, to speak, is much easier, perhaps only possible, if the things talked about are familiar. The same advice applies also helping children [and adults] learn to read.

work, Drawing, Nature Study, and Vocabulary Building had still to be prepared. [1937 03 24]

Denne's advice to Mauriohooho was in the main sensible but unexceptional. His apparent distinction between Oral English and Oral Expression requires explanation, and at this distance I cannot see the central importance, let alone the practicality, of separating Primer 3 and Standard I. If by that he was implying that Mauriohooho was taking all other class groups separately, and that she should take all oral language with separate class groups, ie, take up to eight separate lessons each day, he was making her task virtually impossible. Given that numbers would have been low in each class group,¹⁹ the advice was probably counter-productive. Grouping for at least some subjects was essential in sole-charge schools, and one of the obvious places where it could lead to more efficacious teaching was in Oral Language.

The absence of the schemes of work, and in particular Denne's apparent unconcern about their absence, is more interesting.²⁰ In my career, the 'Scheme' ranked high; it belonged to the school, not the teacher, and was left in the school when the teacher moved. It was expected that in due time the incoming teacher would revise the School Scheme to better reflect his or her own priorities. Their absence would have been unusual, and I would have expected instructions to repair the omissions at once.

On the last day of term, when the school was officially closed, Sarah Mauriohooho recorded in the logbook that it was

"Coronation Day". The children and parents assembled at the school this morning at 10.00 am and appropriated [sic] hymns were sung, then a prayer by Mr Searancke. The children repeated the 121st psalm and I subsequently gave them an address upon the significance of the Coronation. Mr Searancke translated into Maori,²¹ said the Benediction. The National Anthem was heartily sung by all, saluted the flag and gave three hearty cheers for the King and Queen. To commemorate the occasion the girls planted a Rimu tree and the boys a Miro.²²

In early June the King's Birthday was celebrated with the National Anthem; they saluted the flag, and gave three cheers.²³ The day before, two boys were kept away to catch pigs by their guardian without telling Mauriohooho, although they went past the school. The boys were at school the next day, and were warned not to stay away again without notify-

¹⁹There were 12 pupils in the Standard classes.

²⁰What on earth had happened to Rutherford's schemes of work? I remember getting into deep trouble when, in transferring from a Sole Teacher school, I inadvertently packed the School Scheme; I was *not* popular.

²¹That translation is interesting; for whose benefit did he translate? It is one of number of references to *te reo*, indicating that whilst English might have been the only language spoken in school, it was still the language of social and economic life in communities like Te Kopua.

²²*TKLB*, [1937 05 12]

²³*TKLB*, [1937 06 08]

ing her. From that entry, it appears Mauriohooho expected to be informed if children were absent, on the day of the absence. To my knowledge, that was never a legal expectation, but it certainly was one that teachers at times have espoused. I have always regarded it as an unnecessary imposition on caregivers.²⁴

In July, Mauriohooho

Punished Sonny for giving a horse a fright which through fear plunged into a blackberry bush and was badly cut between the forelegs. Mr Joe Searancke lone [sic] a horse for one of the senior boys to ride out to the main road to get the parcel of School-books during the lunch break.²⁵

Punishments very seldom appeared in the logbook, and in this case Mauriohooho did not record the amount of punishment, an omission which did not attract the inspector's attention. A senior boy would most likely have been well into his teens, and riding a horse would have been second nature; the errand was not standard, but it certainly was unremarkable in Mauriohooho's eyes.

In August, quite a selection of native trees²⁶ were taken to school one morning by the senior boys and they planted them around the school fence.²⁷ On the 1st of October the children sowed radish, lettuce, carrot and tomato seeds, which soon appeared through the earth.²⁸

In October, Mauriohooho was given permission to close the school to allow her to attend her nephew's funeral.²⁹

Mauriohooho maintained her enthusiasm for ritual events. On 11 November, Armistice Day,

Two minutes silence was observed today at 11am and then saluted. Explanation of Armistice was given for Morning lesson.³⁰

There was in 1937 a change in the procedure over Examination Reports; the marks sheet was either not sent in to the Department, or not filed. There were 12 pupils listed in the Standards, but, the Examination Report shows that eight were promoted and three retained.³¹ Two pupils, aged 13.5 and 13.10 were not promoted from Standard IV to Standard V. Mauriohooho noted of one pupil, aged 13.4 Standard III, that his "Nervous disposi-

²⁴ In conversation with two parents recently [May, 1998], I got the clear impression that schools now expect to be informed if a child is not going to attend, and harass parents if they do not notify the school. I still regard it as an undesirable requirement

²⁵TKLB, [1937 07 19]

²⁶Whauwhi [ribbon wood] Koromiko, Karamu, Totara, Kahikatea and Wharangi.

²⁷TKLB, [1937 08 12]

²⁸TKLB, [1937 10 01]

²⁹TKLB, [1937 10 02]

³⁰TKLB, [1937 11 11] 11 November was the day of the end of World War I, and was known as Armistice Day.

³¹Such discrepancies were not uncommon; it would require a return to the archives to sort out.

S Mauriohooho

tion and age made me promote him from Standard III to Standard IV in order to have someone to work with to encourage him.”³² Of another pupil, she note that he "Had been a sickly child but much improved this year, never away once" [1937 12 14]

The end of the year function was reminiscent of those when Churton was the teacher. Mauriohooho informed the Department that

School broke up yesterday for the Christmas vacation. A special luncheon was provided for the children and each child received a gift.

In the afternoon they had races and lolly scramble which they thoroughly enjoyed. Several of the parents were present and the prizes were presented by Mr Searancke, "Chairman".

The children went home with beaming faces. [1937 12 18]

The departmental response read:

The Department read with interest of your account of the special function which you arranged for the children prior to the breaking-up for the Christmas vacation.

I wish to commend you for your initiative. [1937 12 18]

The wording fascinated me: "The Department" read with interest of your account!³³ At least the formality was leavened by the use of the personal pronoun in the final sentence.

School re-opened for 1938, without comment, on 1 January 1938.³⁴ The only change to the committee was that Chas Tamaki replaced Joe Searancke. Dolly Searancke had left, with a two years scholarship to Turakina, but her parents declined the scholarship.³⁵ Mauriohooho informed the Department that Sonny Searancke passed the fifth standard and had gone to St Peter's College, Auckland, and that another pupil, a big boy of 14, had not returned because his father was keeping him home to work on the farm, though he had not yet reached the leaving age.³⁶ [1938 02 01] The Department responded that as he was 14, he did not come within the compulsory attendance clause.³⁷

In February, the district nurse inoculated the children against typhoid. On his inspection visit in March, D G Ball gave a holiday for Mauriohooho to attend the Official Opening of the Maori King's house at Ngaruawahia.³⁸ Mauriohooho had

I great day at Ngaruawahia. I met with much delight many of my College comrades whom I had not seen since we left school.

Speech Training pamphlet and other necessary books to meet the standard of modern teaching are required. ...Would the Department please supply? [1938 03 21]³⁹

³² That was a sensitive, innovative thing to do in 1937. The same would apply today, though the formality of 'standards' is now less onerous.

³³ I omitted to record the writer.

³⁴ That was *not* usual. Was it perhaps because of the time lost through the poliomyelitis epidemic in Tem I, 1937?

³⁵ *TKLB*, [1938 01 01] The obvious question is, Why was the scholarship declined? It is the kind of question that oral history may reveal.

³⁶ That was a common occurrence in those days. Again it was the 'economic imperative'!

³⁷ By which it meant that he could not be compelled to remain at school.

³⁸ *TKLB*, [1938 03 21]

Ball's inspection report noted that the playground had been cleared of blackberry and was ready for sowing in grass.⁴⁰ The children were neatly dressed and took a pride in their personal appearance. Written English, Writing and Number had reached a high standard, but the children had less ability in Oral English. Ball wrote, in summary, that "The teacher is very conscientious and painstaking in her endeavours." [1938 03 17]

Given that speaking comes before writing, I am surprised that Oral English was less strong than Written English; Ball's assessment requires explanation. Compared with many earlier years, the 1938 inspection report was very brief.

Following Ball's visit, and no doubt on his advice, Mauriohooho wrote that two coils of rabbit wire netting were required, plus a fairly strong spade, for she had to rely on a neighbour's spades when they were not in use.⁴¹ [1938 03 21] The spade was approved immediately, but approval for the netting had to await the Inspectors' return to the office at the end of the month. Ball gave his approval, but the netting got lost in the Te Kawa Railway Station,⁴² this time minus its label, but Mr Searancke persevered and found it.⁴³

A fine supply of wood was delivered in April.⁴⁴ In May, they attended the funeral⁴⁵ of Mr Charlie Searancke's niece. Most of the children were her cousins. They worked till 1pm, and made a wreath to take with them.⁴⁶ In August, Stewart Bain died.⁴⁷ Mauriohooho informed the Department that

...owing to much illness, "measles and severe colds", the attendance has been very irregular.

Two of the boys, Tui [Emery] and Stewart [Bain] were admitted to Waikato Hospital two weeks ago where it was found necessary to operate [on] Stewart's foot, but I regret to say that the news has just come through announcing his death. Tui is progressing satisfactorily. [1938 08 01]

In the Admission Register Mauriohooho had noted that Tui was ill, and that her heart and lungs were weak

³⁹In my time we were well trained not to mix the content of letters when we wrote to the Education Board.

⁴⁰I've lost count of the number of times blackberry was cleared at Te Kopua. It was an on-going problem, the result very likely of the fact that the technology, ie the sprays, did not exist to easily kill it, and mowing regularly enough to remove, even kill, would have been beyond the capacity of the committee. Blackberry was a problem for my father, which he managed by ploughing, resowing, fertilising, and with very good grazing management. Blackberry was not a concern at the primary school I attended, though it was present in the grove of eucalyptus trees.

⁴¹Mauriohooho was obviously used to doing her own gardening, etc, and was thoroughly familiar with tools such as spades. One detail I remember from a brief conversation with one of her descendants is that she was active and competent in the haymaking paddock, at a time when she had stopped being young. She was not young when she was at Te Kopua!

⁴²Again!

⁴³The Te Kawa Railway Station was a minefield of difficulty. Mr Searancke must have known it well!

⁴⁴*TKLB*, [1938 04 11]

⁴⁵I note the use of 'funeral', not 'tangi'!

⁴⁶*TKLB*, [1938 05 29]

⁴⁷*TKLB*, [1938 08 19]

In September, the school had a second inspection visit. Mauriohooho wrote that she kept the school open on 29 September, but the Inspector did not arrive. The children went home very disappointed as they were looking forward to his visit; could she take a day's holiday the next week? [1938 09 2] The Department responded that the inspector had failed to arrive due to unforeseen circumstances; he would be visiting on Saturday 8th October, and, Yes, it would be in order to close for two days.

This time the Inspector, W O'Connor, made it. Mauriohooho reported that

The Inspector today, in the glorious sunshine visited the school and was gratefully received by the children. [1938 10 08]

Was it because they had few visitors that they liked inspectors' visits, or, because inspectors gave them a holiday?⁴⁸ Noteworthy was the inspection visit on a Saturday!⁴⁹ Also, why a second inspection visit that year?

O'Connor, visiting to Te Kopua for the first time, found room for improvement in the children's oral responses; given that he had not been to Te Kopua before, he must have judged these children's oral language less satisfactory than that of children in other schools he had visited.⁵⁰ They were talking fluently, clearly and correctly, and, they were working hard. [1938 10 08] O'Connor reported broken windows, the first for some years; I wonder for how long they had gone unreported?

Also in October 1938 the Department wrote asking for a 'milk house', ie necessary accommodation, to be built, the result of the benefit of the provision of malted milk. However, the Department was " ... incapable to [sic] provide the fund." School milk!⁵¹

During October and November of 1938 there were two cases of children not attending Te Kopua.

Mauriohooho reported that three children, who lived only twenty chains⁵² from Te Kopua, were going by bus to Otorohanga School; they had one mile to walk to get to the bus. They should be made to attend the nearest school, ie Te Kopua. [1938 11 18] The Department wrote to the Auckland Education Board in those terms, further pointing out that

⁴⁸In a Board school, I don't remember inspectors' visits particularly, but I *do* remember Mr Rod Symes, legendary amongst Agricultural Instructors, [forerunners of Nature Study Advisers, forerunners to Science Advisers] coming into the infant room of our two-teacher Taranaki school, and telling stories. The stories as I remember had little to do with nature study, but remember his telling of them I do.

⁴⁹I am reminded that weekends were *not* sacrosanct!

⁵⁰At least he agreed with his predecessor!

⁵¹*TKLB*, [1938 10 19] I well remember it, but I had thought it began later than 1938. 'Malted' school milk we did *not* get in my Taranaki Education Board school.

⁵²At 80 chains to a mile, the distance was a quarter of a mile, or about 400 metres

the names of the three children were not on their memorandum of exemption.⁵³ The children should rightly attend the local school and were not eligible for conveyance.

Mr Charles Searancke, writing as a father and as Chairman, who was clearly conscious of the need to keep the attendance up, wrote that he had

... noticed the drift of some of our children leaving our school and going to a Pakeha School at Otorohanga. [1938 11 30]

Otorohanga, he continued, was 12 miles distant, whereas Te Kopua was only about a quarter of a mile. He asked if a departmental officer could make full inquiries during the summer vacation.

While that was going on, Mauriohooho wrote to the Department to inform it that one eleven year old pupil was attending irregularly. He had been absent for no reason since 16 November. He was imposed on by his guardian to do the work, and was frequently left to milk the cows while the guardian went to town, tangis and Maori-gatherings. He was not ill. [1938 11 25] A few days later she reported she had received a note which claimed that the boy was fifteen years old. That was, she wrote, just an excuse; the boy's age was as given by herself. [1938 11 29]

A night or two later a committee meeting was held, attended by most of the parents. After a lengthy discussion one parent admitted that she was wrong and promised to send her child to school the following day. Mauriohooho wrote that the pupil was now very pleased to be back at school. [1938 12 02] The Department replied it was pleased he was back at school and that there was no further trouble, and added that the matter of the boy who was being kept home to work was receiving attention. [1938 12 08] It is of note that many of the parents attended the committee meeting, and it was some sort of collective pressure and collective agreement that the children should attend Te Kopua.

Mauriohooho was obviously under some pressure, for although she responded she was pleased to hear the latter matter was receiving attention she was

... afraid that these people have a very bad influence over my children. They incite them to do wrong and prevent them from coming to school [1938 12 14]

Eventually, in March 1989, after a second letter, the Auckland Education Board informed the Department that two of three had left Otorohanga, but the other pupil still attended Otorohanga. The pupil had been told that he must attend Te Kopua.⁵⁴

⁵³ That is the first reference to such a memorandum; I was not aware they existed, but I presume one was required if parents wished to send their children to a school other than their 'neighbourhood' school.

⁵⁴ Whether hid did as told the record did not divulge.

Mauriohooho's 1938 Examination Report shows two age promotions. One pupil, age 12.5 years was promoted from Primer 4 to Standard I; he was "Weak. Mentally defective." Another, aged 15.4 years was promoted from Standard IV to Form I. A third pupil was promoted to FIII; there is no record of her going on to high school.⁵⁵ [1938 12 12]

Mauriohooho wrote to the Department to tell of the end-of-year break-up:

I desire to advise you that the school was closed today for the Christmas vacation.⁵⁶

This morning I called the roll and the day was spent in races, prize giving and distribution of toys.

A Christmas tree which was provided by the parents and generous donors, was set up in the school yesterday afternoon.

The District Maori Nurse⁵⁷ and her parents were present and had their first sight of a copper maori⁵⁸ which supplied all the luscious meal.

The air was filled with the ringing of bells, whistles and laughter the whole day. [1938 12 16]

The Department did not respond!

1938 was noteworthy for being the only year thus far that the school was not closed for reason of weather, rivers, illness, or death. The only day it was closed was for the Maori election on 14 November.⁵⁹

1939 was to tell a different story!

The committee for 1939 was Chas [chair), Fred, and Joe Searancke, Tom Emery, and Charlie Tamaki. Further, Mauriohooho reported to the Department that a pupil has been taken away by her father for a week without the Teacher's permission.⁶⁰ Sarah Mauriohooho had previously demonstrated strong views on truancy, but this was taking them to an extreme; to my knowledge, the law did not ever require caregivers to seek permission for children to be absent.⁶¹

In February, the school was closed for four days for a refresher course.⁶²

On 17 March, Mr Charles Searancke, Chairman of the committee, died. There was a big tangi, and the school was closed for 'funeral day'.⁶³

⁵⁵It being 1938, Proficiency was no longer awarded, the award having been discontinued by the Labour Government from 1937. It was the beginning of 'social promotion', characterised by Mauriohooho as 'age promotion'.

⁵⁶The formality is fascinating!

⁵⁷That was the first mention of a District *Maori* Nurse.

⁵⁸I would love to know what a 'copper maori' was. I can only guess it was some form of 'copper hangi', perhaps rather like the coppers used in those earlier time for washing clothes.

⁵⁹BAAA 1001/29b [1938]

⁶⁰*TKLB*, [1939 02 06]

⁶¹In my career, parents often came seeking permission, from which I presumed that teachers had given them the impression permission was needed. My response in later years was that they were their children; they took them where they wanted. I would complain if I thought that, from the school's perspective, they were being unreasonable, or unlawful. If the rules were different for Native Schools, the difference has to be justified!

⁶²BAAA 1001/29b: [1939 05 05] See Beaglehole and Barrington, *Maori Schools*, pp 203-204: "In February, 1939, another important refresher course for native school teachers was held. ..." The earlier course, in February 1936, was not attended by Rutherford

The school was closed for 28 halfdays in Term I of 1939, which included the refresher course, Mr Searancke's tangi, Mauriohooho being confined to bed for five days, plus of course Easter and Anzac. The children lost 14 days out of approximately 65 days the school could have been open.

A tank stand, windows, and a small picket gate were approved in the second week of March. [1939 03 09] The work was completed by 24 April; that would have to be a record!

In June, the Public Health Nurse " ... recommends strongly the daily rendering of cod liver oil."⁶⁴

W O'Connor's report on his inspection visit in June 1939 was *not* positive.

Organisation: better organisation is needed to eliminate waste of time.

General: The work for the year is not far forward yet, and a special effort will be necessary. Careful planning is needed in a school of this kind to ensure that the children are kept busy all the time.⁶⁵ Oral work needs special attention.⁶⁶

Scheme: Your scheme needs rewriting and elaboration. Plan every subject in detail, and show what you are aiming at, and your methods.⁶⁷

General: You have at present many weak spots in your school, due mainly to lack of thoughtful planning [discussed]. Confusion in your organisation causes confusion in your classroom, with corresponding waste of time. [1939 06 07]

That report was out of character with Mauriohooho's previous reports.

Mauriohooho that evening recorded that "The Inspector's acceptable visit took place ... under an [sic]⁶⁸ unfavourable weather conditions." [1939 06 07] There is no way of knowing how she reacted to the criticisms in O'Connor's report, whether, for example, she thought them valid.

Arising presumably from O'Connor's visit, the Department wrote to Fred Searancke, pointing out five matters about the school building which needed attention, noting that the building would rapidly deteriorate, and that it was necessary to restore the building to a

[BAAA 1001/29b [Term I return]]. Given that Mauriohooho re-opened the school on 2 March 1936, it was extremely unlikely that she attended from Parawera.

⁶³*TKLB*, [1939 03 17] Mauriohooho sent a telegram to the department: "Mr Searancke Senior died Monday. Cttee desirous holiday funeral." [1939 03 22] Permission was granted. I note that Mauriohooho used 'funeral', not 'tangi'.

⁶⁴*TKLB*, [1939 06 03] A friend of mine, when told that in those days we were strongly recommended to take a teaspoonful of cod liver oil daily, commented "How delightful! I remember it well," by which he meant that it tasted horrible. It was, however, very good advice, for cod-liver oil is a good protection against cold and flu. I now, in retirement, take a fish liver oil 'capsule' daily [Capsules are tasteless], and very seldom catch a cold or the flu.

⁶⁵What that might mean is not explained; we cannot know how Te Kopua was different from other native schools, or Education Board schools. Was it that he had a negative view of Native Schools. Were there schools where "the children did not need to be kept busy all the time?"

⁶⁶The emphasis on oral work at Te Kopua needs to be compared with examination reports in other Native Schools.

⁶⁷Schemes again? The scheme cannot have been high in Mauriohooho priorities.

⁶⁸Error circled in the department!

reasonably good order. [1939 06 22] Searancke in his reply asked for materials, because he could not afford the cost of the repairs. The department's reply was by the book. It was

...not possible to authorize any further expenditure on the building which is not Departmental property, nor is the land on which it is situated owned by the Department.

The Department is very much concerned regarding the position at the school and unless early action can be taken to have the building restored to good order I am afraid there will no other course open but to give serious consideration to the closing of the school.

With a view to avoiding such a step, however, the Department would be prepared to consider paying you a reasonable weekly rental for the property and I would be very glad to know whether this would enable you to have the necessary repairs attended to.

The Department could not agree until work required to be done has been satisfactorily completed, and on the understanding that the building is maintained in good order. [1939 07 07]

Mauriohooho recorded in the logbook that

A well attended Committee meeting was held to discuss the matter of restoring the school building to good condition which instructed [sic] by the Department or otherwise the Dept would give serious consideration to closing the school.

The majority of the parents decided to retain the school and have the necessary defects repaired as soon as possible.

The Department has offered to pay rent for the use of school building but this will not be effected until the necessary repairs are satisfactorily done.⁶⁹

What is interesting in that record is that there is no mention of the apparent prime responsibility of Fred Searancke, as the owner of the building, to effect the repairs, though it is clear that he regarded that as his responsibility, and acted accordingly. It seems clear that the community regarded it as a community, not an individual, matter.

Shortly before that important committee meeting, Mrs Kauai, a parent, died of a haemorrhage; her children were away a week.⁷⁰

Mauriohooho wrote to the Department to report that well-attended Committee meeting, and that the steps the meeting had agreed should be taken included painting the building when the weather was better. She added:

I understand the Chairman is endeavouring to get assistance from the Native Department.⁷¹ [1939 07 18]

It appears from the department's letter that neither Fred Searancke, nor for that matter Chas [Charles] before him, had been receiving rent for the building. Chas Searancke had become the owner of the building and the land in 1925, and the matter of repairs to the building had arisen then also. Those repairs were completed to the Department's satisfaction near the end of 1926. The matter of rent for the building was raised then, but there is no evidence in the files that it was resolved, and it is probable that the Department had the use

⁶⁹*TKLB*, [1939 07 18]

⁷⁰*TKLB*, [1939 07 18]

⁷¹Why should the Native Department have to be involved in providing school accommodation? No one in a Board school would consider an approach to a similar Pakeha Department or institution!

of the building and the grounds for all those years rent free. In the meantime, some minor repairs had been done without quibble, presumably because nobody at the Department remembered, or had checked, that the building did not belong to it.

In August, Mauriohooho wrote advising the Department of poor attendance due to sickness and weather conditions; she closed the school after lunch that day because "Mr Searancke sent word advising to close the school as the river was rising and becoming dangerous." [1939 08 18] Her action was approved.

The Attendance Return for Term III, 1939, recorded that the school was closed between 9 October and 8 November. "School closed. Teacher required Hospital treatment."⁷² The school was closed for 23 days. The Department wrote to Mr Rust, headteacher at Parawera, endeavouring to arrange for Sarah Mauriohooho's sister, Rarangi, assistant at Parawera, to relieve in her place, offering additional payments as per schedule for board, etc, and regretting the necessity to disrupt his school; Rarangi was to start on Monday.⁷³

Rust replied by telegram:

Unable reopen Te Kopua today. Writing. Rust. [1939 10 16]

In his letter the following day, Rust pointed out that Sarah Mauriohooho had bought a car, and lived in Te Awamutu. Rarangi Mauriohooho did not own a car, could not drive, and was diffident about asking Sarah to borrow hers.⁷⁴ Rarangi was not enjoying robust health, and connections by mail car or cream lorry, etc, were not suitable for Rarangi to relieve at Te Kopua. The need was for someone with her⁷⁵ own means of conveyance. [1939 10 17].

Eventually, Sarah Mauriohooho received a letter from the Department in which an official,⁷⁶ on behalf of Lambourne, wrote that he was sorry to learn of her sickness, trusted she would make a speedy recovery, and reminding her that for sick leave she would need to get a doctor's certificate. Because it was unable to find a relieving teacher, the school would have to remain closed. When, they asked, did she expect to be fit to resume duties? It was possible they might be able to get a relieving teacher as from 6 November. [1939 10 26] The Department wrote to ask the Auckland Education Board if it had a suitable teacher

⁷²BAAA 1001/29b [1939 12 15]

⁷³Rust quite clearly, in the eyes of the department, did not have any choice in the matter; he was expected to acquiesce. As has been clear throughout this study, the Department was, and often acted as, a dictator.

⁷⁴Rarangi could not drive. Clearly, attitudes to having a licence and driving cars were different those days!

⁷⁵Rust assumed that the reliever would have to be a woman.

⁷⁶Initials AL only were given.

with a car, but without success, whereupon Fred Searancke⁷⁷ was informed of the situation, and asked if he knew of any suitable board.

Searancke responded⁷⁸ that his mother could board a teacher for the time being; she lived only a few chains away [1939 10 1] The Department wrote that Miss Mauriohooho would be away for a few weeks yet, and it had arranged a male relieving teacher with a motor bike, so it would not be necessary to put his mother to the trouble. [1939 11 03]

The relieving teacher was Charles Metge,⁷⁹ who recorded that he

Arrived Te Kopua early this afternoon after some difficulty. Have arranged to board with Mr Searancke. Will open school 9am Thursday morning.⁸⁰

Metge was at the school until 17 November. Again, [for reasons this time not apparently the fault of the Department], Te Kopua was closed for a significant length of time, and the children lost more school time. The Department had gone to more trouble to keep the school open than on any previous occasion; it was thwarted at least by Te Kopua's situation, but also perhaps by the fact that World War II had begun, and teachers with transport and not encumbered were probably hard to come by.

In the meantime, the world went on. Four children from one household were absent; there was no supply of flour in the house. The father has been away about a week. However, he returned the following evening and the children were able to attend school the next day.⁸¹

Two weeks later, Nurse Flamank and Nurse Cameron paid a brief morning visit.⁸²

Also during the time of Sarah Mauriohooho's absence, Fred Searancke informed the Department that he had

Recieved [sic] your letter of the 7th.

I will be able to put Ridging Boards and spouting and windows in order. But the Painting of the School I can not do. It will be after the Christmas holiday. I am only a working man with a big family.

I remain,

Yours faithfully [1939 10 26]

It was to be almost a year before all repairs were completed. In the New Year, D G Ball recommended that the Department supply the paint, which resulted in a long letter to the Head Teacher; would he [sic]⁸³ discuss the repairs with the Committee, etc, with recommendations on, eg, priming if timber was in too bad a state. The Committee met and dis-

⁷⁷Committee chairman.

⁷⁸In pencil.

⁷⁹If I read his writing accurately.

⁸⁰*TKLB*, [1939 11 08] He was *not* the first to have difficulty arriving at Te Kopua!

⁸¹*TKLB*, [1939 09 20/21] The children's mother had died some time earlier.

⁸²*TKLB*, [1939 10 05]

⁸³Someone in the Department really was working on autopilot!

cussed the matter, and estimated the cost at £12.18.9. The Department thought the committee had estimated too high, and reduced the amounts of paint to be supplied.⁸⁴ [1940 02 28]

In November 1939, Mauriohooho recorded that a nurse's visit would be appreciated as a number of the children were covered with haki haki etc.⁸⁵ A few days later, she noted that the children had weeded their gardens,⁸⁶ and that Mary had complained of a pain in her side and was sent home.⁸⁷ She was taken to the doctor, sent to hospital, and operated on; the report was satisfactory.⁸⁸

On the last school day of the year,

School commenced today at 8.30am closing at 1.00pm in order to allow them to be present at a luscious meal prepared for them on the other side of the river where each child received a gift. Afterwards, races, games, swimming were arranged, terminating it with the prize giving and the National Anthem.⁸⁹

As in earlier years, Mauriohooho advised the Department of the closing day:

I desire to advise you that the school broke up today for the Christmas vacation.

I commenced school at halfpast eight this morning and closed it at 1 pm in order to allow the children to get across the river to where a luscious meal awaited them, prepared by the parents.

Each child received a gift and the afternoon was spent in racing, swimming and games. [1939 12 15]

She omitted to mention the prizes and the National Anthem.

In the New Year, Sarah Mauriohooho informed the Department that she had re-opened the school for 1940 with only fourteen pupils, two having left and the rest not being back from their holidays. There had been a meeting of the committee, but only two people attended, so they were to hold another. [1940 02 10] Mr Ball visited the school on Saturday in the pouring rain. The children all arrived in good time.⁹⁰

⁸⁴The Department at its frugal best! The project was not completed until 6 Sept 1940. It was another example of matters taking a very long time to come to conclusion, after the expenditure of much time and energy by the department, but what is more important, much more time and energy by the community and the teacher.

⁸⁵*TKLB*, [1939 11 17]

⁸⁶These would have been Boys and Girls Agricultural Club projects. At most schools, the gardens were at the children's homes. The gardens, either 'potato' or 'vegetable' were judged, and while gardens were usually ranked in order of care, etc, and winners and placegetters acknowledged, certificates were awarded for successful completion. Animal rearing projects, more usually calf rearing, but increasingly lamb rearing, were more common than garden projects. These animal rearing projects were judged at the annual 'Calf Day' held at the school, and always a major event in the school calendar. As with the garden projects, certificates were awarded for successful completion. Calf placegetters at the school calf day went on to the 'group' calf day; I cannot remember whether lamb placegetters also went on to the group day. Each area, in my case probably South Taranaki but possibly the Taranaki province, had a quite complex organisation, for calf days had to be co-ordinated to ensure judges were available. In subsequent years, calf days were held at Te Kopua, but no teacher recorded that children took their calves to a group day. I reared six calves, and had at least three gardens. I was awarded a badge for successfully completing six calf projects, which unfortunately is lost, but I still have at least one of the certificates. In my teaching career, calf days were important at Kerepehi and at Mangawara [a one-teacher school near Taupiri] where the school closed for the group day. The 1994 'Calf Day' at Frankton School in Hamilton was reported in the daily paper.

⁸⁷*TKLB*, [1939 11 20]

⁸⁸*TKLB*, [1939 12 04]

⁸⁹*TKLB*, [1939 12 15]

⁹⁰*TKLB*, [1940 02 27] Saturday visits were becoming a habit!

The report by D G Ball of his 1940 inspection visit [1940 02 24] was different in two respects from earlier years.

Firstly, the practice of typing a copy for the teacher or the file seems to have been discontinued; the archive contained the inspector's carbon copy from his duplicate book, the original presumably having been left with the teacher.

Secondly, there are notes, in a column alongside the Class Organisation, etc, column; the notes are indicative of the 'organisation' practised by the teacher. There was never any direct comment on them by the inspector, on the form, but there was sometimes comment embedded in the inspector's notes.

In this case, the notes were:

P1. Taken separately in all except English. P3 & S1 are taken together in English⁹¹ and separately in other subjects. S2. Taken separately in all subjects. S4. Separately taken also. S5 & 6 are taken together in all subjects but Arithmetic.

More generally, Ball reported:

Health: In some cases more attention might be paid to clothing. Clean.

General: The teacher is working conscientiously but in some subjects, particularly primer reading, a careful revision of teaching methods is necessary. The work is neatly done and a variety of handwork activities is taken.

Method: Due to your anxiety to obtain good results, you are inclined to maintain a too rigid and unsympathetic discipline. Include more playway⁹² in your general methods, as discussed.

General: ... senior pupils speak well, fair fluency, but they are inclined to memorise long stories, word by word.⁹³ Take more group work⁹⁴ and have as great a variety of topics as possible.

In the primers, Oral Eng. is only a little better than fair, the children being much too restrained. P3 reading was very weak, and it is in this primer division that the various teaching devices discussed with you should be introduced at once. You must give more word recognition drill [by playway as much as possible] and more easy reading. Do not take simultaneous reading.

Other subjects are receiving adequate attention. [1940 02 24]

In his choice of words, Ball's report is an interesting mix of the impersonal ["the teacher"] and the personal ["your" and "you"], reflecting perhaps the two audiences, the Department and the teacher, for whom he was writing.

Just what Ball intended when he wrote "In some cases more attention might be paid to clothing," is not explained, but it is possible Mauriohooho was being told [or reminded] that she should ensure the children's clothes were not only neat and tidy, but also did not have too many holes, were not too ragged, etc.

⁹¹It was in 1937 that Mr Denne had thought taking those two classes together quite undesirable! See [1937 03 24] above.

⁹²Underlined in the Department; it is probable that in Mauriohooho's copy the word was not underlined. If my memory is accurate, that is the first reference to 'playway' in the archive. Ball obviously considered that Mauriohooho knew what he meant when he used the term; it appears again in his report.

⁹³Given they were encouraged to memorise history stories, it was perhaps not surprising they memorised other stories to give the appearance of facility with the language. Also, there may well have been some hangover from the proficiency days, when they 'trained' for the examination.

The school was closed for two days⁹⁵ to mourn the death of Michael Joseph Savage, the first Labour Prime Minister of New Zealand. However, owing to the wartime shortage and rationing of petrol she and the committee could not arrange transport for the children to meet the funeral train at Te Awamutu, so they collected a small tribute, and sent a wreath.⁹⁶

On 24 April Mauriohooho recorded that

Before dismissing this afternoon a talk on the Landing of the Australian and New Zealand soldiers and Gallipoli during the last war was given, followed by the Singing of the National Anthem and Cheers.⁹⁷

In the next episode, it seems Mauriohooho could not win. She reported to the Department that she had reopened the school the previous Monday with just five children present because of bad weather. She continued:

During Sunday night heavy rain fell and the canoe which was evidently not securely tied, drifted and it was not until 10.30am Monday morning when the canoe was discovered.

I was however, unable to commence duty till 11am.

Attendance this week has been very poor through bad weather. [1940 05 24]

The Department acknowledged her letter with understanding, but, she had not needed to open on the Monday, for Departmental Circular 1939/162 had informed teachers that the re-opening of schools for the second term that year had been postponed until Tuesday 21 May.⁹⁸ [1940 05 28]

Mauriohooho replied:

I have to apologise for the error made by me in reopening of school on the Monday instead of Tuesday 21st May. [1940 06 03]

I guess Sarah Mauriohooho learned the hard way that it paid to read *all* circulars from the Department with care, even when they arrived just before the holidays, which I suspect that that one had done.

Early in Term III, Mauriohooho reported to the Department that "The School Committee painted the school building, out-houses and the interior of the porch during the holidays."⁹⁹ [1940 09 06]

⁹⁴That is a reversal of the advice from earlier inspections, and indicates different valuations by the various inspectors.

⁹⁵BAAA 1001/29b: [1940 05 03]

⁹⁶TKLB, [1940 03 27]

⁹⁷TKLB, [1940 04 24]

⁹⁸I presume the circular gave a reason for the decision. They did have to rub it in, didn't they!

⁹⁹This was as a result of the Inspector's visit of June 1939 [1939 06 07]. Should a committee have had to do all that, since they got nothing for school funds? In my experience in sole charge schools, the committee often did the work, by agreement with the Board's Sites Officer, instead of calling a contractor, to raise funds for school purposes.

Te Kopua had two inspection visits in 1940; T A Fletcher visited in November. He obviously had his worries, but to a greater extent than was usual, he tried to be positive and constructive. After noting that a new Timetable would be tried out, he went on to observe:

You must try to infuse more spirit into all the oral subjects. Choose very simple but dramatic stories and poems, and include some humorous ones. The children as a whole are able to speak, read and recite fluently enough, but not forcefully. The primers are relatively more advanced than the standards. Composition is rather variable in quality. Three of the children in the standards wrote quite a good letter, but the others are very confused with Maori errors¹⁰⁰ and have not much idea of sentence structure. [1940 11 05]

The notes on class organisation that Ball had written in the February report were not in Fletcher's report; I wonder if were they only applicable to the early in the year inspection visit?

Fletcher also noted that

The work done in the school gardens is very creditable. Maori crafts are being taught. Hand work is well done, and includes taniko, and Maori songs are included in the repertoire. [1940 11 05]

In his report on the buildings, Fletcher wrote that

The school desks at Te Kopua are completely done. They are the old-fashioned type that were formerly screwed to the floor, but they are now loose and broken. ... The chimney of the school is leaking badly. Cost of furniture came to £30 4.0 [1940 11 05]¹⁰¹

In her examination report at the end of the year, Mauriohooho listed one pupil, aged 15.9 years, 9.2 years since first entering school, as promoted to Form III; a Certificate was issued.¹⁰² All the children were promoted.¹⁰³

The ages and 'Time Since Entry' [TSE] of four of the boys are revealing.¹⁰⁴

- * 13.6 years, 5.0 years TSE, promoted from Standard II to Standard III: "Mentally defective";
- * 10.10 years, 4.11 years TSE, promoted from Standard II to Standard III;
- * 12.1 years, 1.3 years TSE, promoted from Primer 3 to Standard I;
- * 9.5 years, 3.4 years TSE, promoted from Primer 3 to Standard I: "Mentally defective".

None of these boys started school at age 5.0 years, and none were near the class for their age. To go into Standard I at age 12.1 years after 1.3 years at school was good progress,

¹⁰⁰Maori errors were a major worry in earlier years, but had not featured so clearly for some time.

¹⁰¹It was several years since it was reported that the desks were loose and well past needing replacement. The desks were still there in Term III, 1944, revealing the Department in its standard behaviour!

¹⁰²The nature of certificate was not given.

¹⁰³This was the result of the policy of 'social promotion', ie passing children from class to class every year, so they progress through the school with their age cohort. The policy was *not* universally approved. See Holdom, Jim, "The New Education Fellowship Conference and its impact on New Zealand Education."

¹⁰⁴The details *could* be even worse than appears on the surface. Ages given were usually those in the roll [the Attendance Register], which were the ages on 1 January, in which case we can add eleven months to the ages and Time Since Entry.

but, where had that child been for the six years after he had turned five? The record does not reveal an answer.

Three of the boys were 'state's boys';¹⁰⁵ no further details were given, but I presume they were in a form of care similar to that now provided by the Children and Young Persons Service of the Department of Social Welfare.

As usual, Mauriohooho wrote to tell the Department about the activities of the break-up for the Christmas vacation.

To celebrate the breaking up, a picnic was held at the school by the parents and at halfpast eleven the children were dismissed and a luscious dinner was soon spread on the lawn which was enjoyed by all.

The afternoon was spent in the distribution of gifts, prizes, and races.

The parents, big sisters and brothers all took part in the events and a merry afternoon was spent.

Afternoon tea was served at three o'clock, sang the National Anthem and thus ended the last term of 1940. [1940 12 19]

At the 1941 householders'¹⁰⁶ meeting, three new people, P [Pura] Panapa, Tipa Tamaki and Mr Taingahue, were elected. Joe Searancke continued as Chairman. Sarah Mauriohooho also recorded that

As the majority of the children's teeth are in need of attention, I asked the parents if they would like to join the Dental Clinic by paying a small sum of 3/- per child. I having little knowledge of the Regulations could not give full particulars. It was then decided to remain until full information is obtained.¹⁰⁷

A few days later Mrs Panapa, Mrs Tamaki and Mauriohooho attended the Dental Clinic Annual Meeting at Te Awamutu to support the Committee's application. A Mr Taylor thought the application would no doubt be considered favourably as soon as Ohaupo School had been consolidated to Hamilton, for the nurse's hands were at that time full.

A form for ordering free apples had arrived; "Mr G Searancke, carrier of Otorohanga will deliver to end of road at rate of 9d a box."¹⁰⁸

In early March Mauriohooho telegraphed the Department that the Waipa Primary School Sports were being held.

At my expense, please advise me by telegram if we may take the day off for the pupils to attend. My school was overlooked by the Secretary. Just been informed. [1941 03 03]

Permission was granted, [1941 03 06] and she was told also that there now remained only two days on which the school could be closed that year for such functions.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ They would, I think, have been 'Wards of the State'.

¹⁰⁶ A 'householders' meeting' included all adult residents, not just parents. I am reminded that all residents were eligible to elect a school committee, and I think non-parents were eligible to be elected to a committee.

¹⁰⁷ *TKLB*, [1941 02 12] I'm not sure 3/- per child was a small sum in 1941, especially if, as was often the case, there were several children in a family. Equally important is that then it seems that a parent contribution was necessary before children's teeth could be treated by the School Dental Service. Country parents had to add travel costs to the equation. I do not recall my parents mentioning that my attendance at the dental clinic in Eltham, Taranaki, was at a cost to them, except for travel. Our attendance was arranged so that several of us could travel in the one car.

¹⁰⁸ *TKLB*, [1941 03 03] My memory is that there was a surplus of apples, and it was decided they should be given to school children rather than being dumped. I can recall apples being distributed in 1944, my first year at high school; beyond that my memory fails me. I do recall we children did not complain!

¹⁰⁹ The Department's warning implies that teachers had only *three* days a year for events like those sports, A and P shows, school picnics, and the like. That limit surprises me; I am sure I had more available to me when I was teaching in sole-charge schools.

Mauriohooho recorded details of the sports day in the logbook:

Friday the 7th March, Sports Day dawned, grey and wet but the children's hearts beat high with excitement. At the tick of halfpast eight the children were at the road awaiting the arrival of the bus. Unfortunately the driver who did not know his bearings went astray and it was not until halfpast ten before we were finally aboard the bus, arriving at halfpast eleven. Although the day was gloomy and showery the children enjoyed it.¹¹⁰

and wrote to thank the Department, while drawing attention to one of the realities of Te Kopua, an isolated life.

Thank you.

They live a very isolated life here and very seldom get out.

The Committee and parents donated liberally towards the children's expenses and also accompanied us to the Sports.

In spite of short notice, some of them gained places in the seconds. [1941 03 08]

Late in March Mauriohooho recorded that mumps were prevalent,¹¹¹ and ten days later she wrote to

... the Football and Basketball Unions asking them to supply my school with old balls or to assist me in purchasing new ones.¹¹²

The day after ANZAC Day Mauriohooho "forwarded to the Director of Education the sum of £5 being the amount donated by the children towards the Mobile Canteen for the Maori Battalion."¹¹³

Because the roll at the end of the first term was 23, Mauriohooho wrote enquiring about the possible appointment of a Junior Assistant. [1941 05 21] She was to report when the numbers increased, but there was not to be a Junior Assistant at that time.

During Term I 1941 attendances were poor, due to illnesses, mumps and measles.¹¹⁴

Early in Term Two Mauriohooho chastised a boy for disobedience. When he was sent home to get his book, he did not return.

Having not returned within twenty minutes I sent [a pupil] after him, however he saw the grandfather in the paddock, who said that the boy was sick; he was all bruised.

The following day,

... turned up to school today and denied what the grandfather had said. This boy has been frequently kept away to do man's work.¹¹⁵

Mauriohooho wrote to ask advice about a pupil

who turned fourteen on the 7th of July last year had not been attending for several weeks before the Term holidays. His father wishes to know if he could keep him home to assist him on the farm.

¹¹⁰TKLB, [1941 03 07]

¹¹¹TKLB, [1941 03 28] See BAAA 1001/29b [1941 05 09]: "...poor attendances ...due ...illnesses, mumps and measles." Mumps were often mentioned

¹¹²TKLB, [1941 04 07] The reply unfortunately was that there was no money, and they couldn't help

¹¹³Te Kopua Logbook[1941 04 26] £962 was raised by the schools in eight months. [Barrington and Beaglehole, *Maori Schools*, p 240.]

The appeal was reported in the Department's Annual Report by T A Fletcher, Chief Inspector of Native Schools, as follows: "In 1941 I felt that our schools should make some contribution to the war effort, and I appealed to our schools for £600 to equip the Maori Battalion with a mobile canteen. In a very short space of time more than £900 had been donated, and few schools failed to contribute. The result was that we were able not only to buy the mobile canteen, but also to equip it, and on 19th August 1941, it was officially handed over by the Hon the Minister of Education to the Governor-General, as Chairman of the National Patriotic Fund Board. It was presented 'as a token of love from the children of the Native Schools of New Zealand.' The mobile canteen was with the Maori Battalion throughout the North African and Italian campaigns, and gave wonderful service." [AJHR 1946, E3, p3.]

¹¹⁴BAAA 1001/29b [1941 05 09]

¹¹⁵TKLB, [1941 05 27/28]

This boy is mentally defective and cannot concentrate but he is good on handwork and drawing. [1941 09 09]

Mauriohooho was advised that "He does not have to attend if he does not desire to do so." The use of "he" implies it was the boy's decision, which would have been quite wrong; he would not have had a choice, his father would have made the decision.

Another Uchre [sic] Party was held, in order to raise more funds to complete the work [repairing spouting around the building].¹¹⁶ In September, Mauriohooho recorded that committee meetings, which had been held at lunchtime, were now being held in the evenings.¹¹⁷ No business is recorded from the meetings, and it is possible Mauriohooho did not attend, because she lived away from the school, quite some distance across the Waipa River.

There was also, undated, a reference to a Mr Shields, a reliever; the teacher had "re-commenced duty. The teacher was absent for ten days."¹¹⁸

During Term Three, Mauriohooho reported considerable difficulty with her senior boys.

I regret indeed to have the occasion of punishing four of my senior boys today for an entire baseful [sic] act towards the girls, emanated by ... , a child under the care of the Child Welfare Officer. Don was punished this morning for disobedience.¹¹⁹

Through October and into November, one pupil was in much strife. On one occasion he was " ... devoting his time to reading a story book instead of writing his essay." and on another occasion he was " ... wilfully destroying pages of his essay exercise book."

Later, Mauriohooho

Sent three pupils to gather up weeds on the paths. Suddenly one of them disappeared and several men went out to search for him. I was given to understand this morning he was found in the river clinging to the bank. Previous to the above incident I scolded him for being light handed."¹²⁰

One morning, two of the pupils asked to go out for a drink. They did not return, and were eventually found at Raurimu. Presumably, they had made their way to Te Awamutu, a distance of at least nine miles, got on the overnight express train, and managed to stay on it for several hours, until they got to Raurimu. One returned to school as soon as they were returned to Te Kopua, but the other was kept away until the following Monday to give him time to calm down.¹²¹

Eventually, the latter pupil was taken away from school to work on a farm.¹²²

¹¹⁶TKLB, [1941 06 25]

¹¹⁷TKLB, [1941 09 11]

¹¹⁸Recorded as 20 half days in the attendance return: BAAA 1001/29b [1941 08 22]

¹¹⁹TKLB, [1941 09 23]

¹²⁰TKLB, [1941: 10 07 - 11 04]

¹²¹TKLB, [1941 12 02] Raurimu is some 30-40 kilometres south of Taumarunui.

¹²²TKLB, [1941 12 15]

This was the only serious episode of discipline breaking down that is recorded in the Te Kopua files.¹²³ Mauriohooho did not report them to the department, and the inspector who later read the entries did not comment in writing, although no doubt he did ask her about them. I would judge that, given the behaviour of the boys, they and Sarah Mauriohooho were under quite considerable stress. It is unlikely that Mauriohooho had a colleague or friend to turn to for support and advice, and I am quite certain the boys would have got little sympathy from the adults of the community. It should be remembered also that one of them was under the care of the Child Welfare Department and, because the pupil was able to leave school and go to work on a farm, was at least fifteen years old.

Mauriohooho had occasion in November to telegraph the Department:

Unable open school today canoe disappeared mooring yesterday. Writing. [1941 11 10]¹²⁴
The Examination return for 1941 recorded irregular attendance affecting four pupils out of the 18 pupils, with one entry qualified by the comment, "through sickness." The pupil concerned was aged 9.4 years, and it was 7 months only since entering school, and was promoted from Primer 1 to Primer 2, for he had been "Ill, in hospital several years." Another, aged 15.8 years, after 10.8 years since entering her first school, went from Form I to Form II; she was a "Sickly child"; the only comment on the girls. Molly Tamaki was promoted from Form II to Form III; there was no mention of a certificate being awarded, or whether she went on the secondary school. [1941 12 20]

The early weeks of 1942 were apparently uneventful, but the calm was disturbed by two pupils who broke a window-pane after school in the attempt to get at the apples. They were seen in the act by Mrs Joe Searancke. No action was at that time taken, it seems, for a few days later two other pupils entered the school by unlatching the window through the broken panel; they opened the case of apples and took some. The boys were state boys under the care of Mrs and Mr Panapa; they had children at the school, and Mr Panapa was a committee member.

A committee meeting was held during the lunch hour in order to have the boys present.¹²⁵ The grandfather of one of the boys proposed that further punishment should be imposed upon the boys, but after a lengthy discussion it was decided to let them off as it was a first

¹²³Later episodes recorded by R H Tawhiri were not, I believe, nearly as serious.

¹²⁴BAAA 1001/29b [1941 12 19]: "Mr Hughes took the canoe and the children and I could not get across the river"

¹²⁵ That was a very rare, innovative idea. I don't doubt the boys heard some pretty straight talking, but at least they were there, part of the process.

offence. The father of the other was not present at the meeting, nor did his boys attend school that day.¹²⁶

A visit by the Public Health Nurse revealed children with defects in their teeth, with scabies, and with signs of tubercular infection. Those in the preparatory classes with defects to their teeth were to attend the dental clinic Te Awamutu, but the dental nurse there already had her hands full.

In February 1942, Fred Searancke wrote to the Department [in pencil]:

Our school at Te Kopua has been Closed almost a week now on account of our Teacher being sick. Children coming to School every Morning have to be Sent home. Hoping to hear from you. [1942 02 20]

The Department telegraphed Searancke that "Mr John Paraone relieving teacher will commence duty tomorrow. [1942 03 02]¹²⁷ Paraone left no traces in the school record.

Te Kopua was closed for ten days during Term I, 1942 due to "teacher illness."¹²⁸

Shortly after, Mauriohooho had car troubles, and was very late to school, but she "worked through,"¹²⁹ which I presume meant she worked on past the normal school closing time, to have the school open the required number of hours, which of course meant that the children also 'worked through'. I wonder what they thought of that?

The inspector was due immediately after the May holidays, but a

... misunderstanding made me two hours late for school as the canoe was on the other side of the river when I landed and the children and I had to wait until Mr J Hughes returned. [1942 05 25]

There was no response, so she sent a copy of the original, whereupon the Department responded that it did not reply because the inspector was due shortly after, and she would be discussing the issue with him.

The inspection was carried out to be W T Parsonage, making his only visit to Te Kopua. Parsonage must have read the record, for he took precautions:

I shall be visiting your school on the 4th of June. Would you kindly arrange to have a canoe available to convey me across the river? [1942 05 26]

Parsonage continued the emphasis upon whether or not classes were combined for teaching different aspects of the curriculum. In 1942, he reported, the Primer classes were taken collectively for English, Recitation,¹³⁰ Singing, Word Building, Handwork, and Drawing,

¹²⁶*TKLB*, [1942: April entries] A committee taking care when it should. I appreciate from this distance the action they took; it was active, responsive, and supportive. We could do with more like it still!

¹²⁷The Department also informed the Public Service Commissioner that "John Paraone is assistant Paeroa Native School. I have to seek confirmation of my action in transferring Mr Paraone temporarily to Te Kopua Native School, and authority to pay him an allowance of £70 while in charge of this school." [1942 03 02]

¹²⁸BAAA 1001/29b [1941 05 08]

¹²⁹*TKLB*, [1942 04 22 & 05 04]

¹³⁰I would be surprised if they were *not* combined for Recitation at least some of the time, though I also remind myself that an activity called 'Choral Speaking' was often taken, it being a *class* or other group 'reciting' poems. It *may* have been the case that the children were meant to learn, and recite on demand, a selection of poems. I do not remember having to 'recite' in my school career.

but separately for Reading and Number-work. Parsonage gave no direct indication that Mauriohooho should not be taking the Primers collectively, but under Organisation, he advised her to endeavour to grade the work for the different Primers in Word Building, English and Recitation, as she had done in Reading and Number.¹³¹ That advice could be interpreted as a criticism of the collective teaching.¹³² Standards I, III, and VI were taught separately. [1942 06 04] It was a positive report:

GENERAL: Conscientious work is being done. Suggest drill and speed work in fundamental processes in arithmetic. A start could also be made in simple Dramatization, and in Maori arts and crafts. Some good sewing was seen.

I do not understand the suggestion that a start could be made in simple Dramatization and Maori arts and crafts”, for the report of November 1940 recorded that Maori crafts were being taught. The same applies to dramatization; A H Denne in March 1937 suggested Mauriohooho separated P3 and S1 into two groups for Oral English and Dramatization.

In another episode which indicated Sarah Mauriohooho's frequent determination to 'do things by the book', she recorded:

The Chairman of the school Mr Joe Searancke who was attending the Tangi for Mr Tami asked me to bring the children along to attend the funeral as the children were all related to the decease. [sic] I worked the time in by giving no play-time and short lunch hour. At 2pm I closed school in order to attend the funeral at 2.30pm.¹³³

In August, Mauriohooho reported there had been poor attendance due to sickness and floods but the floods did not cause her to close the school. [1942 08 22]

Term II 1942 was a bad one for weather, and for sickness, and it was not helped by the difficulty over the canoes. Responding to Mauriohooho's Attendance Return, the Department asked her to explain the irregular attendances of the children. [1942 09 04] In her reply, Mauriohooho gave details of the attendances only of those children who had absences for *more than* 20 half-days, of whom there were thirteen out of a total roll of 27.¹³⁴ Eight children, with absences ranging from 24 to 66 half-days, were affected by illness and extremely bad weather. One boy missed 30 consecutive school days because of a dispute over the canoe. Four children, absences ranging from 70 to 132 half-days, were affected by illness, weather, and

[an] unreliable canoe by which these children were being ferried, especially during floods. It draws in water, by the time it reaches one side of the river it is almost full.

¹³¹I realised, when reading the inspection report, that Parsonage had used 'Number', instead of 'Arithmetic'. I checked back, and found the term had been used at least as far back as 1938. In my career, 'Number' was the standard term in the Primers [later Infants], for many years, but by the late 1970s we were using 'Maths'.

¹³²My own experience suggests that, unless taken very sensitively, collective, ie group, teaching in Reading and Number especially was fraught with difficulty for the children..

¹³³BAAA 1001/29b [1942 06 29]

¹³⁴She was teaching them on her own!

Mr Parkinson had an experience of it when he visited the school in June last.¹³⁵ [1942 09 22]
Mauriohooho enclosed a supporting letter from E J Dobson, District Health Nurse, who reported:

I fully agree with Miss Mauriohooho, especially the last five months. 1/ extremely wet weather conditions, 2/ Sickness, 3/ Trouble between parents as regards transport of children, one canoe being safer than the other.

As regards: 1/ Te Kopua is the wettest area on my district. Latter half of winter and all of spring there has been an unusual amount of rain in the Waikato. On my last 2 visits to Te Kopua through water logged paddocks to the homes and down slippery bog of the banks to river in flood I have marvelled that school has still been held daily. 2/ Sickness was fairly general, partly caused by damp winter conditions and prevented from being more acute by daily use of cod liver oil in school. 3/ The safer of the 2 canoes is at present used. The parents have been warned that with sickness lessening the conditions advancing the children's attendance must be improved upon; progress towards this has been shown in the last week with some fine weather.

E J Dobson, DHN [1942 09 22]

There was no immediate response to those two letters; I would have expected the canoe that filled with water to have elicited some action, more particularly given that Parsonage had had first-hand experience of it. There is no evidence he advised any action.

In the first episode of its kind, Mauriohooho took the children into Te Awamutu on an 'educational' visit. As the preparatory classes were requested to attend the Dental Clinic " ... on Thursday I thought it would be a good opportunity to take the Seniors to go through the Dairy Factory at Te Awamutu, printing press and brick-works. In spite of wet weather the children expressed of having a wonderful time and experience. Mr Fitzell kindly assisted me to convey the children. On the eve of the breaking up the children entertained their parents and relatives at the pa. They sang Maori action songs, recited pois and school songs.¹³⁶

The 1942 Examination Return listed Winnie Searancke and Kora Tamaki received Primary School Certificates. Two boys were "late commencing school". One, aged 15.4, was "just entered 5 weeks," and the other, aged 9.3 years, 1.5 since entering his first school, was going from Primer 4 to Standard 1. All the girls, but only six out of the 14 boys, had the remark "Good" beside their names. No girls, but three boys, were annotated "W; Attendance irregular".¹³⁷ One boy was still judged "Mentally defective." [1942 12 16] Again, the boys who had not started school at age 5 years stand out.¹³⁸ What will be difficult to find is *why* the long delay before they started school.

¹³⁵What did *he* do about it?

¹³⁶*TKLB*, [1942: December entries.]

¹³⁷'W': ie weak.

¹³⁸I certainly do not remember any children in that category during my school career, and I will be interested to see if others are found at other Native Schools.

A letter from Dr C E Beeby to Edward Beet revealed that Te Kopua had been closed most of Term I of 1943:

... For some time the school has been conducted by a very fine Maori woman whose health, however, has broken down as a result of strained relations with some of the parents of her pupils. Owing to these difficulties she has for some time been forced to travel daily between the school and her home at Parawera. [She] ... should not on any account resume duty. In the absence of accommodation for a European lady, school has had to be closed for the greater part of the first term.

In normal times the Department could employ a young man, who would no doubt be willing to board with the leading Maori, a Mr Searancke, but, as you will readily understand, it is quite impossible now for me to secure the services on an unmarried male teacher. I could employ a European lady teacher if suitable board were available, and it is here that I am hoping you will be able to help me, in the interests of the twenty or so children whose education is being adversely affected. As soon as circumstances permit the Department has in mind the desirability of acquiring a site, and erecting a residence for the teacher, but, as you will understand, it is a difficult under present conditions to have buildings erected urgently in isolated communities. [1943 05 11]

Edward Beet was unable to help.

From the logbook, it seems that Sarah Mauriohooho opened the school on 1 February, 1943, for she made an entry on 9 February.¹³⁹ The committee noted that Miss Mauriohooho was suffering from exhaustion and nervous breakdown, and, they understood, was leaving teaching, so they resolved to ask the Department for a permanent teacher.¹⁴⁰ The school was closed for two periods during Term I because Mauriohooho was absent, the first period was for thirty days, the second for fifteen days.¹⁴¹ However, by 24 May R H Tawhiri had been appointed relieving teacher at the school.

Thus did Sarah Mauriohooho disappear from the record. There is no record of a letter of sympathy or thanks in the file!

It seems to have been an unhappy ending to what I understand to have been a long and, undoubtedly, an honourable, career.¹⁴²

¹³⁹*TKLB*, [1943: February entries.]

¹⁴⁰*TKLB*, [1943 04 20]

¹⁴¹BAAA 1001/29b [1943 05 07]

¹⁴²There is Mauriohooho family history to include in due time. The Mauriohooho family is still actively involved in hapu activities in the Waikato, and a leading elder is actively involved with the Waikato Museum of Art and History in Hamilton.

1943 - 1944

Riwai Hirinui Tawhiri

Riwai Hirinui Tawhiri and Maria Tawhiri first appeared in the record in 1912 at Karetu Native School. Riwai Tawhiri was the third Maori person to be appointed Headteacher of a Native School.¹ McConnell records that

In 1912 this school [Karetu] provided ‘... a striking instance of what can be done in the direction of making a school glebe attractive and productive ... ‘ as well as attaining satisfactory teaching standards.²

The Tawhiris transferred to Wharekahika in 1917, and were still there when the Native School teachers listing last appeared as part of the Department’s Annual Report to Parliament in 1929. Tawhiri apparently came out of retirement to relieve at Te Kopua. Maria Tawhiri does not appear in the Te Kopua record.

Tawhiri took charge of Te Kopua Native School on 24 May 1943, with an attendance of 15. He

... met three of the Committee members, including the Chairman Mr Searancke and the Secretary, Mr Panapa, at whose invitation I was made comfortable at his residence where permanent board is offered me. My impression of the people is of the best. They are keen for the progress and welfare of their children and the school, and I find the pupils of the Te Kopua Native School as clean³ and free of sores as their homes and families. I am looking forward to achieving some good results with such earnest and thoughtful men and women as my supporters: I informed Miss Mauriohooho of my appointment as relieving teacher, and she promised to send the school records etc by the first available and safe means.⁴

Tawhiri's priority was, it seems, pupils " ... as clean and free of sores as their homes and families." It was an interesting aspect to emphasise; its significance is less easy to assess.

Outoffices again exercised the attention of the people of Te Kopua, the teacher, and the Department.⁵ In March, Wm Kohi, of Kopua Flats, Otorohanga, requested, through Mr W J Broadfoot MP,⁶ that the lavatories at the Kopua School be modernised. "They are in a very bad state at present." [1943 03 09] The Department wrote to the Auckland Education Board:

¹ McConnell, Robin, *Taua of Kareponia*, p 111.

² McConnell, Robin, *Taua of Kareponia*, p 144, reporting from the Department’s Annual Report of 1912.

³ There used to be an old saying, that for Victorians, Cleanliness came before Godliness. The Victorians had a long arm!

⁴ Te Kopua logbook, [TKLB], [1943 05 24] I am surprised Mauriohooho had taken the records with her.

⁵ I’m not going to do a count, but outoffices, [privies or toilets] took up an inordinate amount of Departmental, teacher, and community time!

⁶ MP for Waitomo.

This school is held on property that does not belong to the Department, and I⁷ shall be glad, therefore, if the Board's Architect will let me have an estimate of the cost of replacing the outoffices, the new buildings to be built on skids.

The board's architect replied that as they were not likely be used elsewhere, and as better specifications would have to be used, including heavy timber for skids, he considered a cheap type of outoffice would meet the position. Also, a concrete floor was better than wood. He thought that if a grant of £24.0.0 was made to the School Committee, some local arrangement could be made for the lavatories to be built. The Department therefore wrote to Tawhiri, asking him to ascertain whether, if the Department supplied the necessary materials, would the Committee erect the outoffices? [1943 04 12]⁸

Tawhiri entered in the logbook a considerable list of improvements,⁹ many of which he conveyed to the Department in a letter two days later:

The children of the above school need a shelter shed urgently.¹⁰ How they managed before this is beyond my sense of duty for the comfort and health of pupils under any teacher's charge.

Concrete assembly ground is also needed to counteract the slush and mud of winter.¹¹ The school site is on a low lying ground around which the water lodges whenever there is rain of any consequence.

A shelter belt, with a few trees for shade, is necessary to break the bleak and cold blasts from the South to which the children are exposed, having no means of protection other the [sic]¹² wall of the small building which had served their grandparents for the best part of 58 years.

The question of a good 8 wire fence has to be considered in conjunction with the above improvements to the school property. The Committee members are unanimous in their offer of assistance in the carrying out of any suggestions which may meet with the approval of the Department in connection with the proposals which I have outlined for the betterment and comfort of the present and future pupils of the above school.

I remain,

Faithfully Yours,

PS The school clock is beyond repair. The ferrying of the children is outstanding for the past quarter. The owner of the school site is prepared to give half an acre provided the Department meet his costs in procuring the section at the original price.¹³ [1943 05 31]

All these issues had a history, often quite lengthy, and none of them was achieved in Tawhiri's time at the school, or in the years after; the possibility of a new school building would have been used as sufficient reason to delay a decision. Also, it was wartime, and that imposed considerable constraints.

In June, Tawhiri again referred to the possible change of ownership of the school site, amplified in a subsequent letter from the Department:

⁷ Name not recorded.

⁸In March 1947, after much discussion, correspondence, encouragement, etc, the Auckland Education Board eventually informed the Department that "... the above work has been completed at a cost of £23 12.8." It took almost four years to the day to get those toilets into place. Comment is unnecessary!

⁹*TKLB*, [1943 05 29]

¹⁰ That is not the first time a shelter shed has been the subject of discussion [1896, 1908, 1930]; I had thought one had been built in 1930. In the case of Te Kopua, it is not always wise to think!

¹¹ Yes, even in sole charge schools it was considered necessary to line the children up before entering school. In the later years of my career, for good pedagogical reasons I stopped lining children up, except for emergency drill.

¹²A Department official had pencilled in "than".

¹³Tawhiri, as the record reveals, was a man of clear and forthright opinions, and he was not loath to implicitly criticise his predecessors.

I note that the owner of the school property is prepared to give half an acre as a site for a Government school building, and this offer will be borne in mind in the event of a decision being made to provide a new school.
[1943 06 10]

We are reminded that there was a war on by the final sentence in that letter:

... no clocks in stock, and it is not possible to buy them. [1943 06 10]

Also in June, Tawhiri recorded his displeasure that parents were not getting their children to school.

[parents] ... lack in the proper acceptance of their plain duty of improving the efficiency¹⁴ of the school throughout by good attendance.

Also that month he severely disciplined a pupil:

[who] became notorious by drawing impure sketches of male sexual organs in his school exercise book now in teacher keeping for future reference if he dare make himself a menace to the moral welfare of the children. ... six good cuts across the hands.¹⁵

Tawhiri obviously continued to be unhappy about the irregular attendance of his pupils, for at the end of July he reported that

A special meeting of parents and Committee was held for the purpose of "rallying" the children to attend better. The Secretary read the Regs to the committee, especially the clause relating to the important subject of daily attendance. The chairman ... dwelt on it at some length, urging upon every parent the duty of supporting the teacher by compelling their children to come to school regularly.¹⁶

This is in contrast to Tawhiri's enthusiastic endorsement of the community when he arrived at Te Kopua. I wonder also whether Tawhiri ever considered that one important element in attendance is the behaviour of the teacher!

For the first time in the record, a teacher was reporting considerable corporal punishment. In one case the culprits got two cuts on the hands each for playing in the dirt at the very door steps, and in another case, when two boys were caught fighting, one received 12 cuts on his seat, the other six.¹⁷

During Term II the school was closed for two days through Tawhiri being absent, two days because of heavy rain and flood, and ten days because of *torrential* rain and *heavy* flood.¹⁸

The special meeting of the Committee and parents about attendance appears to have had positive results. For the first time since he arrived, Tawhiri could report a full attendance.¹⁹ It should have been more worrying to him that the upper standard girls were slowing down in their zeal, were not reading much at home, and were not committing good English 'verse and prose' to memory as they had done formerly. The library books were not being well treated,

¹⁴This was an interesting use of words; it reflects the use of the term in inspection reports, and its significance rests on its importance, by 1943 historical, in assessing the salary of the Headteacher. That Departmental notion of a *school* being 'efficient' always intrigued me, though I don't think I have commented on it until now.

¹⁵TKLB, [1943: June entries]

¹⁶TKLB, [1943 07 31] "... *supporting the teacher.*" I thought it was for the good of the *children*. The use of 'compelling' might also be significant; he could more positively used 'encouraged'.

¹⁷TKLB, [1943: August entries.]

¹⁸BAAA 1001/29b: [1943 08 20] Emphasis added.

¹⁹TKLB, [1943 08 05]

and were only to be taken out under supervision.²⁰ While Tawhiri was implicitly blaming the girls, from another perspective it is possible to argue that the girls did not like the way Riwai Tawhiri ran the school, and, probably unconsciously, reacted accordingly.²¹

Bad behaviour seems to have become endemic. One pupil stole a blue pencil, which he broke and tried to hide, and he stole a rubber out of the teacher's sewing box.²² Later in the month,

... a welfare pupil, already mentioned on several occasions as a 'low minded' and disrespectful sort of boy, brought on himself the displeasure of the children²³ and teacher by his unholy question of "Teacher, who made God?" As he had been well warned for previous unbearable remarks and filthy sketches, he was punished by strapping across the seat 24 cuts, with a final warning that the Welfare Officer will despatch him to some Borstal Institution to save other children from being contaminated by his example.²⁴

That extract raises at least two questions: Is it wrong to ask the question "Who made God?", and, the legality of administering 24 cuts to any part of the body? The answer to the second question is a clear "No." The answer to the first is less clear, but to treat the pupil as Tawhiri did is, I believe, unconscionable. As I will note later, no Inspector annotated the entries Tawhiri made in the logbook. At least he obeyed that part of the regulations, that punishments be entered in the logbook, or, in later years at east in Education Board schools, in a Punishment Book.

For the third time in five months there was a full attendance, and, in what I can only describe as an unusual move, Tawhiri held some examinations on a Saturday morning in order to secure better results in a quiet and undistracted empty schoolroom.²⁵ One can sense a hangover from 'payment by results' days, or from Proficiency days, or perhaps from both.

There was more bad behaviour in December. One pupil, who had already been involved in misdemeanours on several previous occasions, was caught cheating and copying arithmetic answers, using old sums, and fraudulently entering and altering dates.²⁶ Punishment was meted out by Mr Panapa,²⁷ the punishments including the pupil being deprived of the leadership of a group, and forfeiting any prize which might have been awarded. In a footnote, Tawhiri recorded that "The boy expressed regret and was forgiven of the misdeeds." There were more rough actions, including a hurt head, recorded in similar language.²⁸

Meanwhile, in June the story of the outoffices continued. The Department wrote to Tawhiri, asking whether, if the Department supplied the materials, the committee would erect them.

²⁰*TKLB*, [1943 08 29]

²¹Ultimately, with a limited number of exceptions, pupil behaviour is a reaction to teacher behaviour.

²²*TKLB*, [1943 11 12]

²³I do have to wonder if the *children* were displeased.

²⁴*TKLB*, [1943 11 23]

²⁵*TKLB*, [1943 11 24]

²⁶This judgmental teacher, ie myself, wonders whether supervision was as good as it might have been!

²⁷School committee member and the pupil's guardian.

[1943 06 24] Tawhiri responded that the committee was only too willing. [1943 06 29] The Department [again] consulted the Auckland Education Board architect, and nearly three months later informed the committee he had suggested either that the Committee obtain the materials from Te Awamutu at a cost of about £24, which would probably be more convenient, or, that the Department could procure and deliver the necessary materials. [1943 09 15] Tawhiri replied that

Mr Panapa is making a special trip to Te Awamutu to see about the material for the out-offices of the school. [1943 09 30]²⁹

An ongoing frustration was the payment for ferrying children across the Waipa River. Tawhiri wrote, detailing the necessary payments, and continued:

To stop further unsatisfactory ferrying arrangements, I advise the Department to provide a boat and let the job be done by members of the Searancke family who are in dead earnest that the school should continue for the benefit of their children who should bear in memory the efforts of their grandfather Charles Searancke (Junior, deceased) and whose daughter and people are willing to let the Department have full control of the School as per previous communication.

An alternative to the above, the secretary of the School Committee, Mr P Panapa submits that the Department provides the means and the Chairman and Mr Panapa himself will do the job personally, and whatever money may be forthcoming for ferrying is to be paid to the Funds of the Committee for the benefit of the School in general.³⁰ [1943 06 17]

The Department apparently did not make the necessary payment, for Tawhiri telegraphed:

Remuneration for ferrying children much over date. Ferryman requests immediate attention. [1943 10 11]

While that episode was continuing, Tawhiri wrote to the Department to raise the matter of "... the children's handwork, especially Sewing and Weaving." He wished to appoint a local lady to supervise and teach those subjects; there was a suitable person by the name of Hoana Searancke, 19 years of age, an old Proficiency Certificate holder of Te Kopua, who was also "... adept in Maori songs and Poi dance, and altogether a fine and congenial personality." [1943 06 28]

The Department wrote to Tawhiri, asking what the roll prospects for Te Kopua were, and, what were Miss Searancke's qualifications for appointment as a Junior Assistant. Had she, for instance, had any post-primary education? Tawhiri responded that Miss Searancke had not had a post-primary education, but in all other respects, she was head and shoulders above most of those who had had the privilege of a secondary school training.³¹ Her English, he reported, was perfect, and her discipline and control, as shown in her management of the large Searancke household, which included nine children, of whom six were attending school, was excel-

²⁸TKLB, [1943: December entries.]

²⁹As late as August 1944, the sanitary pans apparently still had not arrived

³⁰As I have previously noted, in my career school committees often did work the payment for which went into school funds. The offer made by these two parents, however, went well beyond the 'call of duty'!

³¹Note Tawhiri's use of 'training'. The Admission Register records Hoana Searancke entering Te Kopua on 17 November 1938, [date of birth 18 07 1924], from the home of Charlie Searancke, and leaving on 15 December 1939 from FII. There was no mention of Proficiency [It was

lent. As for the roll prospects, there would be six of school age for the next quarter, while there were twenty on the roll at that time. [1943 06 28]

A departmental official, in a memorandum on Tawhiri's letter, wrote "No appointment at present." Consequently, Tawhiri was informed that as the roll was only 20, a Junior Assistant could not be appointed. However, Tawhiri could arrange for Miss Searancke, in a voluntary capacity, to help with the teaching of Maori handwork to the children. Tawhiri replied that Hoana Searancke would work in a voluntary capacity for the ensuing quarter to teach Handwork and other Maori craft.³²

Tawhiri was persistent. The roll had reached twentyfive, and would be thirty before much longer. Hoana Searancke's home duties and other responsibilities, he advised, would not permit her to volunteer any assistance. However, Tawhiri's grand-niece, Queenie, was still with him; could she be utilised?³³ [1943 09 07] Tawhiri had let the cat out of the bag; the Department was surprised that his grandniece was still with him. In view of assistance that was to be granted to her, the Department had expected her to return to Nelson to continue her post-primary education. What were the circumstances which caused her to remain at Te Kopua? ³⁴ [1943 09 30]

The outoffices continued to exercise the attention of the people of Te Kopua, the teacher, and the Department. At the committee meeting in October, it was decided that Tawhiri would explore the prospect of new outoffices.³⁵

At the end of October, Tawhiri wrote a long letter to the department. It opened with explanations of why requisitions had not been forwarded, and went on to detail at some length matters of attendance, illness, and teaching.³⁶

Half a dozen other children, all on the other side of the Waipa River, four of whom are in the Standards, and are attending the Board School at Pokuru, will be coming ... to take advantage of the facilities offered at the Native School, such as free books and Scholarships.³⁷

But for the heavy primer division and the three upper form girls that we have here, I would have encouraged them all to come now in order to take advantage of the new classification³⁸ for the end of the year.

Our Upper Form girls are well forward in the two essential subjects, viz, English and Arithmetic and are anxious to secure places in our Native Secondary Institutions.³⁹

1939, when Proficiency had been abolished.] or any other certificate. The Register was annotated "Home - had no desire to attend secondary school."

³² Hoana was already, at the age of nineteen, managing a large household. I am not surprised Tawhiri later advised that she was already too busy; I suspect he had suggested she be employed without consulting either Hoana or her father. That would be in character for Tawhiri.

³³ Pura and Mrs Panapa must have been boarding both Riwai Tawhiri and Queenie.

³⁴ There the matter seemed to rest; there was no sign of a reply by Tawhiri, or further queries, or any action, by the Department.

³⁵ Te Kopua Committee Minutes, [1943 10 15]

³⁶ In an unquoted section of the letter, Tawhiri wrote 'dribbs' and 'drabbs'; a Departmental official could not resist putting a stroke through the extra 'b' in each word! Tawhiri apparently was not appraised of his mis-spellings.

³⁷ By implication, those were two differences from Board schools.

³⁸ By "new classification" it is probable Tawhiri meant the classification the school would have had when its roll entitled it to a Junior Assistant, or another trained assistant. The following February the committee discussed the issue of an additional assistant at the school. I cannot think what else he might have meant.

Unfortunately, Influenza, colds and some contagious skin troubles have broken out amongst us and two entire families - the Emerys and the Hughes - are affected with one or the other of the above complaints at present. For the past three weeks the children of the home at which I am boarding had their turn. It all but claimed me. I am still "seedy" as it were, but I believe the advent of dry weather will make a big difference to the health and general outlook of us all in this damp locality.

Before concluding, I have to beg to be forgiven for this apparent oversight and almost inexcusable oversight. With all this seeming disregard, your humble servant is expending every ounce of energy in the work of Educating the young of the race to which he is proud to belong and grateful to be of some service still, to the Department.

I am,

Very gratefully,

Yours, [1943 10 31]

The Department did not reply. Why Tawhiri wrote such a letter is unclear.⁴⁰

The Chairman of the committee is recorded as saying:

A certain party in the community were favouring the erection of a new school on the opposite side of the river. They were offering a suitable site and only wanted the Dept's approval.⁴¹

Mr Tawhiri explained that he was drawn in to this matter but never at any time was he a party to their suggestions, although he enlightened them on the law governing Native Schools. T Emery and C Tamaki spoke strongly on it as being only a rumour and suggested that until such time as this party took concrete action they should treat the matter lightly.

The Chairman then up brought the matter of a certain child being dismissed late from school. The Headmaster explained that it wasn't the lateness of dismissal but that the child dwardled [sic] home, also the senior boy appointed as time-keeper failed to carry out his duty.⁴²

Later committee minutes record that

The breaking up and prize giving were successfully carried out in spite of the rain. Mr Tawhiri worked untiringly and great admiration for his work is the only thought left as he hurriedly made his Xmas exit.⁴³

Those committee minutes record discussion on the outoffices; there was " ... immediate need before school reopens." They also discussed the possibility of raising funds by holding a Euchre⁴⁴ party, and set two dates.⁴⁵ [1943 12 17]

In December, Tawhiri wrote to the Department to inform it that there were two definite offers for a school site. Both were on the opposite side of the Waipa River, and both were central and healthy. Also, four acres of Church of England land adjacent to the Searancke's property where the old School stood was available at £10 an acre. [1943 12 04]

³⁹ By that I presume Tawhiri was referring to Maori high school such as Te Aute, Hukarere, and St Stephens.

⁴⁰ An unkind person might suggest it was to satisfy his ego.

⁴¹ Te Kopua Committee Minutes, [1943 12 00]

⁴² Te Kopua Committee Minutes, [1943 12 00] Again, Tawhiri blaming someone else.

⁴³ Te Kopua Committee Minutes, [1943 12 17] "Break-up. Mr Tawhiri offered to get the special prizes out of his own pocket." [Te Kopua Committee Minutes, [1943 12 09]]

⁴⁴ Euchre is a card game. A popular game when I was *much* younger, euchre parties were a common form of fund raising, perhaps more particularly in country districts.

⁴⁵ Later minutes suggest that the dates were not kept to.

During Term III, the school had been closed for a day to celebrate the Italian collapse, and for another day for the Maori election.⁴⁶

Beginning in April 1944 and ending three months later, in July, there was correspondence between the Education Department, the Native Department, and the Native Land Court concerning sites for a new school. The Native Department eventually tried to hurry the Education Department, but the latter was not to be hurried; it would not make a decision until an inspector had visited the district.

Tawhiri in February wrote to inform the Department of the committee for 1944: Wiremu P Herangi: Chairman; Pura N Panapa: Secretary; Committeemen: Charlie Tamaki, Frederick Searancke, Thomas Emery, Joe Tamaki, Mori J Hughes. [1944 02 07]

That first committee meeting for 1944, held quite early in January⁴⁷ at the Mission Station, discussed the proposed new outhouses, and the Auckland Education Board architect's specifications.⁴⁸ Tawhiri continued the pressure on the Department about the outhouses in his letter of early February.⁴⁹

Present at the February committee meeting were J Searancke chair, Panapa sec, T Emery, W Kohi, F Searancke, Jack Hughes, Tipa Tamaki, G W Fitzell, Ngahihi Hughes. Waina Hughes was also present.⁵⁰

That meeting again discussed raising funds, and the possible use of the Maori Pa at Matakai;⁵¹ the Pa hire was 10/- per night. The idea was readily agreed on. The next month they arranged, after lengthy discussion, to hold euchre parties alternately at the school and at the Pa. Mr Emery stressed that to defray expenses everybody should take along something to eat. There would be 10/- for prize money and the charge for players would be 2/-. That February meeting also discussed the outhouses, the payment for canoe ferrying, and an assistant in the school; it noted that, in the interim, Miss Kohi was a voluntary assistant.

The committee in February also discussed a trip to Wellington; why the trip was made, and who made the trip, is not stated. Tawhiri explained about the [unspecified] payments, and " ... seemed to convey the general idea that everything was alright."⁵²

⁴⁶BAAA 1001/29b: [1943: Term III entries] The "Italian collapse" is interesting, for the Italian campaign in World War II continued to the end of the war in May 1945. He was probably marking, for reasons perhaps specific to Te Kopua or to himself, the end of what was in effect a civil war in Italy in favour of the forces wishing to end the hostilities. [See Wight, Esmond [General Editor], *History of the World: The Last Five Hundred Years*, p676.]

⁴⁷Therefore in the holidays.

⁴⁸Te Kopua Committee Minutes, [1944 01 11]

⁴⁹Te Kopua Committee Minutes, [1944 02 07]

⁵⁰Te Kopua Committee Minutes, [1944 02 07]

⁵¹The use of 'Maori' Pa by a Maori person is interesting.

⁵²Te Kopua Committee Minutes, [1944 02 28]

Riwai Tawhiri's first logbook entry for 1944 recorded that the school opened on 4 February, and that

The Public schools around us are resenting the action of the parents in sending their children to their own local Native School where the welfare and future well-being of their boys and girls are in the good hands of one of their own colour - one prepared to spend the rest of his years of usefulness among them.⁵³

Later in February, Tawhiri reported that a pupil had absented himself. The pupil had been given a detention during play hour, due to the unsatisfactory state of his work.⁵⁴ Tawhiri thought he might have resented the detention, and retaliated by absenting himself, which was not uncommon in [that] family. Tawhiri wrote that, if repeated, strong measures would prevent a repetition. The pupil attended school the following day without further ado.⁵⁵

The next day, Tawhiri sent off the requisition for supplies, considerably cut down in the most essential items, ie Reading matter and Hand Work material, etc.⁵⁶

The matter of payment for ferrying the canoe continued. Tawhiri wrote to the Department at length, reiterating information already given in earlier letters.

Having defaulted payments owners ... canoe, Mr J Hughes is no longer custodian, merely employed by the Committee which body has become custodians for all time by the sanction of the original owners who wish that their share of the conveyance money should be forwarded c/o The Secretary, Mr P N Panapa, of Te Kopua, and [he] being a highly educated and honest person, I heartily endorse the owners [sic] wishes and hereby recommend that the Department forward him the cheque for the ferryman Mr Jack Hughes also. In Mr Panapa we have a very capable Secretary and Treasurer, who will satisfy all parties concerned. [1944 05 06]

Pura Panapa followed that up a month later:

Our ferryman approached me re remuneration ... decision arrived at unanimously by canoe-owners. On behalf of his large family, five of whom are pupils attending the school ... he asks that he be paid as expeditiously as possible. [1944 06 02]⁵⁷

Panapa enclosed a typed letter, signed Jack Hughes, in which he said they were much inconvenienced, " ... with no money coming in at the present time and we are depending on it to pay for our food."

Tawhiri sent this telegram to the department:

Ferryman J Hughes reviling us non payment service rendered. Situation tense most unpleasant. [1944 06 30] which he followed up with this letter three weeks later:

Now with regard to the ferry service the Committee, driven to the extreme of its patience, has dispensed with the service of the ferryman, Mr Jack Hughes, canoe and all, bought a boat, appointed Mr Panapa in charge and commenced ferrying the children and me this week. [1944 07 21]

Tawhiri wrote another, long, letter, with much detail on the situation, and detail about Hughes and his situation. Judging from the detail in the letter, things had obviously gone badly. There was, Tawhiri wrote " friendship for all but [that parent] and his wife, who, I may as well

⁵³TKLB, [1944 02 04]

⁵⁴In my career, that was an illegal punishment; children were not to be deprived of their playtimes.

⁵⁵TKLB, [1944 02 17]

⁵⁶TKLB, [1944 02 18] WWII was still to end, and the Department had most probably asked head teachers to requisition as frugally as possible.

⁵⁷Written in pencil.

inform you, are staunch followers of the later Pro-Japanese Maori Tohunga Ratana."⁵⁸ [1944 08 03]

Tawhiri later, in a letter written to the Department shortly after he had left Te Kopua, averred that [that parent's] " ... sympathies have been alienated from the British long before the present World Struggle came into existence ... " and that [he] would not want to " ... be in constant approximation [sic] to a representative⁵⁹ of a Government whose ideals he does not intend to embrace." Tawhiri claimed that [the parent] was co-operating with the committee of the Board school at Pokuru to encourage Te Kopua parents to send their children to attend Pokuru, to the deliberate detriment of the prospects of a new school building for Te Kopua.⁶⁰

Earlier, on 6 June, Tawhiri had written in the logbook:

At long last the long awaited event - the Invasion of Europe - has come, and the liberation of oppressed nations will come soon - the King's prayer to Almighty God will receive willing response. A short prayer embracing the whole Allied cause has already been in use in the school.⁶¹

Like Mauriohoo, Tawhiri was imbued with patriotic fervour.⁶²

On 14 July there was a special meeting of the School Committee,⁶³ to plan for the committee canoe, and to deal with a pupil. The pupil, under the pretence of a lame foot, had not done his work. Tawhiri had instructed him to read his own not very good essay, but he had refused to read it. Tawhiri had then "shaken him up," but he had asked for it. The pupil had reported to his parents that he had been given a "merciless hiding", which Tawhiri wrote never took place. The committee gave the parents a day or two to decide. The pupil had told the Nurse that his lame foot was due to the teacher, but Tawhiri averred that that was not so. The committee, in a move perhaps at least partly connected with the foregoing incident, resolved to take the canoe away from [that] family.

Four days later, Tawhiri recorded that "The committee's boat for ferrying the children and teachers had commenced operating under the patronage and management of the capable and benign [Pura] Panapa who has the welfare of the children and teacher at heart."⁶⁴

Early in the new school year, Tawhiri wrote to tell the Department that

⁵⁸I sort of have memories of knowing, as a junior secondary school pupil, about the accusation, which indicates they got wide circulation. W H Oliver, Keith Sinclair and Ranginui Walker all ignore the item. Laurie Barber has this to say: "Conscientious objectors were not the only victims of war-time hysteria. After war had been declared against Japan in December 1941, the Ratana community near Wanganui was accused of signalling to Japanese submarines at night. The flimsy base of this erroneous accusation was a pre-war visit to Japan of the community's leader, Tahupotiki Wiremu Ratana." [Barber, Laurie [L H], *New Zealand: A Short History*, p 148.] It is interesting that Tawhiri should have 'bought into' the hysteria.

⁵⁹That is, a teacher on the school site beside Hughes property.

⁶⁰[Undated; received in the Department 1944 09 04].

⁶¹*TKLB*, [1944 06 06]

⁶²I am minded again of W W Bird confidently writing in the Annual Report of the Department in 1915: " ... there can be no doubt that the Native schools have played an important part in creating feelings of patriotism and loyalty in the young Maoris, and that the policy of the Government in establishing a system of education for them has been a wise one." *AJHR* E3 1915, p 11.

⁶³*TKLB*, [1944 07 14]

⁶⁴*TKLB*, [1944 07 19]

The two Form II girls, Doris Hughes and Esther Emery, are attending school, and are getting Form III tuition, but I would prefer coaching them in their subjects if the Department forwarded weekly lessons, etc. They are both desirous of going to St Joseph's, Napier, if scholarships are offered them. [1944 02 07]

The Department replied that they could be enrolled with the Correspondence School but work, if he wished, at school under his supervision. They could not be included on the roll.⁶⁵

In the same letter, Tawhiri made a strong case for a Junior Assistant.

The primers are a handful in themselves, for a sole teacher. I would appreciate the services of a junior assistant if the school is to make good progress this term. [1944 02 07]

He had engaged Miss Waina Kohi, who had spent two years at Hukarere, and was a keen and enthusiastic young aspirant for the teaching profession, to help him in the school. He also

thanked the Department for giving me another term at Te Kopua and trusting that we will prove ourselves worthy of the honour and confidence placed in us. [1944 02 07]

That comment implies that the Department had been unable to find a permanent replacement for Sarah Mauriohooho.

The Department seemed willing to appoint a Junior Assistant if suitable accommodation for an educated Maori girl of the type employed in Native Schools was available. While it accepted that Tawhiri considered Waina Kohi suitable with her two years of post primary schooling, the Department preferred junior assistants to have had more post primary schooling than that. It thought it might be wise perhaps to appoint Waina Kohi in the event of no more highly qualified applicant being available, or in the event of no suitable board being available. It also trusted that "engaged the services of Miss Kohi" would not have led her to believe she was on the salary list. Tawhiri was well aware, the Department hoped, that no head teacher had the right to appoint an assistant without receiving prior permission from the department. [1944 02 21]

Tawhiri replied that his engagement of Kohi's services was merely in a 'voluntary manner' with the view of recommending her if she proved suitable. Miss Kohi, he wrote, proved to be a model type of a girl, one who would do successfully in a classroom. Her desire was to qualify for Training College. She was in any case about to leave for Hukarere Maori Girls' College.⁶⁶ [1944 02 27]

Tawhiri continued by noting that because he had transferred to another house across the Waipa River, the Junior Assistant could have the room where he had been boarding with Mrs Panapa, near the School. Another advantage of his move was that he would have the supervision of the ferrying of the children daily; the responsibility had been weighing on his mind for months. Tawhiri urged the Department to treat their case as urgent. [1944 02 27] A fortnight later,

⁶⁵ The girls could have been 'Standard 7' pupils, but the option was not offered by the Department.

⁶⁶ Presumably to continue her post-primary schooling.

Tawhiri endeavoured to hurry the Department up by telegraphing "Send assistant accommodation available." [1944 03 13] to which Mr Lake⁶⁷ of the Department replied that Te Kopua would be borne in mind when a suitable candidate was available.

Tawhiri replied to Mr Lake that

I accept your decision with regard to my request for an assistant. Waina Kohi and Queenie are better at College completing their secondary Education. With the two Norman girls and a full division of Primers, with the likelihood of the roll increasing to 36 or more by the end of this term, my need of the services of an Assistant Teacher, Junior or otherwise, should be apparent and will be much appreciated. The matter of boarding is solved, and Mrs Panapa, who accommodated me so well, is only too glad to take the Assistant under her roof in the same way as she did in my case for the sake of the school. [1944 03 17]

He continued:

Many thanks for the direct reply to my earnest desire to serve my people [and Department [inserted in Department]] per medium of the native School and its many facilities for doing excellent work, especially in connection with the War Effort, during these perilous times. I am far from being discouraged, seeing relieving work, here and perhaps elsewhere, is still available for me for a fair while for which I am much more thankful, in fact, to you personally I am indebted to a very considerable degree. [1944 03 17]

Tawhiri also wrote concerning the sites offered for a new school, two adjacent to the present site, and one on the other side of the Waipa River. The latter site was half a mile from the pa, was more central, and was where the bulk of the 33 pupils lived.

I strongly advise the building of the school on the Pa side of the river where the safety of the majority of the pupils is a paramount consideration as well as the welfare and happiness of the Teachers. [1944 03 17]

In May, Tawhiri wrote to inform the Department that the out-houses could be completed when the pans were supplied. He asked whether that was to be by the department, or by the Committee? [1944 05 25] There is no response in the files.

The search for a solution to the canoe difficulties took much committee time. The June minutes record that the matter of the canoe owners' statement could not be accepted on account of the unsatisfactory conditions stipulated thereon. The statement was drawn up by one Aporo Te Rerenga. The statement was not legal and binding, and the school was not entrusted with the keeping of the canoe. The committee decided to reject the whole thing and resort to some other means of conveyance. The chairman spoke strongly about approaching the Education Department and asking them to subsidize the purchase of a suitable boat. Panapa had been in contact with the Farmers Trading Company. J Tamaki moved that they buy a suitable boat. G Fitzell asked who was going to do the ferrying. The answer was "The teacher" - provided everything was "plain sailing", Panapa would do it if Tawhiri was not prepared to do the job.⁶⁸

In July, the committee agreed on the final terms for the canoe. One third of the ferry funds were to be retained by the committee, two thirds would go to the contractor. Pura Panapa was to be the contractor. A boat had already been bought for £12; the money was in hand due to

⁶⁷Departmental official, initials not readable.

⁶⁸Te Kopua Committee Minutes, [1944 06 13]

kind donations. They also decided to write to F Phillips, Otorohanga, to thank the owners for the past use of the canoe. [1944 07 15]

At the end of July, Tawhiri reported a

Welcome change for all concerned; the appointment of a married couple, Mr and Mrs Wight, to take over my responsibilities. Good luck to them.⁶⁹

When he had finished at Te Kopua, Riwai Tawhiri was to have gone to Taharoa, but circumstances apparently changed, his services being no longer required there, and he was posted to Mangapapa, in the Gisborne district. He was sent orders for his fare to Gisborne [1944 08 02]

Riwai Tawhiri's personality and views of the world come through clearly and vigorously. He had a clear idea of his place in the scheme of things, and he clearly was vigorously patriotic.

I doubt there was ever a teacher in any school free of difficulties with pupils. In these schools they could, as this record has illustrated, often be better described as young women and men.⁷⁰ Mauriohooho undoubtedly had difficulties, aggravated I suspect by the strained relations which often existed with at least some people of the community. Tawhiri does not ever indicate there were difficulties in his relations with the community, but he certainly describes great difficulties with his pupils.⁷¹

Unless his predecessors had disregarded the regulations, which required them to record any corporal punishments they administered, Tawhiri was notable for administering *very significant* amounts of corporal punishment. The headteacher who taught me during my standards years administered corporal punishment vigorously, in ways designed to inflict maximum pain, but he did not ever administer more than six 'cuts' with the strap, and always on the hand.⁷²

I believe Tawhiri broke the law on two counts; firstly by administering up to 24 cuts, and secondly by administering them on the seat, the buttocks. I believe the regulations limited punishment to six 'cuts' with the strap, applied on the hand. If I am right, the failure of the inspectors to reprimand him in writing is notable, though he was quickly reprimanded, in writing in

⁶⁹TKLB, [1944 07 28]

⁷⁰It may have been apocryphal, but I have always enjoyed this story told of my first sole charge school. It opened in 1902 in a district west of Hunterville, already in economic difficulty. Life was hard. Many of the early pupils were well into their teens. The first teacher was an Army Captain. He had his difficulties, and it is claimed that one morning, after marching his pupils into school, he sat down at his table, opened the drawer, took out a revolver, spun the chamber, slammed the revolver down on the table, and said, "Now let's get to work."

⁷¹I have to note that his personality would work against him recording negative material in the logbook. He would not regard his difficulties with pupils as negative. That such difficulties were seldom again recorded may mean that they did not occur, or it may mean subsequent teachers were less willing to record such difficulties.

⁷²He could also, I must add, be caring and kindly, and was much respected; he went on to be headteacher of a rural town intermediate, and finally to the inspectorate. My point is that vigorous corporal punishment was the norm at school, and at home. My father used a supplejack quite freely on me, and thought it quite appropriate, and I have also to note that I used corporal punishment for a considerable part of my career. Only in the latter years did I come to see that it was not appropriate, and that there were other and much better ways of developing an order which promoted learning in *all* its facets, more importantly those better described as 'behavioural' but also important in those we describe as 'academic'. This is a deeply moral matter not to be explored any further here, but seldom sufficiently explored in the practice of schooling and education.

the logbook, for entries critical of the department. We are not to know if Tawhiri was *spoken* to about the level and nature of his punishments.

We do know he continued to be employed as a relief teacher.

Barrington concluded that Riwai Tawhiri was widely regarded as amongst the best Maori school headteachers,⁷³ and noted that he transferred from Wharekahika to a lower-graded school because a number of [probably unjustified] complaints with an anti-Maori base from European parents had taken their toll.⁷⁴

I can only say that in my view the Te Kopua archive does not support that positive judgement.

⁷³Barrington, John, "Europeans in Maori Schools," p 111.

⁷⁴ Barrington, John, "Europeans in Maori Schools," p 111, drawing upon the Wharekahika logbook.

1944

G E Wight

G E Wight recorded, in August 1944, that "Tawhiri [was] present when I arrived." Wight apparently settled in well, for he was able to record: "End of first week. Everything appears to be working smoothly including the ferry."¹

Wight very quickly moved on an issue which had re-appeared in the record almost four years earlier. He wrote to the Department to apply for some new furniture. Some he had was modern, but the remainder was very old, almost impossible to fasten to the floor, and therefore inclined to fall over. "I know the Department is not wishing to spend unnecessarily, but new furniture could be transferred to the new school."² [1944 08 18]

In August 1944, Wight wrote that "Apparently our sanitary pans have not yet been delivered to the school; we are making enquiries." [1943 08 16] The record does not divulge whether the sanitary pans were ever found and installed, but I presume the new outhouses, enquiry for which was first made over four years earlier, did eventually go into service.

The September committee meeting began with the continuation of the canoe story, with Mr J Hughes stating his claim for a more considerable amount of the ferrying grant. He apologised for not being able to speak fluently in the European tongue and confined his remarks in Maori. The matter raised heated argument, with Hughes finally agreeing to accept two thirds of £21. Pura Panapa offered his resignation, and nominated the headteacher, Mr Wight, as secretary, but Wight declined.³ [1944 09 26]

¹Te Kopua logbook [1944 08 11]

²It was in 1940, when Sarah Mauriohoo was at Te Kopua, that T A Fletcher wrote: "The school desks at Te Kopua are completely done. They are the old-fashioned type that were formerly screwed to the floor, but they are now loose and broken." [1940 11 05] There was no evidence of any action following Fletcher's memorandum, but it now appears that some new furniture was supplied, but sufficient only perhaps to meet the needs of an increased roll, while no effort was made to replace furniture that was supplied to the school when it opened in 1886, and had been an issue well before 1940!

³The record does not tell whether Panapa's resignation was accepted, but he was re-elected in February, 1945. More important, however, was that fact the committee members had no difficulty discussing the matter in te reo Maori. [See Appendix 6.]

Having, it hoped, settled the ferrying issue, the meeting went on to some quite different topics. It had been called by Mrs J Hughes, who explained why, at long last, she had kindly consented to withdraw her three children from Pokuru School and reinstate them at Te Kopua. The chairman stressed the need to keep the roll up - it could mean an even higher grade for the school, so as to avail the opportunity of a possible new school. In addition, they recorded that the cocoa supply had been replenished by Mr T Emery, and, they set a Euchre party date.⁴

Riwai Tawhiri, in a letter written from Mangapapa, advised the Department of the efforts of the Pokuru School committee to keep their assistant, which included diverting the bus to encourage Te Kopua pupils on the eastern side of the Waipa River to change schools. He also reported that “Mr Wight aided the new departure by placing his own child at the Board school.” [1044 08 31]

If that was correct, it cannot have helped in reaching the resolution reported above. It could, perhaps, have been a factor in Wight declining to become secretary of the committee, though that is unlikely. It was probable that the Wights lived east of the Waipa River, and it may well have been a very practical thing to do, to enrol their child at the nearest school. The child would, for instance, probably have left home later and arrived home earlier, given the history of delay of the canoe.

In his Annual Classification Return, Wight recorded Roka Emery, aged 15.1 years, 9.0 years since entry, as having gained a Primary School Certificate.⁵ Because no pupils below Standard IV were entered, there had apparently been another change to the manner of reporting. It seems that only Standard IV to Form II pupils were required to be entered, the consequence of which is that there is less information available for analysis. [1944 12 19]

The day the school was prepared for the annual break-up, 14 December 1944, was a day of exceptionally stormy weather. The break-up was postponed at the suggestion of the chairman of the school committee.⁶ The day was to include a trip to the pictures in Te Awamutu, at a cost of 1/- per pupil.⁷ We can presume they saw their film. That a trip to see a film was thought an appropriate way to celebrate the end of the school year tells us

⁴Te Kopua logbook[1944 09 09]

⁵A primary school is an eight-year school. Roka, having started at age 6.00 in 1935, may have repeated one of her or his very early years, but progress must have involved being promoted every year, or all years but one.

⁶BAAA 1001/29b: 1944: [Term III entries]

something about the life the children led, and the infrequency of their trips away from Te Kopua.⁸

The record tells us nothing about G E Wight, his personality, or his foibles, but we do know that he was working towards a university degree, for the school was closed for two days to allow him to sit examinations.⁹ We cannot know whether he had any effect, for better or for worse, on the pupils or the life of Te Kopua. Given that Mrs Mills, the wife of the next teacher, B S Mills, was appointed Junior Assistant in May 1945, it is probable that Wight worked on his own as a sole teacher. There was not even the benefit of an inspection visit. There was no evidence of his previous career, or where he was transferred to, nor why his sojourn was so brief; only one term.

He was succeeded by B S Mills.

⁷Te Kopua logbook[1944 12 00]

⁸There were no reports of trips to sports days, calf club, or anything like that, after Sarah Mauriohooho left. They would have been recorded in the logbook if they had occurred.

⁹Wight was absent for five days during the term, and the weather exacted the very minor toll for Te Kopua of two halfdays, on different days. [BAAA 1001/29b [Term III entries.]]

1945 - 1946

B S Mills

Whilst the logbook is silent on the matter, Mills was at Te Kopua in February 1945, for he telegraphed the department asking if permission had been given for him to close the school the following week to allow him to attend a refresher course at Rotorua.¹ [1946 02 21]

In April, the first case of apples for 1946 arrived, and they observed two minutes silence to acknowledge the death of United States President Franklin Delano Roosevelt.²

The April committee meeting was a milestone in the life of the school. The committee members decided the school colours should be black and gold, and that the school motto should be

Kia mau ki te aroha, te whaka pono, me te ture. [Hold fast to love, faith, and the law.]

That was the first occasion in the life of the school that the language of the community was formally acknowledged. It would be good to know where the initiative came from, but the committee minutes give no information.

Moving from the philosophical to the pragmatic, they then went on and " ... arranged [a] working bee to gather firewood tomorrow." The day after the working bee, there was a euchre evening at the Pa to raise funds.³

There was one day in Term I 1945 when it was very stormy, and no children arrived at school, and on 4 April there was a special holiday, but there was no evidence of what was special about it.⁴

Mrs Mills was appointed as a Junior Assistant for Term II 1945. She did not find it easy, for the logbook records several times when she was absent because of a combination of the weather and their son's illness; there were four such entries, one of which notes that she was in Auckland taking the child to a doctor for eye trouble. Finally, in October, Mrs

¹ BAAA 1001/29b: "refresher course 10hd." [1946 05 10]

² Te Kopua logbook, [TKLB],[1945 04 09/16]

³TKLB,[1945 04 19/21]

Mills was hospitalised with diphtheria,⁵ and it appears that she finished her service at Te Kopua at the end of 1945. I imagine she was relieved.

The school was closed for the funeral of Mr Tom Warren at the request of the Chairman; there was a tangi afterwards.⁶ To celebrate the capitulation of Japan in World War II, there was a short ceremony, when they saluted the flag, sang *God Save the King*, and listened to talks by Mr Panapa, the School Committee Secretary, and Mr Kohi, a returned soldier. Games and a concert followed.⁷ The school was closed for two days.⁸

The canoe was a continuing source of difficulty. Ferrying payments were invariably late, often the result of Departmental procedures that were never designed to be speedy, but often I had to wonder just how hard they tried. Plaintive pleas would be ignored, whilst letters would be sent seeking information so just the right sum was paid. On one occasion the cheque went to Box 91 Otorohanga, instead of to Box 91 Te Awamutu.

In one of the better, though infrequent, examples of departmental understanding, G P Shepherd⁹ wrote to Pura Panapa:

You are perhaps aware that for this Department to make payments in accordance with Audit and Treasury requirements it takes from three to five weeks for the vouchers to pass through the various channels before they reach the payees. ... In future I shall do my very best to prepare the vouchers immediately the monthly returns are received. [1946 07 15]

One of the difficulties revealed was that Mills did not know it was part of his duty to send in the monthly return on which the payments were based; he found out following an urgent plea from the department.

The difficulties did not go away. *Eleven* months later, in June 1947, Panapa to the department, by telegram:

Cannot endure ferrying much longer. No grant for this year to hand yet. Pura Panapa. [1947 06 19]
The department acted immediately; the cheque went off that day. Perhaps it did have a conscience!

The pressure for a new school was becoming more insistent. Pura Panapa, Secretary of the School Committee, wrote to the *Minister* of Education:

Tena koe

It is some time ago that we the parents and Committee of the above school have been in touch with the Registrar of the Native Dept, re a site for the above school.

⁴BAAA 1001/29b: [1945 05 04]

⁵Mills himself tested negative, therefore the school did not have to close. There was no mention of pupils with diphtheria.

⁶TKLB,[1945 07 12]

⁷TKLB,[1945 08 15]

⁸BAAA 1001/29b: [1945 08 17]

⁹Under Secretary.

The present school consisting of one room is situated on the western banks of the Waipa River in the Waitomo Electorate - Otorohanga County Council. The present school is built on private property formerly belonging to the Methodist Missionaries and now in our hands under a Native Development Scheme.

The Department, Sir, has been slow in taking advantage of the offer of this tract of land for the erection of a new native school Grade III.

The present school is unfit for habitation and the work of the teachers is really handicapped by the absence of facilities suitable for the promotion of better education and sport.

We sincerely wish, Sir, that you could see your way clear of speeding up the erection of a new beautiful native School with residence attached at your earliest convenience.

Kia ora [1945 08 15]

The departmental reply could be interpreted as a typical departmental put-off, talking of "as soon as circumstances permit" ... , details to Inspector of sites, owners, etc, etc, etc.

This letter in July 1945, written by M M McKenzie, District Health Nurse, to the Medical Officer of Health after a visit to Te Kopua, did, perhaps, hurry things up a little.

I should like to lodge a complaint about this school and its surroundings. I believe a new school is to be built 'sometime', but I feel it is my duty to let you know something of the appalling winter conditions existing at this school.

The school is a sixty-year old mission house.¹⁰ It consists of one room and a tiny porch. It is very badly ventilated except for draughts [sic], gets no sun as the windows are wrongly placed and when it rains the water pours in under one window. There are 30 children and it is impossible to give them any drill or recreation as the playground and surrounding paddocks are a sea of mud and ice-covered puddles.¹¹ There is a fireplace but the children sit and freeze and on very cold days it is impossible to get any work out of them. The school is situated under Pirongia Mountain and is approached through $\frac{3}{4}$ mile of muddy paddocks, canoe across a river with dangerous slippery approaches, then a further $\frac{1}{4}$ mile to the school

The posture of the children is shocking. They have continual colds. I have tried to persuade them to come to school in bare feet instead of sitting in wet shoes and boots with little effect. [1945 07 14]

The Medical Officer wrote to the department, asking what steps were being taken to improve the conditions at the school, to which the department responded that the unsuitable nature of the school was fully recognised, and that inquiries were being made with a view to the acquisition of a new site at the earliest possible date. Mills was informed that Mr Parsonage would be visiting to discuss a new site with the committee. [1945 10 20]

It is difficult to believe the department could allow the conditions Nurse McKenzie described to continue for so long, but, it did. Its reply to the Medical Officer of Health was close to a prevarication. It stands indicted.

Mills was informed that Mr Parsonage would be visiting to discuss a new school site with the committee. [1945 10 02]

The visit was by T A Fletcher.¹²

¹⁰That is incorrect, it was the original school built in 1886, but that does not detract from her charge.

¹¹Tawhiri's earlier request for a concrete area had been ignored.

¹²Senior Inspector of Native Schools. Again I am drawn to reflect on the very wide responsibilities placed upon inspectors of Native Schools. Fletcher had to make recommendations on a matter which would have been dealt with by the architects, property supervi-

I recommend 4 acres of a Crown property. It is level, but covered with gorse and blackberry. The Maori people are prepared to clear it free of charge.¹³ The matter should be expedited.

I consider also that the erection of a bridge is essential for the safe conveyance of the school children. At times the Waipa River rises very rapidly, but there is a convenient spot where a bridge could be swung across two high banks. It will need to be a fairly long bridge [at least 100yds] and I think we should ask the PWD Hamilton to report on the best type of bridge and estimate its cost. [1945 10 15]¹⁴

There followed letters to the Native Department and to the Department of Lands And Survey, and apparently to the Public Works Department, for it sent a plan of a bridge. The Native Department seems to have been as bureaucratic as the Department of Education,¹⁵ for *after* the area had been surveyed and the value had been fixed, then the matter could be submitted to the Board of Native Affairs for approval [1945 12 07]

The Committee for 1946 was Wm Phillip Searancke, Pura Panapa Sec, Frederick Iredale Searancke, Thomas Emery, Geo Wm Fitzell, Joseph Tamaki, Treas, with Chair, Te Kauwae Ngahihi Hughes.

Miss Kohi took the school because the tyres on Mill's car were bad; he spent the day trying to get the car home, because it was not safe to leave it on the side of the road. The following day, as the school tank had run dry, it was necessary to have water brought up from the river. The boys borrowed Mr Panapa's horse and sledge, and brought the water in a cream can.¹⁶ The boys were probably 13 to 15 years old, and clearly Mills thought them quite competent to get the water; I expect I would have agreed with his judgement. They very likely did the feeding out of the hay to the cows in the winter with a similar horse and sledge.¹⁷

Mills was still having transport difficulties. On 4 March he was not at school, because the steering column on his bicycle was broken, and his car was unusable, as the tyres were not to hand.¹⁸ Miss Kohi kept the school open till 12 noon.

sors, and so on, if it were an Education Board school. Admittedly, if it were an Education Board school, it was most unlikely to have been in such a state, on such a piece of land.

¹³Again!

¹⁴cf Barrington and Beaglehole, *Maori Schools* ..., p 244 - 245. The reference to a bridge being necessary at Te Kapua [sic] makes no reference to the fact that this was *not* the first time danger to children had been mentioned, and *not* the first time a bridge had been recommended. If Barrington had read on in the Te Kopua files, he would have read that, again, there could not be a road bridge because there was not a legal road to the river. [See 1946 08 08 below.]

¹⁵ Which shouldn't actually surprise us, for government departments operated under the same set of rules. It should also be observed that whilst n doubt they could have been simplified and even reduced in number and scope, they were devised to ensure the system was honest, which at the level of paying out what was to be paid it undoubtedly was.

¹⁶*TKLB*, [1946: February entries.]

¹⁷Those boys were only a little younger than myself, and like me lived on a dairy farm. Horses and sledges were part of our daily lives.

¹⁸World War II shortages were still an issue; it may have been that tyres were still under ration. It was whilst reading through the 1946 files that I fully realised just how seriously the people of the department had taken the exhortations to not waste things, in this case paper. As the war went on, the officials and teachers of the department were being more and more frugal in their use of paper. Officials made much more use of, eg, returns no longer needed, [including using these for carbon copies for the files] half pieces of paper, and the back of sheets of paper already used on one side. It was only towards the end of the war that writing on both sides became reasonably common. It meant looking through often quite scrappy bits of paper.

B S Mills

Two to three pages of the logbook were given over to details of banking, such as names, bank book numbers, etc; the likely explanation is that it was the first school banking done at Te Kopua.

Following good country school practice, Te Kopua combined with Pokuru and Te Kawa to form sports teams; Pokuru and Te Kawa were 'board' schools.

The first inspection for quite some time was carried out by W A B Goodwin. He found that the Records were in order, and, under General, he reported that the teachers were working under difficulties, with few facilities, and difficult access.¹⁹

A high standard of work is aimed at, and in general, the work, and the attitude of the children to the work, is very pleasing. Written Expression is very good and Choral Speech and Singing are very good subjects. It is pleasing to note the introduction given to the theory of music.

With careful planning, a high standard of work should be achieved by the end of the year.

The Head Teacher is to be commended upon his enthusiasm, and his keenness [sic] in using modern methods.

The co-operation of the Maori people with the teacher is pleasing.²⁰ [1946 06 07]

That was a positive report. Goodwin implied that planning was not as good as it might have been, and that standards were not high, though of course they might have been good. While he did not think it worth commenting on, we can conclude that, because Written Expression is parasitic upon Oral Expression, and because Written Expression was very good, Oral Expression would have been equally good or better. The list of subjects that did not warrant mention is much longer than the list of those which did; my judgement is that the report is what is in the 1990s called warm and fuzzy, but of little value.

Goodwin scribble a memorandum in pencil for his colleagues in the department:

Bricklayer says fire-place not fit for use - falling to pieces - cost £20 to repair. Get authority and wire HT. It is dangerous to light a fire.

The department advised Mills that the expenditure on the fireplace could be in lieu of rent.²¹ Mill telegraphed the department that "£14 concrete chimney, fireplace, Complete."

The department telegraphed approval.²²

This in mid-June! It was in July 1945, *eleven months earlier*, that Nurse McKenzie wrote "There is a fireplace but the children sit and freeze ... " [1945 07 14]

It seems they got their fireplace:

¹⁹This was Goodwin's first, and only, visit to Te Kopua. We are entitled to wonder whether he had read the school's records before he left the office. Every inspector had written in similar vein, and none of them made it their business to see to it that any inspector visiting the school in the future would not have needed to write it.

²⁰'pleasing': Patronising!

²¹Magnanimous!

²²I would have been surprised if it did not; the quote was £6 under the inspector's estimate.

Children sent home in the morning as weather very severe. Old fireplace had been removed and working bee held to repair fireplace.²³

Parents and children and teachers were indeed long-suffering. The department was delinquent!²⁴

The new school site was still a dream in May! [1946 05 08] Lands & Survey reported that the survey was done, enclosed the results, and charged £34. 3. 0, [1946 05 23] which the Education Department meekly paid. With the survey in hand, the momentum built up, and the department wrote to the Native Department to ask if it would be safe for it to proceed [1946 05 30] The department also wrote to the Native Department to report that the suspension bridge, length 420ft,²⁵ would cost £2,100. It was not possible for the Education Department to meet the cost; could any assistance be granted? [1946 06 12] The Board of Native Affairs approved the transfer of the land for the new school at a price to be determined by Special Government valuation; as that valuation was being obtained, it was safe to proceed with the new school. [1946 07 05] After some delay, the department asked the Auckland Education Board if the Owairaka Valley School building could possibly be available for Te Kopua. [1946 08 14]

Mill wrote these four letters immediately after Goodwin's visit. [1946 06 10] Each had the same date, but addressed a different feature:²⁶

1/ There is only one medium sized cupboard, and no place for library books, medical and handwork materials ...At present, overcrowded working conditions are aggravated [sic] by the necessity to store gear in odd corners, or on shelves, etc.²⁷

2/ The school is situated in a paddock for grazing cattle. The fence posts are old and rotten, and won't hold staples. In order that school work may be satisfactorily carried out, a new fence is urgently needed. If the Department will supply the material, the Committee will erect it. It can all be removed for use at the new school if necessary.²⁸

3/ The interior of this school is in a particularly dingy and depressing state, providing most unsuitable working conditions for the pupils. If the Department will supply the paint and oil for the floor, the Committee will do the work; they will need a mop for putting the oil on the floor.²⁹

Letter number four was a quotation for a new chimney and fireplace, at £20.³⁰

Mills sent four pages of quotations, in detail, for materials for a fence, comparing the prices of, eg, timber posts and concrete posts: £26 per 100, compared with £32.³¹ [1946 07 12]

²³1001/29b [1946 08 23] That is the date of the return, not the date of the event, which was not given. Again the parents saved the Department money!

²⁴If at times my observations seem ascerbic, that is not an accident; it is how I feel. I don't know if historians are allowed to have feelings, but this one has, and believes there is no fault in at times expressing them.

²⁵126 metres.

²⁶We were advised to do what Mills did, because it made it easier in the department. If a letter dealt with more than one issue, it either had to be copied, ie re-typed, or it had to be passed around. Either way, most responses were slowed down.

²⁷Approved.

²⁸Approved, but Mill was asked why the netting was necessary. He replied that the fence had to keep out young pigs, rabbits, hens, etc.

²⁹Approved; get a new broom for sweeping the floor, and use the old one for the oil, and keep it for future use.

From the fact that *that* fence was not again mentioned, I hope we can presume it was erected by the committee.

The bridge, however, *again* created a problem. The Public Works Department reported that the proposed bridge site was not a legal road, so under the legislation they could not commit funds administered by the Department. [1946 08 08] The same issue lay behind the Native Department reply; it was unable to contribute, as it would have no control over the land which would be served by the access. 1946 10 11]

Mills wrote to the department to report that the house he was using would not be available when he left.³² There was another house available, but the owner wanted some assurances. [1946 10 16]

In only the second recorded educational visit by the pupils of Te Kopua, Mills took the Seniors to visit the construction of Karapiro hydro dam, and to look through the Arapuni dam and powerhouse.³³ The Mobile Canteen visited at the end of October.³⁴ Te Kopua could have varied days; 4 November was a more varied day than many. Mill was late to school, due to a burst tyre, Sister Nicholls, of the Methodist Mission, talked to the children that morning, and Mills strapped Joe Emery in the afternoon for throwing stones. However, just four days later, Joe's painting took first prize at the Otorohanga Show, where several paintings were exhibited by the school. Another first.

During Term III 1946 the school was closed for two days for elections.³⁵

B S Mills and Mrs Mills presumably went to teach in Fiji; they were succeeded by Douglas Herbert and Mihi Strother.

³⁰As detailed above, Mill soon after got a lower quote, at £14.

³¹In the 1990s, the idea of silver pine [kahikatea], totara or red birch [possibly rimu] posts is from another world!

³²He was going to a position in Fiji.

³³*TKLB*, [1946 08 16] Arapuni dates from the 1930s. Karapiro was the first of the string of dams built on the Waikato river after World War II. I had forgotten how soon after the war ended it was started; I was still at secondary school. Karapiro drowned Horahora, the first dam on the river, built in 1909 to supply electricity for gold mining in the Coromandel. It was bought by the government in 1919.

³⁴*TKLB*, [1946 10 30]; there is no guidance as to what a mobile canteen might be, but it would have been a highlight for the week, perhaps even for the year.

³⁵1001/29b [1946 12 19] Why *two* days we are left to guess.

1947 - 1952

Douglas Herbert Strother and Mihi Strother

Doug and Mihi Strother arrived at Te Kopua for the start of Term I 1947 without any recorded welcome; I have no information on their previous history. That he was married, and that they were Doug and Mihi Strother, emerged from the record.

Strother would soon have been entitled to think he would have the benefit of both a new school and a school house before too much time had elapsed, but that was not to be.

With the title to the land apparently sorted out, the Department had to get authority from the Building Controller for the school and the house to be built,¹ and had then to persuade the Ministry of Works to build it. The Department therefore wrote in January 1947 to the Ministry of Works setting out the details of the location, type of house, cost, etc. In the section URGENCY PRIORITY: was typed "Very urgent." The supporting argument was:

For many years this school has been conducted in a privately-owned building which is very unsuitable. There is no residential accommodation available for the teachers and the present teachers are required to live in a rented house several miles away in the direction of Te Awamutu.² This house is in a very bad state of repair and the Maori owner is not in a position to carry out necessary maintenance work or to make the building habitable.

I shall be glad, therefore, to receive authority at your earliest convenience to instruct the Auckland Education Board to proceed with the erection of a standard five-roomed house. [1947 01 15]

The Department in February informed the Auckland Education Board that the Building Controller has approved the Education Department's request. [1947 02 20]

Strother's first entry in the logbook was a reminder that the exercise books and pencils, pens, blotting paper, etc, that the pupils used were supplied to Native Schools by the De-

¹They were working in the aftermath of World War II; resources in many areas, including building materials, were in short supply, and controls, a form of rationing, were operating on many resources.

²An additional justification for a new house could have been the difficulties presented by the fact that the teachers had to cross the Waipa River by canoe, or drive the very long way round to cross by a bridge.

partment. The other craft and similar materials in the box were supplied to all schools, but not dictionaries and sewing materials. Strother listed the entire contents of the case:

2 boxes bars of soap; 3 boxes coloured chalk; 4 boxes white chalk; 7 doz exercise books; 2 packages blank, and 2 packages of ruled, paper; a tin blackboard paint; 3 packets of blotting paper; 8 rulers; 3 Form II Arithmetic books; 1 packet brown drawing paper; 20 foolscap envelopes; 20 small envelopes; 9 rolls basketwork twine; 3 dictionaries; 1 gross³ nibs; 1 timetable; 1 Record of Survey;⁴ 1 Scheme book;⁵ 1 workbook;⁶ 4 copies Attendance Returns;⁷ 2 Arithmetic answer books, for Standards II & III; 1 copy of *Teaching of Swimming*; 6 skeins of embroidery cotton; 2 packets of pins; 2 reels of black cotton; 2 reels of white cotton; 3 inkwells; 1 dozen rubbers; 2 packets of needles; 9 pen-holders; 8 dozen pencils.⁸

Elsie Searancke's domestic situation and health highlight issues faced by many young women, and by Maori. Strother wrote to the Department asking its advice on Elsie's further schooling:

Elsie Searancke aged 14 - will be 15 on 18.10.47 - secured a school certificate last year after a lengthy absence with rheumatic fever.⁹ According to the law she should attend school until ...¹⁰ Now as her mother is dead and there are three young children for her to care for the continuation of her education at Te Awamutu which entails a walk of 4 miles and a bus journey of about 16 miles daily would be a problem.

Her father wishes her to continue at this school until she is fifteen and then intends that she stay at home until the younger children are older when she will be free to seek employment.

Could I keep her on my roll as a form [sic] III pupil or could she be enrolled with the Correspondence Schools or must she go to Te Awamutu.

Her father is anxious to avoid any trouble so a reply from the Department would be welcomed. [1947 02 24]

The Department advised Strother that Elsie " ... should attend your school and work the Correspondence School course under your direction. She should not, however, be included on the roll."¹¹

³ie 12 dozen, ie 12 x 12 = 144.

⁴The end-of-year examination report, to be sent to the Department. It appears that the Progress and Achievement Register that I was familiar had yet to be introduced.

⁵Schemes were of course left by previous teachers, but it appears a new scheme book was included in each new year's supply of stationery..

⁶Scheme books and workbooks were in effect exercise books with specially printed covers. In the scheme books they wrote the schemes, ie the long term aims, objective, and content, or each subject. In the workbook they wrote the planning for their day-to-day teaching. I used the past tense, but they still do both activities, and teachers will most probably have to supply their own books. I should add that these comments apply to primary teachers; secondary requirements are different.

⁷One per term, with a spare.

⁸Te Kopua logbook, [TKLB], [1947: February entry.] The one thing that was missing was ink. We were supplied with ink powder in my primary school, which we mixed with water; it was *not* good quality ink that resulted. In latter years schools were supplied with bottles of ready-made ink. Penholders were to hold the 'straight steel' nibs, which easily dug into the newsprint-style paper used, and we had to dip the nib in the ink in the inkwells every minute or so. As I think I have mooted previously, I was *not* competent with the dip pens. We went on to them in Standard III, but, I proved to have a high smudging rate, and was quickly changed back to pencil; I do not remember when I was again allowed to use ink. Fountain pens were still to come, and ball pens when they *first* arrived were instruments of the devil!

⁹Many young women stayed home to look after siblings, and rheumatic fever has been the cause of much heart disease among Maori. I was luckier than many. My stepmother recognised that what was wrong with me in 1941 and 1945 was not usual, and that my 'growing pains' were more than that, so my rheumatic fever was diagnosed quickly enough to avoid damage to my heart. I won the senior cross-country in 1946. Many children who had 'growing pains' were *not* so lucky, Maori children especially

¹⁰Gap left;- Strother cannot have been sure of the leaving age.

¹¹It would appear that Standard VII had ceased to be an option for country pupils.

Miss Kohi, the Junior Assistant, finished in March, without explanation.¹² At the committee meeting in May, Mr Herangi was elected chairman, P Panapa sec, and J Tamaki treasurer.¹³

The new buildings were not coming easily. Pura Panapa wrote to the Department:

E hoa, tena koe

Wednesday 7th

The committee ... unanimously decided that their urgent need for a new school and school residence be again stressed to the Department. It was hoped that at this stage the Dept. might be able to give some definite indication of when the building of the new school would be commenced.

A meeting of the Te Kopua Native School Committee and Householders held on. urgent need ...again be stressed to the Department. ... following points be stressed:

1/ The District Nurse's letter stressed the necessity for alterations and additions to the ventilation system and the establishment of a washbasin and drainage system, repairs to spouting, down piping and tank and an increase in the amount of water.

2/ The roll now 32 ... more ... without Junior Assistant ... no accommodation ... solve ... by the erection of school residence.

3/ ...absence of shelter sheds, gardens and school playing areas all make the teaching of vital parts of the curriculum ineffective.

4/ ... Dept is not prepared [to] spend on building not ours etc. [1947 05 08]

The Department's quite quick reply canvassed what was happening, and added that "The Department is very anxious that the educational needs of the children at Te Kopua are adequately catered for." [1947 05 15] Sceptics might consider those words a Departmental sop.

The Medical Officer of Health wrote to the Department, noting that no improvement had taken place and expressing his concern if the acquiring of the new school was to be any longer delayed. [1947 06 03] The Department replied that it had the matter in hand and that building would start as early as possible. [1947 06 16] Another sop!

The letter from the Medical Officer of Health perhaps prompted the Department to write to Strother that it was desirous to have the new site cleared as soon as possible to allow the erection of the new buildings. Was it, he was asked, possible to make local arrangements; the Department would like quotations as urgently as possible.¹⁴ [1947 06 06]

Strother replied that it would be uneconomical to clear the land in winter; it could be done but it would be expensive.¹⁵ The normal procedure was to crush the gorse and scrub with tractor and giant discs, then burn, and finally clean up with a bulldozer. The ground, Strother wrote, was covered to an average height of ten feet with gorse, fern, blackberry,

¹²TKLB,[1947 03 14]

¹³TKLB,[1947 05 07] The names of the other two or three members of the committee were not given.

¹⁴If they had any kind of institutional memory, they would have known very well that it was possible!

¹⁵The implication of that is that at least they had selected a *dry* piece of land.

manuka, and hawthorn trees.¹⁶ It was impossible even to inspect the ground closely enough to estimate the difficulties to give a quote. A track could perhaps be cut to the actual building sites and these cleared by hand, but as they did not know the plan they could not do that. If that were done, building could commence and the major clearing job could be left till summer. He added that clearing could mean clearing the growth, or that plus levelling the ground, etc. [1947 06 27]

Six weeks later Strother wrote that Mr F Searancke could clear four acres and three chains of road section for £150. Searancke's proposal included clearing and removing the gorse, etc, grubbing out roots, ploughing, discing, harrowing, and the necessary preparation for sowing down in grass. The method of clearing by hand had the advantage of leaving the surface soil evenly spread whereas bulldozers tended to leave clay exposed in places. Searancke could commence at once. [1947 07 17] A fortnight later the Department replied that it had referred his letter to the Auckland Education Board's architects for consideration and comment. [1947 07 31] The Department apparently again did not trust the competence of a local farmer, or for that matter the judgement of their teacher.

There the matter apparently rested for two months, until Panapa wrote to the Department to point out that it was some time since the site had been surveyed, and that they were anxious to see the land cleared and fenced with hedges put in even though it might be some time before the erection of the buildings commenced. Summer was approaching and it was a good time to commence clearing operations. [1947 10 02]

In the meantime, Strother had written pointing out that the roll was 33, and could the school have a Junior Assistant? [1947 07 01] The Department replied that Te Kopua did qualify for a Junior Assistant, and later wrote to ask if there was " ... good board for a refined young Maori woman."¹⁷ [1947 08 12] Strother responded that there was no board, except with himself. Strother's hopes ended when the Department wrote that there "... was another young Maori woman anxious for appointment to your school. The Department, however, is not proceeding further in her case." [1947 09 01] There was no application in the file, so we cannot know who the young Maori woman was, or why the Department did not proceed.¹⁸

¹⁶That was an impressive list of scrub cover; the land must have been long neglected, and they did indeed have problems.

¹⁷The use of 'refined' is interesting; it would have been interesting to ask the writer for the characteristics of a 'refined' young Maori woman. I had thought that form of words had been left behind. At least they were not 'girls'.

¹⁸Perhaps she was not refined enough!

Earlier plans for a bridge over the Waipa River were recalled on reading Panapa's request to the Department for assistance in the purchase of a new boat. One would be needed, he wrote, for the next ten or fifteen years with the new school; the present boat was beginning to wear through rot. [1947 10 02] Four and a half months¹⁹ later A E Golding²⁰ advised in an internal memorandum that

Mr Pura Panapa ... should be informed that he must keep the boat used in adequate repair as the first consideration must be the safety of the children conveyed.

He has been receiving an average payment of £8 a month. Part of this should be used for general maintenance purposes. [1948 02 20]

Panapa had to be available to operate the canoe five days a week, twice a day, which meant that he was receiving at the most 8/- a day.²¹ Also, the canoe was 'rotting', a matter beyond maintenance. Golding was not being supportive, he was being Departmental, and was perhaps ignorant.

Early in February, Strother recorded that there was no committee meeting as the farmers were busy with ragwort, so he spent the day chopping gorse on the playground.²² That suggests that the committee meeting was to have been on a Saturday; it was not by any means the first time I noted that in the Native, later Maori, school service there was much that was different from my experience in rural education board schools. We lived a little to the rhythm of the farming calendar and operations, but school committee meetings were not held at times when an alternative occupation was to grub gorse. Strother would have had to drive to Te Kopua especially for the meeting, and he would have earned mana by grubbing the gorse, a problem since the school was established, and, we might note, a problem introduced by Pakeha.

On what was probably the last day of Term II they held a tabloid sports, with four teams of five. Sports included steeplechase, relay, high jump, long jump, hop step & jump, tug of war, longball, goaling, and javelin. Several parents were present.²³ Having ground dry enough for those sorts of activities in August, let alone at any other time of the year, must have been quite an event in itself!

¹⁹I draw attention to the delay; delay is a constant feature in this story.

²⁰Inspector. Another very long delay.

²¹80 cents.

²²*TKLB*, [1948 02 06]

²³*TKLB*, [1947 08 22]

An inspector visited on 1 October, when it was very wet. He and Strother discussed general principles behind Native schools.²⁴ If a report came out of that visit, it was not in the file.

The day of the week that was 20 November 1947 had one of three features: Either it was an auspicious day for writing letters, or Strother and Wm Kohi just decided to write three letters between them, or, they put their heads together and thought they would try a multi-prong strategy. We cannot know, but we can surmise. Whatever, three letters were written on that day!

Strother wrote reminding the Department of the tenders for clearing the grounds. However, there was a contractor in the district with the necessary machinery, and he had done the job. It cost £7.10.0, and Strother enclosed the account.²⁵ [1947 11 20]

Strother's second letter informed the Department that the roll had reached 33, and the school had one ancient three hundred-gallon tank that was almost past mending as its only source of water. They had been the first and third terms without water. Such a state of affairs at a Native School should be remedied. The Department had already been informed of the condition of the tank by the Health Department. A new tank could be moved to the new school when it was built. [1947 11 20] The Department eventually gave approval, whereupon Strother got quotes, etc, and arranged cheaper cartage; they had decided they would lift the tank on the stand themselves. Further, the tank would be 26, not 24, gauge, as the latter gauge was not available. [1948 02 16]

The third letter was written by Wm Kohi, a parent, to W J Broadfoot:²⁶

Dear Sir,

Would you be good enough to bring to the notice of the Minister for Education the urgent need for a New School in Te Kopua.

The local School Committee have been endeavouring to get the Education Department to build a new school. For years they have been promised a new school but thats [sic] far as they got. The present school is about sixty years old and it has been condemned by the Health Inspector. At present the school has no water available for the children as the tank leaks like a sieve. I am not on the School Committee but I am interested in the welfare of the school as I have two boys under my care going to this school.

I would like you to get the Minister for Education to come here and see for himself the urgent need for a new school to [sic] please do your utmost for this appeal of mine. [1947 11 20]

Broadfoot wrote to T H [Terrence] McCombs,²⁷ enclosing Kohi's letter.

²⁴*TKLB*, [1947 10 01]

²⁵The Department, at its turtle-speed best, eventually approved the action in April 1948!

²⁶MP for Waitomo.

²⁷Minister of Education.

.... school is very out of date and insanitary. Kohi is a hard-working Maori farmer who has done splendid work on the property he is farming and is worthy of your best consideration.²⁸ [1947 11 24]
 McCombs replied to Broadfoot that the building was provided by the Maoris, that it did not come up to modern requirements, and went on to say that the Department was close to building a new school. [1947 12 04]

If there was an end of the year break-up it was not recorded.

Early in 1948 the Medical Officer of Health wrote that he had advised the Auckland Education Board that a recent inspection had revealed that no perceptible action had been taken.

The conditions existing at this school call for immediate attention and I would be pleased to know what action your Department has taken in the matter as I consider it very desirable that some action should be taken before the winter months. [1948 01 16]

Collusion was clearly taking place. Kohi and Strother wrote remarkably similar letters to Parliament and to the Department respectively. Both letters noted that Mr Kohi bounded the school and was prepared to erect a fence if the Department would supply the materials, etc, etc. Kohi wrote to M R Jones,²⁹ addressing him as “Dear Mick, ` ... “, who replied to “Dear Bill,” In other words, they knew each other well. It was a case not of what you know, but who you know!

The two letters perhaps were effective, for the Department just a week later wrote to the Auckland Education Board asking for information, and asking it to expedite the building of the school and the house at Te Kopua. [1948 01 27]

The Auckland Education Board may have met some difficulties, for the Department wrote to the Department of Maori Affairs³⁰ about a special valuation of a site of four acres, and, was there any action to have the area transferred.³¹ [1948 02 09]

McCombs wrote to Kohi that, in accordance with his earlier offer, he should buy the fencing materials, and confer with Mr D H Strother. [1948 02 16]

For reasons not given, E A Golding put through a memorandum suggesting that the Public Works Department be asked to report on the possibility of a bridge being built across the Waipa River to give access from Morgan's Road to Cannon's Road. [1948 02 19] This brings back memories of T A Fletcher's recommendation that there should be a bridge

²⁸It made a difference that Kohi was hard working.

²⁹Liaison Officer, Parliament Buildings.

³⁰As Native Schools had become Maori Schools, so now the Native Department had become the Department of Maori Affairs. They did not waste paper, they used the old letterhead, and amended it.

³¹It is difficult to think of any possible reason for the inordinate length of time taken to complete the legalities involved in the transfer.

across the Waipa River for the safety of the children. [1945 10 03] The Departmental response was that there was no legal access; again, there the matter seems to have rested.³²

The Department of Maori Affairs informed the Department that the land for the buildings was valued at £40.

It is regretted however that the matter has not proceeded further and the question of the method of vesting the area in your Department is now being considered as this aspect presents some difficulty. [1948 02 19]

The Education Department wrote to the Native Affairs Department to ask if, because Native Affairs were developing land, could they procure access to the river from both Morgan's and Cannon's Roads, or, were they considering any alternative crossing of the river within a reasonable distance, which could be used by the children in going to and from the school. [1948 02 23] There is no evidence of a response to this rare positive action by the Education Department to have an adequate bridge across the Waipa River.

The Department wrote [confidentially] to Strother, enclosing a copy of McCombs' letter to Kohi, and instructing him not only to co-operate with Kohi as far as possible in having the fencing job carried out, but also to ensure that the Department's interests in the matter were safeguarded. [1948 02 24] This letter leaves the impression that McCombs had written unilaterally to Kohi, that the Department had not approved of McCombs' action, and wrote to Strother without McCombs' knowledge. Postwar shortages delayed the fencing, for Strother wrote to inform the Department that there was no wire available, but several thousand tons were coming in to the country during the year.

The Department wrote to the Auckland Education Board, asking the position regarding the working drawings, and what progress had been made in the matter of providing the teacher's residence. [1948 03 02]

It would appear that Searancke's offer to clear the site by hand was not accepted, for Strother wrote a very long and detailed letter to the Department describing how to prepare the grounds for the new school in a way that was likely to control noxious weeds, ie blackberry and gorse etc.³³ [1948 03 14] A memorandum by Golding observed that the suggestions seemed very comprehensive and practicable, and that he recommended a grant of £7.10.0 in the meantime.³⁴ [1948 03 20] The Department wrote thanking Strother and

³²Well! At least they remembered that!

³³Pakeha imports! The locals knew what they were on about; I remember those sorts of conditions and those sorts of operations on my father's farm in Taranaki.

³⁴The £7.10.0 being for Munro to giant disc, which I thought he had already done; cf Strother to the Department on [1947 11 20] above

his³⁵ Committee for the comprehensive and practicable scheme that had been prepared; the £7.10.0 was approved in the meantime [1948 03 25] The Department then wrote to the Auckland Education Board's architect about the plan, and the fences; there were similar long, detailed recommendations from T R Birdsall.³⁶

The Department of Maori Affairs wrote to the Department, detailing the procedures necessary to transfer the land to the Department of Education.³⁷ [1948 04 14]

There must have been letters concerning the site development work and the payments for it which are not in the file, for the Department wrote to Birdsall approving another £50, but, because £150 was intended to cover the whole development, the £50 must be considered as final. [1948 05 10]

Even the Department could get frustrated; a letter was addressed to L S P Butcher, District Administrative Officer, Auckland Education Board.

I should be greatly obliged if you would expedite the building plans ... as urgently as possible. [1948 05 20]

Four months later, the Auckland Education Board Property Supervisor lodged a memorandum:

Acquisition of land and erection of new school, residence and outbuildings should be given urgency. Conditions in existing school building are far from good.³⁸ [1948 09 28]

Birdsall wrote to the Department, detailing several issues which were causing delay, but first, there was

1/ ... little progress after four years of negotiations [Quote of local opinion.]; 2/ ... the lack of materials, eg wire; 3/ ... the wet winter; drainage for the site could cost £20; 4/ No plans of the buildings had been forwarded; 5/ A feeling that the delays meant that Strother must apply for transfer due to the housing demands of a growing family. [1948 10 01]

At last! A Departmental memorandum to the Minister recommended that the school and the house be built at Te Kopua. [1948 10 05]

Five days later, not knowing that the Department had recommended progress, Strother wrote a very long letter³⁹ setting out the history, the difficulties, etc, and ending thus:

In the meantime the teacher lives out of the district, travels 7 miles by car, walks approximately 2 miles over muddy tracks and crosses the Waipa River by boat, taking about two hours of valuable time daily. [1948 10 06]⁴⁰

The school water tank was finally installed, *eleven months* after Strother first raised the matter with the Department. [1948 10 16]

³⁵The notion that it was *Strother's* committee is interesting; the phraseology was, and is, not uncommon.

³⁶Birdsall was an Agricultural Instructor; they later became Nature Study advisers, then Science Advisers.

³⁷Pakeha land laws may be very good, but they certainly held things up; it was quite a procedure.

³⁸That has to be one of the more notable understatements.

³⁹Seven pages!

As a result of his letter, Strother got a long and detailed letter from the Department, which end with one of the Department's rare apologies:

I want to thank you, and through you, the School committee, for your patience in the face of the obstacles and delays encountered in providing better accommodation at your school. [1948 10 ??]

A memorandum from John Porteous⁴¹ read

Present and future roll prospects are not very bright. I think one room would be sufficient at present."⁴²

A Departmental memorandum advised: "Cabinet has approved of grant for erection of standard plan residence." [1948 10 19] Strother and the Committee had constantly stressed that the school had a roll of over 40, but the Department must have preferred the advice of Porteous, for the decision was to erect a one-room school; it could, apparently, be fairly easily added to.

Presumably also as a result of the Porteous memorandum, Strother received a letter which stated that the

case does not seem an especially urgent one, and with the present limited supplies of materials and labour available, efforts to provide increased accommodation must be concentrated where the need is most immediate and critical. [1948 11 30]

From *one* perspective, that seems a reasonable decision, but I believe that no board school would have been allowed to get to the state where children and teachers were working in such conditions. No board school would have been subjected to the treatment meted out to Te Kopua over many years. The building they were working in was built in 1886 with three platforms, five desks being fixed to each platform, with space for only thirty pupils and one teacher. The first suggestions for a teacher's house were made by Dr Beeby in 1943, and it was in 1945 that the Medical Officer of Health wrote a very stinging critique of the buildings and the grounds.

Other, more minor hindrances were that someone had lost the plans needed to transfer the site properly, and, there were no tenders to build the school; the Department asked the firm which was to build the house. Although the power was not available, it was perhaps getting closer, but the plan was to build a non-electric house.⁴³ However, the Department did

⁴⁰That was clearly beyond the call of duty! If one was being positive, at least he must have been one of the fitter teachers in the service!

⁴¹Porteous had last visited Te Kopua in August 1929, having first visited in June 1906. He had been a Native School inspector for fortytwo years when he wrote that memorandum; he must have been at a very advanced age, or, he became an inspector at a very young age. I had thought he had retired. He did not appear again.

⁴²In the Te Kopua record, Porteous was not noted for his optimism!

⁴³There is a message in that fact also. Electricity was taken for granted at Awatuna on the southern slopes of Mt Taranaki when we moved there in 1934. It was still coming to Te Kopua fourteen years later!

at least realise drainage would be needed, and asked the Public Works Department to do the specifications.⁴⁴

The food provided for the end of year break-up was: 12 doz. small cakes, 6 large loaves, a 10lb cake, 3 bottles of drink essence, ["Too much," Strother noted.], 2 Christmas trees. Each child received a bag of sweets and either a toy in the case of preschool children and Infants or a book in the case of Standards.⁴⁵ Parents received a Christmas card each made by the class. Mr and Mrs Higgin gave two special prizes for girls.⁴⁶

In February 1949 Strother wrote that with the roll still increasing⁴⁷ they needed a large infants' table with drawer at each end. He now had a Junior Assistant, but her desk would now have to be used by pupils so a teacher's table with two chairs was also necessary as the present teacher's table was too small to be satisfactory. [1948 02 24] The Department replied that it would supply the infant table, but would Strother please explain why two extra chairs for teachers' use were required; the Department's records showed the school already possessed one teacher's chair. Also, it was not customary to provide tables for Junior Assistants.⁴⁸ [1949 03 02] Strother responded to that letter by informing the Department that the roll was going to go up even more, to 45 in 1949, which would qualify them for two rooms, with two certificated teachers; further, they would need a house able to board the assistant, as he had proved there was no board available. [1948 02 24]

The school committee for 1949 was P N Panapa Chairman, D H Strother Secretary; J Tamaki Treasurer, and W Kohi, G Fitzell, F Searancke, T Emery, and M Hughes.⁴⁹ Later in February the new teacher, Miss Wihongi, arrived.⁵⁰

H W Black, making his first visit to the school in March, wrote that

The school building is old, crowded conditions prevail, and there is an urgent need for new buildings, plans for which have now been prepared. A long-term planning of necessary improvements to the new grounds will be desirable. [1949 03 23]

Turning to the central purpose of an inspection visit, Black reported that

In general, the school work is proceeding smoothly and the general standard of attainment is good.

⁴⁴They also applied for a manual room, but perhaps not surprisingly were turned down. If manual, ie woodwork, cooking, etc, were taught, it was casually, in the classroom. Because the teacher did not live by the school, the girls could not do housework as a form of training, the case in many Maori Schools, and indeed one of the tasks of a Maori School teacher.

⁴⁵That was an interesting judgement, carrying implicit understandings about, in the first place, the learning of reading.

⁴⁶TKLB,[1948 12 16]

⁴⁷They opened the year with thirty six pupils.

⁴⁸One has to wonder how that section of Departmental policy could be justified; where was the person supposed to sit whilst working with pupils, or marking, or preparing work, or all the other things a teacher or an aide does in the course of a day?

⁴⁹TKLB,[1949 02 04]

⁵⁰TKLB,[1949 02 21] Miss Wihongi was no in fact a teacher, for she later went off to teachers' college.

Although both teachers have been busy preparing teaching materials, there is a need for much more infant room apparatus which will be used to assist in improving the standard of reading in the infant room.⁵¹

Care has been taken with the structure of the written work, but a greater integration of the oral and written work would improve the substance of the expression work.

A better choice of poem is desirable for choral work which needs more attention to tonal gradations.

Social studies is being well taught.⁵²

There is a very good tone throughout the school.⁵³ [1949 03 23]

We must presume that in his discussions with Strother and Wihongi, Black put content into his advice that a better choice of poem was desirable. The teachers were to be commended for preparing teaching materials, for they would have been hard pressed to find places to store it when it was not in use. More positively, that reference to 'teaching materials' implies a taken-for-granted attitude to activity methods, playway, etc, and a clear move away from 'formal' teaching and instruction.

Strother had recorded that he would welcome the visit by the inspector after a long spell without one. After the visit, he wrote that Black gave advice on infant reading and number, matters which Black had not mention in his report, but Strother it seems did not consider Black's advice on choral work and written expression significant enough to record.⁵⁴

It was "A very pleasant day. Children enjoyed Inspector's visit."⁵⁵

Strother had obviously bought some window catches without seeking Departmental approval, and sent the account to the Department, which predictably had queried it. On the day of the inspection, Strother, in either ironic or acerbic mood, wrote explaining his action.

The window fasteners were purchased to attempt controlled ventilation as none of the windows in the school have had catches since about 1900 and have either been held shut by nails or waved about in the wind. The position is now vastly improved. [1949 02 23]⁵⁶

Strother also wrote to record two difficulties of the planned house, to offer a suggestion, and to ask a question:

1/ It turns out there is not to be a car shed, but because the school is 16 miles from Te Awamutu, a car is essential;

⁵¹A slip of the pen! There were 'infant classes', or even perhaps, an 'infant Department' consisting of those classes, but there was not an 'infant room'; the two teachers were working together in the school built in 1886. Black had used 'building' in his comment above on conditions.

⁵² That was the first mention of Social Studies in the record.

⁵³ Strother and Wihongi could feel very satisfied with that comment. To have good tone under those conditions was quite a feat! Black's use of "throughout the school" indicates he was to some extent on autopilot. With only one room, it would be difficult to have good tone in one part and not good tone in another!

⁵⁴This was one of the hazards of instruction. Purveyors of advice and recipients of that advice frequently differ in assessments of significance. I came to understand that towards the end of my career, and it altered my processes considerably, both in the classroom and with colleagues.

⁵⁵*TKLB*, [1949 03 23]

⁵⁶ I wonder how often teachers wrote in those terms. I haven't counted, but it would probably reach into double figures!

- 2/ ...a suggestion is that a bore for water be put down; the early provision of a bore would provide the 100 gallons daily needed by the builders for their concrete;
- 3/ The school includes electric fittings, whilst the residence does not?
- 4/ Could any light be shed on the future of the present building? Does this belong to the Department? Will it be available for the second classroom while the school is graded IIIB.⁵⁷ [1949 04 12]

At the end of May, Strother reported

A pleasant surprise this morning. Duke Tamaki had spent part of last weekend felling 8 kahikatea trees - trimming and carting to the river for basketball poles and football goal posts. "A man sized job" and best of all a purely voluntary job done on own initiative. A good step forward.⁵⁸

Who or what the catalyst was is unclear, although it is probable that Strother was important in the developments that he recorded in the logbook, where he wrote that he felt they had made their first major step towards better parent-pupil-teacher co-operation. They formed the Te Kopua Junior Progress Club, with the aim of encouraging sport in the locality. The subscription was 1d⁵⁹ per child per week. Very quickly, the club had a set of wickets, 2 pick handles⁶⁰ and a cricket ball, and had held a picnic sports day, when cricket,⁶¹ basketball, euchre, and clock golf were played. It was, Strother wrote,

A huge success. Cricket was played by ladies and gents of all age, 8 to about 65. Basketball was played by every lady in the locality from 5 stone to 15. A silver coin collection raised £5, which is to be given toward our opening day. It was unanimously decided to make meetings fortnightly.

The same day they formed a Parent Teacher Association, with Mr Kohi as Chairman, Mrs Strother as Secretary, and Mr Panapa as Treasurer. By 20 July the Progress Club had 7 cricket bats, 2 pick handles, 3 batting gloves, and 1 ping-pong⁶² table.

The district is waking up. Mr Kohi has purchased a silver cup for pingpong. This will make locals keen though they are that already.

Our second day raised £4/10.⁶³ It has settled down to a regular routine of euchre - cricket - a raffle - clock golf and pingpong. Profits are handed to PTA, but gear is provided by our Junior Progress Club who pay subs - collect bottles - save tea coupons - and scout around for cheap sports gear. We aim to collect £100 for our new school opening, which will be expended on a big Gala Day out of which we hope to make a profit to give our Association funds to help the new school. Our Progress Club is proud of its part in getting things moving and will go on to greater things in the future.⁶⁴

It was also in July 1948 that Strother, having been, I would have thought, very patient, wrote to inform the Department that "The builders are not getting on, they are doing other work. Can you do something, they are just finishing a house in Te Awamutu." [1949 07 07]

⁵⁷That referred to the grading, the classification, of a school with two teachers.

⁵⁸*TKLB*, [1949 05 30]

⁵⁹One penny, approximately one cent.

⁶⁰They couldn't afford cricket bats!

⁶¹In July? Their enthusiasm must have been boundless.

⁶²I.e., table tennis.

⁶³Four pounds ten shillings.

⁶⁴*TKLB*, [July - August entries.]

On that day, Panapa wrote to Peter Fraser:⁶⁵

Since about 1886 this school has endeavoured to serve the educational and cultural needs of the Te Kopua Maoris.

Panapa went on to recount some of the history of the moves to get a new school and a new house, and suggested that the relaxing of a few regulations⁶⁶ would make things easier. He concluded by writing:

We have therefore come to the stage where we consider the matter too big for our shoulders and come to you who best appreciates the need of the Maori, to start the wheels rolling again and to keep them rolling until the day when we welcome you to the opening of our new school.

Therefore our father we implore you to give us your urgent attention and answer our prayer.⁶⁷ [1949 07 07]

Whilst the letter to Fraser is the only one in the file, Panapa on behalf of the committee wrote also in presumably similar vein to the Ministers of Health and Education, in order if possible to hasten things. There was no evidence that the later ministers responded, but we can presume they did. Whether the letters expedited matters at all was a quite different matter. There was no evidence the letters made any difference at all. What the letters do indicate is just how frustrated, perhaps even angry, Panapa, his colleagues and Strother had become.

Strother's state of mind was clear when he wrote in the logbook:

The school is still not commenced but if even Ministers of Maori Affairs can't hasten things I give up.⁶⁸ However, there was some progress:

The new residence was commenced - an historic date for the school.⁶⁹

By the end of September the total of funds raised by the Kopua Junior Progress Club for the school was £26.

In early September, 1949, Strother recorded that Miss Wihongi had gone to Training College, and that Miss Jury might be back.⁷⁰

Later in September, Strother reported a very important innovation.

Mr Panapa has accepted an invitation to give us some help during a Maori period of half an hour weekly. He hopes to employ his special talents for various divisions of this period, and hopes to cover: Lan-

⁶⁵ Prime Minister and Minister of Maori Affairs.

⁶⁶ Eg, re requirement to use Oregon timber, which was sufficient to deter any building contractor.

⁶⁷ Panapa was a minister of a church; he almost seems to be offering a prayer to God!

⁶⁸ *TKLB*, [1949 08 08]

⁶⁹ *TKLB*, [1949 08 15]

⁷⁰ *TKLB*, [1949 09 04] Miss Jury did return. The departure of Miss Wihongi to Teachers' College at that time of the year is a reminder that for the years 1949 to 1959 there was an emergency teacher training programme, colloquially titled 'Section T'. The trainees entered college at the beginning of Term III for a one-year programme, which was why graduates of the course were known as 'pressure cooker' teachers. [See Cumming and Cumming, *History of State Education*, pp 315-316.] Wihongi was in the first intake.

guage, stick games, Taniko, Haka and Poi, Weaving, etc. Miss Jury will help with stick games and action songs.⁷¹

That was the first major involvement of a male member of the community, or of a non-teacher Maori person, in the school programmes.

Late in November Strother wrote that

It is the custom in country districts such as this for children of the Catholic Church to attend at the Convent schools or Catholic Church for periods of from a week to three weeks in order to be confirmed. Should they be marked present on my Daily Attendance Register. I wish [to] avoid any misunderstanding among the parents concerned. [1948 11 29]

Strother was told to mark the children present. The letter was interesting, in that it was the first time there had been any mention of the practice, yet Strother wrote "It is the custom." It would be interesting to find what previous teachers had done.

By the beginning of the 1950 school year the title to the site had actually been transferred to the Department.. There is a considerable file of correspondence on the transfer, and I suspect the lawyers did rather well out of it all. [1950 02 03]

A few days later, Strother wrote again to the Department.

It is now three months since the builders finished the house, but there are still no tanks. I am now starting on my fourth year of travelling fourteen miles daily at a cost of over thirty shillings a week.

.... Conditions here are not the best with the new school apparently shelved again. It is difficult for me to keep a committee interested in a dilapidated old building when it appears to them that the school may not eventuate. It is futile to refer to files ... my committee would like some statement issues of time lags and anomalies and Departmental operation are removed from the local tradesmen ...

Today I received the very generous distribution of annual supplies. We now have a wonderful library for a school of this size. Soaps and brushes enough to keep a school clean but no water and incidentally I had to build an upper storey to the porch to store things. There is certainly no room in the school where two teachers and thirtysix pupils share the atmosphere of a room 17x26⁷² with numerous birds who despite my attempts at dissuasion still nest in the walls, roof, ventilators to the detriment of much of the school equipment.

I have become accustomed to hard conditions in the service but it is too much to expect a female assistant to endure.

I feel sure that a visit from the minister would convince him that a little less delay in letting the contract for a new school would be a step in the right direction.

If possible I would like some encouraging statement to give my committee at their next meeting on Feb 28th or I will be unable to hold a committee together. [1950 02 09]

Five months after the house was finished Strother received this telegram:

Permission move into residence granted. [1950 04 04]

The following day Strother recorded that "The plumbers arrived and renewed the spouting and down-pipe. Copper spouting. Now if it rains we may have water to drink for the first time in twelve months."⁷³ The spouting, however, created another problem. Strother had to write that since the spouting had been replaced, the tanks had been full, but, the tank-

⁷¹TKLB,[1949 09 21]

⁷² Those measurements are in feet, roughly equalling about 5 metres by 8 metres.

⁷³TKLB,[1950 04 05]

stand had collapsed! [1950 04 20] The Department apparently did not reply, so they went ahead, replaced the tankstand, and Strother sent in the accounts!

The odd shilling on the cartage account is for a parcel of school supplies. [1950 04 20]
The Department paid up!

Not until early July 1950 was there a request for a contour of the site, a necessary prerequisite for planning the foundations at least, and relevant to drainage plans, [1950 07 06] but the news at the end of the month that the staffroom had been deleted was a decided blow to their hopes. [1950 07 28]

Strother did not reply for three weeks; perhaps he had to persuade himself it was worth the effort:

Te Kopua is a IIIB, and will be again in 1951. There are two of us in the one room, and we had banked on using the staffroom for various purposes. I know it is not intention of the Department to deny us, but is purely a matter of economy and finance, but I would ask on behalf of the children that if it is possible to reconsider this decision you should so. [1950 08 18]

The response from the Department was that a staffroom was not possible, but they could rent the old building if that was possible. Another delay arose from the fact that the timber for the new school had to be sent to Auckland for treatment.⁷⁴ [1950 08 25]

At the beginning of Term II 1950, Strother noted that Miss Jury was still away.⁷⁵

In early November, Strother recorded another death in the community.

Rhoda Fitzell's small brother died last night, and funeral will be today. Mr Panapa and the committee decided that school should be closed in time for children and parents to attend the funeral at the pa.⁷⁶

As if any indication should have been necessary after all those years, Strother recorded that

Phenomenal rain over the last day or two have indicated the need for a heavy drainage programme on the new school ground.⁷⁷

In early December, the first school doctor's visit to Te Kopua was recorded by Strother. All the pupils were present, along with several parents. The doctor gave a good report; there were no sores, no pediculosis, and no TB, but there was 1 eye case, and 1 of ears, plus 2 or 3 hearts.⁷⁸ "It is not firstclass but a good report nevertheless. We spent most of the day out of doors, in Tabloid sports.⁷⁹

⁷⁴These days you have to ask for 'merchant grade', ie untreated pinus radiata timber.

⁷⁵TKLB, [1950 09 04] There were several further entries concerning Jury and her whereabouts; in one entry Strother noted he intended to ask at her home area. Jury is not recorded as returning in 1950, from which we must conclude that Strother managed the school on his own. There was no evidence the Department was informed, though no doubt it was, and there is no evidence of any other Junior Assistant being appointed or working in the school.

⁷⁶TKLB, [1950 11 09] Note Strother used 'funeral', not 'tangi'.

⁷⁷TKLB, [1950 11 10] Strother detailed a large programme.

⁷⁸This suggests those pupils had had rheumatic fever. [See footnote 9 above.]

⁷⁹TKLB, [1950 12 07]

It would be interesting to know whether H W Black, making his second inspection visit, wondered about the lack of progress on providing a new building; he had written something very similar to this two years earlier: " ... the building is old ... in very bad condition two teachers in one room working under cramped conditions." [1951 04 10]

It may have been that he did go back to the office and say something, for a little under a month later, a Departmental memorandum noted that concrete was very hard to get; they could not get enough to start, so " ... were now putting in a prefabricated classroom and temporary lavatories."⁸⁰ [1951 05 04] Three days later the garage, and a septic tank, were provided for the house, [1951 05 07] and a week after that the prefabricated classroom was in place, with its spouting installed. [1951 05 14]

Not ever in the history of Te Kopua had a project been suggested, agreed to, and implemented with such speed; ten days had to be a record!

Black's inspection report could have referred to the remarks he had made about oral and written expression on his visit in 1949, but it did not. It merely noted that

Higher standards should be aimed at in oral and written expression.

Black's report continued:

Some very neat work has been done in Nature Study and Social Study recording, although response to questioning and discussion of this matter was rather disappointing.

Infant and lower classes are making steady progress by approved modern methods and all aspects of the work are receiving attention.

The children are friendly and well mannered, and a good tone prevails. [1951 04 10]

What Strother was thinking when he wrote in the logbook that it was "An historic date: moved into new prefabricated classroom."⁸¹ we cannot know, as we cannot know what he was thinking when the following month he recorded another historic date:

Dibble and Hall commenced new school building.⁸²

There was yet another historic occasion:

Power came to the district re [sic] the mains were switched on but no houses inspected yet.⁸³

That the power did not reach Te Kopua until 1951 suggests a number of things about the community and its standing in the scheme of things in the Waikato. This is not the place to

⁸⁰Why didn't they think of that five or six or more years earlier; perhaps that was the pragmatism of Black. If he was the person I have in mind, he had significant mana.

⁸¹*TKLB*, [1951 05 28]

⁸²*TKLB*, [1951 06 20] Dibble and Hall were the building contractors.

⁸³*TKLB*, [1951 06 25]

explore those issues, but we can note that once again the district was not high in the priority listings. As the county councils had ignored it, so apparently did the power board.⁸⁴

Strother must have had mixed feeling when in August 1951 he wrote that it was

My last day at Te Kopua after six years. A pity I didn't manage to occupy the new school but the spade work is done.⁸⁵

Why the Strothers did *not* leave Te Kopua at the end of Term II 1951 is nowhere explained, but they certainly were still there in February 1952, and the log records that R M Marsh started as headteacher in September 1952.

The 1951 break-up ceremony saw a good muster of parents and all pupils present.⁸⁶ "The committee turned on a good meal including soft-drinks and ice creams, which very much appreciated by the children. £11/10 was collected for the occasion from parents and supporters."⁸⁷

The committee elections for 1952 resulted in a committee of P Panapa, T Emery, J Tamaki, M Hughes, Mrs Strother, " ... and the teacher acting as clerk." In March Miss Tutana commenced duties as Junior Assistant.⁸⁸

Frustration continued, however. Strother complained to the Department that

The builders, Messers Dibble and Hall, who are building the school have not been near the site for six weeks now. Cannot something be done again to stir them to making an effort to finish this building? Timber, fillings, open drains are scattered around the building we occupy and the patience of settlers⁸⁹ is again being rapidly exhausted. [1952 02 13]

Nothing, it seems, was simple; it took quite some time to get an electric motor to replace the petrol motor on the water pump.

Doug and Mihi Strother left Te Kopua at the end of Term II 1952 after five and a half years of continuing frustration, but with some achievements they could look back on with satisfaction. They did eventually occupy the school house, they got to work in the prefabricated school building, but just missed working in the new school.

There were two innovations of importance. The first was the establishment of the Te Kopua Junior Progress Club. It can only have been a worthwhile activity, which continued

⁸⁴I searched the minute books of the Otorohanga County Council and the Raglan County Council and found no evidence that either Council had taken any action regarding the school, and almost none regarding the community.

⁸⁵TKLB,[1951 08 22]

⁸⁶The athletics resulted in some records as follows: Marcus Emery Senior Boy High Jump 4.5, Broad Jump 15.5, Hop Step Jump 32.11. Huriana Hughes: High Jump, Broad Jump, Hop Step Jump. [No figures were given.]

⁸⁷TKLB,[1951 12 19]

⁸⁸TKLB,[1952 03 10]

⁸⁹Interesting term, "settlers"; it implies 'Pakeha farmers'. I wonder if that is what he meant to convey? He probably meant 'residents'.

for some time after they left. The other significant innovation was the involvement of Pura Panapa in the school programme; other parents and local people were to follow Panapa.

On the other, negative, hand, if R M Marsh's opening entries in the logbook and his first letter to the Department are valid in their content, the Strothers did not leave the buildings in the best of condition. We can only speculate on their state of mind when they left, and, whether Marsh's observations are attributable to them.

As just indicated, Strother was followed as head teacher by R M Marsh.

1952 - 1955

R M Marsh

R M Marsh re-opened Te Kopua for Term III 1952 on 8 September. He recorded in the logbook that "The new school has not been completely painted. The prefab classroom was dirty and very untidy. Many discrepancies are noted in the inventory necessitating a new schedule being made. This has been submitted to the Dept."¹ As had been the case for some years now, there was no information available about Marsh, what his previous service had been, or any details about his family situation.

Before opening the school, Marsh had written to the Department concerning several matters, including the state of the residence. The wallpapers in the residence were in a sorry state indeed, and there were no blinds. The paintwork in the kitchen was scorched and marked, and the exterior paintwork was flaking off; the repainting of the exterior was an urgent necessity. [1952 09 04] A Departmental memorandum listed many defects, and it seems the Department was picking up on some. That there were no blinds seemed to have been an issue for two years. [1952 09 17] The blinds cannot have been fitted when the residence was built, but there was no evidence of what the Strothers might have thought or written on the matter.

Marsh asked for an electric stove, as there was no firewood available, and coal was very expensive compared with the low cost of electricity. He also asked for electric hot water. [1952 09 04] The Department responded that it was not intended to replace the existing range and hot water service. However, after some discussion, the Department changed its mind; Marsh is to be retrospectively congratulated!

He also wrote about a gate strainer that had been broken by a carrier. He wanted it fixed, to keep the stock out; could Panapa do it? [1952 09 04] The Department must have ap-

¹Te Kopua logbook, [TKLB] [1952 09 08]

proved Panapa doing the job, for shortly after Marsh had to write concerning the battens for the fence. [1952 11 05]

Marsh had, it seems, applied for some fruit and hedge trees, for he was advised that

The Senior Inspector of Maori Schools has suggested that you discuss the whole matter of ground improvement with the visiting Agricultural Instructor with a view to preparing a comprehensive plan to be carried out over three or four stages. [1952 10 21]

Marsh's response was ascerbic.

I have applied for fruit and hedge trees, and have been asked to seek the advice of the Agricultural Instructor. I live here and know quite well the prevailing wind where hedges are urgently needed. I do not need the advice of a visiting instructor for this matter. I do however need the plants right as soon as possible. They are for the residence section, not the school grounds.² [1952 11 05]

Marsh also wrote that the road fence could not go up till the paths were laid, and, that there was no progress in laying the asphalt. He continued:

In the meantime we wade through water up to one foot in depth on bad days up to the door of the school. And, finally, he noted that

The new school is apparently complete except for some minor wrangles, but we do not know whether or not we can use it. I wish to point out that it is difficult to interest the parents here in the progress, under the above circumstances.

One's efforts are often met with thinly veiled derision.³

Also on 5 November, Marsh wrote to the Otorohanga County Council:

Our road here is a one track affair and has no link to my front gate.⁴ [1952 11 05]

The response came via the Department, which advised him to obtain a quote for four yards of river shingle delivered to the gate. The county council did not have to do anything for Te Kopua Maori School; the access was the responsibility of the owner, the New Zealand Department of Education.

In late October, "Mr Panapa commenced teaching the children action songs."⁵ A few days later, "Mrs K Kohi began instruction in Action songs."⁶

The breaking up ceremony was held on the last day of the term.

All parents of children attended. In the morning sports were held and a drill display staged.

Lunch was served by the ladies.

In the afternoon the children gave a concert of part songs, poems, and action songs. The children have made their own piupius in craft periods and their mothers had made them dresses [Red top, black skirt and headband.]. The parents were delighted with the concert and expressed their appreciation. They are

² Emphasis in original.

³ If those are not the words Mills used, they are so similar it is clear the same issues were still with the community.

⁴ Marsh wrote five letters on that same day, 5 November, probably coincidentally Guy Fawkes Day. Judging by the letters, he may have had a fellow feeling!

⁵TKLB, [1952 10 28] Given that Panapa had started the same sort of work with Strother, the better wording would have been "resumed teaching".

⁶TKLB, [1952 11 04]

a happy people and are giving wholehearted support to an effort to revive Maori arts and craft in this district. Valuable work is being done by Mrs K Kohi and Mr P Panapa in the Maori music period.⁷

The following day, Marsh recorded that

School closed for the summer recess. The new school is not yet completed. We hope that 1953 will provide more progress in this direction."

Marsh also recorded that three senior pupils left Te Kopua at the end of 1952. Two, Barney Panapa and Leo Emery, left for Form III at Te Aute Maori Boys College and Te Awamutu College respectively, while Anne Tamaki left for FII at Te Awamutu College.⁸ Unless Marsh made a mistake in his entry, Anne Tamaki going to *FII* at Te Awamutu is a mystery.⁹

During Term I of 1953 Marsh dealt with enough issues to remind us of the diversity of matters a small school headteacher had to cope with.

Marsh required a scythe for the long grass, and he also needed a scythe stone; in response to a Departmental query, he rather acerbically responded that "No, Children will NOT use the scythe." He also needed a hose to clean the concrete, which the sheep fouled. He also needed a ladder, to climb up to and keep the spouting clean, and to retrieve balls.¹⁰

Marsh was taking seriously the requirement that Maori School teachers keep the school environment attractive; he ordered more fruit trees and ornamental shrubs.

For himself, Marsh requested a new teacher's table and chair, for

The present table is a DISGRACE¹¹ to any school being warped and sprung and of such an appearance that I doubt its equal exists anywhere.¹²

When Marsh requested some Macramé thread,¹³ he was turned down, but he responded that "Yes," he *did* need more macramé!

Surprisingly, Marsh ordered a milk urn and a tap, along with a milk mixing can, lid, and stirrer. Given milk had been supplied to the school for several years, one has to wonder what previous teachers had managed with.

⁷TKLB, [1952 12 16]

⁸TKLB, [1952 12 17]

⁹There was at least one year after World War II when a temporary provision was made for pupils who had reached age 14 and Form I to be allowed to go on to secondary school, but my understanding was they went into FIII, not FII. The provision was aimed to allow a small number of pupils who had been affected by the ending of Proficiency and the 'standards' regime to make up at least one of the years they had lost through being 'held back'. I had not thought that temporary provision lasted as long as 1952. After all that, I have just remembered that Te Awamutu began as a district high school, and that perhaps it had retained the intermediate classes when it became a college.

¹⁰Now, who did it before? Or, did it not get done? Probably the later.

¹¹Actually, underlined twice.

¹²On that description, one has to wonder if it was the original table supplied when the school opened!

¹³Was Marsh ahead of his time? No, it actually was crochet cotton; it was ideal for the wefts in Taniko weaving.

When Marsh requested a football and bladder, the Department was sorry, but footballs were not being supplied to Maori schools that year.¹⁴

May 1953 did not open auspiciously.

The school grounds are flooded and up to 10"¹⁵ of water surrounds the school buildings. There is little or no provision for drainage and the damp and sodden area surrounding the school is a menace to the health of children and teacher alike. I took photographs of the grounds and will forward them to the Dept in the hope that at long last something will be done to improve the grounds.¹⁶

The Junior Progress Club which Strother had helped establish was still operating effectively, albeit with increased charges. Marsh recorded that it met every Wednesday evening in the prefabricated classroom.

Enjoyable evenings are held. The children run the business affairs entirely by themselves charging 3d per player each evening. The money is spent on balls [ping pong], bats, etc. I recently repainted the old table for them, built a trestle and have borrowed another table from Mr Panapa - also two trestles [Rimu table.] This I painted and set with a net. Ladder matches and doubles games are played. Opens at 7.00pm and closes at 9.00pm sharp.¹⁷

1953 was the year of the coronation of Queen Elizabeth. The school closed for both Queen's Birthday and Coronation Day; the ceremony was the previous Friday as suggested by the Department.

Mr Panapa talked to the children about the significance of the English Queen to the Maori people.¹⁸ I erected a temporary flagstaff and the flag was broken from this during the ceremony. I left it flying until after the weekend. Folders [souvenir] were given to the children.¹⁹

Immediately after, Marsh was away meeting Mrs Marsh off the ship from Canada,²⁰ and a week later there was

Phenomenally wet weather, the grounds flooded, the house drainage barely functions. There is no sign of the Department doing anything.²¹

June 1953 was a busy month in terms of plans for the management of the grounds. There was a series of letters to the Department concerning the mowing of the field, and the amount of blackberry, and gorse, and ragwort.²² He and the older children spent six hours with a horse and rake removing the thick growth and blackberry. Marsh was quite sure no

¹⁴Only *that* year?

¹⁵Ten inches, approximately 25cms.

¹⁶TKLB, [1953 05 01]

¹⁷TKLB, [1953 05 25]

¹⁸I would love to have heard what Panapa had to say, and also to have seen what the folders were like. I have to wonder whether they were supplied by the Department, or whether Marsh devised them. I was at teachers' college that year, and am certain I did not see them in any school when I was on section.

¹⁹TKLB, [1953 06 03]

²⁰Teachers had often met their wives returning from Auckland, but meeting a wife returning from *Canada* must have been fairly unusual for anyone in 1953.

²¹TKLB, [1953 06 09]

²²That was I think the first time ragwort was mentioned. As a 'playground' weed, it was probably the least of a problem of all the weeds mentioned. Again, it can be noted that ragwort is *another* Pakeha-introduced problem.

other person would mow again; he wanted a contract to mow four times a year.²³ [1953 08 12] There were queries about the driveway, and the asphalt, and other difficulties they faced at Te Kopua. It was *not* a positive series of letters. The Department closed the series off by observing that "Mr Bradburn will have informed you of the Department's plans to carry out fencing, levelling and sealing as soon as practicable." Given the Department's track record, I doubt Marsh and the community held their collective breath.

In June also, high winds blew the fibrolite off the roof; it was low grade fibrolite,²⁴ and had given lots of trouble to the builder from the very beginning.²⁵

Also in June Marsh wrote outlining the difficulty of obtaining firewood for the school fires. There was no local supply of manuka, willow was difficult to find and not adequate, and the site was damp and cold; Marsh applied for 4 tons of coal. [1953 06 10] The Department responded with a grant of £6 for coal for school heating.

Marsh's level of frustration was steadily rising; he wrote the following in the logbook in the middle of June, shortly after his letter to the Department asking for coal:

The house and school grounds are very swampy and waterlogged. The surface drainage is very inadequate. It is recorded here that this lack of drainage is detrimental to the buildings and health of teacher and pupil. The incidence of colds, etc, among the children is high²⁶

Marsh's level of frustration stayed high.

No reply received to mail about drainage and water from Dept. A most unsatisfactory position when it takes a month or more to get answers to letters.²⁷

The following day, Marsh wrote to inform the Department that his request for a supply of coal was based upon the following facts:

a. For many years the committee have provided fuel for the school. b. They have even provided a private building for use as a school for many years. c. There is now little wood and no heating wood available. d. The committee funds are too small to purchase coal.

I wish to point out that whereas your letter of 16.6.53 asks for a local quotation, your letter of 17.6.53 makes a grant of £6 before any consideration by you of the quotation was possible. Six pounds is not enough money for the purchase of coal here and bears no relation to the local prices supplied. On behalf of the committee therefore I have purchased 2 tons of coal and tender the docket for this. There would have been no point in purchasing one ton. I trust the Department will meet the full cost of the 2 tons.

Since the coal will be used for heating the milk room besides the school room I doubt that it will be sufficient. We have used all our wood and there is little likelihood of obtaining more since the Waipa River here is so high that we cannot get to the willows to cut more wood. [1953 07 03]

A week later Marsh recorded in the logbook that

²³That would have been hopeless; what would they do for sport?

²⁴Was it low grade because the Department would not pay for high grade, or was that the only grade available?

²⁵If that builder is still alive, he may remember that event in the light of our more recent knowledge of how dangerous asbestos is.

²⁶TKLB, [1953 06 15] Some things did not change.

²⁷TKLB, [1953 07 02]

It took me an hour to drive my car out of the driveway today. The track is so muddy that it was only after much digging and delving that I could get the car out of the mud. The driveway is a disgrace and a serious reflection on an Education system that allows such conditions to persist.²⁸

The following day was Shopping Day, and the school was closed. "We left the mud and poor drainage behind us for a few hours."²⁹

When H B Holst made his inspection visit a fortnight later, he wrote: "Log book is no place for such comments."³⁰ Marsh's entry on Holst's visit read: "Visit by Mr H B Holst, School Inspector. He found the children happy and work progressing satisfactorily."³¹ We are left to wonder about the relations between the teacher and the inspector. If they were somewhat cool, the inspection report was apparently not affected, for it was thoroughly positive.

Holst reported that the new building provided excellent accommodation, but some more work³² was needed to achieve a wet-weather playing field, and to provide suitable paths to the lavatories. He also noted:

The school-room environment is clean orderly and functional.

The teacher's approach to his work is intelligent. Remedial measures are being taken to eliminate certain weaknesses already diagnosed.

The children are friendly and polite, and respond well to the opportunities they are given to develop initiative and resourcefulness. They participate freely in oral discussion.³³ The teachers should build up the supply of teaching material.

Commendable emphasis is placed on a variety of forms of Maori culture.

A Junior Club has been formed with headquarters at the school, to cater for some of the leisure time activities of the youth of the district. This should provide a very valuable link between home and school. [1953 07 23]³⁴

At the end of the term Marsh reported that "The Junior Progress Club held a table tennis tournament. I had sent a letter of invitation to the Te Kopua Club³⁵ on Morgan's Rd. It was a happy evening much enjoyed by all. Many of the parents attended."³⁶

There was an unfortunate incident during the August school holidays. Marsh reported that

Our house had been entered during the holidays but nothing was stolen. The police were informed but not action taken owing to insufficient evidence being procurable. A reflection on the district?!³⁷

²⁸*TKLB*, [1953 07 09]

²⁹*TKLB*, [1953 07 10]

³⁰Remember the inspector telling Tawhiri off for remarks derogatory to the Department? Some other things did not change.

³¹*TKLB*, [1953 07 23]

³²What an understatement!

³³What other sort of discussion is there?

³⁴Holst's choice of words suggests that he had not read the record, and also had not really asked Marsh enough questions, or he would have known that the Club had quite a history, and that 'should' was quite inappropriate.

³⁵I don't remember seeing that body mentioned before.

³⁶*TKLB*, [1953 08 21]

³⁷?! in original.

The intruder was, it seems, a state ward, who apparently confessed. The state ward was living with a local family, whom Marsh in the logbook claimed were uncooperative to him and to the police.

It is a pity the house is not further from the [their] residence.³⁸ Relations with the family were obviously uneasy, though one guardian had been active in teaching action songs to the children, and the other had been very supportive when the new school was sought, had been chairman of the PTA, and had given a silver cup for pingpong in 1949.³⁹ During the early part of 1954, the relations between Marsh and that parent were not good. There were in the file several pages of details of a complaint by the latter of assault on a pupil. The 1954 logbook records that Mr and Mrs Marsh interviewed all the pupils; there was much activity linked to the alleged assault. On Marsh's account in the logbook, it stemmed from the teacher refusing to allow a PTA meeting to continue when the parents were at a tangi. An inspector was to interview the Chairman of the Committee and the guardians. The NZEI⁴⁰ was involved, as were the police. It seems the charge was definitely not proved.

Relations between them continued to be uneasy. The guardian wrote to the Department to complain about

The way local teacher Mr Marsh has laid his pipes from his septic tank to empty into our Boundary next to our house, Lawn, and Garden. I'm sure you will agree that this should be rectified as soon as possible.
[1954 05 03]

The Department responded that it was surprised the drains were not correct, for they had been laid by a qualified drainlayer. E D Sinclair, District Administration Officer Property Supervisor would look into it. The record does not reveal how the difficulty was resolved.
[1954 05 06]

In November 1952 Marsh had asked for plants, etc, including some suitable to block off the prevailing cold south and southwest winds. He *did not* need advice, he simply needed *plants*.⁴¹ It would seem he didn't get the plants, for in August 1954 he added to a letter the fact that there were no shelter belts; they were still completely unprotected from those cold south and southwest winds.⁴²

³⁸TKLB, [1953 09 25]

³⁹These notes, made by the last teacher before the school closed, Paul Chalmers, are instructive: "W Kohi: Has been friendly towards me and has assisted with school activities this year. Is opposed to separate education systems. Has had considerable strife with past teachers. P N Panapa: Not now in district, but previously the 'rangitira'. Strongly in favour of Maori Schools and had district in two camps [Kohi leading the other.]" [1956 12 05] Chalmers chose to put the blame on Panapa, not on Kohi, that the district was in two camps. Chalmers' notes further illuminate the divisions that existed in the community after the new school was built.

⁴⁰That was the first time the NZEI was mentioned.

⁴¹Emphasis added; I could hear Marsh's tone of voice!

⁴²As of course had every previous teacher who lived in the district. It was just that Marsh was the first to try to do something about it.

In September, Marsh had occasion to write to the Department to observe that

To date have received no word of any action being taken with regard to payment to the committee for the erection of 5 chains of fencing and the cleaning of 10 chains of drain. The money was to be spent on a motor mower with subsidy by the Department. As the mower is an urgent necessity at the school, we would appreciate the payment. [1954 09 17]

Again, the record does not reveal the outcome, but given there was no further correspondence on the matter from Te Kopua, we can presume the payment was made. In the light of the many references to various weeds, Marsh's observation that the mower was an urgent necessity made perfect sense. That the committee did the work with the intention of funding the mower was, as I have previously pointed out, a very common strategy among rural school committees. The committees of the rural schools I taught at used it frequently, with the willing co-operation of the Education Boards' supervisors.

The relations between the guardian and the Te Kopua School community became very strained, as these two letters, by Marsh and Panapa, attest. Marsh wrote to the Department concerning the new school at Tiheroa, and the bus, etc:

1/ [...] is not on favourable terms with the Maori School committee here and has made no effort to conceal his attitude towards the school, that [a] Maoris fit in better with Europeans if they are educated with Europeans in a Board school and [b] that without a capitation grant a Maori school committee is powerless. 2/ He has sent his own foster child to Honikiwi School. 3/ He has been directly responsible for trouble with [one particular] family and responsible in the main for their children attending another school. 4/ His conduct and allegations toward the present teacher at Te Kopua Maori School reveal him to be quite unscrupulous and untrustworthy. 5/ He apparently is under the impression that his grandchildren will attend Tiheroa School if they can get them transported there. No effort has been made to hide this intention.⁴³ [1954 09 11]

Marsh then detailed the consequences for Te Kopua roll if a school bus went down Cannons Road.

Pura Panapa wrote to support the head teacher's letter. He wrote that the guardian lived next door to the new Te Kopua school, and had been antagonistic since it was built. Why, asked Panapa, was the new board school being erected? "Could not the children have been conveyed to the Te Kopua Maori School, which is a Public school?"⁴⁴

The sub-text to Panapa's remarks on the new board school was an Auckland Education Board plan to de-consolidate Otorohanga Primary School.⁴⁵ The Board planned to divert

⁴³ Emphasis in original.

⁴⁴ Emphasis in original.

⁴⁵ Otorohanga District High School was just down the road from the first district, Pio Pio, where small rural schools were consolidated on the school in a rural centre.

the children to Tiheroa,⁴⁶ Ngutunui and Honikiwi, and the bus routes would be close to Te Kopua.⁴⁷

The point that "without a capitation grant a Maori school committee is powerless" was well made. It was a feature I had not appreciated before,⁴⁸ that the school committee had not ever had funds as of right, in stark contrast to the committees of board schools, which received a capitation grant, ie, a grant based on the roll of the school.

It was unfortunate that relations had developed the way they had, because the guardian had vigorously helped to get the new school approved. It could have been that he preferred it to be built on a different site for his own particular reasons, and became disenchanted when his preference was not accepted.⁴⁹

Meanwhile, school life went on. The October weather had a not previously reported climatic consequence for "A late frost wiped out the French beans in the school gardens."⁵⁰ In November, Mr Birdsall⁵¹ visited Te Kopua. "He expressed great pleasure and surprise at the development of the grounds. Layout, school gardens, lawns, fencing and drainage were warmly commended."⁵²

It seems that in 1953 the Te Kopua community decided to have a Parents' Day, involving the Agricultural Club judging, rather than an end-of-year function. Marsh wrote outlining their plans, and seeking the Department's permission to hold the day.

Parents' Day

Dear Sir,

As a result of a meeting of the parents of children attending this school, a decision was made to hold a Parents' Day on Tuesday, December 7th. Would you kindly grant this arrangement your approval.

The day's programme will include the judging of the School Lamb and Calf Club entries, and the assessment of the best school garden club plots. Cups will be awarded for the pet competitions and prizes for the garden competitions. Prizes will be given also for progress in school work. The children will provide a short concert with some action songs, recitation and songs, etc. The parents will have an opportunity to inspect the work of the children and their handwork. Free lunch will be provided. It is hoped that some of the Neighbouring European settlers will attend. An effort will be made to secure their interest.⁵³ [1954 11 26]

The Department gave its approval, and informed Marsh that the "Attendance Registers should be marked on that day."

⁴⁶This was the school the Te Kopua pupils went to when Te Kopua School closed in 1956.

⁴⁷ It must be remember, however, that there was a river in between! It might have been a strategy to have a bridge built!

⁴⁸Though on reflection I should have!

⁴⁹This is one of many questions to be explored if an oral history study is incorporated with the current study.

⁵⁰*TKLB*, [1953 10 16]

⁵¹Agriculture Instructor.

⁵²*TKLB*, [1953 11 23] This was proof indeed that Marsh had not needed Birdcall's advice.

⁵³Note the use of 'settlers', and that they are 'European'. This was the first very deliberate attempt in the record to get the settlers as a group involved in the life of the school.

What Marsh described was also to some extent an 'open day'. He did not report on the day in the logbook; we must hope it did not rain, that some at least of the settlers did attend, and that the day was successful.

Marsh recorded in the logbook doing 'surveys', and entering the results.⁵⁴ To my surprise, he referred to pupils not being promoted; that year, one pupil was not promoted in arithmetic. That pupil obviously could not do the work in Standard 2 and would be embarrassed by the work in Standard 3. I am mystified by Marsh's remarks, for they are in the language of the Proficiency regime and 'standards', when children were not promoted to the next class if they failed the examination. The Te Kopua archive has many examples of children being of advanced age in junior classes. What Marsh may have meant was that the surveys were 'diagnostic', designed to reveal the level of progress in, at least that year, arithmetic, and he planned, in the light of the results, to have pupils do work at the level of younger classes, work which they could manage. If that was the meaning it was unexceptional, for it had become standard practice under what had come to be known as 'social promotion'. The intention was that children worked at a level of difficulty at which they could be successful, and actually learn, whilst being classified in the class appropriate to their age. The 'trick' was to work that way without the children feeling demeaned, etc, with all the problems that generated. Getting it 'right' was not easy, but we all, I think, tried as hard as we could to respect our pupils and plan the work in as fruitful a way as possible.⁵⁵

In December, there were two deaths in three days, of committee people. All the children attended the tangi; none attended school.⁵⁶

That potatoes and onions were being grown at the school was not obvious in the 1953 record,⁵⁷ but being grown they were, for the opening activity of the 1954 year was to DIG the potatoes from school garden; they weighed 1 cwt.⁵⁸ 40lbs of onions were gathered and strung. The potatoes were to be sold by ballot the following day, the funds to go to the Te

⁵⁴The results were I presume entered in the Progress and Achievement Register, and he would have entered the new classes on the pupils' individual record cards, which were called 'Progress Cards', and which followed children from school to school when they moved.

⁵⁵1954 was my first year of teaching.

⁵⁶*TKLB*, [1953 12 00]

⁵⁷Clearly the garden plots judged on the Parents' Day were at the school, not at the children's homes. During my time at primary school, we had our gardens at our homes. At Te Kopua they were planned as an Agricultural Club, ie as a gardening activity, *and* as a fundraising activity.

⁵⁸'Cwt' was the abbreviation for 'hundredweight'; a hundredweight was 112 pounds [lbs]. Why a *hundredweight* should have 112 pounds is buried in the mists of history.

Kopua Agricultural Club for development. They sold 6½lbs of carrots for the Agricultural Club also, and 6lbs of parsnips for 2/-.⁵⁹ [1954 02 02/3]

A letter from Marsh to the Department advising it that there was board available for a relieving teacher for one month at the Panapa home was explained when it emerged that Marsh had been appointed Head Teacher at Reporoa District High School.⁶⁰ [1955 02 22]

The logbook on 1 March recorded that Marsh had gone to Reporoa; the entry was by Kaire. There seems to have been a very short interval between Marsh learning he had been appointed to Reporoa, and he leaving to take up his new position. Teachers did not often move during a term, and Marsh's very quick transfer merits explanation; there was no explanation in the record. Te Kopua was not apparently closed between Marsh and Kairie, but again it was Te Kopua that had to come second. My experience suggests that there were difficulties at Reporoa which were considered to necessitate the new head teacher taking up his duties as soon as possible. It was unfortunate that Te Kopua had two more teachers in 1955, for Kaire left at the end of Term I, and his successor, M H Stevenson, left at the end of the year.

⁵⁹Sadly, Marsh did not record what the potatoes and the carrots sold for, and he did not report what happened to the onions; I presume they were sold also, but he forgot to list them.

⁶⁰ That was a significant promotion; Marsh was obviously considered by the inspectors to be a good teacher. He was certainly prepared to express his views and was not, it seems, penalised for that.

25

1955

Joe Kaire and M H Stevenson

Joe Kaire, followed by M H Stevenson, were the teachers at Te Kopua for the remainder of 1955. There was no personal information about either teacher in the files, nor information on their careers prior to arriving at Te Kopua. I have not found where they went when they left.

Kaire started at Te Kopua on 1 March 1955.¹ He was there until the end of Term I.

These two entries in the logbook in March were in sharp contrast to most references to the weather. Kaire wrote that there was "Exceptionally dry weather; it was hot and humid." A week later it was " Too hot even in school for work this afternoon. Took children to the Waipa River for a swim. Of the class, 14 went in, including self."² What a contrast to most of the records on the weather!

The Te Kopua community had its fair share of bereavements. There were two deaths while Kaire was at Te Kopua. In April it was the

Death by drowning of Peter Emery's sister, in the well, at the pa. All the children went to the tangi.³ The teacher spent day at school putting things on walls, etc."

Kaire sent his condolences. I know he was a reliever, but why *did* he not go to the tangi?⁴

¹Te Kopua logbook [TKLB], [1955 03 01]

²TKLB, [1955: March entries.] I recall that Marsh would not take children swimming; the river was too swift, too dangerous. The children were taken swimming in the Waipa by more than one teacher. It is an interesting contrast; was Marsh too cautious, or were Kaire and his earlier colleagues too careless of danger?

³Note Kaire's use of 'tangi', not 'funeral'.

The second was in May, when Mrs Anne Searancke died. Kaire recorded; "No children attended school today. All away at funeral of Mrs Anne Searancke. All the children are grandchildren of hers."⁵

Kaire did not record his departure. M H Stevenson arrived in time for Term II.⁶ His wife had a son whilst they were there, but Stevenson did not record any school events of consequence.

Stevenson met one of the realities of Te Kopua very quickly. He reported that the playing area between the school and the residence was badly infested with gorse and blackberry, despite the use of knapsack prayer and Weedone 245-T. He informed the Department that the Otorohanga County Council operated a mobile sprayer at a reasonable cost; could they use it? [1955 06 15] The record did not reveal whether the Department took up the idea.

Another reality also became apparent to Stevenson. Access across the Waipa River continued to bedevil the community. The matter of the boat used to carry pupils, and in earlier time teachers, across the Waipa River must have been raised, for Stevenson wrote that the present semi-flat bottomed boat was very suitable for grounding on the sand at either bank, but he felt a clinker-built dinghy had the advantage of greater stability.⁷ [1955 07 01]

The explanation for Stevenson's question to the Department about the regulations regarding Parent Teacher Associations [1955 07 13] may perhaps be found in the intention of the PTA to put its funds into a replacement boat, not into a projector; the decision was the subject of a Stevenson letter to the Department a little later, in September. The department's response was that there were no regulations; PTAs were voluntary, and any person with an interest could join.

There were a number of episodes of various kinds which illustrated the increasing mobility of the Te Kopua community. Stevenson wrote to tell the Department that the NZ Maori Rugby team had played King Country. He was deserted as the day went on, until he had only 3 primers left, so he sent them home and closed the school. He gave a long justification for his action. For example, all the schools around about had closed at midday, and

⁴*TKLB*, [1955 04 12] Kaire reported in these words to the department: "It is my duty to notify you, that on Thursday last the 14th April, school opened but no pupils attended. I remained at school, occupying myself with the school records. The reason for the absence was the death by drowning [In a well at pa] of one of the sisters of a pupil attending the school. As all the pupils attending school are closely related, the absence of pupils was understandable." [1955 04 19] Perhaps Kaire thought he had to keep the school open; it seems a pity he did not have the confidence to join his pupils at the tangi.

⁵*TKLB*, [1955 05 02]

⁶*TKLB*, [1955 05 11]

⁷This was presumably the boat at issue in late 1947 and early 1948, when Strother was the teacher. Panapa had asked for assistance to repair the boat, which was affected by rot, but was turned down. That was seven years earlier, so Panapa must have used effective maintenance techniques! See eg [1947 10 02] and [1948 02 20].

any kind of visit by the children away from Te Kopua was always a good thing. [1955 07 15] The Department replied that while keeping the pupils away broke the law, it was an isolated instance, so no action would be taken. But, Stevenson was told, "You should have stayed at your post."⁸

The Department had again been slow to act about the boat, so Panapa wrote: "Owing to frequent flooding the early delivery of the new boat would be appreciated." [1955 08 08] The implication was that the Department had agreed to supply a new boat. However, it was not forthcoming, as this next letter from Stevenson attests:

[The people expect] ... a boat would be supplied, and I am constantly beset with enquiries anent this facility. [There are so] ... many ways in which its delivery could be delayed. However, as your permanent representative here my explanations are wearing thin and I would appreciate your action if you could provide even a letter that I may use to explain the delay and so convince the people here that I have not been hiding the boat from them.⁹ [1955 08 15]

Panapa followed up Stevenson's letter with one reporting that there were two boats offering, one of 14' 8" at £102, the other of 12' 6"¹⁰ at £94. The latter should be accepted, as it was available ex-stock. [1955 08 17]

The Department was not really listening. It wrote regarding insurance on the boat, perhaps in response to a query not in the file. "As Mr Panapa is a private ferry operator, it is his responsibility to arrange for any insurance cover." [1955 09 02]

Stevenson replied that the current boat carried 9 of the 17 pupils of the school. It was, he wrote,

... generally recognised a new boat was an urgent necessity and the PTA voted all of its funds to the committee to assist in the purchase. I could voice no opinion, but it was depressing to me to see these funds surrendered when I knew they were accumulating for the purchase of a [new] projector, but the boat is a more urgent need. [1955 09 15]

Stevenson also rejected the Departmental understanding implicit in the remarks about insurance:¹¹

It is primarily and exclusively a utility for transport of school children and I feel that, under these circumstances, the committee merits your sympathetic consideration of a subsidy in this purchase. [1955 09 15]

⁸It was 'rugby'; more significantly, it was 'Maori rugby'. Actually, put as simplistically as that, I am unsure that the Department was legally accurate to assert parents taking their children off to watch a rugby match "broke the law". And Yes, I guess he should, strictly, have stayed at his post, and he probably should not have sent the three children home, certainly if he had not contacted the parents first. However, again I think the Department was unnecessarily bureaucratic and unthinking. For heaven sake, he had been practically deserted, and his Education Board colleagues had gone home at midday!

⁹That is the first time a request for action has been quite so plaintive! There are, however, echoes of the earlier pleas of Mills and Marsh.

¹⁰14 feet 8 inches; about four and a half metres, and about four metres respectively. A pound [£] became \$2 in 1967.

¹¹I am quite sure that operating that ferry was never considered a commercial enterprise.

Eventually, the boat was supplied ex stock. The Te Kopua people would have been reminded, again, that seldom were their needs achieved easily or quickly. They got little use out of the new boat, for Te Kopua closed at the end of the following year, 1956.

Stevenson did not record an end-on-year function, nor did he record his departure. Mrs Stevenson, apart from giving birth, was anonymous. Stevenson's successor, Paul C Chalmers arrived on 20 December, 1955.¹²

¹²*TKLB*, [1955 12 20]

1956

Paul C Chalmers

Paul C Chalmers and Mrs Chalmers, with their three young children, arrived on 20 December 1955.¹ School can only just have ended for the year!

Paul Chalmers was not the only teacher to be critical, sometimes very critical, of the state of the school when they arrived. He was highly critical of the condition of the school, the milkroom, the residence, and the records.²

In the first typed letter from a teacher in the record, Chalmers wrote to the Department concerning the purchase of a radio and a gramophone unit on subsidy. This is the only reference to a subsidy on a piece of teaching equipment bought for the school.³ What is much more significant was that it was 1956!⁴ The children of Te Kopua did not have access to one aid that would have supported their teachers, and helped to broaden their horizons. The Committee and the teacher had done their homework, and knew what they wanted; an Ultimate at £64 approximately. It was, they claimed, cheaper than the model the Department recommended. [1956 02 17] However, the Department was adamant. The Gulbransen was adequate, and, it asserted, much cheaper.⁵

¹ Te Kopua logbook [TKLB], [1955 12 20]

²TKLB, [1956: February: undated.] I was surprised each time I read the criticisms, for they did not reflect my experience. I would not expect such criticisms to be recorded in the logbook, for they would then be read by succeeding head teachers. I also note that no inspector thought it appropriate to comment in writing on the entries. It is pertinent to wonder whether the 'stress' of living and working at Te Kopua left teachers in a state of mind which made it possible to leave buildings and records in the claimed state.

³There had previously been a subsidy on a motor mower, and possibly on the boat.

⁴Radio broadcasts began in 1931, and were widely available and used from the late 1930s. The National Broadcasting Service took over the programming and the production in 1943; that same year the Department of Education began subsidising the purchase of radios by schools, and the later was responsible for the booklets which supported the broadcasts. [Ewing, *The Development of the New Zealand Primary School Curriculum*, pp 174, 198-199.] I listened to school radio broadcasts at primary school, which I left in 1943, and I made extensive use of them as a teacher. They were particularly valuable in many parts of the curriculum in sole charge teaching, and for teachers like myself who could not sing in tune!

⁵Gulbransen 6153 receiver, Philips 8G9102 record playing amplifier. The extension speakers were £4.5.0 each. When Te Kopua closed at the end of the year the radio went to Tiheroa School, where many of the Te Kopua children went; it took much paperwork to get it there!

The new radio arrived the day that Chalmers reported a number of items of equipment missing: scythe, stone, garden spade, yard brooms [3], bucket; they were not to be found. He asked the Department for Schonell Spelling Lists, a slasher and a fern hook needed for clearing gorse and blackberry, an electric hot water jug, and an electric floor polisher. [1956 03 02] The Department replied that there were no stocks of Schonell Spelling Lists available for issue, and that because of the uncertain future of the school,⁶ the electric floor polisher was turned down.

On 9 March a meeting was held to consider the future of the school, and the following week a meeting was held to tell the parents of the earlier one. Chalmers recorded in the logbook that

They would all appear to agree that this school must close through lack of numbers.⁷

At the end of March G L Stafford carried out the last inspection at Te Kopua.

Buildings and grounds are well cared for. The classroom is clean, attractive and educationally useful.

Pupil - teacher relationships are most pleasant. The children are polite and orderly.

A well-balanced programme of work is in operation, and the children are making good progress in their work.

Roll prospects are not good; 9 for 1956. [1956 03 29]

Very bland, but a good report to go out on.

However, two Te Kopua regulars had their last say. In June, Chalmers made several references to weather and flooding, and in July, he recorded that flu was raging.

There was an instructive entry in September. Reporting on Religious Instruction, Chalmers recorded that he had invited Mrs and Mrs Kerr to attend weekly,

... since other religious groups are sadly neglecting their responsibilities and I hold Mr and Mrs Kerr and their church in the highest esteem.⁸

The weather had another fling. Chalmers wrote to the department:

During a recent gale the rotary clothes line snapped and the line itself was hurled against the garage. A new metal⁹ one is £9, and it is cheaper to install one of those. We have three young children. [1956 08 07]

Just why Chalmers made this next request is unclear, given that the school was closing. He asked for shelving to accommodate the school library, at a cost of not more than £10. [1956 10 15] There was no record of the shelving being approved, or of it arriving.

The weather and conditions had almost the last say:

The house driveway is little more than a quagmire.¹⁰

⁶That the school had an uncertain future had *not* been signalled in the recent record!

⁷TKLB, [1956 03 09/14]

⁸TKLB, [1956 09 12]

⁹I guess the old one was wooden.

In early December there was a meeting with departmental officers to settle the future of the school, the decision being that it was to close.¹¹ That was the last record in the logbook; Chalmers didn't bother to record the final break up, etc.

The notes made by Chalmers at that meeting were in the files. They make interesting reading in part, and further illuminate the divisions that existed in the community after the new school was built.

W Kohi: Has been friendly towards me and has assisted with school activities this year. Is opposed to separate education systems. Has had considerable strife with past teachers.

P N Panapa: Not now in district, but previously the 'rangatira'. Strongly in favour of Maori Schools and had district in two camps [Kohi leading the other.] [1956 12 05]¹²

The Department's final letter read:

Further to our discussions on Wednesday 5th December, it is now apparent that the minimum number of children necessary to keep this school open will not be available in 1957.

The Department has therefore, reluctantly decided to close the school, with effect from the end of the school year.

We would like to express to the Committee and Parents generally, our appreciation of their support of the school in the past, and hope that they will support their new school in a similar manner. [1956 12 07]

In the departmental report which recommended that the school should close, there was no reference to the impact on Te Kopua of the opening of the school at Tiheroa¹³ consequent on the de-consolidation of Otorohanga School.

While it was not in itself important, the outline of the history of Te Kopua given in the report states that " ... the school first opened in a private hall in 1927." It was not a hall, though it was 'private'; it was of course the original school, and it had re-opened in 1922 after the long break of WWI. It had originally opened in 1886. The official who wrote that report did a very sloppy piece of research.¹⁴ The community didn't get to know those pieces of misinformation. I guess by that time it didn't make any difference!

Eleven months after the school closed, Pura Panapa wrote¹⁵ stating that

... As Owner-occupier of the balance of the above block I am deeply interested as to what your Department intends doing with the now abandoned Te Kopua Maori School. My interest stems from the fact that the grounds are rapidly deteriorating and in a matter of months will revert to gorse. I am applying for grazing of the grounds and cleaning up of the gorse and blackberry.

¹⁰TKLB, [1956 10 24]

¹¹TKLB, [1956 12 05]

¹²Chalmers implicitly 'blames' Panapa for the divisions. Does his observation reveal his perspective? It takes two to tango! Chalmers also states that Panapa was no longer in the district. That does not agree with the letter from P N Panapa below concerning the land and the house.

¹³Now spelt Tihiroa

¹⁴I have since realised that that was the information held in National Archives; I recently wrote to them to inform them of the accurate history of the school's openings and closings.

¹⁵Panapa wrote the letter in pencil. Te Kopua people writing to the Department had often used pencils in the past, but I hadn't expected find one in use in 1956. Also, Chalmers had said Panapa was no longer in the district?

Further to this I would like to apply for the tenancy of the school-house or the purchase of it if it is for sale. As one who had a deep interest in this school for a number of years as Chairman, Committee member, and ferry-man, also as occupier of the adjoining land and the rest of the block, I ask for your favourable consideration. [1957 11 13]

The school building went to be the Ngati Haua Maori School building, right on the confiscation line, near Tauwhare, at the foot of Pukemoremore, southeast of Hamilton. I believe the land did go into Pura Panapa's possession, but have not confirmed that.

So did the life and times of Te Kopua come to an end, not with a bang, but with a whimper!

Themes in the Study, and Research Possibilities

This final chapter, as its title suggest, firstly aims to outline some of the major themes which emerge from the biography of Te Kopua / Native Maori School. It will be interesting to find to what extent these themes are typical in the experience of Native Schools in general, and what other themes are revealed. Secondly, it aims to outline some potential research topics I have identified in the study as a whole. As I have worked on it, I have come to wonder whether the distinction between themes and research topics was as clear as I had originally thought.

Themes

The most pervasive feature of the life of Te Kopua has to be ‘conditions’, in the form of water, and water’s concomitants, mud and slush. It looms over and in the life of the school somewhat in the way that the weather with its associated conditions is said to almost be a ‘character’, a ‘presence’, in the novels of Thomas Hardy.

Water is also represented by the rivers, especially the Waipa River. The Waipa River was a dominant feature at several points in the story. The various attempts to bridge it or to otherwise provide for pupils and teachers to cross the Waipa River deserve especial mention. The river was dangerous to cross when the school opened; it was dangerous when it closed. The record makes quite clear that pupils and teachers were exposed to considerable danger, danger which was at times remarked upon by inspectors. What I could not find was any evidence that an inspector ever put his career on the line on behalf of those people. On a ten-point moral scale, with one being very immoral and ten being very moral, the officials of the Department, especially the inspectors, scored a resounding *one* on this theme.

Put together, conditions, rivers, and the difficulties of access they created, were probably the reason why the school, not really very far from either Alexandra [now Pirongia] or Te

Awamutu, should to the teachers have seemed so isolated.¹ Especially until the motor car to at least some extent rescued them, teachers at Te Kopua felt themselves to be very isolated. Because isolation was one reason why some requested to be transferred, there must have been a perception in their minds that other schools were less isolated. Whether their perceptions were accurate only further studies can reveal. Even James H Pope managed to get lost on the way to Te Kopua, and he visited the school many times during the first sixteen years of its life!²

Predictably, the Department looms large in the life of the school. What I had not expected was the almost dictatorial control the Department exercised over the school and over the teachers. I had not expected to find that teachers were moved at the Department's will, even perhaps at its whim. Te Kopua was closed several times, with the pupils suffering accordingly, because the Department thought it more important to have a teacher at another school. I have come to the conclusion that the Department was in essence unsympathetic to the interests and aspirations of the people and the pupils of Te Kopua, but concerned to advance its fundamental objective, the 'Europeanisation' of Maori. Only in the last few years of the life of the school did the Department appear to become more sympathetic.

Another Departmental characteristic revealed in the Te Kopua archive was tardiness. It was an occasion for comment if a request for repair or renovation was responded to and put in train immediately. I would be surprised if that characteristic was not a feature of the life of all Native Schools.

Associated with that last feature were the living conditions the Department was prepared to allow its teachers to live in and, in some cases, associate living conditions, such as travel conditions. We have to be aware that standards of accommodation were different, especially in earlier times, but teachers did complain about their accommodation; only rarely did the Department remedy the conditions reasonably quickly and with apparent good grace. Getting to work is part of conditions, and I have already drawn attention to the perceived danger to children and teachers when crossing the Waipa River by canoe. Miss Mauriohooho in particular very vigorously expressed her fears to the Department, but it did nothing to resolve the issue.

The impression left by the Te Kopua archive is that the officials in the Department had no significant knowledge or understanding of life as experienced by the teachers they were

¹ Whether the people of Te Kopua also considered themselves isolated is quite another matter. I suspect not, but we will not know until the collective memories of the people of the place are jogged!

responsible for. Despite the fact that they visited twice a year, I remain to be convinced that the inspectors had any real understanding of what it was like to be a teacher in a Native School. It occurred to me quite near the end of my work on this study that I did not know whether inspectors ever stayed overnight with the teachers, or whether they always got away in time to be back in Pirongia or Te Awamutu or Hamilton for the night.³

Because the Te Kopua logbooks for the period prior to World War I are missing, it is difficult to assess the nature and quality of the relations between the pre-World War I teachers and the people of Te Kopua. Inspection reports frequently reported good relations, but what are called 'self reports' are not always the most reliable indicators. We know that Henry Young upset at least some of his neighbours on one occasion, and we know that William Nixon Coughlan was held in high regard, but of the other early teachers' relations with the community we know very little. Of later teachers, it is clear that Emily Churton had good relations, and that Sarah Mauriohooho's relations with the community were not good. Both, I might add, were Maori.

The roll numbers at Te Kopua fluctuated quite wildly at times. Most often it was because the children moved to another district, and then often returned to Te Kopua. It would be interesting to discover if the situation at Te Kopua was similar in other districts, and to discover the principal reasons for the movement.

Possible Research Topics

There are two other 'Te Kopua' applications in the Departmental files in National Archives in Auckland. Neither application was successful. This file makes three. Whilst I browsed those two files, I did not take notes, but my memory suggests that I thought the Department was much less than enthusiastic about opening either school, and was searching always for a good reason not to accede to the request to provide a school. My memory also suggests that one of the central 'excuses' was the apparent⁴ availability of an alternative, Education Board, school. There is, I judge, a research issue here. It may well be that *unsuccessful* applications are more immediately illuminating of underlying departmental policy and attitudes than *successful* applications.

One issue of course is differences between Native Schools and Board schools. There are potentially very fruitful research topics therein. For instance, it was claimed in 1954 that

² See Chapter 10.

³ Pope and Bird did stay overnight in March 1901 due to inclement weather, but whether they stayed with the teachers, Mr and Mrs Frazer, is not indicated. [1901 03 14]

⁴ Given the nature of the movement of people in those time, the availability was more apparent than real.

"without a capitation grant a Maori school committee is powerless". It was a feature I had not appreciated before, that the School Committee had not ever had funds as of right,⁵ in stark contrast to the committees of board schools, which received a capitation grant, ie, a grant based on the roll of the school.

I have wondered why Native Schools should have had shorter hours than Pakeha, Board, schools? There were differences between the two in other what I will call 'operational' ways. One which is well established is in the requirement to be exemplars of good Pakeha society. I have to confess now that I perhaps paid less attention than I should have to the Codes, the syllabii, and perhaps other documents I have not found, for Native Schools, for I am aware that syllabii are fruitful sources of ideology and of the information just outlined.

It could be fruitful to go through inspection reports with a fine-tooth comb and try to make sense of the fluctuations and the possible causes. I would be interested to see what, if any, patterns are revealed. I have been aware, as I often noted, that there were inconsistencies, but I have not tried to analyse the inspection reports to find what inconsistencies could be revealed.

In the *AJHR*, G4, pp 13 - 14, there is a series of correspondence between Mr H Churton, of Wanganui, and Mr D Pollen, Native Minister, and officials of the Native Department, concerning Mr Churton's desire to endow and have constructed a boarding school for Maori girls at Wanganui, and perhaps other schools thereafter. The Government, through Mr Pollen, agreed to assist with finance, management and maintenance, to the extent of passing any necessary legislation. It is possible that Emily Churton, the first Maori to teach at Te Kopua, was in some way related to Mr H Churton, for Emily was from Wanganui. More importantly, it occurs to me that there might be a research topic in private, as distinct from church, provision of schooling for Maori.

The department's attitude to the danger to the children whilst being ferried over the Waipa river was I believe unconscionable. In retrospect, it must have been pure luck that no child was drowned crossing the Waipa River! There *was* a near-fatal accident on 28 April, 1897, when the canoe capsized. In 1907, the children were swimming the river because a new rope had been needed for *seven* months. I have to ask, rhetorically, whether there was

⁵Though, on reflection I should have, for there was fact never until then an occasion when the committee clearly had funds it had not itself raised!

dereliction of duty on the part of Lillian Wylie, or the Chairman of the Committee, or W W Bird, or the Department, or all of the above.

It really is difficult to believe the continuing ‘saga’ of the crossing of the Waipa River; to have the children swimming across it is on reflection bizarre, and it is difficult to believe that so many senior, responsible, overtly moral men in the Department could so often put these children at risk. The wonder is that none died crossing the river. My judgement is that the Department of Education, abetted by the Public Works Department, completely failed this community and its children and its school and teachers in so far as provision of adequate access was concerned. The consequent deleterious effects on the schooling of the children is clear. Other school studies will reveal to what extent children were placed in danger.

There were innumerable examples of repairs, etc, not being attended to. Other studies will reveal whether this was persistent Departmental behaviour, or whether the fact that the building did not belong to the Department was a significant variable.

The Department in the Te Kopua record leaves no doubt that Native School committees were not to try to influence the teachers in their work. I presume that was consistent, but it requires to be confirmed.

I have previously observed that I had hoped to treat quite fully the school careers of the pupils, the nature of the evaluations of those careers, and the outcomes, but that the task was too large for this study. It remains to be done, as it should for pupils in board schools, and comparisons then made.

Is it possible to assess the success of the Native School system that Pope established? The answer, I suspect, is “Not easily!”, but this table from the Department’s Annual Report of 1916 caught my eye. It is a summary of the data in the report showing the classification of pupils grouped according to age, standards, and races. I have added the comparable statistics from Board schools.

	Maoris⁶	Europeans	Totals	Per Cent of Roll	Board Schools⁷
Class P ⁸	2 146	182	2 328	44.8	39.94
Standard I	660	68	728	14.0	12.50

⁶ I had not expected to see *that* ignorance of te reo Maori in the Department’s Annual Reports in 1916!

⁷ These are the comparable figures for Education Board school [Table C4, *AJHR*, 1916, E2, p 4.

⁸ ‘Class P’ included two class levels, P1 and P2. As a consequence, the figures should theoretically be halved to give the full spread across the class levels. In reality, there would probably have been more children in Class P1 than in class P2.

Standard II	600	69	669	12.9	12.19
Standard III	516	69	585	11.3	11.92
Standard IV	366	52	418	8.1	10.70
Standard V	237	56	293	5.7	9.22
Standard VI	96	45	141	2.7	6.19
Standard VII	<u>22</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>0.5</u>	<u>1.34</u>
	4 643	548	5 191	100.0	100.00

A comparison of the Maori and European columns reveal a stark difference; Maori pupils, more so than Pakeha pupils, were failing to reach the upper standards. However, a comparison of the percentages in the classes in Native Schools with those in Education Board Schools reveals a less stark, but still significant, difference.⁹ The higher percentages in the younger classes and lower percentages in the older classes reveal that Maori children were more likely to fail to pass the standards examinations. There is research to be done in this area.

In the Introduction to Part Two of this study, I observe that I had hoped to treat quite fully the school careers of the pupils, the nature of the evaluations of those careers, and the outcomes, but that the task was far too large for this study. It would also be important to examine across the years the data contained in the tables above, compare them with the comparable Pakeha statistics, and draw the consequent conclusions. I would like to have compared the age range in each standard, but the statistics given for Native Schools and Board schools do not appear to be easily comparable.

Mrs Tennent attracted two 'secret' memoranda during her time at Te Kopua. There were few other critical memoranda in the Te Kopua record. Other studies will reveal how widespread the practice was.

In chapter 10 I footnoted this observation, apropos the removal of the provision of sewing material sufficient to sew garments: "This seems an example of 'finance driving provision'. There is perhaps an issue worthy of study in 'minor' items such as this one. It is I think an example of something that I think I am increasingly becoming aware of, that the attitude of the department was becoming 'less generous'. Whether it reflects changes in personnel, eg Hogben, Bird, Porteous, or changes in the political climate, or the minister/s,

or budgetary restraints, I do not at this time know, and it may be very difficult to 'document' the phenomena I think I am reading about. This is written *after* documenting the determined efforts to close the school after Douglas's departure, when the phenomena first really began to impinge on my consciousness." It could be worth researching, alongside research in parsimony.

Also in the context of that period, when the Department was acceding to the community's wish for the school to be reopened whilst making very heavy demands on that community, I wrote:

The demands made of these people were I believe quite unconscionable. It has never come to my notice that such demands were made of Pakeha before schooling would be supplied. In a sense, it was a form of blackmail.

There is a research topic in that assertion; it will I judge first need a goodly collection of case studies.

There is another perhaps interesting research topic in searching out the previous occupations of teachers entering the Native School system, and for that matter the succeeding occupations of those who left the service before retirement

I frequently observed that basing salary partly upon roll and attendance figures was a form of 'performance pay', and as I also observed, it could be quite invidious. So also was the practice of basing salary partly upon examination results. Any particular teacher might have been the best teacher ever at Te Kopua, and have done more than any other to encourage parents to enroll their children and ensure they attended very regularly, but that would have made no difference in the case of the extended sickness of two girls, or prevented absences due to parents being at the Native Land Court in Te Kuiti, or brought about the return of pupils moved to avoid disruption to their schooling consequent on the extended closures of the school, for which the Department most often was clearly responsible. In other words, teachers suffered financially for reasons quite unconnected with their performance, good or bad. Given the frequent enthusiasm for performance-based remuneration of teachers, a research topic is clearly lurking in the archives of the Native School system.

⁹ I presume that most of the European children in the Native Schools were the children of teachers, and therefore were not a 'normal' sample. If that was the case, it would explain the quite clear differences between the figures for European children in Native Schools and those in Education Board schools.

Appendices

Appendix 1

A tourist guide

The following letter was sent to the publishers of the *Insight* New Zealand tourist guide.¹

Dear Editors

Whilst visiting Los Angeles recently, I saw your New Zealand guide, and a friend observed that she did not like the front cover photo of a male Maori doing a haka, particularly his facial expression. I pointed out that such expressions only appear when Maori men are doing a haka.

I had already had my reservations about that photo, the endpaper photo, [which I judge is an historical photo] and in fact all the photos and other illustrations of Maori.

My reservation is that Maori do not appear in the guide as they appear to me every day here in Hamilton, dressed in the sort of clothes I wear, doing the sorts of things I do, or doing the various jobs that Pakeha do. If there are such photos in the guide, I could not find them. Eventually, I went through the guide looking at the photos pretty thoroughly, and also at times the text, and what follows is my commentary on what I took notice of.

“By way of Introduction”: Very light on women contributors. No person recognisably Maori.

“Table of Contents”: It is a long time since the wars were the ‘Maori’ Wars. For many years they have been the ‘land’ Wars [see p 131, where Janet Leggett uses ‘land’ wars. More recently, following James Belich, the more appropriate and historically valid term is ‘New Zealand’ Wars. See his *The New Zealand Wars*.]

p 5: That photo of a ‘Maori’ maiden is *not* recent; I have to ask what purpose was to be met by putting, first up, a photo of a young Maori women whose like will almost certainly rarely be seen by a modern tourist. You followed it with a series of modern, colour, real place/life photos; surely you cannot have thought it was of a kind with those others?

p 26: The first of many reproductions of paintings showing Maori women with *bare* breasts. See also pages 32: p 149 fits here - bare-breasted Pania; p 252: note the way the photo is cropped on its bottom side; pp 262-263: p 276.

¹ See p 50 above, in the section on tourism.

p 32: Maori do not ‘perform’ the hongi, they hongi as a greeting. I am also uneasy about the hongi being a ‘nose kiss’; that is a Pakeha view. For Maori, it is simply their form of greeting, in the same way that the Cubans I lived amongst for January most often ‘embrace’ when they greet each other.

p 39: Did you have to put in that ‘somewhat irreverent’ painting? It just trivialises Maori even more.

pp 72-73: Why did you have to refer to ‘British’ rural life and a ‘British’ festival queen. Do the ‘British’ have A & P shows? I don’t know, but ...! NZ is no longer a ‘British’ colony, and I doubt ‘British’ people predominate amongst your readers. The similarity between NZ and ‘British’ farming is not great, at several levels, and, I can affirm after having taught there in 1975, people of New Zealand are *not* English, or British; they sound and act and think like what they are, New Zealanders. Actually, the photo on p 73 *could* have been of a Maori girl; she wouldn’t have been doing what she would normally be doing, sorting and packing kiwifruit in the packing shed, but at least it would have acknowledged the role of Maori in kiwifruit culture in the Bay of Plenty.

p 82: At least you have a Pacific Island person dressed as I dress, and doing what I could have done.

p 85: ‘Melting Pot’ my foot; it’s one of those Pakeha myths. Haven’t you ever heard of Maori land protests, racism in accommodation, etc, etc, etc?

p130: The Marokopa Falls are in the King Country, not in the Waikato. The chapter would be better titled ‘Waikato-King Country and Taranaki’; you could even leave out the hyphen, and put a comma after ‘Country’.

p 131: The mountain is officially, by Geographic Place Names Board decision, ‘Taranaki/Egmont’, not ‘Egmont’. If I were writing it, I would call it ‘Taranaki’, and add that Captain Cook had named it after an otherwise irrelevant Englishman, Cook’s boss, the First Lord of the Admiralty.

p 131: I’ve already referred to the naming of the ‘Wars’. Paragraphs two and three are good; Janet could have added, after ‘1862’, “and much subsequent legislation designed to part Maori from their land.” To call the Maori of the 1860s ‘rebels’ is to perpetuate a description inserted in the legislation which ‘legitimated’ the invasion of the Waikato and the confiscation of Waikato and Taranaki land. [For Taranaki, the proclamation read ‘As much land as the governor thinks fit.’ He thought fit to start well to the north, and finish

just north of Wanganui.] They weren't, in my view, and many other peoples' view, rebels, they were just asserting their rights under the Treaty of Waitangi, which guaranteed them the ownership of their land, and said nothing about them 'having' to sell any land to anyone they didn't want to sell to.

p133: The guy in the blue singlet could actually be Maori.

p 138ff: Not even for Rotorua could you have Maori living ordinary lives!!!! For reasons that are quite inexplicable to me, you couldn't even have any Maori.

p 168: It looks like you got three girls from Marsden School for Girls; they're thoroughly Pakeha.

p 170: Kiri Te Kanawa. OK, but ... Kiri has earned the right to be there, but, like Billy T James on another page who also earned his right to be there, she is not leading an ordinary life, doing things any other New Zealander would or could do.

pp 248ff: Exotic!!! Come on.

It is not that *none* of those photos should be in the guide, it is that they are the *only* photos of Maori, and, almost, of Pacific Polynesian. Maori play a major role in New Zealand life, and, if you work among and with them as I do, you would know that increasingly they are using te reo Maori, often not much more than for greetings, but using the language they are; I often hear parents speaking to their children in te reo Maori. It has again become habitual for many of them, and many would like to use it for much of their daily living and working.

You need to ask of yourselves, very seriously, why you included all those examples of paintings of Maori women which showed them bare-breasted, especially given that there are no equivalent paintings of bare-breasted Pakeha women. I would be very surprised if that was the usual way Maori women of last century had of wearing their clothes; it is much more likely that the male painters chose to exercise some racist, sexist artistic license.

I should add that I am Pakeha, a retired teacher of five and six year old children, and as part of a Masters degree in Education, am doing research into the provision of schooling for Maori, and have become particularly sensitive to the sorts of items I have drawn your attention to. I have not read the text in detail, and there may well be other items I would react to if I had.

Appendix 2

Naming Hamilton

The naming of Hamilton is in itself a small case study in political culture; it reminds me of my favourite, and only, African proverb, quoted at the beginning of this thesis: *Until the lions get their historians, tales of hunting will glorify the hunter!*

Hamilton gained its name because “Colonel William Moule the commander of the 4th Regiment, [He got, after 1949, a very small street in suburban Hamilton!] decided that the new town would be called Hamilton, in honour of Captain John Charles Fane Hamilton of the Naval Brigade, who died in action at the Gate Pa. “Captain Hamilton had served in the Waikato war; he had previously served in the Crimea. His father was an army officer, a grandfather a member of parliament. In background and accomplishment Captain Hamilton was perfectly respectable; he was neither grand nor lowly.”¹

However, “The Battle of Gate Pa was arguably the most important battle of the New Zealand Wars, in terms of both its political effects and its wider implications for military technology. ... In contemporary British eyes, the action at Gate Pa was a traumatic event ...”²

During the battle, “... the bulk of the [Maori] garrison did not at any stage evacuate which was what the British soldiers were carefully led to believe by the design of the pa and by Maori tactics. The actuality was that ““The majority [of the defenders] had concealed themselves in chambers dug out in the ground, and covered with boughs of trees and earth ... When the defenders of the walls retreated ... the others remained in their hiding places and bided their time . [Then] suddenly they opened a destructive fire upon them [British troops who had entered a pa they thought abandoned]. The effect was much the same as if a volcano had suddenly opened beneath their feet, and began to pour forth volumes of smoke and flames; many of our men were killed and wounded at the first discharge ... mere courage could avail nothing against this invisible foe.”³

The Maori plan had “The main redoubt at Gate Pa used as a trap for the British. ... Suddenly the main British force was struck by heavy volleys. These volleys took the

¹ Gibbons, Peter, *Astride the River: A History of Hamilton*, p 35.

² Belich, James, *The New Zealand Wars*: p 180.

³ Belich, James, *The New Zealand Wars*: p 185, quoting from the logbook of HMS *Miranda*, 29 Apr, 1864.

British completely by surprise, they were fired at close range, and they came from all directions. Some men were even shot from beneath their feet as they stood on the roofs of covered trenches and bunkers - a horrible fate.”⁴

The story of the Battle of Gate Pa⁵ is, therefore, an account of British competence on the one hand, and on the other of Maori tactical and technical brilliance. [The technical expertise of Gate Pa and other pa constructed by Maori during the New Zealand Wars was carefully recorded and used by British troops in the Crimea and in World War I.]

From this distance, with the advantage of an accurate rendering of the battle, it is difficult to justify calling the fifth centre of population in New Zealand ‘Hamilton’. [The naming of at least Mercer [north of Hamilton in the Waikato] and Mt Messenger [North Taranaki] are as problematic, for the same or similar reasons, as the naming of Hamilton.]

⁴ Belich, James, *The New Zealand War*,: p 185-6

⁵ Belich, James, *The New Zealand Wars*, pp 177-188.

Appendix 3:
**Departmental management of teacher transfers and
school staffing**

The original of this letter was in the Te Kopua archive; I quote it in part, as it applied to Te Kopua.

“Dear Mr Bird

Just a few lines to advise you of a few happenings since you left Wellington.

... Miss Rutherford had again written asking for an urgent transfer as the people with whom she boards are leaving the district. If you want Mangawhariki advertised you will need to let me know in time to get it in the 1st October Gazette. I suppose the place is suitable only for a single woman of somewhat mature years, as the accommodation would not be sufficient for a married man accompanied by his wife. I understand from Mr Ball that it is, nevertheless, a fairly comfortable hutment and I thought it possible you might consider offering the school to Miss Rutherford. The grade and salary are right and she should be able to bach there fairly comfortably. On the other hand, should we transfer Miss Rutherford we would still be faced with the accommodation difficulty at Te Kopua unless we could obtain someone with Maori blood who would not mind boarding with Searancke, apparently the only other suitable accommodation in the district.¹ We might secure such a person if we advertised, but it is doubtful. The only suitable persons already in the Service of whom I can think are the following: Miss Matini, Waikeri; Miss Potaka, Matahiwi; Miss Hopkinson, Te Kao [temporary at present]; and, possibly, Miss Sarah Mauriohooho, Rangitahi. If any of these were transferred it would not be difficult to secure teachers to replace them as there is suitable accommodation at the schools concerned, particularly Waikeri, for which no doubt a married man could be obtained. If Miss Mauriohooho were appointed to Te Kopua² it might be difficult to secure an assistant who would work in with Miss Jameson, but in favour of her appointment, if she is suitable, the following may be said:

1 She would no doubt board amicably with Searancke.

¹Which is an inadvertent comment on the conditions most families at Te Kopua lived in.

²She was to be transferred to Te Kopua, but not until 1935.

2 She would be near her home and could no doubt spend her week-ends there if she wished.

3 It would be promotion for her. [Appointment to Te Kopua would also mean promotion to Miss Hopkinson but not to the other teachers mentioned, who might object to the transfer].

The only other suggestions I can make are:

i Leave Miss Rutherford at Te Kopua and erect a movable hut for her as at Mangawhariki - cost about £100. [Roll number at school is only 12].

ii Move her to Pawarenga where there is a house. Against this is the cost of renovating the residence to make it suitable for a *European*³ teacher. It would be cheaper to erect a hut at Te Kopua and besides, it is questionable whether Pawarenga should not be closed and the children boarded at Whangape. The roll is only 13 and the average for the year only 9 [last term 7]. Mrs Stephens should not, of course, be retained any longer than we can help.⁴

The only other matter requiring attention is Kauangaroa. On the figures for the year it will be graded IIB for 1932: average for year, 29 - last term, 27. The roll is 36 now so, unless it receives a sudden boost, the school will not go to IIIA yet awhile as the minimum average for that grade is 36 and I suppose it would take a roll of about 45 to manage that. ...

I am afraid we may have to leave Miss Churton at Kauangaroa, at least till it goes to Grade IIIA, if it ever should do so. She is in receipt of a Grade II salary and therefore could be transferred to a Grade II school only. As her present school is in Grade IIB there would be no gain in transferring her to a school of similar grade. That leaves only the IIA schools and I have been through the list of these very carefully but I cannot see anyone therein who could run Kauangaroa better than Miss Churton, except possibly Macey at Te Woatu [certificated] and the Chenerys [Mrs Chenery certificated]. If we leave Miss Churton at Kauangaroa it would be necessary to give her a better assistant than Miss Searancke, who Mr Ball says is not very promising, but who, fortunately, was appointed only temporarily.

If it is absolutely necessary to transfer Miss Churton I suggest the following as a possible solution."⁵ ...

³Emphasis added; need I say more!

⁴I wonder if Mrs Stephens knew of the Department's view of her?

⁵ Emily N Churton preceded Miss Rutherford at Te Kopua; she had been 'transferred' from Te Kopua to Kauangaroa at the end of March 1929, just two and a half years before.

Appendix 4:

James H Pope's understanding of te reo Maori

A comparison of James H Pope's definitions and those of Bruce Biggs in his dictionary:

haka: *Pope*: a kind of dance; a mimetic performance. [*Oxford*: mimetic: of, or addicted to, imitation, mimicry, or mimesis [mimesis: (boil) close external resemblance of an animal to another that is distasteful or harmful to predators of the first.] *Biggs*: [haka-a]: dance, particularly the war-dance.

tohunga: *Pope*: A kind of prophet, priest, and medicine-man. *Biggs*: a “skilled person, artisan, expert; priest, wizard.

Maori: Belonging to the country; aboriginal. *Biggs*: Maaori: native, indigenous, ordinary.

Pakeha: *Pope*: Not aboriginal; foreign; a white man. A Shinpan or a Negro would hardly be called pakeha now.¹ *Biggs*: [aakehaa]² white (person).

aroha: *Pope*: Love. *Biggs*: aroha-ina, -tia: affection, compassion, pity, sympathy, love, like, grace, regret, regretful, yearning; to love, feel compassion, sympathy, or love for.

tangi: *Pope*: To cry; to wail; to lament. *Biggs*: [tangi-hia]: cry, lament, mourn, scream, sound, wail, weep.

tangihanga: *Pope*: A wailing; a wake; the ceremonies connected with a death. *Biggs*: not listed. Not only does Biggs not list ‘tangihanga’, he does not list ‘funeral’ in the English-Maori section.

karakia: *Pope*: An incantation; a prayer; a religious service. *Biggs*: [karakia-tia]: chant, charm, incantation, prayer, spell; pray, recite a prayer. Whare karakia: church [building].

¹In the 1990s, auiwi.

²Note that Biggs capitalised ‘Paakehaa’, giving it the same status as Maori, English, European, Chilean, Malaysian, etc.

Appendix 5

Muru

In the old times, when the white man first came to this country, the people had a strange custom called *muru*. If a child fell into the fire or got hurt in any way, the friends of the child's father would go to his dwelling and rob him of a great part of his property. The father would not be angry at this; indeed, he would feel sorry if his friends did not come and strip him of his goods.

It is perhaps not easy to find a reason for this custom. Perhaps it was thought that when a misfortune came it was caused by the anger of some spirit. Maoris would perhaps believe that if a spirit was angry with a man it would please that spirit if they did the man some harm by taking away his things, and that then the spirit would be no longer angry, and would do him no more evil. The friends would think, then, that they pleased the spirit by this *muru*; and the man who was stripped thought that he would be saved from further harm.

Some people say that *muru* was only intended as a punishment for a man's carelessness.¹

For comparison, Biggs definition is: *muru-a*: plunder, strip [as leaves from a tree]; wipe, wipe off; forgive; smear on.²

¹ Pope, James H, Native School Reader for Standard II and III, p 18.

² Biggs, Bruce, English-Maori: Maori-English Dictionary, p 113.

Appendix 6

Te Reo

The resilience of te reo Maori, in the face of the strict Departmental policy of not using it in Native Schools merits attention.

"The [committee] meeting lasted about two hours and was all in Maori but I sat it out all right."¹ Ellen N Churton wrote those words in the logbook almost forty years after the first letter [in Maori] was written requesting a school be established, and thirty-seven and a half years after Te Kopua was opened by the first teacher, Mr James Ireland, who could not speak Maori.² If the committee minute books of the period ever come to light, it will be most interesting to see whether they are in Maori or in English. If they are in the latter, the secretary would, on the evidence of Churton's report, have done the translation 'on the run'. A better description of the process might be to say that he thought in Maori when he was discussing the business, and thought in English when he was recording the results of those discussions.

Between 1886 and 1923, the only reference to Maori *within* Te Kopua Native School was when Henry Young asked for a book to help him with translating Maori into English. On Pope's recommendation, he was supplied with Williams *First Lessons in Maori*.³ Teachers were allowed, but not encouraged, to use translation from Maori as an aid when teaching English to young, ie infant, children in particular.⁴

It was Ellen Churton, almost certainly the first Maori person to teach at Te Kopua, describing the end of year events in a letter to the Department, who wrote that

The main feature of the picnic was the dinner [pork and potatoes] which was cooked in the old Maori Haangi⁵ fashion and served on flax plates {konos}.⁶

It was the first mention, in Maori, in the life of Te Kopua, of anything which was of Maori life.

¹ Te Kopua archive, 16 February, 1923.

² G T Wilkinson to Habens, Te Kopua archive, 3 November, 1886.

³ Te Kopua archive, 5 September, 1896.

⁴ cf Barrington and Beaglehole, *Maori Schools* ...p 134. I remember reading an inspector's comments to a teacher at a Northland school that he noted he was using Maori, but that it was not to be encouraged. The teacher was not told *not to use Maori!*

⁵ Note the use of double 'aa' to indicate a lengthened vowel. Cf "Bruce Biggs ... remarks ...that Māori introduced the double vowel to signify length as it occurs, though not consistently, in their 19th-century manuscripts." [Griffin, Harvey and Ross, *Books and Print in New Zealand*, p 20.]

⁶ Te Kopua archive, 17 December, 1927.

There are, however, a number of other references to te reo Maori which are significant. Henry Young reported that the committee was anxious to adopt the 'compulsory Clause' so as to compel some careless parents to send their children to school. He was sent copies of the School Attendance Act in Maori.⁷

In the Te Kopua archive there are three letters in Maori to the Department asking for a school, and asking what progress was being made, during the three years and two months it took from the writing of the first letter to the school being opened.⁸

The only reference anywhere in the record concerning the schooling of the first parents is this by Kirk in his report recommending the establishment of Te Kopua:

These [halfcaste] men for the most part received some education at the old Wesleyan School at Kopua, and they are most earnest in wishing to have a school for their children.⁹

It is safe to conclude that Kirk was referring to schooling in English, not schooling in Maori. The evidence is clear that there was little or no government-funded education in Maori in any schools, mission included.¹⁰

The department twice advised schools and committees of books, in Maori, which were available. Pope sent this memorandum to Native Schools in 1885:

Miss Hastings, a well-wisher of the Maori race, has had the little book, "More About Jesus" translated into the Maori language. I have been asked to forward you a copy of this translation, which is called "Whakaako i nga Meao te Ariki Ihu Karaiti", and to inform you that if the Maoris of your district wish to procure copies of the work they can get them for 1/- per copy and postage [6d], by sending to Mrs Ruth-erford, Brougham Street, Wellington.¹¹

and Habens sent this interesting memorandum to all Native Schools in 1888:

There is a society of Wellington ladies and gentlemen with the interests of Maori at heart who produce books in Maori for Maori readers. Dept has had produced a translation of the Native School Reader [Te Pukapuka Kura Maori], and given for sale. 1/-. Teachers are asked to promote, and give the proceeds to the Inspector on his next visit.¹²

Those books were not noted in the Te Kopua archive. I have not found any explanation for this apparent variation from the secular policy enjoined by the *Education Act 1877*.

In 1891 and 1892, when influenza was epidemic, circulars in Maori, with information and advice for Maori communities, were circulated by the Department to Native Schools.¹³

⁷ Te Kopua archive, 17 June, 1896.

⁸ Te Kopua archive, 1 September, 1883; 1 February, 1884; 17 November, 1885.

⁹ Te Kopua archive, 29 August, 1885.

¹⁰ See: Walker, Ranginui, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle Without End*, 146; Barrington and Beaglehole, *Maori Schools in a Changing Society*, pp 43 - 44; Openshaw, Lee and Lee, *Challenging the Myths*, p 39.

¹¹ Circulars to Native Schools E 37 Acc W2536 box 1, EDF, National Archives, 2 November, 1885. The promotion of a book about the Christian religion so openly and directly reminds us that whilst the system was officially free, compulsory and *secular*, adherence in some form to the Christian religion was taken for granted. It is significant that the first of a very few newspaper references to Te Kopua was about a church service held at the school..

¹² Circulars to Native Schools E 37 Acc W2536 box 1, National Archives, 4 February, 1888.

¹³ 1892 08 02: Circulars to Native Schools 37 Acc W2536 box 1, EDF [W] National Archives. [EDF: Education Department files.]

In 1904 W T Hughes, Te Kopua committee member, wrote in Maori protesting the removal of their teacher, Te Kakarana, alias Mr Coughlan.¹⁴

It is appropriate at this point to record that The Coughlans' son, Richard Coughlan, mihied to the participants launching *Nga Kura Maori*.¹⁵ A Pakeha, taught by his parents in Native Schools in which only English was used for instruction, Richard became a fluent speaker of Te reo Maori. He is perhaps the best evidence of the failure of the Native Schools to eliminate te reo. As I note below, it took the migration to the cities to come close to achieving that end.

In truancy cases in 1911 involving two pupils on the Te Kopua roll, police costs included translation costs;¹⁶ it was considered necessary to translate¹⁷ for the parents, both of whom were former students of this Native School. and thus could be expected to be able to both speak and read English.¹⁸

In 1923 G M Henderson, Inspector, in the 'Health' section of his inspection report on Te Kopua, referred to "some Hakihaki". He did not need to offer a translation.¹⁹ Hakihaki appears in Reed²⁰ and is included by Biggs in his 1981 dictionary²¹ but not in his 1990 dictionary.²²

The Department's Annual Report of 1916 recorded that "... nearly 90 per cent of the pupils at Native schools speak English in the home."²³ Thirteen years later, in 1929, it appears their had been little change, for it reported that "... fully 85% of the Maori children attending Native schools speak Maori as their mother tongue...."²⁴

Those statistics are clear evidence that Maori was the working language of Maori people and that in a sense the Department's policy and practice were on their own criteria unsuccessful.

This entry by Sarah Mauriohooho in the Te Kopua logbook in 1937 speaks for itself:

¹⁴ Te Kopua archive, 5 February, 1904. The use of Te Kakarana indicates the mana Mr Coughlan had earned.

¹⁵ Richard Coughlan, their son, speaking at the launch of *Nga Kura Maori: The Native School System 1867 – 1969* at the University of Auckland, 9 July, 1998.

¹⁶ Whether spoken or written is not stated; It would more likely have been spoken.

¹⁷ I wonder if 'translate' actually meant 'interpret, or, did it mean both?

¹⁸ Te Kopua archive, 6 May, 1911.

¹⁹ Te Kopua archive, 12 June, 1923. Hakihaki is the te reo Maori word for itch

²⁰ Reed, A H and A W, *Reed's Concise Maori Dictionary*

²¹ Biggs, Bruce, *The Complete English-Maori Dictionary*

²² Biggs, Bruce, *English-Maori, Maori-English Dictionary*

²³ *AJHR*, E3, 1916, p 4. The same report, dealing with Maori pupils in public schools, noted that "... a much smaller percentage of these children speak Maori in their homes hat in he case of Native-school pupils lessens the difficulties to be overcome in educating them." [p 4.] That is a tacit admission that the Department would have liked to see te reo Maori die out.

²⁴ *AJHR*, 1929, E3, p 4

"Coronation Day." The children and parents assembled at the school this morning at 10.00 and appropriated [sic] hymns were sung, then a prayer by Mr Searancke. The children repeated the 121 psalm and I subsequently gave them an address upon the significance of the Coronation. Mr Searancke translated into Maori, said the Benediction.²⁵

At a Te Kopua committee meeting in 1944

Mr J Hughes stated his claim for a more considerable amount of the ferrying grant.

Mr J Hughes apologised for not being able to speak fluently in the European tongue and confined his remarks in Maori.²⁶

In 1945, the Te Kopua School Committee decided that the school motto should be

Kia mau ki te aroha, te whaka pono, me te ture.²⁷

That was the first occasion in the life of the school that the language the community conducted their lives in was formally acknowledged.

This next, surprising, find was from 1946. The details of paint, fencing etc, for Te Kopua were set out on the back of a translation, - a draft for typing - into Maori of a letter to C W Grace, Kai-whakaako Kura, Kaikohe.²⁸ [1946 07 25]

The committee men of 1923 were mostly, if not entirely, former students of a school committed to making them skilled in English, and in which their own language was regarded as of no value. Despite that, they were conducting the business of the school in their language. Without any help from the government, Maori of this area were from 1883 able to write in Maori. As recently as 1944, at least one person at Te Kopua was not confident to state a case to his peers in English, and those hearing the case were quite happy to hear it in Maori. In 1946, the Department found it necessary to write in Maori to a person involved in a Native School.

Moana Maniapoto Jackson, discussing 1995 as Maori Language Year, told of her father "losing his English"; I do not remember if she gave his age, but he was *not* young.²⁹

Ellen N Churton was almost certainly the first Maori to teach at Te Kopua; she with the most English of names was the only teacher to demonstrate in the record that she perhaps took her language seriously. It may be she was the only teacher who could speak te reo Maori, and perhaps write it a little, though I would be surprised if that were the case. I would be surprised if at least Sarah Mauriohooho and Riwai Tawhiri could not speak and

²⁵TKLB [1937 05 12]

²⁶Te Kopua archive, 26 September, 1944. It is also significant that Mr Hughes thought he should *apologise* for not being confident in English; it illustrates the political reality of the status of te Reo Maori *vis a vis* English.

²⁷Hold fast to love, faith, and the law.. TKLB [1945 04 19/21]

²⁸Te Kopua archive, 25 July, 1946. A *kura* is a school.

²⁹National Radio, interview with Charles Pierard, early afternoon of 1 January, 1995.

write Maori, but refer to te reo Maori in their correspondence or in the logbook they did not.³⁰

³⁰For a brief summary of the debate over 'Maori resistance' see Openshaw, Lee and Lee, *Challenging the Myths ...*, especially Chapter 2. I have reservations about the use of 'resistance' in cases like this. The people of Te Kopua, I conjecture, just kept on living and working and talking *in Maori*. For so long as they were to a very great extent isolated from the Pakeha world, there was no reason why they would not use Maori as their working language. Some years ago a colleague's husband's brothers moved from Ruatoki to live and work in Hamilton. I remember her saying they were finding it very difficult to "Keep their Maori going," because they were no longer using it in their work, and were now living in a Pakeha/English dominated community. At Rakaumanga Kura Kaupapa, Huntly West, children who do not use Maori in school until Std 2, and then only for about an hour a day at first, are by the time they reach Form II competent in English as well as Maori, spoken and written. A number have sat and passed School Certificate whilst in Form II. They of course live in an English-dominated society, and they learn much English 'whether they like it or not.'

W S Dale in 1931 [Dale, W S, "The Maori Language: Its Place in Native Life"] reported that in 1923 82% of Maori children were speaking Maori *only* outside school, an increase of 8% from 1913, whilst only 3% spoke English outside school, an increase of 0.4% from 1913. More generally, on the central issue, Dale wrote: "...it is apparent that in remote districts where the Pakeha has not dominated economic life our [English] language is not much used." Dale's reference to 'economic life' captures the central issue in the dynamics of language retention and enrichment, or language loss or impoverishment. The resistance/resilience issue aside, the evidence from Te Kopua supports, at least in so far as te reo is concerned, Judith Simon's contention that "... geographic isolation ...also helped the Maori communities to resist the assimilation policy to a large extent and to continue to keep their cultural practices alive - at least until the first thirty years or so of the next [ie twentieth] century. See Simon, Judith, "Historical Perspectives...." in Coxon, Eve, *et al* [Eds], *The Politics of Learning and Teaching in Aotearoa-New Zealand*, p 64.

Appendix 7

A note on salaries of the Young family

Henry Young's salary during his time at Te Kopua¹ varied considerably. It was as follows:

1895: £ 94 9 1 1896: £157 3 2 1898: £148 17 6
1899: £128 14 5.

In addition, in 1898 Young's classification was changed from E3 to E2, a higher classification. There is no evidence in either the Annual Report or the archive which explained the change. In the same year, his salary went *down* £20.

His daughter, and assistant, Emily, received:

1896: £21 2 3 1897: £ 7 2 3 1898: £10 9 9
1899 £14 1 3 [shared between Miss E and Mrs Young, who was S.]²

Mrs Young, as sewing teacher, received a steady £12 10 0 a year; Emily seems to have received less than Mrs Young. Henry Young wrote to the Department:

I am somewhat puzzled, at the exceeding smallness of the amount, paid to my daughter, as Assistant. She is an efficient teacher, she toils hard for full five hours daily, in preparing lessons, and teaching. The work is quite as arduous as that of starting a new school, so very few having attended school before; while the amount of salary is less than 1/6 per week. If that is all that the Code allows, nothing need be said; but how one is to teach and live on such a small amount, is not quite clear. PS We now have 34 on the roll, and an average of 30. [1895 11 15]

Young's point about the salary was well-taken.³ His note about the roll raises the question, where had all these children come from? Why did at least some of them stop attending and cause Beamish to be moved, and why were they returning? Furthermore, why were other children coming to live in the Te Kopua district? Questions like these are often relevant in this study; unfortunately, the record seldom reveals any answers.

The salaries given above were based in part upon roll numbers and in part upon attendance, and I record them only to illustrate the potential instability of the consequences of such a salary base. The purpose of linking part of salary with attendance percentages was, it was argued, an incentive for teachers to make an effort to get the children to school as often as possible, by whatever means they could devise. Whether making school 'attractive' was considered an option is difficult to ascertain; there is seldom clear evidence. At Te Kopua,

¹AJHR E2, 1896 - 1890.

²Sewing

³Captain Beamish had also raised the connection between attendance and salary.

weather and water and rivers and land court played a significant role in attendance figures; these matters the teachers had no control over, yet their incomes could be, and were, significantly affected.⁴

The teachers of this school would be entitled to claim that, to the extent that adequate bridging could help attendance, the department and other forms of officialdom let them down. There was no evidence in the record that local government took any significant notice of the school.⁵

This issue of payment by results came up also in 1897, linked that time to examination results. In a letter not in the record, Young had written about the extra salary he thought was due to him because of the marks gained in the examinations just past. Gibbes replied:

The allowance for marks gained at the last exam of your school will be added to your salary from the 1st of Jan next [Code 1X, c]. It is only in cases of new teachers that the allowance for marks gained at the first examination are added to their salary from the 1st of the month following the date of the examination, and remains part of the salary until the marks gained at the second examination commence to count in accordance with the Code.

In your case the allowance for the marks gained at the examination held in July, 1886, was added to your salary on the 1st August, - under the Code it would not have been added until the 1st of January following - and remains part of your salary up to the 1st January 1898, on which date the allowance for the marks gained at the examination will form part of your salary. [1897 06 11]

Again, an incentive to perform well, but, there is not, so far as I have ascertained, any allowance for the abilities of the children; neither does there seem to have been any recognition of gains compared with the previous year/s. Young apparently accepted the ruling.

⁴It was of course a form of 'payment by results', or 'performance pay', and as I write this in August 1994, I am fully aware of the debate generated by the State Services Commission proposal to introduce performance pay into the teachers' contract in the primary service. Then, as now, performance is to be measured by 'results', and can only with great difficulty bear a relationship to actual performance in the classroom or school, quite apart from the results as demonstrated in the 'performance' of the students in later life. The consequences for students of teachers who either run a tightly managed, orderly, limited options classroom, or an open, supportive, encouraging, choice-offering classroom, are I believe in the long run quite significant. Already in this study, we can with some confidence put James Ireland in the second category, and Captain Beamish in the first.

⁵See the chapters telling the stories of Frances Cowern and Ethel Churton, 1922-6, for evidence in the records of the Waitomo County Council. A search of Raglan County records which are not indexed drew a blank.

Bibliographic

Bibliographic

Bibliographic note

Nearly all the correspondence, inspection reports, attendance returns, and other official reports and returns appear to be extant. These records are held in the Auckland Branch of the National Archives, Te Whare Tohu Tuhituhinga o Aotearoa.

BAAA 1001 is the series entitled: Registered files relating to Maori schools. The series includes Policy and General; Building and Site files [Te Kopua schools items 597b]; Equipment and Supplies [Te Kopua 831c]; Transport [Te Kopua 899a]; Inspection Reports [Te Kopua 1046b-c]; BAAA 1003 Maori school logbooks [Te Kopua 7d-f]; BAAA 1004 Registers of Admission, Progress and Withdrawal [Maori schools; Te Kopua 10k]; BAAA 1010 Maori School Committees: minute books [Te Kopua 1c]; BAAA 1001/29b Attendance Returns Native Schools.

The logbooks prior to the 1916-1922 closure of the school are missing, as are the committee minute books prior to 1941.¹ I have made limited use of other Departmental records, including some in National Archives Wellington.²

From the *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives* [AJHR] I have in particular used the Annual Reports to Parliament of the Department of Education, where the Annual Reports of James H Pope are to be found, and the Annual Reports of the Native Department, where the Annual Reports of G T Wilkinson are to be found. The *Statutes* predictably provided important information. I also gained insights from the AJHR B series, which contain the Budget statements and the Estimates of Expenditure. The *Journals of the House of Representatives*, [[JHR] the minute books of Parliament], were useful. I made good use of *Hansard*, [NZPD], the record of the debates in Parliament. I also made good use of the *New Zealand Gazette*, which is where the minutiae of Government administration is intended to be reported to the world; as I make clear, the Native Schools were seldom accorded the privilege, whilst Native Land was accorded a privileged place! Un-

¹ I have asked those people of Te Kopua whom I know to keep eyes and ears open, and to ask around, especially at Turangawaewae.

² The only relevant series appeared to be "Circulars to Native Schools: E 37 Acc W2536 box 1, EDF."

fortunately, neither Laurie Barber³ nor myself have found any evidence of a George Thomas Wilkinson archive.

I would dearly loved to have seen Cabinet minutes. Unfortunately, except for a very small sample for years around 1900, which were no help, Cabinet minutes were not filed and thus subsequently archived.

I have made limited use of newspaper sources, and would have used the records of the relevant local bodies,⁴ had they contained anything useful. They do not.

The bibliography includes a number of resources which, whilst not cited in the study, were important in developing my understanding of issues dealt with.

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³ Personal communication. Barber is author of *The view from Pirongia*, the history of the local bodies which managed the areas where Te Kopua was established.

⁴ Te Kopua was at different times in the jurisdiction of the Raglan and Waikato County Councils.

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⁵Near Hawera, South Taranaki.

⁶The University of Waikato library copy was first in the library of Loyola University, a Catholic university in the USA; some books do get around!

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