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**Hokianga Native Schools, 1871-1900:
Assimilation Reconsidered**

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master
of Arts in History at Massey University

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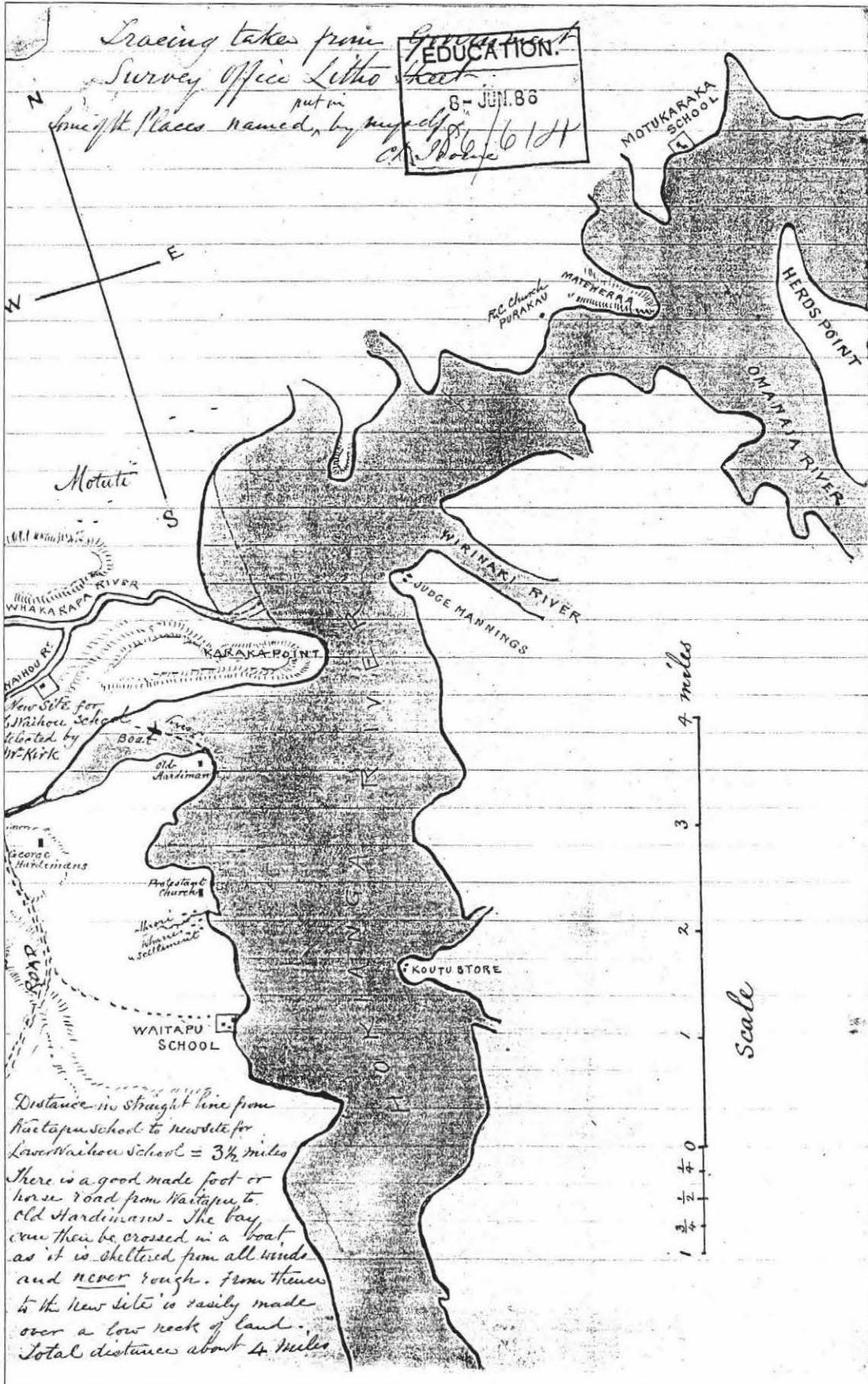
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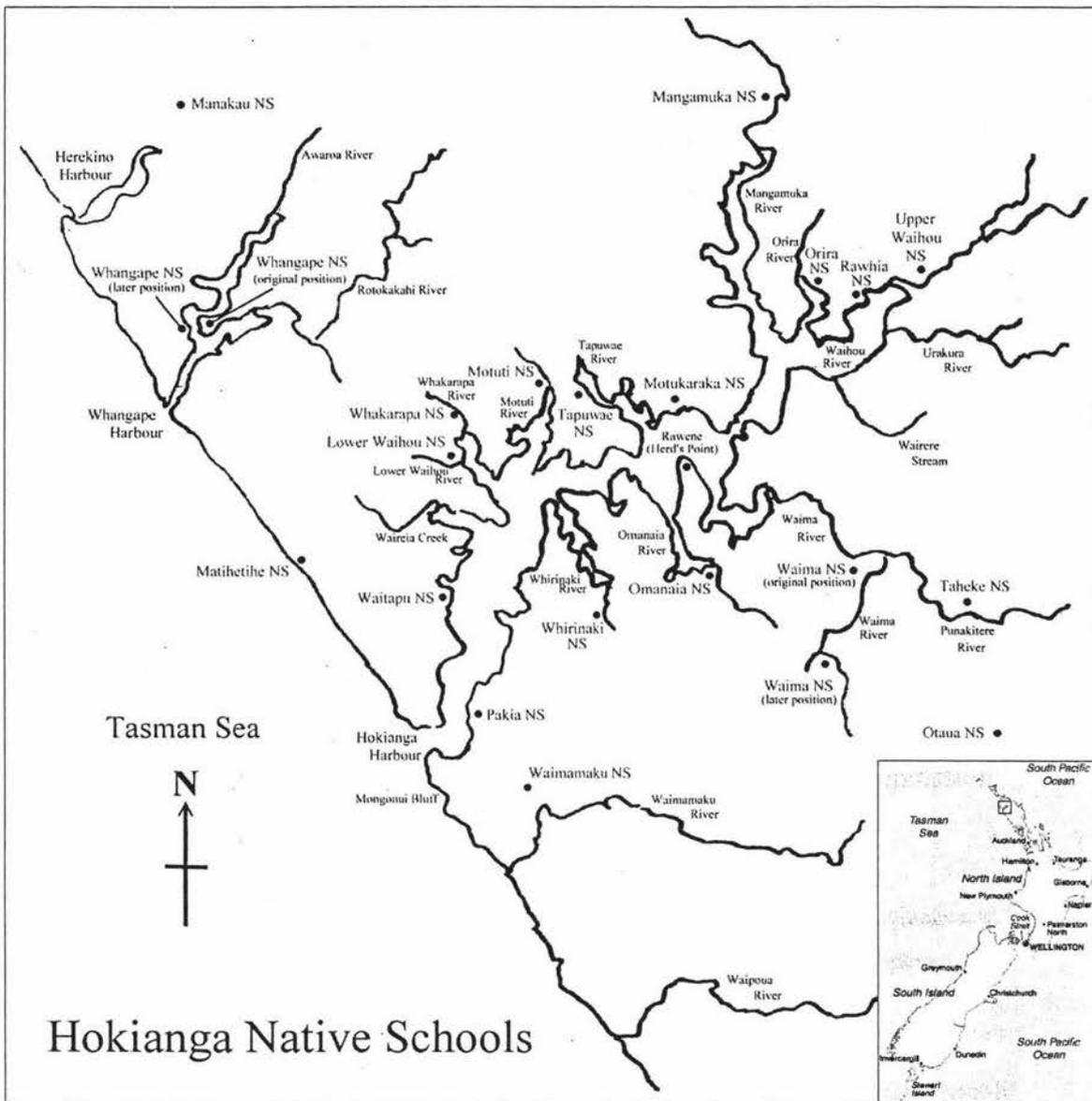
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Charles Irvine's map of the Hokianga harbour showing the locations of Motuti, Lower Waihou, Whakarapa, and Waitapu Native Schools, and travelling times between them. Drawn 1886





Hokianga Native Schools

Introduction

The Native Schools have an ambiguous place in New Zealand history. As an organ of the Pakeha state situated in Maori communities with an overt aim of assimilating Maori to European cultural habits, they have every appearance of a tool of oppression. To Ranginui Walker, in *Struggle Without End*, they were a potent weapon in the armoury of the coloniser:

The process of colonisation is total, in that it involves cultural invasion and colonisation of the minds of the invaded as well. ...Beginning with the missionaries, the founding fathers of the new nation state were therefore committed to the policy of assimilation. To this end, the missionaries, and later the state, used education as an instrument of cultural invasion.¹

The Native Schools system evolved through various manifestations from George Grey's Education Ordinance of 1847 through to the 1867 Native Schools Act, but had little impact until given impetus by Donald McLean in the early 1870s.² For McLean, a critic of the Government's handling of the Taranaki and Waikato campaigns, education was preferable to warfare as a method for tackling Maori resistance to colonisation and settlement.³ Since the 1950s, accounts have criticised the assimilationist goal of the schools, and in particular their role in the suppression of the Maori language. Walker put the argument succinctly:

Schooling demanded cultural surrender, or at the very least surrender of one's language and identity. Instead of education being embraced as a process of growth and development, it became an arena of cultural conflict.⁴

C. Lesley Andrews quoted Hokianga personality Frederick Maning's letter to Donald McLean to put the issue beyond doubt: 'I have nothing to report except that if all your schools are going on as well as that at Wirinake [Whirinaki] there will soon be no Maoris in New Zealand.'⁵

¹ Ranginui Walker, *Ka Whaitiwhai Tonu Matou, Struggle Without End*, Auckland: Penguin, 1990, p. 146.

² For the best discussion of the administrative development of the Native Schools system from subsidisation of Missionary Schools through to the fully-funded system administered by the Department of Education in 1879, see J.M. Barrington and T.H. Beaglehole, *Maori Schools in a Changing Society: an Historical Review*, Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 1974. For briefer accounts, Judith Simon, (ed.), *Nga Kura Maori, The Native Schools System 1867-1969*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, pp. 1-21; and Judith Watson Bird, 'Government Administration of Maori Education, 1871-1930,' Master of Arts Thesis in Anthropology, University of Auckland, 1951, pp. 1-49; are both excellent.

³ G.V. Butterworth, *Aotearoa 1769-1988: Towards a Tribal Perspective*, Wellington: Department of Maori Affairs, 1988, pp. 80-4.

⁴ Walker, *Struggle Without End*, 1990, p. 147.

⁵ C. Lesley Andrews, 'Aspects of Development,' in *Conflict and Compromise: Essays on the Maori since Colonisation*, I. H. Kawharu, (ed.), Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1975, p. 88.

But Maning's quote should be read as no more than a quip from one of New Zealand's great cynics, a caricature of an idea quite ridiculous to anyone in meaningful contact with Maori society in the period. The administrators of the Native Schools did not believe in an 'automatic' assimilation as suggested by Andrews, but in a gradual and incremental development that would take many years. But even a gradual assimilation is not a satisfactory explanation for the Native Schools, because they were not controlled exclusively by Government administration. Simon and Tuhiwai Smith have shown that Native Schools were not only accepted, but supported and fought for by Maori communities, often in the face of a highly resistant bureaucracy.⁶ I would go further, and say that the no Native School could have been established or maintained in the late nineteenth century without active support from the hapu and at least some of its recognised leaders. Did Maori accept the precepts of assimilation? Why would Maori collude in their own oppression? They must have either understood assimilation to be something other than an arm of imperialist domination, as it is portrayed by Walker, or there must have been alternative reasons for supporting the schools and seeking European education.

This thesis will explore alternative explanations for the Native Schools, and especially the question of why Maori supported Native Schools in the nineteenth century. Two principal hypotheses are discussed. The first reviews an argument made first by John Barrington, that Maori recognised a need to acquire the English language, in order to participate more effectively in Pakeha dominated economy and political institutions. This is set alongside Ann Parsonson's argument that Maori society was characterised by competition for mana, to give a broad view of the location of Native Schools within the changing authority structures of late nineteenth-century Maori society. The second hypothesis is that Maori, through the experience of high mortality since the 1850s and the ongoing experience of epidemics, had come to accept the precepts of the fatal impact thesis. This held that Maori were a 'dying race', which could only be saved through the intervention of Pakeha medicine, the acceptance of Pakeha cultural habits of dress, hygiene, housing and nutrition, and through participation in the Pakeha economy. To what extent did Maori accept assimilation, through the language of fatal impact?

Due to the number of Native Schools, the length of time over which the system operated, and the sheer volume of archival material, it has been necessary to limit the scope of the current study. The study is geographically focused on the Hokianga region, where twenty-four Native Schools were established with varying degrees of

⁶ Judith Simon and Linda Tuhiwai Smith (eds), *A Civilising Mission, Perceptions and Representations of the New Zealand Native Schools System*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2001, pp. 57-63.

success and longevity between 1872 and the end of the separate Native Schools system in 1969. The system developed unevenly in different areas depending on the developing political relationships between different iwi and the settler Government, and the level of involvement with Pakeha culture and institutions. Rather than attempting to extrapolate from a mandatory sample, or provide a shallow understanding through a survey of all schools, a geographical limitation enables an in-depth study. However there were wide variations between regions, and the result is intended to provide comparisons, rather than to describe the Native Schools system as a whole. The Hokianga region is chosen for the density and comparative longevity of its schools, and the volume of documentary material available.

The source material used has been exclusively documentary, in contrast to Judith Simon and Linda Tuhiwai Smith's recent work, which has used oral sources to great effect.⁷ But oral sources can no longer provide first hand accounts of the period from 1870 to 1900, which is the most crucial time for the establishment of the schools and exertion of Government influence into Maori communities. Simon and Tuhiwai Smith use documentary sources to supplement their oral accounts, and to provide some insight into the period beyond the scope of their oral testimonies. But they largely use these to explore earlier manifestations of trends identified by their informants from a later period, rather than exploring the specific issues relevant to the nineteenth century context.⁸ John Barrington and Tim Beaglehole use the extensive documentary material available in the Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives (AJHR).⁹ These sources provide a valuable insight into the administration of schools and Pakeha attitudes, but are very limited in providing a Maori perspective or in exposing the web of relationships and personalities that constitute the schools. Barrington has elsewhere explored the possibilities of teacher's log books, but few of these have survived from the nineteenth century, and they provide only the teacher's perspective.¹⁰ They may also be a somewhat

⁷ Simon and Tuhiwai Smith, *A Civilising Mission*, 2001. For a discussion of their oral methodology, see Verna Tuteao and others, 'Gathering Oral Histories as a Bicultural project: Research on the Native Schools System,' in *Oral History in New Zealand*, 8/9:37-46 (1996/1997), pp. 37-45.

⁸ See the example of Hirini Taiwhanga, at the beginning of section Three. Similarly, they place considerable emphasis on ideologies of race, arguing that these were instrumental in the founding of the system. However the striking examples of racism they cite occur after 1920, and especially during the 1960s. The decision to establish the schools had much more to do with the fact that Maori and Pakeha were politically separate communities which the Government wished to draw together into a single polity. Also, they discuss irregular attendance as a hindrance to education, but not as reflection of a mobile and unstable Maori economy, or of competing priorities such as hui, tangi, or the Land Court. The advent of compulsory attendance is mentioned in passing without reference to its unenforceability in the absence of substantive sovereignty. Simon and Tuhiwai Smith, *A Civilising Mission*, 2001, p. 9, 65, 242-74.

⁹ Barrington and Beaglehole, *Maori Schools*, 1974.

¹⁰ J.M. Barrington, 'The Maori Schools: Fresh Perspectives,' *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, 20:2 (1985), pp. 151-64.

sanitised version of events as they were reviewed and graded by the inspector on each visit.

While all of these sources are useful, I have focused on the Department of Education Native School files, and especially correspondence and inspection reports. These provide an insight into the finer detail of the functioning of each school, and include a great deal of correspondence from Maori community members, as well as from teachers, magistrates, and administrators. These files contain little detail on the years prior to 1879, when the schools were under the control of the Department of Education, and have been supplemented by the official and private correspondence of the Hokianga Resident magistrate, Spencer von Sturmer, and the AJHR. The result is not intended to be a survey of all the Hokianga schools, but a thematic discussion of the schools' place in nineteenth-century Hokianga communities.

1. Hokianga Context

The River

The Hokianga harbour is a large river valley fed by a series of smaller rivers, that appear sunken relative to sea level, so that the ocean flows up the valley for some thirty kilometres to the upper reaches. The larger tributaries are silted to leave vast mud flats populated by countless mangroves, except toward the heads where attractive sandy beaches become a playground during the summer months. 'The River' as it was known colloquially in the nineteenth century, follows a winding path roughly north-east to south-west. It is about 4 kilometres across at its widest point, narrowing to 250 metres at The Narrows, 25 kilometres from the heads. Beyond the North Head sand dunes, or rather sand mountains, climb out of the river to heights of 200 metres. Three kilometres back from the heads the dunes are flanked with scrub, and merge into forested mountains. As Jack Lee comments, 'truly Hokianga is mountain country, and its forested beauty must stir the most hardened observer'.¹¹

On the south-eastern side of the Hokianga the Whirinaki, Omanaia, and Waima rivers flow into the harbour, but not before feeding tracts of fertile land and the kainga (villages) whose inhabitants cultivate them. So too at the harbour's head beyond the Narrows, where it splits into three more rivers, the Waihou (upper), Orira, and Mangamuka, and on the north-western bank where the Tapuwae, Motuti, and Whakarapa rivers join the harbour. Most of Hokianga's settlements in the late nineteenth century bore the names of these rivers, as did the Native Schools that were established to service them from the early 1870s. The Whirinaki, Omanaia, Waima, Rangiahua/Upper Waihou, Rakau Para/Orira, Mangamuka, Mangamuka Bridge, Tapuwae, Motuti and Whakarapa Native Schools were situated in the river valleys from which they take their names. The Lower Waihou School also, that river joining the Whakarapa downstream from present day Panguru before it flows into the harbour. The Motukaraka School was on the plain formed by the Wairupe creek, not far from the Church Missionary Society station at Motukaraka Point, while the Rawhia School was on a plain formed by a small creek flowing into the Waihou, and the Pakanae School on the plain formed by the Motutoa Creek near Koutu point. The school at Taheke was established to serve the transient community that formed there due to the prevalence of Kauri gum. Taheke lies on the banks of the Taheke River, which flows into the Waima. Children collected there from many of the Hokianga schools, especially at times of economic hardship or high gum prices. Another school was established at Otatau, further south and inland, toward Kaikohe. Pakia Native School was close to the South Head, near present day Omapere.

¹¹ Jack Lee, *Hokianga*, Auckland: Reed, 1996, p. 11.

Running in a straight line away from the heads to the north is a wild west coast beach of the kind that graces much of New Zealand's Tasman Sea coast, with layers of breakers rolling onto expanses of sand, broken only by occasional bluffs and the mouths of the Whangape and Herekino harbours. These are of similar fashion to Hokianga, but on a smaller scale. Whangape, 20 kilometres along the beach from Hokianga, is shaped something like a slingshot or letter 'Y', with a narrow two-kilometre channel that spreads out into two mud coloured fingers separated by a hilly tongue, which is capped by a red and white spired Church of England church. The fingers become the Awaroa and Rotokakahi rivers, and wind their way up into the hills. The entrance to the channel is guarded by a sand bar that can only be crossed in a south-easterly swell. Whangape School was originally situated on the tongue of land between the Awaroa and Rotokakahi rivers, in an effort to serve the communities living to the north and south of the Harbour, but was eventually rafted across to the northern side, where the building still stands. Matihetihe is surrounded by an area of low sandy hills on the west coast, midway between Hokianga and Whangape. Access south from the heads was long hampered by the Mongonui bluff. Despite the 'excellent' sledge-road from Omapere to the Bluff, and south of the Bluff as far as the railway at Oponake, luggage still had to be packed over the Bluff in 1890. James Pope, Organising Inspector of Native Schools and hardened traveller, considered the bluff 'an insufferable obstacle'.¹² Eight kilometres south from the heads lies the Waimamaku river, which flows through a large cultivable plain, and here the Waimamaku school was established in 1886. Ten kilometres further along the coast lies the mouth of the Waipoua River, with its origins in the majestic Waipoua Kauri forest, boasting Tane Mahuta, the largest and oldest living Kauri, who has stood unchallenged since the time of Christ. Waitapu School at Rangi Point near the North Head was a special case, the first to be set up under the 1871 legislation. It had no population in its immediate vicinity, but was situated to serve several surrounding settlements.

Accessibility and isolation

The rugged mountainous country rendered water transport the most practical and often the only option for travelling between Hokianga's various settlements. Even today it is easier for party-goers at Horeke to head across the harbour by boat to the Kohukohu pub for a keg and cigarettes than to travel overland via metal roads to Rawene or Taheke.¹³ Some settlements were more difficult to reach than others. Waitapu on the main harbour was a more attractive proposition for a teacher than Whakarapa, a considerable distance up one of the tributaries at present day Panguru. Lucy Irvine hoped to be able to move to Waitapu from Whakarapa in 1886:

¹² Winkelmann to Inspector General of Schools, 2 January 1890, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/717c, and Minute, Pope to Gibbes, 3 January 1890, on same document.

¹³ Personal communication, September 2001.

It would be a much more cheerful & convenient place than this, there would not be the same difficulty in getting provisions that there is here or in getting to and from it. This is so dreadfully closed in and out of the way, that it is almost impossible for me to ever leave it, but at Waitapu it would be quite different.¹⁴

Her husband Charles Irvine spelt out their transportation difficulties in 1887:

I am far out of the way (at Whakarapa) of any postal line and my communication with Rawene some 11 miles distant is by boat. During winter and spring, a fortnight and even three weeks delay on account of the weather is often imperative. The journey to and fro is seldom achieved in under 36 hours and it involves exposure in an open boat for several hours in the Whakarapa creek, often after nightfall, waiting for the tide. In Spring and Winter I only undertake the journey on compulsion and for the purpose of obtaining necessary supplies.¹⁵

The Te Rarawa settlements north of the Hokianga detached from the main concourse of the harbour were the least accessible. Whangape, because of the treacherous Hokianga and Whangape bars, could only be reached on horse-back or by foot, which created difficulties for the school there. Labourers for the construction of the buildings in 1881 were hard to find, and could demand a thirty percent higher wage than for the same work at Hokianga.¹⁶ The cost of transporting goods impacted heavily on the teachers at Whangape, as Alexander and Mrs Bow discovered the same year: 'I find now that our stores require renewing, and the expense of packing falls upon ourselves, that it increases the price of heavier stores such as flour, sugar... some 100 % above Auckland prices, lighter articles, 25%.'¹⁷ By 1886 they were able to purchase stores from Rawene rather than Auckland, but were still required to transport them first by boat across the harbour and then by pack-horse to Whangape, a journey they attempted only four times a year.¹⁸

Hokianga Resident Magistrate Spencer Von Sturmer believed Whangape to be the most isolated from European influences of all the schools under his care: 'This is perhaps the most purely native school in my district, being erected in the centre of an isolated settlement, there being no other European than the teacher within 16 miles

¹⁴ Lucy Irvine to Pope, 30 April 1886, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729c.

¹⁵ Charles Irvine to Secretary for Education, 5 March 1887, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729d.

¹⁶ J. MacMath to von Sturmer, 29 Sept 1881, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/750b. MacMath as the contractor might have had reason to falsify this information, but it was confirmed by George Menzies, Inspector of County Works: Menzies to MacMath 29 September 1881 National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/750b.

¹⁷ Bow to von Sturmer, 1881, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/750b.

¹⁸ Bow to Hislop, 1 May 1886, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/750b.

of it.¹⁹ The lack of contact with Europeans and especially exposure to the English language, caused peculiar difficulties for students at examination time. As Pope reported in 1885,

The pupils never by any chance hear any English spoken except in school, and consequently when they are examined by a stranger they are very much disconcerted by the difference of tone, pronunciation and emphasis. It will therefore always be necessary for an inspector when dealing with this and similar schools to cause the children to become well accustomed to his voice... or he will in all probability greatly undervalue the capital work done here.²⁰

Matihetihe, on the west coast about midway between the Whangape and Hokianga harbours, also had to be reached by horse or foot. When Thomas Hawkins taught Matihetihe as a half-time school he travelled by horse from his residence at Waitapu two or three times per week over the sand dunes. But weather conditions frequently held him back:

I rode halfway, to the middle of the large sand hill, when the strong wind blew the sand into my eyes to such an extent that I had to turn back. I have more than once had my eyes so blinded by the sand that I have not been able to fulfil my duties at the school.²¹

Horse-back could prove an unreliable, expensive and at times dangerous mode of transportation. Hawkins reckoned his expenses for keeping a horse in feed for his journeys to Matihetihe at £17.10 per annum, more than one tenth of the annual combined salary paid to him and his wife.²² In 1890 Matihetihe School Committee chairman George Kendall complained that Hawkins had not taught the Matihetihe school for three weeks on account of his horse being lame.²³ In 1892 the horse caused Hawkins more serious trouble and expense, for which William Pember Reeves approved a compensation payment of £10:²⁴

I am again in trouble in consequence of the 'halftime school horse' having, when feeding him, favoured me with a kick to the mouth, which laid me insensible for about 20 minutes and split open my upper lip, necessitating the calling in of a doctor, who happened to be

¹⁹ Von Sturmer to Secretary for Education, 1 March 1884, Alexander Turnbull Library, qMS-0984.

²⁰ Pope, Inspection Report, Whangape Native School, 15 May 1885, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/750b.

²¹ Hawkins to Habens, 4 September 1895, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/342a.

²² Hawkins to Kirk, 1 April 1891, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/717c. The maximum salary payable to the Hawkins in 1890 was £150, Kirk to Hawkins, 14 August 1891, National Archives, BAAA 1001/717c.

²³ George Kendall to Bishop, 1 October 1890, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001 342a.

²⁴ Minute, Pember Reeves, 11 July 1892, on Hawkins to Habens, 6 June 1892, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/717c. This is an interesting example of Pember Reeve's commitment to improving workers conditions and rights – Fabian socialism in action.

handy, to sew it up, and relieving me of the whole of my front teeth except one. I am going on very well but my articulation is ruined and I shall have to get a new set. The whole affair means an expense of around £20.²⁵

However a distinction should be made between inaccessibility and isolation. Clearly the schools were difficult for outsiders to reach, but isolation is a culturally defined experience. Teachers experienced isolation in various manifestations and in varying intensity. Hawkins at Waitapu requested leave in 1892 to attend the annual regatta, the premier social occasion of the Hokianga calendar: 'A Regatta takes place at the Kohukohu on the 20th inst. Please grant holiday for that day. I have very little opportunity of getting away from this lonely place on account of the risk of not getting back again.'²⁶ But Geissler at Waima in 1899 had no such wish: 'I did not take the holiday you kindly granted for 29 May to enable us to visit Kohukohu regatta, as that paltry affair did not interest me in the least.'²⁷ Charles Thurston and his family, Geissler's predecessors at Waima, felt a different kind of isolation there. Having lived fourteen years in Fiji, they 'pined' for their tropical paradise, even though they had been forced to abandon it by tropical diseases:

Mrs Thurston is actually craving for salt water & air, the boys also – you see it is a very sudden change of life for us all, after fourteen years of Island life, living close to the water's edge, to be removed so far inland.... I feel quite sure that if we are here another twelve months... Mrs T. will have to be sent to Sydney.²⁸

At Lower Waihou, Harriette Cornes felt 'buried alive' and unable to leave the house. There was 'no society' as her neighbours were not only 'natives', they were Roman Catholics:

The weather is very bad, mud ankle deep everywhere. The house is scarcely habitable, and my health suffers severely in consequence. In fact I cannot stop much longer at Waihou for it will soon kill me. I am simply buried alive. There is neither medical assistance, nor any of the comforts of civilisation, to be had here. I cannot go anywhere except in a canoe, and the sea makes me very ill. I am compelled to remain in the house. There is no society, nor any church of our own creed (Church of England) accessible. The Natives are nearly all

²⁵ Hawkins to Kirk, 4 May 1891, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/717c.

²⁶ Hawkins to Habens, 4 May 1892, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/717c.

²⁷ Geissler to Secretary for Education, 3 July 1899, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/680a.

²⁸ Thurston to von Sturmer, 17 January 1883, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679d; also Thurston to Secretary for Education, 17 January 1883, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679d; Pope to Thuston, 24 February 1883, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679d.

Roman Catholics. I shall therefore, be very glad if you will kindly remove us to some more suitable place for I am very wretched here.²⁹

Six weeks later, when Pope and von Sturmer visited Lower Waihou, Mrs Cornes became hysterical:

Mrs Cornes was loud in her complaints about being sent to such a secluded spot, and begged most earnestly to be removed - in fact there was quite a scene. Mr Cornes afterwards explained that Mrs Cornes is usually in the same hysterical condition, & that she has shown suicidal tendencies.³⁰

John Hislop's response was incredulous. He suggested the Cornes might have misjudged their vocation:

I am afraid the department will have great difficulty in finding work for you in a more civilised and accessible place, because it is the very nature of the case that native schools are almost all planted in localities remote from European civilisation.³¹

Schools at the centre of Maori communities

The schools might have been remote from European civilisation, but they were placed right at the heart of Maori communities, and often became a focal point for community in themselves. 'Society' to Harriette and Edmund Cornes did not mean communion with people in general, it meant communion with 'people like me', as von Sturmer inadvertently made clear: 'With reference to the want of society etc., at Lower Waihou, this is to be expected, when a school is erected in the centre of a native settlement'.³² Roman Catholic congregations met weekly, under the guidance of catechists Heremia Te Wake and Renata (Re) Te Tai Papahia, but this was not good enough for Mrs Cornes.³³ Sectarian differences were of more significance to Pakeha than Maori, as Hone Mohi Tawhai of Waima made clear in 1880:

I trust that the religious dissensions of the Europeans will not be introduced among the Maories; because we consider all men equal whether they be Catholics, Church of England,

²⁹ Harriette Cornes to Minister of Education, 18 July 1881, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729b.

³⁰ Pope to Hislop, 26 August 1881, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729b.

³¹ Hislop to Edmund Cornes, 25 January 1882, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729b.

³² Von Sturmer to Hislop, 20 July 1881, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729b.

³³ Charles Irvine to Pope, 21 August 1890, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/730a.

Wesleyans, Presbyterians, Baptists, or any other denominations, they are all created by God.³⁴

Re Te Tai and his family relocated across the harbour from Roman Catholic Lower Waihou to live with Hone Mohi in Wesleyan Waima for some years.³⁵ Hone Mohi also reports the isolation that his daughter Hilda felt when studying at Hukarere in Napier, far removed from her whanau at Waima. Pope reported his request that she be brought home as soon as possible, and his suggestion that an alternative arrangement might be made to provide secondary education for Hokianga scholars:

Mr Tawhai suggests that it is desirable that there should be a central High School for the North Auckland district, so that parents might occasionally visit their children and not be entirely cut off from them for two whole years.³⁶

Not all teachers excluded themselves from the life of their host communities. Lucy and Charles Irvine became so much a part of the Lower Waihou Community that Mary Te Tai Papahia considered, 'we are very much like relation now'.³⁷ Her father Re Te Tai Papahia was,

so much friendly to Mr Irvine, and he likes him very much, we are very much like relation, their eldest son is call after my father, and one of the youngest girl call after my aunti, my father gave a piece of land to the eldest boy, named Taikarawa another piece to the girl named Totoru, he gave this two piece of land as a token of love to them nothing else.³⁸

Re Te Tai was godfather to the Irvines' eldest son,³⁹ even though he was Roman Catholic, while the Irvines were Irish Protestant.⁴⁰ Mary pleaded with the Department not to remove them to another school: 'If you only know how we love them, I am quite sure you will not think of taking them away from us'.⁴¹ Other teachers were part of the community before they were appointed as teachers. Sarah

³⁴ Hone Mohi Tawhai to Native Minister, 12 July 1880, Department translation, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679d.

³⁵ Waima inspection reports for 1882, 1883 and 1884 all list some of Re Te Tai's children on the role; Pope, Inspection Report, Waima Native School, 30 August 1882, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679d; Pope, Inspection Report, Waima Native School, 11 August 1883, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679d; Pope, Inspection Report, Waima Native School, 16 June 1884, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679d.

³⁶ Pope, Inspection Report, Waima Native School, 4 June 1885, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679d.

³⁷ Mary Te Tai to Habens, 25 April 1888, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/730a.

³⁸ Mary Te Tai to Bishop, 25 April 1888, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/730a.

³⁹ Mary Te Tai to Habens, 25 April 1888, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/730a.

⁴⁰ Charles Irvine was a graduate of Trinity College Dublin and superintendant of St Paul's Church Sunday School Dunedin; Charles Irvine to School Inspector's Office, 21 July 1882, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729c.

⁴¹ Mary Te Tai to Habens, 25 April 1888, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/730a.

Kendall at Matihetihe was the daughter of the School Committee chairman, and had studied at Waitapu and Matihetihe herself before going on to secondary school at Hukarere.⁴² Ralph Fletcher Watkins was resident near Waitapu before becoming that school's first head teacher, and was married to Annie Raumamao Hardiman, daughter of a prominent Maori family.⁴³ Mary Te Tai at Lower Waihou,⁴⁴ and Hene (Jane) Te Wake at Whakarapa⁴⁵ took on responsibilities as assistant teachers in 1887, although they were never formally appointed or paid.

The Kainga

The Whakarapa and Lower Waihou school records provide an insight into the population structure and social organisation of a Hokianga kainga in the late 1880s. Charles Irvine supplied details of the demographic composition of Lower Waihou in 1886. He records a total population of ninety-three 'souls', with a high proportion of young children. Thirty-three were under 10 years of age, and seventeen were between 10 and 20. There was a significant elderly population, with eighteen over 50, nine over 60, and the eldest 75. There was a near-even gender balance, with forty-seven males, and forty-six females. Irvine lists the names by family units, of which there were twenty. Seventeen included a married couple, and of these, fifteen included between one and six children, while two had no children. Of the other three family units, two comprised of a single man with one and two children respectively, and the third comprised of two men, aged 70 and 50. In addition there were one 60 year old man, one 70 year old woman, and five children, none of whom were included in a family unit. Irvine also records the 'race' of each inhabitant, using the common delineations of M: pure blood or more than three-quarters Maori, MQ: having one Pakeha and three Maori grandparents, and H: having one Maori and one Pakeha parent. He lists 81 as M, 9 as MQ, and 3 as H. In the same year, Re Te Tai was eager to convince the Department that Lower Waihou was economically stable, and gives some indication of the state of agriculture:

With regard to our land at Waihou it is one of the most fertile districts in Hokianga County, there is abundance of food and whatever crop is put into the soil here will flourish. There is abundance of food for the children here and there is no fear of the children getting short of

⁴² St Claire to de Castro, 31 January 1898, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/342a.

⁴³ Robert Hardiman, Genealogical chart, Hokianga Historical Society, Omapere.

⁴⁴ Bishop to Secretary for Education, 21 February 1887, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729d.

⁴⁵ Te Wake to Bishop, 14 February 1887, Department translation, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729d; Inspection Report, Whakarapa Native School, 1 September 1887, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729d.

food. We have 7 ploughs and probably about 60 oxen without of course counting the horses. We are now beginning to build wooden houses for the children.⁴⁶

Despite Re Te Tai's confidence, many Hokianga kainga suffered food shortages, especially during the 1880s. The 1880s were a decade of economic recession throughout the country, and Hokianga Maori were sufficiently involved in the monetary economy for recession to impact heavily. Frederick Maning believed growing discontent among Ngapuhi and rising consciousness of breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi were a result of their flagging economy. He blamed their troubles on falling returns from Kauri gum, timber and land sales, which had provided relatively easy money until the 1880s.⁴⁷ Most kainga combined small scale agriculture with some store-bought food supplies and consequently they struggled during the recession, especially in unseasonable weather. Wirikake Peita Wharetohunga petitioned the Department of Education for assistance in 1886:

Friend, do you listen to me when I say that the children cannot always attend the school because there is no food for them and consequently they cannot have sufficient strength to walk to school, for the Natives you understand have not sufficient food, for had they tea, sugar, flour, butter and other things, it might have been different, as it is the Maories subsist principally on potatoes only. ...By next month all our food will be exhausted.⁴⁸

Hone Mohi Tawhai reported that an acute food shortage had caught the Waima people by surprise:

For thirty years past there has been no want of food in this land, Waima. But in this year, 1882, in the first day of October, a great dearth of food came unexpectedly upon all the people of Waima, and the parents of the children are scattered about digging Kauri gum to enable them to purchase food for their support.⁴⁹

Alexander Bow reported that a food shortage at Whangape affecting attendance in 1884 was not due to lack of industry:

Our own school has been suffering from one of the causes that affect Native Schools, "Shortness of Food" - not that they did not plant enough - but their corn was cut off by that

⁴⁶ Re Te Tai and others to Stout, 20 September 1886, Department translation, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729d.

⁴⁷ Maning to T.W. Lewis, 2 October 1882, Auckland Public Library, NZ MS 68.

⁴⁸ Wirikake Peita Wharetohunga to Habens, 17 September 1886, Department translation, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729d.

⁴⁹ Hone Mohi Tawhai to Thomas Dick, 2 December 1882, Department translation, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679d.

frost we experienced when we were together at Ahipara; and their Kumaras have all rotted - probably from the cold wet summer producing an unhealthy growth.⁵⁰

Politics

The Native Schools system was established at a time of great upheaval. Education had come to a standstill during the wars of the 1860s, and unrest still hampered the early progress of the system after it was formally brought into being by the Native Schools Act 1867. The development of the system was uneven, and John Barrington argues it progressed more rapidly among iwi who had remained neutral or fought alongside the Government.⁵¹ Ngapuhi and Te Rarawa were two of only six North Island iwi to have had no known involvement in the Waikato war, apart from a promise to protect 200 prisoners who escaped from Kawau Island.⁵² Maning believed Ngapuhi regarded the southerners as 'foreigners, enemies, and not countrymen'.⁵³ In the early 1870s prominent Ngapuhi and Te Rarawa leaders openly expressed their support for the Government against the Kingitanga. When a European was killed in 1873 von Sturmer wrote to Donald McLean that,

The great topic of conversation here is Waikato, there is only one feeling and that is, that Sullivan's murder is a deliberate feeler of the King's to see how far he can go.... there is a most decided feeling amongst them on the subject, and they would willingly go to the Waikato to fight.⁵⁴

Von Sturmer was surprised by the strength of feeling: 'This talk is all spontaneous, and such feeling has not been exhibited since I have been here.' Some of the talk may have been little more than bravado. The Ngatihau rangatira Patara Ngamanu told von Sturmer that, 'if Ngapuhi goes to Waikato, all the people of that side will be gone in three days, for we could not be troubled with prisoners'.⁵⁵ But Mohi Tawhai who had fought with Waka Nene against Hone Heke in the northern war was clear about his loyalties: 'Old Mohi Tawhai said to me when he first heard of it, the enemies of the Government are mine also, and my service belong to the Queen and Mr McLean whenever they are required.' When 'young Te Tai and a cousin of Wi Tana Papahia's' called on von Sturmer he discovered that Te Rarawa were 'as warm

⁵⁰ Bow to Pope, 18 November 1884, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001 750b.

⁵¹ J.M. Barrington, 'Maori Attitudes to Pakeha Institutions after the Wars: A Note on the Establishment of Schools,' *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, 6:1 (1971), pp. 24-8.

⁵² James Belich, *The New Zealand Wars*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1986, pp. 128, 197-8.

⁵³ 'Report from F.E. Maning, esq., Judge, Native Land Court, Auckland', 1868, AJHR, A. 4 No. 2, pp. 1-3.

⁵⁴ Von Sturmer to McLean, 20 May 1873, McLean Papers, Alexander Turnbull Library, MS-Papers-0032-0594.

⁵⁵ Von Sturmer to McLean, 20 May 1873, McLean Papers, Alexander Turnbull Library, MS-Papers-0032-0594.

on the Waikato affair as the Ngapuhi and seem prepared for fighting or anything else the Government might wish'.⁵⁶

But it would be a mistake to confuse loyalty with subservience or sovereignty, and Hokianga Maori seem to have regarded the Pakeha Government as much an ally as an authority with jurisdiction over them. Te Rarawa had an additional grievance with the Waikato, relating to the arrest of Heremia Te Wake after a battle between Ngapuhi and Te Rarawa resulted in a death in 1868. Von Sturmer reported in 1871:

The leading men seem anxious that something should be done in the Waikato. They would be only too glad to join in an expedition there, as they have an old grudge to settle – when Te Wake was taken to Auckland by Mr Mackay he was accompanied by Taipari and other Chiefs from the Thames district and the Rarawas were angry at the time at strangers interfering in the matter between them and the Government, and it would have been a delight to have an opportunity to return the compliment.⁵⁷

During the northern war in the 1840s most Hokianga Maori fought under Waka Nene, and only Papahurihia at Omanaia and Wharepapa (Tohu Kakahi) of the Ihutae hapu fought with Heke.⁵⁸ James Belich argues that the war had not established British sovereignty, and that the autonomy of Hokianga hapu was actually strengthened through their collaboration.⁵⁹ And the rule of law was far from evident at Hokianga twenty years later, when Frederick Maning wrote,

Here in the North there is no more hope of establishing the supremacy of the law than there is of flying in the air. Without a successful war of absolute conquest there is no sign of the Natives having any more inclination to submit to British law than there was twenty years ago *not so much* indeed.⁶⁰

The establishment of the first Native Schools after 1871 followed the appointment of a Resident Magistrate, Spencer William von Sturmer, who had arrived at Rawene in 1869.⁶¹ He found Rawene an unruly place, and wrote to William Fox in exasperation at the danger his Maori and Pakeha neighbours posed to his young family:

⁵⁶ Von Sturmer to McLean, 20 May 1873, McLean Papers, Alexander Turnbull Library, MS-Papers-0032-0594.

⁵⁷ Von Sturmer to McLean, 17 February 1871, McLean Papers, Alexander Turnbull Library, MS-Papers-0032-0594.

⁵⁸ Jack Lee, *Hokianga*, 1996, p. 139.

⁵⁹ Belich, *The New Zealand Wars*, 1986, pp. 69, 308.

⁶⁰ Belich, *The New Zealand Wars*, 1986, p. 308.

⁶¹ Von Sturmer's appointment as Resident Magistrate was in 1870, but he was employed as a Government agent at Rawene from 1869, probably as Customs Officer. Alison Buchan to Jack Lee, 18 April 1885, Alexander Turnbull Library, TL 3/1/3.

The inhabitants of this place with very few exceptions are given to excessive drinking, and of course all sorts of evil follow in its train.... it is impossible to drown the shouts and noise of thirty or forty and sometimes more drunken natives and Europeans wrangling and fighting together... Should you think it impossible that anything can be done to improve matters, would you kindly when you have the opportunity give me some appointment elsewhere (keeping a lighthouse would be better than staying here) ...anything to get away from this place.⁶²

While drunken lawless behaviour was a feature of Rawene it should be remembered that it was essentially a European port town that lacked any authority structure, either European or Maori. Conversely, most Maori kainga retained their traditional authority structures, supplemented by European influences, especially the Wesleyan, Church of England and Catholic Missions. Jack Lee argues that von Sturmer's appointment marked the beginning of 'orderly administration' at Hokianga.⁶³ But the establishment of European-style political and legal institutions was a slow process that could hardly be achieved by one person, whatever title the Government bestowed. Much of the change was at the instigation of Maori leaders, and may have begun with George Grey's Runanga system. Several important rangatira who were prominent in the politics of the 1830s and 1840s died in the 1870s, including Mohi Tawhai, Papahurihia, Arama Karaka Pi, and Wi Tana Papahia. Their successors, such as Hone Mohi Tawhai, Heremia Te Wake and Re Te Tai Papahia, were less war-like and more convinced of the potential benefit to Maori of European law, medicine and culture.

The new generation of leaders had their own political methods. With experience of Grey's runanga system, they readily made their first forays into parliamentary democracy in the separate Maori seats, although they were well aware of the limitations of the arrangement. Aperahama Taonui, an older Ngapuhi statesman, spoke to Resident Magistrate Edward Williams before the first election in 1868:

Very good; you say there are to be four Maori members and about seventy Pakehas; what are these four to do among so many Pakehas; where will their voices be as compared with the Pakeha voices? How are they to understand anything the Pakehas say, or the Pakehas anything the Maoris say? ...are they to listen to the Pakeha talk without understanding a word that is spoken – speak without being understood – give the Aye when asked to do so

⁶² Von Sturmer to William Fox, 18 October 1869, McLean Papers, Alexander Turnbull Library, MS-Papers-0032-0594.

⁶³ Jack Lee, *Hokianga*, 1996, pp. 194-202.

without knowing what they Aye to, and bye-and-bye, when some new Act bearing upon the Maoris is brought into operation, be told, Oh you assisted in passing it?⁶⁴

Hone Mohi Tawhai, an assessor of the Native Land Court, extolled Ngapuhi to take up the opportunity: 'Lose no time in determining upon some one for the Runanga lest it fall to the lot of smaller tribes to nominate our man'.⁶⁵ Von Sturmer reported to McLean that 500 Maori turned out for the 1871 election at Hokianga, but only 155 voted, as 'the Rarawas were a little jealous' that no Te Rarawa candidate was put forward.⁶⁶ Hone Mohi had high expectations of the political process at this early stage, as von Sturmer found in 1870:

Hone Mohi Tawhai sent me a number of letters with reference to new laws etc he wishes made for the people in his settlement, he as forwarded them to you [McLean]. ...I have told him not to be disappointed if the Government does not do all he wishes... I think young Johnny is troubled with the "cacochthes scribiendi", though he is a very good sensible fellow.⁶⁷

But by the late 1880s, many Hokianga Maori had become disillusioned with the effectiveness of the Maori seats, and began to look for other means of impressing their demands on Parliament. Ngapuhi were at the forefront of movements to build inter-iwi political unity from the late 1870s, and especially in the Kotahitanga (unity) movement to establish a Maori Parliament from the late 1880s.⁶⁸ It was in this environment that the Native Schools system was adopted at Hokianga.

⁶⁴ 'Report from E.M. Williams, Esq., Resident Magistrate, Waimate', 1868, AJHR, A. 4 No. 13, Appendix F., p. 31.

⁶⁵ Hone Mohi Tawhai to Ngapuhi, 28 January 1868, Williams' translation, enclosure to 'Report from E.M. Williams, Esq., Resident Magistrate, Waimate', 1868, AJHR, A. 4 No. 13, Appendix F., p. 31.

⁶⁶ Von Sturmer to McLean, 17 February 1871, McLean Papers, Alexander Turnbull Library, MS-Papers-0032-0594.

⁶⁷ Von Sturmer to McLean, 12 March 1870, McLean Papers, Alexander Turnbull Library, MS-Papers-0032-0594.

⁶⁸ Dictionary of New Zealand Biography *The Turbulent Years, The Maori Biographies from the New Zealand Dictionary of Biography, Volume Two*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books and Department of Internal Affairs, 1994, pp. 142-5; John A. Williams, *Politics of the New Zealand Maori*, Auckland and Oxford: Auckland University Press, Oxford University Press, 1969, pp. 48-67; Butterworth, *Aoteoroa*, 1888, pp. 80-110.

Attendance and Control

A site of conflict?

There was a difference between departmental policy and the everyday reality of the Native Schools. Equally, there was a difference between that reality, and the hopes and intentions of Hokianga Maori communities. This point is made succinctly by C. Lesley Andrews, although his conceptions of Maori and European hopes for the schools are simplistic:

Maori leaders saw in education the means of enabling their children to participate more fully in a European-type economy. The official view saw the schools as playing an important role in effecting a process of assimilation that was seen as relatively simple and automatic. Thus both Maori and Pakeha leaders projected conflicting aspirations on to an institution through which it was impossible for the hopes of either to be realised.⁶⁹

If the schools can be regarded as a site of conflicting aspirations, it will be useful to consider how the conflict was contested. It would be simplistic to draw a battle line with Pakeha and the Government on one side and Maori communities on the other, and to attribute to each combatant a set of unified goals and strategies. But before the more intimate details are discussed it is useful to consider the inherent advantages and disadvantages these groups held. Maori communities had the very real advantage of proximity to the schools on a day-to-day basis, whereas the administration faced the unenviable task of running an increasingly large number of schools by remote control with limited means of transport and communication. But the Government administration held the purse-strings. They determined the teacher's salary, and used this very strategically to achieve its goals. The remainder of this section will consider the mechanisms employed by the Government's administrations to turn policy into practice, showing the marked change from personal to bureaucratic methods during the 1880s, and then consider the hindrances that limited the effectiveness of the bureaucracy. It will then use examples of specific situations where the administration's control failed, to illustrate the strategies used by Maori to subvert the administration.

It is relatively easy to identify the key actors for the Government bureaucracy. Under the Native Department's administration the Minister took a hands-on role, especially Donald McLean. An inspector, A.H. Russell, made irregular visits, and assisted in the establishment of schools, but most significant throughout the period in the Hokianga was the Resident Magistrate, Spencer von Sturmer. Von Sturmer was in frequent contact with the communities and schools, and the Native Department gave him a fairly free hand. Under the Department of Education after 1879, the

⁶⁹ Andrews, 'Aspects of Development', 1975, pp. 88-9.

administration became more consistent and organised, and also more bureaucratic and regulated. While authority formally rested with the Minister, most policy was decided between and enforced by the inspectors, James Pope, Harry Borrer Kirk, and later William Bird, and the Wellington based officials, William James Habens, John Hislop, and to a lesser extent Sir Edward Osbourne Gibbes. The Department's Hokianga representatives, von Sturmer, Helya Wedderburn Bishop and Thomas L. Millar consecutively, retained a significant role, but they were secondary to the inspectors after the mid-1880s.

For the individual hapu there was a formal structure sanctioned by the Department in school committees, and in the Department's eyes these existed to assist in the implementation of Departmental policy. However committees were usually subservient to the pre-existing authority structures of the hapu, and in situations where the committee or the school in general did not have the support of those structures they were ineffectual. A committee without mana was simply unable to get anything done. Bishop believed falling attendance at Waima in 1888 was due the Chairman of the Committee, who had 'not much influence. I asked Hone Mohi to go on the Committee again.' On hearing Hone Mohi Tawhai had been 'elected at the head of the Poll', he concluded, 'I believe that the attendance will now improve.'⁷⁰ The Department for this reason preferred to have on committees representatives of the hapu's authority structures, and preferably the leading rangatira of each settlement. Habens wrote in 1888, 'experience shows that it is nearly always advantageous to have the leading Native of a district for chairman of the Native School Committee.'⁷¹ There was usually one or a few individuals who became the primary liaison between community and Department. These were able to communicate with the Department by virtue of being literate, and in some cases – such as Mary Te Tai, George Kendall, Mary and George Hardiman – literate in the English language. They also possessed a sufficient degree of experience or confidence in dealing with Pakeha authorities.

Personal versus bureaucratic authority

The Government administration's strategies of control are clearly documented and easier to define than those of the communities. The Native Department's strategies were very informal and personal, relying on one-on-one relationships between von Sturmer and key personalities of each community. Effectively the Native Department's role was limited to appointing and paying the teacher, collecting fees from parents (these were waived under the Department of Education), and organise the erection and maintenance of buildings. There was very little focus on the quality

⁷⁰ Bishop to Secretary of Education, 22 December 1888, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679e.

⁷¹ Habens to Bishop, 14 January 1888, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679e.

of education, with no formal curriculum, and teachers left to their own devices to a very high degree. They were expected at the least to teach English language, literacy, and numeracy, but there was no method of assessing pupils' progress, or teacher's performance.⁷² Von Sturmer visited the schools frequently but irregularly, and reported by post to the Department on their progress, requirements, or difficulties. This gave the teacher a very free hand, as long as von Sturmer, as the 'gate-keeper', could be persuaded of a school's efficiency or requirements. Von Sturmer for his part was eager that the schools be regarded as a success, as this would reflect positively on himself. This was important to him as he hoped to be promoted from his position, and preferably to be removed from the Hokianga, as he wrote in 1880 with some despondency, 'I am trying my utmost to get out of this I am sick of the place and the people'.⁷³ He had a particular interest in the schools, having been intimately involved since their establishment, and on two separate occasions sought appointment as an inspector.⁷⁴ He therefore tended to portray the schools in a positive light, and to play down any difficulties.

After the schools were transferred to Education Department control, that Department relied heavily on von Sturmer for his experience and existing relationships, especially while the administration was finding its feet. Von Sturmer was consulted, and generally deferred to, on all issues of substance. He became the Department's formal representative at Hokianga and as Hislop wrote to the newly appointed Alexander Bow in 1881: 'Mr von Sturmer represents the Department in the Hokianga districts and all your communications should come here through him.'⁷⁵ Von Sturmer provided continuity between the administrations. When the Whangape people forwarded their application for a school to the Department in 1879, von Sturmer, who according to Hislop was 'in charge of Native School business in that part of New Zealand' was asked to investigate.⁷⁶ He was able to report that an application had already been made the previous year. A site had been selected and arrangements had already progressed to the point of receiving tenders for the

⁷² Barrington and Beaglehole, *Maori Schools*, 1974, provide the best discussion of the Native Schools system under the Native Department between 1867 and 1879 (pp. 97-121), and their discussion of Pope's initial reforms also sheds light on the informal nature and inconsistencies of the system prior to his appointment (pp. 122-35).

⁷³ Von Sturmer to Webster, 12 May 1880, Auckland Public Library, MS 745. Also, von Sturmer to McLean, 9 November 1875, McLean Papers, Alexander Turnbull Library, MS-Papers-0032-0594, requesting appointment as a Judge of the Native Land Court; and von Sturmer to McLean, 7 February 1872, McLean Papers, Alexander Turnbull Library, MS-Papers-0032-0594, requesting appointment as Government immigration agent in his home County of North Lincoln and Yorkshire, where his father was Rector of Heapham in Lincolnshire.

⁷⁴ Von Sturmer to Russell, 1 August 1873, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/720b; von Sturmer to Pope, 11 August 1885, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729c.

⁷⁵ Hislop to Bow, 5 May 1881, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/750b.

⁷⁶ Hislop to Minister of Education, 10 December 1879, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/750b; Hislop to von Sturmer, 10 December 1879, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/750b.

school's construction.⁷⁷ The extent to which the Department relied on the Resident Magistrate at this time is exemplified by a situation in 1880 when the Lower Waihou people had 'virtually closed the school' due to a dispute between Heremia Te Wake and the teachers, Miss C.H. Landon and her younger sister. Hislop telegraphed to von Sturmer, 'Completely at a loss - can you make any recommendation.'⁷⁸ Von Sturmer's recommendation to remove the teachers at the first opportunity was quickly complied with.⁷⁹

However the Department's presence at Hokianga, in the form of the Resident Magistrates, declined during the 1880s. As the number of schools increased and von Sturmer's other duties multiplied, he seems to have decreased his level of attention to the Hokianga schools, especially during 1882 when his duties as magistrate were temporarily extended to include the Mongonui and Whangaroa districts.⁸⁰ After von Sturmer's departure to become Resident Magistrate for Wairarapa, Napier and Waipukurau in 1886, Bishop took over his responsibilities at Hokianga, in addition to his own as Resident Magistrate for the Bay of Islands district, including Mangonui and Whangaroa. Bishop had been von Sturmer's Clerk at Rawene until he was appointed Resident Magistrate in 1882, when he took up residence at Mongonui. He remained there after 1886, contributing to the Department's problems of proximity.⁸¹ Due to his much broader jurisdiction his role with the schools tended to be less hands-on, although he was often called upon by the Department to offer advice or investigate a problematic school. After Bishop was transferred to Auckland in 1891, the role of Hokianga representative for the Department of Education seems to have fallen on Thomas L. Millar, the Postmaster at Rawene, but his involvement was very limited by comparison to his predecessors.⁸²

Declining representation on the ground after the transfer to the Department of Education was countered by the introduction of bureaucratic methods of control. The Department's early priority was to get to grips with the state of the system it had inherited, and fact-finding or reconnaissance trips were made by Hislop, Habens and

⁷⁷ Von Sturmer to Hislop, 5 January 1880, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/750b.

⁷⁸ Von Sturmer to Hislop, 1 May 1880, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729b; Hislop to von Sturmer, 1 April 1880, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729b.

⁷⁹ Von Sturmer to Hislop, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729b; von Sturmer to Hislop, 7 June 1880, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729b.

⁸⁰ Von Sturmer to Webster, 13 June 1882, Auckland Public Library, NZ MS 74.

⁸¹ Alison Buchan to Jack Lee, 18 April 1985, Alexander Turnbull Library, TL 3/1/3; von Sturmer to Webster, 26 June 1882, Auckland Public Library, NZ MS 74; von Sturmer to Webster, 26 June 1882, Auckland Public Library, NZ MS 74; Many of von Sturmer's outgoing letters in his Hokianga Magistrate's Office Letterbook are in Bishop's distinctive hand, Alexander Turnbull Library, qMS-0984.

⁸² There is very little correspondence from Millar in the school files, although his involvement extended until at least 1898. See for example, Millar to Secretary for Education, 28 December 1891, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679e, and Geissler to Secretary for Education, 19 September 1898, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/680a.

Pope.⁸³ This was followed by a drive to formalise and standardise the administrative arrangements and curriculum, and to continue the rapid growth of the system. By 1879 there were seven schools in the Hokianga, at Waitapu, Pakia, Whirinaki, Waima, Upper Waihou, Lower Waihou, and Rakau Para (Orira). By 1881 a further three were added at Whangape, Motukaraka and Omanaia, and by 1886 there were also schools at Waimamaku, Mangamuka and Otaua.⁸⁴ The additions to the machinery of administration included the Native Schools Code, the standardisation of salaries, a set curriculum, regular annual examinations and inspections, and a scheme for grading teachers.⁸⁵ Among these, the Code, the inspection and the system for setting salaries require special attention.

The Native School's Code has been discussed by several writers, usually for what it reveals about the assimilationist intentions of the administration. Simon and Tuhiwai Smith argue that it demonstrates the early priority the administration placed on assimilating Maori to Pakeha 'civilisation', 'to bring', as the Code states,

an untutored but intelligent and high-spirited people into line with our civilisation and by placing in Maori settlements European school buildings and European families to serve as teachers, especially as exemplars of a new and more desirable mode of life.⁸⁶

Barrington and Beaglehole describe the Code as a genuine attempt to combat the fatal impact, 'a means by which education could contribute to the survival of the Maori race'.⁸⁷ However the Code was much more than a charter for assimilation. Barrington and Beaglehole also emphasise the administrative machinery the Code put in place, and its increased attention to the quality of education.⁸⁸ The Code was the cornerstone of the new bureaucratic regime. It included in a regulatory form the requirements for the establishment of new schools, and for determining teachers' remuneration. It included the curriculum, the scheme for grading teachers, the materials and texts to be employed, the paperwork to be submitted, regulations for the election and powers of the Committee, requirements for inspection and

⁸³ Barrington and Beaglehole, *Maori Schools*, 1974, pp. 122-3. Hislop's visit to Hokianga in mid-1879 predated Pope's appointment, (Hislop to von Sturmer, 17 November 1879, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729b,) while Pope's first visit was in March 1880. Pope's report of this visit has been literally cut and pasted into the files for each school, see for example on the Waitapu file, Organising Inspector's Report for Month of March, 1 April 1880, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/720b.

⁸⁴ Lower Waihou School was removed to Whakarapa in 1883, and Pakia was transferred to the Auckland Education Board to become a European school in the early 1880s.

⁸⁵ The best discussion of the transition to the Education Department is provided by Barrington and Beaglehole, *Maori Schools*, 1974, pp. 104-132.

⁸⁶ Quoted in Judith Simon, *Nga Kura Maori*, 1998, p. 14.

⁸⁷ Barrington and Beaglehole, *Maori Schools*, 1974, pp. 5-6.

⁸⁸ Barrington and Beaglehole, *Maori Schools*, 1974, pp. 125-126. The curriculum instituted by the Code was an adaptation of that for European schools instituted by the Education Act 1877.

examination, and guidelines for the general conduct of schools and for the involvement of teachers in the life of the Maori community.⁸⁹

The Code was received with some trepidation by teachers who doubted their schools' or their own abilities to meet its requirements. While the Department maintained some flexibility, it is clear that it took the Code very seriously and did its utmost to avoid any deviation from it. In 1880 Emily Wyatt Watling at Ohaeawai, inland from Hokianga between Kaikohe and the Bay of Islands, wrote of several concerns with the Code. She was afraid – actually unnecessarily – as a single head-teacher, for the stability of her position given that the Code called for married couples to take charge of schools. She also requested authority to deviate from the school hours stipulated by the Code to enable her pupils to work the gum fields without missing school. Pope reassured her that the Code's stipulations in regard to married couples would not prejudice working employees. But he disagreed strongly with her scheme for changing school hours, providing in the process a clear statement of his view of the status of the Code and its necessity:

If hers were the only Native School she might be left to take her own course, perhaps. Her school, however, is one of sixty. A Code has been drawn up to regulate Native Schools and to correct the extreme laxity with which these schools have been managed in the past, especially in those districts where there has been little or no supervision by Native Officers. My opinion is that it would be unwise to depart from the code in any case, unless very strong reasons can be adduced for doing so.⁹⁰

For Pope the Code was intended to correct 'laxity' and inconsistency, and exceptions were not to be made for individual schools. All of the Code's provisions impacted profoundly on the day to day functioning of the Hokianga schools, but two aspects that have received little attention were particularly important in enabling the Government to maintain its control.

The first of these aspects was the inspection and examination visits by the Organising Inspector, initially James Pope. Pope was joined by Harry Borrer Kirk in 1886, and by William Bird around the turn of the Century. It was the intention at the writing of the 1880 Code, to have the inspector visit schools twice annually. At the examination the children's progress would be tested and those who had achieved the benchmarks set out in the curriculum would be passed in the appropriate Standards.

⁸⁹ 'The Native Schools Code 1880', AJHR, 1880, H-1F, pp. 1-7.

⁹⁰ Pope to Inspector General of Schools, 24 August 1880, on Watling to Hislop, 11 August 1880, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001 378e. Pope also seems to suggest that some Resident Magistrates took little active interest in the Schools. Ohaeawai was outside the area for which Spencer von Sturmer was responsible.

The inspection would focus on the running of the school, the condition of buildings and equipment, the paperwork, the attitudes of the community toward the school, the teacher's methods, and on the teacher's general performance. The examination of pupils against the set curriculum ensured that teachers taught the required subjects to the required standard, but the methods teachers used were harder to influence. There was at this time no formal training of Native School teachers outside of the comments made at the inspection, and irregular circulars mailed to teachers on particular methods or policies, and the inspectors often complained that it was impossible to influence the majority of teachers to accept new or different methodologies. It was not until much later that refresher courses were run for Native School Teachers, and *Te Waka Maori*, a periodical of the Native School Teacher's Association through which they shared ideas, was not published until 1915.⁹¹ Pope wrote in 1892,

Would that teachers could be induced to take comprehension work first and then make an earnest effort to get their children to read the passage under treatment in the best possible [way]. This is written with reference to a lesson by Miss Hawkins which as a specimen of the old-fashioned reading lesson was by no means bad.⁹²

The inspection was given structure by the inspection schedule, a form developed by Pope during 1880-81, and refined over subsequent years.⁹³ While the details of the schedule may seem of little importance, it provided the means by which the Department ensured its directives were being attended to in every area of a school's work. The Department ensured that the teachers took the inspection very seriously by linking it to their salary. An exception occurred in 1899 when Sarah Kendall taught Matihetihe School on a fixed probationary salary of just £50 per annum. However both Kirk and Pope considered the arrangement inadequate, as it provided no incentive in regard to the inspection and examination: 'We both think that it is desirable to define her interest in the examination by giving her the Code Privileges in connection with it... this year it would have been £11.6.8.'⁹⁴

The inspection was given equal weight to the examination in determining a total 'gross percentage' used in salary calculations. The examination percentage was

⁹¹ For a discussion of difficulties due to lack of training, see Barrington and Beaglehole, *Maori Schools*, pp.149-52; and Simon and Tuhiwai Smith, *A Civilising Mission*, 2001, pp. 38-43; for information on *Te Waka Maori* see Simon and Tuhiwai Smith, *A Civilising Mission*, 2001, pp. 139-40.

⁹² Pope, Inspection Report, Matihetihe Native School, 25 March 1892, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/342a.

⁹³ Some of the early Hokianga reports show that the schedule was developed through experience, such as the prototype used at Waitapu in 1880, Inspection Report, Waitapu Native School, 17 November 1880, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/720b.

⁹⁴ Minute, Pope to Hogben, 2 May 1899, on Kirk, Inspection Report, Matihetihe Native School, 17 April 1899, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/342a.

calculated by dividing the total marks achieved by all students by the total marks possible. The inspection percentage was produced from total marks gained over several sections and subsections. For example, the Schedule in use in 1897 had five sections: records, organisation, discipline, 'extras' (including singing, drawing, and drill), and teaching methods.⁹⁵ Each of these sections was then divided into subsections which were attributed equal weight. 'Organisation' was constituted of the tidiness and cleanliness of buildings and offices, the condition of gardens and grounds, the condition of appliances and furniture, and the quality of the timetable. 'Discipline' was divided into the general order maintained in the classroom, the type and efficacy of punishments, the 'tone' of the school which included the relationship of the teacher with the Maori community and their support or otherwise of the school, and 'cleanliness of pupils'. Each section and subsection represented a priority for the Department and deficiencies in any area would be pointed out to the teacher to be remedied. Some aspects such as 'tone' and 'cleanliness of pupils' entailed a level of observation and control that reached outside of the School itself and into the homes of the children. The latter was the Department's way of ensuring its health messages were being heeded. Children were checked for scabies and head lice as well for unhygienic habits like spitting on slates to clean them. In his inspection report for Matihetihe in 1905 Bird wrote under 'Cleanliness of Pupils', 'the children are clean. They do not spit on their slates & their hands and faces are not dirty. I noticed a little hakihaki [scabies] and suggest that the teacher apply for (1) some sulphur ointment (2) for cough medicine.'⁹⁶ Pope wrote in regard to Waima in 1897, 'The general practice of spitting has been got under - Hakihaki is not quite unknown.'⁹⁷

In practice the inspectors seem to have managed two visits to Hokianga schools only in 1880 (March and October-November) and in 1881 (August and October), and thereafter only when exceptional cases warranted urgency and an inspector was already travelling in the north.⁹⁸ The inspection and examination would therefore occur on the same day, so that the inspector might witness only half a day's lessons, and spend the remaining time examining students, and talking with the teacher and

⁹⁵ For example Pope, Inspection Report, Waima Native School, 22 July 1897, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/680a.

⁹⁶ Bird, Inspection Report, Matihetihe Native School, 8 December 1905, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/342a.

⁹⁷ Pope, Inspection Report, Waima Native School, 22 July 1897, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/680a.

⁹⁸ Several such unscheduled visits were made by Pope in April-May 1884: to Waima to resolve a conflict, (Pope to Inspector General of Schools, 26 April 1884, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679d); to Whakarapa to investigate a complaint against the Master, (Pope to Inspector General of Schools, 19 April 1884, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729c); to Waitapu and Whangape to investigate an epidemic (Pope to Hislop, 8 May 1884, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001 / 750b; Pope to Hislop, 2 June 1884, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/720b.) Pope was already in Northland attending to other schools.

parents when time permitted. Issues brought before the Department by teachers or members of the Community would frequently be put off by the Department 'until the inspector's next visit'. This meant matters could drag on for many months without being attended to. Requests for new schools, such as at Taheke in 1884, could not proceed until an inspector had visited.⁹⁹ Other matters had to be decided in a tentative way on minimal information, pending the inspector's visit. Margaret Bryers was appointed on probation to teach the Matihetihe School in 1904, despite none of the Department's staff having so much as met her, pending Bird's assessment of her teaching ability at his next inspection.¹⁰⁰ If an inspector found a clear recommendation could not be made during an inspection, the only option was to delay an entire year. Although Pope found the teacher's residence at Lower Waihou 'altogether insufficient' in November 1880, and considered that, 'the teachers should not be asked to pass a winter in the present building,' he recommended that a decision be held over until his next visit, which he hoped would take place in April. He did not visit Lower Waihou again until August 1881, by which time Mr and Mrs Cornes had weathered most of another winter in the structure and were becoming 'hysterical'.¹⁰¹

In addition to the infrequent visits of the inspectors, in order for the department to maintain control over the schools on a day to day basis, the Code instituted number of items of paperwork that were required to be completed and submitted, and were viewed by the inspector on each visit. This paperwork, the basis of any bureaucratic organisation, are the second aspect of the Code's provisions that requires further explanation. It included:

1. A timetable setting out daily and weekly activities, to be 'strictly' and 'exactly' followed.
2. A log book to record any and all events of note, including for example all cases of corporal punishment.
3. A sewing book to record the use and sale of all sewing materials and money received
4. An admission register which reported the date of enrolment, any schools previously attended, achievements, and departure of each student, and their destination or reason for leaving school.
5. A school register or daily attendance register
6. Quarterly attendance returns

⁹⁹ Von Sturmer to Hislop, 6 March 1884, Alexander Turnbull Library, qMS-0984.

¹⁰⁰ Gibbes to Margaret Bryers, 26 February 1904, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/342a.

¹⁰¹ Pope, Inspection Report, Lower Waihou Native School, 22 November 1880, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729b; Pope, Inspection Report, Lower Waihou Native School, 27 October 1881, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729b.

These records, along with requisitions for materials and repairs, were viewed by the inspector on each visit and graded, and this grade contributed to the overall 'examination percentage' used in calculating the teacher's salary. A strong incentive was thereby created to keep the records neat, accurate, and up-to-date.

The timetable enabled the Department to see at a glance how school time was passed at any school. This was reviewed, commented on and graded by the inspector at every visit, and any alterations deemed necessary would be pointed out, such as at Matihetihe in 1900, 'The amount of English work done is too small.... There is a good deal of time devoted to copybook writing three half-hours a week should suffice. At least five hours should be given to arithmetic.'¹⁰² Any non-adherence to the timetable during the inspection was also be apprehended, as at Lower Waihou in 1886.¹⁰³ The log book also gave the inspector an insight into the day to day happenings in the school and committee, and these were read with interest by the inspectors. Kirk lamented in 1894 that entries in the Matihetihe log book were 'short but perhaps sufficient; hardly so interesting as Waitapu log-book.'¹⁰⁴ Teachers could not be expected to intentionally report anything in their log books that might prejudice themselves, however they at times disclosed information that drew strong criticism. Pope complained in 1889 that Thomas Minchin's Waitapu log book, 'hardly gives a complete history of the troubles that have endangered the schools existence.'¹⁰⁵ But Kirk's observations of the same log book the previous year nearly led to Minchin's dismissal from the service, as they confirmed complaints that his punishment was too harsh and too frequent – his log-book recorded nine or ten instances of corporal punishment over a twelve month period, which the Department considered excessive.¹⁰⁶ The Log book was also a method for teachers to bring the inspector's attention to an issue. In his 1884 inspection report Pope quotes at length Thurston's litany of the horrors of Waima's dilapidated school house which concluded, 'the teacher respectfully draws the inspector's attention to the same, as a

¹⁰² Pope, Inspection Report, Matihetihe Native School, 2 July 1899, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/342a.

¹⁰³ Kirk, Inspection Report, Lower Waihou Native School, 7 May 1886, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729c.

¹⁰⁴ Kirk, Inspection Report, Matihetihe Native School, 22 March 1894, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/342a.

¹⁰⁵ Pope, Inspection Report, Waitapu Native School, 27 May 1889, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/717c.

¹⁰⁶ Kirk counted nine instances in the Log Book, Minchin, ten. See Habens to Minchin, 13 September 1888, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/720b; Minchin to Secretary for Education, 25 September 1888, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/720b. Minchin's reported heavy discipline (he denied it fervently) and the related complaints created a large correspondence, which culminated in the collapse of the school and in Minister George Fisher approving Minchin's removal from Waitapu with little hope of a new appointment, Minute, Fisher, 16 January 1889, on Bishop to Secretary for Education, 8 January 1889, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/717c. However due to a turn of events which will be related below Minchin did not leave his position.

matter not only of duty, but of safety.¹⁰⁷ Kirk quoted Alexander Bow's log book in his inspection report for Whangape in 1887, in the first reference to the removal of the school buildings that would take place much later:

The logbook gives an interesting account of a meeting of Natives to consider the advisability of asking the Government to remove the school across the river to the southern side, as fewer children would then have to cross the water to attend school. No action was decided on. It may be advisable to consider this question at some future time.¹⁰⁸

Of all these forms most importance was attached to the attendance returns and attendance registers. The attendance was regarded by the Department as the primary measure of a teacher's and a school's success. This was reflected in the salary increment for attendance, calculated from the quarterly attendance returns, which were checked against the daily attendance registers on the inspectors visit. Any minor irregularity was dealt with harshly. In 1897 Pope found a minor irregularity with the Waima attendance register: the attendance's for the three days prior to the inspection had been recorded but not tallied. According to the regulations this was a serious offence requiring forfeit of the attendance increment for the quarter, a considerable sum of money.¹⁰⁹ Linking attendance to remuneration was not only in consideration of the work required in teaching larger numbers of students, but a scheme to give the teacher every incentive to do whatever was necessary to increase the attendance. A high attendance meant a better return for the Government's investment in a school; it meant the greatest impact on the largest number of children, and therefore the widest impact on the Maori community as a whole. Failure to secure regular attendance was considered an indicator that the master had failed to secure the confidence of the community. Habens spelt this out for Charles Irvine, along with other measures of a master's 'success':

In order that there may be no mistake as to what is meant by 'success', I note down the principal points the Department considers of great importance in this regard - a teacher who fails in one or more of the following respects is considered as unsuccessful... The teacher must create such a 'tone' amongst his pupils and their parents as will cause the attendance to be punctual, regular, and continuous.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ Quoted in Pope, Inspection Report, Waima Native School, 16 June 1884, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679d.

¹⁰⁸ Kirk, Inspection Report, Whangape Native School, 22 August 1887, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/750b.

¹⁰⁹ Pope, Inspection Report, Waima Native School, 22 July 1897, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/680a. Pope accepted the teacher's explanation and advised leniency, and the increment was paid. Some detail is provided in the minutes to the report.

¹¹⁰ Habens to Charles Irvine, 4 September 1886 b, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729d. Also Hislop to Hoskings, 9 June 1880, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679d: 'You have in a very large measure if not wholly failed to secure to yourself and your school the confidence and

Some Hokianga teachers were uncomfortable with these arrangements, aware of how little control they had over the attendance at their schools. Alexander Bow at Whangape wrote to Pope, 'The casual increment is like the balls of the conjuror at the fair - now you see them and then you don't see them - Mr Hill [Charles Hill of Waitapu] thinks it is hard on him if his school goes down.'¹¹¹ But other teachers took up the challenge with gusto, and their efforts to acquire new students often drew them into the affairs of their host communities. Hermann Wolderman Geissler at Waima took it as a personal challenge to increase his school's attendance in the wake of the Dog Tax incident, which saw his school roll plummet. 'I cannot get away', he wrote to Pope, 'from the reduced income staring me in the face.'¹¹² Low attendance was a problem Geissler had faced before. In 1895 soon after his arrival at Waima he discovered the roll had dropped from 34 to 20 and, 'Being anxious to reverse this state of things I visited every house and whare.'¹¹³ In 1898 he greeted his adversity with a similar, fanatical resolve, which in practice meant homing in on individual children:

I succeeded in getting two little boys from down Waima for the school. A little girl I was after, has been taken to a place down the river by Puruwhero, but as I made up my mind to have her, have her I will, and I shall fight P. Whero for this pupil, though without Maxims. - We know one another. My ambition is to have a full school again in Waima, and I shall continue to work hard, and try to persuade those that have children or influence, to study the good of these little ones, and have them educated.¹¹⁴

His efforts in pursuing the young girl would finally prove successful, at the beginning of the following term: 'Only two infants attended school on first day this quarter, but I roused up the people and among others captured at last the little girl I was after last quarter and also a cousin of hers.'¹¹⁵

support of the Natives of your district. The ability to secure these is one of the main qualifications of a Native School Teacher'. This letter followed the complete collapse of the attendance at Waima.

¹¹¹ Bow to Pope, 18 November 1884, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/750b.

¹¹² Geissler to Pope, 14 September 1898, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/680a.

¹¹³ Geissler to Inspector General of Schools, 30 October 1895, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679e.

¹¹⁴ Geissler to Secretary for Education, 21 September 1898, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/680a.

¹¹⁵ Geissler to Secretary for Education, 8 February 1898, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/680a.

Contested control and the department's limitations

It is quite clear that the leaders of Maori communities resented attempts to wrest control of the schools from their hands. This was perhaps most pronounced during the change of administrations between the Native and Education Departments, when a concerted effort was being made to standardise and exert greater control over the schools. At Waima, Hone Mohi Tawhai, then Member for Northern Maori, was particularly incensed that his Committee's choice of teacher, Miss C.H. Lundon, had been overlooked, and especially that he had not been consulted or advised of the reason.

If it is that she is incompetent to teach children, and does not understand Arithmetic, English, Grammar, or other branches of Education, it would be sufficient reason. But now the reason is not known, and this is the cause of my trouble.¹¹⁶

He suspected that it had nothing to do with the teacher's ability, and he was right. Hislop was determined to have married couples appointed in accordance with their intensely gendered conception of assimilation: 'I cannot advise the appointment of Miss Lundon or any unmarried female, we must have a married man & his wife in every Native School, as prescribed by the Code.'¹¹⁷ Tawhai had already approached his preferred candidate and made arrangements with her father John Lundon. He felt the Department's decision compromised his integrity and brought shame on himself and the Waima School Committee: 'I then felt that dirt had been put upon the head of the Committee and upon mine also'.

I am not like a crayfish which has two modes of progression, sometimes going backwards and other times forwards, but as for me I follow the course I deem right, and that is the course taken by the Committee of the school of my people, I will [pursue] this matter to the last, because it is in my hand, and it is not right that anyone should come and take what is of value from me. When all the matters alluded to have been carried out I will then open my hand, because the people are mine and the children also, and I know how their affairs have been administered whereby they have lived in Peace, held fast to the faith, and remained loyal to the Queen. ... My trouble is caused by my anxiety to benefit my people.¹¹⁸

The Department's major advantage over the communities in exercising control was that it held the purse-strings, and with them the authority to appoint, remove, or dismiss teachers, to set their salaries, and to open, close, move or improve school

¹¹⁶ Hone Mohi Tawhai to Native Minister, 12 July 1880, Department translation, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679d.

¹¹⁷ Minute, Hislop to Rolleston, 19 August 1880, on Hone Mohi Tawhai to Native Minister, 12 July 1880, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679d.

¹¹⁸ Hone Mohi Tawhai to Native Minister, 12 July 1880, Department translation, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679d.

facilities as they saw fit. Although the Minister placed limitations on the exercise of these prerogatives, and formal authority rested with the Minister, decisions were based entirely on information and advice provided by the Department and the Minister rarely acted against advice, within fiscal constraints. This, in theory, placed the teacher entirely under the Department's and the Minister's authority. However the Department's ideals were often compromised by practical constraints. The Department was hamstrung by Government cost-cutting during the economic recession of the 1880s, as this letter from Hislop to Hone Mohi Tawhai clearly shows: 'The Department... is anxious that a new school be erected at Waima; but nothing can be settled till it be seen whether Parliament votes a sufficient sum of money to enable Government to provide this and other school buildings.'¹¹⁹ Hislop would have been very aware of Tawhai's dual interest in this matter, being both Chairman of the Waima school committee and Member of the House of Representatives for Northern Maori.

The Government's reticence extended also to smaller items: 'A bell is much needed but there is no money for one at present. £5 might be placed on next years estimates.'¹²⁰ Budget constraints affected several other Hokianga schools. Despite repeated petitions from Thomas Hawkins, who taught the Waitapu and Matihetihe schools in conjunction with his daughter, for a horse allowance to enable him to travel between the schools, the Department was compelled to decline: 'The state of feeling in the House with respect to retrenchment in general and the Native Schools specially has been such as to hinder any movement in the direction of an improvement of your income.'¹²¹ This was despite active support from Habens, Inspector General of Schools and head of the Department, who seems to have considered Hawkins' poor remuneration an injustice.¹²² It took the instalment of a Liberal Government with William Pember Reeves as Minister for Education for Hawkins' situation to improve.¹²³ Re Te Tai understood the Lower Waihou School had been established in his own modified house for a two year trial, after which the Department would provide a building. He had shown Kirk, the inspector, a suitable

¹¹⁹ Hislop to Hone Mohi Tawhai, 18 September 1884, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679d.

¹²⁰ Pope, Inspection Report, Waima Native School, 29 October 1881, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679d.

¹²¹ Habens to Hawkins, 30 September 1890, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/717c.

¹²² Kirk informed Hawkins that, 'Mr Habens had already more than once given the subject very full and careful consideration, and that he had done all that it was possible for him to do in your interests, although not all that he wished to do. You will understand that, when I say all that it was possible for him to do, I mean that and not that he had merely done all that it was convenient for him to do, or anything of the kind.' Kirk to Hawkins, 14 August 1891, National Archives, BAAA 1001/717c.

¹²³ Reeves approves a salary increment and horse allowance in 1891; Minute, William Pember Reeves, (undated), on Pope to Habens, 14 August 1891, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/717c.

site for the new facilities and saw no reason why it should not go ahead.¹²⁴ But the Department, which had not approved the Lower Waihou school's opening, and had recognised it only after it had already been in operation for some time, had a very different understanding. The Department withdrew its support in 1888, when Habens informed Re Te Tai that the main reason for closing the school was retrenchment:

The Government cannot see its way to establish or maintain an additional school at Waihou. No doubt you have heard that retrenchment is being effected by the Government in every direction and you will therefore easily understand that the Government cannot act so inconsistently as to establish a second school within three miles of another school.¹²⁵

The decision to appoint single woman teachers to Matihetihe, contrary to Departmental policy, was also a cost-saving measure. Sara Kendall's appointment as sole-charge teacher at age 16 years 4 months with two years secondary education was regarded as 'a very exceptional case', but with an expected attendance of only twelve to fifteen, her pitiful salary of £50 per annum was all the Department could justify.¹²⁶ In 1904 another single woman was appointed, Margaret Bryers, the 30-year-old daughter of a prominent Opononi family, 'with a minimum of £80 a year. I do not see how we could expect even a single female teacher to live on less.'¹²⁷ Later the same year when Bryers left because of ill-health, Hilda Paul was appointed after Pope advised the Secretary for Education, Sir Edward Osbourne Gibbes, that it was not a suitable appointment for a married man.¹²⁸ Gibbes informed Kendall that, 'Matihetihe school is too small to warrant the appointment of a married man as teacher, and that the proposed arrangement for the appointment of Miss Paul is the best the Department can offer.'¹²⁹ But while the Department was compromised by its lack of resources it would not entirely abandon its civilising objectives. When William Bird investigated one applicant for Matihetihe, his

¹²⁴ For a summary of Re Te Tai's understanding see Re Te Tai and others to House of Representatives, 19 December 1887, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729d.

¹²⁵ Habens to Re Te Tai, Koro Weo Puhirere, Te Wake, Matiu Kingi Hori and others, 7 May 1888, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/730a.

¹²⁶ Minute, Pope to Gibbes, 18 January 1898, on St Claire to Pope, 1 January 1898, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/342a. By comparison Geisler wrote to Pope of his great despondency at realising his salary would drop to £100 because of low attendance after the 'Dog Tax War', and Hawkins' unsatisfactory salary for teaching Matihetihe and Waitapu was in excess of £150, while Robert Landon was appointed Hokianga County Engineer in 1880 at a salary of £400. Geissler to Pope, 20 December 1898, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/680a; Hawkins to Kirk, 4 May 1891, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/717c; Jack Lee, *Hokianga*, 1996, pp. 213-4.

¹²⁷ Minute, Hogben to Minister for Education, on Gibbes to Margaret Bryers, 26 February 1904, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/342a

¹²⁸ Minute, Bird to Sir Edward Osbourne Gibbes, 27 July 1904, on Margaret Bryers to Secretary for Education, 20 July 1904, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/342a.

¹²⁹ Gibbes to George W. Kendall, 8 January 1904, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/342a.

findings were less than encouraging, even though the applicant was both Pakeha and male:

He was described to me by a Maori as 'the Rangatira of the Pub' which is a euphemistic expression for 'barman'. My friend assured me that he gave a good glass for the first and then a 'hocuss' for the next so as to make the thirsty one 'porangi'. He is also said to be a 'tahaē' at cards. We know also that he nearly succeeded in killing Mrs Thompson of Waima. McMillan of Rawene saw him drunk lately and Kahi Tipene... said to me this time that he knew the man was a kai ruma, kai pia, kai-aha and a tangata tino kino.¹³⁰

Pope translates these last terms as 'rum drinker', 'beer drinker', 'drinker of grog in general' and 'an exceedingly bad man' respectively. Bird concludes, 'God help our schools, if we can't get better men than this applicant!' He recommended Paul be appointed 'as an antidote', to quash any support for her unsavoury competitor. In the event Paul proved to be an exceptionally effective teacher.¹³¹

The Department's mechanisms of control were also confronted by the very real limitation of distance, and means of communication were limited. The inaccessibility of many of the Hokianga Schools created real difficulties for their administration. The principal means of communication was by post, but this was at best weekly. Once a letter was received from the Department a reply could not be sent for a week, and as it rarely took less than a week for a letter to travel to or from Wellington, the Department could not expect a reply to a letter in less than three weeks. At Whangape when the school first opened there was no postal service at all, and substitutes were costly: 'In our position also from want of any established mail service and the distance from the nearest post office being 22 miles either way, it costs us about 2/6 a week on an average for the receipt and dispatch of letters, and this after cutting down the Native demands one half.'¹³² Telegrams could be sent from Rawene from at least 1872, and the first telephone in any Native School was installed at Waima in 1886, despite Habens' misgivings that 'the instrument' might 'prove very detrimental to the school work by causing interruptions'.¹³³

¹³⁰ Bird to Pope, 13 November 1903, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/342a.

¹³¹ For the years 1904-8 under Paul's tuteledge the school achieved examination percentage (see Appendix Two) of 66.66, 75.7, 97.72, and 100 respectively. In 1908 William Bird reported, 'The methods are very satisfactory and produce exceedingly creditable results,' Bird, Inspection Report, Matihetihe Native School, 24 March 1908, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/342a.

¹³² Bow to von Sturmer, National Archives, BAAA 1001/750b.

¹³³ Russell to Gill, c 27 December 1872, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/720b; Habens to Dr C. Lemon, 11 August 1886, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679d.

Pope, who was appointed as the first organising inspector of Native Schools in 1879,¹³⁴ encountered difficulty on his first trip to Hokianga in March 1880.

I left Whirinaki at 8 pm intending to go on to Pakia, but as soon as the boat had rounded Manning's (sic) point we encountered a very strong breeze and a dangerous sea. The boatman determined to return. When we had nearly reached Herd's point we met a schooner beating down with the ebb tide and went onboard of her. On the way to the heads we stuck fast in the mud. At 8:30 am, however, the wind having moderated, we were able to make another start down the river. I arrived at Waitapu at 10:00 am.¹³⁵

Pope also noted that he 'could not stay very long at the [Waitapu] school, because of the state of the tide.'¹³⁶ A second trip to Hokianga later that year did not go altogether smoothly, even if overland travel was less hazardous. Von Sturmer wrote to Webster in November, 'Mr Pope went away on Thursday and slept in the fern between Taheke and Kaikohe having missed his way'.¹³⁷ Hislop also, on his first fact-finding mission to the Hokianga in 1879, found that 'contrary winds & wet weather' prevented him from visiting Lower Waihou, where there were significant problems requiring urgent attention, and delegated the task to von Sturmer.¹³⁸ In 1991 the inspectors were still battling the conditions, and Kirk warned Pope by telegram not to attempt the dangerous mountain crossing from inland Mangamuka to the northern west-coast schools of Whangape and Ahipara: 'Hope you will not attempt to cross Maungataniwha from either Motukaraka or Mangamuka without competent and well mounted guide.' Pope responded, 'I found that my best plan is to go to Ahipara via Whangape ... I dread Whangaruru - Summer is the time for such a trip.'¹³⁹

¹³⁴ Hislop indicated the appointment had already been decided in November 1879, although Pope may not have taken up office until 1880; Hislop to von Sturmer, 17 November 1879, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729b.

¹³⁵ Pope, Organising Inspector's Report for Month of March, 1 April 1880, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/720b, extract only on this file.

¹³⁶ Organising Inspector's Report for Month of March, 1 April 1880, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/720b.

¹³⁷ Von Sturmer to Webster, 28 November 1880, Auckland Public Library, MS 795.

¹³⁸ Hislop, Minute, 11 October 1879, on C.H. Lundon to Hislop, 27 June 1879, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729b.

¹³⁹ Kirk to Pope, 23 June 1891, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/717c; and Minute, Pope to Kirk, 24 June 1891 on same.

Maori strategies of control: Waitapu

There are some striking instances in which the Department's lack of proximity to the schools resulted in an almost total loss of control. One such instance occurred at Waitapu in 1888-9, when a teacher who was dismissed continued to teach until the Department was compelled to begin paying him again. This was the culmination of a long and convoluted dispute which began in July 1888 with a question as to the appropriate treatment of a recalcitrant pupil, and did not end until January 1890 with this exasperated and uncharacteristically candid minute from Pope: 'This appears to be a very stupid man in some respects; it is hardly worthwhile to try to convince him of his folly.'¹⁴⁰ The parents of the pupil in question, George Hardiman and his wife Mary (nee Maning - daughter of Frederick 'Pakeha Maori' Maning), were very influential in the community and took great exception to Thomas M. Minchin's disciplinary measures against their children. They reported that he kept them in after school, beat them, and showed favouritism. They informed the Department that 'the Maories will not put up with a hot tempered or severe man,' and wrote to the Minister that 'The school will never prosper while he is here because the children dread going to school as they fear him so much.'¹⁴¹ Minchin believed the boy and his siblings were put up to their misbehaviour by their parents, who wanted him removed from the school. The boy himself, Titi Hardiman, seems to have found enjoyment in walloping smaller students on their way home from school, especially those of another prominent family, the Watkins. This form of entertainment was less than acceptable to Ralph Fletcher Watkins, who had been the first teacher of the school in 1872, and his wife Annie (nee Hardiman - George's Sister). They regretfully elected to remove their several children from school, stating 'neither I nor my wife care to have our children subjected any longer to unprovoked abuse.'¹⁴²

The Department took little or no interest in Waitapu's family squabbles. But it took a very dim view of excessive punishment, especially corporal punishment. This was the first issue to draw comment:

The Committee consider that your discipline is too severe. They say that the children dread it, and the parents are afraid to send them. They say the correction with the rod is too heavy,

¹⁴⁰ Minchin to Secretary for Education, 30 July 1888, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/720b; Minute, Pope to Habens, 2 January 1890, on Minchin to Secretary for Education, 26 November 1889, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/717c. This dispute created much correspondence which is contained in the two files from which these two documents are drawn. The best concise summaries are provided by Bishop to Secretary for Education, 8 January 1889, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/717c; and Habens to Minchin, 8 October 1889, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/717c.

¹⁴¹ George Hardiman to Pope, 8 October 1888, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/720b; George Hardiman to Minchin, 26 July 1888, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/720b; Hardiman to Minister of Education, 28 October 1888, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/717c.

¹⁴² Watkins to Minchin, 13 June 1888, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/720b.

and that you keep the children for hours standing in one place and looking in one direction till the weariness of it is unsustainable. Last year's report induces me to believe that the complaint is not altogether unfounded.¹⁴³

Minchin's overly defensive reply did not impress the Department, nor did his attempts to down-play the severity and frequency of his discipline. They were even less impressed with his aspersions against the Department's officials, and attempts to find alternative explanations as to why the Hardimans were campaigning for a new teacher. Minchin originally believed the previous owner of the school site, Herewini Te Toko, wanted his land back, and later decided that Mary Hardiman had her heart set on having his job and was trying to discredit him. He even accused the Department, and von Sturmer in particular, of encouraging her in this endeavour.¹⁴⁴ The Department also looked harshly on any teacher who allowed relations with their community to deteriorate to the point that it hindered their work - an issue dealt with explicitly in the Code. When the situation affected the attendance it became serious. When the attendance finally petered out to zero in September 1889, Bishop was sent to investigate. However Bishop was not able to visit Waitapu until January, when he reported that, 'very bitter feeling was shown on each side, and I soon became aware of a state of things not creditable to anyone concerned.'¹⁴⁵ Habens wrote to advise Minchin on 16 January that 'your appointment now lapses through the cessation of attendance at your school.'¹⁴⁶ By this stage Habens considered Minchin had, 'done nothing for four months,' on full pay, and it was 'difficult to see how that state of things could be allowed to continue longer.'¹⁴⁷

By the time Minchin received the letter however, he had already opened school for the new year, with an attendance of fourteen children.¹⁴⁸ By 5 March there were twenty-four children attending, and six more expected. Minchin resolved to continue teaching until he received further word from the Department, and even requested via telegraph that his daughter be appointed assistant, and sent the

¹⁴³ Habens to Minchin, 28 August 1888, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/720b.

¹⁴⁴ Minchin to Secretary for Education, 8 October 1888, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/720b; Minchin to Secretary for Education, 16 September 1889, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/717c.

¹⁴⁵ Bishop to Secretary for Education, 8 October 1888, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/720b.

¹⁴⁶ Habens to Minchin, 16 January 1889, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/717c.

¹⁴⁷ Habens to Minchin, 8 October 1889, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/717c.

¹⁴⁸ Minchin maintained that the letter arrived after school had been in operation for one week, that is on or about 4 February, or nineteen days after it was sent. As Habens points out such a delay would have been extraordinary (Habens to Minchin, 19 February 1889, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/717c.) Minchin's letter of 5 March 1889 was in the Department's hands by 10 March, (Minchin to Habens, 5 March 1889, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/717c), and Minchin replied to Habens's letter of 6 September 1889 on 16 September (Minchin to Secretary for Education, 16 September 1889, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/717c.) It would be reasonable, if uncharitable, to conclude that Minchin was not being entirely truthful.

telegram collect.¹⁴⁹ It seems that, contrary to Minchin's speculations, the Waitapu people were far from wanting to see their school close:

The cause of the mysterious increase in attendance was that the Natives were unwilling to lose their school & believed that if they showed their enthusiasm for it the Department would comply with their wishes & find them a more acceptable teacher.¹⁵⁰

By the time Pope visited the school at the end of May, it was established on a firm footing, and there was little to do but resume Minchin's appointment with back-pay to the date of his ineffective dismissal. Habens wrote to Minchin in September, 'As the notice of termination of your engagement has been practically set aside I have passed for payment your salary for February and March.'¹⁵¹ Minchin refused to admit any fault and continued to debate the finer points until Pope reached his conclusion that Minchin was 'a very stupid man', although still 'too good a teacher to lose'. It was nevertheless clear to Pope that due to lingering ill-feeling, there was 'no chance of Mr Minchin's succeeding at Waitapu', and he was finally removed to another school for the start of 1890.¹⁵²

If the Department was not in control of affairs at Waitapu, the question remains as to who was. Thomas Minchin tried to exert authority through the punishment, and failed. He told George Hardiman he 'would punish the children while he was teacher there, according to his own discretion'¹⁵³, and yet in the face of his obstinacy it was the Hardimans whose ends were eventually achieved - the removal of Minchin from their school. They achieved this by discrediting Minchin in the view of the Department, through several means. The first was written complaints - to Pope, and the Minister for Education.¹⁵⁴ The second was through the Committee. Although they were not themselves members, they were able to exert their influence through whanau ties. The Department insisted Minchin should resolve his difficulties through the Committee, but Minchin knew this would be to no avail:

It would be hopeless to seek the co-operation of the committee in the matter, they, the members, being all related to Mr Hardiman, the father of the offending boy, and much under

¹⁴⁹ Minchin to Secretary for Education, 18 February 1889, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/717c.

¹⁵⁰ Inspection Report, Waitapu Native School, 27 May 1889, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/717c.

¹⁵¹ Habens to Minchin, 10 September 1889, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/717c.

¹⁵² Pope, Inspection Report, Waitapu Native School, 27 May 1889, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/717c.

¹⁵³ George Hardiman to Pope, 8 October 1888, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/720b.

¹⁵⁴ George Hardiman to Pope, 8 October 1888, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/720b; George Hardiman to Minister of Education, 28 October 1889, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/717c.; George Hardiman and others to Minister of Education, 21 October 1889, Department translation, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/717c.

his influence, could never be induced to take such action, although they admitted to its advisability.¹⁵⁵

The Committee went even further, and actively took up the Hardimans' cause, placing its own complaints before the Minister requesting Minchin's removal.¹⁵⁶ But the most powerful tool at their disposal was to remove their children from the school - and not only their own children, but by applying pressure to other parents, they were able to render Minchin's appointment untenable.¹⁵⁷ However once Bishop made it clear he saw no future for the school if Minchin was removed, ('I would strongly recommend that no new arrangement be made for reopening the school'¹⁵⁸) the parents were moved to effect a 'mysterious' revival of the attendance, sufficient to save their school.

Attendance and control: Whakarapa and Lower Waihou

This was not the only occasion that prominent members of a community were able to manipulate a school's attendance in order to achieve a particular end, nor the only occasion when the Department struggled to maintain any real control. The practice seems to have been quite widespread. The Waima people succeeded in having a teacher removed in 1880:

The Waima School Committee held a meeting to consider how Hohi-Kingi [Hosking] Master of the school was performing his duties and it was found, that the money paid to him was wasted, the children did not like him but preferred their former teacher, Hone Moa [John Moore] and for this reason they gave up attending the school.¹⁵⁹

The teacher at Lower Waihou, Miss C.H. Lundon and her sister, were removed in 1879 due to the same cause: 'At last she asked to be removed because no children were sent to the school'.¹⁶⁰ In 1891 the Hardimans at Waitapu resented having to share their teacher with Matihetihe School: 'The people here are very dissatisfied about having a half-time school and Mr Hardiman threatens to take all his children

¹⁵⁵ Minchin to Secretary for Education, 25 August 1888, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/720b. See also Minchin to Secretary for Education, 13 September 1888, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/720b.

¹⁵⁶ Hone Papahia and others to Minita onga Kura Maori, 22 August 1888, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/720b.

¹⁵⁷ Hone Papahia and others to Minita onga Kura o te Taha Maori, 8 October 1888, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/720b.

¹⁵⁸ Bishop to Secretary for Education, 8 January 1889, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/717c.

¹⁵⁹ Hone Mohi Tawhai to Native Minister, 12 July 1880, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679d.

¹⁶⁰ Minute, Hislop to Rolleston, 19 August 1880, on Hone Mohi Tawhai to Native Minister, 12 July 1880, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679d; also von Sturmer to Hislop, 1 May 1880, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729b.

away, if fulltime is not resumed.¹⁶¹ Similar tactics were used without success at Waima in attempts to remove Charles Hill in 1887,¹⁶² and John Lee in 1891.¹⁶³ On this last occasion Pope advised Lee in terms that suggested it was a circumstance he was very familiar with:

I have to say that the best way of dealing with an intrigue of the kind described in your letter is just to keep straight on with the work as if nothing unusual were in progress, to be kind and courteous to all, and to wait patiently until the trouble is over. A pretty long & wide experience has taught me that these difficulties may be best got over in the way indicated.¹⁶⁴

Thomas Hawkins at Matihetihe had his own method of countering the problem, and asked the Department to support him in his action. He reveals his belief that controlling the attendance was a common tactic used to 'dominate' the schools:

For the last two weeks the attendance has only been 8, and I told them that unless they sent more I should refuse to teach until I had reported the matter to you and received instruction. ... This is the beginning of the usual attempt of the Maoris to dominate the school, and a little firmness now will prevent future trouble; but, if you do not support me and they are allowed to be masters of the situation, they will not take the proper advantage of the opportunity of having their children educated and will cause the teacher much unpleasantness. I had exactly the same trouble at Matakohē, but remaining firm had, afterwards, no cause to complain of the attendance.¹⁶⁵

Manipulating the attendance was one of a number of strategies employed at Whakarapa and Lower Waihou Native Schools, apparently in a very intentional and calculated manner. Through a careful reading of the Native Schools Code, a few members of these communities had found it provided them with certain unintended powers, as Kirk discovered at his inspection in 1886: 'The section of the Natives with which the teacher is not on good terms knows, unfortunately, that the Master's salary depends on the attendance.'¹⁶⁶ They had 'learnt that they can influence the Master's salary. The Master blames the Code for this.... There has been frequent reference to "winning" which means, on the part of the Master, to gain increments to

¹⁶¹ Hawkins to Pope, 1 January 1891, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/717c.

¹⁶² Hone Mohi Tawhai to Minister for Education, 3 May 1887, Department translation, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679d.

¹⁶³ John B. Lee to Pope, 6 October 1891, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679e.

¹⁶⁴ Pope to John B. Lee, 13 October 1891, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679e.

¹⁶⁵ Hawkins to Secretary for Education, 1 October 1890, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/342a.

¹⁶⁶ Kirk, Inspection Report, Whakarapa Native School, 7 May 1886, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729c.

salary, on the part of the Natives, to prevent increments.¹⁶⁷ The teachers, Lucy and Charles Irvine, were less than impressed:

I think it is a pity that the Native Schools Code has been translated into Maori and sent to the half-caste chairmen of School Committees. These men possess just enough energy and craftiness to make use of it as the means of acquainting them with the method by which they can levy blackmail or otherwise control the salary of the Master & Mistress, through "regulating" the average attendance.¹⁶⁸

The 'half-caste chairman' in question was Heremia Te Wake, and not all of his contemporaries appreciated his shrewdness. Re Te Tai, who was on the best of terms with the Irvines, wrote to persuade Minister for Education Robert Stout:

Listen, the fault is not on the part of the schoolmaster, but on Heremia Te Wake's; it was he who prevented the children from attending the school. The reason for his doing this was that he bore ill will against the master.¹⁶⁹

Te Wake certainly did bear ill-will toward the Master, but it was more than reciprocated, as Bishop discovered in 1886:

I urged Te Wake very strongly to sink his personal grievances and work for the good of the school but he refused point-blank to have anything whatever to do with the School so long as Mr and Mrs Irvine were in charge. He spoke very bitterly and I was grieved to see such intense animosity between him and Mr Irvine. The latter indeed was the most bitter of the two.¹⁷⁰

The animosity dated back to shortly after the Irvines' arrival at Whakarapa, when Te Wake found they were not keeping the school buildings in good order, combined with a dispute over £30 worth of work Te Wake was contracted to do around the school, which Irvine maintained was never completed.¹⁷¹ Bishop considered the situation to be irretrievable, and went away from his visit prepared to make the harshest recommendations. However six days after his visit, Lucy Irvine informed him of a new scheme contrived by Te Wake involving the attendance provisions of

¹⁶⁷ Kirk to Inspector General of Schools, 26 May 1886, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729c.

¹⁶⁸ Charles Irvine to Gibbes, 10 August 1885, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729c.

¹⁶⁹ Re Te Tai and others to Robert Stout, 30 November 1885, Department translation, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729c.

¹⁷⁰ Bishop to Secretary for Education, 21 February 1887, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729d.

¹⁷¹ Te Wake and others to von Sturmer, 14 March 1884, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729c; Charles Irvine to Secretary for Education, 17 September 1886, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729d.

the Code, that altered the situation so drastically that Bishop wrote, 'I cannot understand the change of front. It is quite inexplicable.'¹⁷² Te Wake had found that, through the Code, he could turn his power over the School's attendance into financial gain. Lucy Irvine described Te Wake's approach to her:

When I was coming away Te Wake followed me and asked me to take his daughter Jane into the school as assistant teacher at a salary of 40 pounds a year-; drawing a paper from his pocket he said to begin with you will have 29 children and is not this the salary you will get.- I looked at the paper and saw it was full of figures... "you will in a short time have 40 children, if you give Jane the 40 pounds, for I will make all the big ones go as well as the little ones." ... Although this proposal of Te Wake's looks bad, I don't think it would be so really, for it might secure the regular attendance of school children, as it would be to his interest to keep it as large as possible. ... I don't think Mr Irvine is too well pleased with the arrangement.¹⁷³

Te Wake may have conceived of this idea from observation of the side-school informally opened at Lower Waihou, where Mary Te Tai, recently returned from St Joseph's in Napier, was assisting Charles Irvine. However Mary, with some qualification and ability, was hoping for formal appointment. The potential for Mary's appointment to boost the attendance was not lost on Bishop:

Re Te Tai, the Chief of the place, wishes his daughter, Mary Te Tai, to be appointed assistant Teacher, and were this done, I have no doubt that the success of the school would be assured for a long time, as it will then be in his interest to induce the children to attend.¹⁷⁴

The arrangements seems to have boosted the attendance, at least for a short time, at both schools. Irvine soon reported a combined average attendance of sixty-five, more than double the attendance for the six weeks preceding the 1886 inspection:

The Whakarapa people including Te Wake who indeed has taken the initiative, seem to have made up their minds to support the school in future to the utmost of their power. They seem to be thoroughly in earnest this time.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷² Bishop to Secretary for Education, 21 February 1887, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729d.

¹⁷³ Lucy Irvine to Bishop, 9 February 1887, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729d.

¹⁷⁴ Bishop to Secretary for Education, 21 February 1887, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729d.

¹⁷⁵ Charles Irvine to Bishop, 28 February 1887, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729d. The combined attendance for the Lower Waihou and Whakarapa Schools for the six weeks prior to Kirk's 1886 inspection was 30.63, compared to the 65.1 Irvine reports in this letter.

And Te Wake and Re Te Tai seem to have become over-zealous in winning every possible soul for the school, as Irvine admitted, 'of course a considerable number of the children are over 15, and some are mere babies.'¹⁷⁶

Whakarapa and Lower Waihou provide perhaps the most striking example of the Department losing control. The struggle for control over the Irvines' schools was not only between the Administration and the Maori communities, but between competing communities and Maori leaders, as will be discussed in a subsequent section. Te Wake at Whakarapa and Re Te Tai at Lower Waihou were both influential Te Rarawa rangatira who did not see eye to eye, and any school attempting to serve both communities was going to be fraught with difficulties. A school was built at Lower Waihou in 1876 under the Native Department, but this came to a standstill after disease killed twenty-nine pupils, and the rest of the community fled the district. As there were no pupils residing at Lower Waihou, Te Wake campaigned for the school to be moved to Whakarapa, which was done in 1883. Although there were less than two miles between the settlements, the track between them was almost impassable during the winter months, and the County Council was slow in completing the anticipated road. Charles Irvine recalled von Sturmer's comments on the subject, perhaps with some embellishment:

It was never intended to place a new school a couple of miles away from the Maori settlements, on the top of a clay hill, in the middle of heavy bush, and expect the children from neighbouring settlements to wade up to their necks in mud and swamp to get to it. The school has been placed where it is, on the understanding that the road to it from Waihou and Whakarapa would be made at once.¹⁷⁷

After Re Te Tai and his people returned to Lower Waihou they resented the difficulty their children faced in getting to school, and campaigned for a side-school to be opened at Lower Waihou. They succeeded, not in persuading the Department, but in winning over Charles Irvine, who supported them unreservedly against Te Wake. Irvine proceeded, without any authority from his employers, to open a side-school at Lower Waihou in February 1886 in a building belonging to Re Te Tai, which would remain open until May 1888.¹⁷⁸

The Department tried to remove Irvine to Akuaku school in 1885, which the Irvine's understood to be a promotion, but to the Department it was 'an alternative to

¹⁷⁶ Charles Irvine to Bishop, 28 February 1887, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729d.

¹⁷⁷ Charles Irvine to Secretary for Education, 17 September 1886, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729d.

¹⁷⁸ Charles Irvine to Secretary for Education, 20 February 1886, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729c; Habens to Re Te Tai, Koro Weo Puhirere, Te Wake, Matiu Kingi Hori and others, 7 May 1888, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/730a.

dismissal'.¹⁷⁹ Despite protestations from the Irvines, who wanted to go, the Department caved in to the fervent petitions of Re Te Tai and Ngati Te Reinga to keep them at the school.¹⁸⁰ The following year the Irvines opened a side-school at Lower Waihou without authority, at the request of Re Te Tai and his people,¹⁸¹ and kept it open despite the Department's repeated instructions to 'take no action' without explicit authority.¹⁸² They attempted to remove Irvine again in May 1886 but, as Habens recalled,

Mr Irvine intrigued with Natives and got things into such a state that it would have been difficult for a new master to do anything, and he himself practically refused to move. ...we were almost compelled to let him stay on further trial.¹⁸³

The conspiracy amounted to Re Te Tai and the Lower Waihou people pooling their finances to provide the Irvines a salary, and maintain them as teachers of a private school. The threat may have been idle – Charles' character faults and Lower Waihou's unstable economy would have made the venture a brief one – but it left the Department in a quandary. Habens described the situation to the Minister, Robert Stout:

I am very much perplexed about this, and do not know what to recommend. If we insist on his leaving Whakarapa, he will apparently settle at Lower Waihou, and make it impossible for us to give both schools to the new man who has been appointed to them. The school at Whakarapa has an average attendance which under the code would secure only a subsidy, and it would not be fair to send the new man to take charge of that only. I have no hope of any satisfactory result from a continuance of Mr Irvine's present engagement. [But] on the whole I think it would be better to let him stay on probation. This seems like allowing him to gain a victory by an almost impudent obstinacy, but it is the best I can suggest.¹⁸⁴

The Department also felt 'morally bound' to pay Irvine for his efforts at Lower Waihou and to grant a small sum for the improvement of the 'rotten old shed' in

¹⁷⁹ Habens to Charles Irvine, 2 November 1886, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729d.

¹⁸⁰ Re Te Tai and others to Habens, 14 August 1885, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729c; Re Te Tai and others to Habens and Pope, 9 October 1885, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729c; Re Te Tai and others to Robert Stout, 5 October 1885, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729c.

¹⁸¹ Charles Irvine to Secretary for Education, 23 December 1885, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729c; Charles Irvine to Secretary for Education, 20 February 1886, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729c.

¹⁸² Gibbes to Charles Irvine, 3 February 1886, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729c; Hislop to Charles Irvine, 29 March 1886, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729c.

¹⁸³ Habens to George Fisher, 29 March 1888, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/730a.

¹⁸⁴ Habens to Stout, 8 December 1886, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729d; see also Charles Irvine to Secretary for Education, 15 November 1886, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729d.

which classes were held.¹⁸⁵ In April 1888, the Lower Waihou side-school having proved a failure due – at least in the Department's view – to Charles Irvine's short attention span, it was decided to dismiss him from the service. Habens counselled against this, despite his opinion that, 'the trouble he gives us – as illustrated by this annoyingly voluminous correspondence, over which so much time must be wasted – makes me wish he would leave us altogether.'¹⁸⁶ Habens felt that the good work being done by Lucy Irvine at Whakarapa school was sufficient to give the couple yet another chance. But the Minister George Fisher had no such scruples, stating simply, 'Sack him. Never mind Mrs Irvine.'¹⁸⁷

Even then the Irvines did not leave. Charles protested poverty and asked for leniency, appealing to the Reverend Habens as 'a Minister of the Gospel of Jesus Christ'.¹⁸⁸ The Department was inundated with petitions from the Lower Waihou people to retain Irvine, and even his old foe Te Wake, in a rare moment of complicity that owed most to Lucy's talents as a teacher, chipped in with the clincher:

Let the Government have pity on these people who are not well off but who have a large family, let them be like us the Natives who have given them the use of a piece of land for their cattle free of charge, simply because we have affection for them... Do you give effect to our request, and may pity prompt you to an act of charity.¹⁸⁹

The Department granted the Irvines another reprieve, advising him that,

No-one here doubts your energy, or your ability but it cannot be borne that you neglect the work that you were appointed to... & get everything into confusion through directing your energy into channels not appointed for you.¹⁹⁰

Several strategies that were employed by Maori emerge from these examples. Some the Department would have considered legitimate – school committees was constituted by the Code, and peppering departmental officials with correspondence

¹⁸⁵ Habens to Charles Irvine, 4 September 1886, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729d; Habens to Charles Irvine, 7 February 1887, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729d; Charles Irvine to Secretary for Education, 16 November 1886, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729d.

¹⁸⁶ Habens to Stout, 21 October 1886, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729d; also Habens to George Fisher, 29 March 1888, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/730a: 'The correspondence is so voluminous that I cannot hope that you will attempt to read it. It is incoherent as well as excessive in quantity.'

¹⁸⁷ Minute, George Fisher, 29 March 1888, on Habens to George Fisher, 29 March 1888, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/730a.

¹⁸⁸ Charles Irvine to Habens, 14 April 1888, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/730a.

¹⁸⁹ Te Wake and others to Native Minister, 18 April 1888, Department translation, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/730a.

¹⁹⁰ Habens to Charles Irvine, 1 May 1888, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/730a.

was also acceptable. But withdrawing children from an unsatisfactory school was not something the Department was willing to condone, and it eventually tried to legislate against it. Manipulating the attendance, by pressuring other parents to withdraw or to send their children as the occasion demanded, it would have considered abominable. But the Department was compelled to respond to each of these strategies. The most effective strategy employed by the Lower Waihou people was to win the Irvines over to their point of view – an option more akin to the Native Department's penchant for personal influence than Education's pervasive bureaucracy, but nonetheless effective. The Irvines not only advocated for Re Te Tai's cause, they even defied the Department in order to put it into practice.

These examples show clearly that there were struggles for control of schools, and indicates that Government did not exercise complete control. A Hokianga community could bring their school to a standstill if an aspect of its work was not up to the standard they expected. Government policy then was not the only force at work in the schools, and the importance of the policy of assimilation, while it cannot be discounted, must be questioned. But in themselves these examples do not show that Maori rejected assimilation, or provide clear support for Andrews' argument that Maori and Pakeha harboured conflicting aspirations for the Native Schools. At Waitapu a combination of a family feud and dissatisfaction with a teacher's harsh discipline resulted in dissatisfaction with the Master, but not with any aspect of the schools' assimilationist or educational work; the dispute at Lower Waihou and Whakarapa had its roots in a conflict between competing authority figures – but neither Re Te Tai nor Te Wake opposed the work of the school. On the contrary they struggled to draw the school closer to the heart of their own communities, so that their people might come more thoroughly under its influence. The question remains: did some Hokianga Maori accept or even actively promote assimilation? And if so, why, and what did it mean to them?

Changing sources of Authority

Native schools as political activism

Despite the strengths of Judith Simon and Linda Tuhiwai Smith's work, their focus on oral methodology places limits on their ability to elucidate the development of the system through the nineteenth century. They have made an effort to correct this through the use of documentary evidence, but add little to an understanding of the historical location of the schools in relation to the developing relationship between Maori and Pakeha. The most striking example is a passing reference they make to 'a Europeanised Maori named Hirini Taiwhanga',¹⁹¹ teaching at a Native School in Kaikohe in the late 1870s, without any mention of Taiwhanga's prominent role in Maori politics. Taiwhanga is a fascinating character who personifies the changing nature of Maori society and leadership, and the range of Maori responses to European influence. Born in Kaikohe in the early 1830s, Taiwhanga was educated at the Waimate Mission School and St John's College Auckland. He became an ardent critic of Government policies from the mid-1870s while teaching at Kaikohe, and centred his critique around the non-observance of the Treaty of Waitangi. But he did not oppose the institutions of Pakeha government or law, and embraced much of the outward paraphernalia of European 'civilisation'. He had two sons to his Irish second wife, Sarah Ann Moran, naming one George John, after George Grey and John Sheehan, and the other Tiriti Waitangi, after the Treaty of Waitangi. In 1882 he travelled to England with a Ngapuhi petition to Queen Victoria, requesting a commission to investigate breaches of the Treaty.

On the surface Taiwhanga seems full of contradictions. On one side his son Tiriti Waitangi represents his commitment to the politics of protest; on the other George John represents his respect for the icons of colonialism. How could Taiwhanga, the driving force behind such a petition, actively further the causes of colonialism and assimilation by teaching a Native School? Actually these are not contradictions at all. Taiwhanga, like many of his contemporaries, wished to further Maori interests by whatever means were available. He respected law and government because he saw them as an advancement for Maori, and not as the organs of the oppressor. However he saw them being used against Maori in particular instances, and wished to use legitimate, peaceful, political means to correct these abuses of power. Education, like law, was a means of Maori advancement, and would equip Maori to better pursue their own ends through the political machinery.

A 1993 discussion of the Native Schools by Robert Openshaw, Howard Lee and Greg Lee argues that, 'the motive for Maori wanting access to schooling was made abundantly clear – it was seen as the chief means by which to obtain social and

¹⁹¹ Simon and Tuhiwai Smith, *A Civilising Mission*, 2001, p. 72, quoting James Grey.

economic parity with the Pakeha.¹⁹² However their chief reference is to an article by John Barrington, who actually argues that Maori showed a range of responses to Pakeha institutions after the wars of the 1860s. There was real resistance to the establishment of schools in Taranaki and Waikato, whereas the northern Iwi, who had fought alongside the Government or remained neutral during the wars, accepted them readily. Among Maori who accepted schools, acquisition of the English language was a prominent motivation, and as Barrington shows this was connected to a desire to participate more effectively in the Pakeha dominated political institutions and economy. He quotes a 1876 petition from 990 Maori at Pakowai in Hawkes Bay: 'Have schools established throughout the Colony, so that the Maori children can learn the English language, for by this means they will be on the same footing as the Europeans....' However the petitioners indicate an additional motive which is seldom acknowledged: they admired and wished to emulate the successes of the Europeans. The sentence concludes, '...and will become acquainted with the means by which the Europeans have become great.'¹⁹³

There was an understanding among many Hokianga Maori, including activists like Hone Mohi Tawhai, that their hapu would be disadvantaged if they did not embrace European education and the English language. Heremia Te Wake believed it would become increasingly difficult for hapu to retain their land and remain economically viable in the years ahead, unless they gained as much education as the Pakeha:

In a Pakeha world, it will be only the Pakeha and those who understand the Pakeha that will be able to make money and keep it. See how a coin is round? That's so it can fall through the holes in Maori pockets and roll away from them.¹⁹⁴

This was also the case much later at Makomako, near Kawhia:

Much of the misunderstanding has undoubtedly been caused by ignorance on both our parts... and it is found that the only remedy is in the education of our children... This is our prayer, that a school house be erected in our midst. We are on the Moerangi block, which is rapidly being settled by Europeans, especially by those who served in the Great War, so the problem of the future prospects of our children is a real one.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹² Greg Lee, Howard Lee and Roger Openshaw, *Challenging the Myths, Rethinking New Zealand's Educational History*, Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1993, p. 43.

¹⁹³ J.M. Barrington, 'Maori Attitudes', (1971), p. 25, quoting from Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives, J-1, 1877, p. 4.

¹⁹⁴ Quoted in Michael King, *Whina*, Auckland: Penguin, 1991, pp. 45-6.

¹⁹⁵ Marae Edwards to Minister of Education, 21 September 1919, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/295a.

Encroaching European settlement was also an issue of concern for Te Wake at Whakarapa in 1890. Charles Irvine reported Te Wake's sentiments at a hui 'about the Treaty of Waitangi', convened by Hone Mohi Tawhai:

The Gov had made roads all over the place and whenever you go in the bush you come upon a Pakeha clearing. Now if the poor Maori... runs into the bush for his life and to the place he has to run to is all open and cleared and the Pakeha is there to catch him.¹⁹⁶

The image of running away from the Pakeha to hide in the bush was salient for Te Wake, as this was precisely what he had done after escaping Mount Eden Prison in the early 1870s.¹⁹⁷ There seems also to have been a widespread realisation of the increasing importance of the law, and of the Native Land Court in particular.¹⁹⁸ Re Te Tai at Lower Waihou seems to have recognised this, and saw a Native School as a first step toward his sons receiving legal training. His daughter Mary wrote to Habens in 1888, 'My father wants all his children to be taught by Mr Irvine the boys to become all lawyers and the girls to do other things.'¹⁹⁹ Re Te Tai and Mary's uncle, Rikihana, had traded land for special tuition from Irvine: 'They gave him this piece of land for something, they want Mr Irvine to teach their two boys to become lawyers everything is settle.'²⁰⁰

Some Hokianga Maori had one eye on the future when applying for Native Schools. Once the first two Hokianga schools had begun operation at Waitapu and Waima, von Sturmer reported,

There is a rapidly increasing desire amongst the people for the establishment of schools in their midst, for the education of their young men and children in the English language, as they begin to see that without such knowledge they will hold but a poor position in the future of the Colony.²⁰¹

Hone Mohi Tawhai at Waima was looking beyond his own lifetime, and took steps to ensure the school would out-live him. He repeatedly applied to the Education Department to have the school site vested in 'the Queen and her successors':

¹⁹⁶ Quoted in Charles Irvine to Pope, 16 September 1890, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/730a.

¹⁹⁷ King, *Whina*, 1990, pp. 18-34; Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, *The Turbulent Years*, 1994, pp. 184-5; Charles Irvine to Pope, 16 September 1890, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/730a. Te Wake's imprisonment was for a murder, the conviction resulting from a battle between Te Rarawa and Nga Puhī hapu at Whirinaki in 1868 over a block of land about to be put through the Land Court. King argues the shot was actually fired by Te Wake's younger brother, Te Kawau.

¹⁹⁸ Williams, *Politics of the New Zealand Maori*, 1969, pp. 68-79.

¹⁹⁹ Mary Te Tai to Habens, 25 April 1888, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/730a.

²⁰⁰ Mary Te Tai to Bishop, 25 April 1888, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/730a.

²⁰¹ The Resident Magistrate, Hokianga, to Native Minister, 27 June 1872, AJHR, F.3 No. 2.

The matter should not be delayed as I am very anxious that the two acres be set apart for educational purposes.... The main object is to make the two acres a reserve for the school of the Mahurehure tribe, but the title should vest in the Queen for security to prevent the possibility of the rising generation devoting it to other purposes.²⁰²

Native schools and 'the pursuit of mana'

Hirini Taiwhanga also represents the changing structure of Maori leadership. By birth he had no particular mana, although his first marriage to Mere Pohoi, from a prominent Kaikohe family, had strengthened his position. His proficiency with the English language, his energy, and his ability to engage effectively with Pakeha in Pakeha institutions, saw him rise to prominence and eventually to be elected as Member of the House of Representatives for Northern Maori in 1887.²⁰³ Ann Parsonson argues that Maori society was characterised by 'the pursuit of mana', a pervasive competitiveness between hapu and individual rangatira (leaders) for prestige, honour, and influence. The advent of Europeans with their various trappings introduced a variety of new arenas for competition. Extravagant gifts at hui of great mounds of potatoes and pork were attempts to display superior wealth. A hapu's eagerness to make a land sale or to have a block brought before the Land Court was an assertion of mana over the land, and an effort to pre-empt usurpers. Participation in the wars of the 1860s and 1840s had less to do with support or otherwise for the Queen than with existing rivalries between hapu. Literacy (initially in Maori), outward displays of Christianity, and clerical training quickly became sources of mana. The extent to which a hapu could display the trappings of 'civilisation' also became an arena for competition. If Parsonson's argument is correct, there are implications for the Native Schools. Firstly, this could provide an explanation for Maori enthusiasm for the schools. Perhaps Maori wanted to be better educated, more highly literate and more civilised than their traditional competitors, or perhaps a good school and teacher were themselves a commodity to inspire pride or jealousy. Secondly, the schools would be expected to be a site of competition not only between Maori and Pakeha intentions, as has been argued by Andrews, but also between opposing Maori factions.²⁰⁴

²⁰² Hone Mohi Tawhai to Thomas Dick, 21 August 1882, Department translation, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679d.

²⁰³ Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, *The Turbulent Years*, 1994, pp. 120-4; also, Maning to T.W. Lewis, 2 October 1882, Auckland Public Library, NZ MS 68, provides a critical perspective on Taiwhanga's petition, and discusses Taiwhanga's standing in Nga Puhī. This document is also included as an appendix to Jack Lee, *Hokianga*, 1996.

²⁰⁴ Ann Parsonson, 'The Pursuit of Mana,' in *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, W. H. Oliver and B. R. Williams, (eds), Oxford and Wellington: Clarendon Press and Oxford University Press, 1981, pp. 140-67.

The Hokianga does provide evidence to support Parsonson's argument. Angela Ballara's description of hapu, whanau and iwi as interacting and dynamic components of identity, rather than a defined hierarchical social structure seems an adequate model for the Hokianga in this period.²⁰⁵ Two principle iwi were present at Hokianga, Te Rarawa to the north-west and Ngapuhi to the south and east, with many hapu focused on individual settlements. These hapu, rather than iwi, formed the basis of Maori social organisation. By the 1870s and 1880s a number of European influences were affecting Maori authority structures. European education through mission schools was one of the earliest of these, with a Wesleyan mission school established at Mangungu in 1827.²⁰⁶ From the late 1840s the Wesleyans began teaching English language and literacy to a select few at Waima, and it is likely this became an increasingly significant source of mana as the influence of Pakeha institutions increased.²⁰⁷ Among Te Rarawa the Roman Catholic missionaries were most influential, and two prominent rangatira, Renata Te Tai Papahia and Heremia Te Wake, were both trained Catechists.

The schools themselves did become a focus for inter-hapu rivalry. In 1880 the Department went to great lengths to find a location for the Whangape school that would ensure it would be patronised by the hapu of both the northern and southern hapu. In 1880 Pope recommended a site: 'The two principal clans at Whangape, the Ngati Kuri & the Ngati Haua would regard the site... as neutral ground and the possibly injurious influence of tribal jealousies would be obviated.'²⁰⁸ Waitapu, the first school to be set up under the 1871 legislation at Hokianga, provides another example. It was established at Rangi Point on a site selected by Wiremu (Wi) Tana Papahia in an effort to serve a number of hapu, and he was clearly aware that this would be no easy task. Wi Tana Papahia was a principal rangatira of Te Rarawa and signatory to the Treaty of Waitangi, whom von Sturmer described as 'a really useful man and of great influence, he is a member of the School Committee at Waitapu and the principle mover in the establishment of that school.'²⁰⁹ The site was preferred not for its proximity to a single settlement, but because it was on neutral ground and could service hapu as far afield as Matihetihe, Herekino, Manukau, Lower Waihou,

²⁰⁵ Angela Ballara, *Iwi: The dynamics of Maori tribal organisation from c.1769 to c.1945*, Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1998. See also John Williams, *Politics of the New Zealand Maori*, 1969, pp. 33-6.

²⁰⁶ Hohepa, P.W., 'Waima, the people, the past, the school', 1981, Hokianga Historical Society, Omapere Museum, p. 11.

²⁰⁷ Hohepa, *Waima, The People, the Past, the School*, 1981, p. 14-18.

²⁰⁸ Pope to Hislop, 22 November 1880, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/750b.

²⁰⁹ Von Sturmer to McLean, 4 October 1873, McLean Papers, Alexander Turnbull Library, MS-Papers-0032-0594. Von Sturmer also writes, 'I am sorry to inform you that Wiremu Tana Papahia the principle chief of the Rarawa is not expected to live... both lungs are very much affected and his chances of recovery are small, the natives from all parts are gathering in large numbers to see him; should his present illness prove fatal which I much fear, he will be a great loss'; see also Dictionary Biography of New Zealand, *The Turbulent Years*, 1994, p. 81;

Whakarapa, Motuti and Whangape, and even from the Ngapuhi hapu on the south-western shore. The School's officially defined district took in all of these northern settlements in 1872, and its location at Rangi Point was easily accessible by boat from the settlements near the south heads, suggesting Wi Tana Papahia expected students from there also.²¹⁰ The inspector A.H. Russell was unsure about the site because 'there is not at present a kainga within a mile of it',²¹¹ but deferred his objections and later reported, 'I was able to arrange for the establishment of a school at Waitapu – a central situation very carefully selected by Wi Tana Papahia, and the Natives generally, – as suitable to the scattered population and local jealousies of the district.'²¹² It was intended to build a kainga where children from the outlying settlements could live, as von Sturmer reported after visiting the school shortly after it first opened in July 1872, in the lean-to of teacher Ralph Fletcher Watkins' house:

It is I think very encouraging at this time of the year, in so bad a season to find so many pupils attending, and when the school house is finished and the Natives have the proposed "kainga" laid out near the school, I anticipate a large attendance, and that the school will be a decided success.²¹³

By late August, von Sturmer reported, 'Mr Tana has commenced to make a settlement about 3/4 of a mile from the school, and when it is finished there will be a large increase to the number of scholars.'²¹⁴ In 1879 John Hislop telegraphed to the Department that the children's lodgings were 'erected at sole expense of Natives for scholars from a distance these Natives have acted well and school very flourishing'.²¹⁵ It was also intended to cultivate in the vicinity to provide food for the children, and it seems likely the intention was carried out.²¹⁶

But the desire for hapu to have their own schools would eventually bring the Waitapu School to a stand-still. Waitapu was also something of a speculation for Hokianga hapu, who were content to sit back and watch its progress before committing to opening schools for their own children:

²¹⁰ 'Boundaries of the [Waitapu] School District.- commencing at the North Head of the Hokianga River; thence by the coast to the Herekino River; thence by its South bank to Manukau; thence in a straight line to Motu Kauri; thence by the Hokianga River to its commencement point.' Russell to Native Minister, 28 March 1872, AJHR, F.5 No.11.

²¹¹ Russell to Native Minister, 28 March 1872, AJHR, F.5 No.11.

²¹² Russell to Native Minister, 25 July 1872, AJHR, F.5 No.2.

²¹³ Von Sturmer to Russell, 29 July 1872, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/720b.

²¹⁴ Von Sturmer to Russell, 29 August 1872, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/720b.

²¹⁵ Hislop to Acting Secretary for Education, 15 October 1879, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/720b.

²¹⁶ 'The Natives seem so resolved to remove to its neighbourhood and to cultivate there, and it seems in their own estimation to be so favourable a spot as regards their own local jealousies and land questions....' Russell to Native Minister, 28 March 1872, AJHR, F.5 No.11.

Since you left here I have been on a visit to every settlement on both sides of the river, and I find a very general desire amongst the people to have their little ones educated, but all seem anxious to see how Mr Tana's and the Waimate School succeed, before making an application to you on the subject.²¹⁷

However it seems that as soon as the Waitapu School began to promise success, the demand for schools blossomed. By the end of July von Sturmer reported that other Hokianga communities were already convinced by Waitapu's success, and of the value of having a Native School: 'Already the Natives of Waima, Waimamaku, and Mangamuka are talking of schools.'²¹⁸ By November he reported, 'Everyone who has visited the school both Europeans and Natives are much pleased with the manner in which it is being conducted, and speak in praise of the progress of the pupils.'²¹⁹ In 1879, when the Department of Education took over the administration of the Native Schools, there were also schools at Pakia, Whirinaki, Waima, Upper Waihou, Lower Waihou, and Orira. The school established at Lower Waihou in 1876 drew twelve children away from Waitapu, and the teacher Charles Hill reported that 'the same thing has occurred before with reference to other schools', presumably Pakia and Whirinaki on the south-western shore.²²⁰ By 1877 Waitapu was the smallest school in the district. A fire destroyed the boarding houses at Waitapu in 1879, and seventeen children lost all their food, clothing, and bedding.²²¹ This seems to have brought an end to the idea of a boarding school at Waitapu, and the School established at Whangape in 1881 left Waitapu School without a strong population base. It continued as a small school until the 1889 when the opening of Matihetihe Native School reduced it to half-time. Falling attendance eventually closed Waitapu School at the end of 1898, and it remained closed until 1909.²²²

Mana was not important only for Maori, but essential for anyone attempting to assert authority of any kind. Pope came to be held in very high esteem and this was of great assistance in the advancement of the Native Schools system. However he was not regarded as greater than Re Te Tai by Ngati Te Reinga. Mary Te Tai wrote to him in 1886: 'I am writing to you because you know me and my father and you know

²¹⁷ Von Sturmer to Russell, 23 April 1872, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/720b; also Russell to Native Minister, 28 March 1872, AJHR, F.5 No.11, 'The Natives of Waima and Mangamuka had both expressed to the Resident Magistrate their desire for schools, but now wished to see how that of Waitapu succeeds before taking any further action themselves.'

²¹⁸ Von Sturmer to Russell, 29 July 1872, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/720b.

²¹⁹ Von Sturmer to Russell, 22 November 1872, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/720b.

²²⁰ Hill to Gill, 19 November 1877, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/720b.

²²¹ Von Sturmer to Secretary for Education, 14 October 1879, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/720b. The Minister for Education approved £20 in compensation for losses in the fire. Gibbes to von Sturmer, 15 October 1879, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/720b; for an inventory of how the £20 was expended, see Te Toko to Under Secretary for Education, 1 November 1879, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/720b.

²²² Hawkins to Pope, 31 December 1897, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/342a.

also that he is a great rangatira like yourself so I am sure when I ask you to do something for me that you will do it.'²²³ In 1882 a testimonial was arranged for Bishop as he went to take up his position as Resident Magistrate at Mongonui, with endorsements from Hokianga notaries, suggesting that his appointment to a Government position did not give him sufficient mana on its own to succeed in the role: 'He will do well - They are getting up a testimonial for him here which will help him among the People he is going to be with.'²²⁴ Von Sturmer, who took a paternal interest in his former clerk's career, was concerned (and somewhat amused) when Bishop undertook an ill-advised assertion of the authority of Pakeha law: 'I have a letter from Bishop he is in a great fluster about his Natives, I don't blame him but think he is unwise trying to arrest 20 men with 2 constables - one arrest at a time is the wisest course to pursue.'²²⁵ Von Sturmer's principle concern was that Bishop had lost mana, and with it the effectiveness of his office:

I much fear Bishop has made a mess of it, he will be very lucky if his 'mana' is not effected by this trouble, [John] Bryce will likely be twited in the House that even in the civilised North the Queens writ does not run.²²⁶

Von Sturmer had long before learned that his mana and the mana of the law were best maintained by not testing its limits. Early in 1870 he wrote to Donald McLean of a murder: 'A native named Patara was killed in Waimamaku during a drunken brawl, whilst wrestling with another native named Ruha... I consulted Mr Maning upon the advisability of holding an inquest, and he was of the opinion that it would be most unwise.' The matter was best left in the hands of the Native Assessors, Mohi Tawhai and Te Tai Papahia.²²⁷ Von Sturmer, who at this early stage in his career could not control drunken behaviour on his own doorstep at Rawene,²²⁸ was best to leave matters to these established authorities, despite the nominal superiority of his position in the Pakeha hierarchy. In 1881 von Sturmer earnestly advised that The Dog Registration Act 1880 instituting the infamous dog tax be suspended in districts such as his own with 'a comparatively small European, and large Native population'. This was in spite of his private concern about Hokianga's increasing population of dogs, and this advise to John Webster on how to deal with them:

²²³ Mary Te Tai to Pope, 28 April 1888, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/730a.

²²⁴ Von Sturmer to Webster, 26 June 1882, Auckland Public Library, NZ MS 745.

²²⁵ Von Sturmer to Webster, 28 June 1883, Auckland Public Library, NZ MS 745.

²²⁶ Von Sturmer to Webster, 26 June 1883, Auckland Public Library, NZ MS 745.

²²⁷ Von Sturmer to McLean, 12 March 1870, McLean Papers, Alexander Turnbull Library, MS-Papers-0032-0594. Mohi Tawhai was the father of Hone Mohi Tawhai, Te Tai Papahia the father of Re Te Tai Papahia and grandfather of Mere Te Tai Papahia.

²²⁸ Von Sturmer to William Fox, 18 October 1869, McLean Papers, Alexander Turnbull Library, MS-Papers-0032-0594.

It is very bad about those dogs... I should in a quiet way poison all dogs at large on or off the run, of course it is not exactly law, but folks must protect themselves, and it will teach people to keep their curs tied up.²²⁹

He knew the tax was unenforceable and would endanger the still precarious position of Europeans and the law:

Though many of the Natives might pay the Fees the great majority would fail to do so, and doubtless ill-advised Europeans would attempt to enforce the law, which would probably cause a considerable amount of ill-feeling.... At a large late meeting at Waitangi Bay of Islands the "Dog Tax" was... a serious grievance.²³⁰

The mana of the law was not established by a show of force at Hokianga, although observation of the Waikato and Taranaki wars, and especially of Parihaka was no doubt influential. The peaceful exertion of the law at Hokianga however seems to have come about through a growing idea of its usefulness for Maori, in combination with the inoffensive behaviour of its practitioners. Through the involvement of powerful rangatira such as Mohi Tawhai and Te Tai Papahia, it may be that these rangatira as much as the Pakeha Parliament gave it mana. In 1890 Te Wake seems not to have accepted law as an exclusive prerogative of Government. Charles Irvine recounted this exchange:

[Irvine:] "As to your boys constantly living, shooting, hunting and lighting fires upon my land I will not permit it any more and to teach you the law I will summon David." Te Wake then said:- "Well since you won't let my boys on your land I won't let you go on my road & my land you must now turn back for my law is that you are not to put your foot again on my land."²³¹

Native Schools and contested authority: Whakarapa and Lower Waihou

The Hokianga schools became focal points for disputes between competing authority figures, both Pakeha and Maori. The ability to control the Whakarapa and Lower Waihou Schools seems to have become the fulcrum of contested authority among the people of that area. The Government and its agents tended to work with Heremia Te Wake who, after his pardon, came to be regarded as a respectable and forward-looking ally. Charles Irvine considered that the fostering care [Te Wake] received

²²⁹ Von Sturmer to Webster, 18 January 1882, Auckland Public Library, MS 745.

²³⁰ Von Sturmer to G.I. Cooper, 8 April 1881, Alexander Turnbull Library, qMS-0984.

²³¹ Charles Irvine to Habens, 21 August 1890, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/730a.

from the magistrate and one or two other persons of importance on the river²³² had contributed to his status as a rangatira:

This is the man who has been raised to the Magistracy and given the right by Govt too sit upon the bench with Mr Bishop. The Maoris all tell us that ... the Govt are "afraid of him" and whatever he likes he can get done, in fact the Govt dare not do any thing contrary to his wishes for fear of him. ...Their fear of his malice, power and support from Govt, is so great that they are afraid of (sic) their lives to oppose or do anything contrary to his orders or dictum.²³³

While Irvine's penchant for exaggeration and desire to discredit Te Wake no doubt lead him to over-state the case, he indicates a link between the Government's dealings with Te Wake and his influence over his own people. Irvine would have us believe that this was an illegitimate source of mana, as also his clever tongue: 'Amongst the Maoris he is a nobody yet he possesses a considerable amount of influence, through his persuasive powers of speech and crafty way of putting things before them at their meetings.'²³⁴ Irvine also considered that Te Wake's halfcaste status disqualified him from being a 'real' rangatira. To Irvine, Te Wake was one of 'the halfcast sons... of an indifferent characterd Yankee common sailor who ran away from his ship - a whaler, some 60 or 70 years ago and who lived and died circa 1860 a drunken vagabond life....'²³⁵ However Irvine clearly misread the situation, as Te Wake's influence was recognised not only among his own people but at an inter-tribal level. He traced his prestigious whakapapa through his mother Te Oki back to Rahiri and Nukutawhiti, and while his mana may have been supplemented by his links with Government and church, or by von Sturmer's apparent sponsorship, it did not originate with these. Te Wake's conviction and time in Mt Eden jail were a consequence of his having led a war party to an 1868 battle with Te Mahurehure in which a man named Nuku died, indicating that his mana predated his pardon by some years. Early in the 1900s he was chosen as having sufficient mana and tapu to remove the bones of ancestors from Panguru mountain.²³⁶

However Re Te Tai and Ngati Te Reinga at Lower Waihou did not willingly recognise any authority of Te Wake's over their settlement, which was served by the

²³² Charles Irvine to Habens, 21 August 1890, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/730a.

²³³ Minute, Charles Irvine (undated), on Lucy Irvine to Pope, 9 September 1890, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/730a. Charles Irvine makes frequent attempts to discredit Te Wake with the Department, making very strong accusations as to Te Wake's character, to which little credence should be given. He nevertheless provides some information such as this passage which, while no doubt exaggerated, suggests a clear link between Te Wake's mana and the Government's support of him.

²³⁴ Charles Irvine to Gibbes, 10 August 1885, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729c.

²³⁵ Charles Irvine to Gibbes, 10 August 1885, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729c.

²³⁶ Te Wake features prominently in King, *Whina*, 1991, pp. 24-62; see also Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, *The Turbulent Years*, 1994, pp. 184-5.

same school and teacher.²³⁷ Rather they argued Whakarapa was subordinate to Lower Waihou and its chief, and was both economically and agriculturally inferior. They wrote to Pope in 1886,

Both the people at Whakarapa and Waihou are all one people, and Re Te Tai Papahia is chief of both, Waihou is the trunk and Whakarapa the branch, for which reason if the trunk be felled the branches become withered, such then is the relationship between the peoples here, so that if no school is to be established here at Waihou, it is not possible either to have a school at Whakarapa, seeing that crops cannot be very well grown there.²³⁸

Te Wake himself took any challenge to his mana very seriously, as Irvine discovered in 1890 when he challenged Te Wake's right to bar him from crossing a block of land:

"The land you allude to belongs to the Natives of Ahipara, Whangape, Lower Waihou and Whakarapa all taken together and you individually have a very small share and very little say in it. ...I intend to go through it and as for your law it is nothing to me. I follow the Queen's law and no other." ...Te Wake was shaking all over & had to lean on a post to support himself.²³⁹

Irvine also challenged Te Wake's mana over the school, to similar effect. Te Wake wrote enraged to Bishop in 1890:

He [Charles Irvine] declares that I have no "mana" both over the school and the children. This is what he tells the Europeans at Herd's point. I am perfectly sure that it was through me that the first school at Lower Waihou came to be established as also the one at Whakarapa. He says now that I have no "mana" over the children.²⁴⁰

He seems to challenge Irvine to a kind of bizarre duel - he will tell the children not to come to school and see whether Irvine can induce them to attend:

Well then I am getting tired of urging the children to go to school and I shall now leave it to him to do that, but it will be a bad thing - it will simply be a waste of time on the part of the children because they will never listen to him.²⁴¹

²³⁷ For another example see Charles Irvine to Habens, 21 August 1890, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/730a.

²³⁸ Re Te Tai to Pope, 20 September 1886, Department translation, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729d

²³⁹ Charles Irvine to Habens, 21 August 1890, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/730a.

²⁴⁰ Te Wake to Bishop, 19 August 1890, Department translation, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/730a.

²⁴¹ Te Wake to Bishop, 19 August 1890, Department translation, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/730a.

For his part, Charles Irvine had more than once indicated his desire to become more influential than Te Wake. He wrote in 1886 when anticipating leaving Whakarapa, 'We stand well with the Maoris here and I have already acquired some influence with them. If I remained I daresay my influence would become great.'²⁴² Following Te Wake's challenge in 1890 he confirmed this desire terms that seem almost delusional:

He (Te Wake) is afraid that I and my children, on account of our land, will by and bye (sic) become better off and consequently of more importance to the Maoris, than himself & his family. ...My own impression is, that even now I am more important than him and that he will not be able, unless helped by the Department unwittingly - to do the School any serious or continuous injury.²⁴³

Mary Te Tai indicates the Irvines had acquired a degree of mana at least among the Lower Waihou people: 'and what make them like Mr Irvine more is because they think he is a rangatira because I used to tell them about his people in Ireland I used to read it in the Newspaper which he received nearly a very (sic) mail.'²⁴⁴ But he was far from offering any real challenge to Te Wake, who seems to have dominated the match-up. Lucy Irvine recounted a discussion with Materoa, the wife of the School Committee chairman, Tiapakeke Teihi. They had been keeping their child away from school against their better judgement, at Te Wake's insistence:

I know that what you say about its being wrong for Teihi to listen to Te Wake is quite right - but then Te Wake says that he is more clever in the head than Teihi. Don't press me to send my child to school right now - you don't know Te Wake... Leave Teihi out of the fight, have the whakawa without him ... You know that Teihi has nothing against either of you - but we are so afraid of Te Wake - He has threatened all sorts of dreadful things to us and got us into such a rage about it, because he was afraid that we would send the child to school.²⁴⁵

However the competition seems to have come to a premature end after a specially formed committee chastised both parties:

As we were appointed to form a Committee we inquired into the difficulty between Heremia Te Wake and the Master and found that it was all wrong in as much as it did not concern the

²⁴² Charles Irvine to Gibbes, 7 January 1886, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729c.

²⁴³ Charles Irvine to Habens, 21 August 1890, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/730a.

²⁴⁴ Mary Te Tai to Habens, 25 April 1888, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/730a.

²⁴⁵ Lucy Irvine to Secretary for Education, 6 October 1890, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/730a.

school but was simply a private quarrel. The Committee held that it was not right to bring outside matters into the school.²⁴⁶

This 'difficulty' shows clearly that in order to run a successful school, the Irvines needed either to have mana of their own, or to have the support of those who did. Secondly, it shows that the ability to exercise control over the school and over the children of the community were an indicator of authority. Mana was contested at Lower Waihou and Whakarapa, and a rangatira's authority was not always universally accepted. In a community where authority was contested, teachers who sided wholeheartedly with any party risked placing the school in a very precarious position.

Native Schools and contested authority: The 'Dog Tax' incident

Another instance in which a Native School became a focal point in a dispute over the leadership of a community occurred at Waima, in a circumstance that reached its climax in the 'Dog Tax' incident of 1898. Hone Mohi Tawhai had been the principal sponsor of the school since before it opened in 1872, initially with the assistance of Raniera Wharerau. However these two were circumspect, waiting to see how the Waitapu school progressed before committing themselves:

Hone Mohi Tawhai and Raniera Wharerau both of Waima requested him not to meet them at Waima, as but few Natives were in the settlement, and that they desired to see how the Waitapu School succeeded before making any move in the matter, at the same time they got Colonel Russell to give them all the information possible on the subject, which Hone Mohi Tawhai took down in writing.²⁴⁷

At that stage Hone Mohi's father, Mohi Tawhai, remained the principal leader of Te Mahurehure, a role Hone Mohi assumed after his father's death in 1875, when von Sturmer noted, 'The death of Moihī Tawhai will be a great loss to Waima as the son is not equal to the father... and has but little influence with the people.'²⁴⁸ Hone Mohi soon grew into the role however, and was of a more peaceful disposition than his father. Von Sturmer reported Mohi Tawhai built two pa at Rakau Wahi, near Kaikohe, and gathered a force of 200 warriors, during a dispute over gum-digging rights with the Taheke people under Wiremu Totoia. Hone Mohi, however, did not join his father and was critical of his actions:

²⁴⁶ Puhire to Pope, 4 November 1890, Department translation, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/730a.

²⁴⁷ Von Sturmer to McLean, 18 July 1872, McLean Papers, Alexander Turnbull Library, MS-Papers-0032-0594.

²⁴⁸ Von Sturmer to McLean, 15 May 1875, McLean Papers, Alexander Turnbull Library, MS-Papers-0032-0594.

He is staying at Waima nearly the only man there, he was at Waikue when the affair commenced, but the thing was all done so quickly that he had no suspicion of it until it was too late; he much blames his father being so hasty.²⁴⁹

Even so, Hone Mohi was regarded with considerable scepticism by von Sturmer. This was partly due to his political support of John Landon, von Sturmer's nemesis,²⁵⁰ but mostly due to his involvement in emerging pan-tribal politics. In 1880 von Sturmer wrote disparagingly of Hone Mohi's involvement in efforts to form a confederation:

Hone Mohi has returned rather quiet I fancy he wished to form a Maori confederation but has failed each chief thinking he should be the paid head – That is one safeguard we have, they cannot combine to one course of action, if they could things would be bad for Pakehas in country places like this - From what I can gather the night speeches made at Waitangi when the Pakehas had left, were very queer to say the least of it - Old Aperahama Taonui is very mad indeed and he has assumed the role of "The Prophet" of the North, and Mr Hone Mohi seems to have acted as his subservient slave and follower.²⁵¹

In 1883 von Sturmer regarded Hone Mohi as a potential source of rebellion. Von Sturmer had recently defused an uprising at Otatau²⁵² and suggested to Webster that Pakeha settlement would be the solution to such troubles:

Lots of new comers in Auckland, some of them ought to come our way - It is the only thing that can do real good to the district both to open up the land and settle the natives for good and all - for I fancy this is the most populous native district in New Zealand and such brutes as the Otatau's and Hone Mohi may give us some trouble before we have done with them.²⁵³

However Hone Mohi had political rather than military methods in mind. He kept an informal runanga (Maori council or committee) operating at Hokianga after George Grey's runanga system was disestablished in 1865, and also became an assessor to the Native Land Court. He became disenchanted with the Land Court during the 1870s, and while sitting as Member of the House of Representatives for Northern Maori from 1879 to 1884, proposed a system of runanga to replace the Court, insisting that legislation should be in keeping with the Treaty of Waitangi.²⁵⁴ In the

²⁴⁹ Von Sturmer to McLean, 30 May 1874, McLean Papers, Alexander Turnbull Library, MS-Papers-0032-0594.

²⁵⁰ Von Sturmer to Webster, 23 September 1880, Auckland Public Library, MS 745.

²⁵¹ Von Sturmer to Webster, 15 December 1880, Auckland Public Library, MS 745.

²⁵² Von Sturmer to Webster, 2 August 1881, Auckland Public Library, MS 745.

²⁵³ Von Sturmer to Webster, 23 May 1883, Auckland Public Library, NZ MS 745.

²⁵⁴ Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, *The Turbulent Years*, 1994, pp. 142-5.

early 1890s he became prominent in the Kotahitanga movement, which established a Maori parliament and attempted to have it constitutionally recognised. The proposal for Kotahitanga was actually drawn up at Waima, Hone Mohi's home.²⁵⁵ He also appears to have travelled around the Hokianga canvassing support for Kotahitanga. In 1890 he was at a hui in Whakarapa, 'to collect money about the Treaty of Waitangi'.²⁵⁶

There had long been disagreement between the peoples of the upper Waima valley and those of the lower valley, over the School. In 1879 the school had more or less collapsed, due to the School Committee deciding that 'the money spent on the Master was wasted'.²⁵⁷ Pope regarded Mr Hosking as a good man who simply knew very little about teaching, and he was removed to another school²⁵⁸. At the same time the school was moved to brand new buildings erected near the recently constructed road, where the majority of the population settled. The new site was opposite Hone Mohi Tawhai's house, but very distant from the children resident in the lower valley, who would thereafter attend very poorly, if at all. In 1881 the Waima School reopened in new buildings, on a new site, with a new teacher, under a new administration, and with only two or three students who had any previous schooling.²⁵⁹ But it had ample support from a hapu with a long history of education. By 1884 Waima had the kind of school that made Pope feel his job was worthwhile, a result not only of the teachers, Henry and Mrs Thurston, but also of the co-operation and support of the Te Mahurehure people, and of Hone Mohi in particular:

I believe that but few European schools would make a better impression upon a visitor than this one does. The children are so neat and orderly; everything is done so systematically and there is such an utter absence of "friction"; Master and pupils work so well together to obtain certain results, that the school conveys to one almost the same kind of impression as a well constructed and properly adjusted machine in full working order.²⁶⁰

But by 1892, a serious division had developed between the people of the upper and lower valley, The Mahurehure people of the upper valley under Hone Mohi Tawhai's leadership were firm supporters of the school, whereas the hapu of the lower valley were either indifferent or actively opposed. John Lee reported in 1892, 'I did not

²⁵⁵ John Williams, *Politics of the New Zealand Maori*, 1969, pp. 52-8.

²⁵⁶ Charles Irvine to Pope, 30 August 1890, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/730a.

²⁵⁷ Hone Mohi Tawhai to Native Minister, 12 July 1880, Department translation, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679d.

²⁵⁸ Organising Inspector's Report for Month of March, 1 April 1880, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679d.

²⁵⁹ Pope, Inspection Report, Waima Native School, 29 October 1881, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679d.

²⁶⁰ Pope, Inspection Report, Waima Native School, 16 June 1884, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679d.

anticipate that I should get the children from the lower valley as my chairman [Hone Mohi Tawhai] always informed me there was no hope from that quarter'.²⁶¹ In 1895 Hermann Wolderman Geissler found the 'apathy' of the lower valley was linked to a religious movement: 'The deplorable apathy and Hauhauism of the parents living in the Lower Valley, is the cause that from ten to fifteen children do not attend the school.'²⁶² This movement was led by Hone Toia, and was linked to that founded by the prophet Papahurihia or Te Atua Wera in the 1830s. Both communicated in whistling voices with the serpent spirit Nakahi, and were known to Maori as Nakahi, or Whiowhio (to whistle). Hone Toia himself had grown up Anglican, and spent time at Parihaka. They were also influenced by the Upper Waihou prophetesses Maria Pangari, Ani Kaaro, and Remana Hi, who were strongly influenced by Te Whiti and Tohu at Parihaka.²⁶³ As well as religious meetings on the 16th of every month, Whiowhio was associated with a greatly enhanced social calendar, involving hui, sports, dances, brass bands, and alcohol. Several adherents, including School Committee members, were arrested on charges of 'Drunk and Disorderly'.²⁶⁴

It was also an intensely political movement, a reaction to the encroachment of Pakeha law. Unlike Taiwhanga and Hone Mohi Tawhai, however, they were not content to work within the system of Government and law. Angela Ballara records their specific grievances as seasonal restrictions on hunting, the land tax, wheel tax, and especially the dog tax. Significantly, she also argues that they regarded themselves as seceding from Te Kotahitanga, which indicates a direct and open rejection of Hone Mohi Tawhai and his methods of confronting Pakeha.²⁶⁵ It also entailed a rejection of Native Schools, another symbol of Hone Mohi's legacy. This was also in keeping with Te Whiti's stand against Government overtures to establish a school at Parihaka.²⁶⁶ But the rejection was less complete than at Parihaka, involving the removal of active support, and occupying the children's minds and time with alternative activities. The movement affected Waima, Omanaia, and

²⁶¹ John B. Lee to Secretary for Education, 6 September 1892, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679e.

²⁶² Geissler to Inspector General of Schools, 1 October 1895, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679e.

²⁶³ Bronwyn Elsmore, *Mana from Heaven, A Century of Maori Prophets in New Zealand*, Auckland: Reed, 1999, pp. 268-83, 304-7; Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, *The Turbulent Years*, 1994, pp. 203-7.

²⁶⁴ Geissler to Secretary for Education, 26 January 1898, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/680a; Geissler to Secretary for Education, 12 April 1898, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/680a.

²⁶⁵ Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, *The Turbulent Years*, 1994, p. 204. Another encroachment was the 'School Attendance Act 1894' which gave school committees considerable powers to enforce compulsory attendance, including the ability to summons offending parents or guardians, who would face fines. This however could not be enforced at lower Waima as the majority of children's homes were outside the statutory two and a half miles from the school. Gibbes to Hone Takerei Tawhai, 13 November 1895, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679e; Hone Takerei Mohi Tawhai to Inspector General of Schools, 18 January 1896, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679e.

²⁶⁶ Lee, Lee and Openshaw, *Challenging the Myths*, 1993, p. 44.

Otaua Schools. Geissler lamented in early 1898 that it was causing great disruption at Waima:

It is more so discouraging, especially as the examination is coming on. What prospect can I have of even a fair success when pupils either do not attend at all, or when present have their heads full of Huis, bands and Races. Besides this there has been a dull wave passing through the brains of the children... I have never found them as a whole so dull in comprehension. Football, Races & Huis seem now more than ever to enter greatly into the lives of these Natives. A fearful waste of time, money and food is going on. Until Hone Toia and his bad influence can be banished, I fear we shall see things get a good deal worse instead of better.²⁶⁷

A little more than two weeks later, the examination would be the last thing on Geissler's mind, as the Police advised him to evacuate his family, and troops took over the school building.²⁶⁸

It is very unlikely that the movement would have taken the hold that it did, or that the subsequent 'Dog Tax' incident would have occurred in 1898, had it not been for a series of events in 1894. The movement took a firm hold in the district in that year, as Waima tried to come to terms with being robbed of many of their older statesmen through disease during the winter of 1894, including Hone Mohi Tawhai. This facilitated the advancement of the Whiowhio movement as the Waima people looked to fill the void and deal with their grief. Pope reported,

The Influenza epidemic last year was exceedingly severe and fatal amongst adults (children escaped with little injury). No less than 15 grown people succumbed, including Hone Mohi Tawhai & two other staunch friends of the school. The Natives, many of them, are trying to console themselves with a kind of spiritualism of a curious character, the principal agency appears to be a "spirit that whistles".²⁶⁹

The removal of Hone Mohi's influence, along with other prominent members of the community, left a vacuum, which Hone Toia and his movement were able to fill. Disaffection with the dog tax was not new in 1898, but dated back as far as 1881.²⁷⁰ The tax was in some respects a representative grievance, a symbol of the encroachment of Pakeha Government and law. Tawhai shared the sentiments, but

²⁶⁷ Geissler to Secretary for Education, 12 April 1898, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/680a.

²⁶⁸ Geissler to Secretary for Education, 30 April 1898, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/680a.

²⁶⁹ Pope, Inspection Report, Waima Native School, 9 May 1895, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679e.

²⁷⁰ Von Sturmer to G.I. Cooper, 8 April 1881, Alexander Turnbull Library, qMS-0984.

insisted in the early 1890s that any resistance should take place through formal political channels: 'Disregard of the law is a very serious offence.... In such cases the proper course under the law is to petition parliament to have the Act repealed, fully setting forth the grounds upon which the petition was made.'²⁷¹

The impact on the Waima school was immediate.²⁷² The attendance fell sharply, causing the Department to remove the teachers John and Elizabeth Lee to a larger school at Hiruharama, late in 1895. This meant yet another authority figure was withdrawn from the community.²⁷³ By February Thomas Millar reported the Waima attendance had fallen to ten, and the Omanaia attendance to six.²⁷⁴ The new teacher, Geissler reported a slight improvement soon afterwards, but Waima's troubles were not over:

The Hauhau's did wipe out the second standard, and part of the third. The School however is recovering, owing partly to the success I had in curing sick people, and also thru' the influence of Pereniki Wharerau.... Unfortunately for Waima a gloom has been cast over it, by the death of Pereniki Wharerau, which took place on the 23rd inst. [February] The Natives here lost more than a father in him, and the school its best friend. His loss will be felt more deeply than people think. The School Committee lost their real head.²⁷⁵

A few short months later, tragedy struck the school yet again:

Hohepa Rekene[Rekene Kiwa]... was the most active member of the Waima School Committee, well liked tho' slightly feared by the children, who would attend school when spoken to by him, though their parents could not get them to do so. He was also a most zealous member of the Wesleyan Church, and when at home used to hold service in the church here on Sundays. The gusts of wind, amounting almost to a gale that visited Hokianga on Friday last, caused about 8 pm a tree to fall on Rekene's whare, bringing down the structure & crushing in the poor man's head.²⁷⁶

Kirk's report in August confirmed the school was in trouble:

²⁷¹ John Williams, *Politics of the New Zealand Maori*, 1969, pp. 76-7.

²⁷² Lee to Habens, 1 October 1894, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679e.

²⁷³ Pope, Inspection Report, Waima Native School, 9 May 1895, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679e.

²⁷⁴ Millar to Secretary for Education, 1896, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679e. Millar's communication is not dated but it has been received by Pope by 7 February 1896 according to his minute of that date on Hone Takerei Mohi Tawhai to Inspector General of Schools, 18 January 1896, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679e.

²⁷⁵ Geissler to Secretary for Education, 26 February 1896, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679e.

²⁷⁶ Geissler to Secretary for Education, 1 June 1896, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679e.

The School... has become very small, owing mainly to the spiritist craze that affects these parts. Moreover, the civilising influence that Hone Mohi Tawhai exercised in his best days is much missed, and tangis, brass bands and dances injuriously effect the school.²⁷⁷

Hone Mohi's son, Hone Takerei Mohi Tawhai, took over responsibility for the school but was not able to effect an improvement. But his widow, Makere Maraea, continued to support the school actively, boarding up to seven children who had lost parents or guardians in her home.²⁷⁸ By contrast, Hone Toia's party began to actively discourage school attendance. By September 1896 Geissler was writing like a man possessed, if a little tongue-in-cheek: 'The "Spirits" I understand are going to make another move, to see if they cannot bring the school to a standstill, but I am not afraid of them.'²⁷⁹

The crisis, when it eventually erupted in late May 1898, occurred at Toia's settlement of Pukemiro in the lower valley, and not at Manawa Kaitaia where the School was situated. Hokianga County Council appointee Henry Menzies, (perhaps the 'ill-advised European' of von Sturmer's prophesy sixteen years before), issued summonses to 40 or more defaulters in February, apparently sending the people into a state of panic. Toia organised a meeting of 150 Maori, with Menzies and Rawene's Constable McGlip on 28 April, and a representative of the Council. Toia threatened to march with arms on Rawene the next day, which twenty men duly did. Rawene by that time had been evacuated, and 120 troops were on the way aboard the steamers Gairloch and Hinemoa.²⁸⁰ Jack Lee reports that these troops encamped at the Waima school house, which they found deserted.²⁸¹ But Geissler had declined to take the constables' advice, and remained at Waima throughout the crisis. He was still teaching a class of twelve children on 3 May, and did not close the school until the troops arrived. He had promised the Inspector of Telegraphs that he would remain – the Waima school doubled as post-office, and contained the settlement's telephone. But Geissler's other motivation for staying shows very clearly the division of the Waima people. Those of the upper valley feared to see him go, and leave them at the mercy of 'the enemy' at the other end of the valley:

Another reason that decided me not to leave Waima, was the dread the natives here had of being left alone, they feel in a measure safe while I stay, but had I left would have fled in a

²⁷⁷ Kirk, Inspection Report, Waima Native School, 6 August 1896, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679e.

²⁷⁸ Geissler to Secretary for Education, 8 November 1898, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/680a; Geissler to Secretary for Education, 8 February 1898, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/680a.

²⁷⁹ Geissler to Secretary for Education, 8 September 1896, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679e.

²⁸⁰ Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, *The Turbulent Years*, 1994, p. 203-7.

²⁸¹ Jack Lee, *Hokianga*, 1996, p. 243.

panic and left their belongings to the mercy of the enemy.... The School I keep up with as much spirit as I can show, as it gives confidence to the people that still remain.²⁸²

Geissler was very aware of his precarious position, more so because 'very bitter feeling has sprung up' between the Wharerau people and some allies of Hone Toia, 'the Cassidy lot'.

Now we find the Hauhaus, who are related to the Cassidy clan, have taken up their cause, especially so as the Wharerau people have refused to join them in their mode of worship and in their refusal to pay taxes etc, & have threatened openly to kill them. At present the "camp" is in lower Waima where the battle will no doubt commence, but when beaten the Hau's may double back onto our place, & kill these Whareraus and us into the bargain.²⁸³

Makere Maraea however counselled Geissler to stay – she visited the camp and felt sure the School would not be touched as long as she was near.²⁸⁴ In the end Waima School was closed for a total of only four days, Thursday to Tuesday, while the building was occupied by Her Majesty's troops.²⁸⁵ During this time Geissler was required to 'stay night and day in P. Office hanging onto the telephone... no wonder I did think fourth night when I got a few hours rest I had turned into a telephone myself.'²⁸⁶ The troops left the school in a 'horrid condition', but once again Makere Maraea was on hand to assist, cleaning and scrubbing the ink blots and butter stains from Geissler's 'nice clean table'.²⁸⁷

Jack Lee argues the 'Dog Tax incident' marked the end of a process of reversal, whereby Hokianga Maori had 'in a short space of time suffered the ignominy of transformation from landlord to tenant by the activities of their erstwhile host.'²⁸⁸ James Belich argues similarly, that it was the 'decisive event' by means of which 'substantive sovereignty had finally been imposed.' 'Empire,' he writes, 'had finally arrived in the Far North.'²⁸⁹ By contrast, John A. Williams discusses the incident in

²⁸² Geissler to Secretary for Education, 3 May 1898, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/680a.

²⁸³ Geissler to Secretary for Education, 3 May 1898, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/680a.

²⁸⁴ Geissler to Secretary for Education, 3 May 1898, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/680a.

²⁸⁵ Geissler to Secretary for Education, 10 May 1898, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/680a.

²⁸⁶ Geissler to Secretary for Education, 11 May 1898, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/680a.

²⁸⁷ Geissler to Secretary for Education, 10 May 1898, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/680a; Geissler to Secretary for Education, 11 May 1898, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/680a.

²⁸⁸ Jack Lee, *Hokianga*, 1996, p. 246.

²⁸⁹ James Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders from Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*, Auckland: Penguin, 1996, p. 268.

the context of the Maori politics of the time, and concludes that in as much as it entailed a rejection of the law itself, it was 'isolated and an exception'.²⁹⁰

Within a period of a decade, Waima went from a show-piece of Maori development, to the centre of an armed 'rebellion'. The incident represents less an assertion by force of the sovereignty of Government, than an alternative response to growing and widespread dissatisfaction with the actions of Government. The show of force by Government was sufficient to deter 40 armed men; it would have been woefully inadequate to dispel a full-scale Ngapuhi uprising. But the Hokianga hapu did not rush to Hone Toia's aid; they rushed to pacify him, to restore the peace, and to convert his followers to lawful means of pursuing Maori ends. The methods and views of Hone Toia's followers were not representative of the Hokianga hapu; nor were they unique. Hone Toia's uprising represented an impatience with the incremental methods of an older generation that had rapidly disappeared, leaving a lack of leadership combined with real fear. The school became tangled up in the middle, not so much because it represented the Government or assimilation, but because it represented the incremental methods of an older extinct generation, and because it had a telephone.

Hokianga Maori on the whole did not oppose the introduction of Pakeha authority structures, but traditional authority structures did not lose their usefulness. The Native Schools in nineteenth-century Hokianga existed in a context of changing authority structures, and became entangled in the complex disputes that resulted. At Lower Waihou and Whakarapa the Irvines, who sided with Re Te Tai, came into conflict with Te Wake. At Waima, the passing of a generation of leaders left a vacuum that was filled by a revolutionary philosophy and an overt rejection of their incremental methods. The example of Waima gives an idea of the differing interpretations of the Native Schools. To Hone Mohi Tawhai, like Hirini Taiwhanga, they were a means of empowering Maori people, and equipping them for political action. To Hone Toia and his followers they were not a symbol of disempowerment, so much as a symbol of the ineffective political methods of the previous generation.

²⁹⁰ John Williams, *Politics of the New Zealand Maori*, 1969, p. 270-1.

Assimilation and Extinctionism

A language of power?

Lee and Belich turn to the Dog Tax incident because a show of force is in keeping with their conception of 'empire', as a model for understanding the relationship between Maori and Pakeha. But empire is a many faceted construction with varying degrees of usefulness for understanding interactions and power relationships in a myriad of contexts. Hokianga hapu used Native Schools inventively, as a long term strategy to improve their economic and political standing. Here they responded to a perceived need, a symptom of the new power structures that Maori were obliged to work within, in which their own language and traditional forms of exercising power were excluded. This is empire, in the words of Geissler, 'though without Maxims'.²⁹¹ With language came cultural forms, and the infiltration and observation by the Pakeha Government at close quarters: Maori children were examined, inspected, supervised, counted, ordered, disciplined, and cleaned; the land was surveyed and mana was captured within pieces of paper. Bureaucracy took on the appearance of Jeremy Bentham's 'panopticon' as described by Michel Foucault: a prison built to allow constant visual contact, with observation itself as the principal means of modifying behaviour.²⁹² Te Wake felt the observation acutely: 'lo the place he has to run to is all open and cleared and the Pakeha is there to catch him'.²⁹³

But Maori did not oppose the introduction of that bureaucracy, or the political forms that necessitated it. Rather, they energetically sought schools, not only for the political participation that came with literacy and knowledge, but because they wanted to adopt the cultural forms that the schools represented. In some instances Maori desire for education seems to have been coloured by acceptance of a Pakeha language of cultural superiority, and could be portrayed as evidence of a hegemonic discourse similar to Edward Said's 'orientalism'.²⁹⁴ This is a useful explanatory tool for understanding the Hokianga Schools, but needs to be used with some caution. There were many reasons why Maori wanted schools, some political, some pragmatic, and some personal. To homogenise these into a single explanation would be a distortion. Secondly the idea of a hegemonic discourse is somewhat patronising, implying that 'colonised' peoples lose the ability to do their own thinking, and accept inevitably the logic, metaphors and concepts of the 'dominant' culture. Thirdly, Pakeha had not achieved a position of dominance at Hokianga in

²⁹¹ Geissler to Secretary for Education, 21 September 1898, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/680a.

²⁹² Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish, The Birth of the Prison*, Alan Sheridan, translator, New York: Random House, 1978, pp. 200-9.

²⁹³ Quoted in Charles Irvine to Pope, 16 September 1890, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/730a.

²⁹⁴ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*, London & New York: Penguin, 1978.

the 1870s or 1880s when the Native Schools system took hold, so that a discourse would have to have been used in order to change power relationships and not just to maintain the status quo. This introduces an element of 'catch 22': a discourse was used to establish Pakeha dominance, but dominance was necessary to establish the authority of the discourse.

Nevertheless the language of the Native Schools was permeated by the terminology of fatal impact. This language was particularly powerful for Maori, as it threatened them with extinction, and could be observed every winter in the most brutal fashion, through the deaths of loved ones. The remainder of this discussion will question the extent to which the fatal impact thesis influenced Maori to view aspects of European knowledge and culture as superior.

Assimilation and development

The schools were connected with a more general desire among Maori for what would later be called development: the appropriation of introduced technologies and aspects of culture, in order to improve general living standards and quality of life. Heremia Te Wake was recognised as an enthusiastic supporter of such development. Pope wrote of him after their first encounter in 1881,

Te Wake is a man of powerful understanding and enlightened views. He has introduced many European improvements into his settlement. There are here no signs of the neglect & indulgence that are so distressing to witness in the large majority of Maori kaingas. At Whakarapa everything seems to indicate that it is the home of an industrious and thriving hapu, such as we may hope to find common after education comes to be pretty general among the Maoris. There is every reason to believe that as long as Te Wake lives a good school of moderate size could be maintained here.²⁹⁵

While this development certainly had an economic dimension, it should not be understood as limited to that in the Hokianga context. Edward Williams, Resident Magistrate at Waimate, believed there was a common desire among Ngapuhi and Te Rarawa to embrace European concepts of law and civilisation, although he acknowledged that the rule of law was far from a reality in 1872, and that the desire was not universal:

There exists in the minds of many among this people a desire for improvement, a feeling in favor of law and order – the full establishment of which, however, must necessarily be a work of time. It cannot be expected that the Natives should at once abandon the customs of

²⁹⁵ Pope to Hislop, 26 August 1881, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729b.

their forefathers and unanimously accept those of another race. One party may advocate the change, while another may oppose what they consider an innovation on their rights and privileges; thus it is, that although an advance has been made, much yet remains to be accomplished. ... But I believe the majority desire to see this state of things abolished and civilisation firmly established.²⁹⁶

There was an understanding that European education offered something additional to existing Maori knowledge. However it may be adjudged with hindsight, there was clearly a wish among some Hokianga Maori to appropriate useful aspects of a Pakeha culture, and schools were seen as a means of doing this. Re Te Tai wrote to Robert Stout in 1887,

We shall be very much grieved indeed if you do not give effect to the establishment of a school for our children at Waihou. We feel very pouri at the ignorant state of our children not knowing the enlightened ways of the Europeans.²⁹⁷

He wrote again to John Ballance the following year: 'we pray that you would give our children a school house as it is also our greatest wish that our children be allowed the opportunity of acquiring the knowledge of the Europeans.'²⁹⁸ Te Wano Tahana and Atama Paparangi wrote earnestly to Pope to end the delays in opening the Matihetihe school in 1889:

We desire greatly to have a school established at Matihetihe for our children.... For want of a school our children are growing up in evil ways - that is why we persist in our request that you (pl.) will agree to the establishment of a school here.²⁹⁹

The Waima School Committee wrote to Hone Mohi Tawhai, in Wellington for the 1882 session of Parliament as the Member for Northern Maori, asking him to apply for equipment of a decidedly cultural character: 'The Committee wish you to apply to the Government for the following, namely one piano, and cricketing material for the children.'³⁰⁰ Pope commented on the Waima school in 1883 that, 'very great improvement in the children and their parents is plainly discernible, and the good

²⁹⁶ Edward M. Williams to the Assistant Under-Secretary, Native Office, 29 June 1872, AJHR, F.3 No. 3.

²⁹⁷ Re Te Tai and others to Stout, 20 September 1886, Department translation, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729d.

²⁹⁸ Re Te Tai to John Ballance, 1 February 1887, Department translation, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729d.

²⁹⁹ Te Wano Tahana and Atama Paparangi to Pope, 26 November 1889, Department translation, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/342a.

³⁰⁰ Waipapa Mihaka to Te Moanaroa, 21 August 1882, Department translation, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679d. Te Moanaroa is Hone Mohi Tawhai, I am unsure why this name is used.

influences of the school are evidently felt all over the Waima valley.' He believed this impression was shared by the Mahurehure people of Waima:

It is gratifying to be able to note that the Natives are proud of their school and their teacher, and to find them acknowledging that the establishment of a school has been very beneficial to them in many ways. A large number of Natives were present at the examination; they nearly all showed very great interest in the proceedings; it was pleasant to see how gratified they were when they found that their school was doing so well and was likely to do more than hold its own amongst the native schools of the district.³⁰¹

Pope notes the competitive nature of the Waima people's pleasure in their school's success. He commented on his next visit to Waima, with some surprise, 'Every child actually seems to think that it is its own peculiar duty to keep up the credit of the school'.³⁰² This also worked in reverse. At Whakarapa Te Wake felt real shame that his school was, 'worse than any other school of this island'.³⁰³

Extinctionism

The closest thing to a hegemonic discourse in evidence at Hokianga during this period is the idea of fatal impact, which is frequently cited as the reason for the native School's attention to Maori health, and there has been a lot of valuable historical work on the schools' roles in this regard. But to the administrations, fatal impact informed not only the Native School's health work, but also provided the central logic used to construct and explain the systems goal of assimilation. However the association of the schools with fatal impact was not consistent – despite their role in fighting mortality and decline, they were also widely acknowledged as a transmitter of disease and death in themselves. There was a high degree of acceptance among Hokianga Maori that the work of the schools embraced both the medical and cultural roles associated with fatal impact, and their commitment to the hygienic and civilised aspect of their schools sometimes outstripped that of the Department. But they did not discard aspects of their own culture such as tangihanga, even when these conflicted acutely with Pakeha responses to fatal impact.

Kerry Howe in his 2000 book, *Nature, Culture and History: the Knowing of Oceania* addresses the idea of fatal impact and more specifically, 'extinctionism', arguing 'for

³⁰¹ Pope, Inspection Report, Waima Native School, 11 August 1883, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679d.

³⁰² Pope, Inspection Report, Waima Native School, 16 June 1884, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679d.

³⁰³ Te Wake and others to von Sturmer, 14 March 1884, Department translation, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729c.

its necessity and inevitability' in Western minds. Howe defines extinctionism as an extrapolation of the observed phenomenon of depopulation of indigenous peoples in the Pacific and elsewhere. Depopulation was 'expected and unstoppable', and would continue to the point of extinction. The process was 'inevitable', 'at once a process of both history and nature. It was necessary to fulfil a law of nature and the historical process of realising the destiny of western nations in the Pacific.' The said law of nature could be expressed in Spencerian or Darwinian terms: the weaker 'race' would inevitably fail when pitted against the fittest. Mere contact was sufficient to set the process in motion. But the idea of fatal impact predated Darwin, and derived from the experience of Europeans in the Americas from the Sixteenth Century. The idea itself died out in the 1930s, Howe argues, less because its precepts were proved faulty by the verifiable increase of indigenous populations, than through the idea losing its usefulness to the Western mind. Whereas the fundamental purpose of extinctionism, as with imperial history in general, was to 'account for and legitimise colonial dominance', once that dominance was established and unquestioned, extinctionism was superfluous. Any vestiges that remained were expressed as a triumphant paternalism: the native races had been spared the ravages of fate through careful and benevolent colonial management.³⁰⁴

Judith Simon and Linda Tuhiwai Smith provide a useful discussion of the role of Native Schools in regard to Maori health. As their principal source is oral testimony, their discussion is focused on the health policies that were worked out in the day to day experience of schools. Their informants report routines such as checking handkerchiefs and fingernails, washing feet and heads, and cleaning school building and furniture. They discuss the twentieth century phenomena of providing milk and other nutritional supplements, and visits from the district nurse, and devote a short section to the role of teachers in broader community health. Teachers recall their efforts to combat epidemics (prior to about 1930), and the authors review initiatives throughout the life of the system to educate Maori in 'the laws of health'.³⁰⁵ They discuss the matter at the level of departmental policy, especially the strong emphasis placed on health by James Pope. Pope attracts criticism with his attempts to remould Maori health customs, and especially with his appropriation of scientific authority to assert the superiority of European medicine and morality. Simon and Tuhiwai Smith qualify any benefit to Maori health that accrued through the schools, by arguing that it must be seen within the context of 'the dislocation of Maori following their recent experiences of wars, loss of land and sovereignty, and in many cases total removal from their turangawaewae.' This disruption, they argue, along with diseases introduced by Europeans, caused declining health and living standards:

³⁰⁴ Kerry R. Howe, *Nature, Culture and History: the 'Knowing of Oceania*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000, pp. 63-8.

³⁰⁵ Simon and Tuhiwai Smith, *A Civilising Mission*, 2001, pp. 203-41.

Under such circumstances, the 'remedies' advocated by Pope and his supporters in regard to sanitation and the treatment of introduced diseases may well have made a significant contribution to the improvement of the physical health of Maori. At the same time, however, they also invalidated and discredited all Maori health knowledge and practice. Furthermore, Pope's writings reinforced the victim blaming beliefs and stereotypes about Maori that had been prevalent among the Missionaries and settlers since their first encounters with tangata whenua.³⁰⁶

Simon and Tuhiwai Smith draw attention to the prevalent idea that Maori were 'a dying race', to explain the schools' attention to health. They quote Sir Isaac Featherstone's well-worn phrase, that the colonist's duty was 'to smooth down their dying pillow'. The idea of fatal impact, 'nevertheless... did not prevent the government taking some measures to attend to Maori health'. But curiously they reproduce a variant of the fatal impact thesis themselves in the same chapter. Health in pre-European Maori society is discussed in a passage that seems to evoke the Noble Savage, giving the impression of uniform and efficient customs in regard to herbal remedies and hygiene, which are then corrupted under the degenerating influence of Europeans. Maori are portrayed as an immunologically naive population with no biological resistance, custom, or technology to combat the virulent pathogens imported by the invader. Hence the Maori population declined.³⁰⁷ Despite Simon and Tuhiwai Smith's harsh judgement of Pope, and their derision of the idea of extinctionism, they lament that the Government's provision for Maori health was 'pitifully limited - with the rationalisation, perhaps, that Maori would soon be gone.'³⁰⁸

Simon and Tuhiwai Smith seem to have adopted the fatal impact thesis in its late twentieth century guise, as a tool to be turned back against the coloniser, reminiscent of the debate between Stephen Kunitz and David Stannard as to whether depopulation was a necessary precursor to, or a result of, the dispossession of Pacific Island populations.³⁰⁹ What Simon and Tuhiwai Smith fail to note is that the idea of fatal impact was the primary motivator for pursuing the Native Schools system's stated goal of assimilation, and is central to an understanding of the development of Maori-Pakeha relations, and especially of settler government intervention into Maori

³⁰⁶ Simon and Tuhiwai Smith, *A Civilising Mission*, 2001, p. 230.

³⁰⁷ Simon and Tuhiwai Smith, *A Civilising Mission*, 2001, p. 222-4.

³⁰⁸ Simon and Tuhiwai Smith, *A Civilising Mission*, 2001, p. 224.

³⁰⁹ David E. Stannard, *Before the Horror: The Population of Hawaii on the Eve of Western Contact*, Honolulu: Social Science Research Institute, University of Hawaii, 1989; Stephen J. Kunitz, *Disease and Social Diversity: The European Impact on the Health of Non-Europeans*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1994, pp. 44-81. See also Donald Denoon, 'Pacific Island Depopulation, Natural or Un-natural History,' in *New Countries and Old Medicine*, Linda Bryder and Derek Dow, (eds), Auckland: Pyramid Press, 1994, pp. 324-39, for a summary of this debate.

communities, in the period 1870 to 1930. Far from preventing action, the fear of Maori depopulation prompted humanitarian-minded colonists like James Pope, just as it provoked the Young Maori Party from the 1890s, into feverish action to prevent the tragedy of Maori suffering, decline, and extinction.³¹⁰ This was manifest most clearly in the Native Schools, in their promotion of health reform and in dispensing medicines, but also in their over-arching rubric of assimilationist ideals regarding education, order, morality, language and technology.

Raeburn Lange discusses the range of possibility within late nineteenth-century New Zealand fatal impact thinking. Some, like Alfred Newman in his address to the Wellington Philosophical Society in 1882, argued that the extinction of Maori should be seen within the context of the advance of the human species, as 'scarcely subject for much regret. They are dying out in a quick, easy way, and are being supplanted by a superior race.'³¹¹ This however was an extreme position and should not be taken as an indicator of widespread racism, and certainly not of an 'official' Government or Department of Education view. Lange points to strident contemporary critics such as Sir James Hector, who also spoke to the Wellington Philosophical Society in the same year: 'It is no use trying to excuse ourselves by any other natural law but that of might'. To Hector, Maori population decline was not a result of scientific fate, but was due to the disruption of Maori society caused by Pakeha expansion.³¹² Simon and Tuhiwai Smith quote Featherston to represent what they see as a commonly held view, but it was not a view that informed the Native Schools system. Lange and Derek Dow both place Pope in direct contrast to 'the dying pillowers', citing his desire to avert the fatal impact by every means available.³¹³

³¹⁰ Raeburn Lange, *May the People Live, A History of Maori Health Development 1900-1920*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1999, pp. 84-127, provides an excellent discussion of the formation of the Young Maori Party and the centrality of fatal impact thinking to their motivation. He also makes explicit the impact of the Native Schools on the leaders of that movement, almost all of whom passed through a Native 'Village' School before entering John Thornton's tutelage at Te Aute College on scholarships.

³¹¹ Quoted in Lange, *May the People Live*, 1999, pp. 58-9.

³¹² Quoted in Lange, *May the People Live*, 1999, p. 62.

³¹³ Derek A. Dow, *Maori Health and Government Policy*, Wellington: Victoria University Press and Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, 1999, p. 84; Lange, *May the People Live*, 1999, p. 62.

Extinctionism and the Hokianga Schools

Pope's *Health for the Maori* is perhaps the prime example in the New Zealand context of the fatal impact thesis informing intervention to intercept the mechanisms of degeneration and population decline. First published in 1884, Pope's 'little book' was still the recommended text for the health curriculum in native schools 45 years later.³¹⁴ Despite the work done by other writers since, the most comprehensive discussion of *Health for the Maori* is Katherine Goodfellow's research essay produced in 1991.³¹⁵ She argues the book was used as Pope intended, not only as a text for native schools, but as a tool of moral, sanitary and social reform for Maori communities. It discussed health not just 'in narrow terms of dirt, disease, diet and the absence of germs. Beliefs about, and definitions of health interact with and are products of broad social and moral attitudes.'³¹⁶ Along with advice on hygiene and treating sickness, it included advice on marriage, clothing, the siting of kainga, and prescribed appropriate and inappropriate gender roles. It warned against hui and tangi as harmful to health and morality, and against tohunga as worse than useless in curing or preventing disease and dangerous in discouraging Maori from seeking European medical remedies. Like Simon and Tuhiwai Smith, Goodfellow criticises Pope for attempting to remould Maori custom. She argues that Pope assumed the superiority of European over Maori culture, and singles out his statement that in the absence of a doctor, 'the next best thing is to go for advice to a magistrate, or a teacher, or a Minister'. 'That Pope saw untrained Pakeha as adequate substitutes for a doctor', she argues, 'reveals clearly the extent to which he saw European culture as superior to Maori'.³¹⁷

Health for the Maori was received with great enthusiasm by Hokianga teachers. Alexander Bow, Master of Whangape school, wrote to Pope when the book appeared in the English language in 1884, urging that it be translated into Maori, which it would be in 1885. He makes the connection to assimilation clear:

I have just finished reading your 'Health for the Maori'. I think if the book were printed in the Maori and circulated, it would do a vast amount of good; not that the Maori more than any other man is to be changed all at once, but from experience he would begin to see the truth of

³¹⁴ Simon and Tuhiwai Smith, *A Civilising Mission*, 2001, p. 232.

³¹⁵ Katherine Sophia Goodfellow, 'Health for the Maori? Health and the Maori Village Schools, 1890-1940,' MA Research Essay in History, University of Auckland, Auckland, 1991. *Health for the Maori* is also discussed in Simon and Tuhiwai Smith, *A Civilising Mission*, 2001, pp. 225-30, Lange, *May the People Live*, 1999, pp. 66-7 and 75-82, Dow, *Maori Health*, 1999, pp. 88-91, and Barrington and Beaglehole, *Maori Schools*, 1974, pp. 129-30. However none of these provide as focussed or indepth a discussion as Goodfellow.

³¹⁶ Goodfellow, 'Health for the Maori', 1991, p. 11.

³¹⁷ Goodfellow, 'Health for the Maori', 1991, p. 13.

your counsels and the hold his old customs have over him would be weakened, to be dropped eventually.³¹⁸

The Schools became the primary provider of European medicine to Maori in the Hokianga. Lange, who provides the best discussion of the schools' health roles in his *May the People Live, A History of Maori Health Development*, points out that the Native Schools provided 'the most comprehensive Maori health work' in the Nineteenth Century.³¹⁹ The only alternative mechanisms for providing European health care were an underdeveloped system of Native Medical Officers (NMO's) and hospitals which were financially, culturally and geographically out of reach for most Maori communities. Rawene hospital did not open until 1902. NMO's were few and unevenly distributed, with for example only one NMO north of Auckland in 1874.³²⁰ In 1879 von Sturmer reported there was 'no medical man in this large district', which included a Maori population in excess of two thousand.³²¹ Even when NMO's were posted to Hokianga, they were not able to adequately serve all of the area's far-flung communities. The teacher at Waima, a relatively accessible school on the main road from Kaikohe to Rawene, wrote with frustration during a suspected outbreak of typhus in 1898, 'as Doctor Low [sic - Dr de Clive Lowe] receives payment for attending the Natives, I think in cases like these, he should at least supply us with his advice and medicines, if it was not possible for him to visit the patients personally'.³²² Nearly one month later Geissler was finally able to report, 'What neither prayers, threats or money could accomplish, was speedily brought about by a wire signed F. Waldegrave - the Doctor has been in Waima.... I pointed out he would soon find out who F. Waldegrave was if his cheque for £25 for attending on Natives was not paid to him.'³²³

As *Health for the Maori* makes clear, the schools' health roles were not limited to dispensing medicines, but focused on preventative measures such as hygiene, and extended to order and morality. This reflected a view that high Maori mortality was caused by poor living conditions, poor standards of hygiene, and a lack of industry and prudence. These could only be altered through a transformation of Maori

³¹⁸ Bow to Pope, 18 November 1884, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/750b.

³¹⁹ Lange, *May the People Live*, 1999, p. 75.

³²⁰ Dow, *Maori Health and Government Policy*, 1999, discusses the numbers and distribution of NMO's, pp. 72-83, and the inaccessibility of hospitals pp. 60-71.

³²¹ Von Sturmer to Under Secretary, Native Department, 9 December 1879, Alexander Turnbull Library, qMS-0984.

³²² Geissler to Secretary for Education, 19 September 1898, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/680a.

³²³ Geissler to Secretary for Education, 12 October 1898, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/680a.

culture. Von Sturmer considered that a severe epidemic at Lower Waihou in 1879 was,

the effect of dirt and foul air in the close raupo houses in which the people live, and semi-starvation caused by improvidence... a few years ago the same fever was very bad in the Mongonui district, almost exterminating whole settlements. I fear but little of good can be done for the people until they change their habits.³²⁴

Even the school buildings were a method of changing Maori culture, by presenting an example that Maori could imitate. This is evidenced by Pope's response to Charles Irvine at Whakarapa, who did not share Pope's vision, preferring a pragmatic 'number-eight-wire' approach.³²⁵ In 1884 he built an unauthorised addition to the near-new Whakarapa residence: 'The addition consists of a Maori built and Nikau palm thatched kitchen, scullery and wash house'.³²⁶ In 1886 he wrote to Pope forwarding an alternative design for a teacher's residence that would be more serviceable in 'country districts' than his own residence at Whakarapa, which he felt had been designed with city conditions in mind. 'In the one knatty appearance high finish and smugness would be desirable, in the other, roughness with a redundancy of room and convenience.' The Department could afford Irvine's larger residences by skimping on aesthetics:

Any architect will tell you that it is not the rough boards & main portions of a house which absorbs the money but rather the finishing work &c, so that if all finishing, mouldings &c were discarded and the doors, windows and other fittings &c reduced to the plainest and most primitive description makeable, the cost... need not exceed [that of] the old design.³²⁷

Pope rejected this proposition utterly as it contradicted the schools' civilising intent:

I cannot agree with you in thinking that 'a natty appearance, high finish, and smugness' are of little importance in out of the way localities, it seems to me that it is just in such places that every possible civilising & aesthetic influence should be brought to bear upon the Natives by

³²⁴ Von Sturmer to Under Secretary Native Department, 9 December 1879, Alexander Turnbull Library, qMS-0984.

³²⁵ In New Zealand 'number-eight-wire', a common guage of fencing wire, is a widely recognised symbol of ingenuity. Number-eight-wire makes a cameo appearance in the Hokianga school records when Millar reports that Waima School requires 'about 2 coils of plain no. 8 galvanised wire' to repair fences. Millar to Secretary for Education, 28 December 1891, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679e.

³²⁶ Charles Irvine to Secretary for Education, 3 October 1884, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729c.

³²⁷ Charles Irvine to Pope, 6 January 1886, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729c.

the teacher and his surroundings as it is quite certain that this is the only quarter from which such an influence can come under the circumstances.³²⁸

But the role of the Hokianga schools with regard to the fatal impact thesis is ambiguous. In addition to their intentional civilising role the schools came to be regarded as a mechanism for the spread of disease, as an 'unintended impact'. The schools necessitated regular and frequent contact at close quarters between all the children of a district, many of whom would otherwise have met only infrequently, and attendance at school often meant exposure to the weather, especially where children needed to travel long distances or cross water. As one long-serving teacher wrote in 1911, 'at schools like Kaikohe, where the Maori families, for the most part, live apart and do not congregate except at huis, the school becomes the great promoter of an epidemic!³²⁹ Until the late 1890s, whenever an outbreak of disease occurred, the schools would be closed, sometimes for as long as a month, depending on the severity of the attack.³³⁰

Von Sturmer wrote a private letter to Pope in 1885 regarding an outbreak of influenza at Motukaraka Native School, which shows clearly his understanding of the ambiguous role of the schools in being both cause and panacea for fatal impact.

I have been obliged to close this school for fourteen days nearly all children suffering from influenza some with fever at the same time – Moloney is very good, and does all he can but what can we do – Why don't you get 'Health for the Maori' translated into their language and distributed right away – I am quite vexed about the delay, and I am sure many lives will be saved through the instrumentality of that book –

What is to be done for the Natives they seem quite a changed people during the last 5 or 6 years, we hear no more the canoe song as they pass up and down the river, and the merry laugh and joke, formerly so characteristic of the Maori is altogether gone, in the place of it, they seem dull and miserable and full of apathy –

The trees and plants for the Native Schools have not yet come to hand by the time they are distributed the season for planting will be over, they ought to arrive here no later than 2nd week in July – Large quantities of oranges and other fruit trees are being planted by the Europeans, the natives just look on, and do nothing – it is very sad – I am not one who

³²⁸ Pope to Charles Irvine, 30 January 1886, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729c.

³²⁹ C.W. Grace to Secretary for Education, 18 December 1911, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/104b.

³³⁰ There are very many cases of such closures. Below are a selection of many possible examples: Waitapu closed for 'a few days' in 1883 due to 'low fever', von Sturmer to Secretary for Education, 31 May 1883, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/720b; Waitapu closed again for two weeks in 1886, von Sturmer to Secretary for Education, 9 August 1886, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/720b; Influenza at Whangape in 1883, Pope to Hislop, 8 May 1884, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001 / 750b and von Sturmer to Hislop, 19 March 1884, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001 750/b; Whangape school closed for at least one month in 1886, Hill to von Sturmer, 23 June 1886, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679d.

wishes to see the last of the Maories and I grieve and worry about them a good deal. I almost think the old missionaries were right in their desire to isolate the natives, and keep the mere Pakeha away from them – we have their end to answer for.³³¹

Von Sturmer laments with the 'old missionaries', who seem already in 1885 to have acquired a mythical quality, that contact should ever have come about; the school as a vehicle for contact and contamination must be closed. Von Sturmer 'grieves' and 'worries' about their fate and condemns himself, on behalf of Pakeha, as responsible. However the Maori themselves are too 'dull and miserable and full of apathy' to do anything about it themselves, they watch the success of their Pakeha neighbours but are too sullen to imitate, as clearly they should. Maloney the teacher, along with von Sturmer and the Department, is powerless to stop fate and yet like them, he 'does all he can'. Even so, the school's influence, and *Health for the Maori* in particular provide the only ray of hope. Through their civilising influence they may yet stave off future attacks. For von Sturmer then, intervention is not only justified but morally unavoidable.

Triumphalism and Maori acceptance of European medicine

Howe is very sceptical of the 'triumphalism' of the 1930s that took hold after the fall of fatal impact's usefulness, as European colonists congratulated themselves that,

Pacific Societies had somehow been saved from their long expected fate by paternalism - the insistence on better sanitation, cleaner water supplies, medical treatment, education and so on. Such a belief brought a sense of imperial accomplishment, an obligation to humanity duly fulfilled. Yet when one goes and looks for data to support this belief, serious questions arise - namely, saved from what, and how, and by whom and what? These are no easy questions to answer.³³²

Was there any reason to fear Maori extinction? Or was this simply a European construction to justify colonialism and assimilation? If Maori were in decline, what was killing them, and did Pakeha knowledge provide any real respite? These questions have been very widely discussed in many colonial contexts, and New Zealand is no exception. Ian Pool shows from census data and other sources that the Maori population was in decline, largely due to high mortality through epidemic disease.³³³ But the rest of these questions are not easy to answer if a high standard of scientific certainty is sought. Many epidemics and deaths from infectious diseases in Maori communities were not attended by medical practitioners and even

³³¹ Von Sturmer to Pope, 11 August 1885, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729c.

³³² Howe, *Nature, Culture and History*, 2001, pp. 64-5.

³³³ Ian Pool, *Te Iwi Maori: A New Zealand Population, Past, Present and Projected*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1991.

when they were, accuracy of diagnosis cannot be assumed. The efficacy of Western medicine in fighting disease even in the late nineteenth century can be questioned³³⁴ – and was questioned at Hokianga – and it is often argued that the primary factor in the decline of epidemic disease was an increase in naturally acquired immunity among the Maori population.³³⁵ Even so, the Native Schools can provide some indications as to Maori and Pakeha understandings and experiences of these issues at Hokianga.

A survey of Native School teachers in 1911 provides some evidence of the causes of mortality during the careers of these teachers, some of whom had been in the service for twenty years. Most had experienced epidemics of influenza, whooping cough, measles, and typhoid, while some had also experienced scarlet fever and chicken pox.³³⁶ That these epidemics caused mortality is evidenced in the records of individual schools. For example, one child died at Waitapu in May 1883 from 'low fever', at Whangape four died from influenza in May 1884, and at least two succumbed at Waima in June 1886. At Lower Waihou in 1879 as many as 29 children died, from a total roll of around 50. At least fifteen adults died at Waima in 1894, including Hone Mohi Tawhai.³³⁷ Even when the number of deaths were small, and of little demographic significance, a single death could cause great fear that others would follow. While teachers tended to report such deaths as a matter of administrative detail or excuse for falling attendance, they were reported by Maori as great tragedies. At Waima in 1893 John Lee reported: 'On Saturday one of my pupils died (Ratima Waiti).' Regarding the same girl, Hone Mohi Tawhai wrote, 'To my great sorrow, one of the children of this school has died of the said disease - the measles.... To the grief of my heart the sick children as a whole have not yet got well as far as I can see, & those that have do not look well.'³³⁸

³³⁴ For example, Lange discusses the limitations of European medicine in the Cook Islands, Raeburn Lange, 'European Medicine in the Cook Islands,' in *Disease, Medicine and Empire*, Roy McLeod and Milton Lewis (eds), London and New York: Routledge, 1988.

³³⁵ For example Lange, *May the People Live*, 1999, pp. 259-63, Pool, *Te Iwi Maori*, pp. 61-4.

³³⁶ Goodfellow, 'Health for the Maori', 1991, pp. 26-33, provides a summary of responses to this survey. Responses and questionnaire are found in National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/104b.

³³⁷ Waitapu: von Sturmer to Secretary for Education, 31 May 1883, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/720b. Whangape: Pope to Hislop, 8 May 1884, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001 / 750b and von Sturmer to Hislop, 19 March 1884, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/750b. Waima: Hill to von Sturmer, 23 June 1886, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679d. Lower Waihou: Re Te Tai and others to Stout, 20 September 1886, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729d, see also von Sturmer to Under Secretary, Native Department, 9 December 1879, Alexander Turnbull Library, qMS-0984. Regarding school roll at Lower Waihou, von Sturmer reports a roll in July 1879 of 27, fallen from at least 49 in 1878 due to conflict between the teachers and Committee Chairman Heremia Te Wake, von Sturmer to Under Secretary for Native Affairs, AJHR, G.2 No.4; Waima: Lee to Habens, 1 October 1894, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679e.

³³⁸ Lee to Inspector General of Schools, 9 August 1893, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679e; Hone Mohi Tawhai to Habens, 8 August 1893, Department translation, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679e. Other teachers showed little emotion in reporting deaths, for example Thomas Minchin in excusing poor attendance of Matihetihe children at the Waitapu school in 1886: 'Now, of the eight, five are dead, and of the remaining three, two are about to be married, and there

Roy Porter discusses the major developments made in scientific medicine during the Nineteenth Century, with innovations such as the laboratory and experimental science, and it was not until mid-century that it developed into a respected, profitable and regulated profession.³³⁹ But the extent to which the medical practice of school teachers in rural New Zealand kept pace with the profession in Europe is not clear. There was some scepticism among Pakeha in the 1890s about the ability and authority of doctors and medical science. Geissler wrote in 1899: 'As a rule I do not agree with Dr's as they do not agree among themselves.'³⁴⁰ In 1898 he reported to the Department that two of his pupils,

showed symptoms which indicate in a general way Typhus. The Doctors no doubt will have a different name for it, but as they do not always agree, I do the best I can to fight the enemy, whatever his real name may be. Two years ago I had a case very similar, Doctor Barr called it Typhus, Doctor Low a kind of gastric fever only. All the same the child was very sick. Though I hope to pull all my cases through... I do not like the responsibility – for a patient may die in spite of all my care and attention.³⁴¹

In 1879 a Dr Trewell of Mongonui prescribed a course of treatment for the severe fever then afflicting the sick that required quantities of quinine and 'the best Port Wine':

Food made with milk; the bowels to be kept gently opened; plenty of fresh air; a little quinine in the Port Wine and in cases of great debility 2 or 3 gm of Carbonate of Ammonia three times a day is the course I would advise you to follow.³⁴²

Whatever the quality of treatments or state of European medicine, Hokianga Maori were convinced of the efficacy of Native School teachers in preventing the deaths of their children. Geissler and Irvine in particular seem to have enjoyed the confidence of their respective communities in this regard. Geissler reported to Pope when explaining an increase in the school roll:

are no other children of school age on the W. Coast that I can learn of.' Minchin to Secretary for Education, 11 October 1886, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/720b; also Geissler's comments below regarding increased attendance.

³³⁹ Roy Porter, *The Greatest Benefit to Mankind: A Medical History of Humanity from Antiquity to the Present*, London: Harper Collins, 1997, pp. 304-96.

³⁴⁰ Geissler to Pope, 8 February 1899, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/680a.

³⁴¹ Geissler to Secretary for Education, 19 September 1898, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/680a.

³⁴² Dr Trewell to von Sturmer, 29 November 1879, enclosure to von Sturmer to Under Secretary, Native Department, 9 December 1879, Alexander Turnbull Library, qMS-0984.

The reason of this sudden rush of new pupils to the school is this. During my absence from Waima in July '98 and last January several children died. A rumour got abroad that owing to the small number of children at school, I might be moved to a larger one. Fearing my removal would mean more deaths, the people are now exerting themselves to fill the school, and so entice me to remain in Waima a little longer.³⁴³

At Whakarapa Re Te Tai informed Minister of Native Affairs John Ballance, 'As many as 25 children suffered from illness during last winter, it was only owing to the great knowledge and energy of the school master in providing medical assistance that they recovered.'³⁴⁴ Re Te Tai was particularly appreciative to Irvine for this because he still felt keenly the decimation of the Lower Waihou community by fever in 1879, after which the original school had to be closed:

There had been a school here at Waihou at one time & it was the best school in the whole Hokianga, & it was only when the fever broke out and carried off 29 children that the school broke up, the rest of the children being taken away by their parents so as to escape from the fever, but now we have again all returned to our place and the number of our children has again increased and the newly born ones have filled the places of those that had died.³⁴⁵

Re Te Tai clearly associated the improvement of his people's health with Irvine: 'We know that it is owing to this man that we and our children have now been in good health, that is, since he has been with us. He has the means of curing us of all the bad "mates" that have hitherto affected us.'³⁴⁶ His daughter Mary wrote similarly that Irvine had, 'done his best for us, if not for him we be nearly all in our grave, attentively to the sick and since Mr Irvine has staying with us we are all in good health now.'³⁴⁷ Clearly the role of the teachers in curing sickness and preventing death was a powerful motivator for Maori communities to support and maintain schools.

Hokianga's Maori communities not only accepted that teachers should take on a medical role, they expected it and demanded it. At Whangape in 1882, the first year of that school's operation, Pope reported, 'The Natives here wish to have medicines sent them. If the Native Department would send them, Mr Bow would take charge

³⁴³ Geissler to Pope, 8 February 1899, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/680a.

³⁴⁴ Re Te Tai to Ballance, 1 February 1887, Department translation, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729d.

³⁴⁵ Re Te Tai and others to Stout, 20 September 1886, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729d.

³⁴⁶ Re Te Tai to Minister of Education, 19 April 1888, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/730a.

³⁴⁷ Mary Te Tai Papahia to Habens, 25 April 1888, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/730a.

of them. A rather large quantity would be needed as the district is a large one.³⁴⁸ Pope's tone suggests this was one of the earliest such requests from a Native School. At Matihetihe the practice of distributing medicines through schools had become so accepted by 1898 that, once his sixteen-year-old daughter took over as teacher, Maori Committee member George Kendall assumed the role himself: 'Mr Kendall showed me some accounts for drugs that he purchased (without authority) for the children's use. He acted as he thought on precedent.'³⁴⁹ At Whakarapa, despite his ongoing feud with teacher Charles Irvine, Heremia Te Wake urged the Department not to remove him and his wife Lucy, because of her teaching ability and because Charles 'knows what medicines to give the children'.³⁵⁰ In 1886 Renata (Re) Te Tai Papahia and the Lower Waihou people petitioned Minister for Education Robert Stout not to remove the Irvines as Charles was 'a perfect man and possesses great medical knowledge, and it was through him that some of our children and people were cured.'³⁵¹ They wrote again in 1888: 'we feel perfectly sure that it is owing to him that our children and ourselves are kept well. The knowledge of what he has done for us makes us loth to lose him. If you therefore persist in removing Mr Irvine we will not have another Master.'³⁵²

In the wake of the 'Dog Tax War' in 1898, Hermann Wolderman Geissler discovered a plan to have a new school opened at Taheke closer to the gum fields, and to have his Waima school closed so he could be secured as Master at Taheke. He found this less than flattering:

It is humiliating however to learn that it is not on account of any special value they place on my talents as a teacher that they will petition for my appointment but rather because in case of sickness they can get advice gratis & free medicines!!³⁵³

Geissler was an effective teacher, whom Pope believed deserving of 'a more important school'³⁵⁴ but this was less significant to Taheke Maori than his proven ability and willingness to tend the sick and dispense European medicines. In

³⁴⁸ Pope, Inspection Report, Whangape Native School, 11 September 1882, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001 / 750b.

³⁴⁹ Pope, Inspection Report, Matihetihe Native School, 14 May 1898, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/342a.

³⁵⁰ Te Wake and others to Native Minister, 18 April 1888, Department translation, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/730a.

³⁵¹ Re Te Tai Papahia and others to Stout, 20 September 1886, Department translation, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729d.

³⁵² Re Te Tai Papahia and others to Minister of Education, 19 April 1888, Department translation, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/730a.

³⁵³ Geissler to Pope, 25 July 1898, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/680a (Geissler's use of exclamation marks.)

³⁵⁴ Pope, Inspection Report, Waima Native School, 19 July 1898, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/680a.

September of the same year Geissler confronted an epidemic that he believed to be Typhus, and found himself supplying medicines to a wide district:

I always keep a sufficient supply of such medicines that are wanted mostly but this unexpected rush, which is not confined to Waima, as Natives from Otatau, Kaikohe district and even Whirinaki come to me, has run me out in some special lines. In case of sickness, especially where children are concerned, I have not the heart to send any away empty i.e. refuse medicines, because they are not Waima natives or because they are without money.³⁵⁵

But acceptance of Pakeha medicine did not mean rejection of traditional remedies, or that Maori were without their own resources. Tohunga were still in demand. Raeburn Lange argues that many Maori believed Pakeha medicine was most effective in combating 'mate Pakeha', for which Maori had no traditional remedies, while 'mate Maori', more a spiritual than a biological affliction, still required a Maori remedy.³⁵⁶ When George Glover sent for Geissler to attend on a Maori girl at Taheke in 1886, it was clear that European medicine was a last resort: '...they sent for a Tohunga. He has been treating her since, till Constable Beazly came up yesterday and made some enquiries. So now they want to try European treatment.'³⁵⁷ Geissler forwarded the request to the Department, 'to show that Tohungas are still doing harm in this district'.³⁵⁸ When Irvine himself succumbed to a sudden onset of fever that afflicted almost the entire settlement, neither tohunga, teacher, or doctor was available. He praised the efforts of one Maori man – the only one left standing – who went 'from whare to whare lighting their fires and cooking their food'.³⁵⁹ Charles Hill reported that different pupils from the Waima school, suffering from the same fever in 1886, sought different methods of care:

There are no new cases of fever up to date among the pupils. Those under Dr Graham's care have recovered but some of them are still weak, but will return to Waima shortly. ...I do not think there is any need to keep the school closed any longer. There being only one case of fever (not new) a little girl who is under the Tohunga's treatment.³⁶⁰

³⁵⁵ Geissler to Secretary for Education, 21 September 1898, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/680a.

³⁵⁶ See Raeburn Lange, *May the People Live*, 1999, pp. 44-50, for a discussion of the distinction made by Maori between *mate Maori* and *mate Pakeha*.

³⁵⁷ George Glover to Geissler, 3 February 1899, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/680a.

³⁵⁸ Geissler to Secretary for Education, 8 February 1899, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/680a.

³⁵⁹ Charles Irvine to Secretary of Education, 1 October 1890, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/730a.

³⁶⁰ Hill to von Sturmer, 23 June 1886, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679d.

Pope was not alone in demanding a high standard of cleanliness and presentation. Just as Maori demanded medicine, they expected the schools to fulfil the role of setting an example of order and cleanliness. Heremia Te Wake took a dislike to Charles Irvine during his first year at the Whakarapa school. This was not because of any attempt the Irvines made at civilising or assimilating, but the reverse. In 1884 only months after the Irvines moved into a brand new residence and re-opened the school in a brand new facility, Heremia Te Wake and Teihi Tiapakeke, on behalf of the school Committee, wrote to von Sturmer in disgust at the poor standards of cleanliness observed and the abuse of their immaculate new facilities:

In the bedroom the dirt goes right up to the roof and all the servants in the world will never make it clean again by washing. Again the windows of the residence have all been broken; rags of calico are the windows here. The school is worse than any other school of this island; the evil is this - it is a privy for the children and a receptacle for all rubbish.³⁶¹

The 'basic thrust' of this letter was confirmed by Pope:

There is some exaggeration; a Maori not infrequently represents a thing that occurs once or twice as taking place constantly. Very moderate allowance being made for this peculiarity, Te Wake's complaints are based on facts.³⁶²

Irvine vigorously defended himself citing the muddy ground conditions³⁶³ and attempted to discredit Te Wake.³⁶⁴ That there is doubt about the severity of the condition of the school only emphasises the high standard the Whakarapa people expected. Te Wake's and Tiapakeke's anger is clear, as is their understanding that a dirty school brought shame on them and their people. Von Sturmer considered the dispute between Irvine and Te Wake at this time to be of such intensity, 'that it is a question of Mr Irvine's removal or the closing of the Whakarapa School.'³⁶⁵

³⁶¹ Te Wake and others to von Sturmer, 14 March 1884, Department translation, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729c.

³⁶² Pope to Inspector General of Schools, 19 April 1884, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729c.

³⁶³ Irvine called on W.J. Wheeler, head of a Government survey team working in the area, as a witness. Wheeler categorically denied the charge relating to the residence which he had visited frequently, and taking literally Te Wake's charge that the school was 'a privy for the children', appealed to Charles Irvine's high moral character and 'breeding': 'this disgusting charge may or may not have a foundation, but if any it must be of a very flimsy character. I am sure that one like Mr Irvine who has been born and bred a gentleman, would never tolerate such an abominable practice.' Despite his high regard for Te Wake and the Whakarapa people he considers that, 'justice to Mr Irvine' demanded he speak out. W.J. Wheeler to Secretary for Education, 6 December 1886, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729d.

³⁶⁴ For example: Charles Irvine to Secretary for Education, 17 September 1886, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729d.

³⁶⁵ Minute, von Sturmer, (undated), on Pope to Inspector General of Schools, 19 April 1884, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729c.

These events at Whakarapa seem to challenge the preconception that underlay the schools' attentions to cleanliness and hygiene, that Maori were inattentive in these matters and needed to be brought up to European standards. Whakarapa was not the only community to provide such a challenge. At Matihetihe a half-time school was opened in 1890, initially sharing a teacher with the struggling school at Waitapu (Rangi Point.) Because of the small number of pupils, the Matihetihe people knew the Department would not agree to the expense of buildings, so offered one of their own. A whare of bark lined with raupo was offered by Rewi Paparangi, for which he received no rent until at least 1898.³⁶⁶ They also went to considerable effort and expense to improve the site. Waitapu teacher Thomas Minchin reported that, 'The Natives pointed out to me the improvements they had effected in anticipation of the school there.... They had pulled down a few houses that were close to the one they have designed for a school. They have enclosed about three acres around the school with a paling fence and provided it with gates &c.'³⁶⁷ George Kendall became the main liaison point between the community and the Department. He reported that 'The natives has be to a great deal of trouble & axspence in fencing in the school ground with a good paling fence & arther improvement to the school hause.'³⁶⁸ Thomas Millar considered the facilities quite adequate for the purpose: 'The building is of bark lined with raupo and is very neat inside. The floor is not boarded that is the only drawback.'³⁶⁹

These facilities and the careful maintenance of the school led Pope in 1892 to comment that

Matihetihe is a kind of show Native School - the pupils are all Maori, the building in which the school is held is Maori, and the surroundings are as Maori as they can be. This being so, one naturally expects to see a very rough & uncultivated lot of children and a very untidy school room. A greater mistake could hardly be made; the children are clean and

³⁶⁶ For description of building: Millar to Secretary of Education, c18 December 1892, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/342a; for discussion of payment for usage: Pope, Inspection Report, Matihetihe Native School, 14 May 1898, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/342a, and George Kendall to Secretary for Education, 20 July 1899, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/342a.

³⁶⁷ Minchin to Secretary for Education, 17 September 1889, National Archives, Auckland, BAAA 1001/342a.

³⁶⁸ George Kendall to Gibbes, 30 September 1889, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/342a.

³⁶⁹ Thomas L. Millar to Secretary of Education, c18 December 1892, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/342a. Millar was a long-time resident of Rawene, and appointed Postmaster there in 1875, but seems to have taken over from Bishop the Resident Magistrate's duty of inspecting Native Schools after his departure. The records are unclear as to his formal position at this time. See Alison Buchan to Jack Lee, 18 April 1985, Alexander Turnbull Library, TL 3/1/3, for Resident Magistrates responsible for the Hokianga to 1900, and Jack Lee, *Hokianga*, 1996, p. 205 for Millar's appointment.

exceedingly well mannered, and everything connected with the interior of the school is neatness itself.³⁷⁰

Pope echoed this statement again in 1894: 'The whole form of the school is very Maori and very good'. (Pope's emphasis). The cleanliness might be regarded as owing to the teacher, Thomas B. Hawkins, except that it continued long after his departure at the end of 1897. In 1898 when Matihetihe was under the sole charge of a local sixteen-year-old Maori girl Sara Kendall, Pope reported that the cleanliness and tidiness of the buildings was 'satisfactory, much as it was in Mr Hawkins' time.'³⁷¹ In 1900, he remarked that the impressive condition of the Matihetihe children was a particularly strong example of a broader trend: 'As is usual at Maori School examinations at the present time the Maori children looked very well; and here, even better than usual. I noticed no bad personal habits.'³⁷² In 1896 inspector Harry Kirk reported that, in spite of the building, 'The school still presents its attractive appearance. ... As a factor in civilisation the school is very important.'³⁷³ It was not until 1907, when Matihetihe was taught by two single Maori women, Hilda Paul and Jane Busby, that the facilities came to be regarded as unsuitable by Pope's successor William Bird: 'The building which is a Maori whare put up in 1895 (sic) is very unsuitable'. But even he remarked that, despite the deterioration of the structure, 'it is spotlessly clean inside'. The cleanliness of the children mirrored that of the building: 'No exception could be taken to any of the children on this account. They are remarkably clean and tidy looking.'³⁷⁴ It was the school Committee who eventually approached the inspector for a new building in 1906.³⁷⁵

Not all Hokianga Maori placed the same priority as Pope on maintaining their schools' civilised aspect. When Hone Mohi Tawhai complained to Pope that too much time was being devoted to keeping the Waima school facilities clean, it was not because he rejected the civilising intent of the school, but that he believed the children's educational advancement was being hindered. He reported to Pope that their new Master Charles P. Hill was ineffective in teaching the children: 'The children... have become tired of their school master and they are saying they will be

³⁷⁰ Pope, Inspection Report, Matihetihe Native School, 25 March 1892, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/342a.

³⁷¹ Pope, Inspection Report, Matihetihe Native School, 14 May 1898, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/342a.

³⁷² Pope, Inspection Report, Matihetihe Native School, 2 July 1899, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/342a.

³⁷³ Kirk, Inspection Report, Matihetihe Native School, 26 March 1896, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/342a.

³⁷⁴ Bird, Inspection Report, Matihetihe Native School, 4 November 1907, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/342a. The building was erected during or before 1889, not 1895 as Bird reports (see discussion in text).

³⁷⁵ Inspection Report, Matihetihe Native School, 5 December 1906, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/342a.

all old people before they can learn enough.³⁷⁶ Hill's ineffectiveness was due to the energy expended on making the school look immaculate:

Great is the weariness is of the children of the Waima school with regard to that Master. ...The children learnt much in Mr Thurston's time; now they are going back through the feebleness of this master - his sole work is keeping the school house in good order.³⁷⁷

This criticism was particularly difficult for Pope as he regarded Hill as one of the best teachers in the service, above all for the highly civilised and ordered appearance of his schools. He admitted, however, that Hill was himself not highly educated and that Tawhai's daughter had now surpassed him in this regard:

Hilda Tawhai has lately gone home from Hukarere, she is a strong girl in every way, and I never knew a really better educated Maori female. Now Mr Hill is in most respects an admirable teacher, but his attainments are small, smaller I believe than Miss Tawhai's. Most probably she has discovered this.³⁷⁸

Tawhai suggested as a replacement a proven teacher with family connections to Waima. Pope recognised the candidate was a quality teacher, but would not recommend him for Waima because of a previous drinking problem, and Waima's proximity to the public houses at Taheke and Rawene. He could not provide as thorough a civilising influence as Hill if he fell into temptation. Pope advised Tawhai that he could not get a better teacher for Waima than Hill, and should think hard before 'letting him go'.³⁷⁹ However successive inspection reports show that the children's attainments declined during Hills time, and improved markedly once he was eventually replaced. After the 1888 examination Kirk wrote:

Among the northern Schools there is not one that is more decidedly a civilising agency than this. In organisation & general conduct it is impossible to suggest improvement. There is, however, still the same disparity between the state of the school as shown by inspection & by examination. Not one of the passes is a strong one & some are most doubtful.³⁸⁰

³⁷⁶ Hone Mohi Tawhai to Minister for Education, 3 May 1887, Department translation, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679d.

³⁷⁷ Hone Mohi Tawhai to Pope, 3 May 1887, Department translation, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679d.

³⁷⁸ Minute, Pope to Habens, 10 May 1887, on Hone Mohi Tawhai to Pope, 3 May 1887, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679d.

³⁷⁹ Pope to Hone Mohi Tawhai, 10 May 1887, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679d.

³⁸⁰ Kirk, Inspection Report, Waima Native School, 4 June 1888, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679e. The examination percentage (see Appendix Two) for the three years preceding Hill's appointment, under Henry C. Thurston, averaged nearly 66%, while during Hills six years it averaged just over 57%, with a high of 69.96% and a low of 47.32%. In the three years after Hill's departure, under the tutelage of a first-time teacher, John B. Lee, the school averaged more than 79.5% (excluding the very first examination which took place only three weeks after his arrival).

It seems that while Hill may have lived up to Pope's expectations as a civilising agent, he did not live up to the Waima people's educational expectations.

Observation and Tangihanga

Although Maori were accepted and demanded that their schools supply medicine and conform to standards of hygiene and cleanliness, they also acknowledged that the schools became a dangerous place during an outbreak of disease. In 1890 Herewini Te Toko posted a notice to inform the parents of Waitapu and Matihetihe scholars that their schools would be closed: 'The school will be closed for two weeks on account of the sickness of the children... to prevent the strength of the disease from increasing.'³⁸¹ Pope approved of the intent but not of the process, and cautioned the master of both schools, Thomas Hawkins, that 'The Natives have no power to give a holiday. I have no doubt that the right thing was done under the circumstances, but some kind of protest is nevertheless needed.'³⁸² A very similar chain of events took place at Whakarapa in 1890.³⁸³ In 1884, the year in which *Health for the Maori* was written, an epidemic effected many of the Hokianga schools. Herewini Te Toko wrote to Habens that some of the Waitapu children had died, 'and some barely recovered, some of those who recovered have returned to school and some are not strong enough to do so and their parents have kept them away for fear they should take ill again'.³⁸⁴

During the 1890s some resistance to the idea of closing schools during epidemics developed among Pakeha. 1893 John Lee wrote to the Department expressing his desire to reopen Waima School as soon as possible, despite the continuation of an epidemic, because 'the children are really far better in school than playing marbles and sliding in the mud.'³⁸⁵ He was over-ruled by the School Committee's chairman, Hone Mohi Tawhai:

I am sorry indeed that it is impossible for me, the manager and principal cherisher of the school to comply with your request that the Master should begin the school at present; this is

³⁸¹ Herewini Te Toko to the Parents of the Scholars of Waitapu and Matihetihe, 28 July 1890, Department translation, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/717c.

³⁸² Minute, Pope to Habens, 20 August 1890, on Herewini Te Toko to the Parents of the Scholars of Waitapu and Matihetihe, 28 July 1890, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/717c.

³⁸³ Charles Irvine to Secretary of Education, 1 October 1890, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/730a.

³⁸⁴ Herewini te Toko to Heketari o Nga Kura Maori, 7 April 1884, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/720b.

³⁸⁵ Lee to Habens, 1 August 1893, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679e.

quite plain to me from the virulence of this scourge, which is scourging the children of this school, from the great cold, & the rain in this part of the colony.³⁸⁶

By the late 1890s the Department's attitude resembled that of Lee, and the issue continued to be a matter of debate for many years. The key question seems to have been whether Maori parents could be trusted to care adequately for their children or whether they were safer in the 'Pakeha' environment of the schools, under the observation of the teachers. And if there was any risk posed by the children attending school, was this outweighed by the benefits of observation? In 1903 even though he still recommended schools be closed in severe cases, such as the measles epidemic then affecting schools in the East Coast and Far North, Pope recalled that,

It has for some time past been the practice [to] discourage the closing of schools on account of sickness in the form of measles; the reason assigned by us being, that Maori children would be safer and more comfortable in school than out of it, seeing that if school were closed these children would probably be running about in the cold and wet. I think there is just as much ground for believing this now as ever.³⁸⁷

A similar position was articulated by Geissler at Waima in 1898, although he was in disagreement with Millar, the Post Master at Rawene:

Mr Thomas L. Millar, Rawene, suggested closing the school. It might be the wisest plan, yet I do not fancy it would do the good we might reasonably expect from it. The children when coming to school have to go out into the fresh air, away from their whares, and are away nearly the whole day, besides I have them daily under my eye, and can at the first sign take proper steps to meet the disease.³⁸⁸

In extolling the virtues of fresh air, Geissler seems inconsistent with Pope's lament that the children would only be 'running about in the cold and wet' but for the school's influence. But Geissler also suggests the superiority of the European school environment over the Maori environment of the whare, and this attitude, along with the need for a European to observe and exercise control over the pupils, was the most significant reason for not closing the schools during epidemics.

When Native School teachers were surveyed by the Department in 1911 as to whether there was any value in closing schools, their responses brought out these

³⁸⁶ Hone Mohi Tawhai to Habens, 8 August 1893, Department translation, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679e.

³⁸⁷ Pope to Inspector General of Schools, 13 May 1903, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/104b.

³⁸⁸ Geissler to Secretary for Education, 19 September 1898, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/680a.

attitudes clearly. M. South, who had experienced cholera and typhoid epidemics at Whangape, argued that 'Maori parents do not isolate infected children, nor are the healthy kept away from the sick', so that 'there is very little practical gain by closing of the school as far as preventing infection is concerned. The people move about so freely from house to house that it is practically impossible to prevent infection.'³⁸⁹ Miss K.B. Lloyd at Waitapu also recorded the common complaint that Maori would not isolate children: 'No indeed, the Maoris never dream of isolating a patient suffering with an infectious disease. I have often been very angry with them, the way they will all crowd into a sick room. It is very difficult to make the Maori understand how dangerous this custom is....'³⁹⁰ John Lee reported that since he began his teaching career at Waima in 1891, he had witnessed at least sixteen epidemics.³⁹¹ He recorded some attempts by Maori to isolate patients in tents outside the kainga, but 'in cases where a fatal termination seems imminent, relatives and friends crowd around the sufferer, with no regard to the danger of infection'. He went on to express a very widely held concern that tangi were a dangerous source of infection: 'After death the corpse is laid out on the village green, and the immediate relatives sleep close by, often with the remains, while the tangi is in progress.' But he had noticed what he considered improvement in this regard at his current school at Ruatoki: 'I have noticed however a marked tendency of late years towards shortening the time allowed to elapse between death and burial.'³⁹² Janet Gordon-Jones at Otatau also reported that during a mild epidemic of measles, Maori parents ignored her instructions, could not be made to believe there was a risk and all gathered at a hui, 'the mothers taking their infected children with them'.³⁹³

Despite the lack of effective isolation, South found Maori parents 'very careful' to follow instructions and keep children warm and dry.³⁹⁴ She believed there was value in closing the schools, 'to avoid exposure to all kinds of weather, especially in Winter time, and thus enable the children to make a good and safe recovery'. This

³⁸⁹ M. South to Secretary for Education, 27 November 1911, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/104b.

³⁹⁰ K.B. Lloyd to Secretary for Education, 6 December 1911, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/104b.

³⁹¹ Probably more than twenty, or an average of around one per year. Some were clearly more severe than others: 'During the twenty years that I have been teaching, I have had experience of various epidemics, viz. Typhoid 4, Measles 2, Whooping Cough 3, Scarlet Fever 1, Influenza of an aggravated type 1, milder, several, Summer Diarrhoea, several.' Lee to Secretary for Education, 30 November 1911, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/104b.

³⁹² Lee to Secretary for Education, 30 November 1911, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/104b.

³⁹³ J. Gordon-Jones to Secretary for Education, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/104b.

³⁹⁴ M. South to Secretary for Education, 27 November 1911, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/104b; F. Lisle at Whangape makes a very similar argument that parents will not isolate children, so that closing the school will not prevent infection, but are careful to follow out instructions regarding care of children, so that it may help sick children recover, as they would be kept 'warmer and dryer' at home, F. Lisle to Secretary for Education, 20 December 1911, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/104b.

was especially important as some children were so eager to attend they could not be prevented: 'Several of them managed to crawl to school, but were unable to return home and just lay down on the roadside until some of their people came for them. ... One child, four years of age, died through catching cold during convalescence.' Lee however believed the only purposes in closing were 'satisfying the demands of the Health Department's Officers', and leaving the teacher free to supervise the carrying out of their instructions: 'I found that unless I was on the spot to see that remedies were duly taken, and instructions carried out, my efforts were to little effect.'³⁹⁵

George Malcolm at Mangamuka took a similar view: 'In cases of influenza, measles and scarlatina there is nothing to be gained in closing the school unless it be, to leave the teacher free to care for those who are sick and to make daily visits to ensure their being well cared for.' In the case of typhoid and whooping cough there was more to gain by closure as in addition to allowing the teacher to visit, these diseases were infectious before symptoms became apparent.³⁹⁶

However Lee took a different attitude where European children were concerned, and especially his own children, whom he withdrew from school during an epidemic of 'paratyphoid', even though this caused 'great soreness of feeling among the Natives':

The interests of the teachers own children or those of other Europeans, who may be attending the school are worthy of consideration. ...This is the only case in which I can honestly say that closing the school would be of benefit to the pupils, and even then only to those of European parentage (or Native, where education and other civilising agencies have been at work long enough to cause the Maoris to take a more enlightened view of the treatment of the sick).³⁹⁷

It is clear these teachers believed that, unlike Europeans, Maori could not be trusted to care for their children unless they were either under European observation, or had become so 'civilised' and 'enlightened' that they were virtual Europeans in this respect. However one response to the 1911 survey is striking for its rejection of this view. C.W. Grace at Kaikohe, who had taught in Native Schools for 16 years, observed as Lee did that Maori resented deferential treatment, pointing out that 'many Maori are aware that English schools close on account of epidemics.'

³⁹⁵ Lee to Secretary for Education, 30 November 1911, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/104b.

³⁹⁶ George H. Malcolm to Secretary for Education, 5 December 1911, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/104b. Several other teachers in the Hokianga and surrounding districts reported similarly that Maori parents would not follow their instructions, would not isolate children, and required supervision. For Ahipara see J. W. Williams to Secretary for Education, 20 December 1911, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/104b; for Waiotemarama, W. England to Secretary for Education, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/104b; for Pawarenga, John W. Bennett to Secretary for Education, 20 December 1911, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/104b;

³⁹⁷ Lee to Secretary for Education, 30 November 1911, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/104b.

However rather than belittling Maori for their lack of attention to their children, he suggests that in his experience compliance with instructions depended on the level of mana acquired by the teacher. If parents, 'place sufficient faith in a teacher's ability to assist them, my experience is that they will do all in their power to follow his instructions.'³⁹⁸ It would seem that few if any Europeans had gained sufficient mana to be able to challenge the very strong customs of tangi and visiting the sick. In the one recorded case where a tangi was averted, at Ahipara in 1911, it was through the intervention of the law in the shape of Constable Sefton.³⁹⁹ Grace argued that it was necessary to close schools, not to facilitate observation but to set an example that isolation was necessary. To not close was both hypocritical and contrary to the schools' goal of setting the example:

I would close the school during the prevalence of any epidemic of a serious nature for the simple reason that there would be less suffering and fewer deaths. It may be said that it is useless to close as the children are not isolated at home. The same argument might be used regarding much of the Teaching given at Maori schools. The longer we delay in allowing the school to lead the way, the longer the Maori will delay in doing the thing that is right in the matter.⁴⁰⁰

And the 'European' environment of the school was not always a healthy one. Geissler could not have taken the position he did had he been at Waima in 1884, when the Waima school house was a flimsy structure that had been relocated from its original site. Hone Mohi Tawhai lamented that it was 'in such a dilapidated condition, as the cold and rain both penetrate into the building, and it leaks. When there is a high wind, the Master cannot occupy the building for fear lest it should be blown down while the children are in it'. This placed him in a terrible quandary, anxious that the school should be carried on without interruptions to ensure Te Mahurehure children received the best possible education, and yet horrified at the prospect that, 'it would almost appear as if we who have the interests of the children at heart were compelling them to occupy a damp building subject to leaks and cold in order that they might catch colds and fevers'.⁴⁰¹

³⁹⁸ C.W. Grace to Secretary for Education, 18 December 1911, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/104b.

³⁹⁹ 'In this case a tangi was prevented by the arrival of Constable Sefton who was sent for at the Nurse's request.' J. W. Williams to Secretary for Education, 20 December 1911, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/104b.

⁴⁰⁰ C.W. Grace to Secretary for Education, 18 December 1911, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/104b.

⁴⁰¹ Hone Mohi Tawhai to Hislop, 3 September 1884, Department translation, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679d.

This was not the only case in which the poor condition of school buildings was complained of by Maori as a health risk. At Lower Waihou, Renata (Re) Te Tai Papahia complained to Minister for Education John Ballance that 'there is a great deal of sickness amongst our children owing to the bad state of the present building - as many as 25 children suffered from illness during last winter'.⁴⁰² The condition of the Lower Waihou building was even more extreme than that at Waima. Charles Irvine wondered how the Department expected him to keep up a good attendance, considering 'the leaky and dilapidated condition of the rotten old shed without windows or fireplace, which has been doing duty for a school room at Lower Waihou and which is quite untenable in cold weather'.⁴⁰³ Kirk concurred with uncharacteristic irony in his 1886 inspection report: 'The building is very damp and uncomfortable. Abundant ventilation is ensured by open window apertures and by holes in the walls, roof and floor. It says a great deal for the energy of the people and the master that a school has been kept at work for over three months in such a place.'⁴⁰⁴

It certainly seems contradictory to the ideals of assimilation, and to the 'laws of health', for Native Schools to be held in buildings such as those described at Waima and Lower Waihou, as also the raupo whare that served as a school building at Matihetihe, described earlier. It should be borne in mind that these were short-term measures and exceptions to the generally high standards the Department required. They nevertheless show that the delineation drawn by the Department and some teachers between the attitudes of Europeans and Maori, between the 'healthy' European environment of the school and the 'unhealthy' Maori kainga, was unfounded, and that Maori certainly did not accept it.

The Department excused these incongruities as cost-saving measures. At Matihetihe it was a case of 'something is better than nothing'. No school would have been established had a capital outlay been necessary, so the school had to make do with no residence and poor facilities: 'It is not a place where we could send a proper teacher; a married man could not live there. The school is a very small one but provides for the education of children that otherwise would receive none.'⁴⁰⁵ Nor, in 1903, would the Department go to any trouble to find the school a new teacher: 'This is a small school, of no great value but perhaps having its own usefulness. I think

⁴⁰² Re Te Tai to John Ballance, 1 February 1887, Department translation, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729d.

⁴⁰³ Charles Irvine to Secretary for Education, 16 November 1886, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729d.

⁴⁰⁴ Kirk, Inspection Report, Lower Waihou Native School, 7 May 1886, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/729c.

⁴⁰⁵ Minute, Bird to Sir Edward Osbourne Gibbes, 27 July 1904, on Margaret Bryers to Secretary for Education, 20 July 1904, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/342a.

that the initiative in the matter of appointing a new teacher should be taken by the Maoris and not by us.⁴⁰⁶ At Waima, Pope admitted the building was substandard, but considered it experimental. In 1883 he wrote that 'the building is a mere shell, without supports beyond the door-posts and window frames', but it had 'answered well enough for the purposes of an experiment for finding whether or not a permanently successful school could be established in the valley'.⁴⁰⁷ It was beyond repair: 'The roof leaks badly and so do the sides. I cannot, however, recommend the expenditure of any money for repairs on such a building.' He nevertheless recommended the Department get one to two more years service from it, before replacement.⁴⁰⁸

Clearly the fatal impact thesis had a major impact on the schools, not just at the level of policy, but also in influencing Maori attitudes. By the middle of the 1880s, the Native Schools had become the primary provider of European medicine to Hokianga Maori. This was not only accepted but demanded by Maori, who also embraced the order and hygiene of the schools as a symbol of their development and modernity. For Pakeha assimilation was informed by extinctionism, and these ideals were appropriated by Maori. But until the late 1890s the schools occupied a nebulous position within that discourse, with both Maori and Pakeha accepting that the schools could pose a danger during an epidemic. After that time the distinction between Maori and Pakeha attitudes became clearer. Hokianga Maori responded to disease and death in a manner that included, but was not limited to, the language of fatal impact. Maori would not set aside tangihanga, or tohunga, or other aspects of their own culture. Pakeha teachers were quick to interpret this as carelessness and to assume the role of supervisor, and asserted the superiority of the 'European' school environment over the 'Maori' environment of the kainga. But Pakeha did not have a monopoly on hygiene, nor were they always able to maintain their ideals within the apparently 'European' environment of the school.

⁴⁰⁶ Minute, Pope to Hogben, 14 May 1903, on Sarah Kendall to Secretary for Education, 4 March 1903, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/342a.

⁴⁰⁷ Minute, Pope (undated), on Hamiora Takirau and others to Te Kawanatanga, 11 August 1883, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679d.

⁴⁰⁸ Pope, Inspection Report, Waima Native School, 11 August 1883, National Archives Auckland, BAAA 1001/679d.

Conclusion

Lindsay Head takes as the starting point of a recent study, 'the view that the Treaty has become the straightjacket of Maori history'. Maori history, she argues, has been subsumed in a presentism that imposes the political needs of today onto the past, defining Maori-Pakeha relations 'within the limits set by the textual analysis of the Treaty of Waitangi'. Head criticises the 'current romanticism' that assumes a state of Maori autonomy, confining historical studies to a narrative of the violation of that autonomy by settler and state. The history of Maori-Pakeha relations has become absorbed within the metaphors of oppression, dispossession, and resistance. Her intention is not to devalue the treaty claims process, or to deny that breaches and abuses took place, but to warn against interpreting Maori history within a narrow framework that invalidates the perspectives of Maori actors in their own contexts.⁴⁰⁹

The mythology of the Native Schools has suffered from a similar disease, although they occur in a later period than Head discusses. Public and scholarly perception of the schools has been blighted by a post-colonial moralism that either berates or ignores efforts by Maori to appropriate Pakeha knowledge, or Pakeha political and cultural forms, or to participate in the colonial state. The association of the schools with the loss of Maori language is often all a lay person knows about them, but that alone is sufficiently defining. As the stated intention of the schools was assimilation, commentators have assumed they must have been organs of oppression and dispossession, and they are consequently written about with barely suppressed bitterness. If this explanation is accepted, the majority of Hokianga Maori who supported schools are left to occupy only the role of victim, or worse, of traitor to their own culture and language.

The result of accepting this view of the Native Schools is a distortion of an important moment in New Zealand history. It devalues the contribution of generations of Maori who built and shaped schools for themselves, and severely limits historical insight into the dynamics of Maori communities in the late nineteenth century. Hokianga Maori, on the whole, did not resist schools as an imposition. Nor did not they passively accept schools – they energetically pursued, supported, and defended them. Conflicts did occur, but these were most often due to schools not performing their core roles effectively, or to teachers becoming embroiled in personal conflicts, or contests for authority. To an extent they were able to exercise some control over the schools, but for the most part their intentions to improve their own position and

⁴⁰⁹ Lindsay Head, 'The Pursuit of Modernity in Maori Society, The conceptual bases of citizenship in the early colonial period,' in *Histories of Power and Loss, Uses of the Past – A New Zealand Commentary*, Andrew Sharp and Paul McHugh, (eds), Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2001, pp. 99, 97-122.

living standards, and to protect themselves from disease, overlapped with the Pakeha goal of equipping Maori to participate in European culture and institutions.

There is much more to the story of the Native Schools than is presented here, as there is much more to the changing political and social world of the Hokianga. This study is limited to a particular area and time period, and is intended to contribute to a more rounded understanding of the system at a national level, that appreciates the motives and interpretations of the actors involved. Studies of Maori involvement in the schools in other areas, especially the Bay of Plenty, Hawkes Bay, Waikato and Taranaki, would very likely show wide variation. Equally, the Native Schools appear in the twentieth century to take on a very different complexion, and to become a focal point for conflict between Pakeha and Maori inhabitants of many rural communities. Simon and Tuhiwai Smith discuss some of the racial conflicts that occurred when schools were in the process of transition to Education Board control, but this may be only the tip of an iceberg. They appear to assume a progressive enlightenment in Pakeha attitudes toward Maori, beginning from derogatory and patronising attitudes in the nineteenth century, and moving toward greater understanding and appreciation today.⁴¹⁰ But an in-depth study of the school records would more likely reveal a marked increase in derogatory racial attitudes in many rural communities from the late nineteenth century through to the 1960s.

The Native Schools remained a central part of Hokianga life until the end of the separate system in 1969, and its developments and permutations in that context throughout the twentieth century would make a fascinating study. So would the impact of Pakeha settlement after 1886, the changing political strategies employed in the twentieth century, increasing disaffection with the colonial state, the development of attitudes to law and imprisonment, and the genealogy of a less than buoyant local economy. Another area that could usefully be studied is the variety of religious beliefs that were stirred in the cauldron of the Hokianga, with the competing denominational missions, Maori appropriation of their teaching, the development of Maori practices and beliefs, the impact of the Hokianga prophets, and the influence of outside prophets like Te Whiti and Tohu. There is also room for biographical work on a number of personalities, especially Heremia Te Wake, Hone Mohi Tawhai, and Spencer William von Sturmer. If there is any by-product of this study, perhaps it is to draw attention to the valuable and under-used source material available in the Native School files. They provide a wealth of material that could

⁴¹⁰ Simon and Tuhiwai Smith, *A Civilising Mission*, 2001, pp. 242-74. They write, 'as one would expect, the Native Schools Code and Pope's reports from 1880 to 1904 reflect the hierarchical understandings of race of the period, accepting without question the notion that European culture was more advanced than that of Maori', p. 252.

contribute to a broad range of historical studies, and add much to our understanding of developments in Maori society, and in Maori-Pakeha relations.

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Appendix 1:

Sources Available on Hokianga Native Schools

Hokianga Native Schools primary source materials

Based on National Archives Auckland finding guides. All resources are available at National Archives Auckland, except * at Hokianga Historical Society, Omapere Museum. Only selections of these sources have been used in this study.

	Location	Opening date	Closing date	Resources available
Whangape	Whangape Harbour	1881	1969>	Building & Site Files 1879 - 1966 Admission register Log Book 1899-1902 General Correspondence & Inspection reports 1926-1959, 1962, 1963-68 Attendance returns 1926-1946 Conveyance & Board, school transport 1930-1959, 1961 Equipment and supplies 1935-1959
Matihetihe / Mitimiti	West Coast, North of Hokianga Harbour	1890	1969>	Building & site files 1889 -1946, 1954 -1969, 1962 Conveyance & Board, school transport 1917-1946 General Correspondence & Inspection reports 1926-1959, 1963-1968 Equipment and supplies 1934-1956 Attendance returns Admission register
Waitapu	Rangi Point, close to North Head of Hokianga harbour	1872	1972(closed between 1897 & 1909)	Committee minute books 1918-1949 Conveyance & Board, school transport 1927-1953 Equipment and supplies 1934-1959, 1962 General Correspondence & Inspection reports 1926-1959, 1968 Building and site files 1872-1914, 1916-1958 Attendance returns *Centennial commemoration booklet Dec 1972

Whakarapa	Panguru, Whakarapa River, north bank Hokianga Harbour	1883 (building relocated from Waihou Lower in 1882)	1919	Building & site files 1879-1905, 1907-1942 Committee minute books (Dates not listed in NA index) Unregistered files 1916 BAAA 1015/2f (proposal to establish a side school at Waihou Lower) Daily attendance registers General correspondence and Inspection reports (Whakarapa Convent) 1920-1945
Motukiore	North side of Hokianga Harbour	1907	1969>	Building and site files 1926-1957 General correspondence & Inspection reports 1942-1959, 1968 Attendance returns
Motukaraka	North side of Hokianga Harbo	1881	1908	Building and site files 1878-1937
Motuti	North side of Hokianga Harbour, between Panguru & Kohukohu	1908	1969>	Building and site files 1903-1965 General correspondence & Inspection reports 1926-1959, 1962-1969 Equipment and supplies 1934-1955 Conveyance & Board, school transport 1935-1946 Attendance returns
Waimamaku	West Coast, 5 km South of Omapere, (Beach road).	1886	1964 (closed 1964, children went to Waiotemarama, incorporated into Opononi Area School in 1974)	Building and site files 1881-1969 General correspondence & Inspection reports 1926-1959, 1964 Equipment and supplies 1934-1959, 1964 Log books 1945-1964 Conveyance & Board, school transport 1940-1952 Attendance returns Admission register *75th Anniversary commemoration booklet, c1960 *Opononi Area School 25th Anniversary publication includes a brief history of this school

Pakia	Southern shore of Hokianga Harbour, close to the South Head, near Opononi	1879< 1873	1888? 1898 B? (National Archives Guide is unclear) (incorporated into Opononi Area School in 1974)	Correspondence files 1879-1898 BAAA 1015/1a *Centennial commemoration booklet 1973 *Opononi Area School 25th Anniversary publication includes a brief history of this school
Pakanae	East of Opononi, Southern shore of Hokianga Harbour	1909	1947 B? (incorporated into Opononi Area School in 1974)	Admission register *Opononi Area School 25th Anniversary publication includes a brief history of this school
Whirinaki	Whirinaki River, East of Opononi, Southern shore of Hokianga Harbour	1879<	1969> (incorporated into Opononi Area School in 1974)	Building and site files 1879-1939, 1948-1959 Equipment and supplies 1924-1958 General correspondence & Inspection reports 1926-1969 Conveyance & Board, school transport 1940-1959, 1966 Attendance returns Admission register Photograph - BAAA 1005/1 Winkleman, Charles, Photographs 1897-1902 *Whirinaki 120th Anniversary Commemoration booklet 1973 *Opononi Area School 25th Anniversary publication (1999) includes a brief history of this school
Omanaia	Omanaia, South of Hokianga, SH 51	1881	1969>	Building and site files 1879-1961 General correspondence & Inspection reports 1926-1959, 1968 Conveyance & Board, school transport 1934-1959, 1963 Equipment and supplies 1934-1959, 1961 Attendance returns Admission register *Omanaia School Jubilee booklet, 1963

Waima	Waima, South of Hokianga, SH 51	1879< 1873	1969>	<p>Building and site files 1880-1960</p> <p>Log books 1903-1904, 1939-1952</p> <p>General correspondence & Inspection reports 1920-1959, 1968</p> <p>Equipment and supplies 1934-1950</p> <p>Conveyance & Board, school transport 1939 - 1947</p> <p>Daily attendance registers</p> <p>Attendance returns</p> <p>Admission registers</p> <p>Photograph BAAA 1005/1</p> <p>*Centennial commemoration booklet, 1981</p>
Otaua	Off SH 51 midway between Rawene & Kaikohe	1885	1969>	<p>Building and site files 1881-1916, 1920-1956, 1959-1969, 1978</p> <p>General correspondence & Inspection reports 1926-1959</p> <p>Equipment and supplies 1934-1968</p> <p>Conveyance & Board, school transport 1936-1959, 1968</p> <p>Attendance returns</p> <p>Admission registers</p>
Mangamuka	Mangamuka River, Head of Hokianga Harbour	1882 (started by early Wesleyan Missionaries?)	1969> (closed 1892 - 1895)	<p>Building and site files 1878-1951, 1959-1965</p> <p>Conveyance & Board, school transport 1924-1957</p> <p>General correspondence & Inspection reports 1926-1959, 1962-1968</p> <p>Equipment and supplies 1934-1959, 1967</p> <p>Attendance returns</p> <p>Admission registers</p>
Rahiri	Near Rangiahua, head of Hokianga Harbour	1933 (started by early Wesleyan Missionaries?)	1969>	<p>Building & site files 1928-1959</p> <p>General correspondence & Inspection reports 1933-1959, 1968</p> <p>Equipment and supplies 1934-1959</p> <p>Attendance returns</p>

Upper Waihou/ Rangiahua / Upper Waihoie	Head of Hokianga Harbour	1879<	unclear	Building and site files 1879-1888 (Upper Waihoie), 1888-1914 (Rangiahua) General correspondence & Inspection reports 1915?-1959, 1967 Equipment and supplies 1934-1959, 1968 Conveyance & Board, school transport 1954-1959, 1966 (Rangiahua) Attendance returns
Rakau Para / Orira	Orira River, North Hokianga District	1878<	1882	Building and site files 1879-1890
Rawhia	Upper Waihou River, Head of Hokianga	1894	1895B	Building and site files 1894-1895
Rotokakahi	Whangape Harbour	b1943	1967	Building and site files 1918-1953, 1959-1969 Conveyance & board, school transport 1938-1966 Equipment and supplies 1943-1959, 1968 General correspondence & inspection reports 1943-1959, 1968 Attendance returns 1944-1946 Admission register Daily attendance register
Tapuwae	Tapuwae River, North Hokianga	1900	before 1917 (closure date uncertain)	
Lower Waihou	Lower Waihou River, near Waitapu	1876	1909 closed 1882-1886, 1888-1903, original Building removed to Whakarapa 1883	Building & site files 1879-1905 (included in Whakarapa file)
Pawarenga	Whangape Harbour	1909	1932	

Appendix 2:

Inspection Results for Selected Schools

School	Date	Inspector	Attendance at Inspection				Average attendance ¹	Total roll	Children in district	Results		Staff	
			Maori Girls	Maori Boys	Euro-peans	Total	(4 qtrs)	(*no is 2+yrs at this school) ²	(approx)	Passes ³	Efficien-cy ⁴	Head Teacher	Assistant Teacher ⁵
Matihetihe	1890, May 29	James Pope	7	11	0	18	14.5	19	19	0	26.6	Thomas B. Hawkins	none
Matihetihe	1891, Mar 28	Harry Kirk	9	9	0	18	12.0, 17.07, 14.5, 17.0	21	21	10	60.08	Thomas B. Hawkins	none
Matihetihe	1892, Mar 25	James Pope	8	9	0	17	17.42, 19.35, 18.04, 18.38	19 (9m, 10f)	19	5	38.91	Thomas B. Hawkins	Miss Hawkins
Matihetihe	1893, Apr 24	Harry Kirk	9	10	0	19	15.07, 13.49, 15.37, 18.52	22 (10m, 12f)	22	10	86.05	Thomas B. Hawkins	Miss Hawkins
Matihetihe	22 Mar 1894	James Pope	13	10	0	23	18.52, 17.07, 16.65, 19.11 last 5w 20.48	28 (14m, 14f)	28	3	37.3	Thomas B. Hawkins	Miss Hawkins
Matihetihe	6 March 1895	James Pope	9	10	0	19	21.55, 23.23, 18.45, 19.03 last 4w 13.7	24 (13m, 12f)	25	3	25.93	Thomas B. Hawkins	Miss L. Boyce
Matihetihe	26 March 1896	Harry Kirk	10	8	0	18	13.29, 11.6, 12.7, 11.52 last 6w 14.59	19 (9m, 10f)	19	4	35.5	Thomas B. Hawkins	Miss L. Boyce
Matihetihe	9 March 1897	James Pope	9	11	0	20	15.22, 17.05, 15.87, 14.80 last 4w 14.66	20 (11m,9f)	20	6	43.87	Thomas B. Hawkins	none
Matihetihe	14 May 1898	James Pope	12	10	0	22	15.37, 10.88, 11.8, 12.66 last 6w 17.1	21	24	1	21.62	Sara Kendall	none
Matihetihe	17 April 1899	Harry Kirk	8	9	0	17	17.65, 19.30, 19.71, 17.7 last 4w 17.16	21	21	7	37.07	Sarah Kendall	none
Matihetihe	2 July 1900	James Pope	7	8	1	16	13.06, 15.7, 14.59, 15.6 last 6w 16	16	16	5	58.54	Sarah Kendall	none
Matihetihe	15 Aug 1901	James Pope	6	3	2	11	12.29, 14.19, 12.5, 13.0 last 6w 12.33	13	13 ("there are 5 babies")	3	40.44	Sarah Kendall	none

School	Date	Inspector	Attendance at Inspection				Average attendance (4 qtrs)	Total roll (*no is 2+yrs @ this sch)	Children in district (approx)	Results		Staff	
			Maori Girls	Maori Boys	Euro-peans	Total				Passes	Efficiency	Head Teacher	Assistant Teacher
Matihetihe	2 Sept 1902	Harry Kirk	4	8	0	12	11.11, 12.0, 10.9, 12.89 last 6w 12.21	15	15	3	54.00	Sarah Kendall	none
Matihetihe	No report 1903,1904												
Matihetihe	8 Dec 1905	William Bird	10	10	0	20	(not open) 13.6,16.8	20 (10m, 10f)	20	5	66.66	Hilda Paul	none
Matihetihe	5 Dec 1906	John Porteous	11	11	2	24	17.3, 20.9, 22.7, 22.4 last 6w 22.4	25 (12m 13f)	27	7	75.7	Hilda Paul	
Matihetihe	4 Nov 1907	William Bird	8	18	0	26	24.1, 25.1, 26.0 last 6w 25.4 early insp	28 (18m, 10f)	28	16	97.72	Hilda Paul	Miss Jane Busby
Matihetihe	24 Mar 1908	William Bird	9	16	0	25	25.1, 23.4, 25.0 (early insp) last 6w 24.0	25	25	14	100	Hilda Paul	Julia Paul
School	Date	Inspector	Maori Girls	Maori Boys	Euro-peans	Total	(4 qtrs)			Passes	Efficiency	Head Teacher	Assistant Teacher
Waitapu	17 Nov 1880	James Pope	9	12	1	22 (+8 late see file)	last 6w 30.3	c 31 / 14*	n/a	25	82.2	Charles P. Hill	none
Waitapu	14 Oct 1881	James Pope	13	13	1	27	last 6w 25.77	18*	n/a	25	73.6	Charles P. Hill	none
Waitapu	13 Sept 1882	James Pope	13	17	1	31	last 6w 28.23	22*	n/a	15	77.08	Charles P. Hill	Mrs Hill
Waitapu	6 Aug 1883	James Pope	8	13	0	21	last 6w 19.23	22*	n/a	11	74.41	Charles P. Hill	Mrs Hill
Waitapu	14 June 1884	James Pope	8	10	1	19	29, 20.4, 19.5, 7.9 last 6w 17.03	20	20	3	65.38	Charles P. Hill	Mrs Hill

School	Date	Inspector	Attendance at Inspection				Average attendance (4 qtrs)	Total roll (*no is 2+yrs @ this sch)	Children in district (approx)	Results		Staff	
			Maori Girls	Maori Boys	Euro-peans	Total				Passes	Efficie-ncy	Head Teacher	Assistant Teacher
Waitapu	18 May 1885	James Pope	3	6	9	18	15.9, 16.3, 21.2, 15.0 last 6w 13.5	18	30	4	55.26	Thomas M. Minchin	Miss E. Minchin
Waitapu	27 April 1886	Harry Kirk	0	0	10	10	13.9, 13.56, 12.05, 11.19	16	17	5	51.66	Thomas M. Minchin	none
Waitapu	23 Aug 1887	Harry Kirk	3	10	3	16	12.4, 13.26, 12.3, 13.83 last 6w 14.73	18	20	9	67.18	Thomas M. Minchin	none
Waitapu	No report 1888												
Waitapu	27 May 1889	James Pope	7	16	1	24	12.46; 13.77; 0.00; 14.81 last 6w 16.03	24	24	11	63.41	Thomas M. Minchin	none
Waitapu	30 May 1890	James Pope	5	12	2	19	15.95, 10.75, 8.96, 16.0 last 6w 13.43	22	24	11	80.14	Thomas B. Hawkins	Mrs Hawkins, (& Miss Hawkins)
Waitapu	24 June 1891	James Pope	4	12	2	18	15.57, 15.43, 15.30, 14.79 last 6w 15.0	18 (15b, 4g)	19	5	66.62	Thomas B. Hawkins	Mrs Hawkins, (& Miss Hawkins)
Waitapu	26 March 1892	James Pope	8	12	1	19	14.79, 15.55, 12.35, 12.82 last 6w 18.22	21	22	7	82.43	Thomas B. Hawkins	Mrs Hawkins Miss Hawkins
Waitapu	25 April 1893	Harry Kirk	2	9	0	11	13.88, 10.60, 9.01, 9.70 last 4w 10.50	14 (12b, 2g)	15	4	79.53	Thomas B. Hawkins	Mrs Hawkins Miss Hawkins
Lower Waihou	22 Nov 1880	James Pope	15	11	0	26	24.73 last 6w	18*	n/a	15	48.05	Edmund C. Cornes	Mrs Hariette Cornes
Lower Waihou	27 Oct 1881	James Pope	19	14	0	33	16.1 last 6w	20*	n/a	11	71.64	Edmund C. Cornes	Mrs Hariette Cornes
Whakarapa	2 Aug 1883	James Pope	16	14	3	33	31.3 last 6w	n/a	n/a	n/a no examination	n/a	Charles D. Irvine	Mrs Lucy M. Irvine
Whakarapa	3 June 1884	James Pope	8	12	2	22	22.19 last 6w	31	50	5	39.47	Charles D. Irvine	Mrs Lucy M. Irvine

School	Date	Inspector	Attendance at Inspection				Average attendance (4 qtrs)	Total roll (*no is 2+yrs @ this sch)	Children in district (approx)	Results		Staff	
			Maori Girls	Maori Boys	Euro- peans	Total				Passes	Efficie- ncy	Head Teacher	Assistant Teacher
Whakarapa	26 May 1885	James Pope	8	9	3	20	21.07, 18.2, 19.1, 18.1 20.58 last 6w	29	50	10	55.68	Charles D. Irvine	Mrs Lucy M. Irvine
Whakarapa (no's not incl Lwr Waihou)	6 May 1886	Harry Kirk	3	6	4	13	19.5, 10.7, 8.9, 10.4, 7.48 last 6w	13	45 (25 Lower Waihou, 20 Whakarapa)	4	51.61	Officially Charles D. Irvine but taught by Lucy M. Irvine	None.
Lower Waihou	7 May 1886	Harry Kirk	12	13	0	25	24.3 last qtr 23.15 last 6w	31	45 (25 Lower Waihou, 20 Whakarapa)	not exam- ined	not exam- ined	Officially none, but taught by Charles D. Irvine	
Whakarapa	1 Sept 1887	Harry Kirk	6	9	2	17	14.0, 19.5, 24.0, 25.7 last 6w 16.7	20	40	11	66.27	Lucy M. Irvine	(Charles' name does not appear on report.)
Whakarapa	31 May 1888	Harry Kirk	4 (5) att. figs disagree with examina- tion	4 (7) figs in brackets from exam. results	2	10 (14)	25.7, 17.05, 17.0, 25.1, last 6w 21.36	20	na	6	54.17	Lucy M. Irvine	(Charles' name does not appear on report.)
Waima	29 Oct 1881	James Pope	14	21	1	36	35.43 last 6w	-	-	-	-	Henry C. Thurston	Mrs Thurston
Waima	30 Aug 1882	James Pope	16	21	1	38	31.8 last 6w	44	-	19	60.74	Henry C. Thurston	Mrs Thurston
Waima	11 Aug 1883	James Pope	22	27	1	49	47.22 last 6w	49	-	20	69.65	Henry C. Thurston	Mrs Thurston (*Claudius' appt Ass died b4 starting)
Waima	16 June 1884	James Pope	16	21	1	38	50.53; 49.76; 46.26; 40.79 38.77 last 6w	40	55	15	67.34	Henry C. Thurston	Mrs Thurston (Mistress)
Waima	4 June 1885	James Pope	15	25	1	41	39.34; 40.58; 37.13; 37.0 37.4 last 6w	40 (nb. att. seems to exceed roll)	50	13	55.20	Charles P. Hill	
Waima	13 May 1886	Harry Kirk	16	22	1	39	38.2; 40.6; 41.9; 40.6 40.23 last 6w	42	50	19	65.78	Charles P. Hill	Mrs Hill

School	Date	Inspector	Attendance at Inspection				Average attendance (4 qtrs)	Total roll (*no is 2+yrs @ this sch)	Children in district (approx)	Results		Staff	
			Maori Girls	Maori Boys	Euro-peans	Total				Passes	Efficiency	Head Teacher	Assistant Teacher
Waima	6 Sept 1887	Harry Kirk	16	17	1	34	33.6; 35; 34.3 last 6w	36	-	18	69.76	Charles P. Hill	Mrs Hill
Waima	4 June 1888	Harry Kirk	12	13	1	26	35.0; 36.0; 32.2; 27.2; 26.06 last 6w	31	40	9	50.76	Charles P. Hill	Mrs Hill
Waima	5 June 1889	James Pope	11	12	1	24	31.5, 28.8, 27.8, 21.2; 20.60 last 6w	26	46	9	53.33	Charles P. Hill	Mrs Hill
Waima	9 June 1890	James Pope	13	13	0	26	23.5; 24.8; 25.1; 13.3; 22.73 last 6w	27	34 "not incl lower valley children"	7	47.32	Charles P. Hill	Mrs Hill
Waima	17 June 1891	James Pope	7	9	1	17	28.4; 24.1; 23.5; 25.4; 9.03 last 3w	32	77	4 incl 1 examined at Omania	21.79	John B. Lee	Elizabeth E. Lee
Waima	7 June 1892	James Pope	9	9	0	18	18.0; 14.08; 16.6; 15.7; 15.17 last 6w	Boys 12; girls 12 total 24	54	13	75.77	John B. Lee	Elizabeth E. Lee
Waima	8 Sept 1893	James Pope	13	14	0	27	22.9; 28.78; 29.44; 27.42; 28.32 last 6w	36	27	15	70.41	John B. Lee	Elizabeth E. Lee
Waima	17 July 1894	Harry Kirk	13	17	1	31	22.95; 24.51; 23.75; 26.26; 26.2 last 6w	32 (19b 13g)	52	18	92.35	John. B. Lee	Elizabeth E. Lee
Waima	9 May 1895	James Pope	8	13	1	22	26.26; 17.64; 17.57; 17.24; 18.76 last 6w	22	(not given)	11	77.3	John B. Lee	Elizabeth E. Lee
Waima	6 Aug 1896	Harry Kirk	10	9	1	20	14.35; 12.85; 19.4; 19.8; 19.0 last 6w	22	42	9	63.18	H.W. Geissler	Minnie Warmington informally acting as sewing mistress
Waima	22 July 1897	James Pope	9	15	3	28	18.79; 15.27; 21.55; 24.86; 24.13 last 6w	28	44	14	66.0	H.W. Geissler	Mrs Geissler
Waima	19 July 1898	James Pope	3	3	3	9	22.7; 19.58; 18.35; 14.11; 12.21 last 6w	16	5	7	48.24	H.W. Geissler	Mrs Geissler

Notes to Appendix II

¹ The Average attendance included in the inspection report was calculated by the teacher from daily attendance records, and checked by the inspector. These figures are for the average attendance per quarter, except those which state (for example) 'last 6w', which are an average for the weeks preceding the inspection.

² Early reports did not state a total roll number. Entries marked with an asterisk are the number of children that had attended the school for more than two years, which was of significance because of the lack of records on student achievement available at the time the Department of Education took over the administration of the schools. Unlike the figures for attendance at inspection, Gender ratios for the total roll were not systematically recorded. Where these have been recorded by an inspector they are recorded here in the format, (9f, 10m), for nine female and ten male pupils.

³ Number of children who passed in any standard.

⁴ Total number of marks achieved by students divided by the total number of marks possible for all children at the school at that inspection. This gives an indication of the academic achieve school, and of a teacher's ability in the academic aspects of their work.

⁵ No distinction is made here between Assistants and Sewing Mistresses. The majority of those listed were Sewing Mistresses as the attendances of these small schools did not qualify them for an assistant. Normally these roles were performed by the Head Teacher's wife. Her position (and consequently salary) could change with notice if the attendance rose or fell, and her services could 'be dispensed with' if the attendance fell below a certain level. Some would do much the same work whatever their formal title or salary., even when they held no position at all.

Appendix 3:

Hokianga Schools Timeline

Example of an inspection report produced on the standard inspection schedule.
 This inspection is for the Whakarapa School in 1886.

to inspect - at least one copy
 to be kept in the school
EDUCATION
INSPECTION SCHEDULE.

Native School at Whakarapa Inspected 6th May, 1886.
 Master: M. C. D. Irvine Mistress: _____ Assistant: _____
 Names of Committee: (Ch.) Kow Neke of 17 other names as given; there have been resignation & filling of vacancies.

1. Records. Log-book Not full history of the school life (2) No. 3.4.10
 Sewing book: Qualit 8/1 (1) Mr. Irvine states that Mr. Phipps (1)
 Requisition do last to look for it in an order to. of 21. 11. 86; that
it is in stock Admission Register: Not new does not show what children (2)
 Attendance Register: Book filed at end of April. An annual (4)
 Summary: No date and satisfactory (2.5)

2. Attendance.—Present at Inspection: Maoris, B. 6 G. 3; Europeans, 4;
 Total 13. Average attendance for 3 preceding weeks, 7.48.
 Number of children in the district (approximate): Twenty at Whakarapa, two at
at Wairua.
 " " on the roll: None.
 Average attendances for four previous quarters 19.5; 10.7; 8.9; 10.4;

3. State of Buildings and Offices as regards Tidiness and Cleanliness: Floors of school - (5)
room much in need. Walls & windows very dirty

4. State of Buildings and Offices as regards Repairs required: A sum of £5.7 was
authorised last year for an oven, fencing wire &c. The articles have not
yet arrived, but they are now on the way. The front fire place
and chimney need repairing very badly. A porch is asked for, but I do
not feel at liberty to recommend it in the present state of affairs. In
1884 an expenditure of £35 was authorised for addition to the residence.
The timber was obtained a year ago, but the master did not utilize it,
as he expected to be leaving Whakarapa. The timber has not yet been
paid for, and the company presses for a speedy settlement. Possibly
it would now be best to defer a decision as to what is to be done
with the timber till it has been decided what is to be done in other
direction. It would be well to telegraph Mr. Irvine as to what to do.
except especially until the work is done.

5. Appliances and Furniture, Condition of: Benches are scratched and old (4)
 New Articles required: _____

6. Garden and Playground: The master has spent a great deal of time and
labour, and evidently not a little money in making a large, good (1)
garden. The playground is satisfactory.

7. Organization.—Time-Table: Sufficient for the present small attendance. (3)
 Classification: Three classes, defined by the Standard (2)
Requirement

8. Discipline.—(a.) Order: Unsatisfactory. Much talking. Two or three master's children (5)
disrupted themselves a great part of the morning with loud enjoyment noise
 (b.) Drill: None. (4)
 (c.) Punishments: Nothing reported &c. (3)
 (d.) Tone: There are no indications of bad behaviour in the school (3.5)
except such as are fairly an indication of idleness (See 9)

* I reported about the matter but I gave Mr. Irvine
 no warning to suppress that he might write off the
 liability - J. H. P.

Mrs. Irvine

EDUCATION.

9. Methods: There is one general defect in the school - a tendency to
run to simultaneous & hap hazard. There is insufficient attention
given to those at silent work and they are to some extent
left to their own devices. (4)

Reading: There is a broad general course, and there is
care taken to ensure that the language is understood. (4)

Writing: Copy book writing. (3.5)

English: Combined with reading. Also translation for the blackboard. (3.5)

Arithmetic: Some placed on the blackboard to be worked by the
scholar. (4)

Geography: A lesson on the map of N.Z. for general purpose. (3.5)

Sewing: Some time was lost in getting to work. The lesson was a good one. (3.5)

10. Singing: Has not been taught since the opening of the Whakarapa school. (3.5)

Drawing: None. (4)

11. Results produced by Instruction given (details in "Examination Schedule"): On the
whole the instruction has produced somewhat better results than I
had expected.

Reading: 3; Writing: 2.5; English: 3;
Arithmetic: 3.5; Geography: 3.5; Sewing: 2.5.

12. Special: Mrs. Irvine has conducted the school since the
beginning of the year. Though her domestic duties have hampered her
considerably she has done very fair work and she shows considerable
aptitude for teaching. Mr. Irvine has devoted his time to the school
at Lower Waikato.

The Whakarapa Native do not do their best in the way
of attendance; the obstacle to making this a successful school. The
Native do nothing. Seven or eight more Whakarapa
children, at least, might be sent if their parents were so earnest
about it. The section of the Native with which the teacher is
not on good terms known unfortunately that the marks only
depend on the attendance. I will write a separate
Memorandum as to the difficulties here when I have seen Mr.
M. Irvine.

To the Inspector-General of Schools.

H. S. Kirk,
Inspector of Native Schools.

SCHEDULE OF REPAIRS-ETC., REQUIRED.

Repair to chimney & fire place	1 5 -
Over, wire, glass &c. (previously authorized)	5 7 -
	6 12 -

... Irvine explains that
in due to a misapprehension
request for a department
the first table.