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**Coal Miners and Farmers: A Social History of the Te Akatea Rural
Farming Settlement and its 'Scots' Mining Village of Glen Massey, 1900-
1945**

**A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of
Arts in History**

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Abstract

This thesis examines the early 20th century development of Glen Massey within the late 19th century settlement of Te Akatea. The more financially secure settlers in the isolated and topologically challenging settlement of Te Akatea, west of Ngāruawāhia were farmer-entrepreneurs who viewed themselves as a leading ‘class’ by virtue of their imperial military service and the amount of land they had accrued and cleared. They not only sought to exploit the coal resources on their land, but were significant movers in the creation of commercial entities and infrastructure to do so. These efforts led to the opening of the Waipā mine and its private railway to Ngāruawāhia and the construction of the mining village of Glen Massey and an influx of mining immigrants, predominantly highly unionized Northern English in 1914. On the face of it, these immigrants represented a direct threat to the conservative social values that had hitherto obtained in Te Akatea, although in fact, miners shared the farmer ethos of ‘getting on’ by dint of hard work. The new village was effectively run by a loose cabal of company, union and church laymen. The coincidence of the start of the village and the outbreak of World War One induced issues around conscription and sedition which also incidentally flagged the ongoing issue of how media controlled the narrative of Glen Massey’s story at various stages. The construction of sport and leisure facilities and subsequent participation manifests both traditional mining, farming and gender cultures and some seminal indications of cultural shift. There were struggles for the provision of adequate housing, health and secondary education in the context of both a steadily declining mine output, shorter hours and lower wages towards the end of the 1920s. The Wilton Mine, which opened after the closure of the Waipā mine, did not really live up to employment and wage-paying expectations for the next decade. In the context of falling demand and reduced hours caused by the Depression, Glen Massey was torn by contending forces of the broader national agenda of the mining union agenda and local imperatives, particularly around home ownership. They finally opted for the latter, which entailed an enormous cost in terms of wider mining bonds. This had a complementary, if not causative disintegrating impact on the activity of the Church congregations, in particular the Methodist Church. Local economic hardship provided an opportunity for the farming community to reassert a degree of control after fifteen years of relative insularity through various, ostensibly unrelated events: a School Committee coup; discontinuance of the highly successful school Soccer team in favour of Rugby Union and a serious attempt to establish an adult Rugby Union team. Strategic withdrawal into an ‘invented past’ with Glen Massey being retroactively constructed as a ‘Scots Village’ was one avenue explored to counter the perceived threat to traditional social patterns. The breaking of the traditional ‘ties that bind’ also stimulated a search for alternative agents of social change within the community as a whole. However, there is evidence that for at least a significant segment of the farming community, local society continued to be constructed around a ‘class’ mindset which posited themselves at the apex and miners at the base.

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INTRODUCTION

At the turn of the twentieth century, Te Akatea district was a sparsely settled district which, following the Land Wars and the Raupatu, had become the domain of a few relatively prosperous and established yeoman Pakeha farmers, at least several of whom had been allocated or sold land in return for their military service in that conflict. They were now economically benefitting from the shipping of frozen lamb as well as wool to Britain, and part of a shift towards what Belich terms “Recolonisation ... (where) New Zealand became an ideological and economic semi-colony of Britain.”¹ In their own eyes at least, they had also attained the privileged cultural and social gentrification benefits appropriate to their new station in life as ‘better Britons,’ albeit with smaller landholdings than the owners of the great estates of the nineteenth century.

Those benefits included the ‘hatch, match and despatch’ rites of passage and social credentialling offered by the Churches. Lineham contends that an understanding of that religious culture is important for understanding of New Zealand society as a whole because of its impact on cultural memory and mores, class consciousness and family formation.² Stenhouse’s comments about the state of Christianity in New Zealand as a whole at the end of the nineteenth century is probably an accurate reflection of these established Te Akatea farmers in particular (except that Anglicans probably constituted more than eight out of ten):

Around 95% of all settlers identified as adherents of a Christian denomination at the end of the nineteenth century. Most -slightly over four out of ten – were Anglican, mostly of English extraction; about one in four were Presbyterian, mostly Scottish ... and about one in ten Methodists, mostly English.³

Alongside these established farmers were a smaller number of settlers on smaller holdings, scraping a living from subsistence agriculture, casual labour for their more gentrified and prosperous neighbours and even small-scale coal mining. That area of the district which was to become the village of Glen Massey was an undistinguished and particularly hilly area where

¹ James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders from the 1880's to the Year 2000*. Allen Lane. Penguin Press, Auckland, 2001, 11.

² Peter Lineham, *Sunday Best: How the Church Shaped New Zealand and New Zealand Shaped the Church*. Massey University Press, Albany, 2017, 22.

³ John Stenhouse, ‘Religion and Society’ in Giselle Byrnes, (Ed.), *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*. Oxford University Press. South Melbourne, 2009, 343

the road (in reality, no more than a dangerous and muddy horse track) turned north-west heading towards Waingaro and the main Te Akatea ‘village’

By the outbreak of World War One (WWI) in 1914, the Waipā coal mine had been opened, a private railway had been constructed to take the coal to the main trunk line at Ngāruawāhia, the road link to Ngāruawāhia was being improved substantially and the infrastructure of the original Te Akatea rural farming hamlet - its post office, store and school - was in the process of relocation to the mining village of Glen Massey which was under construction to house the miners. Those new miners included a significant number of United Kingdom (UK) immigrants as well as West Coast miners who almost certainly represented a tangible, cultural threat to the kind of ‘better Britons’ and ‘better Britain’ ideologies to which the pre-mining Te Akatea community subscribed.

Although Glen Massey came to be known as a ‘Scots mining village’, aligning Electoral Roll data with genealogical evidence actually suggests that Northern English community was the most significant component of the population at the time of the establishment of the village. The centrality of Methodism and the Methodist Church in this new community confirms a strong English Dissenter influence. Conversely, the same data also suggests that by the mid-1930s, the demographic proportion of Scots immigrants had increased to approximately the same level as English immigrants, but each group was outnumbered by the New Zealand-born. As this thesis will demonstrate, Glen Massey was a complex locality which resists simplistic definition. As such, it is highly relevant to at least two of the four big ideas of the Aotearoa New Zealand Histories Curriculum – that Aotearoa New Zealand’s histories have been shaped by the use of power and that relationships and connections between peoples and across borders have shaped our histories.⁴ This thesis has the potential to inform the local history approach through which Aotearoa New Zealand’s histories are being taught in schools.

Structure

This thesis investigates the dynamics of social class and community. It will be argued firstly, in Chapter One, that the more financially secure settlers in the isolated and topologically challenging settlement of Te Akatea, west of Ngāruawāhia were farmer-entrepreneurs who

⁴ Te Kawanatanga o Aotearoa, New Zealand Government Ministry of Education. *Aotearoa New Zealand’s histories in the New Zealand Curriculum* Draft. Te Kawanatanga o Aotearoa, New Zealand Government Ministry of Education, Aotearoa 2022. Accessed 16 March, 2024, 2.

viewed themselves as a leading ‘class’ by virtue of their imperial military service and the amount of land they had accrued and cleared. Chapter Two examines, how, after they had secured the opening of the mine and supporting transport infrastructure that also benefitted them, they ‘withdrew,’ remaining relatively aloof within their own social silo from the immigrant miners who they generally regarded with considerable suspicion. They were happy to use the new church and hall when it suited them and a very few individual farmers participated at times in the informal cabal which ran village affairs. Only a few more joined in the sports clubs. As the 1920s progressed and the economic disparity between miners and farmers increased, especially with the onset of the Depression and the disintegration of the traditional mining loyalties and bonds, the farming community seized the initiative and ‘took back control’ in various ways, which are discussed in Chapter Three. These included control of the School Committee, encouragement of adult Rugby, discontinuance of the School Soccer team, a wresting back of the media narrative around Glen Massey and use of church leadership to reinvigorate a ‘tiered’ society which privileged their own sense of ‘class’.

Studies of Coal, Social Class and Community

In the light of the abovementioned demographic and genealogical evidence, it would be misleading to discuss Glen Massey’s social history solely within the parameters of Scots mining histories and the histories of the Scots in New Zealand, although they can provide valuable insights. Rebecca Lenihan’s two studies of the national occupational profile of Scottish immigrants to New Zealand between 1840-1929 flag the possibility of at least some identifiable aspects of the mining culture of the Scottish Eastern or Western Lowlands impacting on the mindset, social fabric and dynamics of Glen Massey for the period in question.⁵ The sharp differentiation in gender relations between the Scottish mines as “the domains of the ‘public’, masculine world of waged labour and trade union activity, and the ‘private’, feminine territory of household and the family,” noted by Allan Campbell, also resonates, as does the company paternalism which manifested itself in company housing in Mid and East Lothian, for example.⁶ Gildart’s point that Campbell “puts to rest the much-maligned notion of the inherently militant miner and the exaggerated view of the intense

⁵ Rebecca Lenihan, ‘Jocks’-of-all-trades: Genealogical Methods, Occupational Profiles and New Zealand’s Scots, 1840–1920, *New Zealand Journal of History* 46, (2) (2012), 157-185 and Rebecca Lenihan, *From Alba to Aotearoa: Profiling New Zealand’s Scots migrants 1840-1920*. Otago University Press, Dunedin, 2015, 139 and 171.

⁶ Alan Campbell, *The Scottish Miners, 1874–1939: Volume 1: Industry, Work and Community*, Routledge, 2017, 213.

solidarity of the mining villages”, may or may not be related to that ‘soft pressure’⁷ Brad Patterson et. al. also recognised the wider cultural contributions of Scots in New Zealand, although their coverage of the Scots in the West Huntly coalfields is minimal.⁸

Melvyn Jones ‘s study of South Yorkshire, notes that coal companies often also provided and/or actively financially supported the construction of churches, community spaces and other amenities which is also echoed in Glen Massey (e.g. the Golf Pavilion, The Hall).⁹ The provision of community facilities and the facilitation of home ownership by the mining companies in Glen Massey, clearly impacted on industrial relations and social attitudes. The encouragement of self-help and self-improvement segued neatly with both Methodist doctrine and the interests of the mining companies.

By way of wider international comparison, Shifflett’s analysis of the Appalachian coalfields emphasises the ‘maleness’ of sports, drinking, religion, visiting and other leisure activities as intrinsic elements of coal-town life.¹⁰ He also notes the vegetable gardening and arduous and time-consuming housekeeping chores that were done by women without the benefits of labour-saving appliances, particularly refrigeration. Shifflett’s Appalachian coalfields in some ways parallel both Glen Massey and Meredith Fletcher’s Australian mining town of Yallourn.¹¹ Fletcher notes that paid employment for women in that town was almost non-existent and that “women had to find their own place and establish their own relationship with the SEC (the employer) that owned their domestic space, employed their husbands and some of their sons but denied their daughters a role in the town once they left school...Women, like their husbands, were divided into staff and wages.”¹²

Migration to Australia from coal mining regions in the United Kingdom also involved the importation of union organisation and class solidarity, often supported by Methodism and its

⁷ Keith Gildart, Review of *The Scottish Miners, 1874-1939*, Volume1: *Industry, Work and Community*. *British Journal of Industrial Relations*. (40), 1, (2002), 171-173.

⁸ Brad Patterson, Tom Brooking, and Jim McAloon with Rebecca Lenihan and Tanja Buelman, *Unpacking the Kists: The Scots in New Zealand*, Otago University Press, Dunedin, 2013.

⁹ Melvyn Jones, *South Yorkshire Mining Villages: A History of the Region’s Former Coal Mining Communities*. Pen & Sword History, 2017.

¹⁰ Crandall A. Shifflett, *Coal Towns: Life, Work and Culture in Company Towns of Southern Appalachia, 1880-1960*, University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville, 1991.

¹¹ Meredith Fletcher, *Digging People up for Coal: A History of Yallourn*. Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 2002.

¹² Fletcher, *Digging People*, 66.

radical offshoot of Primitive Methodism, which was studied by Eklund.¹³ Given the unification of Primitive Methodism and Methodism in 1913 in New Zealand and the construction of the Glen Massey Methodist Church hard on the heels of the opening of the first major mining operation and its associated immigrants from the UK, the nature and social role of religious practice and culture in the village and farming hinterland likewise becomes a logical focus of enquiry for this study.

The Australian experience, according to Eklund, was that “Coal miners were strongly pro-union but not always politically radical.”¹⁴ That suggests that any religious and industrial radicalism that may have characterised British Methodism speedily dissipated on both sides of the Tasman Sea. The moderate stances in politics and culture that often characterised the Australian coal miners’ unions, particularly at the local level also appear to have been a factor in the general ‘quietism’ of both the Glen Massey Miners’ Union and the Glen Massey community culture. In Glen Massey, that was notably manifested during the Depression with the creation of a new local union in order to preserve miner homes and livelihoods.

In this context, wider debates about the application of social class in New Zealand are apposite in providing a framework to understand the Glen Massey mining community. As Wright points out, according to the cultural tropes of early twentieth-century New Zealand, miners were the ‘undeserving poor’ with all the supposed laziness, vices of drinking and swearing associated therewith; the ubiquitous coal dust with which they were covered, an outward, visible sign of an inward spiritual gracelessness, if not downright moral depravity.¹⁵ They spoke a patois mining jargon in lower class Northern English and Scots accents; were perceived to collectively hold religious and politically dangerous, radical and subversive views (Methodism, even Primitive Methodism, and/or Marxism), and were associated with the radical unionists against which some of their neighbouring farming military Volunteers had ridden as ‘Massey’s Cossacks’ in Auckland during the 1913 General Strike.¹⁶

The construction of Glen Massey coincided with the peak of a growing class consciousness, particularly amongst blue-collar workers:

¹³ Eklund, ‘Mining in Australia: An historical survey of industry-community relationships’, *The Extractive Industries and Society* 2 (2015), 177-188.

¹⁴ Eklund, ‘Mining in Australia’, 183

¹⁵ Matthew Wright, *Coal: The Rise and Fall of King Coal in New Zealand*, David Bateman, Auckland, 2014, 99-100.

¹⁶ Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, 92-93.

Men and even women ... suddenly gained a sense of their power and dignity ... They began to know themselves as important people, doing important work, learned they could be the cutting edge of historical change, heirs to the world and its wealth. Their traditional sufferings – low and irregular wages, poor housing, high unemployment, high risks of injury and even death – which had once pressed them down towards destitution and apathy now fired their rage and gave focus to their vision.¹⁷

However, in New Zealand such class consciousness was more an awareness of barriers to social advancement that were seen as susceptible to amelioration over time, than prescriptive and insuperable barriers to life chances. McAloon underlines the inaccuracy of “static portrayals which assume or imply a neat and fully-formed class structure that in turn gives rise to a tidy and coherent expressions of consciousness.”¹⁸ Class consciousness, such as it existed, was more likely to find expression in the hegemony of everyday, ‘common-sense reality’ than to feature in political discourse. Thus, for the comparatively ‘rich’ Te Akatea farmers, as for McAloon’s wealthy classes of Otago and Canterbury, “... the ‘first up best dressed’ model by which most of them had prospered [metamorphized] into a bootstraps myth which asserted that anyone who worked hard enough could attain success in New Zealand.”¹⁹ And for the miners who had been parachuted into the Te Akatea idyll, Wright’s broad observations on coal-based communities seemed to apply. “Coal-driven unionists wanted a fair deal – but they wanted it in the context of the status quo [that]... had little to do with overthrowing the system.”²⁰

While they maintained bonds with, and a degree of outward and inward flow to other mining sites and regions, Glen Massey quickly developed a strong community with a collective and mutually supportive group ethic. At the same time, it was also relatively quietist and conciliatory at the industrial level. Menghetti’s study of a similar kind of quietism evident in the Blair Athol township and mine in Queensland also opens up the possibility that Glen Massey’s new residents may have been driven by a need for social cohesion in order to cope with what was a new, relatively wild and potentially threatening non-European environment.²¹

¹⁷ Erik Olssen, *The Red Feds: Revolutionary Industrial Unionism and the New Zealand Federation of Labour 1908-1913*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1988, 86-104.

¹⁸ Jim McAloon, "Class in Colonial New Zealand: Towards a Historiographical Rehabilitation." *New Zealand Journal of History* 38, 1 (2004), 1.

¹⁹ Jim McAloon, *No Idle Rich: The Wealthy in Canterbury and Otago 1840-1914*. University of Otago Press, Dunedin, 2002, 182.

²⁰ Wright, *Coal*, 105.

²¹ D. Menghetti, *Blair Athol. The Life and Death of a Town*, Townsville, 1995, cited in Ian Phimister, ‘Coal Mining and its Recent Pasts in Comparative Perspective.’ *Journal of Australasian Mining History*, 2, (2004), 122.

In any event, owning one's own home and enjoying the fruits of employment in terms of regular hours and leisure time and activities were of the utmost importance.

Accordingly, Glen Massey, from its inception in 1914, was at the forefront of community - forging rather than replicating the transient, rootless and highly individualistic 'atomised' community' proposed by Fairburn as a description of New Zealand society up to 1930.²² Its history accordingly takes its place alongside Caroline Daley's community studies of Taradale, which also introduces the dimension of the role of gender in the construction of community.²³

In coming to Glen Massey, miners were attracted by a lure which was strikingly similar in essence to that to which their rural gentry neighbours had succumbed - an "ethos of Arcadianism – the belief in a land of natural abundance – where immigrants (provided they worked hard) could pursue their individual self-fulfilment without the barriers of entrenched social hierarchy or class division."²⁴ If achieving that ethos for the miners involved their buying in to what Belich terms a "Great Tightening ... (where) the bacilli of tight class ... were pasteurised out," then so be it.²⁵ Whether the surrounding 'gentry' were willing to readily allow such a rapid pace of pasteurisation, however, was another matter.

This thesis argues secondly that the immigrant Glen Massey miners, while conscious – even proud - of their 'lower class' status, shared the same ethos of 'self-improvement' through hard work as their farming neighbours. While they sought the same material 'good things in life', however, that did not mean they necessarily sought to be move higher on the 'class scale'. When the ethos of self-improvement touted by unionization and Methodism proved elusive, even with that concession, both the Unions and the Methodist congregation were seriously impacted.

The different lenses of Fairburn's atomised working class, Campbell and Gildhart's capitalist instrumentalism, Menghetti's pioneering solidarity, Belich's 'Great Tightening', or Wright's particular adaptation of Belich's perspective are not necessarily mutually exclusive frameworks for understanding Glen Massey and Te Akatea's social history. For both farmers

²² Alan Ward, Review of *The Ideal Society and its Enemies; the Foundations of Modern New Zealand Society 1850–1900*, by Miles Fairburn. *New Zealand Journal of History* 24, 1 (1990), 74-76.

²³ Caroline Daley, *Girls & Women, Men & Boys: Gender in Taradale 1886-1930*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1999, and Caroline Daley, *Gender in the Community: A Study of the Women and Men of the Taradale Area, 1886-1930*. 1992.

²⁴ Ward, Review of *The Ideal Society and its Enemies*, 75.

²⁵ Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, 121.

and miners, the geographic isolation only slowly diminished over the first years with improvements in transport (first the railway, then the road). The social and cultural separation between each group lessened even more glacially, over decades. The lived reality of that enduring ‘split’ defies explanations by neat categorisation.

As the Glen Massey miners staked a claim to their particular version of ‘Arcadianism,’ important manifestations of cultural delineation became evident in their chosen sporting activities, similarly to the Kaitangata mining community studied by Little.²⁶ Association Football (Soccer), Rugby League and Bowling were almost exclusively the domain of the male miners. Golf and especially Tennis, had some farmer participation from the outset and were thus potential catalysts for community building between the two groups, alongside the three church congregations (Methodist, Presbyterian and Anglican) and the school.

However, for the most part, the Te Akatea farming community ‘jury’ having retired to consider its verdict on the alien newcomers, without availing itself of much first-hand evidence, appears to have remained ‘out’, holding itself aloof from any but the most cursory interactions, for almost two decades. Apart from their highly restricted participation in local sports, neither their membership of church congregations nor their role in the school appear to have realised the potential of these institutions to catalyse the building of an integrated community to any significant degree. And unlike Little’s Kaitangata, there is no evidence of younger men from the Te Akatea farming stock doing any labour for a year or two in the mines. While farmers were quick to take advantage of the improved transport links and clearly relished the economic benefits thereof, socially they largely remained in their own silo.

Literature on Community in New Zealand

Much has been written on community in New Zealand at a generalised level and many specific case studies have been done.²⁷ Besides Daley’s work mentioned above, the Caversham Project of Olssen et al. is an iconic New Zealand example of such a micro-level study.²⁸ However, there are obvious differences between a relatively sizeable working-class suburb in the South

²⁶ Charles Little, ‘Football, Place, and Community in a New Zealand Mining Town, 1877–1939’, *International Journal of the History of Sport* 34, (10), (2017), 915-934.

²⁷ See, for example, W.J. Gardner, *Where They Lived: Studies in Local, Regional and Social History*. Regional Press, Christchurch, 1999.

²⁸ Erik Olssen, Tom Brooking, Brian Heenan, Hamish James, Bruce McLennan and Clyde Griffen, ‘Urban Society and the Opportunity Structure in New Zealand, 1902-22: The Caversham Project.’ *Social History*, 24, (1), (1999), 39-54.

Island city of Dunedin and a very small rural working-class mining North Island village and its rural hinterlands. Evelyn Stokes's series of historical papers, especially Paper 7, prepared for the Huntly Social and Economic Impact Monitoring Project related to the later Huntly Power Station go some way in making limited quantitative data available to establish some demographic and industrial context for the local mining which occurred.²⁹ However, Glen Massey village has yet to be studied in a way which drills down beyond the surface level of 'village myth and legend' to interrogate its first thirty years of history on the basis of qualitative as well as quantitative data over time. Nor has there been any study of the social history of the rural farming hinterland of Te Akatea in the same vein, much less any accounting for the lack of any cohesion, or at least the snail-like pace of development of such cohesion between these two groups which a shared geography and at least some social institutions (the re-located school and the church congregations), might logically suggest.

Glen Massey local historian, Pam Bovill focussed on Glen Massey local history as a necessary context and adjunct to the beginnings and development of its school for its 75th Jubilee celebrations.³⁰ Such 'occasional' histories serve an important purpose for the specific audience of jubilee attendees for whom they are written. There is some limited use of primary sources (fortunately, in view of the subsequent loss of these records), but deeper interrogation or analysis of historical patterns or trends forms no part of that purpose. Lauren Retter's short history of the school, written in 2013, was unencumbered by such expectations.³¹ Nevertheless, she uncritically accepts the popular understanding of Glen Massey as a 'Scots' mining settlement, silencing the imperial military connections of the original European settlers of Te Akatea as much as the actual origins of most of the mining settlers.³² In so doing, she promulgated the same myth of Glen Massey's 'Scots' origins that this author was taught as a pupil at Glen Massey School in the 1960's. Gwyneth Jones' more wide-ranging study of the Glen Massey community and farming districts displays an obvious use of primary sources.³³

²⁹ Evelyn Stokes, *Coal Mining in the Waikato Region. Working Paper 7: Huntly Social and Economic Impact Monitoring Project*. School of Social Sciences. University of Waikato, Hamilton, October 1978

³⁰ Pam Bovill, *Glen Massey School 75th Jubilee, 1915-1990: Including Te Akatea School, 1892-1914: Incorporating a Brief History of the District*, Glen Massey School, Ngāruawāhia, 1989.

³¹ Lauren Retter, 'Glen Massey School: A History from 1887.' *The New Zealand Journal of Public History*, (2), 1, (2013), 16-18.

³² Retter, 'Glen Massey School', 16-17

³³ Gwyneth Jones, *The End of an Era: The History of the Coalmines and Village of Glen Massey and the Surrounding Districts*. Gwyneth Jones Private Publication, Printing Publicity Printing Limited, 2010.

However, there is a serious lack of chronological coherence, much less any attempt to relate the history of the village to wider district, regional or national trends or movements.

A more in-depth study is important for two reasons. Firstly, the broad ‘national’ sweep of New Zealand history can be imagined as the product of the growth and development of a rich mosaic of communities. There are some smaller, sometimes quirkily-shaped pieces of that mosaic whose gestation and conditions of growth do not fit the general mould and inevitably appear different in their final form. Drilling down into the detailed history of such communities gives authenticity, anchoring the broad hermeneutics of national historical inquiry to particular socio-political contexts and legitimating variation and localised nuance in the overall story, rather than imposing a straightjacket of uniformity. The view of national history through the telescope needs to be informed by the view of local history through the microscope. Glen Massey, is probably somewhat unique in the Huntly coalfields as a ‘created’ coal-mining community interpolated into the middle of an already established ‘gentry’ agricultural community, and a relatively rare phenomenon nationally.

Secondly, while local studies to date include both individual coal-mining and individual farming communities, studies of communities that include both of these industries and their attendant disparate social groups are much thinner on the ground. The two groups at either end of the socio-economic spectrum who lived their relatively separate lives alongside each other in and around Glen Massey offer a cross-section micro-study of the changes in the dynamics of their ‘lived reality’ over almost fifty years, along with the world views which sustained them and the degree of social cohesion attained.

Source Material

The Dawson personal papers and land ownership details supplied by the Waikato District Council which were made available for this study were much appreciated. However, there were some challenges with other source material. While historical newspaper accounts furnish much detailed material, there are some issues where the reader gets a distinct sense of being fed only the tip of the iceberg where there appears to be much more going on out of sight underneath. One example is the concatenation of events and trends evident around the replacement of Soccer by Rugby Union as ‘the’ Glen Massey School sport, the introduction of adult Rugby Union, the replacement of the School Committee and the disintegration of Church activities around 1931-1932. Church activity records provide valuable insights into what was going on.

While the records of no Glen Massey religious congregation have been immune to loss by fire, flood and general decay, there is sufficient extant material remaining in various archives to make considerable headway. In particular, Church baptismal records and especially, marriage certificates provided some ‘first hand’ information to complement other genealogical investigative avenues such as Ancestry.com. to discover the national origins of the mining villagers of Glen Massey identified in the electoral rolls. Historians have increasingly been using both archival and digital resources to inform their research on communities.³⁴

Many Glen Massey School records prior to 1945 have also been lost in a fire. Fortunately, some had been preserved in the National Archives, particularly those documenting the rolls during the period of transition from Te Akatea School to Glen Massey. Actual records of the Miners and Settlers Health Society within the National Archives are almost non-existent. The same archives, however, offer useful material around the use of the Hall and sport and leisure activities.

Some interviews from the Huntly coalfields Oral History Project provided some generic details arguably relevant to Glen Massey. Likewise, other oral histories held in the Hamilton Library give some insight into farming life in the early 20th century.

³⁴ See for instance, David Hood, ‘Matching multiple data sources from New Zealand: the experience of the Caversham project’, *History and Computing* 12 (2), (2000), 227-243; David Hood, ‘Imaginary Knitting. Historical record linkage in the Caversham project’, *Computing Arts 2001: Digital Resources for Research in the Humanities*, University of Sydney, Sydney, 2001; Sue McLiskie, ‘Dangerous Ground or Rich New Research Methods? Using Digital Genealogy to Trace Colonial Mobility’, *Britain and the World*, 13, 2, (2020), 105-25; Rebecca Lenihan, ‘The Public Good of Digital (Academic) History’, *Public History Review*, 29, (2022), 185-94; Charlotte Macdonald, ‘Woolwich to Wellington: From Settler Colony to Garrisoned Sovereignty’, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 53, 1 (2019), 50-76.

Chapter 1

An Imperial Culture Meets a Mining Culture

Introduction

This chapter will firstly briefly consider the intertwined topological, infrastructural (including transport), demographic and economic determinants of the Te Akatea settlement up to 1900 and into the first decade of the twentieth century. It will then summarise the nature of the isolated ‘frontier’ community that had emerged by the beginning of the century: its changing physical landscape; its cultural practices, ethos and political leanings which were direct or indirect products of these determinants and its demographics. The impact of exploitation of the coal seams on some of the farmlands and the construction of the new mining township of Glen Massey, as an apparent catalyst for change, will then be examined from two perspectives: firstly, its foreseeable and expected infrastructural and economic benefits and secondly, the apparently unforeseen, but enduring sea-change it wrought on the dynamics of Te Akatea society. It will be argued that the ‘parachuting in’ of immigrant miners from both overseas and the West Coast of the South Island, with their ability to channel and focus well-established bonds and networks, functioned as a Trojan horse for deliberate and conscious community-building. Activities such as the purchase of sections for the building of houses, a public meeting’s decision to build a hall, the establishment of a medical centre and the building of a church evidence the new Glen Massey village as an early prototype, a silo of community-building by local initiative, which would eventually prevail over the ‘social atomisation’ which had generally characterised New Zealand up to the 1920s, according to Fairburn. Miners actually shared their rural neighbours’ aspirations for reward by dint of hard work, but those rewards were found as much in such tangible expressions of community as they were in individual prosperity. In 1914-15, the first year of the Glen Massey mining community and the Great War, the latter appears to have been of less concern to the immigrant villagers than to the farming families of established residence.

Settlement of Te Akatea up to 1900: an “atomized” community?

Land in the Te Akatea area up to 1900, the beginning point of this study, had been the focus of three separate and consecutive government settlement schemes prior to the advent of relatively large-scale mining: the Akatea Village Settlement, the Firewood Creek Village Settlement, and grants made under the Naval & Military Settlers and Volunteers Land Act 1891. The topology of the district had made the establishment of transport links to other major settlements very

difficult for all three schemes. From the outset, there was a sense of social isolation and economic precariousness for all but a prosperous few. Settlers were often trying to clear land not well suited to dairy-farming and only marginally more amenable to sheep-farming. Economic support to establish their farms by way of roadbuilding which had been promised, was not always available to the extent which had been promised, much less the extent to which it was needed.

The first Akatea Village Settlement was a bundle of land parcels of approximately 50-acres, intended to be developed as farms, extending northwest from near the junction of Wilton Collieries Road with Waingaro Road. While the nature of the geography was compounded by a road unsuitable for wheeled vehicles and a lack of available supplementary work, the *Waikato Times* sheeted home such difficulties to the lack of the “right sort” of farmer.³⁵ Settlers of the more prosperous kinds of settler farms at Te Akatea who presumably epitomized such “right sorts” included Mr Richard Burt (who also kept the Post Office at Te Akatea), and Mr J.B. Grey, Mr George Mathias and Mr Joshua Foster (the latter being the Sergeant Foster of the Armed Constabulary and previously the 4th Waikato regiment who founded Hamilton) and Mr J. Duncan.

A second Firewood Creek Village settlement, comprised an area of nine 50-acre parcels between Glen Massey and Ngāruawāhia. By 1892, the *New Zealand Herald* was claiming that:

*...A few, through indomitable courage and perseverance worthy of the early days of settlement in the colony have succeeded. But as a whole the Akatea settlement has not been a success. Want of easy access to the settled country and of set tiers with capital employing labour about them, were the chief causes of failure.*³⁶

The same article goes on to note that what was known as the Firewood Creek settlement around Te Akatea was also bounded to the north by a large area under perpetual lease. One Colonel Dawson of Auckland, had taken up several thousand acres immediately adjoining the Firewood Creek settlement and extending to Waingaro Springs under the perpetual lease system, and had already cleared several hundred acres of bush.

³⁵ ‘Absenteeism and Settlement’, *Waikato Times*, 18 December, 1888, 2.

³⁶ ‘Our Back Country’, *New Zealand Herald*, 24 March, 1892, 6.

Descendants of Colonel Dawson believe that these several thousand acres were granted to the Colonel for his services to the British at the Battle of Rangiriri during the New Zealand Wars.



Figure 1 Colonel Charlton Dawson. Used by permission of Micheal and Penny Dawson.

There is neither reason to dispute this, nor documentary evidence to support it, although clearly, he was sufficiently well-placed financially, to make the most of any opportunities that came his way by dint of his military service:

Charlton [Dawson] was a major in the 18th Royal Irish Regiment. He fought in the Maori War [sic.] in New Zealand, and married Louisa Greenway. When he retired from the army with the rank of Lt. Colonel in 1880, he went to live in New Zealand, where his wife had considerable property. He died in 1904 and his wife in 1910. (The son) Charlton was born in 1879.³⁷

³⁷ P.H. Ditchfield, *The History of the Dawson Family of Farlington and North Ferriby, York. Of Ackworth Park and Osgodby Hall, in the County of York, Of Greystock, Cumberland. Of Arborfield House, Berkshire and of Philadelphia, United States of America*. Printed for Private Circulation by George Allen & Co. Ltd., London (Date of Publication unknown- probably pre-WWI) 52.

It should be noted that both Colonel Dawson, and his son, also named Charlton, to whom the Te Akatea property passed upon the former's death, were actually absentee owners based in Auckland, with the Te Akatea farm property managed by Mr Arthur Brockett, a situation which continued well into the twentieth century, until the Colonel's grandson came to live on the property around the late 1940s.

LIABILITIES-1911	
1 8 9 3:	
To Credit:-	£ 471. 1. 3
By Balance:-	£ 471. 1. 3
ESTATE OF L. L. DAWSON, DECEASED:	
Statement of Account.	
SCHEDULE OF ASSETS & LIABILITIES	
=====	
A S S E T S:	
=====	
By Balance:-	At Scale Rates:
Estate Income Account:	£ 777. 18. 8
" Furniture:	198. 6. 10
" Jewellery:	45. 4. 9
" Live & Dead Stock:-	
Implements on Farm:	88. 0. 0
Engine, shearing machine & press:	132. 0. 0
" Goodwill in Lease No. 183789 of Royal Hotel Auckland (19 yrs. 3 mos. from 1.5.03 to 30.6.22 at rental of £1843 p.a. and £9.16.0 p.a. additional under unregistered Supplementary Lease- Lessee pays Rent & Taxes.)	No assessed:
" Shares:-	
500 £1 pref. Waipa Rail. & Colliery Co. (4/-pd)	100. 0. 0
" Real Estate: (Unpaid Purchase-money)	
Hall: Pt. Lot 1 "Arborfield"	150. 0. 0
Rule: Pt. Lot 1 "	148. 0. 0
Cagahan: Lot 6 "	99. 0. 0
Gerard: Lots 25/6 "	273. 7. 8
Ewen: Lots 25/30 "	238. 0. 0
Gordon: Lots 32&44 "	285. 0. 0
Farm Property: (Subject to Mining Rights:)	1,206. 7. 6
Valuation as at 10 October, 1910:	
Sec. 153 Waipa (2000 acres)	5,875. 0. 0
Allot. 118 " (392a. 3r. 21r.)	1,645. 0. 0
Lots 13, 21 D.P. 1280 allot. 136 Pepepe (917acs)	3,675. 0. 0
City Property:	
Lots 20, 21 Pt. 19 Sec. 1 of 2, 2A, 2B of 10 Auck. Suburbs - Mt. Eden & Summer Rd:	4,500. 0. 0
Pt. Lots 1, 2 Sec. 37 Auckland - Upper Queen St.)	

Figure 2 Statement of Liabilities showing farm properties in Te Akatea (and Waipā Colliery preference shares) as well as Auckland properties and other business assets owned by Charlton Dawson in 1911³⁸

In 1893 the land to the west of Firewood Creek settlement, including what is now Glen Massey, was surveyed as grants to former British and colonial military and naval personnel who had served in New Zealand and passed the criteria laid down under the Naval & Military Settlers and Volunteers Land Act 1891.³⁹ This third project involved grants of parcels of land of varying

³⁸ Statement of Liabilities, Private Papers of Colonel Charlton Dawson and Mr Charlton Dawson, son of Colonel Charlton Dawson, 1911.

³⁹ The major provisions of this Act allowed for Commissioners to assess land claims based on service in the armed forces. The Act allowed for both land grants or remission of money for land already purchased.

size, with some people owning up to 400 acres comprising several adjacent parcels (including Dawson who already had several thousand acres under perpetual lease) Dawson remained at the northern end of Te Akatea, presumably having added his grant to the land he already held under perpetual lease, and remaining an absentee owner. The complete absence of his fellow grantees on any electoral rolls or other documents is a plausible indication that they simply sold the land they had been granted and moved on.

Those settlers from the farming community for whom there is newspaper evidence of having lived in the Te Akatea district on a permanent basis prior to 1900 and subsequently, were mostly from the first Akatea Village Settlement.⁴⁰ They included Mr Richard Burt, Mr J.B. Grey, Mr George Mathias, Mr Joshua Foster, Mr G. Bull and Mr J. Duncan and William Horne (the latter with four children, two of whom were later named as Frederick C.R. Horne and Miss Annie Florence Horne).⁴¹ Electoral rolls also identify Joshua Foster, George Mathias, John Duncan, Mrs Rebecca Burt, (presumably the wife of Richard Burt), Frank Champtaloup, Elizabeth Emma Mallandine, Charles William Penny, John Edwin Rutter, Eleanor Mercedes Mutis Rutter, (the sister of John Edwin Rutter), Mercedes Mutis Rutter (the daughter of John Edwin Rutter). There was also one bushman (John Piggott) and one labourer (John James Rollinson).

Population of Te Akatea from 1900 to the building of the Waipā Mine, 1914

The Te Akatea School Rolls (Figure 3) provide another contemporary source to complement electoral roll and newspaper information.⁴² Their limitations are that they, of course, only list families who have children of primary school age. Those families with children under the age of five or with older children will not feature.

In summary, there were a number of ‘core’ farming families that populated Te Akatea from 1900 onwards, although spouses were rarely named on the electoral rolls: the Burts (farming for at least the first decade of the 20th century), the Rutters, the Brocketts (managing the Dawson farm), the Fosters and the Hornes. Charles Penny up to 1902 and Frank Champtaloup up to 1908 were also farmers, although there is no evidence of the marital status of either. Mr

⁴⁰ ‘Our Back Country’, *New Zealand Herald*, 24 March, 1892, 6.

⁴¹ ‘Local and General News’, *New Zealand Herald*, 20 March, 1926, 10.

⁴² Te Rua Mahara o te Kawanatanga/ Archives New Zealand, ‘Te Akatea School’, Files R22140780 for 1900; R22140781 for 1901; R22140768 for 1902; R22140769 for 1903; R22140770 for 1904; R22140771 for 1905; R22140772 for 1906; R22140773 for 1908; R22140775 for 1909; R22140776 for 1911; R22140777 for 1912 and R23660383 for 1913, accessed online 09/07/202.

G. Bull arrived sometime during that first decade either already married or marrying shortly after his arrival. The Fowlers arrived around the same time. In addition to that ‘core’ were a number of farmers who did not stay long and itinerants who came and went during the period: teachers, farm workers, bushmen involved in clear-felling, agricultural contractors. (Around




Students by family on Te Akatea School Roll 1900 – 1913 (* represents one child)												
Extrapolated from Te Rua Mahara o te Kawanatanga/ Archives New Zealand. Te Akatea School, Files R22140780 for 1900; R22140781 for 1901; R22140768 for 1902; R22140769 for 1903; R22140770 for 1904; R22140771 for 1905; R22140772 for 1906; R22140773 for 1908; R22140775 for 1909; R22140776 for 1911; R22140777 for 1912 and R23660383 for 1913. Accessed online 09/07/2024.												
N.B. There are no archived records for 1907 or 1910.												
Families	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1908	1909	1911	1912	1913
Allen	*	*										
Bell			*	*								
Burgess	*	*										
Burt	***	***	***	**	**	**	***	**	*	**	***	***
Coate	***	**										
Coulter					*							
Davis			*	*	*	**	**					
Downes												*
Duffell								*	*	*	**	**
Edkins											*	*
Fisher						*	*	*	*			
Foster	***	****	****	**	**	*	*					
Fowler												**
Kemp										**	**	*
Lynch			***	***								
Lyon								*	**	**	**	**
Manning								**	**			
McDonald	**	*										
Neilson	*											
Owen										**		
Pretty				*								
Runciman												**
Rutter	**	**	**	**	**	*	*					
Smith						*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Trew	**	**										
Wilson	*	*										
Total Students	19	17	14	12	8	8	9	8	8	10	11	15
KEY												
 Families with children at Te Akatea school for 7 years or over  Families with children at Te Akatea school for 4-6 years  Families with children at Te Akatea school for between 1 and 3 years												

Figure 3 Students by family on Te Akatea School Roll.

nine or ten of the families in Figure 3 who stayed for between one and three years are not heard of again after their departure.) Overall, the lack of obviously adult sons or daughters of voting

age from the ‘core families’ (apart from the two Rutter women) suggests single men, or men with young families made up the balance. The status quo by 1913 was that “the bulk of the holdings are in the hands of single men.”⁴³ On the surface, the general picture that emerges of Te Akatea at the opening of the twentieth century is that of an isolated, frontier farming community of predominantly single males and a few single women and perhaps a very few couples with young families who were engaged in large-scale clear-felling and conversion to pasture of land, much of which was marginal.

Geographic, Economic and Infrastructural Issues from 1900 to the building of the Waipā Mine, 1914

The Te Akatea topology with its preponderance of steep, almost cliff-like hills was challenging. “Progress’ was clearly viewed in terms of the ability to execute clear-felling or burning and convert the land so cleared to pasture. That was easier said than done, given the terrain. The *Waikato Argus* noted, however, that by 1900:

PROGRESS – In spite of every drawback, about £5000 worth of fat cattle and sheep have gone out of the district during the last six months. Twelve years ago, there was not an acre of it in grass, and all the value it now has been given to it by the capital and labour the lion-hearted pioneers expended on it.⁴⁴

New Zealand’s primary role to supply frozen lamb and wool to the UK market was unquestioned. On 7 April, 1909, it was reported that Messrs. Dalgety and Co. Ltd. had sold to Mr Charlton Dawson of Te Akatea, “41 especially selected Corriedale sheep, from the well-known flock of Mr C.H. Ensor, Canterbury, consisting of one stud two-tooth ram, 20 two-tooth flock rams, and 20 2-tooth flock-ewes.”⁴⁵ Corriedales were known for their ability to produce high quality meat especially for the prime lamb trade, as well as wool. It was later reported that this was, at the time, the only stud flock of Corriedale sheep in the Auckland province.⁴⁶ Mr Dawson’s investment appears to have paid off. By 1912, the *Auckland Star* was clearly impressed by the prices he was receiving at auction for his Corriedale wool.⁴⁷

⁴³ ‘Among Auckland’s Hill Farms’, *Greymouth Evening Star*, 22 September, 1913, 8.

⁴⁴ ‘Waingaro’, *Waikato Argus*, 25 May, 1900, 2.

⁴⁵ ‘Commercial’, *Auckland Star*, 7 April, 1909, 7.

⁴⁶ General News Column, *Waikato Argus*, 8 April, 1909, 2.

⁴⁷ ‘The Wool Sales’, *Auckland Star*, 18 November, 1912, 7 and ‘The Rise in Wool’, *Auckland Star*, 10 January, 1912, 3.

Where the relative wealth of Messrs. Dawson and a very few others may have enabled them to make such progress with the labour for which they advertised on a fairly regular basis, most farmers lacked that kind of financial resourcing.⁴⁸ Details of the rigours of farm life specific to Te Akatea are scarce. However, oral histories from the same period in comparable locations suggest that a lot of farm work was done by families, including mothers and daughters (where there were any), especially milking by hand, butter-making, poultry and pig-raising and stock work, as well as assisting in land clearance by grubbing gorse etc.⁴⁹ Domestic chores, in the absence of electricity were particularly burdensome. Mercedes (‘Mercie’) Rutter for instance, worked as cook and housekeeper for her family, and was also the local postmistress.

Isolation was a condition of life. While access to and from Ngāruawāhia had been much improved by the construction of a bridge over the Waipā River in 1898, the state of what passed as the road from Te Akatea to Ngāruawāhia remained a constant problem, stymieing the development of farming, let alone any exploitation of coal reserves. For instance, a seam of coal on Mr J. Duncan’s farm had been identified as early as 1892:

But the thickness or quality had not been ascertained at the time of your correspondent’s visit about a month ago, as on account of the want of roads the proprietor had not felt warranted in incurring any expense in opening up a coal mine, when all his means are required for cultivation of his land, but the indications show that, some day, it will be a valuable property.⁵⁰

Tenders were regularly sought by the Raglan County Council for metaling Te Akatea Road.⁵¹ Contracts for regular mail deliveries once, twice or three times per week were regularly advertised.⁵² There was a telegraph service available at least between Hamilton and Ngāruawāhia by 1902, although W.M. Horne of Te Akatea complained in a letter to the Editor:

⁴⁸ ‘Advertisements’, *Waikato Argus*, 1 June 1899, 4; ‘Advertisements’, *Waikato Argus*, 17 December, 1903, 4; ‘Advertisements’, *Waikato Argus*, 18 December, 1903, 4.

⁴⁹ Ada Terry. ‘Memories of farm life in Kaipara, North Auckland and the Waikato: an interview with Ada Terry’, Interviews 1, 2 and 3. (HCLOH_0068), 2021; Florence McGovern– ‘A hard life - reminiscences from 1902-1919: an interview with Florence McGovern’, (HCLOH_0039), 2021; Sophie Johnson-Smith. ‘Early Memories of Maungapiko, Raglan 1896-1910’s: an interview with Sophie Johnstone-Smith (HCLOH_0043), 2021, Recorded Oral Histories, Te Ohomauri o Kirikiriroa / Hamilton City Libraries.

⁵⁰ ‘Our Back Country’, *New Zealand Herald*, 24 March, 1892, 6.

⁵¹ E.g. ‘Advertisements’, *Waikato Argus*, 28 February, 1899, 4.

⁵² E.g. ‘Advertisements’, *Waikato Times*, 6 September, 1894, 10.

You will observe it requires three hours to wire between Hamilton and Ngaruawahia, a distance of twelve miles. I could have ridden on horseback the same distance in half the time.⁵³

Telephone services were equally erratic. The Hamilton Borough Council was requested in 1907 to support an application to have the telephone stations on a number of stations on the Hamilton-Raglan line, including Ngāruawāhia, Te Akatea and Waingaro, constituted bureaux and connected with the Hamilton exchange.⁵⁴

Schooling was precarious. A school had been built in Te Akatea in 1892 and shared its teacher with the Waingaro School, for three days each. Both schools however, were closed for six weeks on the removal of the teacher, Mr Lourie who had been promoted to the school at Hukerenui South. They opened again on Monday 3rd July, 1900, when the Board of Education appointed Mr Godwin to the position.⁵⁵

Entrepreneurial Farmers: Coal as a Catalyst of Change

Coal offered a tantalizing business supplement to farming incomes. It was reported in April, 1902 that a seam of bituminous coal, which had been known to exist at Te Akatea, six miles from Ngāruawāhia, was about to be opened up, with the Waihi Gold Mining Company on the ground extracting trial samples.⁵⁶ A *Herald* article around the same time on the same subject indicated the seam was on Mr Bell's property at Te Akatea.⁵⁷ By July 1907, a Mr Runciman was requesting the Raglan County Council for permission "to run a motor wagon on the road from Te Akatea to Ngaruawahia for the purpose of bringing out coal."⁵⁸ On 7 July, 1908, the *Waikato Argus* reported "great interest is being taken in the development of a new coalfield near Ngaruawahia on the properties of Messrs. Runciman, Coad and Dawson. Considerable time and money have been quietly expended in development work."⁵⁹ Small amounts were taken by horse and cart for use at Ngāruawāhia dairy factory.

⁵³ Telegraph Delays. *Waikato Argus*, 18 November 1902, 2.

⁵⁴ 'Borough Council', *Waikato Times*, 1 June, 1907, 2.

⁵⁵ 'Waingaro', *Waikato Argus*, 4 July, 1900, 3. While several newspapers reported the re-opening of the school and the closing of the school, the actual date of closure is uncertain, but was probably around mid-May.

⁵⁶ 'Waikato Coal', *Auckland Star*, 23 April, 1902, 5.

⁵⁷ 'News From Country Districts', *New Zealand Herald*, 24 April, 1902, 6.

⁵⁸ 'Raglan County Council', *Waikato Argus*, 26 July, 1907, 2.

⁵⁹ 'Te Akatea Coal Mines', *Waikato Argus*, 7 July, 1908, 2.

By 24 August, 1908, the *Gisborne Times* was advertising an abridged prospectus for the Ngāruawāhia Coal Company Ltd., with two of the directors listed as T. Runciman of Ngāruawāhia, Farmer and C.G. Dawson of Te Akatea, Farmer.⁶⁰ These directors at the apex of the mining company were clearly not averse to the property speculation their mining venture might encourage:

There appears to be every indication of a land boom on a moderate scale in the neighborhood of Ngāruawāhia and Te Akatea as a result of the opening of this mine. ... In some cases, we are informed, options to purchase [properties in the vicinity of the mine] have been secured. Other speculators are bound to follow this lead as the establishment of a large township at Te Akatea in the near future is imminent.⁶¹

Conservative Politics and the Naming of the Mining Village

Politically, Te Akatea's voting patterns were unsurprisingly, decidedly conservative. Results for the Franklin electorate in 1902 election, included 8 votes for Harris and 16 votes for Massey at the Te Akatea polling station, the total results for the whole electorate being 1,159 for Harris and 2,270 for Massey, with a majority of 1,111 for Massey.⁶² By 1911, Te Akatea was in the Raglan electorate, but where the *New Zealand Herald* reported the results of six polls and a solid government defeat, in Te Akatea, 26 voted for Bollard (from Massey's Reform Party) and 24 voted for the only opposing candidate, who was an unofficial Reformist, with Bollard winning the electorate overall.⁶³ Local political sympathies prior to the 1913 General Strike, and the opening of the Waipā Mine in 1914 were quite clear. Strong support for Bollard and the Reform Party continued throughout this period and beyond, up to 1927.

That included early indications of anti-union sentiment. In August, 1908, 'Hawk-Eye' of Te Akatea enclosed 1s towards the subscription list for the two tram/bus drivers who were strike breakers.⁶⁴ In February, 1909, it was reported that the Te Akatea coal mine had a busy time

⁶⁰ 'Advertisements', *Gisborne Times*, 24 August, 1908, 1.

⁶¹ 'Te Akatea Coal Mines', *Waikato Argus*, 7 July, 1908, 2.

⁶² 'Franklin', *Auckland Star*, 26 November, 1902, 5.

⁶³ 'Auckland Province', *New Zealand Herald*, 15 December, 1911, 8.

⁶⁴ 'The Tramways Decision', *New Zealand Herald*, 6 August, 1908, 6.

during the recent trouble at Huntly, having supplied the Dairy Association's factory and other customers at Ngaruawahia and along the line.⁶⁵

It seems highly likely that the decision to name the mine, 'Glen Massey' was made by Charlton Dawson in collusion with Runciman, if not unilaterally. There is no serious dispute that the second part of the name is a tribute to the Reform Prime Minister, William Massey. The prefix of 'Glen' is more problematic and led to considerable subsequent confusion and local village myth-making. At the time, it was internationally commonplace for mining operators to name the mine, "often before the residents arrived [and there was a] rather widespread use of the word "glen" followed by another personal or family name."⁶⁶ Runciman was the owner of the land containing the mine. Dawson was a significant shareholder in the Waipā Collieries and Railway company, and had supplied investment monies on a regular basis before the mine opened (Figs. 2 and 4). It is highly plausible that he would have suggested, if not chosen the name of the local M.P. for Franklin who had become Prime Minister in 1912, for the mine in which he had invested.

In any event, the village was named before the mine opened in May 1914 and miners had arrived to work it. The *Waikato Times* could pronounce on 11 May, 1914, that "The first trucks of coal were sent from the mine last Wednesday, and it is expected that everything will be sufficiently advanced to allow of the opening of the mine today ... the name of the station connected with the mine is Glen Massey."⁶⁷ On 15 May, 1914, the *Pahiatua Herald* stated that "at the mine a new township has sprung up, which has been called Glen Massey."⁶⁸ By 1 October, 1914, the *Waikato Argus* was reporting that "the name of the Te Akatea school was changed to "Glen Massey."⁶⁹

⁶⁵ 'Country News', *New Zealand Herald*, 12 February, 1909, 8.

⁶⁶ Shifflett. *Coal Towns*, 34.

⁶⁷ 'Te Akatea Notes', *Waikato Times*, 11 May, 1914, 8.

⁶⁸ 'Waipa Railways and Collieries', *Pahiatua Herald*, 15 May, 1914, 3.

⁶⁹ 'Advertisements', *Waikato Argus*, 2 December, 1914, 3.



No. 40. PUBLIC TRUST OFFICE. Initials: _____		Entered in Register or Ledger.
GENERAL ACCOUNT.	PARTICULARS ACCOUNT.	Voucher No.
WILLS AND TRUSTS NO. 1.		
m. L. Dawson		
Payable to <u>Waipa Railway Collieries Limited</u>		
Date.	Nature and Particulars of Claim:- <small>P.T. - Details in all cases should be given. Entries such as "Account rendered" or "Do goods" are insufficient. In claims for money lent, and documentary evidence is not submitted, it must be supported by a sworn statement. Solicitors in receipt should be written on head of this voucher, otherwise it is to be given up and returned. Claimant must take care that his or her name and address are correctly and legibly written.</small>	Amount.
1911 9.6.12	To call (no. 5) of 1/- per share, in 500 shares. due 5.7.1912	25
		
Total. £ 25		
Name of Claimant: <u>H. H. Hickery</u> Address of Claimant: <u>Secretary, Waipa R. & S. Coy. 1st Gustafson Quay, Wellington</u> Nearest Money Order Office: _____		
I certify that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, the foregoing account, amounting to <u>Twenty five</u> pounds _____ shillings and _____ pence, is true and correct in every particular; and that		
Approved. _____ Public Trustee.		Signature of Officer authorized to receive. _____
Received, this _____ day of _____, 1911, from the Public Trustee the sum of <u>Twenty five</u> pounds _____ shillings and _____ pence in full payment of the above account.		
Signature: _____		

Figure 4 One of a series of invoices around 1910-13 for further injections of capital by shareholders for the development of the Waipā mine.⁷⁰

The story that subsequently developed that the name was a tribute to Scots miners who arrived *en masse* to the exclusion of all other nationalities, does not fit with the facts. Firstly, use of the Scottish prefix 'Glen' does not necessarily imply even Scots ownership, let alone a Scots workforce – it was an international verbal convention used by coal mine owners. Secondly, it is difficult to imagine any group of red-blooded, highly unionized Scots miners either being offered or accepting a place-name link with the eponymous author of 'Massey's Cossacks' during the general strike only a year before, in 1913. In an interview recorded in 1992, Tom

⁷⁰ Invoice for 1911. Private Papers of Colonel Charlton Dawson and Mr Charlton Dawson, son of Colonel Charlton Dawson.

Burke, Rhys Jones and Jack Pitkin, miners of Rotowaro, Huntly and Renown mines, vividly recalled how in 1913 “farmers charged ‘em with a horse and killed one of ‘em miners,” reflecting the lingering bitterness throughout the coalfields.⁷¹ Thirdly, and most importantly, such a claim is at significant variance with an objective breakdown of the national origins of the miners (mostly Northern English and New Zealand-born) who were the original village settlers.

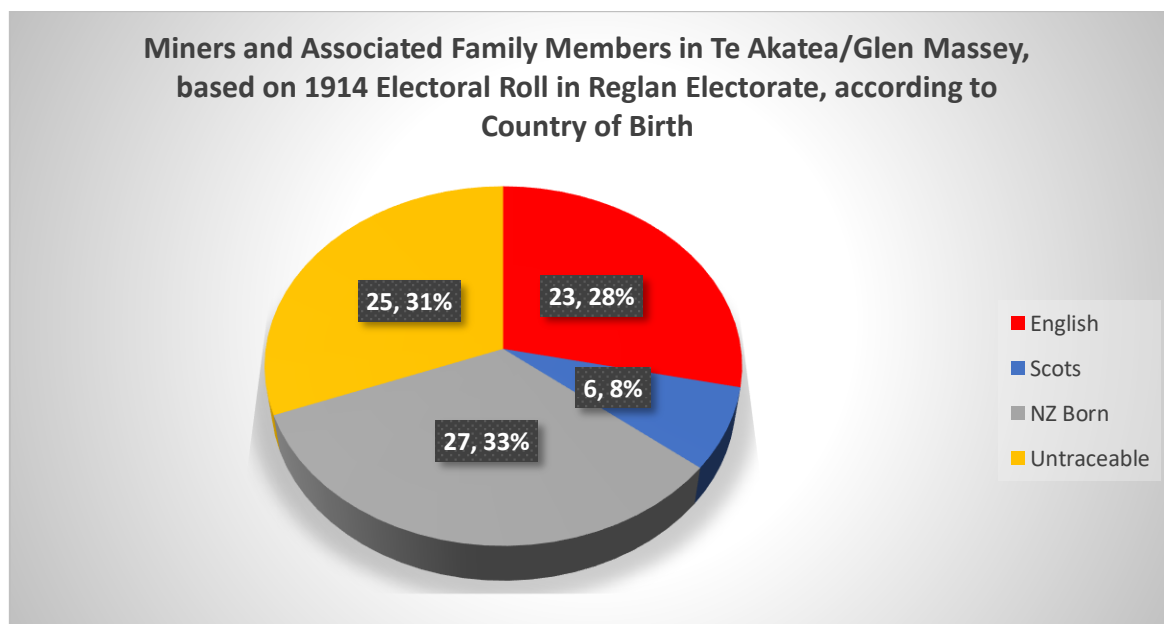


Figure 5 – See Appendix 1 for details of supporting evidence

Some of the reasons that this myth might have gained such currency in the face of all objective evidence to the contrary, will be examined in Chapter 3.

Te Akatea Farmer Culture 1900-1915: Leisure Activities, Housing, Religion and Self-Awareness as a ‘Class’

In keeping with the original land-holdings granted for imperial military service and the imperial imprint of the business of exploitation of resources both above and below ground, the imperialist military nature of the interests and leisure activities of the Te Akatea single male-dominated social elite is unsurprising. Frederick C. R. Horne, son of William Horne had been a volunteer during the South African War.⁷² *The Waikato Argus* reported on 8 December, 1908 that No. 1 Squadron of the A.M.R. (Auckland Mounted Rifles) had their annual squadron

⁷¹ Tom Burke, Rhys Jones and Jack Pitkin ‘An interview with Tom Burke, Rhys Jones and Jack Pitkin’, Huntly Coalfields Oral History Project, Te Koopuu Maania o Kirikiriroa, Hamilton Library, HCLOH_0181 a and b, 06 April, 1992.

⁷² ‘Family Protection Act’, *Auckland Star*, 18 March, 1926, 16.

shooting competition, where No. 3 Troop was named as having its headquarters in Te Akatea. (Lieutenant Rutter, Private Burt and Private Runciman named as winners of various sections).⁷³ Lt Rutter was also named as being present at the annual inspection of A. Squadron 2nd Regiment Auckland Mounted Rifles at Hamilton, 30 Sep., 1908, with the inspecting Colonel noting that the Karamu and Te Akatea troops had ridden a distance of over twenty-five miles to attend.⁷⁴ This local militia also paraded at a firing range at Te Akatea in February, 1909 to compete for Lieut. Rutter's medal.⁷⁵ There were similar reports in August, September and October of 1909.⁷⁶ The Rutters (Privates C and E), Burts (Privates T and A), Kemps (Private S and another unidentified), Fosters (Corporal and Private), Petries (Privates F and L.) Corporal Runciman, and Farrier-Sergeant Fowler all appear to have been regular attenders at drill. On 30 July, 1910, a parade of Ngāruawāhia and Te Akatea troops of the No 1 Squadron, Waikato Mounted Rifles was held at Ngāruawāhia, with the 'Bushmen' organising chopping events, an interesting coalescence of the pioneering and military wings of the imperialist enterprise.⁷⁷

Constructed around 1900, the house belonging to the Rutters, a late Victorian square plan villa with its timber framing and weatherboards was probably fairly representative of the better type of farmhouse at Te Akatea. The house is also reputed to have served as the Te Akatea Post Office at the turn of the century and before the relocation of such business and social infrastructure as existed, to the new village of Glen Massey.

⁷³ 'No. I Squadron, A.M.R', *Waikato Argus*, 8 December, 1908, 2.

⁷⁴ 'Defence Notes', *Waikato Argus*, 30 September, 1908, 2

⁷⁵ 'Scouting Competition', *Waikato Argus*, 27 February, 1909, 2.

⁷⁶ 'Volunteering', *Waikato Argus*, 16 August, 1909, 2; 'Ngaruawahia', *Waikato Argus*, 7 September, 1909, 2;

'Volunteering News', *Waikato Argus*, 21 October, 1909, 4.

⁷⁷ 'Our Territorials', *Waikato Argus*, 30 July, 1910, 2.



Figure 6 The Rutter House, seen from the road. ⁷⁸

Accounts of the spiritual sustenance available to the Te Akatea community before WWI are scarce. A Wesleyan (Methodist) Service was advertised for January 14, 1900 for 3.00pm at Te Akatea, although the lack of further advertisements suggests such observances were fairly spasmodic.⁷⁹ An account of the planned building of Glen Massey Methodist Church in 1914 indicates that before that date “both the services and (Sunday) school are at present being held at Mr Fawsett’s house.”⁸⁰ There were also notices in the *Huntly Press* of four Anglican Services being held at Te Akatea in 1913.⁸¹ Similarly, the frequency and venues of these Anglican services prior to that year are also unknown. However, there were a number of baptisms in the period before the construction of Glen Massey, and in the first two years of the mining village’s existence (before the building of the Methodist Church late towards the end of 1915, which fairly quickly thereafter was also used by Anglicans as well as Presbyterians).⁸² It can fairly be assumed that most of these baptisms, and perhaps a number of services taken by lay-readers, took place in private homes, with the occasional service being held in the Te Akatea School. More rarely, such christenings may have involved a major journey on a horse track to either Ngāruawāhia or Huntly.

⁷⁸ Photo reproduced with permission from Waikato District Council Historic Heritage Item Record Form, 25 November 2016.

⁷⁹ ‘Church Services’, *Waikato Argus*, 13 January, 1900, 2.

⁸⁰ ‘Glen Massey Notes’, *Waikato Times*, 15 May, 1914, 4. The surname “Fawsett” has various spellings in church records, newspaper accounts and electoral rolls, although all appear to refer to the same man, Mr Arthur Fausett. The latter spelling derives from the 1914 electoral roll spelling.

⁸¹ ‘Church Services’, *Huntly Press and District Gazette*, 6 February, 1913, 2; 6 June, 1913, 2; 8 August, 1913, 2; 12 December, 1913, 2.

⁸² Putake, John Kinder Theological Library – Te Puna Atuatanga. *Huntly Baptism Register 1895-1928* spreadsheet and *Ngaruawahia Baptism Register 1872-1922*.

An article in the *Greymouth Evening Star* dated 27 September, 1913, just before the railway line was completed, gives a good description of the topology and state of “development” of Te Akatea, just prior to the establishment of Glen Massey. After some poetic rhapsodizing over the natural beauty of the native forest and creek, the writer attempted a realistic appraisal of the physical and human geography of the district, which undermined many of the contemporary assumptions around New Zealand as ‘Britain’s Family Farm’, in this locality at least:

This is one of the few districts in the Waikato where dairying has not thriven. The physical conformation of the country largely prevents this, and the chief farming income is derived from cattle and sheep... the district as a whole is too scattered to support a creamery; and, what is more, there is not the population of milkers required for this, as the bulk of the holdings are in the hands of single men. A difficulty also exists in the shape of getting permanent hired milkers.⁸³

The article then goes on to chart the effects of the unwitting ignorance which often undermined the efforts of hard-working pioneers driving to push back the frontier and ‘tame’ the wilderness, even if, ironically, the writer of the above article appears unable to ‘join the dots’ and recognise it as such: the impact of caterpillars on winter feed; the necessity of ploughing up pastures every two years because of ti-tree regrowth; young grass providing a nurturing culture for lamb worms; plagues of caterpillars and crickets; fruit blight and noxious weeds (Gorse and California Thistle). Later generations might categorize these as symptomatic of the ecological disruption inherent in the clearing of native bush, and the sudden imposition of an inappropriate land use.

The preponderance of single men who were landholders in the district had been evident a decade earlier with the Bachelor’s Ball held in the Te Akatea schoolroom in 1902, (although their exact numbers are unknown, and even in a small schoolroom, there was evidently sufficient room for guests from other districts).⁸⁴ Equally evident, was at least an incipient awareness by the more prosperous farmers at least, that they constituted a rural gentry ‘class’. Given the relative isolation and probably, largely single marital status of the Te Akatea population during this period, this ‘class’ derived from their social influence because of either

⁸³ ‘Among Auckland’s Hill Farms’, *Greymouth Evening Star*, 22 September, 1913, 8.

⁸⁴ ‘Te Akatea’, *Waikato Argus*, 30 April, 1902, 2.

imperial military connections (from the Land Wars in the case of Col. Dawson and Mr Jos. Forster, or the contemporary militia as with the Rutter, Burt and Runciman families), size of landholding and evident wealth relative to others in the district. The financial means to employ casual labour and / or the assistance of a marital partner (and possibly children of working age) would have also been significant determinants and ‘markers.’

The activities, fortunes and misfortunes of this ‘gentry-class’ group, even at this point, were deemed to be of sufficient interest and importance to be published in the *New Zealand Herald*, the *Waikato Times*, the *Waikato Argus* and other papers for the benefit of their peers, as well as those in the ranks of the literate but less socially exalted. The tone of the report of W. Goodwin’s inadvertent swallowing of a fence staple in 1904 is almost obsequious.⁸⁵ Mr Elgood’s departure for the Old Country and its adverse impact on the fortunes of the football team earlier in the same year, was in similar vein.⁸⁶ William Horne’s accident where he broke two ribs and got a “touch of pleurisy” in 1905, was likewise sympathetically treated.⁸⁷ These examples contrast with the jocular, even condescending tones in which the trials and tribulations of the lower orders were much more rarely reported. For instance, an unnamed swagman loafer at Te Akatea became an unflattering representative stereotype of all of the “bushman” class.⁸⁸ The flavour of the *Herald’s* report on 31 March, 1914, concerning bushman, Thomas Hedley’s dislocated shoulder in a wrestling match, which was only fixed after a long and painful ride of 18 miles, strongly suggests the primary purpose was entertainment at Hedley’s expense, rather than evoking sympathy.⁸⁹

‘All Chang’d, Chang’d Utterly’: The Opening of the Mine and the Construction of Glen Massey in Te Akatea

The Waipā Railway and Collieries Company, “with a nominal capital of £80,000 was registered in Wellington and shares allocated for the purpose of working the coal deposits at Te Akatea in the Waikato district”, in 1910.⁹⁰ In the interim, the ever-assiduous Mr T. Runciman had been engaged in negotiations with the Raglan County Council to construct a railway to Te Akatea alongside the surveyed road, level crossings along the road and the Waipā Bridge (at

⁸⁵ Untitled. *New Zealand Mail*, 21 September, 1904, 33.

⁸⁶ ‘Ngaruawahia’, *Waikato Times*, 7 May, 1904, 3.

⁸⁷ ‘Waingaro’, *Waikato Times*, 26 April, 1905, 3.

⁸⁸ ‘The Fretful Porcupine’, *Observer*, 14 August, 1909, 16.

⁸⁹ ‘A Wrestler Injured’, *New Zealand Herald*, 31 March, 1914, 7.

⁹⁰ ‘New Coal Mining Company’, *Hawera & Normanby Star*, 14 January, 1910, 5.

Ngāruawāhia) to carry the line. Significantly, in terms of community and social development, it had been clarified as early as 1908 that the company would run “at least one train daily and carry passengers and freight which were to be carried at the Government Rates ruling except when prevented by strikes, flood or fire.”⁹¹

The Wairarapa Age noted on 25 October 1913, that Mr Thomas Thomson, MIME, Inspector of Mines for the Southern District of the Dominion, had been appointed manager of the Waipā Collieries Ltd at Te Akatea.⁹² *The Auckland Star* on 31 October, 1913 added that Mr Thomson had been assistant engineer at the Westport Coal Company in 1907.⁹³ *The Waikato Argus* also noted that Mr Thomson had been manager of the Ironbridge Colliery (near Denniston), for three years, thus foreshadowing the establishment of industrial as well as social and familial links between the Glen Massey and West Coast coalfields.⁹⁴

The speculative investment potential involving the subdivision into residential lots for the construction of houses for the miners was quickly recognised and acted upon in a series of surveys and subdivisions by farmers who had land bordering Waingaro Road and particularly around the junction of what became Wilton Collieries Road and Dawson’s Road which was close to the mine site. The first of these in February 1912 was for the Fowler brothers (WR Fowler and George Fowler) who sliced off a nearly three-acre strip of land on the east side of what is now Wilton Collieries Road from their farm and immediately sold off the same parcel to HH Gould and Arthur Fausett (sawmillers of Ngāruawāhia). The interest of the latter can be assumed to be purely speculative, as in February 1913 they undertook a subdivision of the same parcel into eleven sections of just over $\frac{1}{4}$ acre each, south from the junction of Waingaro Road and Wilton Collieries Road.

Further subdivisions of 30 $\frac{1}{4}$ acre sections and 10 sections of slightly less than $\frac{1}{4}$ acre and three larger parcels followed in the first quarter of 1914 for Messrs Runciman and Coad, along Kereru Road (then known as Dawson Road). Access to some of the sections was provided by a right of way road, now Edgecombe Drive. The Fowler brothers had a further survey done on the north side of Waingaro Road before it turns north to Waingaro and then again in 1915 for

⁹¹ ‘Te Akatea – Ngāruawāhia Tram’, *Waikato Argus*, 29 September, 1908, 3.

⁹² ‘Personal’, *Wairarapa Age*, 25 October, 1913, 5.

⁹³ ‘Personal’, *Auckland Star*, 31 October, 1913, 5.

⁹⁴ ‘Waipa Railways & Collieries’, *Waikato Argus*, 20 May, 1913, 2.

the south side of the main road, which with its 67 allotments of approximately $\frac{1}{4}$ acre and two of one acre was the largest of all of the subdivisions.

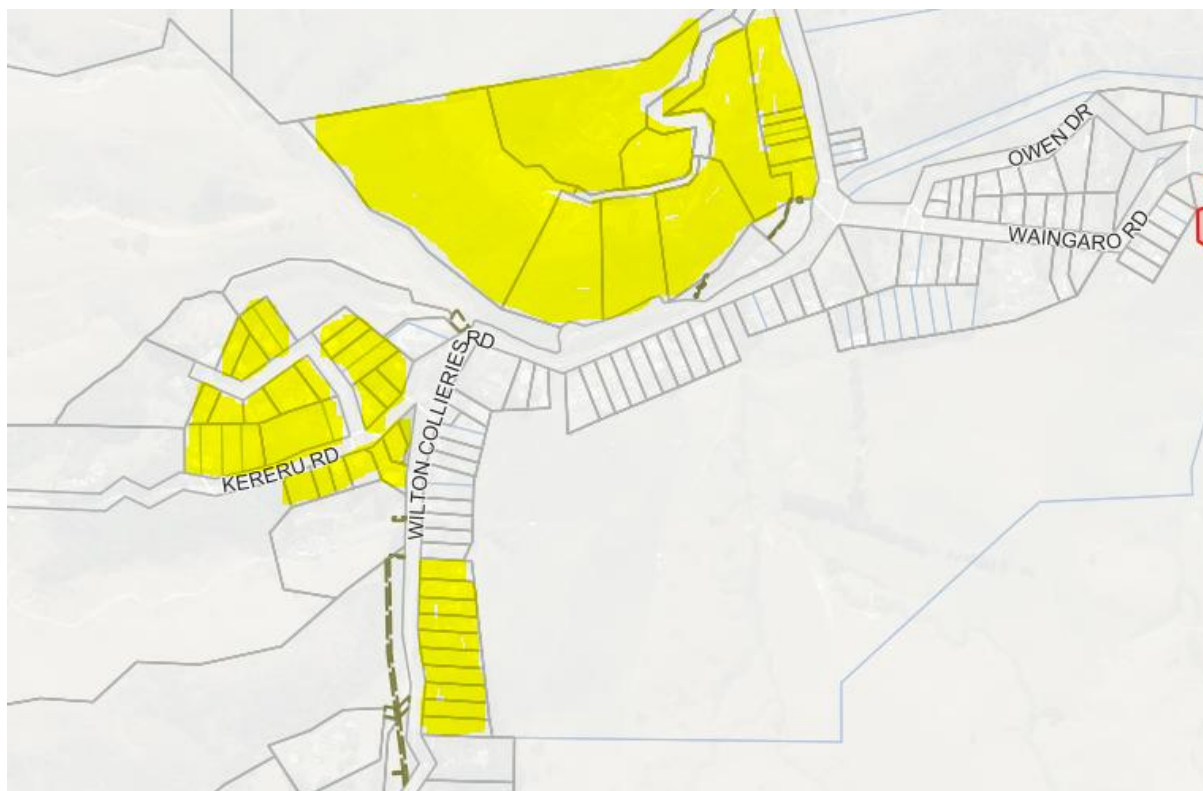


Figure 7: Subdivisions in the creation of Glen Masey. The highlighted area indicates recent subsequent alterations to original subdivisions.⁹⁵

Construction of quite modest homes proceeded apace, hard on the heels of the subdivisions. In the expectation of large numbers of single men arriving to work in the mine, as well as families, a boarding house was also opened in January 1915. With its simple, bungalow style of timber framing, weatherboards and corrugated iron roofing, the building is one of the better examples of the flurry of building done in the construction of the village, which is still extant.

⁹⁵ Map reproduced with permission of Louise Veltman, Waikato District Council.



Figure 8 Boarding House on Wilton Collieries Road, Glen Massey, constructed in 1914 and operated by John and Sarah Robinson from January 1915.⁹⁶

Significantly, demographically speaking, the incoming miners included families as well as single men, who did not model themselves on British ‘gentry’, nor aspire to mimic that social group, and came from working-class backgrounds with hard-line unionist sympathies, not only from varying localities in the UK, but also the West Coast coalfields of New Zealand. Their sudden arrival *en masse* within the Te Akatea community was likely significantly confronting to the ‘gentry farmers’ of Te Akatea, particularly in the context of the 1913 General Strike a year beforehand, where it is at least possible, if not probable that some Te Akatea gentleman farmers and Militia Volunteers would have ridden as ‘Massey’s Cossacks’ against strikers who were also hard-line unionists. However, as will be subsequently explored, Glen Massey miners’ adherence to the ethos of hard-line unionism was always conditional, even transactional and instrumental, nuanced and negotiated.

In other developments, a site for a school was chosen and by 1914 classes were held in a marquee on the site, while the building was being erected, the Board of Education having taken land from the Fowler farm under the Public Works Act for that purpose. On 3 September, 1914, it was reported that arrangements had been made for Te Akatea school to be taught full-time, and for the Waingaro school to be taught half-time with the Waimai school from the beginning

⁹⁶ Photo from Waikato District Council Historic Heritage Item Record Form, completed 25 November, 2016, reproduced with permission of Louise Veltman, Waikato District Council.

of October.⁹⁷ By 1 October, 1914, the name of the Te Akatea school had been changed to “Glen Massey.”⁹⁸ The building, when completed, shared the timber-framing, weatherboard cladding and corrugated iron roofing of virtually all other structures in the village and its rural hinterland.

The completion of the new railway line to transport the coal finally signaled an end to the relative isolation of the district. As earlier foreshadowed and planned for, the railway also operated a passenger service as well as carrying freight, which rapidly became a popular way to travel to Ngāruawāhia. The concern of the Ngāruawāhia Town Council and the Ngāruawāhia Chamber of Commerce that the passenger carriage timetable did not give the miners an opportunity to take a train to and from Ngāruawāhia who might reside there rather than at Glen Massey, however, underlines the shortage of completed housing for families, especially in the first years of the village’s existence and the mining operations.⁹⁹ There was almost certainly some reliance on commuting from Ngāruawāhia or even further afield, probably mostly by rail, for at least a portion of the required labour force. Stokes suggests that by 1916, Glen Massey’s total population was 346, so in 1915 it was probably about the same as, if not a little below that figure.¹⁰⁰ It was claimed that 150 men were employed in the mine at the 1915 AGM of the Waipā Coal Mine and Railway Company, and it can probably be assumed that the major proportion of that workforce, plus teachers and store workers lived at Glen Massey, with the combined numbers of their wives and children and the residents of the single men’s hostel making a population of 300, more or less.¹⁰¹

The opening of the railway line also ironically occasioned the entire Ngāruawāhia-Waingaro Road being opened to motor traffic. The *Waikato Times* reported on 11 May, 1914 that, “the name of the (railway) station connected with the mine is Glen Massey.... There are, however, no station buildings erected as yet. Building is brisk. In addition to the manager’s house and several houses for miners, a billiard room has been erected. A comfortable boardinghouse is nearly completed close to the mine. Mr D.W. Harvey, of Hamilton, has erected and opened a commodious store as a branch.”¹⁰² Telephone contact between Glen Massey and the Te Akatea district with the wider world also became possible with the installation of a Post Office

⁹⁷ ‘Board of Education’, *Waikato Argus*, 3 September, 1914, 2.

⁹⁸ ‘Board of Education’, *Waikato Argus*, 1 October, 1914, 2.

⁹⁹ ‘Country News’, *New Zealand Herald*, 19 January, 1915, 3, and ‘Country News’, *New Zealand Herald*, 23 January, 1915, 5.

¹⁰⁰ Evelyn Stokes, *Coal Mining in the Waikato Region*, 15.

¹⁰¹ ‘The Waipā Coal Mines’, *Evening Post*, 23 April, 1915, 4.

¹⁰² ‘Te Akatea Notes’, *Waikato Times*, 11 May, 1914, 8.

telephone bureau. In June, 1914, it reported that “it is understood that six settlers on the road between Ngaruawahia and Glen Massey are taking steps to form a party-line connecting with the Ngaruawahia exchange.”¹⁰³

A public meeting in January 1915 decided to erect a town hall which was to be built on the west side of the junction of what would later become Wilton Collieries Road and Waingaro Road. By July of the same year, an advertisement in the *Waikato Times* was calling for tenders for its erection.¹⁰⁴ The Certificate of Incorporation of the Glen Massey Public Hall Association was sent to the Registrar of Incorporated Societies on 17th August 1915. An extant list of the members of the Association, although undated, contains the names of A. Faussett, Vera J. Faussett, the Fowler Brothers, and T. Runciman (farmers), most of the miners identified in Appendix 1 as being present in 1915 (see Fig. 5) and the Waipā Colliery, as well as some fifty others who probably joined later.¹⁰⁵ A letter requesting the building of a new miner’s hall in 1945 in another file, clarifies that membership of the Public Hall Association involved the purchase of one or more shares, few of which ever seem to have changed hands, and were, to all practical purposes, donations.¹⁰⁶

A small medical centre was also built at the south end of the village on Wilton Collieries Road around this time and is still in existence, although the exact date of construction and the beginning of medical services is unknown. A doctor came from Ngāruawāhia once a week a Plunket nurse once a fortnight, and two local women were trained as midwives.

The relatively early construction of the boarding house discussed above also strongly implies a reasonably substantial proportion of itinerant single men within the workforce. Such men are the very stuff of New Zealand cultural, especially literary tradition and the epitome of Fairburn’s concept of ‘atomisation’.¹⁰⁷ Socially, they were highly marginalised, if not silenced: historically they were clearly numerous, but often undocumented and thus, equally silenced. Their numbers, use and necessary function in the colonial economy went without saying. Only

¹⁰³ ‘Day by Day’, *Waikato Times*, 29 June, 1914, 4.

¹⁰⁴ ‘Advertisements’, *Waikato Times*, 12 July, 1915, 1.

¹⁰⁵ ‘Glen Massey Public Hall Association 1915-1977’. Archives New Zealand, Te Rua Mahara o te Kawanatanga, Auckland Repository. File No. R4986894. See Footnote 80 re spelling of Arthur Fausset’s name.

¹⁰⁶ ‘Glen Massey Social Amenities, 20 October 1936 – 03 April, 1951’, Archives New Zealand, Te Rua Mahara o te Kawanatanga, Wellington Repository. File No R17869469, Box 1265.

¹⁰⁷ Miles Fairburn, *The Ideal Society and its Enemies: the foundations of modern New Zealand society, 1850-1900*. Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1989.

rarely, however, did they ‘pop up’ in newspaper accounts (often anonymously) when they could be constructed as the maverick ‘other’, a ‘threat’ to the majority’s notion of common-sense and everyday reality, and thus a socially permissible butt of jokes and derision. The Te Akatea casual farm-labourer version of the stereotyped ‘unemployed loafer’ whose unemployed status was clearly his own fault, is one example.¹⁰⁸ The following reprinted story from the *Ngaruawahia Advocate* about a Māori trucker (a mineworker) at Glen Massey is another:

It appears that a Maori, employed as a trucker, in the Waipa mine, whilst homeward bound on Sunday evening through the mile bush, found himself in close proximity to a “Taipo”. The monstrosity made a decided attempt to capture the horse ridden by the Maori, and he, terror-stricken, and it must be confessed, swearing plenty, never drew rein until he arrived at the boardinghouse where he stays at Glen Massey. He dashed inside, locked the door, and left the horse free with both saddle and bridle on. Dame Rumour says he turned white and has not got back his original colour since. He has certainly not recovered from the fright he received, up to date. Accounts differ as to the appearance of the monstrosity. The Maori gives a very lucid description, and embellishes him with all the attachments of tail and horns and whatnot.

“Te Taipo,” in the mines, he says, is a totally different personage; he is like the wise virgins – keeps his lamp trimmed and burning brightly. It is said (on not very reliable authority) that when the unfortunate affrighted walks abroad he is followed by urchins singing a doggerel rhyme in reference to the occasion.¹⁰⁹

This is the only account of Māori in or around Glen Massey evident in newspapers of the period. There are also no identifiably ‘Māori’ surnames evident on the school roll up to 1915 or even a few years beyond that. One draws a similar blank for evidence of Māori in the baptismal and marriage records (of the Pakeha churches of the district, at least) of the period.

Clearly, this man was employed in the Glen Massey mine, probably single and itinerant as he was living in a hostel. Possibly, he was from the Waahi Pa near Huntly, a few members of whom were employed in other coalfields of the Huntly seam (e.g. Pukemiro). Ironically, the

¹⁰⁸ ‘The Fretful Porcupine’, *Observer*, 14 August, 1909, 16.

¹⁰⁹ ‘A Maori Taipo’, *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 1 February, 1915, 3.

publication of such a tale (including the amused acceptance of the behaviour of the “urchins”), recounted on “not very reliable authority”, but with an evident public ‘license’ for publication anyway, probably suggests more about the racial stereotypes of Māori within the immigrant pakeha Glen Massey mining community and New Zealand as a whole, than it does about the man himself, or the contemporary cultural beliefs of Māori.

Whether Māori were largely absent from the Glen Massey / Te Akatea communities or their presence was highly marginalized to the point of being silenced and unable to be recovered, it is possible to reconstruct a picture of the other national / ethnic – and religious - communities who constituted the mining immigrants who had arrived in 1914, although there are some gaps (evidenced most obviously, in the ‘Untraceable’ category of Fig. 5 and Appendix 1). The 1914 Electoral Roll, school enrolment records, together with data gleaned from Methodist, Anglican and Presbyterian Church baptismal and marriage records, contemporary newspaper accounts and genealogical research all contribute to such a reconstruction.

New Zealand-born ‘Internal Migrants’ were the largest group, followed closely by those from Northern England. The religious adherence of both groups was overwhelmingly Wesleyan / Methodist, which accounts for the building of Glen Massey’s one and only church by that denomination. There were already two or three farming families of the same persuasion in place, to which the addition of the immigrants in 1914-15 made for an initially thriving religious community. Scots-born were a small minority. Scotch immigration into Glen Massey appears to have only become significant in the 1920s and 1930s. At least up to 1915, Presbyterians were predominantly a small, but significant group of farmers, with only a few immigrant miners, and the numbers of adherents did not appear to substantially increase even with the later Scots migration noted above. Religiously, Anglicans accounted for a number of the Te Akatea farming community, although there were a few miners and associated workers who arrived to supplement them.

The first mention of the intention to build a Methodist Church at Te Akatea was in 1914 when Hamilton readers of the *Waikato Argus* were enjoined to attend:

...a lecture by the Rev. W.A. Porter “on ‘Love, Courtship and Marriage among the South African Natives,’ to be given in the London Street Methodist Church... The proceeds are to be devoted to the Te Akatea Church Building Fund.”¹¹⁰

On September 11, 1915, the Glen Massey church was built, a strictly utilitarian box-like structure, with a small vestibule and raised pulpit. It was completed in one day by farmers and miners working together. Accounts of the construction of the church do not give any details of exactly which farmers or miners were involved. A list of the religious communities within Glen Massey at the time, generated from cross-referencing church baptismal and marriage records as well as other data suggests that the farmers almost certainly included the Fowlers (George, William, Arthur and Stephen) who were a strongly Methodist family, originally from Bunnythorpe, Arthur Faussett and possibly William Foster.¹¹¹ There were any number of Methodist adherents among the newly arrived miners, who may have been part of the working-bee. Given the social, recreational – and to an extent, even religious - divisions which subsequently characterised miner and farmer relationships for the ensuing decades, the early cooperation of these disparate occupational groupings in church building can be easily overstated. (Although, in this context, it is apposite to foreshadow that the Fowlers also stood out as glaring exceptions to the general ‘rule’ that the farming community had little or nothing to do with most sporting and recreational activities enjoyed by miners for the next two decades).

Also, by 1915, some shops had been established. Fowler Brothers were butchers at Glen Massey and Ngāruawāhia, the success of Messrs. G. and W.R. Fowler’s application for a slaughter license at Te Akatea having been granted, being noted in the *Waikato Argus* in June,

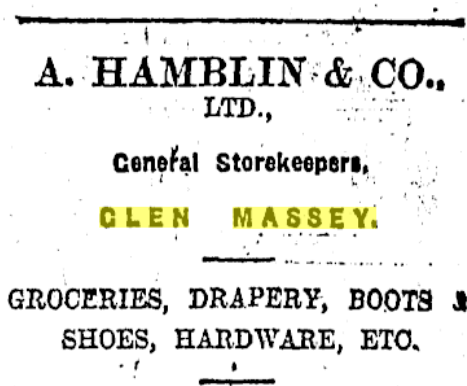


Figure 9 Advertisement in the 'Maoriland Worker', 22 December, 1915. P.3

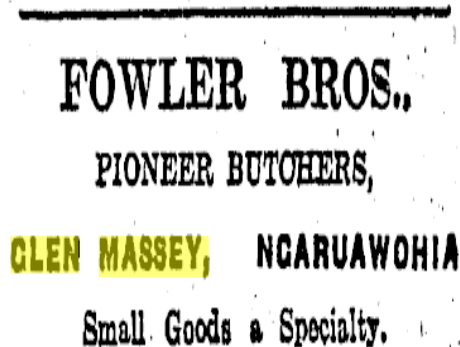


Figure 10 Advertisement in the 'Maoriland Worker', 22 December, 1915. P.3

¹¹⁰ 'Hamilton's Jubilee', *Waikato Argus*, 24 August, 1914, 2.

¹¹¹ See Footnote 80 re spelling of Mr Arthur Fausset's name.

1914.¹¹² More interesting perhaps is the decision of both Hamblin and the Fowler brothers to advertise in the *Maoriland Worker* (as above) on a regular basis, thus identifying with and supporting the strong union loyalties of their customers.¹¹³ The Fowler farm's geographical contiguity to the Glen Massey village (many of the new mining houses were being built on land originally belonging to the Fowlers) and the customer base for their new butchery business made such an advertising medium prudent. The strong Methodist roots of the Fowler family in particular, and the popular identification of that church in its British homeland with working-class consciousness and the growth of the same working-class consciousness in New Zealand may well, have been an additional compelling factor in their choice of advertising medium.¹¹⁴

Economically, the opening of the mine and its concomitant transport infrastructure transitioned the solely farming-based Te Akatea economy towards a village / township economy undergirded by the twin pillars of farming and coal, and supporting a few small-scale 'servicing' businesses. Land values were amongst the first reflections of a new economic confidence. On 10 Nov. 1911, a major selling point of a ½ acre section on O'Connor's subdivision in Ngāruawāhia was that it was on the route of the new Te Akatea Coal Railway.¹¹⁵ In addition to the speculation already evidenced in the sale of housing sections within the village, by January 1915, the existence of access to 405 acres with a small whare, 5 miles from Ngāruawāhia "by good metalled road" was touted as a major attraction for the purchase of a farm.¹¹⁶

Initial Impact of WWI

Within both the Glen Massey village and the Te Akatea farming district, the outbreak of war in 1914 generated a local flurry of patriotic collections and donations, characteristic of the country as a whole.¹¹⁷ On 2 September 1914, the Committee of the Hamilton Centre for the Mayoress' Patriotic Fund noted the contribution of 50 cholera belts by the ladies of Te Akatea to the

¹¹² 'Raglan County Council', *Waikato Argus*, 11 June, 1914, 2.

¹¹³ 'Advertisements', *Maoriland Worker*, 22 December, 1915, 3.

¹¹⁴ Peter Lineham, *Sunday Best*, 122. The Fowler family was originally from Bunnythorpe (in the Manawatu) and Dannevirke districts and was noted for its strong lay leadership of the Church as well as producing one full-time Methodist minister.

¹¹⁵ 'Advertisements', *New Zealand Herald*, 10 November, 1911, 10.

¹¹⁶ 'Advertisements', *New Zealand Herald*, 22 January, 1915, 2.

¹¹⁷ See for instance, 'Tonight's Patriotic Social', *Rodney and Otamatea Times, Waitemata and Kaipara Gazette*, 30 September, 1914, 5; 'Waitara's Method of Raising Money', *Ashburton Guardian*, 12 August, 1914, 5, and 'Philharmonic Society', *Grey River Argus*, 10 August 1914, 3.

Ngāruawāhia Hon. Territorial Association.¹¹⁸ On 28 December, 1914, the *New Zealand Herald* recorded that Glen Massey School had donated £3-12-00 to the Belgian Relief Fund.¹¹⁹ On 13 November, George and Hector Cumming from Glen Massey donated £0-6-6 to the *Herald* Sick and Wounded Soldiers' Fund.¹²⁰ And on 30 November, 1915:

The promoters of a patriotic carnival at Glen Massey, on Friday night, showed some originality, holding a king, instead of the usual queen, carnival. After being crowned, in all due formality, "His Majesty," Mr H. Smith, knighted five other aspirants to the throne. The ceremonies and the vocal and instrumental items were highly entertaining.¹²¹

For the Glen Massey miners, the fighting in Europe must have seemed of distant concern for most of the first eighteen months of WWI up to the end of 1915: an elephant in the room, but not one which needed to be unnecessarily confronted as they established their community.

The members of mining families who had enlisted were volunteers, and unsurprisingly, given the very short space of time between the opening of the mine and the outbreak of war, there were very few of them. A report from 1915 indicated that twenty-seven men entrained from Hamilton by the Rotorua express to join the miners' contingent at Avondale, which included P Evans, A. Hawthorn and T Twigger from Glen Massey who were listed as "Skilled Men".¹²² Thomas Twigger, whose father was a Glen Massey miner, became a Tunneller. However, when the elephant trumpeted, it could no longer be ignored: Edward Alker, brother of Ralph Alker, a mine worker of Glen Massey, and a Trooper of the 3rd reinforcements of the Auckland Mounted Rifles was killed in action in August 1915 at Chunuk Bair, Gallipoli.

For the Te Akatea farming community, the distant imperial battlefields of Europe and Western Mediterranean would have been of much more immediate concern from the outset, when the weekend drills and marksmanship tournaments of the volunteer militia suddenly revealed their darker purpose as leading citizens departed for war. Staff Quartermaster Sergeant William John Foster (son of J.H. Foster of the 4th Waikato Regiment who had founded Hamilton) embarked

¹¹⁸ 'New Zealand', *Waikato Argus*, 2 September, 1914, 3.

¹¹⁹ 'Belgian Relief Fund', *New Zealand Herald*, 28 December, 1914, 4.

¹²⁰ 'Herald War Fund', *New Zealand Herald*, 13 November, 1915, 4.

¹²¹ 'Canvassing Committee', *New Zealand Herald*, 30 November, 1915, 9.

¹²² 'New Zealand Forces', *New Zealand Herald*, 7 October, 1915, 8.

to Suez in the main body of the Auckland Mounted Rifles in October 1914 and was reported as wounded on 19 June, 1915.¹²³ Both Sergeant Cyril Clarkson Rutter and Lance-Corporal William Herbert Rutter (sons of Mrs M.M. Rutter of Te Akatea) respectively embarked in April and October 1915 to the same destination. All three survived the war.

Not so fortunate was John Alfred Kemp (also known as Jack Kemp), a Trooper in the Auckland Mounted Rifles who embarked in December, 1914 and died of wounds at Gibraltar on 17 September, 1915. On 22 June 1915, it was also reported that that Private J. Runciman of the Auckland Infantry Battalion, aged 28, sawmiller of Oturoa and the son of Thomas Runciman, Glen Massey was among the missing.¹²⁴

On the home front, however, the miners in the new Waipā Mine at Glen Massey appeared more concerned with forming a union, planning to form a District Council with Huntly miners, agitating against the arbitration system and even proactively intending to be represented at the Federation of Labour Conference in January, 1916 to discuss impending conscription. R. Semple's report on his visit to the Glen Massey miners gives an interesting early indication of Glen Massey as a place where 'troublesome unionists' could hide in plain sight:

I renewed my acquaintance with many prominent unionists who were victimised in different parts of N.Z. as a result of the 1913 strike. The presence of such men is sufficient guarantee as to the strength and character of the union.¹²⁵

Semple's feelings of reassurance would almost certainly have been diametrically opposite to the rural neighbours of these miners, had the farming community been aware of the radical backgrounds of a few of them. However, the sudden 'parachuting in' of migrants from the UK and the West Coast for mining was the result and other side of the coin of the capitalist enterprise in which some of their own most prominent members had invested.

The construction of the Church, the Hall and the Medical Centre, and the establishment of shops in short order in tandem with the construction and opening of the mine, bespeak an active and conscious desire to forge a community at least on the part of the miners and the mine-owners whose moral – and financial – support was readily forthcoming. However, the nature

¹²³ 'Roll of Honour', *Star* (Christchurch), 19 June, 1915, 1.

¹²⁴ 'Men Who Have Fallen', *New Zealand Herald*, 22 June, 1915, 9.

¹²⁵ 'Miners' Federation', *Maoriland Worker*, 20 October, 1915, 4.

and identity of this new community remained undetermined. Still on the table were the terms of engagement of that new community with the already-established farming society into which it had been interpolated.

This study has been unable to adduce any record of Premier William Massey ever actually visiting Glen Massey itself, the strong voting support he garnered from the Te Akatea farming community in elections prior to the establishment of the village, notwithstanding. However, Alice Pitt (nee White), the first baby born in Glen Massey received the gift of a commemorative teaspoon upon her birth in 1914, from the man after whom the village was named.¹²⁶ Premier Massey was obviously more than willing to give his imprimatur marking the birth of a child associated with a business enterprise and associated village named after himself. The family moved to Thames shortly afterwards. Alice's mother was trying to persuade her father to choose an alternative occupation to mining. Evidently, she was not successful – by the time Alice turned five or six, the family had gone to live in Pukemiro where Alice started school. Probably just before Alice started school, William Massey, local MHR, as well as Premier, was subjected to what might be euphemistically described as 'robust, free and frank exchanges', when he spoke at Ngāruawāhia, particularly from the special trainload of miners from Glen Massey, with the Premier asking the police to take names of the leaders of the cat-callers.¹²⁷

These apparently unrelated 'gobbets' illustrate the cluster of competing connotations that were already building around the new village, which would be amplified, contested and dynamically interact with each other over the next three decades. These include, the interests represented in the naming of Glen Massey and the later attempt to appropriate the meaning of that name; miners both as radical subversives and as family men asserting the same goals of self-improvement as their rural gentry-class Te Akatea neighbours; family attitudes towards mining jobs, and the availability of such work; Glen Massey as one of a cluster of West Huntly mining villages with shared bonds who would always accept a returning Prodigal Son. Other issues would accrue over time. While radical change was not part of most miners' agendas, the farming community was yet to be convinced of that.

¹²⁶ Alice Pitt. 'An interview with Alice Pitt.'

¹²⁷ 'A Lively Meeting', *New Zealand Herald*, 10 December, 1919, 10.

Chapter 2 Farmers and Miners: Parallel Cultures

Introduction

This chapter argues that in what was in effect, a company town, an informal cabal of mine company management, the mining union, and prominent lay Methodist churchmen was more influential in Glen Massey than the more distant Waingaro ward of the Raglan County Council in which the village was located. It then goes on to consider the impact of that kind of leadership in the face of potentially socially divisive issues induced by the war and the ‘media narrative’ around Glen Massey. The building of sport and leisure infrastructure and subsequent participation is adduced, before considering what such participation flagged, both in terms of traditional mining, farming and gender cultures and in terms of cultural shift. Evidence around the provision of housing, health and secondary education is then considered along with data around the demographic composition of Glen Massey in 1925. In the context of the industrial difficulties which came to characterize local mining in tandem with the Depression, the evidence of growing farmer claims to control of the ‘media narrative’ and the ‘Venn circles’ of the still disparate farming and miner cultures towards the end of the 1920s are then examined.

An Informal Leadership Cabal

On 21 April, 1916:

A well-attended meeting of householders was held here on Monday evening and after the reports as read were endorsed, the outgoing committee consisting of Mr T. Thompson (chairman) [and Waipā Mine Manager], Mr J. Cummings (energetic secretary) [and local Union Committee member], Mr E. White, Mr J. Newman [also local Union Committee member] and Mr W.F. Fawcett [Prominent farmer and local Methodist Church layman] who were accorded a very hearty vote of thanks, moved by Mr Westfield, seconded by Mr Taylor, for their past work on behalf of the school, were unanimously re-elected.¹²⁸

The proactive approach already employed by the mining company to encourage home ownership by their miner employees enabled the company management, in conjunction with both community institutions and the miners’ union, to exert a measure of social control at one

¹²⁸ ‘Glen Massey’, *Huntly Press and District Gazette*, 21 April, 1916, 3. (See Footnote 80 re spelling of W.F. Fawcett’s name)

remove. Thus, Mr C.H. (Charles) Westfield, listed as a being a manager in the electoral roll (what level of manager is unknown) is recorded as chairing social functions held in the Methodist Church at least as early as 1916, a function which he was to perform on innumerable occasions thereafter; Mrs T. Thomson (wife of Thomas Thomson, the actual mine manager) acted as accompanist on the piano at a concert and dance to raise money for hall seats, besides training the local children for the items they performed at the concert.¹²⁹ She is also noted as playing piano at other social functions.

Such general goodwill could facilitate more potentially contentious situations as well. As late as 1925, Mr Thomson's chairmanship at political meetings, mainly attended by Glen Massey miners, where the Liberal candidate, Mr Bollard was speaking, could guarantee an attentive hearing and "... at no time during his speech did the chairman have to intervene," apparently an achievement worthy of note.¹³⁰

It is worth noting that the informal 'ruling cabal' noted in the account of the school committee election above, seems to have prevailed for the next two decades. While there were obvious comings and goings as people moved on or died, others were always ready to assume their place. Te Akatea / Glen Massey was remarkably devoid of local bodies ruling over individual issues (e.g. domain boards or rabbit boards) and only minimally connected to regional or sub-regional units such as county councils. No domain board for the administration of sports grounds, for instance, was necessary when the only sports ground was part of the Fowler company farm. There was no cemetery to administer and the public hall (built before local War Memorial Halls became almost de jure) was controlled by a local committee from its erection in 1915. (There was never a cenotaph in Glen Massey, either). There was no equivalent of the contemporary New Zealand Community Boards as the bottom tier of government administration. Nor were there any resident police or clergy. Such social controls as existed, were informal and based on general community expectations, particularly looking after one another, as in other West Huntly mining towns.¹³¹ Doors were almost never locked, for instance.

¹²⁹ 'District News', *Huntly Press and District Gazette*, 7 April, 1916, 2.

¹³⁰ 'Coming Elections', *Waikato Times*, 19 October, 1925, 8.

¹³¹ Bill Baker, 'An interview with Bill Baker', HCLOH_0171, 25 February, 1992 and Patrick Kingi, 'An interview with Patrick Kingi', HCLOH_0165, 27 January, 1992, and Joseph Kereopa, 'An Interview with Joseph Kereopa', HCLOH_0170, January, 2022, Huntly Coalfields Oral Histories Project, Te Koopuu Maania o Kirikiriroa, Hamilton Library.

Glen Massey was a mine-company township and the Raglan County Council appeared more than willing to allow the company whatever rein it deemed desirable and possible over its community as well as the business enterprise. As part of a widespread Raglan County Council spread from Port Waikato in the north to Pirongia in the south, Glen Massey was a very small part of the Waingaro Riding and seems to have received scant attention – perhaps because of its minimal residential rating contribution and non-existent mine company rates. Pro-active community leadership was, instead, exercised by the informal cabal network in which the mine management always had a leading role (if unobtrusive and preferably behind the scenes), variously supported at different times by mining union officials, some prominent businessmen and farmers (e.g. the Fowlers), church laymen and the headmaster and school committee.

Up to the end of the 1920s, any dealings with the County Council were at the behest of this ‘ruling cabal’, usually around the long-running sore of the state of the roads, particularly the road between Glen Massey and Ngāruawāhia:

A largely attended meeting of ratepayers was held in the local hall. ... the meeting had been called owing to the widespread dissatisfaction locally at the excessive rates levied this year and to the lack of attention paid to the local roads. ... the rates had been increased by considerably over 100 per cent, and members felt that they were getting no adequate return for the money paid... It was decided to send a deputation, consisting of Messrs J. Penman (chairman), W. McLean (secretary), C. Westfield and F. Owen, to wait on the County Council at its next meeting.¹³²

The response from the Council was minimal, to say the least:

Mr Penman reported that the council had promised to put rails on the bridges; to raise the road opposite the station to above flood level, and to have all potholes filled in immediately. Other work would depend on the amount of rates that came in.¹³³

¹³² ‘Glen Massey’, *Waikato Times*, 9 November, 1929, 5.

¹³³ ‘Glen Massey’, *Waikato Times*, 27 November, 1929, 13.

Increasing Impact of the War

The backdrop of the Great War became increasingly difficult to ignore, even in this most remote post of empire. D. McLean of Glen Massey was reported as called up for Tunnelling Company in April, 1916.¹³⁴ A social in the Glen Massey Methodist Church to welcome the Rev. E.H. Pain began with “the company [rising] and [singing] the National Anthem with good volume ... Mr C., Morris sang a patriotic song, ‘Red White and Blue’ and as an encore, ‘Hearts of Oak’ ... another reading by Mr S.C. Vincent ‘Enlisting’, a Scotch reading was amusing, and by the time the enlisted one was stretched a bit he was an inch taller than before, and eligible.”¹³⁵ On 2 June, 1916, it was reported that:

The men have received the 10 percent War Bonus ... Mr Tom Twigger, well known in Huntly, who went away with the Mining Corps, has written to a friend here saying that he is quite well and in the thick of the fight in Flanders. Some time ago, the miners here sent a wire to the captain of the ‘Remuera’ congratulating him on his clever evasion of the German raider ‘Moewe’. He has now replied thanking them for their good wishes. Mrs Morris and son and Mrs Lloyd and two daughters were on the ‘Remuera’.¹³⁶

However, a resolution passed after Bob Semple’s address on the Conscription Bill at a public meeting on June 22, 1916, crystallised in microcosm, the reaction of militant, unionised labour to conscription most feared by Massey’s government at the national level:¹³⁷

That this meeting of citizens of Glen Massey condemn the Government for introducing the Conscription measure now before the Upper Chamber, as we are of the opinion that it is unjust and unnecessary and that it aims a blow at the civil liberty of the people of this Dominion.¹³⁸

Another address, two months later, used the ‘soft power’ stratagem of the mine manager’s chairmanship, to deftly, but gently nudge popular feeling about the war in a more overtly ‘patriotic’ direction:

¹³⁴ ‘Sixteenth Reinforcements’, *Auckland Star*, 24 April, 1916, 8.

¹³⁵ ‘District News’, *Huntly Press and District Gazette*, 5 May, 1916, 3.

¹³⁶ ‘District News’, *Huntly Press and District Gazette*, 2 June, 1916, 3.

¹³⁷ Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, 101.

¹³⁸ ‘Semple at Glen Massey’, *Maoriland Worker*, 28 June, 1916, 4.

On Thursday evening, Mr D. McLaren, ex-mayor of Wellington delivered an address in the Public Hall. The chair was taken by Mr T. Thompson who in a few well-chosen remarks introduced the speaker. Mr McLaren's address was indeed an intellectual treat. His praise of our brave men – doctors, nurses, chaplains etc., at the Front, was well received. His appeal for more men and more money left no doubt in the minds of his hearers as to what was expected of them in furthering the satisfactory progress of the War. He was heartily applauded for his able address, and he (the speaker) proposed a vote of thanks to the chairman which was carried by acclamation ... A subscription list has been around here for our Naval men's dependants. We are glad to note that our inhabitants are proud of the North Sea Fight result. And have again [contributed] handsomely to this fund, as in the past, to all deserving funds of the kind.¹³⁹

Thomas Thomson, the mine manager and chairman of the above meeting, was undoubtedly keenly aware that the 'national priority' provisions of the Military Service Act passed about the same time in August 1916, would actually allow his miners (as well as the local farmers) to avoid conscription. Shepherding a public meeting towards this outcome was an astute balancing act. It distanced the mining company which had established the township from accusations of harbouring a hotbed of radical 'Red Fed' hostility to a 'capitalist war' on the one hand (an accusation to which the resolution from Semple's earlier meeting under the byline of J. Cumming who was also the local mining union secretary, made it particularly vulnerable), and was seen to support and highlight community 'patriotic' endeavours on the other. It was a tightrope Thomas Thomson would continue to walk for the next two or three years. As conscription extended its net, Thomson assiduously and regularly spoke to Military Service Appeal Boards on behalf of and / or in support of Glen Massey miners who had been balloted for military service. Such appeals were almost always "adjourned sine die".¹⁴⁰

The Military Service Act, in fact, seems to have worked as an expedient de facto socio/political safety valve. Locally, in Glen Massey, it also affirmed the economic importance of the mine besides taking the sting out of a potentially, socially divisive issue. Newspaper sources indicate

¹³⁹ 'District News', *Huntly Press and District Gazette*, 18 August, 1916, 2.

¹⁴⁰ 'Adjourned sine die' meant, in effect, that the applicant could continue in his present employment and not be required to serve in the military, without actually being formally exempted. For instance, the appeal of T.W. Aston and T. Hedley, Glen Massey, were adjourned sine die in 'Military Appeal Board', *Waikato Times*, 1 August, 1917, 5.

almost 21 Glen Massey miners were thus exempted from overseas service.¹⁴¹ Conversely, between 30 and 35 either volunteered, or appear to have accepted their military call-up, and served overseas, their ‘national importance’ as miners, notwithstanding. Two were killed and six wounded. From the surrounding Te Akatea farming district, 22 served, with 3 wounded and 2 killed. George Fowler was granted three months delay in 1918 to put his farming affairs in order, (his brother William was already in service) and 3 others were granted sine die exemptions from service. Douglas Warren Kemp, farmer, for instance:

Based his appeal on the question of undue hardship. Appellant had a widowed mother and was the only son left of four to carry on, one having been killed in Gallipoli, another serving in Egypt, and the third just going into camp. The appeal was adjourned sine die.¹⁴²

Thomas Thomson’s problems, however, reached a whole new level when, in April, 1917, a simultaneous, coordinated police operation in Huntly and Pukemiro, as well as the Te Akatea mine, searched selected union officials’ private residences and union offices before the same officials were arrested for being party to the continuation of a ‘seditious strike’. The ‘strike’ was, in fact, part of a national, industrial go-slow strategy used for wage-bargaining. The local iteration of the government/union brinkmanship was that, amongst other Glen Massey miners, James Cumming - singer, cornet player, energetic school committee secretary, local concert and dance organiser, trustee of the Miners and Settlers Medical Society, and at the forefront of community forging (as well as a future Labour Party nominee to the Legislative Council) was specifically charged:

... that on March 16 he published a seditious utterance in the words: - “Some of our chaps were up before the Appeal Board in Hamilton the other day and got a pretty rough time re the go-slow, the chairman remarking that if things did not change, they would be liable to be called up any time. (Just so).¹⁴³

The cases against James Cumming and others who had pleaded not guilty were eventually adjourned sine die. Thomson must have heartily concurred with the Magistrate’s sentiment that,

¹⁴¹ For instance, John Douglas, William Burnie and David Burnie in ‘The Ballot’, *Waikato Times*, 13 February, 1917, 4.

¹⁴² ‘Military Appeal Board’, *Waikato Times*, 30 July, 1917, 4.

¹⁴³ ‘Labour Troubles’, *Waikato Times*, 19 April, 1917, 4.

“I sincerely hope that the whole matter is over and done with, till after the war at least.”¹⁴⁴ The industrial go-slow was settled and the sedition charge which was its unlikely consequence was pragmatically discontinued. Others, also from Glen Massey, some of whom were equally prominent in the activities of the community, had pleaded guilty to similar charges and were ordered to come up for sentence when called upon. They included George Cumming, George Green and James Kernohan who were also later granted exemption from military service on the grounds of their essential occupation.

The First Mediatization: The Nature of Glen Massey’s Narrative

Charlie Morris, who was “Our Correspondent” in the *Huntly Press* and one of Thomson’s own miner employees, provided him with unlikely support and encouragement ‘from the coal face,’ to resolve the go-slow which had been the occasion of the arrest of Cumming and his fellow-miners. His article is an interesting ‘sticking plaster’ conflation of social-class stratification, union loyalty, national economic reality and imperial war concerns:

We trust that the conference to be arranged between masters and men will result (as it should do) in a fair and honourable settlement to both sides. It is obvious that if cost of living increases that wages should accordingly. Let us win this war and pull together, if masters and men agree nothing can stop us from winning. When one remembers the brave dead and the gallant living (sailor and soldier) that should be enough.¹⁴⁵

Charlie Morris, ‘Our Correspondent’ for the ‘District News’ was a regular weekly feature of the *Huntly Press*, from the inception of the village until April, 1918 when he departed to the Rotowaro mine. His columns exude a sense of a self-confident and close community, isolated but not insular, which could easily draw on familiar, established mining networks connecting it to the other coalfields of the Waikato, the West Coast and beyond, but was also capable of welcoming the participation of its local ‘parallel’ farming community and reaching out to them with a genuine sense of compassion when occasion called for it, e.g. the dead and wounded of WWI.

¹⁴⁴ ‘The Waikato Cases’, *Auckland Star*, 8 May, 1917, 6.

¹⁴⁵ ‘District News’, *Huntly Press and District Gazette*, 4 May, 1917, 2.

With his use of small personal details and noting individual contributions, he skilfully depicted a self-conscious, cooperative forging and embedding of community institutions, such as the paying off of debt on the church and the hall, the purchase of seating for the hall and the provision of books for the school library and other school improvements. He warmly sympathised with the great and the small who were suffering serious illness and/ or were in hospital, noted birthday celebrations, regularly reported on farewells to local soldiers, leaving for overseas and welcomed their return, whether miners or farmers. He provided little snippets of personal news and letters from soldiers at the front, including those from the contiguous mining towns. His writing style was not always grammatically orthodox, but provided a breezy, vividly ‘felt’, authentic and good-humoured record of life as it was lived in early Glen Massey. Generally non-polemical, but with clear values which can appear somewhat quaint to a modern reader, Morris’s column in the *Huntly Press* above all affirmed a concept of community which was at least the equal of Caroline Daley’s Taradale in its own way.¹⁴⁶

In the absence of any contesting narrative, his column monopolised the public ‘mediation’ of Glen Massey, bringing into focus the voices and lives of its socially marginalised coal workers and immigrants, long before the more traditional *Waikato Times*, *Waikato Argus* and *New Zealand Herald* even seemed prepared to acknowledge the village’s existence. In fact, in 1917, the only significant information evident in the latter publications about the district, apart from military call-ups, was a revised list of Justices of the Peace,

The Tennis Club had a practice match on their new pitch and a good number of members, ladies and gentleman came from a distance with their families to spend the afternoon, it being ideal weather for this sport. Afternoon tea on the board too. The writer's lips were dry but never mind. The promoters are to be commended for the up-to-date appearance of the playing lawn, nets, etc. Some good players judging from appearances were unearthed and with the experienced players will prove to be a source of power to the lawn tennis world. Many were the applauses of the onlookers at the smashing attempts to score boundaries, etc., and bye the bye, Mr Editor, we were especially pleased to see our respected friend Mr Charlie Westfield who is recovering from his mining accident enjoying this clean sport as a looker on.

I hear our mining friends are anxious to start a minstrel troupe here in Glen Massey. Some of the miners here are old hands at the game and if a boneman is needed I can safely recommend one I saw wrestling with a huge ham bone yesterday dinnertime. Mr Geo. Cumming would be a good leader and I suggest, sir, he does so.

How's this for the four gentle-who are associated with the show-here, sir, Mr Calder, Mr Tennant, Mr Cumming, Mr Newman.

A new man called here recently to show pictures, and we welcomed this tenant as a likely one to satisfy. Needless to say he is coming again. 'Nuff said. Morris off.

The Presbyterian Minister delivered a splendid sermon here on Sunday afternoon. The Rev. E. H. Pain is, we are glad to note, in good trim again after his trap accident and on Sunday evening last he was in his best form in the delivering of a really good sermon on Laodiceans. A good number were present at the service in Methodist Church.

Figure 11 Part of C.S. Morris's column in the 'Huntly Press and District Gazette' of 27 October, 1916

¹⁴⁶ Daley, 'Taradale Meets the Ideal Society and its Enemies', *New Zealand Journal of History*, University of Auckland, 25, 2, (1989), 121-146

which included Frances Ernest Basley and Thomas Runciman, both farmers of Te Akatea.¹⁴⁷ Over the next ten to twelve years, news coverage of Glen Massey or Te Akatea in these papers was largely confined to accounts of strikes, fires and sports matches.

The following account of a Saturday night social excursion in the *Huntly Press* illustrates this ‘lived’ reality of an isolated but outward-looking mining community availing itself of its historical networks:

A large party of ladies and gentlemen journeyed by coach to Pukemiro last Friday evening to attend the opening of the Pukemiro Hall. A capital concert and dance was given and after being stuck in the mud on several occasions, going and coming home, arrived in the early hours of the morning in Glen Massey. We congratulate the residents of Pukemiro upon having such a splendid hall, and of their sound treatment to us as visitors.¹⁴⁸

David Mackie’s Oral History recalls that it was common for some miners from Glen Afton to “go home to Ngāruawāhia or Glen Massey in the weekend.”¹⁴⁹ There was a large Glen Massey contingent at a Pukemiro Plain and Fancy-Dress Ball in 1918, “these enthusiasts having made the journey in motor cars and brakes.”¹⁵⁰ After a visit by the Ngāruawāhia Brass Band, there was a “special wish of the miners, farmers and settlers here ... that the Huntly Ragtime Rovers will favour them early with a visit to Glen Massey.”¹⁵¹ These frequent exchanges similarly illustrate the strong bonds among the mining communities.

Significant events, such as industrial events at the local mine were reported in newspapers serving other mining centres, and notices of local deaths were frequently tagged as available to newspapers serving extended kinship, family and friendship groups on the South Island West Coast coalfields. For instance, in the death notice for Sarah Ann Robinson, wife of J. W. Robinson of Glen Massey, on 23 April, 1921, the tag read, “Westport papers please copy.”¹⁵² Moreover, local contributions were frequently made to striking fellow-miners overseas,

¹⁴⁷ ‘Commission of the Peace’, *Waikato Times*, 7 July, 1917, 2.

¹⁴⁸ ‘District News’, *Huntly Press and District Gazette*, 29 June, 1917, 3.

¹⁴⁹ David Mackie, ‘An interview with David Mackie’, HCL0H_0168, Huntly Coalfields Oral Histories Project, Te Koopuu Maania o Kirikiriroa, Hamilton Library. 25 February, 1992.

¹⁵⁰ ‘District News’, *Huntly Press and District Gazette*, 29 March, 1918, 3.

¹⁵¹ ‘District News’, *Huntly Press and District Gazette*, 20 July, 1917, 2.

¹⁵² ‘Deaths’, *New Zealand Herald*, 23 April, 1921, 1.

especially Australia. “In the list of total contributions by unions to the Australian levy, Te Akatea had paid £728-9-9,” is one example.¹⁵³ The decision at a public meeting to form a branch of the Labour Party also suggests a focus on larger political dimensions.¹⁵⁴

Entertainment

Silent movies appear to have been an early feature of Glen Massey entertainment. On 20 October, 1916, the *Huntly Press* could report:

This is the third occasion on which we have had Saturday night pictures here and we are indebted to Mr Calder of the Lyceum Picture Company fame and Mr Tennant (operator) for the success of the past shows. The public recognise that this new introduction into the mining township must have good support and will no doubt act accordingly. The programme was of a very high order.¹⁵⁵

Lists of Hall booking receipts during the 1920s reveal a wide range of socials, concerts and dances, dancing classes, lectures, Cub, Scout and Guide meetings, wedding receptions, political campaigning and assorted other gatherings.¹⁵⁶ The villagers were more than capable of making their own entertainment as well. The formation of an amateur musical and dramatic society was reported in November 1917.¹⁵⁷ The School Picnic was denoted as “one of the events of the year.”¹⁵⁸

Sports and Community Building

For the provision of community services, the mine always played a big part in the life of the township. Alice Pitt’s recollection that “all sorts of stuff and equipment would be come over from the mine and also, men would be sent over from the mine to work at it,” applied just as much to Glen Massey as it did to Pukemiro.¹⁵⁹ Mine management support of the Glen Massey Community, as well as the support of the Fowler family, had been manifested in the establishment of the first sports facility as early as 1916 – the Tennis Club. It was noted that,

¹⁵³ ‘Millerton Notes’, *Grey River Argus*, 16 December, 1930, 6.

¹⁵⁴ ‘District News’, *Huntly Press and District Gazette*, 10 August, 1917, 3.

¹⁵⁵ ‘District News’, *Huntly Press and District Gazette*, 20 October, 1916, 3.

¹⁵⁶ ‘Glen Massey Public Hall Association 1915-1977’, File R4986894

¹⁵⁷ ‘Glen Massey’, *Huntly Press and District Gazette*, 2 November, 1917, 2.

¹⁵⁸ ‘District News’, *Huntly Press and District Gazette*, 11 January, 1918, 2.

¹⁵⁹ Alice Pitt. ‘An interview with Alice Pitt’.

“Mr Fowler, a farmer and a tennis enthusiast, very generously gave the ground required for the formation of the courts.”¹⁶⁰ It was later noted in 1926, that the Mining Company had actually laid down the tennis courts.¹⁶¹

The Tennis Club was to become one of two sports groups which initially attracted and retained club members and participants from both the farming and mining communities. Various members of the Rutter family as well as the Fowler family were committee members and regular players from its establishment. The Kemp and Holmes families and Mrs Trew (nee Rutter) regularly featured in press write-ups of the club’s games. It was also the first of two local sports clubs to admit men and women members from the beginning (the second being the Golf Club, established in 1923). Tennis matches were often played against outside clubs from Ngāruawāhia, Taupiri, Huntly and Pukemiro.

A billiard room was one of the earliest buildings to be constructed in the village, providing an indoor male space. C. S. Morris in the *Huntly Press* noted that “a Billiard match resulted in a win for Mr A. Stevens ... played in Robinson’s billiard room.”¹⁶²

Given the predominantly northern English origins, working-class background and occupational sporting loyalties of most of the mining immigrants, it is unsurprising that Rugby League was to become one focus of the outdoor male sporting space. However, it struggled to sustain the same interest in Glen Massey as it enjoyed in contiguous communities, such as Pukemiro up to 1920.¹⁶³ In April, 1921, the Glen Massey representative, Mr A. Manderson was attending a Lower Waikato Rugby League meeting; the following May, a Mr T. Thomson (probably the mine manager) was elected as a Vice President of the Lower Waikato Rugby League, and Glen Massey was recorded as playing one junior team in a round which also included Huntly A, Huntly B, Taupiri, Ngāruawāhia and Gordonton. In their first season, they lost against Taupiri (11-0), won against Huntly A (9-0) and Gordonton (5-3) but lost the premiership of the second-grade contest 6-3 against Taupiri. In May 1925, the Glen Massey team seems to have resumed, winning over Hopu Hopu 10-3, but expected to lose when they met Rotowaro in June.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁰ ‘District News’, *Huntly Press and District Gazette*, 15 September, 1916, 3.

¹⁶¹ ‘Miners’ Playgrounds’, *Press*, 6 August, 1926, 7.

¹⁶² ‘District News’, *Huntly Press and District Gazette*, 6 July, 1917, 2.

¹⁶³ William Greenwood, *Class, Conflict and the Clas of Codes: The Introduction of Rugby League to New Zealand 1908-1920*, Ph.D. Thesis, Massey University, 279-281.

¹⁶⁴ ‘Football’, *Huntly Press and District Gazette*, 26 June, 1925, 2.

Success seems to have continued into the following year, occasioning the following letter to the editor:

Sir – I would like to draw your attention to the unfairness of the executive of the junior competition of the League football matches in South Auckland in allowing Glen Massey to play in the junior competition instead of the seniors. This is a very hefty team, and they are winning by big margins each game. Surely the executive are awake to the fact that these big miners are out of their place. It certainly does not say much for the “sports” of Glen Massey that they will not play their team against the seniors of such a small district as Orini. I am etc. P.T. ¹⁶⁵

Unlike Soccer matches where games were often written up in some detail and particularly outstanding players and/or goal scorers named, the reporting of League matches and those involved in them is relatively ‘thin’. 1928 seems to have been a very active year for the code, but only three articles were located that ‘give flesh to’ Glen Massey’s participation beyond just the final score. Where players are named, those names are the same as those who regularly featured in newspaper accounts of Soccer games. Rugby League appears to have survived into 1929, as there are a few results published in newspapers, but its survival beyond that date was spasmodic and short-lived to say the least. Jack Brocket, commented that:

... When an influx of young miners from Hikurangi arrived about 1938, the support was quite strong., However, sustaining a League Club and a Soccer Club proved too much for the village and League went into recess. ¹⁶⁶

The first attempt to establish Rugby Union was also very short-lived:

One of the first attempts at Rugby was about 1928/29 but due to lack of support was soon defunct. The miners showed little interest in the game and it was left to outside players to fill the team. ¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁵ ‘League Football’, *Waikato Times*, 24 June, 1926, 8.

¹⁶⁶ Bovill, *Glen Massey School 75th Jubilee*, 46.

¹⁶⁷ Bovill, *Glen Massey School 75th Jubilee*, 46.

Another ‘masculine’ pastime, specifically pheasant shooting, seems to have been a bone of contention between and villagers and farmers from the immediate vicinity of Glen Massey and beyond (Te Akau). A report on the visit of the Ngāruawāhia Acclimatisation Society, to Glen Massey, with a view to getting sportsmen there to become members produced accusations and denials of ‘poaching’ by Glen Massey village locals and suggests a kind of stand-off between villagers by farmers based on anecdotal evidence:

Why have all the farmers in Te Akau closed down their farms? They have notified us that they will not allow us to shoot pheasants on their farms if liberated there. People from Hamilton are the people who are shooting in this and surrounding districts. One member stated that he saw the same motor car with four to six guns come to Glen Massey district on seven consecutive Sundays.¹⁶⁸

The Glen Massey Football (Soccer) code which was traditionally aligned with the predominantly northern English origins, working-class backgrounds and occupational sporting loyalties of most of the mining immigrants from overseas (as well as those from Denniston and other West Coast coalfields) was first documented in May, 1923, when the Glen Massey team defeated Hamilton Wanderers 3-1. During the period covered by this study, Football appears to be the apogee of masculine sporting endeavour in the village (apart from a brief hiatus in 1925 because of a shortage of players). The village team was playing in Chatham Cup matches. Not only was Football played more or less continuously, with regular victories over teams from Hamilton and Frankton as well as other mining settlements: many Glen Massey players achieved regional representative status. In May, 1923, for instance, selectors for Lower Waikato Team for Association Football to play Upper Waikato included Glen Massey players D. Nelson (Goal), J. Clarke, W. Simpson, J. Simpson and W. Blair (Reserve). In June of the same year, Glen Massey was top equal with Huntly on the local soccer league table. On 30 September, 1924, a replayed final of the Howden Cup between Glen Massey and Pukemiro (because of a previous tie) was won 1-0.

Jack Brockett recalled that:

¹⁶⁸ ‘Acclimatisation’, *Waikato Times*, 5 June, 1922, 6.

The mines sometimes worked only three days a week. Then sometimes they worked half a day on “back Saturdays”. This meant, with a general lack of transport, it was hard for players to get to the field on time. Back Saturday usually meant home games. There were very few cars in Glen Massey before the war and we relied on Fletcher Owen’s lorry for transport to away games ... about the late 1930s Glen Massey ... won the South Auckland competition more than once. Glen Massey usually entered the Chatham Cup competition open to club teams from all over New Zealand.¹⁶⁹

Nevertheless, Glen Massey’s strength in Soccer, and its ability to monopolise sporting participation at a local level, even against the immigrant Northern English miners’ equally traditional support for Rugby League, provides an interesting contrast to the national hegemony of Rugby Union identified by Ryan and Watson.¹⁷⁰ Moreover, unlike the township of Kaitangata, studied by Charles Little, Glen Massey’s relative proximity to Hamilton, and more importantly, to other mining towns of the West Huntly coalfields, where Soccer was similarly popular, meant that it was relatively easy to find other teams to play and thus, maintain interest.¹⁷¹

The first mention of schoolboy soccer is in 1924. In July, 1924, it was reported that Glen Massey School was 2nd in Schools Soccer League Table, behind Huntly A, and above Rotowaro, Pukemiro, Huntly B, C and D and Convent.¹⁷² As with their local adult counterparts, Glen Massey’s schoolboy players frequently reached regional representative status. McIntyre and Woodward, for instance, were chosen for the district “A” Team to play an Auckland representative school team in August, 1924.¹⁷³ Again, Brocket’s comments are illustrative of the very high degree of support enjoyed by the code at both schoolboy and adult level:

[There was] enthusiastic support of the people in the village at all matches. Quite often the school team would play a curtain raiser to the big match and everyone who could climb the hill to the playing fields would be there ... the older miners would offer advice in big booming voices.¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁹ Bovill, *Glen Massey School 75th Jubilee*, 43.

¹⁷⁰ Greg Ryan and Geoff Watson, *Sport and the New Zealanders: A History*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 2018, 136.

¹⁷¹ Charles Little. ‘Football, Place and Community’, 920.

¹⁷² ‘Football’, *Huntly Press and District Gazette*, 25 July, 1924, 2.

¹⁷³ ‘Football’, *Huntly Press and District Gazette*, 29 August, 1924, 3.

¹⁷⁴ Bovill. *Glen Massey School 75th Jubilee*, 45.

In 1923, it had been announced that:

Still another golf course has been laid out in the Waikato, this time at Glen Massey, the mining settlement. The writer has been informed that about 20 members are being coached by a member who recently arrived from Scotland and was scratch at St. Andrews.¹⁷⁵

As with the Tennis Club, the Golf Club relied on the generosity of the Fowlers (upon whose land the course was laid out) and admitted men and women from the beginning. Unlike the Tennis Club, however, its membership was almost wholly drawn from the mining community. (The only significant exceptions to this were the Holmes family who had a farm next to the course and Mrs Trew (nee Rutter) whose husband had become the mine carpenter). The strong interest in Golf at Glen Massey may reflect an increase in Scottish immigration during the 1920s. The Golf Club was also to enjoy significant support from the mining company. The *New Zealand Herald* reported in 1925 that, “it is the intention of the Colliery Company to build a pavilion for the club before the next season.”¹⁷⁶

The Glen Massey Bowling Club greens were opened in November 1927. Again, this was largely achieved through local initiative, fundraising and work, with the support of Thomas Thomson, the Mine Manager and the Mining Company:

In a brief address Mr J. Newman, president of the Glen Massey Club, mentioned that the work of preparing the green had been carried out by voluntary labour, and he expressed the club’s thanks to all who had assisted, especially referring to the Waipa Collieries Company through its manager, Mr T. Thomson ... and all who had helped to raise funds by means of concerts and social functions ... It was also announced, amidst applause, that Mr Norris Bell, the Waipa Co’s representative, had given a trophy for handicap singles competition amongst members of the club.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁵ ‘Golf’, *Waikato Times*, 1 September, 1923, 17.

¹⁷⁶ ‘Ngaruawahia News’, *New Zealand Herald*, 28 September, 1925, 7.

¹⁷⁷ ‘Bowling’, *Waikato Times*, 28 November, 1927, 8.

The nature of the ‘fudged’ accounting practices which facilitated such support were probably not uncommon at the time. The following is an excerpt from a letter accompanying the 1931-32 Statement of annual Income and Expenditure of the Bowling Club to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, who had queried the lack of tangible assets that might be expected of a functioning Bowling Club:

I might state the Bowling Green Pavilion was erected by the old Waipa Colliery Company, costing somewhere around £100 to build, and as we have never paid anything towards its cost, it is hard to know how we stand in regard to it, as we never received any account for it. H. Morris, Secretary. D. Cornes, Chairman.¹⁷⁸

Not only had the Waipā Colliery gone into receivership in the meantime and been sold to the Wilton Colliery, the ostensibly outstanding debt, while still listed as such in the Bowling Club accounts, had also ‘escaped’ the notice of both the receiver and the new Wilton Colliery. Interestingly, the Bowling Club pavilion and greens seem to have been defined not just as a man’s space, but a ‘working-man’s space’ as opposed to a space for management, professionals or farmers:

Mr G. Taylor’s private green was opened on Saturday, when a rink from Ngaruawahia ...played Messrs G. Taylor (s), R. Nairn, C. Westfield and A. Brockett. The visitors proved too strong for the local team and ran out winners by 24-10.¹⁷⁹

Not one of the men named in the above article ever featured in the weekly newspaper reports of the Glen Massey Bowling Club which was overwhelmingly a miners’ fraternity. C. Westfield was a member of the mine management, R. Nairn, the school headmaster, A. Brockett a farm manager and G. Taylor, a clerk. At least the first three were prominent members of the Methodist Church. (C. Westfield was also the leader of the Band of Hope). They may have taken a dim view of the ‘unofficial pub’ status of the Bowling Pavilion and/or simply wished to play bowls as ‘staff’ (as opposed to ‘wages’) of the mining company with a farmer and a professional. It is interesting that this is the only recorded occasion these individuals ever played bowls, that they did so on a private green rather than the local club and even took care to inform the press who duly recorded it. It is at least suggestive of a ‘class consciousness’ and

¹⁷⁸ ‘Glen Massey Bowling Club Inc.’, File R21842467.

¹⁷⁹ ‘Glen Massey’, *Waikato Times*, 24 September, 1930, 10.

identity becoming more overt at village level simultaneously with the onset of the Depression and the closing of the Waipā Mine.

The bowling club was one area of the perimeter which the ‘Venn social circles’ of the 1920s would never be allowed to breach. Bowling also started and remained strictly a male domain. There are no records of women’s bowling up to 1945, although in May, 1929, “The Glen Massey Bowling Club gave a very successful dance in the hall to the ladies who had helped them in various ways during the season just closed.”¹⁸⁰

“The ladies’ in the sports codes into which Glen Massey did admit them, however, were not quite so prepared to having their role confined to that of the rarely recognised ‘silent helpmeets.’ In a mining village where there were few jobs or public ‘spaces’ available to women, sporting achievement was one area in which women could and did excel. With Golf, in particular, the regular (often weekly) press accounts bespeak a very active women’s golfing sorority, with very keen competition:

*The final in the ladies’ competition for Mrs T. Thomson’s trophy was played in wintery weather and resulted in a draw between Mesdames T. Jackson and Dodds, and a play-off will be necessary.*¹⁸¹

Most of the women involved were the wives of miners, although the participation and very obvious sporting ability of the very few single, professional women in Glen Massey (e.g. the teacher, Miss Derbyshire and the postmistress, Miss Carter) indicates that sporting participation could also provide an important means of achieving personal fulfilment and community respect beyond the traditional avenues of marriage, children and domestic duties. This was similarly the case in Tennis, where these same women were reinforced by other very able sportswomen from the village as well as the wives and daughters of the farming community.

Both clubs also seem to have been a venue where married couples could enjoy sport together and socialise with other couples. For instance, when the Glen Massey Golf Club visited Waingarō, the team included Mr and Mrs T. Jackson and Mr D. Jackson, Mr and Mrs S. Davies, Mr and Mrs T. McDowell, Mr and Mrs P. Crawford. The same team included the single women

¹⁸⁰ ‘Glen Massey News’, *Waikato Times*, 22 May, 1929, 5.

¹⁸¹ ‘Golf’, *Waikato Times*, 4 July, 1929, 3.

teachers, Miss Steadman and Miss Derbyshire as well as Miss Tanfield and Miss Holmes.¹⁸² In Tennis, teams likewise often included married couples who travelled to other clubs for tournaments, e.g. Mr and Mrs Lister and Mr and Mrs Tanfield playing alongside others against Huntly Juniors in December 1923.¹⁸³

For single professional women such as the Misses Derbyshire, Steadman and Carter, sporting prowess could also act as a bridge between the disparate farming and mining cultures. When Miss Derbyshire was farewelled upon her promotion to Hamilton West School, “Mrs Lister referred to Miss Derbyshire’s association with the Tennis and Golf Clubs,” at an afternoon tea farewell given by miners’ wives and daughters.¹⁸⁴ There was a similar farewell, given by farmers’ wives and daughters at Mrs S. Fowler’s home, reflecting the operations of the social ‘Venn Circles’ in which Miss Derbyshire had moved, facilitated by the catalysing agency of sport.

For the miners’ wives, sport functioned as a portal through which they could not only achieve success on their own terms, but also ensure the continuance of that success for their daughters as much as their sons:

During this week the annual school tennis tournament will be played for trophies presented by Mesdames A. Cook, J. Lister. J. Cook, J. Cumming and Nelson. Some good play is expected as the children have been practising assiduously.¹⁸⁵

That importance of that support of school sport is underlined by the school’s girl-only basketball team, being treated almost as a last-minute ‘add on’ to the (admittedly highly admirable) feats of the boys’ soccer team. There seem to have been very few basketball matches organised by the school, and any newspaper accounts of the team were very rare.

The head teacher was authorised to order photographs of senior and junior football teams, winners of the cups in their respective competitions, the basketball team and the

¹⁸² ‘Golf’, *Waikato Times*, 7 August, 1929, 11.

¹⁸³ ‘Tennis’, *Huntly Press and District Gazette*, 21 December, 1923, 2.

¹⁸⁴ ‘Glen Massey’, *Waikato Times*, 19 April, 1930, 15.

¹⁸⁵ ‘Glen Massey’, *Waikato Times*, 17 December, 1930, 13.

school group. The photographs are to be framed and added to the collection already in the school.¹⁸⁶

Housing for Miners

Having established a village with at least a hall and a church by 1915 (with the latter paid off and debt-free by 1916), nothing could foreshadow Glen Massey's advance beyond a 'company town' to an ostensibly self-sustaining community quite so much as the prospect of privately-owned sections and homes, advertised in early 1916.¹⁸⁷ The sections which had been surveyed from 1912 onwards, appear to have been overwhelmingly, if not totally sold to the mining company, who then on-sold individual sections to their employees. A good example is the Transfer of the title to a section from the Waipā Railway and Collieries Limited to Mr Peter Lees, a miner, dated 26th January, 1917.¹⁸⁸

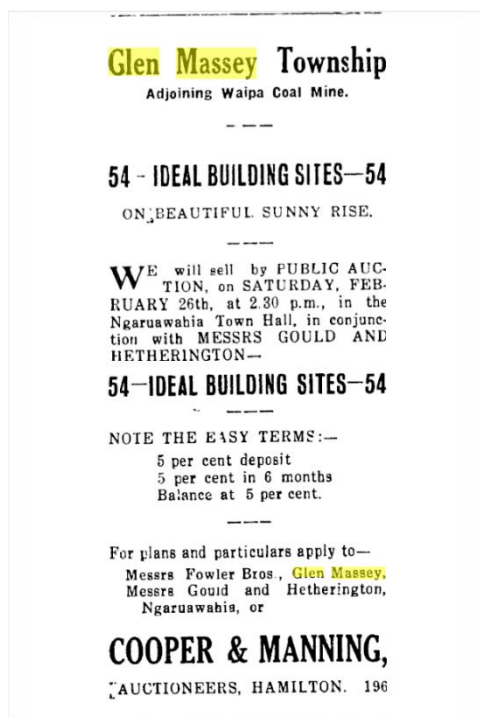


Figure 12 Advertisement of housing sections for sale in Glen Massey, *Waikato Times*, 16 February, 1916

A selection of other title searches sourced from Land Online show a similar pattern of transfers from farmers to the mining company (sometimes with an intervening short-term speculator, especially up to 1917) thence to ownership by individual miners, e.g. William Burnie, Thomas Bennett, Matthew Gair, Alfred Pratt. This applied even to the cottages which were initially built and rented out to miners. If the hope was to create a less radical and more compliant work-force in the long term by giving workers a stake in the prosperity of the company and their community, initially it seemed to be working. At the same time, however, the quality of the initial housing left something to be desired.

A national report by the Board of Trade on the New Zealand mining industry in the immediate aftermath of WWI painted a damning picture of the housing in mining settlements, including the 'new' Glen Massey and other mining centres of the Huntly coalfields as well as beyond:

¹⁸⁶ 'District News', *Waikato Times*, 7 December, 1929, 10.

¹⁸⁷ 'Advertisements', *Waikato Times*, 16 February, 1916, 1.

¹⁸⁸ Waikato District Council, Historical Cadastral Information sourced via Land Online and viewed on site at WDC offices in Ngāruawāhia, 15/04/ 2024.

The board considers that much of the industrial unrest and dissatisfaction of the miners may be attributed to the sordidness of their housing conditions and monotony of their home life. ... Few of the houses in these townships reach the standard of comfort seen in the average worker's homes in our cities. There is no proper water supply or drainage and only in isolated instances, are there bathrooms. The conditions generally are insanitary and in certain fields, the surroundings are dreary in the extreme. ... [There is a] general mass of inconvenient, unhealthy and crowded homes. In many of the mining settlements, the housing is generally of a rough or temporary nature. Many of the huts were erected in the early days of settlement and still do duty as the homes for the mine worker and his family. In many cases, no ordinary conveniences have been added, nor have any other extra rooms been built, so that overcrowding is rife. The great majority of the houses have no porches or verandahs, consequently the children have to crowd into these small shacks in wet weather.¹⁸⁹

“Industrial unrest and dissatisfaction” did not characterise labour relations overall in Glen Massey during the war years. Nor, given the deliberate and conscious building of a community and its institutions, does the standard of Glen Massey housing appear in any way to have, “create[d] callousness and an utter disregard for the amenities of life ... similar to those found in the Old World only as the result of extreme poverty” highlighted by the *Otago Witness* in its account of the same report.¹⁹⁰ Nevertheless, the hopes engendered by the provision of company housing as well as the follow-up of the promise of company support of home ownership for miners from 1914-16, do seem to have stalled as the war ground to a close:

At Glen Massey, ... the housing is totally inadequate for the needs of the workers and overcrowding exists. In one case, a miner with his wife and five children, is living in a two-roomed cottage, and in another case, there are five persons (three children) living in two rooms. At least 10 roomy houses are required for immediate needs, The huts

¹⁸⁹ ‘Housing and Social Conditions’, *New Zealand Times*, 26 June, 1919, 7.

¹⁹⁰ ‘Coal Miners’, *Otago Witness*, 9 July, 1919, 25.

provided by the Waipa Company at present have no fireplaces or water tanks, and both these necessary conveniences should be provided.¹⁹¹

The *Otago Witness*'s summary of the various types of housing identified in the Board of Trade report, does more than merely describe the situation prevailing in Glen Massey. It foreshadowed the illusory nature of the promise of economic 'security' of home ownership in a coal mining village, which would be played out at the local level for the next three decades:

[Concerning] Houses which have been bought by subsequent purchasers from the original owners. It is only in exceptional circumstances that the original owner gets a proper return for the money which he has expended ... it is the risk of this prospective loss which deters many of the miners from creating decent homes or entering upon the responsibility of ownership.¹⁹²

In relation to Glen Massey, these submissions by the miners as reflected in the report attest to an incipient realisation that the financial asset of home ownership as a reward for hard work was, in the end, calibrated on economic assumptions of a general rising prosperity in a buoyant market, which were unlikely to be realised in a low-wage, company township centred on only one industry, and still relatively isolated.

Housing for Farmers

By contrast, homes and their contents for established farmers were clearly at another level. The following description in a children's column in the *Waikato Times* is probably of the Duck family's house:

[My Aunty May] lives at Glen Massey. The house is beautiful – all the windows and doors were leadlights, and sleeping porches were done with glass windows. There were playrooms for the children to play in, and the kitchen had a big safe and the sink was all tiled. Then we went and sat on the veranda and talked.... We played the gramophone ...” (Zena Duck, Orini).¹⁹³

¹⁹¹ 'Miners' Homes', *Sun* (Christchurch) 26 June, 1919, 3.

¹⁹² 'Coal Miners', *Otago Witness*, 9 July, 1919, 25.

¹⁹³ 'Post Box', *Waikato Times*, 1 November, 1930, 16.

Steadily improving prosperity for farmers clearly encouraged modernisation and even rebuilding:

A most enjoyable and successful house-warming was held at Mr and Mrs J. Foster's new residence, Te Akatea. The large folding doors were thrown open, giving ample room for dancing and games which were carried on till a late hour.¹⁹⁴

Such descriptions underline the widening disparity between the living conditions of miners and those of their farmer neighbours already in place by the onset of the Depression.

Health

Details of the impact of the 1918-19 Influenza epidemic on Glen Massey are sketchy. However, there were evidently sufficient local cases to warrant a special train to take Glen Massey people to a Ngāruawāhia social to thank Dr Martin and voluntary nursing staff who had cared for them at a temporary hospital that had been established there. Mr J. Newman, a Glen Massey resident and ex-patient was one of the speakers at the function.¹⁹⁵ Hopes that such a function marked the end of the epidemic proved premature. Glen Massey was one of three severe cases noted in the Auckland Health District on 5 May 1919.¹⁹⁶

The *Otago Witness* account concerning housing, previously referred to also adduced some matters pertaining to health which were of particular concern to miners: the lack of doctors and qualified nurses; maternity provisions; distance to the nearest hospital and the cost of nursing and medical services. Some were already being addressed, to varying degrees of adequacy. On 7 May, 1919, the *Greymouth Evening Star* was reporting that, amongst funds from other coal mining communities, the balance of the Te Akatea (Waipā Collieries) Sick and Accident Fund was £102, presumably not one of the “very few ... Sick and Accident Funds [being] in a position to stand any further financial strain.”¹⁹⁷ Elsewhere in the article, it was clarified that contributions from the Sick and Accident Fund were to be made to the local Medical Fund under the Coal Mines Amendment Bill to be passed that year (1919). Mining accidents, some

¹⁹⁴ ‘Glen Massey News’, *Waikato Times*, 3 December, 1930, 11.

¹⁹⁵ ‘Town & Country’, *Timaru Herald*, 25 March, 1919, 7.

¹⁹⁶ ‘Influenza’, *Dominion*, 5 May, 1919, 4.

¹⁹⁷ ‘The Member for Grey’, *Greymouth Evening Star*, 7 May, 1919, 6.

quite horrific, continued to happen and the Glen Massey Medical Association was in need of every bit of assistance it could get. Later in the same year:

An appeal for help was made to the Waikato Hospital Board yesterday by the Secretary of the Glen Massey Medical Association who stated that at the beginning of the present year, the association had a membership of approximately 120, and a credit balance of £1155-9-0. After six months working the membership had dwindled to 80 and the bank balance to £34-9-7, showing a loss for the half year's working of £80-19-5.... On the motion of Mr Johnstone, it was decided to make the Association a grant of £20-00 subject to the approval of the Health Department.¹⁹⁸

Most efforts made to ameliorate local medical, nursing and maternity services in the ensuing fifteen years were the result of local initiatives, with any potential government or local body support very grudgingly given. For instance, in November 1920:

The Department of Public Health wrote that a request had been received from the Te Akatea Miners' and Settlers Medical Association, Waipa Collieries, Glen Massey, that the grant made to the Association by the Waikato Hospital Board (£20 per annum) be increased ... The membership of the Association was 90. It was stated that the £20 granted last year was not intended to be an annual grant but merely a donation at that particular time.¹⁹⁹

Alice Pitt recalled that in West Huntly mining towns in general, "all children were born at home...the midwife was a miner's wife."²⁰⁰ According to one source, Mrs Davies was the local Glen Massey midwife for many years, actually passing her midwifery exams at the tender age of seventy.²⁰¹ Janet or 'Granny' Henderson, was also a midwife, besides running a boarding hostel. On 4 January, 1926, a Mrs Bennelick of Auckland posted an advertisement thanking the local Ngāruawāhia doctor for his care of her Glen Massey daughter during childbirth, and also denoted Mrs Penman and Mrs Learmouth (both miners' wives) of Glen Massey as nurses.²⁰² The denotation of women in the electoral rolls of the period by marital status alone ('Spinster'

¹⁹⁸ 'Glen Massey Medical Association', *Waikato Times*, 10 October, 1919, 4.

¹⁹⁹ 'Waikato Hospital Board', *Waikato Times*, 19 November, 1920, 6.

²⁰⁰ Alice Pitt. 'Interview with Alice Pitt'.

²⁰¹ Jones. *The End of an Era*, 129.

²⁰² 'Advertisements', *New Zealand Herald*, 4 January, 1926, 1.

or ‘Married’) where men were denoted by their job, effectively marginalised, if not completely silenced this kind of essential community work done by local women on top of their domestic ‘duties’.²⁰³

In January 1928, eleven local volunteers were examined for first aid, all passing, seven with first-class passes. A newspaper account claimed that “It is probable that either a section or a division of the St John Ambulance Brigade will be formed at Glen Massey at an early date.”²⁰⁴ However, there is no evidence that this probability ever came to fruition, much less the stationing of an ambulance in the village.

Secondary Education

The inadequacy of recent government increases in financial assistance to allow miners’ children with scholarships to attend secondary and technical schools (Glen Massey was 18 miles from Hamilton) was clear: a rise from 18 shillings to 25 shillings in 1913 had been raised again to 25 shillings in 1918. However, there is no evidence of any immediate substantial improvement on offer. Unsurprisingly, financial constraints seem to have disproportionately limited the education of girls, even for the wealthier farmers, let alone the daughters of miners. For most, schooling finished at the age of twelve or thirteen, whereupon traditionally, boys went into the mine and girls into domestic service or increasingly, into factory or other menial work in the cities. Ada Terry who lived just outside Hamilton, observed that “daughters had no secondary education as [parents] couldn’t afford to pay for them.”²⁰⁵ That was even more true of those living in Te Akatea / Glen Massey.

The many boys from the district who are attending the secondary schools left on Monday for the re-opening after spending the three weeks’ vacation with their parents.²⁰⁶

Alice Pitt worked for the Brunskill family on their farm between Glen Massey and Pukemiro after she left school (about 1927). Their two eldest Brunskill children had gone to school in Hamilton, and Alice was employed to take the younger son Fred to school at Pukemiro by

²⁰³ The full-time work done by single women teachers such as Margaret Westfield and Alice Derbyshire is similarly treated in electoral rolls.

²⁰⁴ ‘St John Ambulance’, *New Zealand Herald*, 6 January, 1928, 10.

²⁰⁵ Ada Terry, ‘Memories of Farm Life in Kaipara, North Auckland the Waikato.’

²⁰⁶ ‘Glen Massey’, *Waikato Times*, 18 September, 1929, 10.

horse. She stayed with the Brunskills during the week and went home in the weekends. “There was no work for girls. [The alternative was] you had to leave and go up to work in factories in Auckland. A lot of girls left the town. ... you had to leave home to get a job.”²⁰⁷ Misses E. Brown, P. Crawford and E. Cumming were typical of young village women in this situation, characteristically denoted in social columns as visiting their parents for the weekend or their vacations.²⁰⁸ Some young women from farming families were similarly mentioned, e.g. Misses M and J. Fowler.²⁰⁹

Even for boys, however, the traditional rite of passage from school into the mine, was stalling. That may partly have been because parental aspirations for ‘self-improvement’ included higher-status (and less dangerous) occupations for their children. Alice Pitt, for instance, remembered that her father “wouldn’t let either of his sons go into the mine.”²¹⁰ Joe Hughes recalls that “Mum was against us going down into the mines with Dad and tried to keep us out of the mines.”²¹¹ It was also an inevitable result of the downturn in mining and general economic conditions. The jobs were simply not there in the way that had traditionally been the case. Thomas McIntyre who became a mechanic, Mr J. Cook who shifted to Auckland and Mr Phil Woodward who had joined the Navy are examples.²¹²

Increasing Miner Poverty

On a personal and community level, financial pressures continued to worsen into the 1920s, as evidenced in an *Auckland Star* report on the Coal Mine industry of 1925. The report offers an insightful glimpse into the ‘domestic economy’, industrial conditions, proportions of married and single men and family size of Glen Massey miners in particular:

... Mr M. Hamill, secretary, and Mr W. Byers, president of the Te Akatea Mine Workers’ Industrial Union of Workers at Glen Massey, mentioned that the union had made representations to the Government on the matters affecting their welfare, and that of their wives and children. In those communications it was stated that for the last two

²⁰⁷ Alice Pitt, ‘Interview with Alice Pitt’.

²⁰⁸ ‘Glen Massey’, *Waikato Times*, 26 April, 1930, 5, ‘Glen Massey’, *Waikato Times*, 2 October 1929, 10, and ‘Glen Massey’, *Waikato Times*, 20 May, 1930, 5 respectively.

²⁰⁹ ‘Glen Massey’, *Waikato Times*, 30 October, 1929, 10.

²¹⁰ Alice Pitt, ‘Interview with Alice Pitt’.

²¹¹ Jones, *The End of an Era*, 64.

²¹² ‘Action by Infant’, *Waikato Times*, 9 November, 1926, 6, ‘Glen Massey’, *Waikato Times*, 26 June, 1929, 10 and ‘Glen Massey’, *Waikato Times*, 21 August, 1929, 10 respectively.

years, up till March, the Glen Massey mine had averaged about six days two hours per fortnight, when the full working time was 11 days for the period. The average earnings of the miner were approximately £1 per day, and this meant that he would receive around £6 per fortnight. From this sum the weekly fee for doctor amounting to 1/3, check weigh fund 1/6 per week, and cost of carbide for his lamp and wear and tear on his tools had to be deducted. On top of this the married man was paying from 12/6 up to £1 per week for house rent. Truckers and horse drivers at the mine earn 16/7 per day. On the figures supplied by the secretary of the union the wages for six days a fortnight would amount to £4-19-6. Deduct from this doctor 2/.6, rent £1-4-00 and this leaves £3-13-00 to keep a man, his wife and perhaps five children, for a fortnight. Out of 100 men employed at this colliery, 70 of them are married, with from one up to seven children apiece. Under those conditions it was not surprising to learn that some of the miners have got into debt. When the mine commences to work fairly regularly, that is the position he is faced with. As a matter of fact, the miner has not had time to get his debts off before the slack period is on him again.²¹³

Figure 13 and Figure 14 below give some objective context to Marshall Hamill's claims.

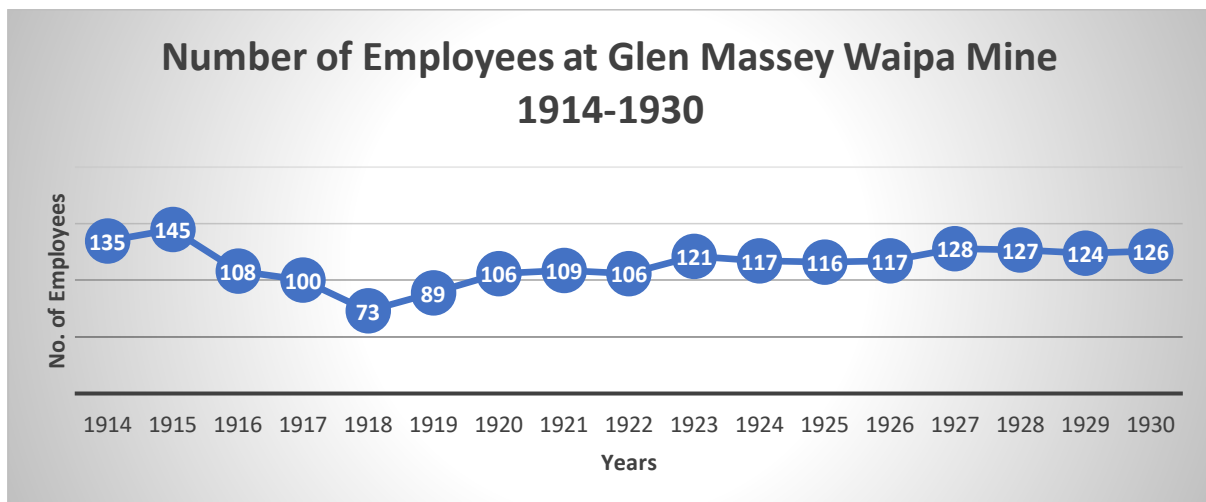


Figure 13 Data taken from Evelyn Stokes' *Coal Mining in the Waikato Region. Working Paper 7* originally sourced from *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives* for the relevant years.²¹⁴

²¹³ 'Coal Mine Industry', *Auckland Star*, 1 July, 1925, 10.

²¹⁴ Evelyn Stokes, *Coal Mining in the Waikato Region*, 67

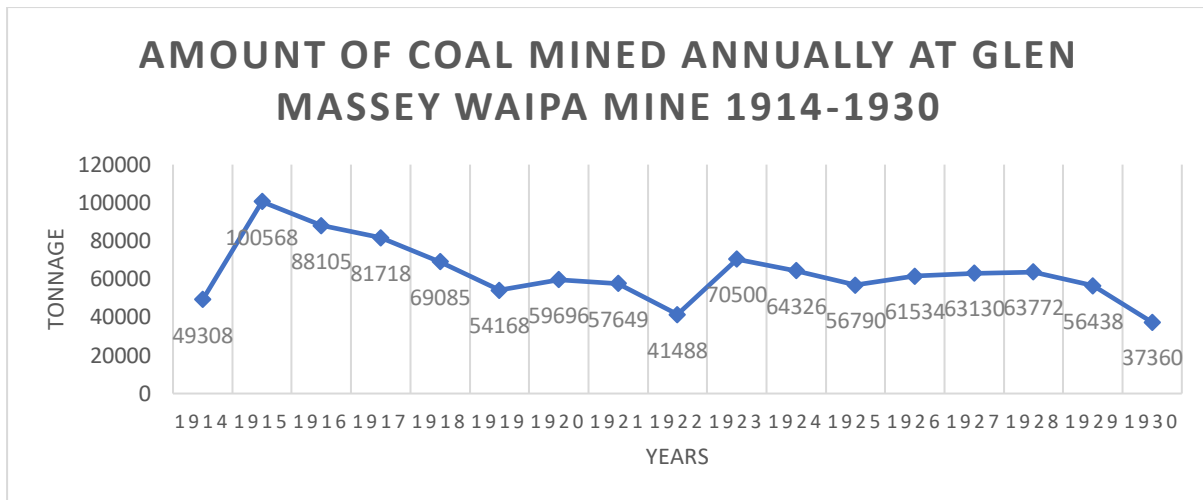


Figure 14 Data taken from Evelyn Stokes' *Coal Mining in the Waikato Region. Working Paper 7* originally sourced from *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives* for the relevant years.²¹⁵

Figure. 13 indicates that the number of men employed over the 17 years remained reasonably consistent, averaging approximately 120 from 1923 onwards. Fig. 14 showing the output in terms of tonnage, however, shows a marked decrease over the period. In particular, the tonnage never exceeds 64,000 after 1924, the year after Hamill's comments were made. Approximately the same number of men were mining a decreasing output of coal (because of decreasing markets), and unsurprisingly, there was insufficient work to support full-time employment. In that context, the proposed union response of stopping immigration and imposing economic protectionism is understandable:

“Workers from the Old Country ... are told there is plenty of work for everybody ... and when the miners who are brought out arrive at their destination, they find themselves faced with three days a week work. We know that Glen Massey mine cannot give a man a start because there is not the trade to warrant it the only way to alleviate the position, as far as the miners in the Waikato District were concerned, was (1) to stop the importation of coal; (2) to provide work and living for the miner, his wife and children who are already here, and to give him a chance in the country which he has come to adopt or in which he was born.”²¹⁶

In a sense, village miners were asking for the same protections at an industry level as those being sought by their rural neighbours: guaranteed markets and support in marketing and

²¹⁵ Evelyn Stokes, *Coal Mining in the Waikato Region*, 64

²¹⁶ ‘Coal Mine Industry’, *Auckland Star*, 1 July 1925, 10.

financial support when needed. In 1928, the Minister of Finance would appoint Andrew Sinclair Sutherland, farmer, Glen Massey Road, Ngāruawāhia as one member of the Waikato District Board to administer the rural intermediate credits system.²¹⁷ Local farmers had sought political action as “a panacea for their disabilities” in terms of instability of finance and uncertainty of land tenure and eventually received the government support outlined above.²¹⁸ Miners had little hope of similar success by recourse to a Reform government.

For miners in Glen Massey, as for all of the Huntly coalfields, achieving economic – and social – security and the possibility of advancement was solely contingent on the individual effort of passing mining exams and ‘getting a ticket’ for promotion to the ranks of ‘staff’ or management.²¹⁹ On 10 July, 1925, reported passes obtained by the pupils of the Huntly School of Mines included: Firemen-deputies Certificates for William Burnie, Gavin Russell Lees and John Young, and an Underviewers Certificate for William Burnie, all of Glen Massey.²²⁰ On 4 January, 1929, passes were recorded Robert Blair for a Mine Manager’s Second-Class ticket, and G. Williamson for a partial pass towards the same qualification.²²¹ T. Lees and W. Byers had achieved a full pass for an Underviewer’s Certificate and A. Learmouth and T. Mitchell a partial pass for Underviewer’s Certificate. Thomas Lees had also achieved a Deputy’s Certificate.²²²

It was not surprising that in a 1927 by-election caused by the death of the sitting Reform M.P., Mr R.F. Bollard, Mr W. Lee Martin, the Labour candidate won by a substantial margin. The change in voting patterns is quite marked and reflects the darker mood suggested by the *Auckland Star* report above. In 1925, the total voting figures had been Bollard (Reform) 4470, Piggott (Labour) 1614, Lye (Liberal) 965 and Duxfield 222. Figures from the Glen Massey polling booth for that election had been Bollard 65, Piggott 108, Lye 23 and Duxfield 3. By 1927, total voting figures had changed to Waring (Reform) 2025, Martin (Labour) 2220, T. Parker (Liberal) 1095 C.A. Magner (Country) 532 and W.J. Taylor (Independent Reform) 198. Figures from the Glen Massey polling booth were Waring, 43, Martin 126, Parker 5, Taylor 0, Magner 3. The *Franklin Times* opined:

²¹⁷ ‘Rural Credits’, *Waipa Post*, 17 March, 1928, 5.

²¹⁸ ‘Farmers’ Affairs’, *Waikato Times*, 4 September, 1925, 4.

²¹⁹ Bob Andrews, ‘An Interview with Bob Andrews’ and Bill Baker, ‘An Interview with Bill Baker’.

²²⁰ ‘Huntly School of Mines’, *Huntly Press and District Gazette*, 10 July, 1925, 2.

²²¹ ‘Mines Successes’, *Sun* (Auckland), 4 January, 1929, 1.

²²² ‘Mining Examinations’, *Huntly Press and District Gazette*, 15 February, 1929, 3.

An analysis of the voting ... shows that the successful candidate owes his success chiefly to the support he received in the mining districts of Huntly, Glen Afton, Glen Massey, Pukemiro, Rotongaro and Rotowaro. In seven polling booths at these places, Mr Martin polled 1368 votes.²²³

The son of the winning candidate Mr Lee Martin, noted in an oral interview recorded in 2021, that his father, “created history in that he was the first farmer [elected to represent the Labour Party] and the first Labour person to win a rural seat.”²²⁴ While the Glen Massey booth gave an outright victory to Martin, the overall electorate figures underlined that the four-way split between the other parties, “ demonstrated the fractiousness of many North Island farming communities.”²²⁵

Figure 15 below gives some ‘edge’ and context to the union secretary’s comments discussed above and the political turmoil evident in the by-election. In comparison to Figure 5 (describing the situation in Glen Massey in 1914), Figure 15 depicts an increase in overall population, from 81 in 1914 to 179 in 1925. Immigration from overseas seems to have accounted for 43 of those people with internal immigration accounting for another 17. Those figures include an increase in English immigrants by approximately a third, the number of internal New Zealand-born newcomers not far off doubling and a five-fold increase in the numbers of Scots immigrants. Alice Pitt also noted the presence of many Scots in Pukemiro and Rotowaro at the time.²²⁶ Two studies of Scots immigration to New Zealand up to 1920, both emphasise two national trends, the first of which was replicated in Glen Massey, namely that most of these Scots immigrants came from the Lowlands and Scottish borders (See Appendix 2).²²⁷ The applicability of the second trend is more problematic:

... Miners tended to be young – in their mid-twenties – with one third of their children under fifteen ... more Scots arrived married than single, a factor especially important for transferring culture ... families are the vehicles of culture. They teach children

²²³ ‘A Victory for Labour’, *Franklin Times*, 30 September, 1927, 5.

²²⁴ Kenneth Martin. A Matangi Story: an Interview with Kenneth Lee Martin’, HCLOH_0065, Te Koopuu Maania o Kirikiriroa, Hamilton Library, 21 December, 2021.

²²⁵ Peter Franks & Jim McAloon, *Labour: the New Zealand Labour Party, 1916-2016*, Victoria University Press, Wellington, 2016, 79.

²²⁶ Alice Pitt. ‘Interview with Alice Pitt.’

²²⁷ Patterson, Brooking, and McAloon, *Unpacking the Kists*, 54-55.

traditions and their members reinforce each other's accents, religious faith, ways of doing things.²²⁸

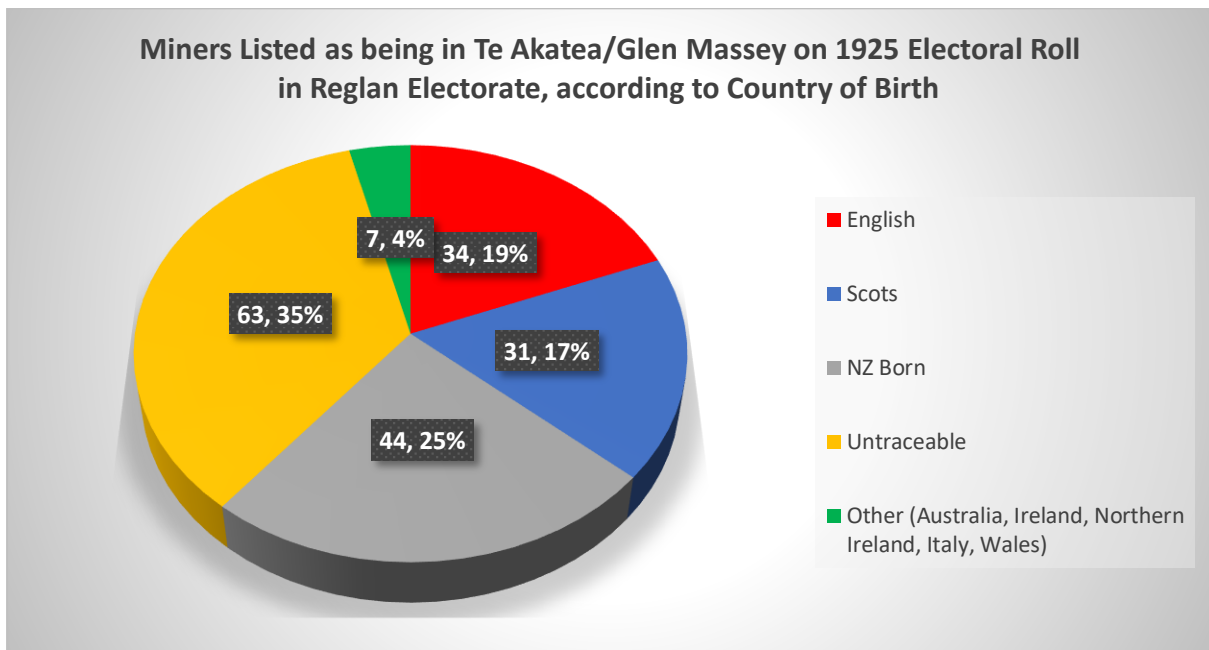


Figure 15 - See Appendix 2 for details of supporting evidence

There is no issue with the general thrust of the comment, but in the specific context of Glen Massey, where identifiable Scots and Northern English immigrants together constituted just over a third of the voting roll (and their families presumably constituted approximately the same proportion in the village as a whole), there are some specific conundrums. There is little evidence that the rise in Scots migration of the 1920s significantly impacted on the Glen Massey Presbyterian congregation. It is also moot as to whether these immigrants would have been particularly concerned with maintaining a Scots identity, given the economically distressed conditions in Scotland which had triggered their original emigration. In any event, the evidence suggests that forging the Glen Massey community drew upon and catalysed established mining social and occupational bonds rather than ethnic or nationalistic ones, during the 1920s at least.

Moreover, the preponderance of families with children identified by these two studies was not a uniquely Scots phenomenon. The numbers of children enrolled at Glen Massey School in the 1920s from the Northern English Alker, Cook, Cooke, Dockerty, Gair and Woodward families,

²²⁸ Patterson, Brooking, and McAloon. *Unpacking the Kists*, 55.

matched the enrolment of the Brown, Crawford, Lees, McLean, Andrew, Henderson and McFarlane families from Scotland.²²⁹

A Wider Economic Base?

By 1917, advertisements for Hamblin's General Store in Glen Massey (before it burned down), D.W. Harvey's store, the Delta Bakery in Ngāruawāhia, and two butchers with premises in both Ngāruawāhia and Glen Massey (W.E. Parker and H. Collins) attest to a measure of both stability and projected growth.²³⁰ At the end of the previous year, 145 miners had been employed at the Waipā mine, and while undoubtedly some were commuting from Ngāruawāhia, and others were single itinerants living in the boarding houses, that figure does bespeak a fixed community of some size. Occasional newspaper reports of the school roll, another measure of the village population, suggest that it remained reasonably constant between 50 and 60 pupils until 1919.²³¹

There was an attempt to widen Glen Massey's economic base during the mid-1920s with a brickworks and prospects of making sanitary ware and fine chinaware from locally available clay:

Glen Massey clay is extraordinarily good. ... the manager, Mr A. R. Topliss ... points out that ... the New Zealand Company has a marked advantage over English manufacturers from whom the chief importations are at present being made. Apart from freight charges from England to this country, the manufacturer whose works are chiefly in the Stoke pottery districts, have to obtain their China clay from Dorset, and import their flint from France and their feldspar from Norway. At Glen Massey he has 75 per cent of the raw material on the spot, which places the company in a very favourable position.²³²

Such claims must have been grist to the mill for those New Zealanders promoting a 'Better Britain' economic perspective. The brickworks did actually get underway, although the fine

²²⁹ Bovill, *Glen Massey School 75th Jubilee*, 111-113 and Appendix 2.

²³⁰ 'Advertisements', *Maoriland Worker*, 10 October, 1917, 8.

²³¹ For instance, a roll number of 57 was reported in 'Glen Massey', *Huntly Press and District Gazette*, 21 April, 1916, 3 and roll of 54 was claimed for the Glen Massey School in 'Advertisements', *New Zealand Herald*, 27 November, 1919, 2.

²³² 'An Auckland Industry', *Auckland Star*, 7 April, 1927, 4.

chinaware and ceramics never appeared to make it off the drawing board before the high costs of transport forced the company into liquidation in 1930. A local sawmill, owned by the storekeeper, M.T. MacDonald and operated by Fletcher Owen fared a little better, but only because it became a support industry for the mining company, supplying timber props for the mine tunnels.

The Second Mediatization: Wrestling Back the Narrative of Glen Massey

It was not until 1928 -1929 that there was any sustained attempt by the mainstream media to ‘contest the narrative’ around Te Akatea and its mining village of Glen Massey by way of regular weekly columns of village and district news. The columns seem to reflect a kind of ‘wresting back’ of social control by the rural farming interests. As Morris’s early column in the *Huntly Press* had provided a rare miner’s perspective, “Our Correspondent” material for Glen Massey in both the *Waikato Times* and the *New Zealand Herald* seems to have been written from the perspective of a farmer’s wife.

As in the typical example reproduced in Fig. 16 below, most columns started with that most ‘English’ of subjects, the weather, almost always followed by a comment on the impact of the weather on pastures or farming generally. Regular services in the local Church for members of the various denominations were equally regularly reported on, although with few details apart from the preacher. School Committee meetings were likewise a regular feature, and occasionally sports, predominantly school-based teams and Tennis (both of which had farming involvement), and more rarely, golf and bowling. Problems with the road from Ngāruawāhia were also an ongoing concern. Details of social events were often characterised by details of the gowns of the ladies present. The presence of the mine and miners were almost erased, except where they could be impersonally reported on as ‘local industry’ Where villagers were

GLEN MASSEY.

The Weather.

An exceptionally heavy fall of rain occurred on Saturday, the rainfall registered at **Glen Massey** being 2.43 inches.

The creek rose very rapidly, and in the afternoon the low-lying portions of the road to Ngaruawahia were flooded, causing serious inconvenience and a long delay to numerous motor cars.

All sports fixtures were of necessity abandoned.

The Church.

Good congregations were present at both services on Sunday. In the afternoon the Rev. Kearney, of Pukemiro, held the Presbyterian service, while the Methodist Service in the evening was conducted by the Rev. G. Hall, of Ngaruawahia.

Concert.

Miss Mary Lees is actively engaged in organising a concert to be held in the local hall on the 22nd. inst., in aid of the Presbyterian Church funds.

Armistice Day.

The customary two minutes' silence was observed in the local school on Monday, after the significance of the occasion had been explained to the pupils.

Talkies.

Considerable numbers of the local residents have been journeying to Huntly each week to hear and see the talkie pictures which are being shown there, and all seem very much impressed with the newest in motion pictures.

The Farm.

The dairy season is in full swing, and, due largely to the favourable weather and to the general application of fertilisers, feed is exceptionally plentiful and few seasons have given more promise of bountiful production at this time of the year.

The sheep farms are also looking extremely well, shearing has been almost completed, and the stock generally is in excellent condition.

Personal.

Mr and Mrs Bowner, who have been in the district for some years, have left to take up farming in the Morrinsville district.

Mr Archie MacCahon, of Wellington, has been visiting **Glen Massey** as the guest of Mrs J. Cook.

Master J. Beaver, of Paerata, has been spending a short holiday with his parents at **Glen Massey**.

mentioned, they were denoted by their role (e.g. School Committee Chairman) and named very formally (e.g. Mr J. K. Brown), rather than the easy, friendly, but respectful tone in which C.S. Morris had referred to his fellow-citizens.

The articles suggest an implied and informal social hierarchy. At the top were the owners of sheep farms, such as the Bull family. Then, came the managers of sheep farms (e.g. the Brocketts and Brunskills), then the owners of Dairy Farms. (In this context, it is worth noting that there were several conversions from dairy farming to sheep farming during the period, which clearly improved social standing as well as land use).²³³

Next on the ladder came share milkers (e.g. the Trews at one stage), and finally farm labourers, who seem to have shared the same lowly status as miners. Professionals, such as teachers and the postmistress, and more

Figure 16 Typical 'Glen Massey News' Column in *Waikato Times*,

13 November, 1929, 11.

²³³ For instance, J.R. Thomson, 'Advertisements', *Waikato Times*, 7 September, 1928, 12 and W.R. Holmes. 'Advertisements', *Waikato Times*, 14 November, 1928, 12.

rarely, mine managers, acted as the intermediaries between the farming hierarchy and the miners and seem to have been accepted socially in both groups.

The 'rural gentry class' was also privileged by the regular reporting of its social gatherings. Invariably, such affairs were 'enjoyable evenings' or 'a jolly party', featuring dancing, games, competitions and occasionally card games.²³⁴ Many of the descriptions of such events would not be out of place at Mr Bennett's Longbourn estate in Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*, a representation which, one suspects, the participants themselves might have considered to be quite apt. Nevertheless, oral histories from comparable districts of the Waikato caution against any too-inflated impression of the 'gentry', leading a life of conspicuous consumption and leisure in the Te Akatea of the 1920s. Florence McGovern's reminiscences of farming life in Newstead underline the amount of hard physical work done by all family members, including daughters and wives as well as domestic chores.²³⁵ Speaking of his experiences on Te Rapa and Te Akau farms, Dan Hart noted, "Women did it hard ... they did more than the average person ever knew about. They never complained ... they felt they were getting somewhere or hoped they were getting were getting somewhere."²³⁶ Perhaps, the Tulliver farm of George Elliot's *Mill on the Floss* would have been a closer representation of the gentry class of Te Akatea.

In contrast to the outward-looking networks of their miner neighbours, the circumscribed and 'parochial', even sequestered and 'exclusive' nature of the socialising of the farmer group is striking. The accounts of their 'evenings' list the same people in the same tight little group doing the same activities from week to week and month to month. The brief description of such a party below, is typical in many respects:

A surprise party, organised by Mrs George Duck, was taken to "Simla", Mrs Gerald Bull's residence on Tuesday evening and a very jolly time was spent by those present in dancing, games and competitions. Mrs Bull, in a frock of henna silk relieved with pink, received the guests. Among those present were Mesdames G. Duck, A.

²³⁴ For instance, a party given by Mrs J. Bowen reported in 'Jolly Evening', *Waikato Times*, 22 May, 1929, 2 and a surprise party taken to the home of Mrs. S. Fowler, reported in 'Glen Massey Notes', *Waikato Times*, 18 June, 1929, 5.

²³⁵ Florence McGovern, 'A Hard Life'.

²³⁶ Dan Hart, 'Farming in Te Rapa and Te Akau: an interview with Dan Hart', Te Koopuu Maania o Kirikiriroa, Hamilton Library HCLOH_0038, Nov. 29, 2021.

Derbyshire, P. Steadman, C. Bowen, E. Fowler, B. Bowen, Messrs H. Rutter, G. Duck, J. Bowen, S. and N. Woodward, M. Nairn, J. Fowler, D. Allcott.²³⁷

Even for a “surprise party”, Mrs Bull was suitably dressed for the occasion, (perhaps because such “surprise parties” seem to have occurred on an astonishingly regular and cyclical basis). Both the party itself and its activities could have been reported from any number of dates during the late 20’s or 30’s, as could the names of the female guests. The only distinctive points of the above account are the relatively rare inclusion of the names of the male guests, and the solecism of using the honorifics of “Mesdames” for the two single female teachers (Misses Derbyshire and Steadman) and several of the Bowen daughters.

The Church Congregations and Community Building

When it came to raising money, however, the farmer-dominated Anglican Church could be very inclusive:

The plain and fancy-dress ball held in the Glen Massey Hall on Friday evening, in aid of the Anglican Church funds was one of the largest and most brilliant functions that have been held locally, and the financial results were most satisfactory.²³⁸

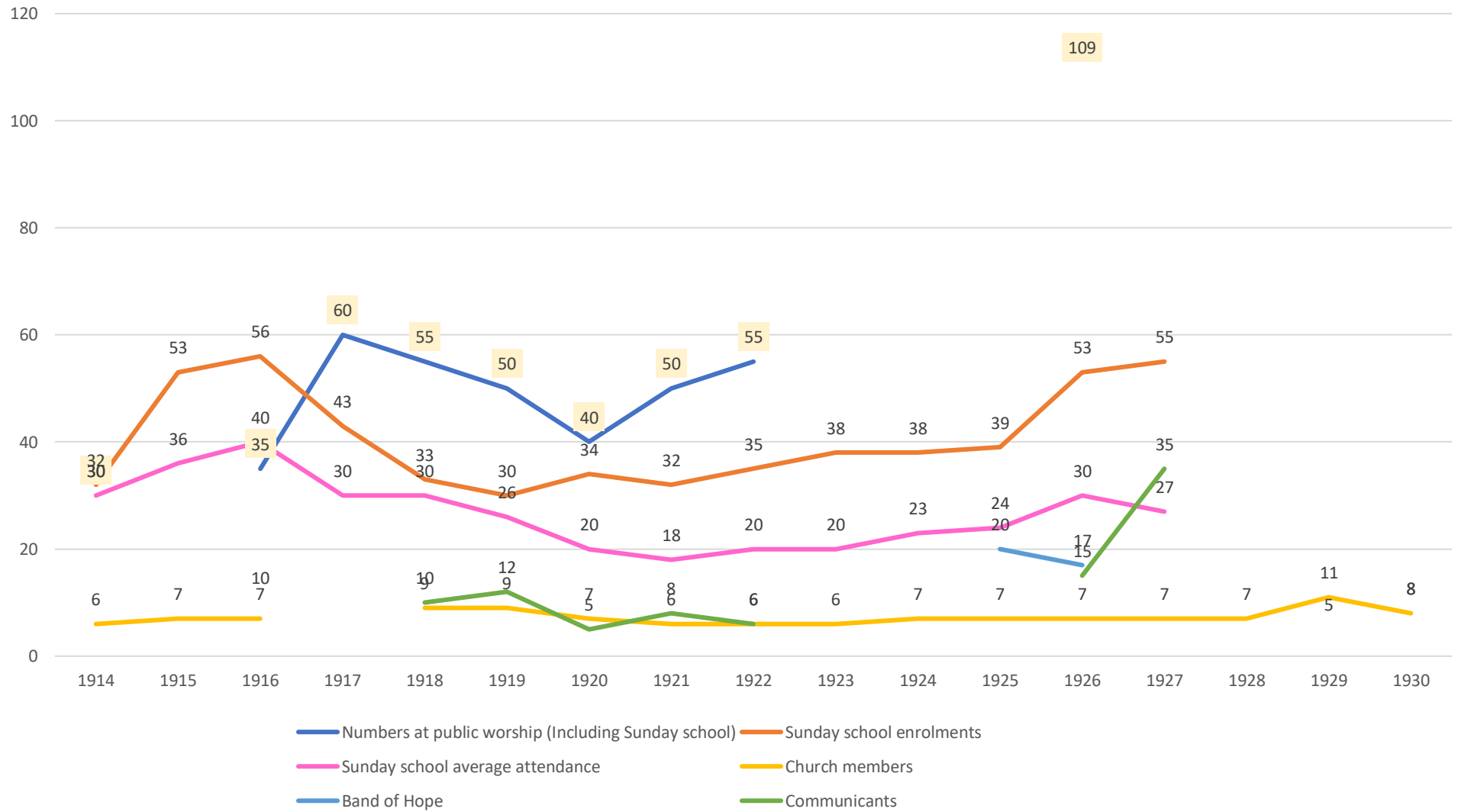
The list of guests and children that followed, suggested strongly that entry fees from both farmers and miners – and their children – were equally acceptable. Conversely, financial support for the relief work of the controversially heterodox Anglican priest, the Rev. Jasper Calder’s relief work was confined to village families at “a very jolly party was given at their residence by [the mining family] Mr and Mrs W. McLean ... ably assisted by Miss Joyce McLean.”²³⁹

²³⁷ ‘Glen Massey News’, *Waikato Times*, 13 September, 1929, 5.

²³⁸ ‘Fancy Dress Dances’, *Waikato Times*, 23 July, 1929, 5.

²³⁹ ‘Glen Massey’, *Waikato Times*, 21 August, 1929, 10. Jasper Calder was an Anglican priest and radio personality who was unusually liberal and modernist in his views.

Activity of the Glen Massey Methodist Congregation 1914-1930 (Figure 17)
 (Data taken from Ngāruawāhia Methodist Circuit Schedule Book 1914-1934 and Church Membership Roll 1913-34)



Apart from such social activities, details of the activity of the Glen Massey Anglican Church are sparse, and those of the Presbyterian congregation almost non-existent. However, extant records of the Methodist Church suggest a relatively thriving congregation from 1914, at least up to 1926, shown in Figure 17 above. (The records are not complete, as reflected in the ‘gaps’ in the lines for the various activities and groups).

Parallel Cultures: Rarely the Twain Meet

Apart from the Tennis Club which brought miners and farmers together from its inception, and to a lesser extent, the Golf Club, the process of social ‘integration’ seems to have been generally glacial. One of the first reported social functions where there is evidence of a roughly equal number from both communities was a 21st birthday party reported in 17 September 1929, given by Mr and Mrs G. Woodward (a mining family) for their son Joe:

Both the supper-room and the dining room were very prettily decorated with nikau and punga ferns and coloured streamers, and a jolly evening was spent in dancing, games and competitions. Music for dancing was played by Messrs G. Duck and H. Rutter. Among those present were: Mrs Rutter snr., J. Thomson, G. Duck, J. Cumming, A. Cook, G. Foster, E. Rutter, A. Brockett, V. Tanfield, J. Bowen, Misses Steadman, Rutter, A. Derbyshire, E. Tanfield, B. Bowen, D. Burt, C. Bowen, V. Burt, E. Fowler, M. Brockett, Messrs. D. Burt, J. Cummings, V. Tanfield, S. Bull, J. Thomson, G. Duck, Foster, D. Allcott, T. Cannon, T. McIntyre, E. and H. Rutter, S. and N. Woodward.²⁴⁰

Possibly, many of the older farming families represented here (e.g. Mrs Rutter Snr.) were doing chaperone duties and a younger generation of farming families who had gone to the local school with mining children, and, in one or two instances, even played sport with them, saw no reason not to accept a 21st birthday invitation. What makes the above account remarkable is not that such an event involving both communities happened, but that it happened so rarely. It appears that the ebb and flow between the ‘Venn Circles’ (Farmers, Miners and Management / Professional) which characterised Glen Massey / Te Akatea society seemed to rely for their activation more on the mining families than the farmers.

²⁴⁰ ‘Glen Massey News’, *Waikato Times*, 17 September, 1929, 5.

Storm Clouds Gather: The Beginning of the Depression in Glen Massey

In the meantime, the voluntary liquidation of the Waipā Mine which had been Glen Massey's *raison d'être* and the advent of the Wilton Mine had not turned out to be as seamless as initially supposed in terms of employment security. The effects of the 1929 Wall Street Crash did not take long to extend to the Waikato Coal Mines:

The miners in the district are having a very lean time. The Renown Colliery is working two days per week. The Pukemiro Colliery during the last fortnight worked five days. At Glen Massey the miners are working about half-time. The Glen Afton mine was one day short last pay.²⁴¹

By the 1st October 1930, it was reported that:

A large number of men have left the local mine owing to the short time worked. Many have obtained positions at Glen Afton, while others have commenced work on the branch railway at Rotowaro.²⁴²

Already, the murmurings around the general problems of the over-competitiveness of the mining companies, thinly-veiled threats and fears of the coal running out, (the new Wilton Mine, notwithstanding) and a perceived need for control of the coal market which were to play out to devastating effect in Glen Massey in the next decade, were evident:

A distribution of railway coal orders to enable the Waikato mines to be operated to give even work for all was advocated by a deputation of Pukemiro, Renown and Glen Massey miners which waited on the Minister of Railways, the Hn. W.A. Veitch, and the Minister of Mines, the Hon. A.J. Murdoch today. The request was an outcome of the Railway Department's recent contract for the supply of its requirements by Taupiri Coal Mines Ltd. Mr Murdoch said he understood that there was not a great deal of coal remaining in the Glen Massey mine, which could possibly be closed in the near future...companies were at each other's throats for orders ... A Glen Massey

²⁴¹ 'Glen Afton', *Waikato Times*, 1 March, 1930, 5.

²⁴² 'District News', *Waikato Times*, 1 October, 1930, 10.

representative answering a comment by the Minister said there was sufficient coal in that mine for it to be worked for at least another five years.²⁴³

More particularly and specifically, there was the problem of finding employment for the 77 Glen Massey men, who had just been put off from the Waipā Colliery at Glen Massey, with no promises of work at the Wilton Colliery, which, in any event, was not due to open for another four to six weeks. The fact that, “many of the Glen Massey men were married and owned their own homes,” was clearly significant.²⁴⁴

The best that could be expected under the circumstances, was to “expedite the road work, for which £2000 was granted, on the Ngaruawahia- Waingaro Road, so as to give employment to the miners until the Wilton mine is ready to absorb workers. “²⁴⁵ Married men were given preference, presumably in response to the fears expressed. It was considered “impolitic” to offer such relief work to the twelve single men similarly affected, in view of the “hundreds of married men in the Auckland Province who had been out of employment for months.”²⁴⁶

By early December, the *Grey River Argus* could report:

That the Glen Massey mine has closed down earlier than had been anticipated. It was expected that operations, even if on a reduced scale, would be carried on for a few months yet. Some of the Glen Massey men have been placed on road work, others have found employment in the neighbouring Wilton Mine and a few have gone to Glen Afton. The manager of the Wilton mine has agreed to take on Glen Massey men as the mine develops and it is hoped that they will eventually all be placed there.²⁴⁷

Work for the unemployed Glen Massey miners who were working on the Waingaro-Te Akau stretch of the road was not the only relief project for the unemployed around Glen Massey. On New Year’s Eve, 1930, the *Waikato Times* gave an augury of what was to come:

²⁴³ ‘Fuel for Railways’, *New Zealand Herald*, 10 October, 1930, 14.

²⁴⁴ ‘Miners Seek Employment’, *New Zealand Herald*, 29 October, 1930, 13.

²⁴⁵ ‘Coal Mine Closing’, *Huntly Press and District Gazette*, 31 October, 1930, 3.

²⁴⁶ ‘Unemployed Relief’, *Auckland Star*, 26 December, 1930, 5.

²⁴⁷ ‘Glen Massey’, *Grey River Argus*, 13 December, 1930, 9.

Men are busy putting up tents in readiness for a batch of unemployed who will be brought here to complete the widening and formation of the Mile Bush Road. It is anticipated that a large number will be employed directly after the holidays.²⁴⁸

Within Glen Massey, discretionary income was increasingly in short supply. At the annual meeting of the hall shareholders in September, 1930, it was noted that:

Owing to the falling-off in patronage, due to the talkies, the screening of silent pictures has ceased, and this will seriously affect the finances of the Hall Committee. To balance matters it was decided to reduce the salary of the secretary and caretaker.²⁴⁹

In the context of this early bleak manifestation of the Depression, the move by the Central Electric Power Board to reticulate power to Glen Massey homes and thereby receive additional earnings, is rather ironic. The supply of domestic electricity came as a serendipitous by-product of supplying electricity to the new Wilton Colliery and no-one seemed to have asked whether the home owners who had made the initial applications for electricity connections would still be in a position to pay for a new and more convenient energy source, given the local economic outlook:

There were about 69 houses, a picture hall and billiard-room in the township, and a revenue of approximately £290 could be expected from these if they all availed themselves of the supply.²⁵⁰

It is perhaps, a symbolically apt end point of an account of Glen Massey in the 1920s: the promise of a literally brighter future, was potentially hobbled before it started by economic forces beyond the control of the village or its surrounding farming hinterland. It was equally subject to locally contending ‘social forces’: the obdurately disparate ‘Venn circles’ of mining and farming cultures which had few meeting points; possibly an already declining pattern in religious observance after the apogee of 1926 (detailed in the next chapter); the imminent

²⁴⁸ ‘District News’, *Waikato Times*, 31 December, 1930, 2.

²⁴⁹ ‘Glen Massey’, *Waikato Times*, 24 September, 1930, 10.

²⁵⁰ ‘Electric Supply’, *Waikato Times*, 13 February, 1930, 11.

closing of the Waipā mine that had been the *raison d'être* and economic mainstay of the village and the promise of the yet-to-be opened Wilton Mine.

Chapter 3

Identity and Cultural Contestation Within, Between and Across Communities and Cultures

Introduction

The implementation of the reticulation of electricity is first noted. This chapter then goes on to examine the extent to which the new Wilton Mine fulfilled the employment and wage-paying expectations of the Glen Massey community; the contesting agendas and impacts of the alternative forms of unionisation on offer; the social as well as economic implications of the choices made and the complementary, if not causative downstream effects on the activities of local Church congregations, particularly Methodism. Local impacts and manifestations of the onset of the Depression are examined, which it is suggested, provided a serendipitous opportunity for the farming community to reassert a degree of control after fifteen years of relative insularity through various, ostensibly unrelated events: a School Committee coup; discontinuance of the highly successful school Soccer team in favour of Rugby Union and a serious attempt to establish an adult Rugby Union team. Indications of a search for alternative vehicles of political change are also considered, followed by evidence of a continued ‘class mindset within a significant segment of the farming community. An overview of the War service by the two communities is followed by a brief consideration of the implications of the State takeover of the Wilton mine and the start of the Kemp mine for Glen Massey miners.

Power to the People

The reticulation of electric power foreshadowed at the end of the previous chapter, came in fairly short order to Glen Massey village. On 12th February 1931, it was noted that “twenty-three applications have been signed for lighting installations in the Glen Massey township. There are about fifty houses in all.”²⁵¹ By 29 April that year, there was “good progress with the installation of the electric light in the village and already some houses are connected and have the light switched on.”²⁵² Thereafter, on 17 June, 1931, the *Waikato Times* could state that:

The contractors for the installation of electric light and power have very nearly finished in the township and practically every house is connected. Residents are finding the light and power a very great convenience.²⁵³

²⁵¹ ‘Power Extension’, *Waikato Times*, 12 February, 1931, 9.

²⁵² ‘Glen Massey’, *Waikato Times*, 29 April, 1931, 10.

²⁵³ ‘Glen Massey’, *Waikato Times*, 17 June, 1931, 3.

Finally, by July, 1931, “The installation of the electric light and power in the village is completed, and practically every building, including the hall and church, is connected up.”²⁵⁴ Street lighting was put into service in November, 1936.²⁵⁵

In Glen Massey and Te Akatea (for those farmers lucky enough to also secure reticulated electricity) as much as in Tuhikaramea, electricity “was really only used for electric lights ... it certainly wasn’t used for cooking ranges ... no one even had refrigerators at that stage of things (1930s) ... you always had a meat safe outside under the trees.”²⁵⁶ It is worth noting that in Glen Massey / Te Akatea, the supply of electricity to the village preceded supply to the farming community, especially that section of it to the north-west of the village heading towards Waingaro, by a considerable margin. (The Dawson family, on the northern extremity of the geographical area covered by this study, did not get power until the early 1950’s). Milking of cow herds of any size would have necessitated the use of a stationary engine, as noted by Earl Willim Wright when he remembered farming at Ruawaro (close to Rotowaro).²⁵⁷

Promise Versus Delivery: The Performance of the Wilton Mine

At a national level, the generally improved wages and conditions which had come to prevail by 1930, as mine owners sought to fill the gaps in the market created by the lengthy miners’ strike in New South Wales, subsequently came under threat, as international economic depression became embedded. Locally, with the Waipā mine going into receivership and then closing, the promise of employment and financial security offered by the new Wilton Mine which opened late in that same year, soon proved evanescent. While the *Grey River Argus* could assure its West Coast mining readers that “All of the men who were employed at Glen Massey prior to the closing of that mine have found employment at the Wilton Mine, including those who had temporarily gone to other mines in the district,” security of employment was short-lived.²⁵⁸ True to form, “our correspondent” in the *Waikato Times* especially, regularly reported optimistically on the mine’s employment and output prospects in a vein which suggested a perspective gleaned from management. Equally regularly, however, she (?) was forced to walk

²⁵⁴ ‘Glen Massey’, *Waikato Times*, 11 July, 1931, 5.

²⁵⁵ ‘Power Board Affairs’, *New Zealand Herald*, 12 November, 1936, 15.

²⁵⁶ Ray Parkinson, ‘Reminiscences as a teenager as a Tuhikaramea farm in the 1930s and 1940s: an interview with Ray Parkinson’, HCL0H_0231, Te Koopuu Maania o Kirikiriroa, Hamilton Library 10 January, 2022.

²⁵⁷ Earl William Wright, ‘A Farming Life at Ruawaro: Interview with Earl William Wright’, HCL0H_0087, Te Koopuu Maania o Kirikiriroa, Hamilton Library 9 December, 2021.

²⁵⁸ ‘Te Akatea Miners’ Union’, *Grey River Argus*, 17 January, 1931, 6.

such optimism back. Glen Massey's prosperity was apparently 'just around the corner' but that corner seemed to lengthen by the week. There was a recurring pattern in the mine's operations and the reporting thereon which was established early in the decade and became the norm. For instance, in January 1931, it was reported that:

The mine re-opened on Monday with a full complement of workers, and with the improvements effected during the fortnight in which it was closed down, a greatly increased output is confidently looked forward to by the management.²⁵⁹

Only a week later, the same paper was lamenting that:

An indication of the present depression throughout New Zealand is given by the recent dismissal of about thirty employees of the newly-opened Wilton Coal Mine.²⁶⁰

Ten days later, a new 'spin' was placed on the dismissal of the thirty men:

Despite the dismissal of thirty employees of the Wilton Coal mine no men will be out of employment, since the workers themselves have decided to adopt a system of "rationing".²⁶¹

And by early February, just three days short of a month, the first of many closures due to a lack of orders was reported, along with minor industrial trouble:

Owing to slackness of business the local mine was closed down on Thursday and Friday last week. On Monday this week, the men assembled at the mine for work but did not commence owing to a slight dispute with the management.²⁶²

By mid-February, the *Waikato Times* was desperately trying to find some consolation, however meagre:

²⁵⁹ 'Glen Massey', *Waikato Times*, 7 January, 1931, 10.

²⁶⁰ 'Glen Massey', *Waikato Times*, 14 January, 1931, 3.

²⁶¹ 'Glen Massey', *Waikato Times*, 24 January, 1931, 8.

²⁶² 'District News', *Waikato Times*, 4 February, 1931, 3.

The local mine is working very short time, the average being about six shifts per fortnight. All the same they are doing much better than some of the other mines which are only averaging three or four shifts per fortnight.²⁶³

A similarly ‘optimistic’ report on 11 July of that year, occasioned a response from a Glen Massey miner in a Letter to the Editor of the *Waikato Times*, drawing attention to the credibility gap between the carefully curated reports on the production and profitability of the new mine mediated for public consumption, and the reality at the coal face:

Sir – I would like to ask your correspondent at Glen Massey what he considers very good time being worked at the Wilton Mine. I might say that it has been on an average about seven days per fortnight, which to my mind is far from being very good time, seeing that we are right in the middle of winter. Also, he says very large orders have been received and practically full-time will be worked – and he we are worked Monday and Tuesday, idle Wednesday and Thursday, and don’t know anything for the remainder of the week. In my opinion, there is something wrong with your correspondent, and to me his information is far from being true and also gives the public a wrong impression. I am etc. A Miner. Glen Massey, July 15.²⁶⁴

Up to the time of its purchase by the State in 1945, the occasions when the Wilton Mine actually worked a full five or six-day week and a ten or eleven-day fortnight were limited, to say the least. Such periods that could be sustained for any length of time, were the exception which proved the rule. The graphs below provide some data for this pattern.

In comparison to the output and the number of employees of the Waipā Mine, 1914-1930 (Figures 13 and 14), the increased number of employees in the Wilton Mine was not warranted by the relatively small increase in coal tonnage produced. ‘Rationing’ or dividing the decreasing amount of work generated by decreasing demand, inevitably led to shorter hours and thinner pay packets.

²⁶³ ‘Buckland Road’, *Waikato Times*, 18 February, 1931, 10.

²⁶⁴ ‘Work at Mines’, *Waikato Times*, 17 July, 1931, 9.

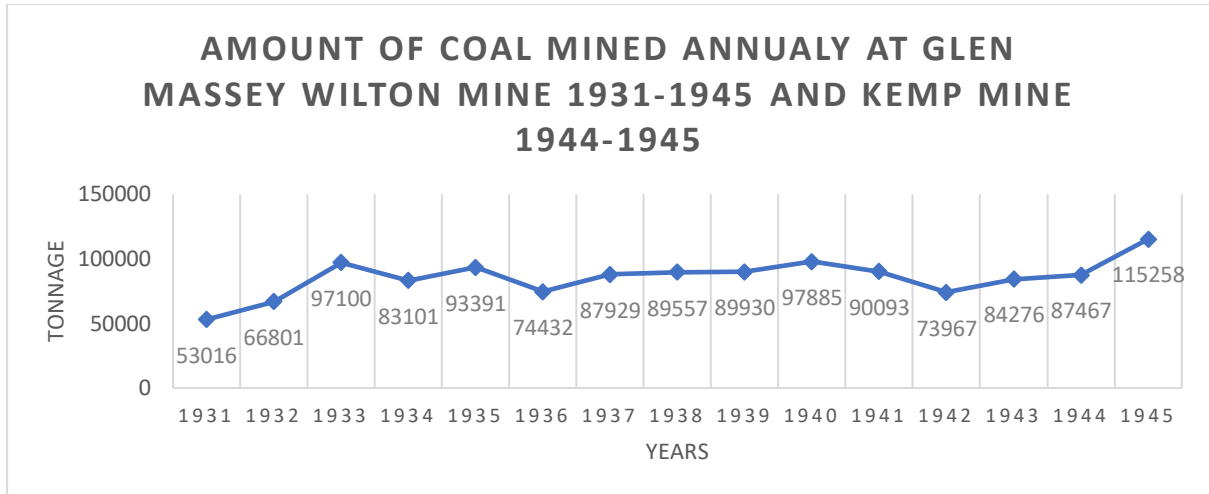


Figure 18 Data taken from Evelyn Stokes' *Coal Mining in the Waikato Region. Working Paper 7*, originally sourced from *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives* for the relevant years ²⁶⁵

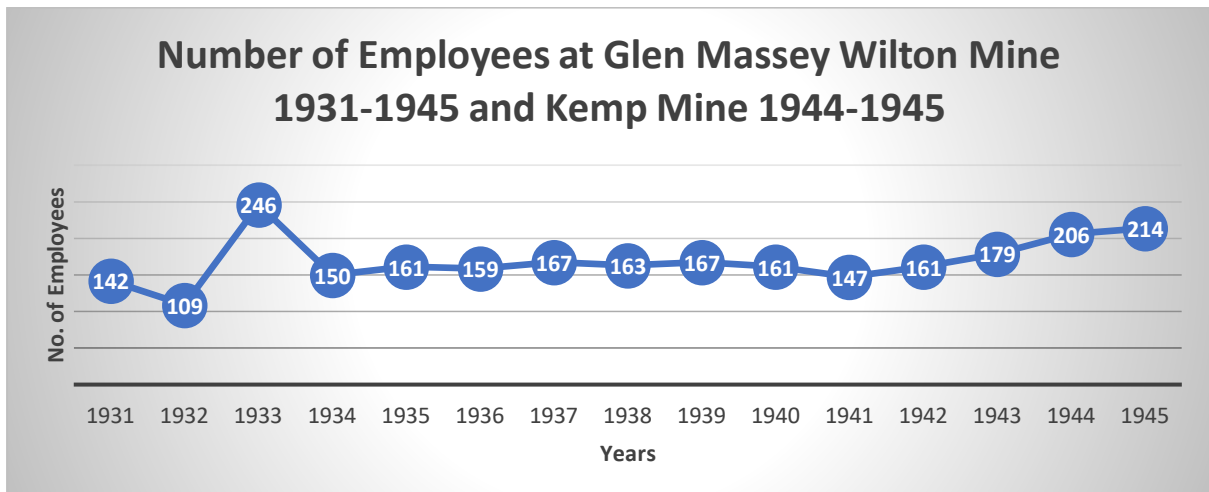


Figure 19 Data taken from Evelyn Stokes' *Coal Mining in the Waikato Region. Working Paper 7*, originally sourced from *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives* for the relevant years ²⁶⁶

The prospect of 'getting a ticket' which might lead to a 'staff' or management position, rather than becoming little more than casualised labour may have prompted an initial significant surge in interest (17 enrolments) in the Glen Massey branch of the Huntly School of Mines with the Wilton Mine manager, Geddes, functioning as assistant lecturer.²⁶⁷ The surge in interest did not last: less than a year later, the local classes were discontinued. "... Owing to the small number of students available ... Local students will be required to attend lectures at Pukemiro," a requirement which transport costs alone would militate against.²⁶⁸

²⁶⁵ Evelyn Stokes, *Coal Mining in the Waikato Region*, 64

²⁶⁶ Evelyn Stokes, *Coal Mining in the Waikato Region*, 67

²⁶⁷ 'School of Mines', *Waikato Times*, 29 May, 1931, 8.

²⁶⁸ 'Glen Massey', *Waikato Times*, 16 March, 1932, 10.

Contesting Unions

While the United Mineworkers of New Zealand (UMW) under the radical leadership of Angus McLagan, sought industrial action at a national level in response to the Forbes coalition government's general 10% wage reduction, the response from many local pits:

Was evenly divided. The caution mirrored the everyday realities of coalfields life. For many, a 10% cut in wage rates seemed preferable to no work at all.²⁶⁹

Regionally, the Waikato miners within the UMW favoured a campaign against the wage cut which was centred on taking a case to the Arbitration Court, which was only narrowly defeated by a card vote at the annual general meeting of the UMW. With the current national agreement due to expire in 1932, the UMW was preparing for a national strike with less than unanimous support from its pit-branch members.

Locally, Glen Massey coalminers, represented by the Te Akatea Miners' Union, asserted a unity of purpose – and strategy - with the owners of the Wilton Mine who had just previously broken away from the Coal Mine Owners' Association and reduced the price of their coal. The union then embarked on what was to become an overt and acrimonious battle for the coal-mining 'soul' of the village, at the end of May, 1932:

A conference was held today between representatives of the Te Akatea (Glen Massey) Miners' Union and the owners of the Wilton Colliery, to discuss a new working agreement. The coal miners' delegates were Messrs A. Gilbert, president, R. Gair, secretary, T.W. Lees, R.H. Longmuir and G. Williamson. The union representative invited the district council to be represented, but owing to the unsettled position in the Waikato coal fields the council decided not to be officially represented. At a meeting at Glen Massey last Friday the union decided to draw up a local agreement. They considered that action was justified in view of the present deadlock and the fact that Wilton Collieries were not represented at the recent conference ... Representatives of

²⁶⁹ Len Richardson, *Coal Class and Community: The United Mineworkers Of New Zealand 1880-1960*. Auckland University Press, 1995. 235.

the union said this morning that the closing of the Wilton mine would be a very serious matter at Glen Massey as there was no other employment offering.²⁷⁰

An additional piece in the *Taranaki Daily News* a few days later, underlined the specifically local concerns which prompted this move:

Fearing that an industrial dispute involving the temporary closing of the Waikato coalmines might lead to the permanent closing of the Wilton colliery and the consequent extinction of the village of Glen Massey in which they had erected their homes and invested their life savings, the members of the Te Akatea (Glen Massey) Miners' Union decided last week to seek a local agreement ... the majority of the members of the union felt that outside influences should not be allowed to operate against the welfare of the people of Glen Massey.²⁷¹

In the short term, this move appeared to reap a worthwhile harvest in terms of both steady employment and industrial harmony accruing to the Glen Massey residents. When coal miners elsewhere in the country were on general strike in June, only the Wilton Colliery and the carbonisation plant at Rotowaro were not affected. In effect, the terms of the locally negotiated new agreement created a new company union, outside of the ambit of the UMW and its district agreement, which enabled the Wilton company, amongst other things, to impose (albeit, only temporarily for a few weeks) 10% cuts when required to keep the mine financially viable.

In November 1932, it was reported that, "In marked contrast to other mines in the Waikato, the local mine is working full-time with night shifts, and is putting out over 1200 tons of coal per week."²⁷² A week later, the *Waikato Times* noted that "a complete double shift, including train service, is being worked at the mine, and a number of extra men has been taken on. The executive of the Union had a meeting with Mr Luke, managing director, and it has been decided to restore the ten per cent cut imposed a few weeks ago."²⁷³ When in June, 1933, the double shift which had been worked in the mine was discontinued, "about seventy miners and truckers

²⁷⁰ 'New Agreement', *Northern Advocate*, 31 May, 1932, 6.

²⁷¹ 'Industrial Peace', *Taranaki Daily News*, 2 June, 1932, 9.

²⁷² 'Glen Massey', *Waikato Times*, 2 November 1932, 10.

²⁷³ 'District News', *Waikato Times*, 10 May, 1933, 2.

were put off. Those dismissed were all who had come from other districts when the double shift commenced.”²⁷⁴

Into the Wilderness

Reassuring as such comments undoubtedly were at the time to those most closely involved in the village, the track record of the *Waikato Times* in privileging the perspectives of the mine management cautions against too glib an acceptance of this mediated ‘reality’ of economic security. Those transient seventy miners and truckers who had just been put off were now the human faces of the abstract vagaries of the coal market. Glen Massey’s contiguous West Huntly mining villages and townships were the likely homes to which the newly redundant seventy now had to return, jobless. They were also part of a network of mining towns, which had hitherto identified Glen Massey as one of their own and who numbered Glen Massey people as their mothers, fathers, sons, daughters, cousins, aunts and uncles as well as friends and sports rivals. Events over the next few weeks and months would exacerbate the socially corrosive downstream effects of Glen Massey’s decision to ‘go it alone’.

The Wilton Colliery mine owners imposed a further cut of 12% in December 1933 and ‘upped the ante’ considerably by posting not only the names of miners considered suitable for re-employment under the new wage conditions in a Ngāruawāhia store, but also by insisting that such applicants refrained from affiliating with the UMW. Initially, the miners called the company’s bluff, by voting to abandon the local Te Akatea Union and to reaffiliate with the UMW. That didn’t last long:

On 22 December all 180 men at the mine were dismissed. A second vote was taken, and by 81 to 31 the miners rescinded the decision to rejoin the national union. The 31 supporters of reaffiliation walked out of the mine and sought the intervention of the UMW and the Alliance of Labour. The company refused to meet either organisation; it employed 50 new men and reopened the mine.²⁷⁵

The Wilton Mine was declared ‘black’ by McLagan who had personally tried to persuade the Glen Massey men to return to the UMW before the second vote. Newspaper accounts of miners’

²⁷⁴ ‘Glen Massey’, *Waikato Times*, 8 July, 1933, 4.

²⁷⁵ Richardson, *Coal, Class and Community*, 245.

meetings in Huntly, following the decision of the Glen Massey miners at the Wilton Mine are eloquent as much in what they don't report, as in what they do:

Lengthy meetings of miners extending over the weekend were held in Huntly to consider the position which has arisen as the result of "blacking" of the Wilton Mine at Glen Massey. Yesterday a meeting was held from 10.00 am to 6 o'clock in the evening, after which Mr R. L. Roberts and Mr T. Hall left to transmit its decisions to the men at Wilton.²⁷⁶

Media claims of "wholehearted endorsement" of the decision to "black" the Wilton Mine and its miners aside, an eight-hour meeting of miners from all of the West Huntly coalfields in their own time on a Sunday to ratify what was in the end a simple yes or no decision, bespeaks volumes about the familial and social tensions that were at stake, let alone the industrial ones. In effect, the men at the meeting classified their Glen Massey comrade miners as 'scabs' and therefore pariahs in coal mining towns.²⁷⁷ A court claim in 1936 arising from a refusal by the miners in the West Huntly McDonald mine, to work with a newcomer who had previously worked at the Glen Massey Wilton mine is illustrative:

One witness admitted that at various times there had been quarrelling going on between the two unions, but it appeared that the major differences arose during 1933 and 1934. About this time there was a proposal to amalgamate the two unions, but members of the Te Akatea Union decided to remain an independent body. The result seemed to have been that a feeling of animosity persisted on the part of the defendant union and its members.²⁷⁸

McLagan's failure to persuade the Glen Massey miners to return to the UMW fold was to become a not insignificant marker in charting the eventual loss of the UMW's national power and industrial 'clout' under radical leadership. Conversely, the Te Akatea Union's quiet determination to prioritise immediate personal and local community economic well-being over a more radical international and national agenda segued neatly into the New Zealand Labour

²⁷⁶ 'Mining Trouble', *Waikato Times*, 22 January, 1934, 8.

²⁷⁷ Donald McGilp, 'Huntly Coalfields: An Interview with Donald McGilp', HCL0H_0164 a and b, Huntly Coalfields Oral History Project, Te Koopuu Maania o Kirikiriroa, Hamilton Library, 7 January, 2022.

²⁷⁸ 'Claim Succeeds', *New Zealand Herald*, 4 August, 1936, 12.

Party strategy, as evidenced in ‘rebooted’ efforts in 1932 to either start a Glen Massey Labour Party branch or join up with the Ngāruawāhia branch.²⁷⁹

Depression In the Local Context

The economic context of impoverishment and hardship for miners against which this struggle played out, was all too real. In November, 1931, “referring to unemployment, Mr Martin said he approached the Prime Minister about the Glen Massey miners, many of whom after paying rent had only 10s or 12s on which to keep a family for a fortnight.”²⁸⁰ In the eyes at least of “our local correspondent,” farming incomes appear to have been in an only slightly better position:

Despite the hard times experienced in mining, farmers have cause to hope for better times. Although butter-fat was at its lowest price in the December period when herds are at their best, it is probable that a penny per pound rise may take place in the present month.²⁸¹

Relative to the financial predicament of mining families, the farming community does appear to have been more comfortably off. Given the above figures, many mining families must have struggled to put food on the table and provide the most basic of necessities for their families and themselves, without the back-up of on-site, home-kill meat, (including the ability to cure their own bacon) daily milk and copious land for large vegetable plots and orchards available to farmers as remembered by Ada Terry and Ray Parkinson, from comparable farming areas.²⁸²

Meanwhile, what seems a remarkable ‘disconnect’ between the institutional financial needs of the different local religious denominations for which farmers’ wives assumed responsibility, and the much more immediate needs of their fellow mining co-religionists in the village for food and other necessities, played itself out. “An energetic committee of the ladies of the Anglican Church has been formed to make arrangements for holding the annual dance in aid of the church funds,” a 1931 report noted.²⁸³ A “Bring and Buy afternoon in aid of Anglican

²⁷⁹ ‘District News’, *Waikato Times*, 25 May, 1932, 10.

²⁸⁰ ‘Attack on Coalition’, *New Zealand Herald*, 19 November, 1931, 13.

²⁸¹ ‘Glen Massey’, *Waikato Times*, 14 January, 1931, 3.

²⁸² Ada Terry, ‘Memories of Farm Life in Kaipara, North Auckland and the Waikato’, and Ray Parkinson, ‘Reminiscences as a teenager on a Tuhikaramea farm in the 1930s and 1940s’.

²⁸³ ‘Glen Massey’, *Waikato Times*, 4 July, 1931, 10.

Church Funds [was] held at Mrs Bulls,” in 1932.²⁸⁴ In the same year, “a garden party in aid of the Methodist Church funds was held at Mrs A. Brockett’s residence. There was a good attendance.”²⁸⁵ Incomes may have been reduced for both farmers and miners, but the two communities still seem to have inhabited different worlds in relation to the impact of those reductions.

Besides the downturn in demand, and hence, cutbacks in hours, mining salaries and wages, and reduced farming incomes, the international and national backdrop of economic depression had its local iteration in relief camps. The work done by those in the camps centred around the use of the unemployed as labour to address the perennial issues around the road link to Ngāruawāhia, especially the Mile Bush.²⁸⁶ ‘Our correspondent’ appeared to overlook the implications of increasing unemployment, in her stated hope that because of “a considerable number of new men [having] commenced lately, ... greater progress will be made.”²⁸⁷ The tone of the reporting of the cessation of the work a month later, “the reason given being lack of money” likewise suggested a greater concern with the state of the road than with the predicament of the unemployed relief workers who had been fixing it.²⁸⁸

There were, however, some charitable efforts to ameliorate unemployment.

A very large meeting was held in the hall to see if something could be done to better the conditions of the unemployed, who are at present getting only one and a half day’s work per week. A committee consisting of Messrs V. Tanfield, Nairn, Sutherland, Gilbert, Furber, Lees, Burt, Hammil and Duck was set up, and it was decided to write and ask the county chairman Mr H. Wilson, to meet it. The committee also decided to write Mr Lee Martin and the Member, Mr Reid, asking them to assist.²⁸⁹

A subsequent meeting of the committee, spelled out the realities of unemployment during the Depression in detail:

²⁸⁴ ‘Glen Massey’, *Waikato Times*, 3 February, 1932, 5.

²⁸⁵ ‘Glen Massey’, *Waikato Times*, 16 March, 1932, 10.

²⁸⁶ ‘District News’, *Waikato Times*, 13 May, 1931, 10.

²⁸⁷ ‘Kaipaki’, *Waikato Times*, 11 November, 1931, 10.

²⁸⁸ ‘Glen Massey’, *Waikato Times*, 16 December, 1931, 10.

²⁸⁹ ‘Glen Massey’, *Waikato Times*, 23 March, 1932, 3.

A deputation from the local unemployed attended and gave the committee a list of their meagre earnings for the last month. One man with three children had an average of 15s a week for March, another 1p a week and several others about the same. It was decided to run a hard-up social to raise extra funds to help specially needy cases.²⁹⁰

The overall impact of economic astringency was all-pervasive. The *Waikato Times* could proudly report that, “of those who gained proficiency certificates last year [at Glen Massey School], two are attending the Mt. Albert Grammar School and the majority of the others are attending the Hamilton Technical High School, the Pukemiro-Hamilton service bus conveying them to and fro daily,”²⁹¹ However, the impact on household economics of secondary education became quickly evident:

It costs the parents of children living at Glen Massey who send their children daily to Hamilton by bus to attend the Technical High School, 7s 6d per week per child for transport. A parent asked the school board last night to afford some assistance in the matter. The principal (Mr W. Fraser) said there were five pupils from Glen Massey. In the case of the Gordonton children the board contributed £1 per child per term. The board decided to give the same relief to parents of Glen Massey pupils as it does to those of Gordonton.²⁹²

James Thompson (‘Tiger’) from Glen Massey, a farmer’s son, provides a good example of the distance some students had to travel:

Tiger Thompson used to rise at 5.30 am to feed his horse, have breakfast, harness horse and gig, drive into Ngaruawahia with two other children, stable the horse, catch the train to Hamilton, attend school for the day, return home the same way. The horse and gig journey from Ngaruawahia was uphill, making it one and a half hours. A long day for a school boy.²⁹³

²⁹⁰ ‘Glen Massey’, *Waikato Times*, 9 April, 1932, 8.

²⁹¹ ‘District News’, *Waikato Times*, 4 February, 1931, 3.

²⁹² ‘Local and General’, *Waikato Times*, 10 February, 1931, 6.

²⁹³ Jones, *The End of an Era*, 99.

Contending Forces: The School Committee Coup, School Soccer and Rugby Union

The financial pressures involved in travelling to matches may also, have also have played a significant role in the discontinuance of the Glen Massey School Association Football (Soccer) Team in the league comprised of Huntly and West Huntly mining community schools, in which it had hitherto been a significant, if not dominant force, including in the league's representative team:

A regrettable incident was that the Glen Massey school team was withdrawn from the competition when victory was well within their grasp and Huntly A team got the honour. It is hoped, however, that the ensuing season will see the Glen Massey boys in action, for their fellow players in Huntly were hurt last season at not having their services to strengthen the Webster Shield team for Palmerston.²⁹⁴

Schools are, by their very nature, the transmitters of culture: which cultures and whose cultures are contestable. It was noted in the previous chapter that almost all of these Glen Massey schoolboy soccer players were descendants of working-class British miners, for whom playing soccer was as much a badge of pride in class identity and solidarity as it was a 'space' for the expression of masculinity. Notably, newspaper accounts of the School Soccer matches and players evidence little to no participation by schoolboys from a farming background (with the exception of the Fowler family). Glen Massey School had won the School Soccer Cup in 1928 and in 1929 (the school Midgets team also co-winners of the cup for their age-grade). In 1929, five of the Glen Masey School team had represented Waikato in the competition for the Webster Shield in Wellington. Clearly, they had been close to winning the local competition again in 1930.

The school's withdrawal from the Soccer Code and subsequent decision to play Rugby Union instead, coincided with an ostensibly unrelated maverick result in the local School Committee elections for the following year. After having to abandon the election on the set date (April 29), because of poor attendance:

One of the largest meetings for some years was held in the Glen Massey School to elect a School Committee for the ensuing year. Mr J.K. Brown was in the chair, and Mr H.

²⁹⁴'Rugby Football', *Waikato Times*, 18 April, 1931, 9.

Trew acted as secretary in the absence of Mr C. Cooke. There were more nominations than vacancies and a ballot was held, the successful candidates being Mesdames J. Bowen and S. Fowler, and Messrs A. Sutherland, J. Foster and C. Rutter. At a subsequent meeting of the committee Mr A. Sutherland was elected chairman and Mrs J. Bowen secretary.²⁹⁵

Glen Massey School, was not unusual among rural schools in having difficulty in getting the community to turn up to meetings to elect a School Committee, let alone in attracting sufficient candidates to necessitate an election. (The earlier aborted School Committee election and meetings later in the decade provide ample evidence of this) The significance of “one of the largest meetings for some years” in 1931, is amplified by the election results. The five School Committee members elected were all from the farming community, removing at a stroke any representation from the village mining community which had largely controlled the School Committee since the school had shifted to Glen Massey from Te Akatea in 1914.

The coincidence of the School Committee ‘coup’ and the at least ostensibly unrelated decision to completely close down the local schoolboy Soccer team “when victory was well within their grasp” begs an obvious question.²⁹⁶ Was the financial outlay in getting the local schoolboys to Huntly for Soccer matches a significant factor in the decision? Some local comparisons are insightful. The adult Tennis Club also made the decision later that year to “not ... engage in inter-club matches this year owing to the difficulty of getting members to travel” (probably a euphemism for members’ straitened financial circumstances), but arranged for replacement fortnightly tournaments at club level.²⁹⁷ The local Bowling Club was also “an absentee [from the South Auckland bowling tournament being played in Hamilton during December] this year, mainly, one understands, because of the prevalent uncertainty in regard to mining matters.”²⁹⁸ Neither those involved in Tennis, nor Bowling felt obliged to change their sporting code! The ‘cancellation’ of the school Soccer team notwithstanding, the Glen Massey community continued to field at least one adult Soccer team for most of the next fifteen years and sometimes two teams. Clearly, there was no lack of interest from local schoolboys who grew up to play for their village team (s).

²⁹⁵ ‘Glen Massey School’, *Waikato Times*, 27 May, 1931, 11.

²⁹⁶ ‘Rugby Football’, *Waikato Times*, 18 April, 1931, 9.

²⁹⁷ ‘District News’, *Waikato Times*, 21 October, 1931, 10.

²⁹⁸ ‘Bowling’, *Waikato Times*, 26 December, 1931, 18.

Some of the names in the above accounts make interesting reading. Mr A. Sutherland, the local farmer who was elected Chairman of the School Committee was ‘a rising star’ on the right - wing side of politics. His chairmanship of the School Committee only lasted a year, when a better opportunity came up (standing as a candidate for the Waingaro riding of the Raglan County in opposition to the county council chairman, and for a seat on the Harbour Board, convincingly winning the latter), and he eventually became a candidate for the newly-formed National Party in 1938.

Two of the new School Committee members, Mr C. Rutter and Mr J. Foster had been enthusiastic members of the pre-war Auckland Mounted Rifles, both also readily enlisting for WWI. That war acted as a fillip to the evolution of a ‘better Briton’ kind of national identity to which passive support for, if not active playing of Rugby Union was intrinsic.²⁹⁹ For Rutter and Foster, the hegemony of the upper-class, public-school game of Rugby Union would have been in cultural lock-step with the hegemony of British Imperialism and its ruling class, epitomised in the victory in the Great War in which they had personally participated. Both of those gentlemen would have also actively supported the reinvigoration of their own pre-war Waikato Mounted Rifles by the voluntary enlistment for 18-32-year-olds, advertised in the *Waikato Times* of 25 July 1931:

Training centres for these units to be established at Glen Massey [amongst other places] ... applicants must be able to provide themselves with a horse for camp training. ... Note – this Regiment is composed entirely of specialists such as Vickers or Lewis Gunners and Signallers.³⁰⁰

Rugby Union might be considered an ideologically compatible alternative for those without the requisite experience in such weaponry - or the means and ability to provide a horse! Canalising the progeny of miners into a more ‘imperialistically appropriate’ sporting code through the socialising agency of the school, thereby encouraging them to play the future foot-slogging ‘infantrymen’ to the farmer cavalry, would be a worthy aim for such a mindset.

In that context, the School Committee ‘coup’ can be viewed as part of an overall stratagem to deliver a final coup de grace to Soccer, perceived as a ‘cultural badge’ of ‘lower-class’ mining

²⁹⁹ Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, 118, 374, 378-388.

³⁰⁰ ‘Advertisements’, *Waikato Times*, 25 July, 1931, 3.

communities, to clear the way for Rugby Union, a game in which the sons of farmers might also properly participate. That push had plausibly come about through sustained informal pressure from the farming community in the months leading up to the election.

It is difficult to avoid seeing the eventual decision of the school to play Rugby Union and the introduction of the code in the adult community around the same time (April 1931) as more than a coincidence:

A meeting of Rugby enthusiasts was held in the hall this evening to form a football club, under the Rugby code. Mr John Brown, jun., was voted to the chair. It was unanimously decided to form a Rugby Football Club ... The following officers were elected: Secretary, Mr R. Nairn; treasurer, Mr J. Fowler, committee, Messrs J. Brewer, H. Morris, V. Tanfield, J. Furber and team delegate to Taupiri Sub-Union, J. Furber; club captain T. Davies. The appointments of president, captain and selection committee are to be made later. It was decided to enter a senior and junior team in the competition. This is the first Rugby club that has been formed locally.³⁰¹

The election of J. Nairn, the school headmaster (and occasional lay preacher at local Methodist services) as secretary of the Rugby Union Football Club crystallises the community/ cultural contest at work here. Nairn had been elected President of the local adult Association Football (Soccer) Club in 1930. The Glen Massey School Association Football Team which “the school” had apparently decided to disband, had also achieved some of its greatest results earlier during his tenure. While the *Waikato Times* was trumpeting the formation of the Glen Massey Rugby Club and Nairn’s role in it, the *Huntly Press*, a year later, was still holding out the opportunity for Glen Massey School to return to the Soccer fold:

At the annual meeting of Schools Soccer Association ... Strong representations are to be made to Glen Massey to join up again this year, in the hope that the representative team will be up to standard. ... the local competition will see Huntly enter two teams, Rotowaro one and Pukemiro one, and it is hoped that Glen Massey will enter.³⁰²

Moreover, Nairn himself was clearly perceived as central to that return:

³⁰¹ ‘Club at Glen Massey’, *Auckland Star*, 6 April, 1931, 13.

³⁰² ‘Soccer’, *Huntly Press and District Gazette*, 26 April, 1932, 2.

There is every probability of the Glen Massey school coming into the schools competition this year, and it is hoped that if transport facilities can be arranged locally, the Webster Shield team will be materially strengthened. The head master, Mr Nairn, is lending his support to the movement, and a fair rep team can be looked forward to, with sympathetic support from Soccer enthusiasts and the controlling body. Every effort should be made this year to make amends for the disappointment the local schoolboys suffered last year.³⁰³

However, *Waikato Times* accounts of local social gatherings and parties suggest that the Nairn family was by now increasingly becoming a part of the 'farmer set' in their private lives, and were thus susceptible to identifying informally with the interests of that group.³⁰⁴ It is easy to under-estimate the potential for exploitation of such social relationships; the power of the members of one community acting in concert (such as the sudden farmer interest in School Committee elections) and the pressure they could thus exert on the headmaster in terms of subtly or not-so-subtly changing the cultural direction of a school and informally 'suggesting' the community groups he should be seen to endorse. In this case, the pressure seems to have originated from the farming community to replace a 'working-class,' soccer-playing, school culture with a culture more in tune with its own interests, including its notions of Rugby Union as a sport which supposedly embodied more 'appropriate' post-Gallipoli imperial political values.

For whatever reasons, the *Huntly Press* reported on 20 May, 1932, that:

The Glen Massey school will play Rugby this season and will not, therefore, be a contestant in the Schools Championship this year [in Soccer]³⁰⁵

It does have to be acknowledged that the committee of the new adult Glen Massey Rugby Football Club was almost entirely composed of miners who were highly respected local citizenry. Mr John Brown jun. was a member of a large extended local mining family; Messrs

³⁰³ 'Association Football', *Huntly Press and District Gazette*, 3 May, 1932, 2.

³⁰⁴ See for instance, 'Glen Massey News', *Waikato Times*, 11 September 1929, 10; 'Table Talk', *Otago Witness*, 24 September, 1929, 57; 'Glen Massey News', *Waikato Times*, 20 May, 1930, 5; 'Glen Massey Party', *Waikato Times*, 17 May, 1930, 15; 'Glen Massey', *Waikato Times*, 25 February, 1931, 5.

³⁰⁵ 'Soccer Football', *Huntly Press and District Gazette*, 20 May, 1932, 2.

H. Morris, V. Tanfield and T. Davies were long-term identities; Messrs J. Brewer and Furber seem to have been more recent arrivals, but the latter was also to be elected as Secretary-Treasurer of the Te Akatea Miners' Union in the same year the Rugby Club was formed. Mr J. Fowler, the treasurer, was almost certainly the same J. Fowler who had been a long-standing Soccer player, firstly at school level, and subsequently at adult level, and whose family, almost uniquely, had had a foot in both the mining and farming 'camps' from the time of the establishment of the village.

Just over a week later, the newly-formed Glen Massey Rugby Football Club held a dance on the Saturday evening after the first game against Glen Afton. Glen Afton was also a mining community. Of the other teams in the competition, Te Hoe, and Eastern (Gordonton-Orini) were farming communities and Rugby Union in Ngāruawāhia was very much a minority code in comparison to Rugby League.

The establishment of Rugby Union in the village (and in the contiguous villages and settlements that it played against) may connote several trends, none of which are necessarily mutually exclusive: the slow dissolution if not breakdown of traditional UK regional and class sporting loyalties with questionable relevance to the immediate New Zealand locale; a wider acceptance of sporting versatility, with decisions about which sporting code to follow being based on individual and peer preferences rather than circumscribed by rigid family, occupational or community expectations; local acknowledgement of the growing hegemony of Rugby Union as the 'national' sport and a wish on the part of the immigrant mining community to be seen to be an integral part of the wider 'New Zealand' culture and its growing sense of a kind of nationalism.³⁰⁶

The Glen Massey School and its School Committee were engaged in a cultural battle and the locus of contestation was the sporting field of Fowler's paddock, shared by Rugby Union, Soccer (and occasionally Rugby League) school and community. It is worth noting, at this point, that after Sutherland's departure for the greener grass of power at the Harbour Board after his one-year stint as Chairman of the Glen Massey School Committee, the miner, J. K. Brown, his predecessor as Chairman, once again resumed the role (having been completely voted off the committee the previous year) although the other farmer members of the committee

³⁰⁶ Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, 388

seem to have remained in place. There is no surviving documentation of the process by which this turnaround in the chairmanship was achieved. Possibly, the farming community felt that it had too blatantly overplayed its hand in the 1930 election and was willing to countenance a ‘token miner’ as chairman, knowing that he could be safely out-voted by the rest of the committee, should the need arise.

On the sporting field up to 1945, the existence of two adult Soccer teams bespeaks a continued ‘working-class’ ethos in the community beyond the school gates, the abandonment of the school Soccer team, notwithstanding. There is no evidence that Glen Massey School ever returned to the Soccer competition involving schools from the other Huntly mining communities. There was still some hope being expressed around the participation of “some of the Glen Massey lads” (unnamed) in a Webster Shield representative side on August 7, 1931.³⁰⁷ However, there is no evidence this amounted to anything at the time, nor in subsequent years. Shorter hours and reduced shifts in the Glen Massey mine meant much less – or no - discretionary income for the parents of the schoolboy players to enable them to travel for games. Economic astringency proved a serendipitous ally in attempts at cultural shift. There was only one rugby game involving the school mentioned in 1931 where a match was being planned by the Ngāruawāhia Scout Troop against Glen Massey Public School Junior team at Glen Massey.³⁰⁸

In 1932, however, Glen Massey School featured in a Rugby football Knock-out Cup against teams from Orini-Te Hoe, Gordonton, (both farming communities) as well as Ngāruawāhia and Huntly Convents, Huntly, Rotowaro and Taupiri (predominantly mining communities) played in Taupiri where:

Spectators remarked on the fine standard of play shown, there being a distinct improvement since the first competition of its kind two years ago ... It was disappointing to discover what little interest is really taken in school [Rugby] football, if the attendance at the competition on Saturday is any guide.³⁰⁹

³⁰⁷ ‘School Soccer’, *Huntly Press and District Gazette*, 7 August, 1931, 3.

³⁰⁸ ‘Scout News’, *Waikato Times*, 8 August, 1931, 16.

³⁰⁹ ‘Rugby Football’, *Huntly Press and District Gazette*, 19 August, 1932, 2.

The relative newness of the competition and the other schools represented suggests that Glen Massey School had not been alone among schools serving mining communities in ‘feeling the heat’ over its preference for Soccer rather than Rugby Union as a school sport. The above newspaper comment also hints broadly that pupil enthusiasm for or ability in the Rugby Union code – or lack thereof - formed no part of the ‘decision’ to switch from Soccer.

If the newly-created Glen Massey community Rugby Club sought to re-purpose the “feeder” function of the local school from Soccer into a pipeline for the Junior and Senior adult Rugby teams being planned, that hope quickly fizzed. At no point was the Glen Massey community able to field two Rugby Union teams: they struggled to field one complete team, and eventually the code died completely for lack of player numbers.³¹⁰

Given the size and traditional northern English and Scots sporting interests of the community ‘pool’ from which Soccer, Rugby League and now Rugby Union drew their respective players, it is not surprising that the hitherto dominant Association Code continued to thrive, even without the active support of the school whose teams had always acted as natural “feeders” for the adult Soccer team(s). For Glen Massey, it was Soccer rather than Rugby League that consistently provided the inter-war sporting manifestation of working class consciousness, noted by Bodman.³¹¹ For the greater part of the period 1930-1945, Glen Massey fielded both Junior and Senior teams in local competitions, and continued to be an adversary to be respected in Chatham Cup games, even if its home ground was notorious among opposing teams for its “peculiarities”.³¹² (It was at the bottom of a steep hill, and its contours had never been levelled, so that a player at one end of the paddock could not see the goal at the other end!)

Church Activity and the Women’s Institute: Signs of Cultural Shift

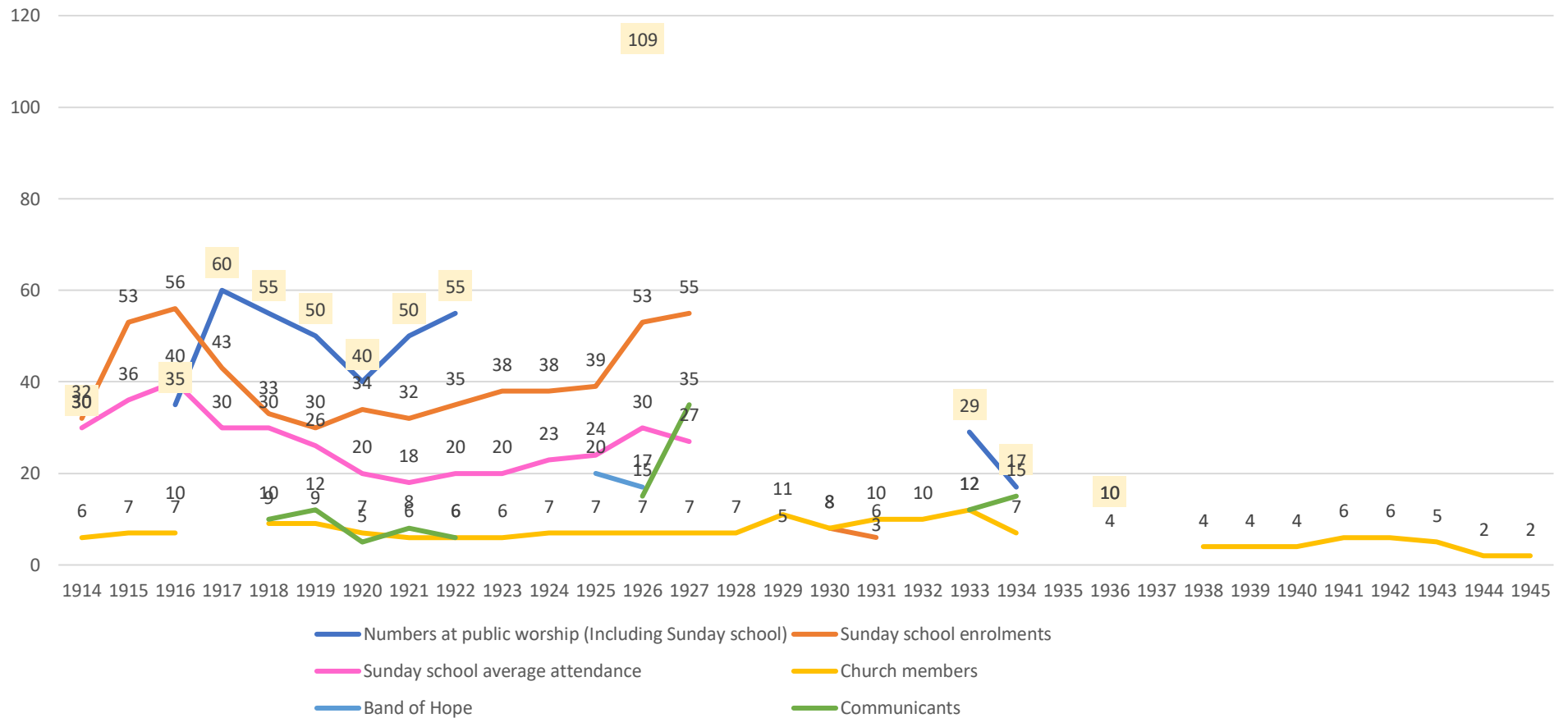
If the Northern English ‘working-class’ ethos of the Glen Massey miners, as manifested in Association Football, was under attack in the school, another bulwark of traditional British mining identity, the Methodist Church congregation was also facing serious problems. The graph below (a continuation of Figure 17 in the previous chapter) evidences a clear pattern.

³¹⁰ The last newspaper report of a rugby game involving a Glen Massey Team was of a game against Glen Afton. (‘Glen Massey’, *Huntly Press and District Gazette*, 13 May, 1932, 2).

³¹¹ Ryan Bodman, *Rugby League in New Zealand: A People’s History*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 2023, 54.

³¹² “Association Football’, *Waikato Times*, 1 May, 1931, 3.

Activity of the Glen Massey Methodist Congregation 1914-1945 (Figure 20)
 Data taken from Ngāruawāhia *Methodist Circuit Schedule Book* 1914-1934 and *Church Membership Roll* 1913-34)



After reaching a peak in 1926, attendance at public worship declined from 106 in 1926 to 29 in 1933, 17 in 1934 and 10 by 1936.

Not represented in the graph were a Bible Class of 17 also noted in 1931 and a Study Discussion class for adults recorded in 1934.³¹³ The Sunday School had become interdenominational in 1930 according to the records, and the 8 in 1930 and 6 in 1931 (but with, in fact, an average attendance of 3) on the graph, reflect the Methodist attendees only.

In tandem with the deliberate disentangling by the Glen Massey miners from the bonds of radical unionisation represented by their rejection of the AMW, the discontinuation of school soccer and disempowerment of the mining community on the School Committee, the hitherto predominantly Methodist spiritual ‘ties that bind’ in the village were also disintegrating. The Church congregation had collapsed, leaving a small and steadily dwindling core of members. For instance, in 1931 there were the Foster, Westfield and Beever families, two Fowler families and the Morwood family. The Morwood family resigned in 1932, and in 1934 Mrs Westfield died, Mr Westfield relocated to Dunedin and James Beever to Titirangi. The few newcomers to the roll were unable to provide any momentum for re-growth, e.g. Alfred Pratt who appeared for the first time on the roll in 1940 removed to Te Kuiti in 1944. By 1945 there were only two members: Arthur Fowler and Mrs Mary Beaver. In the following year, it was noted that Arthur Fowler “attends services at Glen Massey occasionally” and that Mary Beaver was “in the Hocken Block, Waikato Hospital.”³¹⁴

Unsurprisingly, in that context, the financial support of local Methodism appeared to have devolved to the ‘rural gentry’ rather than relying on village support through concerts, etc. which had previously been the case:

A garden party in aid of the Methodist Church funds was held at Mrs A. Brockett’s residence. There was a good attendance and a substantial sum was realised by the sale of produce and in various competitions.³¹⁵

³¹³ ‘Glen Massey’, *Waikato Times*, 29 April, 1931, 10, and ‘Glen Massey’, *Waikato Times*, 14 November, 1934, 11.

³¹⁴ Ngāruawāhia Methodist Church. *Church Membership Roll Book 1913-1924 and 1938-71*.

³¹⁵ ‘Glen Massey’, *Waikato Times*, 16 March, 1932, 10.

Given the distance from Glen Massey to the Brockett residence (about five miles), there were unlikely to have been many villagers present.

Lineham has claimed that nationally:

Methodism went into decline long before the other denominations. Methodism expected to attract the working class, but the Wesleyan strand rarely did so because it conflicted with their longing for respectability.³¹⁶

In the light of what seems to have happened in Glen Massey, however, it might be argued that Methodism was inextricably packaged with a tradition of radical unionism which had come to be identified with the AMU in the New Zealand context. When the AMU was prepared to deny the miners their own version of ‘respectability’ (security of home ownership, in particular) in pursuit of its own agenda, they rejected the whole package. The ‘rural rump remnant’ with their aspirations to gentility were all that remained after the working class had voted with their feet, out of a sense of let-down, if not outright betrayal by the Church.

The increasingly low numbers actively involved in religious observance do not appear to be confined to the Methodists. By 1931, as for the Methodist congregation, the Presbyterian services were poorly attended, even with services that had been reduced to bi-monthly occurrences.³¹⁷ While surviving Anglican records are scant, the comments of vestry member, Mr Sampson in 1941 that, “to his knowledge the Church had been in the doldrums for the past ten years” bespeak a similar lapse in the Glen Massey Anglican congregation.³¹⁸ The amount of local fundraising done for Anglican Church funds in the 1930s by way of dances, garden parties, and even a concert was surprisingly high.³¹⁹ It creates an impression that such revenue streams were essential to maintain the viability of the Glen Massey congregation due to insufficient regular churchgoers and inadequate offerings in the collection plate at services.

³¹⁶ Lineham, *Sunday Best*, 361.

³¹⁷ ‘Glen Massey’, *Waikato Times*, 29 April, 1931, 10, and 4 July, 1931, 10.

³¹⁸ Holy Trinity Parish, *Ngaruawahia Minutes Book: Minutes of Meeting of Holy Trinity Parish Vestry from 29/04/1936*. Minutes of Meeting of Holy Trinity Parish Vestry, 9 October, 1941 and October 13, 1941 (no page numbers used), Anglican Diocese of Waikato and Taranaki Administrative Centre and Archival Records.

³¹⁹ ‘Glen Massey News’, *Waikato Times*, 3 February, 1932, 5; ‘Glen Massey’, *Waikato Times*, 18 April, 1934, 5; ‘Glen Massey Notes’, *Waikato Times*, 8 August, 1934, 5; ‘Glen Massey Function’, *Waikato Times*, 31 July, 1935, 5; ‘Glen Massey News’, *Waikato Times*, 12 March, 1936, 5.

There was a vacuum in local leadership driving ideas of social and political reform. Politically, as already noted, some saw a place for the Labour Party in filling that vacuum. Discussion circles and an attempt to form a local circle of the Workers Educational Association (WEA) were some strategies employed to address this vacuum.³²⁰ Perhaps in an attempt to salvage something of their traditional role, the Methodist Church also inaugurated a Debating Club.³²¹

A major thrust of the Methodist Church in New Zealand in social reform had been in its support of the Temperance Movement under the aegis of the Band of Hope. The *Circuit Schedule Book* notes membership figures of 20 and 17 for 1925 and 1926 respectively, although there are no newspaper accounts of their meetings in those years.³²² Conversely, while the existence of the Band of Hope is not acknowledged in the official Church records for 1929, 1930 and 1932, newspaper accounts of the group's meetings in those years are frequent. It can probably be assumed that it was in existence for 1927, 1928 and 1931 as well, and possibly 1933. The Band of Hope seems to have wound up with the departure of Charles Westfield to Dunedin in 1934 after his wife's death in the same year, as recorded in the *Methodist Church Membership Roll 1913-34*.³²³

Specific details of the numbers involved for most of the years it was in operation, are lacking: most newspaper accounts simply describe attendances as "very fair" or "a large number". Newspaper reports indicate that, in its Glen Massey iteration at least, the Band of Hope appears to have been a social club which met monthly in the Church itself, during the winter (June to October). The leadership was male. Mr C. Westfield was always the chairman and the Methodist minister was usually present. A Ladies' Committee served supper, and with the exception of Mr Westfield and the Minister and the occasional guest speaker, attendees were virtually all women, particularly unmarried women, and children of both genders. Apart from the guest speaker and / or Minister's address, activity seems to have usually consisted of between ten and twelve solo or small group singing performances and recitations.

The Temperance / Prohibition movement already enjoyed considerable support in the district at the time that the Glen Massey village was being built. The figure of 51 favouring Prohibition

³²⁰ 'Glen Massey', *Waikato Times*, 16 March, 1932, 10 and 'Glen Massey', *Waikato Times*, 14 November, 1934, 11.

³²¹ 'District News', *Waikato Times*, 18 May, 1932, 10.

³²² Ngāruawāhia Methodist Church. *Circuit Schedule Book 1914-34*

³²³ Ngāruawāhia Methodist Church. *Church Membership Roll 1913-1934*

in 1914 in Figure 21 below almost certainly indicates at least some farmer support for the movement, given the relatively small number of resident immigrant miners by the end of that year. The Glen Massey voting booth was the only booth between Ngāruawāhia (seven miles away) and Waingaro (ten miles away) and served both farming and mining communities. Numerically, and proportionally according to the percentage of voters (Figure 22) local Glen Massey / Te Akatea support for Prohibition peaked in 1925. However, interestingly, by percentages, it was never as high as the support for Prohibition amongst the whole Raglan electorate, until 1935 when it became much more closely aligned. There was no Licensing Poll in 1931, but the significant increase between 1928 and 1935 in the local vote for State Control (16 to 53 in vote numbers; 7% to 25% in percentages) is likely more indicative of a wish for significant changes and reform around liquor laws in general, rather than a wish for hotel bars to be government-owned and operated.

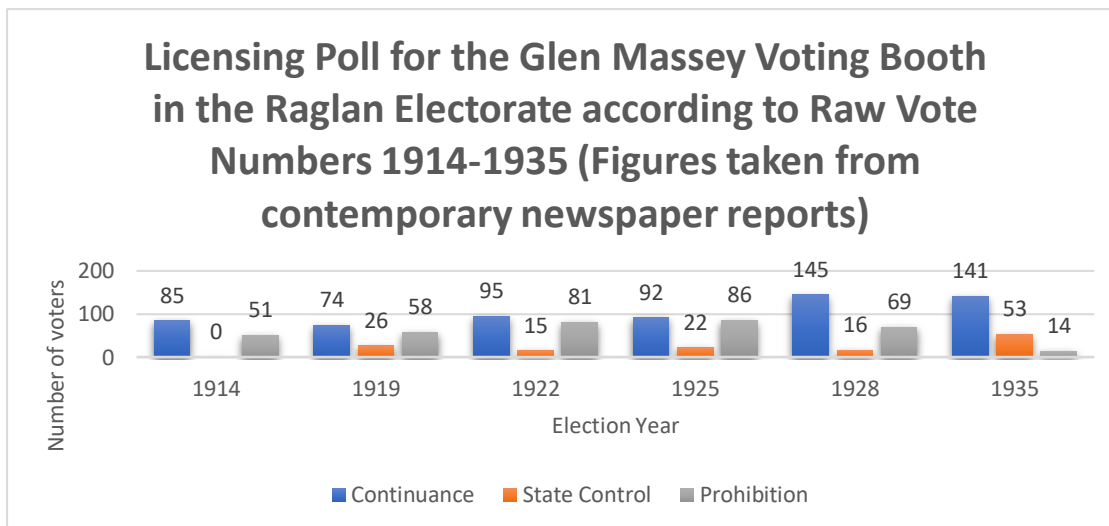


Figure 21

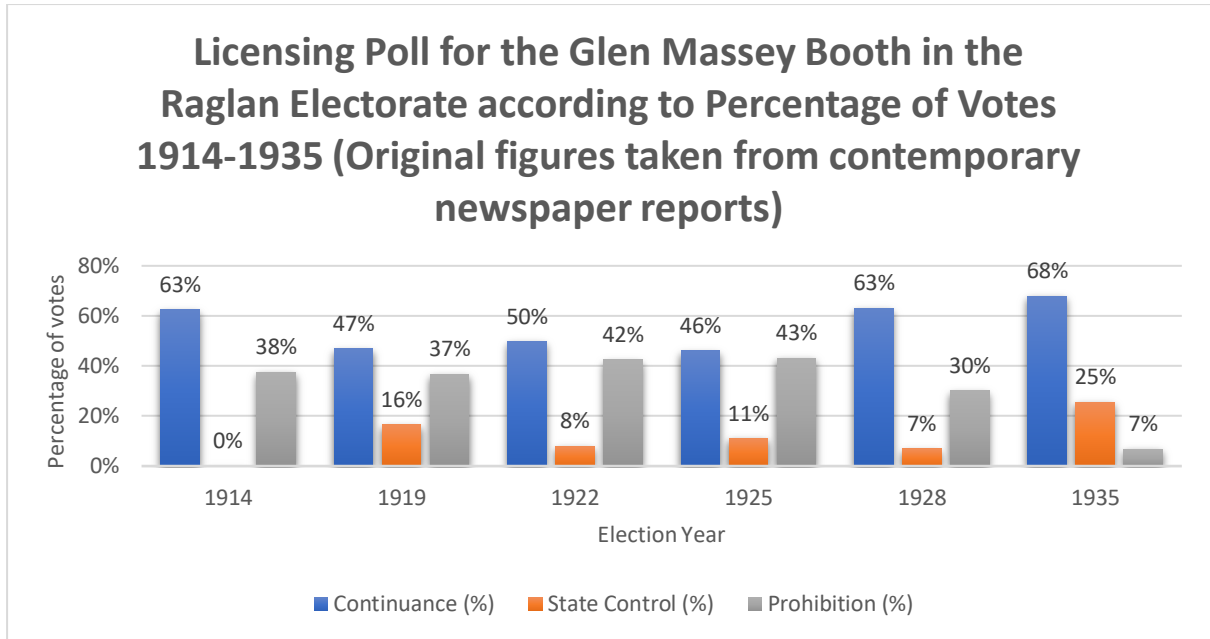


Figure 22

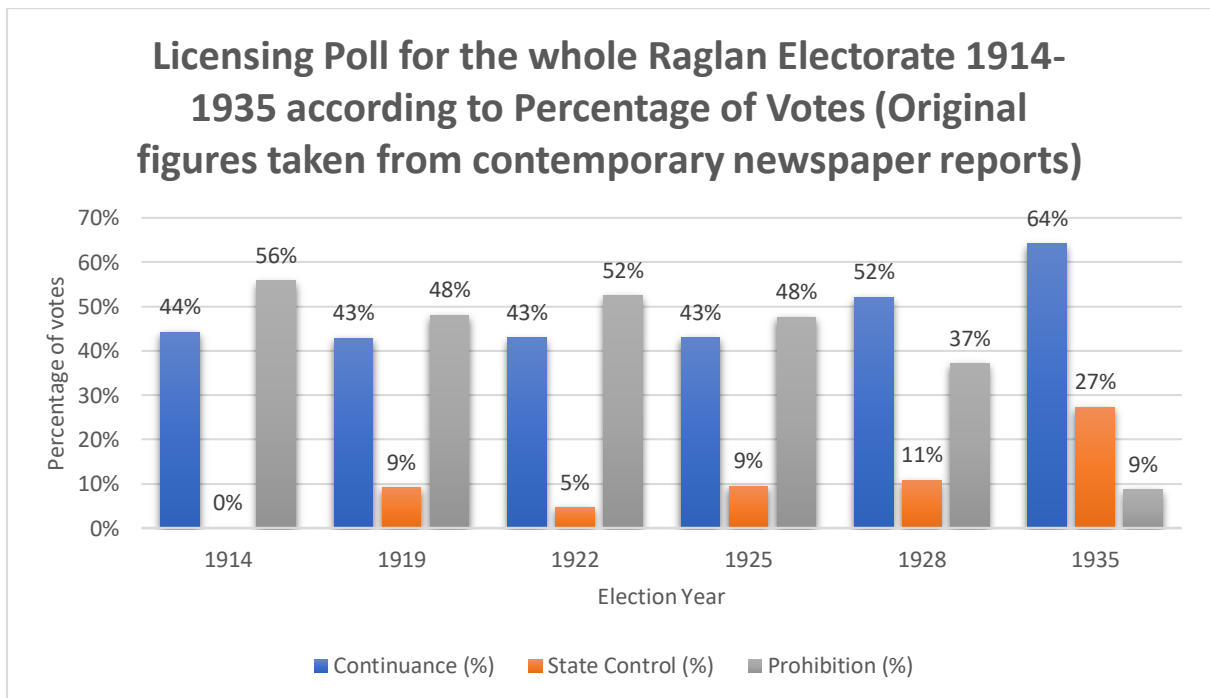


Figure 23

In that context, the Glen Massey Band of Hope, operating between 1925 and 1932 /1933, seems to have been fighting a rearguard battle on both local and electorate / regional fronts (Figure 22 and Figure 23) against fading popular support for the temperance cause.

Into the breach, thus created, stepped the newly formed branch of the Women's Institute (the CWI):

A meeting of ladies, convened by Mrs Moloney, was held last week to discuss the formation of a local branch of the Women's Institute. After Mrs Moloney had given a brief talk on the aims and working of the Institute, it was decided to form a branch, and the following were elected to office: President, Mrs V. Tanfield; Secretary, Mrs R. Tanfield; committee, Mesdames G. Bull, J. Bowen, A. Brockett, Lees, Swales, Fowler, McIntyre, Misses B. Bowen, M. Brockett, Lees, E. Tanfield.³²⁴

Social columns and write-ups of functions during this 1930s provide an interesting index of gradual shifts in local power relations beyond their surface innocuousness. Again, the names on the committee make for interesting reading. The President, Mrs V. Tanfield was not only an engine-driver's wife, but also the daughter of Mr Burt who had been a storekeeper, postmaster and boarding-house keeper in pre-1914 Te Akatea. She and Mrs Trew along with Mrs Fowler were among the few who had a foot in both mining and farming 'camps'. Her sister-in-law, Mrs R. Tanfield, and Mesdames Lees, Swales and McIntyre and their daughters, Misses Lees and Tanfield all came from the mining community. Mesdames Bull, Bowen, Brockett, and Misses B. Bowen and M. Brockett were from the farming community. There had been limited contacts 'across the divide': the Tennis Club, to a lesser extent, the Golf Club and the school classrooms are two examples. Now, after approximately fifteen years of the farming community largely standing aloof from the mining community Mrs Bull and Miss Tanfield, a farming 'matriarch' and an unmarried tennis and golf-playing miner's daughter, were acting as joint hostesses at a meeting to form a local branch of the CWI, an organisation which emphasised the commonality of the concerns of rural women, and which was firmly non-sectarian and non-party-political.

The Glen Massey CWI lost little time in taking up the cause of Temperance, if not Prohibition, in language still redolent of the rhetoric of the Temperance movement and the Prohibition cause:

A remit referring to drinking at dances was received from Glen Massey at the bi-annual conference of the Women's Institutes in Hamilton...

³²⁴ 'Women's Institutes', *Waikato Times*, 16 December, 1931, 5.

The remit read: “That, as drinking in dance halls and in parked cars outside has become a serious social menace, the Government be urged to bring down legislation making the practice illegal.”

The delegates supporting the remit stated that the matter was urgent in view of the demoralising effect of the evil, and they asked for the co-operation of the government in combating the menace.

... It was decided to send the remit to the Prime Minister, Mr Savage.³²⁵

In the same way as the CWI assumed one of the mantles of village – and wider farming district - leadership around the licensing laws in the mid-1930s as Methodism lost its support, it also provided a forum for the introduction of new ideas. In the days before the Social Credit movement actually became a political party, and thus, taboo for an organisation which prided itself on its ‘non-political’ identity:

The President, Mrs J. Kelly ... introduced the Rev. Attwood, who gave a most interesting address on the Douglas credit movement.³²⁶

Glen Massey had actually started its own branch of the Douglas Social Credit movement after a visit from the movement’s Hamilton leaders in October 1933.³²⁷ That initial interest seems to have dissipated quickly, as nothing further was heard of it, but it is indicative of the open-ness to new ideas, a willingness to challenge structures, ideologies, political ideas and movements, the ‘sharp ends’ of which had not previously served the village or its inhabitants well, and a search for another way forward.

The composition of the local Douglas Credit Committee set up in that first flush of enthusiasm is insightful: Organising secretary, Mr F. Burnie, committee Mesdames Burnie, R. Lees, T. Burt, J.M. Norwood, J. Bowen, E. Kelly, Miss B. Bowen and Messrs T.W. Lees, T. Burt, J. Bowen, J. Lister, B. Beever, J. Beever and W. McLeod. Most were mining families. The Beevers in particular were pillars of the local Methodist Church. James Beever had won medals

³²⁵ ‘Drinking at Dances’, *King Country Chronicle*, 7 November, 1936, 4.

³²⁶ ‘Women’s Institutes’, *Waikato Times*, 21 February, 1934, 5.

³²⁷ ‘Local and General’, *Waikato Times*, 10 October, 1933, 4.

in national Methodist Sunday School scripture examinations and figured in numerous reports of the Band of Hope as a child and a youth. He had attended Wellesley College in Auckland for his secondary education, graduated as Dux, trained as a teacher and was acting headmaster of Glen Massey School, the school he himself had attended, while Nairn was sick in 1934.³²⁸ He was the local exemplar *par excellence* of the ideology of self-improvement shared by farmers, miners and the Methodist Church alike (although each group had its own views on what that self-improvement actually looked like). The Bowens and their daughters were a prominent farming family. But now, general political thought, as well as the Temperance Movement, was looking for refreshment from new voices and modes of expression. As traditional markers of identity lost their power, new claimants arose.

Strategic Withdrawal into an ‘Invented Past’: Glen Massey as a ‘Scots Village’

Apart from the changing union, political and Methodist Church loyalties, one of the more interesting claims arose from what appears to be a retroactive reconfiguring of the ‘ethnic identity’ of Glen Massey as a ‘Scots village’ in the years immediately prior to and at the beginning of WWII. There is only one earlier indication of any interest in Scots heritage in an account of a visit to Tauwhare by the Glen Massey Burns Club in September of 1923, which stated that there were thirteen Burns club members.³²⁹ That may reflect an increase in Scottish immigration at that juncture. The revived interest in things Scots seems to have started with a simple advertisement in the *Waikato Times* in March, 1938, stating “a branch of the Caledonian Society has been formed in Glen Massey.”³³⁰ About six weeks later it was noted that the opening night of the new Caledonian Society would be marked on the 22nd April with a “big social.”³³¹ That social presumably went ahead, although there are no newspaper accounts to confirm it. The next mention of the organisation in August, 1938, noted:

The Caledonian Society of Glen Massey gave a much-appreciated children’s fancy-dress ball recently ... The Chief Caledonian, Mr D. McFarlane, remarked on the wonderful manner in which the children had been trained by the teachers, and a hearty vote of thanks was passed.³³²

³²⁸ ‘District News’, *Waikato Times*, 10 February, 1934, 5.

³²⁹ ‘Tauwhare’, *Waikato Times*, 29 September, 1923, 6.

³³⁰ ‘Advertisements’, *Waikato Times*, 3 March, 1938, 8.

³³¹ ‘Advertisements’ *Waikato Times*, 21 April, 1938, 1.

³³² ‘Fancy Dress Ball’, *Waikato Times*, 17 August, 1938, 3.

From the outset, there seems to have been a focus on children and, it appears, a kind of secondment of teachers to collaborate with the Caledonian society in this village ‘Scotsification’ process in ‘training’ the children. That focus on the younger generation continued in November, 1938:

The Caledonian Society of Glen Massey recently held a hallowe‘en night, which included a party for the children and dancing for the adults. The evening was passed with old Scottish customs and games. Prizes were given the children.³³³

Likewise, in December, 1938:

The Glen Massey Caledonian Society held a successful afternoon recently for the children, when a Christmas tree laden with gifts proved the main attraction... Father Christmas arrived in a beautifully decorated car which drove through an avenue of cheering children ... In the evening a dance was arranged for the adult members.³³⁴

The venue for this party is not stated, but “an avenue” (driveway?) through which Santa Claus could be driven suggests that it was the local school grounds.

There is no evidence that the 1938 Glen Massey Caledonian Society ever hosted a Burns night, or a Highland Games nor that the club participated in such events elsewhere. Nor does it appear to have drawn any support from the Presbyterian Church:

One of the most successful of the Caledonian dances was held in Glen Massey recently, there being a good attendance. An ingleside [Sic.] evening was carried out, the proceedings opening with the playing of the pipes and the chief, Mr McFarlane being piped in by Mr Clothier of Hamilton. The artists for the evening were as follows: - cornet duet, Messrs Rayman and Adams; solo, Mrs Jury (Hamilton); solo on saw, Mr Moffat (Hamilton); Highland Fling, Miss McLachlan (Hamilton); elocution, Miss Anderson; dance, Miss R. Docherty; cello solo, Miss Y. McLachlan; violin solo Miss McLachlan junr.³³⁵

³³³ ‘Hallowe‘en Night’, *Waikato Times*, 1 November, 1938, 5.

³³⁴ ‘Children’s Party’, *Waikato Times*, 21 December, 1938, 4.

³³⁵ ‘Glen Massey Function’, *Waikato Times*, 27 July, 1939, 4.

The “Scots’ performances at this dance (the bagpiper, the female dancer of the Highland Fling) appear to have been imported from Hamilton. After this, the only mentions of the Caledonian Society were a social they arranged in September 1939 and a Caledonian Dance and social which was organised by the Glen Massey Patriotic Committee at the Te Akau Hall, beyond Waingaro, where Mr McFarlane and his wife were present. “... The bagpipes, highland dancing and singing were much appreciated ... [and] Mr Donaldson of Glen Massey acted as MC.”³³⁶ Again, the ‘highland Scots’ elements appear to have been imported.

The evidence is circumstantial, but in the absence of any other reasons that can be adduced to account for the genesis of the myth of Glen Massey’s Scots foundations, the above newspaper accounts suggest that it was created and nurtured by two key figures: Mr Duncan McFarlane, the ‘chief’ of the new Caledonian Society, and Mr Donaldson, (New Zealand-born of Irish descent) the headmaster of the school who had replaced Nairn in 1936. To briefly recapitulate, the ‘Glen’ part of the village name almost certainly derived from an international tradition of coal seam owners for naming their claims. ‘Massey’ was named after the former MP of the district, William Massey, who became Prime Minister. The settlement had been named (by the Waipā Mine owners) while the village was still being built and before most mining immigrants had even arrived and been given jobs.

However, at a time and in a place where traditional certainties, loyalties and institutions were dissolving, the village needed a new identity and self-affirmation which could be derived from an ‘invented tradition’ which, Hobsbawm noted:

We should expect ... to occur ... when a rapid transformation of society weakens or destroys the social patterns ... when ... old traditions and their institutional carriers and promulgators no longer prove sufficiently adaptable and flexible, or are otherwise eliminated.³³⁷

³³⁶ ‘Te Akau News’, *Waikato Times*, 15 August, 1940, 11.

³³⁷ Eric Hobsbawm, ‘Introduction: Inventing Traditions’, *The Invention of Tradition*, Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Eds), Canto Classics, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2012, 4-5.

The notion that the “Glen” in the village name was a tribute to the original miners who were all Scotsmen is contrary to the historical evidence, not only around the chronological sequence of the naming of the village and then its settlement, but also the available data around the national origins of those first miner settlers. (See Figure 5 and Appendix 1). This does not necessarily imply that the ‘invented Scotsification’ was a conscious and deliberate deceit. Evidence that Scots immigration into Glen Massey had increased during the immediate post-WWI period is clear (See Figure 15). Figure 24 below, suggests that industrial troubles and the Depression notwithstanding and even allowing for some subsequent relocations of individuals to other mining towns, by 1935 the percentage of Scots-born immigrants in Glen Massey had increased to just over a third of the population. Duncan McFarlane himself, was one such immigrant. Another was George Smith. They had become prominent in the village as part of the informal cabal that ran village affairs. It is quite possible, probable even, that they were unaware of the changing demographic balance in the village population over time, especially as they themselves were part of that change and many of the original immigrants from Northern England had since died or left the village.

Moreover, the number of remaining villagers who would have recognised the subtle differences in accent and dialect between the Scots and their Northern Sassenach co-villagers, especially from among those who had arrived as immigrant children, was probably decreasing over time. Many, especially the New Zealand-born, may well have unthinkingly conflated all non-vernacular language differences for instance, as ‘Scots’. Where the evidence suggests that forging the Glen Massey community of the 1920s leveraged established mining social and occupational bonds rather than ethnic or nationalistic ones, McFarlane and Donaldson, under the auspices of the Caledonian Society, privileged the bonds of a Scots background in the 1930s as those mining bonds disintegrated, creating a village ‘history’ in McFarlane’s own image.

Securing the support of the school headmaster, Donaldson may have effectively made the school and its teachers unconscious ‘agents’ in establishing and privileging a ‘good story’ of a ‘Scots Village’ narrative with the children of the district, unspoiled by any inconvenient – perhaps even, unknown - facts around the village’s initial foundation. It is easy to underestimate the long-term impact of such primary-school ‘learning’ in community folklore.

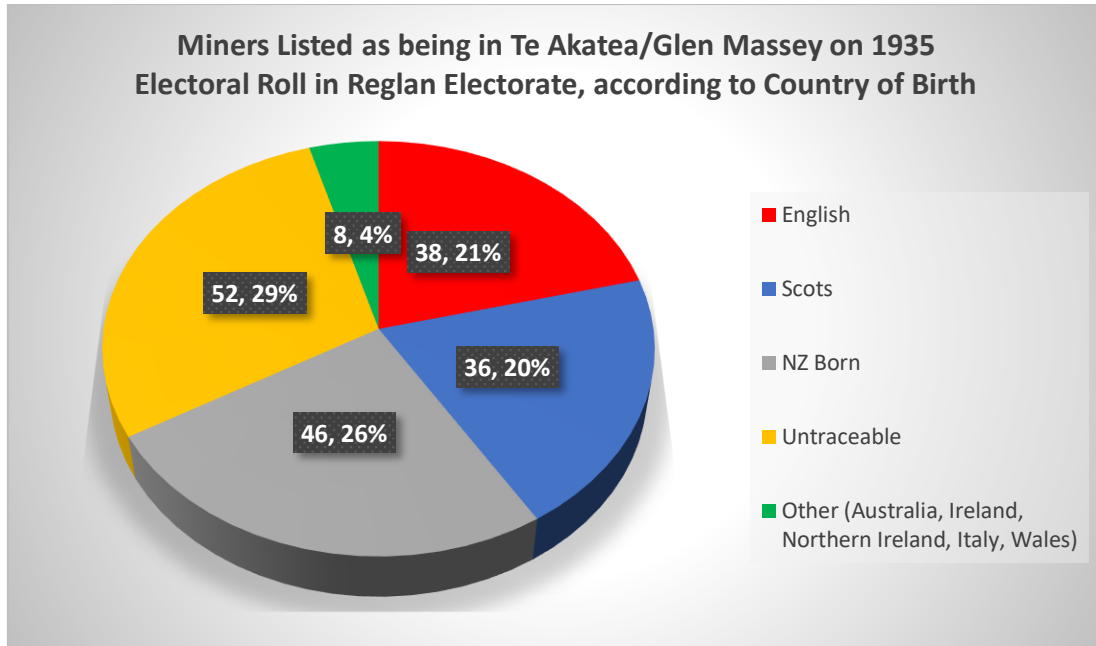


Figure 24

The Glen Massey Caledonian Society and the myth of Glen Massey as a ‘Scots village’ which it seems to have had a major role in instigating and fostering, is curious in two ways. Firstly, as Tanya Bueltmann points out, it occurred at a time (the inter-war period) when New Zealand identity was strengthening, as opposed to “... an essentially colonial outlook,” followed by NZ Caledonian Societies in general.³³⁸ Secondly, the cultural trappings and rituals of a romanticised, rural, ‘Highland Scotland’ from which Duncan McFarlane and the Caledonian Society drew in the Ingleside Dance and Concert above, bore little relationship to the predominantly urban, Lowland and Scots Borders coalfield roots of the contemporary immigrant Scots miners of Glen Massey, including McFarlane himself. In another context, George Smith underlined the very different reality he had left:

I landed here in 1927 – if there had been a road stretching from Scotland to New Zealand we Scots would have walked it, we wanted to get away that bad ... I had trouble getting medical clearance to emigrate despite having fought for the freedom of small nations in the 1914-18 First World War. They turned me down and I was just back from

³³⁸ Tanya Bueltmann, *Scottish Ethnicity and the Making of New Zealand Society, 1850 to 1930*, Scottish Historical Review Monograph. [S 1]: Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 2011, 96.

fighting in France. What got me was that I was fit to hold a bullet in France but I could not come to our own colony. I was so angry that I tore up the Union Jack.³³⁹

Nor, as has been previously noted, did this locally rediscovered ‘Scots’ identity appear to draw on the Presbyterian tradition in terms of any significant support from the local congregation of that persuasion.

Time for a Reality Check: The Anglican Vestry Meeting

Whether the miners in Glen Massey village viewed themselves as Scots or otherwise, the minutes of a Vestry meeting in Ngāruawāhia in 1941 make it very clear as to how at least a sizeable segment of their farming neighbours viewed them – ‘black’ with the soot of their trade which was associated with cultural tropes with which Anglican farmers had no wish to be associated. Glen Massey had been described as a ‘black spot’ by the Vicar in the Anglican Parish magazine. In the minutes of the Ngāruawāhia Anglican Vestry held in the Ngāruawāhia Church on October 9, 1941, is entered the following:

... The Parish Magazine was then brought forward by Mr Evans ... as he wished to remark on the insertion in respect to Glen Massey.

Mr Evans then informed the Vestry that in his opinion the Rev. Michael had made a mistake in adopting the wording, especially in reference to “black” and that some of the Glen Massey people had taken exception to it. Mr Godden also expressed similar views and suggested that it might have detrimental effects on the Church in Glen Massey.

Mr Sampson then said that he quite agreed with the paragraph as inserted by Rev. Michael and also that to his knowledge the Church had been in the doldrums for the past ten years.

³³⁹ Jones, *The End of an Era*, 169.

... Mr Drabble's name was mentioned and connected to the "ad" in respect to the Farmers Trading Co, and it was mooted that the Glen Massey people might boycott the same firm.

Mr Drabble then rose to say that as advertising agent he couldn't agree with the suggestion as stated by Mr Evans. He also mentioned that he was not responsible for the editor's writings. At this stage the discussion assumed a rather heated spirit and was inclined to become personal.³⁴⁰

The issue was allowed to 'lay on the table' for only four days. The Vestry held in the Ngāruawāhia Church on October 13, 1941, picked up the matter:

The article in the Parish magazine re Glen Massey was then discussed and this question was hotly contested. Messrs Evans and Godden strongly resented the question of Glen Massey being called a black spot. ... Statements for and against were then made by various members and it was terminated by Mr Drabble as Advertising Editor, resigning as he was of the opinion that the matter was likely to cause trouble to his firm. Mr Evans then asked Rev. Michael to explain what he meant by black spot and was told that it was not meant in any detrimental form but was made to make the Glen Massey people take a greater interest in their Church.

Mr Knighton, as Chairman, then suggested that the proposed Motion of Censure put forward during the heated discussion be passed over in the interests of the Church. This idea ... was adopted.³⁴¹

The Rev. Michael's use of the phrase "black spot" to describe Glen Massey and/or the Anglican Church congregation in the Glen Massey of 1941 in the Parish magazine, obviously hit some raw nerves within that congregation.

³⁴⁰ Holy Trinity Parish, *Ngaruawahia Minutes Book: Minutes of Meeting of Holy Trinity Parish Vestry from 29/04/1936*, including Minutes of Meeting of Holy Trinity Parish Vestry, 9 October, 1941 and October 13, 1941 (No page numbers).

³⁴¹ Holy Trinity Parish, *Ngaruawahia Minutes Book: Minutes of Meeting of Holy Trinity Parish Vestry from 29/04/1936*, including Minutes of Meeting of Holy Trinity Parish Vestry, 9 October, 1941 and October 13, 1941 (No page numbers).

According to the Anglican Diocesan Year Books for 1928-1937, Glen Massey had been part of the Huntly Parish (along with Ngāruawāhia) at least up to 1928-1929. The records are incomplete, but by 1934, Glen Massey was part of a parish based at Ngāruawāhia and remained so up to the end of 1945 and beyond. It had been noted in the minutes of the Vestry Meeting of 29 April, 1936 that “Glen Massey had been given an extra service each month, and was evidently appreciated.”³⁴²

However, numbers attending church seem to have been very low. The 1941 Diocese of Waikato List of duly registered Church members as at 31 June, 1941 (the year of the above Vestry meeting) included Gerald Bull, Lillian Bull, Joan Brunskill, Laurence Donaldson and Lucy Donaldson, i. e. two farming families (the Bulls and Mrs Brunskill) plus the school headmaster and his wife (the Donaldsons). Other names occur elsewhere in earlier Anglican records which indicate ‘nominal’ Church membership by the Rutters and the Bowens (again farmers) and the family of Mr Burt, who had been based in early Te Akatea as a farmer/entrepreneur and remained in Glen Massey as a businessman running a miners’ hostel and working at the mine himself. There is only one marriage record that plausibly indicates the Morris family, a mining family identified at least nominally with the Anglican denomination.³⁴³ Mrs Lister was also noted in the previous chapter as raising money for the Rev. Jasper Caldwell’s mission.

Rev. Michael’s semantic choice of “black spot” to highlight his parishioners’ apparent indifference to the church in effect, lumped farmers together with miners and tarred both with the same brush of cultural tropes normally used to disparage miners alone: as ‘undeserving poor’ with all the supposed laziness, vices of drinking and swearing associated therewith; the ubiquitous coal dust with which they were covered, an outward, visible sign of an inward spiritual gracelessness, if not downright moral depravity.³⁴⁴ It may also have led some to infer that they were being placed at the same level as indigenous Africans within the British Empire or being associated with the notorious ‘Black Hole of Calcutta’ in India. Whatever interpretation was taken, self-evidently from the above account in the Minutes, farmer reaction

³⁴² Holy Trinity Parish, *Ngaruawahia Minutes Book: Minutes of Meeting of Holy Trinity Parish Vestry from 29/04/1936*, including Minutes of Meeting of Holy Trinity Parish Vestry, 9 October, 1941 and October 13, 1941. (No page numbers).

³⁴³ *Ngaruawahia Marriage Register* 9.3.12. 1928-04.1933. Marriage on June 27, 1932 of Lillian Morris. John Kinder Theological Library – Te Puna Atuatanga. Archives Ref. WAI 5-2-8.

³⁴⁴ Wright, *Coal*, 99-100.

to such calumny and subversion of their position of privilege in the social hierarchy (in their own eyes, at least) was swift.

The possibility of Mr Drabble's employer, the Farmers Trading Company losing business because of his position as advertising editor of the church magazine, which Mr Drabble himself had easily discounted at the first meeting, prompted the same gentleman's resignation from the Advertising Editor position if not the Vestry itself (the Minutes are unclear on this point), four days later, on the grounds that, "he was of the opinion that the matter was likely to cause trouble to his firm." The Farmers Trading Company was heavily reliant on farmer support, particularly in its rural branch stores such as Ngāruawāhia, and clearly there was good reason to believe that the Te Akatea farmers would not hesitate to flex their economic muscle to use a vestryman as a stalking horse if they felt it necessary to remind the Church and its minister of the tiered social hierarchy which they believed to be the role of the Church to serve.

Sweeping the matter under the carpet by dropping the motion of censure of the Vicar may have served the immediate 'interests of the Church.' However, in terms of Glen Massey and Te Akatea, miners and farmers, self-styled 'gentry' and workers, the whole issue reflects how the socio-political barriers that had existed since the founding of the village in 1914 had not substantially altered in the ensuing almost thirty years. In spite of efforts (mainly by miners) over those three decades to weld any divisive social cracks together, the emotive and belligerent farmer reactions to being grouped with miners and labelled "black" in 1941 appear undergirded by a raw and unvarnished sense of 'class'. Regardless of the district's demographic realities, the Glen Massey Anglican congregation did not mince words in making it known to the Vestry that they firmly rejected any vicarious association with the stereotypes and tropes around mining and miners, even if by innocent and unwittingly suggestive vernacular expression. Glen Massey's miners had been blacked as union scabs in 1934 by their fellow West Huntly miners: now its villagers were similarly blacked as an 'other' class by their rural neighbours in 1936.

The continued hegemony of that class 'otherness' is suggested in the report of a wedding in the Ngāruawāhia Anglican Church in 1941. James Beever, Glen Massey's epitome of the ideology of self-improvement, married Joan Dunning Brunskill, the daughter of the managers of the Paerangi estate. That marriage was one of only two identified by this study, where someone from a Glen Massey mining family married someone from a Te Akatea farming family (the first being in 1915). The wedding report included a list of the 43 attendees, from whom the

only identifiable mining family representatives, apart from the groom's parents. were Mr H Trew, now the mine carpenter, who had first appeared in Te Akatea as a builder for the Rutter farming family and married Bertha Rutter. The remaining guests were all from the Te Akatea farming community or the bride's relatives from out of the region.³⁴⁵

War Service

Such prejudice aside, war service by both farmers and miners in WWII was reasonably even. Being excused from War Service and 'manpowered' to continue as miners or farmers was comparatively easy and straightforward, compared to WWI. Equality of Service, if not 'Equality of Sacrifice' to borrow a phrase from the conscription rhetoric of WWI, was clearly evident between the two communities in WWII.

William John Foster of Te Akatea who had served in WWI, served again in WWII. Cyril Leonard Barr, Lindsay George Leakey and Allan James Martin Leakey, were farmhands who also served, the latter being wounded in action. John Fowler, farmer, was granted a sine die exemption, as was James Albert Smith, farm hand. Thomas Robertson Thomson, also a farm hand had the distinction of serving in both the Army and the Air Force. Arthur Cecil Waite, a grocer and Harold Patrick McSweeney, listed as a salesman from Glen Massey, also joined up, the latter being wounded. C. Rutter of Glen Massey was the Glen Massey representative at a meeting with thirty representatives of the rural districts which proposed a Rural Defence Scheme in Waikato and planned a provisional formation of the volunteer Waikato Country Mobile Defence Force for which Government recognition was sought.³⁴⁶

Arthur Cecil Waite, a grocer and Harold Patrick McSweeney, listed as a salesman from Glen Massey, also joined up, the latter being wounded. From the mining community, S. Brown of Glen Massey who had been in Australia for some time, joined the Australian forces. Gunner F.S. Cross of Glen Massey was amongst Waikato soldiers listed as a prisoner of war in Italy and Gunner W. Blight of Glen Massey was wounded. J. Chappell and E.S. Cross of Glen Massey were also among POW's repatriated from Italy and Corporal William Chappell was wounded. Walter Buchanan Moffatt and H.J. Barr also served. Thomas Davies, Arthur John Fowler, David Morwood, William Ramsay, Samuel Thomson, Robert Lyell Thomas, Thomas

³⁴⁵ 'Weddings', *Waikato Times*, 6 January, 1941, 3.

³⁴⁶ 'Rural Defence', *Waikato Times*, 25 June, 1940, 4.

Brown, Edward Buckeridge were all granted sine die exemptions with the proviso that they joined the Home Guard.³⁴⁷

In 1945, Glen Massey again became a centre for settlement as reward for military service as it had after the Land Wars, except this time the land was purchased rather than confiscated before resettlement:

*The three sections made available by the Bryant House Trustees on the Paerangi Estate, Glen Massey, for the settlement of returned servicemen, have been ballots for and have been allotted to Messrs. E.J. Miller, R.G. Howlett and O.R. Harding.*³⁴⁸

The original Paerangi Estate had been had been purchased in 1913 and added to in the interim. The Brunskill family had managed it for its absentee owners for 32 years. As well as the three men noted above as being successful in the ballot, two other servicemen, Gillies Smith and Jock Smith were also settled on this estate, mostly on farms of just under 500 acres. That subdivision represented the final act in Te Akatea's version of the 'breaking-up of the large estates' for the period being studied, the land of the Bulls, Rutters, Runcimans and other major land-owners having been more gradually and incrementally divided and re-drawn by retirement and filial succession since 1900. While the size of their land holdings may have gradually diminished over 45 years, the farmer's sense of being 'rural gentry' had increased exponentially, certainly at least in relation to the miners of the village in their midst.

For those miners, one of the great ironies of the early history of Glen Massey is that the state takeover of coal mining for which the local union had been agitating for almost all of the two previous decades, finally happened too late to materially affect the fortunes of the mining village and its' inhabitants. In October 1944, the Wilton Mine was nationalised and the open-cast Kemp mine began production.

On 24 December 1945, the *Press* announced:

Work During Holidays Under arrangements with the Mines Department, three open-cast coalmines in the Waikato District – Kimihia, Glen Massey and Glen Afton – are to

³⁴⁷ 'Appeals Dismissed', *Waikato Times*, 2 July, 1941, 4.

³⁴⁸ 'Delayed News', *New Zealand Herald*, 22 January, 1945, 6.

work throughout the Christmas holiday season. The object is to maintain supplies of coal for the railways during the holiday season while underground mines are closed. Workers at the mines are to be paid overtime.³⁴⁹

The *cause célèbre* of the late 1920s for guaranteed work and wages, and especially the provision of coal for railways in preference to imported Australian coal, had finally come, but with a heavy price-tag in terms of both short-term and medium to long-term costs. In the short-term, open-cast miners lost their extended Christmas holidays: in the medium to long-term it cannot have escaped workers at the coal face at either the Wilton or the Kemp mines that Glen Massey coal was a finite resource and close to its end. The coal was to completely run out, at least as a major commercial proposition in 1958. Ironically, while the Minister of Mines declined a request to build a new Miners' Hall in 1945, he did approve the levelling, draining and re-sowing of Fowler's Paddock for use as a football ground.³⁵⁰ The new government open-cast mine was swift in using graders to impose at least a semblance of orthodox conformity on the maverick 'peculiarities' of the field.

During the 1920s and 1930s, Glen Massey's immigrant miners had sought self-improvement, above all through home ownership, however modest the home. A few had enhanced that by getting a 'ticket' through the School of Mines that qualified them for positions as 'staff' rather than 'wages.' In the wake of the disintegration of the radical unionist and Methodist 'ties that bind', the loss of school Soccer and their disempowerment on the school committee however, they appeared to be in a no-man's land. Their bonds with fellow-miners had been severely damaged. Their surrounding farming community had indicated that they were destined to remain at the bottom of a class-stratified society, their equality of military Service and manpower exemptions during WWII notwithstanding. For the children of those immigrants, a life trajectory informed by an ideology of self-improvement, now meant a 'ticket out' of a village with a finite economic base that was unable to even guarantee employment for its young men, let alone its young women.

³⁴⁹ 'Work During Holidays', *Press*, 24 December, 1945, 4.

³⁵⁰ Letter dated 21/3/1945 in 'Glen Massey Social Amenities', R17869469.

Conclusion

In the process of transformation of the Te Akatea hamlet and district into the Glen Massey mining village and surrounding farming hinterland, the established farmers maintained their sense of pride in the land they had earlier acquired, their hard work in clearing and farming it and the reward of modest wealth and sense of self-affirmation and status they had acquired in the process - in short, their sense of themselves as a gentry 'class.' Those who had had been endowed by luck with coal seams on their properties and had the willingness and entrepreneurial skills to exploit the opportunity became significant movers behind the creation of commercial entities and infrastructure in order to do so. These efforts led to the opening of the Waipā mine and its private railway to Ngāruawāhia, the construction of the mining village of Glen Massey and an influx of mining immigrants, predominantly highly unionized Northern English in 1914. On the face of it, these immigrants represented a direct threat to the conservative social values that had hitherto obtained in Te Akatea.

The miners were quick to seize opportunities for home ownership, with the support of the mining company and to create an infrastructure by which a community could be forged, by building a Methodist Church and a community Hall to add to the school which the government was already constructing. They also had a class consciousness which had been affirmed in their Wesleyan practice in Britain, although in essence they shared with their rural neighbours the same Protestant work ethic of 'getting on' by dint of hard work. That same 'class pride' was also evidenced in the tone of the media narrative concerning the Glen Massey mining community, which also displayed a willingness to 'reach out' to its farmer neighbours.

Prominent company personnel also joined with mining union officials, Methodist Church lay leaders and some farmers in an informal cabal which appeared to have a greater role in running the day-to-day affairs of the village community than the more distant Raglan County Council in which the village was situated. As WWI progressed into its second year, the 'soft power' of the informal cabal leadership, especially the Mine Manager, considerably defused a potential divisiveness around the issue of military conscription. That divisiveness was, however, exacerbated by charges of sedition against regional mining officials, including a Glen Massey union official, for industrial actions which actually had nothing to do with the prosecution of the war.

The opening of the mine at Glen Massey, with its railway and the improved road and small-scale commercial infrastructure, had signaled an end to the previous problems of the isolation of the farming community. The mine company's construction of sport and leisure facilities facilitated some very limited social intercourse between the mining and farming communities and there is further evidence of emerging integration between the two communities, in the codes of Tennis and Golf, both of which admitted women. However, Soccer and Bowling and the occasional Ruby League team remained not only male preserves, but overwhelmingly 'working class male miner' preserves. By contrast, Rugby Union teams which attracted some farmers had a precarious existence.

The provision of company housing, company support of home ownership for miners and the quality of miner housing in general were cause for serious post-war concern. By contrast, farmer housing seems to have improved. The health, secondary education and thus, life chances of mining families were also dogged by continual issues of funding, exacerbated by the shorter hours and lower wages concomitant with a decreased output from the mine. The disparate 'Venn circles' of the two communities, seemed to have increasingly few meeting points as the 1930s came to a close.

Increased immigration from Scotland, as well as continued immigration from Northern England, and internal migration from the West Coast had altered the demographic balance of Glen Massey by 1925 and that new balance continued into the next decade. However, the numbers and percentages of Māori residents in both mining and village communities is difficult to ascertain. Future research from Iwi and family histories, including oral, may provide further insights.

Limited data indicates that in tandem with the downturn in miner fortunes, religious observance in the late 1920s may have already begun the steep decline from its apogee in 1926 to the point of almost complete disintegration in the early 30's. The Waipā mine itself, which hitherto, had been the *raison d'être* and economic mainstay of the village, was set to close in 1930 before the new Wilton Mine opened in 1931. In the face of the Wall Street Crash and the onset of the Depression, it is not surprising that the Wilton Mine was unable to live up to employment and wage-paying expectations for the next decade. In the context of falling demand and reduced hours, Glen Massey was torn by contending forces of the broader national agenda of the mining

union and local imperatives, particularly around home ownership. They finally opted for the latter, which entailed an enormous cost in terms of wider bonds with the regional and national mining communities. A mindset which packaged working-class interests with religion meant that a sense of betrayal over the former was at least complemented by a disintegration of the latter. This is particularly well documented for the Glen Massey Methodist Church.

Local economic hardship provided an opportunity for the farming community to reassert a degree of control after fifteen years of relative insularity within their own 'silo' through various events, at least superficially unrelated: a School Committee coup; discontinuance of the highly successful school Soccer team in favour of the establishment of Rugby Union and a serious attempt to establish an adult Rugby Union team. That attempt to 'claw back' control was also evidenced in a 'takeover' of the media narrative around Glen Massey to project a farming viewpoint.

The discontinuing of the school soccer team suggests a further avenue for research. This Glen Massey School 'decision' seems to have been eventually reflected in all of the schools which served the West Huntly coalfields to bring them into line with the hegemonic 'national' Rugby Union culture. At whose behest, how it was promulgated and whether it happened in other regions would be subjects of considerable interest.

Strategic withdrawal into an 'invented past' with Glen Massey being retroactively constructed as a 'Scots Village' was one avenue explored by mining villagers to counter the perceived threat to traditional social patterns. The breaking of the traditional 'ties that bind' also stimulated a search for alternative agents of social change within the community as a whole. However, for at least a significant segment of the farming community, local society continued to be constructed around a 'class' mindset which posited themselves at the apex and miners at the base. The State takeover of the Wilton Mine and the opening of the Kemp open-cast mine as a State mine in 1945, while meeting demands miners had expressed for two decades, were ironically too late for them to gain much benefit from. They seemed destined to remain at the bottom of a class-stratified society, notwithstanding their equality of military Service and manpower exemptions during WWII.

Again, more studies not only of New Zealand mining settlements, but other 'single industry' settlements such as forestry, or even Dairy Company and Freezing Work townships might

establish the degree of commonality or otherwise of informal 'class stratification' of the inhabitants of these towns with their near neighbours.

One of the more interesting things to emerge from this study, was the probable role of the local school and its headmaster in establishing and promulgating the long-standing myth of Glen Massey originating as a Scots settlement. Such transmission of local 'myth history' is almost certainly not unique in New Zealand schools. In the context of the contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand Histories Curriculum, it behoves schools to remember that the use of power that shaped our histories includes their own enormous power to shape student understandings of history. Nothing should be 'taught' which some 'drilling down' might suggest may later have to be 'unlearned.'

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(Spreadsheet accessed by email).

Putake -Ngaruawahia Baptism Register 1872-1922, Archives reference 9.01.

<https://putake.recollect.co.nz/>

**PRIVATE PAPERS OF COLONEL CHARLTON DAWSON AND MR
CHARLTON DAWSON, SON OF COLONEL CHARLTON DAWSON**

Uncatalogued: Full access granted by courtesy of Mr Michael Dawson and Mrs Penny Dawson of Te Akatea.

TE OHOMAURI O KIRIKIROA / HAMILTON CITY LIBRARIES –

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Hart, Dan. 'Farming in Te Rapa and Te Akau: an interview with Dan Hart', HCLOH_0038, November 29, 2021.

Johnston-Smith, 'Early Memories of Maungapiko, Raglan 1896-1910's: an interview with Sophie Johnstone-Smith', HCLOH_0043, November 30, 2021.

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Pitt, Alice. 'An interview with Alice Pitt.' HCLOH_0180, April 3, 1992.

Special Collections

MSC 202 Ngāruawāhia Union Church Material for Presbyterian and Methodist Churches. (Uncatalogued and stored in boxes).

Box 4

Methodist Church Baptismal Register, Ngaruawahia Circuit 1913-71.

Box 6

Communion Register, Ngaruawahia Presbyterian Church 1912-1946.

Baptismal Register; Ngaruawahia Presbyterian Church, 1912-1950 (1 folder).

Communion Roll; Ngaruawahia Presbyterian Church; 1912-1946 (1 folder).

Box 7B

Marriage Register, Ngaruawahia Presbyterian Church 1912-1946.

Box 7C

Marriage Register; Ngaruawahia Presbyterian Church, 1937-1939.

Marriage Register; Ngaruawahia Presbyterian Church 1939-1954.

Marriage Register; Ngaruawahia Presbyterian Church, 1955-1968.

Box 7D

Methodist Church Marriage Register, Ngaruawahia Circuit 1912-1919.

Methodist Church Marriage Register, Ngaruawahia Circuit 1919-1938.

Methodist Church Marriage Register, Ngaruawahia Circuit 1939-1959.

Methodist Church Marriage Register, Ngaruawahia Circuit 1952-1963.

Box 10

Circuit Schedule Book, Ngaruawahia Methodist Church 1914-1934.

Roll book; Ngaruawahia Methodist Church, 1938-1971.

Methodist Church, Church Membership Roll 1913-1934.

TE RUA MAHARA O TE KAWANATANGA / ARCHIVES NEW ZEALAND**Auckland Repository**

‘Glen Massey Bowling Club Inc.’, File R21842467.

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APPENDIX 1

Mining or Mining-related Families in Te Akatea / Glen Massey according to 1914 Electoral Roll for Raglan electorate and other sources

Key to Column 3*

1. NZ Archives File R22121078 Glen Massey School – Standards 2-6 1914-1914
2. Contemporary 1914 or later Newspaper accounts, including obituaries
3. NZ Electoral Roll for Raglan Electorate, 1914, dated 7 October, 1914. (Alexander Turnbull Library)
4. NZ Supplementary Electoral Roll for Raglan Electorate, 1914, dated 21 November 1914 (Alexander Turnbull Library)

Name (Surname, followed by given names)	Employment details according to electoral roll (s)	Document (s) establishing 1914 Residence*	Means of establishing National Origin and Notes	National Origin
Alker, Edward	Miner	4	Auckland War Memorial Museum Online Cenotaph	Wigan, England
Alker, Ethel Agnes	Married	4	According to email received from contact in Ancestry.Com, she was born in New Zealand her father being from County Tyrone, Ireland and her mother born Sydney NSW Australia.	NZ
Alker, Ralph	Miner	4	Auckland Museum Online Cenotaph entry for Edward Alker (killed at Chunuk Bair, Gallipoli), gives R. Alker (brother) of Glen Massey as next of kin. Edward was born in Wigan, England. Reasonable inference that Ralph was as well. Confirmed by email 21/10/2034	Pemberton, Wigan, Lancashire England
Baker, Albert Frank	Builder	1, 4	Ancestry.Com	Woolwich, Royal Borough of Greenwich, Greater London, England
Baker, Caroline Susan	Married	4	Ancestry.Com	Chiswick, London, England
Barber, Walter	Miner	3	Ancestry.Com	Wellington, NZ
Beever, Ben	Miner	1,4	Presbyterian Marriage Register 1933-1937 for his son Fred's marriage, 25 Jan. 1933	Glossof, Derbyshire, England, UK
Beever, Mary Ann	Married	3	Presbyterian Marriage Register 1933-1937 for her son, Fred's marriage, 25 Jan. 1933	Glossof, Derbyshire, England, UK
Bowen, George	Miner	3		Untraceable
Bryant, Richard William	Miner	3	Ancestry.Com	Newcastle, NSW, Australia
Burt, Mary	Married	3	Ancestry.Com indicates she was nee Mary Ellen Watts who married Richard Henry Burt in 1900 and was mother of Rebecca Doris (known as Dorrie) Burt.	Thames, NZ

Burt, Rebecca	Domestic Duties	3		Born in Glen Massey, NZ
Burt, Richard Henry	Surfaceman	3	Ancestry.Com	Truro, Cornwall, England
Burt, Thomas Edwin	Labourer	3	Ancestry.Com indicates was born in Hamilton, NZ	Hamilton, NZ
Clague, Robert Finley	Weighman	3	Ancestry.Com	Lonan, Isle of Man. UK
Clinch, Herbert	Labourer	4	Ancestry.Com	Auckland, NZ
Connelly, Edward	Miner	3		Untraceable
Connew, John	Miner	4	Ancestry.Com lists him as John Robert Connew,	Aorere, Tasman, NZ
Cook, Adam	Engine-Driver	3	Methodist Marriage Register for his own marriage, Jan 10 1915	Egremont, Cumberland, England
Cook, Dinah	Spinster	3	Methodist Marriage Register for her brother, Adam's marriage, Jan 10 1915. (She was a witness)	Egremont, Cumberland, England
Cook, Hannah	Married	4	Ancestry.Com	Egremont, Cumberland, England
Cook, John	Miner	3	Ancestry.Com	Egremont, Cumberland, England
Cornish, Edwin Percy Russell	Miner	3	Ancestry.Com	Northcote, Auckland, NZ
Cornish, Ellen Jane Kate	Married	3	Ancestry. Com	Russell, Bay of Island, NZ
Cumming, James	Miner	3	National Library Record https://natlib.govt.nz/records/22370746 and email from descendant contacted through Ancestry.Com	Malvern, Canterbury, NZ
Cumming, Jane	Married	4	Probably the wife of John Cumming	Untraceable
Cumming, John	Miner	3	Brother of James Cumming above. Ancestry.Com and email confirms both were NZ born	NZ
Daly, Thomas	Miner	3		Untraceable
Dorse, Georgina	Married	3	Ancestry.Com	Cradley Heath, Metropolitan Borough of Dudley, West Midlands, England
Downes, Laura	Married	3	Ancestry.Com	Russell, Bay of Islands, NZ
Downes, William James	Labourer	3	Ancestry.Com	Australia

Dunsire, Andrew	Miner	4	Ancestry.Com identifies him as born 12 August 1879. He was resident in Glen Massey in 1914. (Seems to have returned to Scotland later, where he died)	Methilhill, Fife, Scotland
Evans, Pearce	Miner	4	War record on Online Cenotaph lists his next of kin on embarkation as a sister living in Wales. Inferred he too was born in Wales	Londu, Glamorganshire, Wales
Fitness, James	Railway Guard	3		Untraceable
Flicker, Olive Miriam	Spinster	3	Ancestry.Com (m. Adam Cook)	Shalford, Essex, England
Forbes, James Arthur	Engine Fitter	4	Ancestry.Com	Linlithgow Shire West Lothian, Scotland
Harris, Charles	Miner	4		Untraceable
Harris, George Stevenson	Miner	4		Untraceable
Harris, James Baker	Miner	1, 3	Ancestry.Com – probably lived early life in Reefton, Buller	Ashburton NZ
Harris, Mabel	Married	3		Untraceable
Hastedt, Richard John	Engine Driver	4	Ancestry.Com	NZ born?
Hawthorn, Arthur	Miner	3		Untraceable
Hawthorn, Ella	Married	3	Ancestry.Com. She was Ella Ida Lunn who married James Hawthorn	Tasman, NZ
Hawthorn, James	Miner	3	Ancestry.Com	Ferntown, Golden Bay, NZ
Hunter, Leslie John	Engineer	3	Ancestry.Com lists him as born in 1883 in NZ	NZ
Lanson, John	Miner	4		Untraceable
Learmonth, Robert	Miner	3	Ancestry.Com (Son born in Glen Massey, about 1920)	Denniston, Buller, NZ
McIntyre, John	Coal Miner	4	Ancestry.Com lists him as son of George McIntyre (1870-1943) (Sr?) and married to Eva Naomi Collis and born at Denniston, Buller, West Coast, New Zealand. John lived from 1897-1968	Denniston, Buller, West Coast, New Zealand
McKenzie, Annie	Married	3		Untraceable
McKenzie, David	Miner	3	Death Notice in <i>New Zealand Herald</i> 18 Dec. 1941 for his mother, Jessie Laing McKenzie, Leven, Fifeshire, Scotland. Specifies David lives at Glen Massey	FifeShire, Scotland

Metcalfe, G. W.	Miner	2	OBITUARY New Zealand Herald, Volume LXXVI, Issue 23485, 24 October 1939, Page 10. Born in the Dales in Yorkshire, England, the late Mr Metcalfe went with his parents to reside at Shildon, county of Durham ... in 1912 came to NZ ... worked at Ralph's Mine Huntly for about a year (i.e. 1913) when he brought out his wife and family from England. After the Ralph's Mine Disaster in 1914 Mr Metcalfe worked at the Glen Massey mine.	Born in Dales in Yorkshire, England, then Shildon, county of Durham
Miller, William	Miner	3		Untraceable
Monaghan, Patrick John	Labourer	3		Untraceable
Naughton, Michael John	Labourer	4		Untraceable
Newman, James	Miner	1,3,4	Obituary Notice <i>Greymouth Evening Star</i> ; 13 April 1935. The death has occurred at the Hamilton Hospital of a former West Coast resident, Mr James Newman. Deceased, who was a native of Durham, came to the dominion 45 years ago (= 1889) and worked in the Denniston and Millerton Mines. Later he went to the Waikato District, working in the Glen Massey mine.	Durham, England
Newman, Mary Ann	Married	3	Ancestry.Com	Prob. Westport, Buller, NZ
Nicol, Arthur	Miner	3	Auckland Museum online Cenotaph lists him as a miner who was killed in action at Ypres in October 1917. A month later Huntly Press was announcing him as missing and then dead. Parents lived in Glentunnel, Canterbury. Ancestry.Com for brother below confirms Arthur's dob as 1887, born and living at Glentunnel, and death in Belgium.	Glentunnel, Selwyn District, Canterbury, NZ
Nicol, Henry	Miner	3	Ancestry.Com for Henry Nicol confirms that Arthur Nicol was his brother	Carlisle, South Lanarkshire, Scotland
Owen, Fletcher	Miner	4	Ancestry.Com	Distington, Cumberland, England
Partis, Sarah Jane	Married	2.	Obituary for husband, William Partis on 19 August, 1940, P.6 indicates she had left England to be with him after 1912 and was with him in Glen Massey	North Shields, England
Partis, William Donald	Miner	1,4	Ancestry.Com As above	Morpeth, Northumberland, England

Perrett, Herbert George	Carpenter	4	Ancestry.Com	New Plymouth, Taranaki, NZ
Rigby, Thomas	Miner	4		Untraceable
Robinson, Matt	Miner	2	(Stokes, Evelyn. <i>Huntly Coal Miners. Working Paper 8: Huntly Social and Economic Impact Monitoring Project. School of Social Sciences. University of Waikato. October 1978. P.8</i>) Aged 84 (in 1975), born in Denniston, started work greasing skips at 13 years old, family moved to Huntly and he worked in Taupiri Extended Mine until sacked in 1913 strike, unemployed for a few months, then worked at Waipa Mine, Glen Massey. Also verified in <i>New Zealand Coal 19 (2) 1975 (1967, P.55)</i> . Reminiscences of Huntly 1912-13. <i>New Zealand Labour Review 3 (12) 29-32</i>	Denniston, NZ
Ross, Jack	Miner	3		Untraceable
Russell, Hugh	Miner	4	Ancestry.Com	New Zealand
Sanders, Frederick James	Ironmonger c/- Waipa Collieries	3	Ancestry.Com	Prob. St James Wood, London, England
Smith, Helen McKenzie	Married	3		Untraceable
Smith, Sarah	Widow	3		Untraceable
Smith, William Henry	Miner	3		Untraceable
Spedding, Tom	Miner	4	Ancestry.Com	Prob. Millerton, Westport, NZ
Taylor, Giles	Clerk	3		Untraceable
Thomson, James Robertson	Engineer	3	Presbyterian Marriage Register 1913-20, for his marriage, Sep 15 1915 states Otago, though Ancestry. Com suggests he was born in Palmerston South	Shag Point, Otago. NZ
Thomson, Thomas	Mine Manager	4	Known to be brother of James Thomson above. Assumed to have been born in NZ like his brother (father was Scots).	NZ
Trail, John	Surveyor	4		Untraceable
Trevett, William Ernest	Miner	4	Ancestry.Com – Identified in NZ Army Nominal Rolls 1914-1918	Dud Lee Farm, White Church, Charmouth, Dorset, England
Westfield, Charles Henry	Mine Manager	3	Ancestry.Com	Sutton, Northamptonshire, England
Westfield, Sarah Jane	Married	4	Ancestry.Com	Untraceable

Williams, Harold Kendrick	Miner	3	Ancestry.Com	Untraceable – possibly Buller
White, Agnes	Married	4	Ancestry.Com identifies her as wife of Edward Shepherd White, b in 1875 and married 3 Jan 1898. Her death in NZ is recorded in 1981	Auchterderran, Fife, Scotland
White, Edward Shepherd	Miner	4	Ancestry.Com identifies him as b. 1 Dec 1875 in Kirklands, Wemyss, Fife, Scotland. He died 5 April 1952 in NZ. Married Agnes Rodger Raeburn on 3 Jan 1898 at Scoonie Fife, Scotland	Kirklands, Wemyss, Fife, Scotland
Winstanley, Harry	Miner	3	Ancestry.Com identifies him as b. in Hindley, Lancashire, England	Hindley, Lancashire, England
Young, John Cairns	Miner	4		Untraceable
Young, Thomas Cairns	Miner	4		Untraceable

APPENDIX 2

Glen Massey miners, mine-related occupations, other non-professional villagers and their spouses on Electoral Rolls for Raglan Electorate for 1925, and their country of birth (where able to be discovered)

Name (Surname followed by given name(s))	Occupation as listed on electoral roll	Source of information re Country of birth	Country of birth (where able to be discovered)
Alker, Ethel Agnes	Married	Ancestry.Com enquiry – email 20/10/2024 confirming she was born in NZ, her father from County Tyrone, Ireland, her mother Sydney, Australia	NZ
Alker, Ralph	Coal Miner	Auckland Museum Online Cenotaph entry for Edward Alker (killed at Chunuk Bair, Gallipoli), gives R. Alker (brother) of Glen Massey as next of kin. Edward was born in Wigan, England. Reasonable inference that Ralph was as well. Confirmed by email 21/10/2034	Pemberton, Wigan, Lancashire England
Anderson, Alexander	Miner		Untraceable
Anderson, Ida	Married		Untraceable
Andrew, Robert Wilson	Miner	Ancestry.Com	Whitburn, Linlithgowshire Scotland
Baird, Margaret	Married		Untraceable
Baird, Peter	Miner		Untraceable
Beever, Arthur	Mine labourer	Son of Ben Beever according to NZ Cemetery Records (Died 1937 aged 35)	Assumed NZ
Beever, Ben	Coal miner	Presbyterian Marriage Register 1933-1937 for his son Fred's marriage, 25 Jan. 1933	Glossop, Derbyshire, England, UK
Beever, Mary Ann	Married	Presbyterian Marriage Register 1933-1937 for her son, Fred's marriage, 25 Jan. 1933	Glossop, Derbyshire, England, UK
Bennett, Elizabeth Mary	Widow		Untraceable
Bennett, Thomas	Miner		Untraceable
Blair, Robert	Coal Miner		Untraceable
Blair, William	Miner		Untraceable
Bowmer, George Lionel	Miner	Ancestry.Com	Belper, Derbyshire, England
Bowmer, Marama Laura	Married	Ancestry.Com	Otorohanga, Waikato, NZ
Brown, Eva	Married	Possibly / probably wife of Henry Brown or John Brown Jr	Untraceable
Brown, Helen	Married	Ancestry. Com. She was the b. Helen Smith, 25 Apr 1845. Died 2 Apr 1927. Wife of John Brown Sr. and mother of John Brown Jr. and Henry Brown	Cambusnethan, Lanarkshire, Scotland

Brown, Henry	Miner	Ancestry.Com for John Brown also gives dob as 1882 for Henry Brown, his brother	Glenbuck, Lanarkshire, Scotland
Brown, John	No occupation	Ancestry.Com for John Brown gives Dob as 23 Feb 1877 in Scotland. Also gives the dob for Henry Brown, his brother	Scotland, prob. Muirkirk, Ayrshire
Brown, John	Fireman Deputy	Listed as son of John Brown Sr in Ancestry.Com	NZ
Brown, John Weare	Miner	Ancestry.Com identifies Mary Anne 'Annie' Adams as spouse of John Weare Brown, and also as mother of John Reece Brown	Yarley, Somerset, England
Burnie. Lewis (c/e Mrs W. Burnie)	Miner	Ancestry.Com identifies him as brother of William Burnie	Waimangaroa, Nelson, New Zealand
Burnie, Mary Ann	Married	Ancestry.Com identifies her as the wife of William Burnie (m. 1920) but no place of birth.	Untraceable
Burnie, William	Miner	Ancestry. Com identifies he was born 1891 at Denniston. His brother was Lewis Hector Burnie. He married Mary Ann Partis in 1920	Denniston, West Coast, New Zealand
Burt, David John	Engine Driver		Untraceable
Byers, Elizabeth Ellen	Married	B. 1894. But no birthplace traceable. See information below re William Byers	Scotland
Byers, William	Miner	B. 1893 But no birthplace traceable. However, in the Waikato Times of 29 Sep., 1923, he is named as leader of the Glen Massey Burns Club which visited Tauwhare. Reasonable inference he and his wife are Scots.	Scotland
Chester, Margaret Annie	Spinster	Ancestry. Com lists her as born 1902 at Waimangaroa, Nelson, New Zealand. Family lived at Granity. She married in 1927	Waimangaroa, Nelson, New Zealand
Clague, Robert Finley	Weighman	Ancestry.Com	Lonan, Isle of Man. UK
Connew, John	Miner	Ancestry.Com lists him as John Robert Connew,	Aorere, Tasman, NZ
Connew, Mary	Married	Wife of John Connew, nee Mary Brown Hawthorn, m John Robert Connew at Puponga 25 Feb 1904. Mother of Arthur Connew b. 1906	Burnbank, Lanark, Scotland
Cook, Adam	Engine Driver	Ancestry.Com	Egremont, Cumberland, England
Cook, Hannah	Widow	Ancestry.Com	Egremont, Cumberland, England
Cook, Olive Miriam	Married		Untraceable
Cooke, Alice	Married	Ancestry.Com. She was the wife of Charles Cooke (m. 1877) and mother of Reginald Spencer Cooke (in Appendix 3 for 1935)	Barwick in Elmet, Yorkshire, England

Cooke, Charles	Miner	Ancestry. Com identifies him as husband of Alice Cooke and father of Reginald Spencer Cooke (in Appendix 3 for 1935)	Doncaster, Yorkshire West Riding, England
Cornes, David	Miner		Untraceable
Crawford, Jean	Married	Ancestry.Com identifies her as born 1884 in Govan, Lanarkshire, Scotland. Second wife of Peter Crawford	Govan, Lanarkshire, Scotland
Crawford, Peter	Miner	Ancestry.Com gives dob as 21 March 1880. He emigrated from Scotland to Denniston where his first wife died. Married Jean Mitchell in 1912	Maryhill, Lanarkshire, Scotland
Cumming, Jane	Married	She was probably the wife of John Cumming.	Untraceable
Cumming, John	Fireman	Brother of James Cumming. National Library Record https://natlib.govt.nz/records/22370746 . Ancestry.Com and email confirms both were NZ born	NZ
Davies, Hazel	Married	Ancestry.Com gives her dob as 20 Dec. 1898 at Waimangaroa, Nelson, New Zealand. One child born at Burnetts Face, another at Denniston	Waimangaroa, Nelson, New Zealand
Davies, Sydney	Miner	Ancestry.Com gives his dob as 25 Mar 1889 at Lambton, NSW, Australia. He married Hazel Winnifred Henderson 26 May 1916 in Te Awamutu	Lambton, NSW, Australia
De Corte, Jeanie Francis	Married	Methodist Marriage Certificate for her own marriage Mar 27 1925	Green Gains, Scotland
Dockerty, Doris Jane	Married	Ancestry.Com identifies her as born Doris Jane Hammill about 1900. Lived at Chilton, Durham England in 191, emigrated to NZ 1915	Chilton, Durham England
Dockerty, Samuel Valentine	Miner	Ancestry.Com gives his dob as about 1887 at South Shields, Durham, England. Married Doris Jane Hammill 1920 at Nightcaps	South Shields, Durham, England
Dodds, James	Storekeeper	Ancestry.Com gives identification as b. 1882, Arrowtown, NZ, death 1946 Hamilton, married Mary Ann Cashman (Barry) 1905	Arrowtown, NZ
Dodds, Mary Ann	Married	Ancestry.Com identifies her as born in 1882 at Awhitu, Franklin, NZ. She gave birth to one daughter in Glen Massey in 1922	Awhitu, Franklin, New Zealand
Dunn Willie Neil	Miner	Ancestry.Com identifies him as born in 1901 in NZ	New Zealand
Dunsire, Andrew	Miner	Ancestry.Com identifies him as born 12 August 1879. He was resident in Glen Massey in 1914. (Seems to have returned to Scotland later, where he died)	Methilhill, Fife, Scotland
Dunsmuir, John	Miner		Untraceable
Evans, Pearce	Miner	War record on Online Cenotaph lists his next of kin on embarkation as a sister living in Wales. Inferred he too was born in Wales	Londu, Glamorganshire, Wales

Fisher, Charles Percival	Coal Mine Worker	Ancestry.Com. He married Ada Augusta Burt, daughter of Richard Henry Burt in 1923 at Glen Massey. He was born in Thames, Waikato	Thames, Waikato, NZ
Francis, Ernest William	Miner	Ancestry.Com identifies him, but no known date or place of birth	Untraceable
Francis, Susie Charlotte	Married	Ancestry.Com identifies her, but no known date or place of birth	Untraceable
Gair, Hannah Jane	Spinster	Ancestry.Com	Durham, Northumberland, England
Gair, Isabella	Married	Methodist Marriage Register for her son, Robert's marriage, Jan 10 1915	Egremont, Cumberland, England or Seghill, Northumberland, England according to Ancestry.Com
Gair, James	Miner	Untraceable for some reason on Ancestry.Com, but from personal knowledge, almost certainly the son of Mathew Gair	England
Gair, Margaret	Married	Methodist Marriage Certificate for her own marriage, Jul 21, 1923	South Hetton, England
Gair, Mathew	Miner	Methodist Marriage Register for his son, Robert's marriage, Jan 10 1915. Ancestry. Com says he was born Jul-Sep 1872 at Netherton Colliery, Northumberland, England	Egremont, Cumberland, England or Netherton Colliery, Northumberland, England
Gair, Robert	Miner	Methodist Marriage Certificate for his own marriage, Jul. 21 1923	Netherton, England
Galloway, Andrew	Miner		Untraceable
Galloway, Christina	Married		Untraceable
Galloway, James	Miner		Untraceable
Gibson, Jessie Stevenson	Married	Ancestry.Com lists her as Jessie (Janet) Stevenson Wilson Lees, b. 26 August 1890 at Longriggend, New Monkland, Lanarkshire, Scotland. She married Robert McWilliam Gibson in 1914 at Shottspark, Salsburgh, Shotts, Scotland, United Kingdom	Longriggend, New Monkland, Lanarkshire, Scotland
Gibson, Robert	Fitter	Ancestry.Com lists him as Robert McWilliam Gibson, b., 1886 in Kilmarnock, Ayrshire, Scotland. He married Jessie (Janet) Stevenson Wilson Lees in 1914	Kilmarnock, Ayrshire, Scotland
Giraud, Janet	Married		Untraceable
Giraud, William	Miner		Untraceable
Green, George Charles	Miner	Ancestry.Com identifies him as born 1889.He married Edith Ellen Summerell (Nellie) in Jan. 1913 and they were divorced in Sep. 1946	Careys Bay, Port Chalmers, Dunedin, Otago, New Zealand
Green, Nellie	Married	Ancestry.Com identifies her as Edith Ellen Summerell (Nellie). She married George Green in Jan. 1913 and they were divorced in Sep. 1946	Oamaru, Southland, NZ
Hammill, Marshall	Miner		Untraceable

Hammill, Sarah Elizabeth	Married		Untraceable
Harry, Elsie Ellen	Married	She was the wife of James Henderson. They married in 1926	Untraceable
Henderson, James	Miner	According to Ancestry.Com, he was James Charles Dennison Henderson, son of Janet Muir Henderson and Thomas Henderson	Brunnerton, New Zealand
Henderson, Janet	Married	According to Ancestry.Com, Thomas Henderson married Janet Muir in Oamaru, 1885. She died in Glen Massey in 1948	Cambusnethan, Wishaw, Lanarkshire, Scotland
Henderson, Robert Muir	Miner	According to Ancestry.Com he was the son of Thomas and Janet Muir Henderson, b. 2889 in Greymouth	Greymouth, New Zealand
Henderson, Thomas	Miner	According to Ancestry.Com he was the husband of Janet Muir Henderson (m. 1885) and died on 14 October, 1925 at Glen Massey	Wigton, Cumberland, United Kingdom
Jackson, Martha Evelyn	Married	According to Ancestry.Com she was born 23 October 1888 in Invercargill. Married Thomas Jackson in Denniston in 1910	Invercargill, New Zealand
Jackson, Thomas Henry	Miner	According to Ancestry.Com he was born in 1893 at Westport, and married Martha Evelyn Tollan at Denniston in 1910	Westport, New Zealand
Kilburn, Andrew Harry	Miner	Ancestry.Com locates him as born 1900 in Yorkshire. Departed for NZ aged 13, married Rebecca Elisabeth Shanks 1929	Leeds, Yorkshire, England
Learmonth, Alexander Ross	Miner	Ancestry.Com lists him as b. 1884 at Glentunnel, Selwyn, Canterbury, NZ. Married Eliza Ellen Transit (Nellie) Woolf 1906	Glentunnel, Selwyn, Canterbury, NZ
Learmonth, Eliza Ellen	Married	Ancestry. Com. Wife of Alexander Ross Learmonth. B. Eliza Ellen Transit (Nellie) Woolf, married 1906	Motueka, New Zealand
Lees, Andrew Wilson	Miner	Ancestry.Com lists him as born 1892 in Scotland. Father was Peter Lees and Mother was nee Helen McGregor Wilson	Meadowfield Terrace, Avonhead, Airdrie, Scotland
Lees, Gavin Russell	Coal Miner	Ancestry.Com lists him as born in 1893 at Smith's land, Longriggend, New Monkland, Lanarkshire, Scotland. He was the son of Andrew and Lillias Russell Lees and married Rachel Drysdale in 1915 in Edinburgh	Smith's land, Longriggend, New Monkland, Lanarkshire, Scotland.
Lees, Helen McGregor	Married	Ancestry.Com lists her as born 1866 in Shotts, Lanarkshire, Scotland and died in Glen Massey in 1928	Shotts, Lanarkshire, Scotland
Lees, Isabella Wilson	Spinster	Ancestry.Com identifies her as the daughter of Peter Lees and Helen McGregor Lees (nee Wilson)	Avonhead, New Monkland, Lanarkshire, Scotland
Lees, Lillias Russell	Spinster	Ancestry.Com identifies her as the daughter of Peter Lees and Helen McGregor Lees (nee Wilson)	Salsburgh, Shotts, Scotland

Lees, Mary	Married	According to Ancestry.Com, she married Robert Lees in 1912 in Shotts, Lanarkshire, Scotland	Carluke, Lanarkshire, Scotland
Lees, Mildred	Married	Ancestry.Com identifies her as the wife of Thomas Wilson Lees, and born in NZ	Waimangaroa, Wairau, New Zealand
Lees, Peter	Labourer	Ancestry.Com identifies him as husband of Helen McGregor Lees (nee Wilson) and father of Andrew Wilson Lees, Thomas Wilson Lees, Isabella Wilson Lees and Lillias Russell Lees	Old Monkland, Lanarkshire, Strathclyde, Scotland
Lees, Rachel	Married	Methodist Marriage Certificate for her own marriage, 8 August 1924. Confirmed by Ancestry.Com	Penicuik, Midlothian, Scotland
Lees, Robert	Miner	Ancestry.Com says Robert was a coal miner who married Mary in Scotland. He was the brother of Peter Lees	High Riggend, New Monkland, Lanarkshire, Scotland
Lees, Thomas	Coal Miner	Ancestry. Com identifies him as Thomas Wilson Lees b. 1895 in Longriggend, New Monkland, Lanarkshire, Scotland. He married Mildred Swanwick Penman	Longriggend, New Monkland, Lanarkshire, Scotland
Leitch, Annie	Married	Ancestry.Com suggests she was b. Annie Sim in 1873 in Scotland, and married Peter Leitch in Scotland, and gave birth to a son, Thomas	Scotland
Leitch, Peter	Miner	Ancestry.Com suggests he was born in 1872 in Inverkeithing, Fifeshire, Scotland and married Annie Sim in 1873 in Scotland. They had a son Thomas.	Inverkeithing, Fifeshire, Scotland
Lister, Dinah	Married	Methodist Marriage Certificate for her own marriage 26 Jan. 1918	Egremont, England
Lister, James	Coal Miner	Methodist Marriage Certificate for his own marriage, 26 Jan. 1918	Kirkcaldy, Scotland
Luke, Jane Isabella	Spinster	Ancestry.Com identifies her as the daughter of John Luke.	Warkworth, Northumberland, England
Luke, John	Miner	Ancestry.Com identifies him as father of Jane Isabella Luke	Nursery Hill, Northumberland, England
McCahon, Archie	Miner	Ancestry.Com identifies him as b 1863 in Moneyleck, Rasharkin, Antrim, N Ireland. Was resident in Wellington 1928, seems to have returned to N. Ireland where he died in 1936	Moneyleck, Rasharkin, Antrim, N Ireland
McKenzie, Ronald John	Blacksmith	Ancestry.Com lists him as born in Glen Massey, Auckland, New Zealand in 1900	Glen Massey, Auckland, New Zealand
McGhee, William	Miner		Untraceable
McIntyre, George	Miner	Ancestry.Com lists him as b. St Helens, Lancashire, England. He married Anna Robinson in 1896. Their son, John was born in 1897	St Helens, Lancashire, England
McIntyre, Hannah	Married		Untraceable
McIntyre, Isabella	Married		Untraceable

McIntyre, John	Miner	Ancestry.Com lists him as son of George McIntyre (1870-1943) (Sr?) and married to Eva Naomi Collis and born at Denniston, Buller, West Coast, New Zealand. John lived from 1897-1968	Denniston, Buller, West Coast, New Zealand
McIntyre, William	Miner	May be the brother of George McIntyre, b. 1886 at Plattsburg, NSW, Australia	NSW Australia
McKay, Edward Alexander	Coal Miner		Untraceable
McKenzie, David	Miner	Death Notice in <i>New Zealand Herald</i> 18 Dec. 1941 for his mother, Jessie Laing McKenzie, Leven, Fifeshire, Scotland. Specifies David lives at Glen Massey	Fifeshire, Scotland
McLay, George	Miner		Untraceable
McLean, Hilda May	Married	Ancestry.Com identifies her as Hilda May Fisher who married William Kerr McLean in 1911	Thames, Thames-Coromandel, Waikato, New Zealand
McLean, William Kerr	Engine Driver	Ancestry.Com identifies him as b. about 1888 in Hamilton, Lanarkshire, Scotland. He married Hilda May Fisher in 1911	Hamilton, Lanarkshire, Scotland
Miller, Gavin	Miner		Untraceable
Mills, Fred John	Miner		Untraceable
Mills, Robert	Miner		Untraceable
Mitchell, Edith	Married	Ancestry.Com Born about 1890, NZ	NZ
Mitchell, George Arbuckle	Miner	Ancestry.Com Born. 2 June 1888 Wallsend, West Coast, NZ	NZ
Montford, Sarah Jane	Married	Ancestry.Com identifies her as nee Sarah Jane Bell, who was the mother of William Montford Jr. She died in 1933 at Glen Massey	Aughafetten, Antrim Ireland
Montford, William	Miner	Ancestry.Com identifies him as father of William Montford Jr. born in Denniston	Broughshare, Skerry, Antrim, Ireland
Morris, Harry	Coal Miner	Anglican Marriage Certificate of the marriage of his daughter, Lillian, June 27 1932	Leigh, England
Morris, Rose	Married	Anglican Marriage Certificate of the marriage of her daughter, Lillian, June 27 1932	Leigh, England
Muir, Bessie	Married		Untraceable
Muir, Hugh	Miner		Untraceable
Neil, Arthur	Labourer	Untraceable with any certainty	Untraceable
Nelson, Annie	Married		Untraceable
Nelson, David	Miner	9 July 1927. Inserted In Memoriam Notice for his mother who passed away at Denniston, July 10, 1926. Inferred he was born in NZ	NZ

Newman, James	Miner	Obituary Notice <i>Greymouth Evening Star</i> ; 13 April 1935. The death has occurred at the Hamilton Hospital of a former West Coast resident, Mr James Newman. Deceased, who was a native of Durham, came to the dominion 45 years ago (= 1889) and worked in the Denniston and Millerton Mines. Later he went to the Waikato District, working in the Glen Massey mine.	Durham, England
Newman, Mary Ann	Married	Ancestry.Com	Prob. Westport, Buller, NZ
Nicolson, Arthur	Miner		Untraceable
O'Connor, Archibald	Miner		Untraceable
Partis, George	Miner	Ancestry.Com indicates he was born Feb. 1868 in Chevington, Northumberland, England. He married Hannah Jane Luke in 1895 in Morpeth, Northumberland, England	Chevington, Northumberland, England
Partis, Hannah Jane	Married	Ancestry.Com indicates she was born Hannah Jane Luke and married George Partis in May 1895 at Morpeth, Northumberland, England	New Bewick, Northumberland, England
Penman, Joan	Married	Prob. Also born Scotland	Scotland
Penman, John	Deputy	Circumstantial family evidence in Ancestry.Com links him to Mildred Swanwick Penman who married Thomas Wilson Lees (both in Glen Massey and this appendix)	Greengairs, New Monkland, Lanarkshire, Scotland
Rimoldi, Luigi	Blacksmith	Ancestry.Com indicates birth of one daughter in Glen Massey	Rho, Milan, Italy
Robinson, John William	Miner		Untraceable
Ruskovich, Vincent	Labourer		Untraceable
Russell, Catherine	Married	Ancestry.Com Birth NZ 1890	New Zealand
Russell, Hugh	Miner	Ancestry.Com Birth NZ 1876	New Zealand
Scully, Edward	Miner		Untraceable
Scully, Maria	Married		Untraceable
Simpson, Euphemia	Married		Untraceable
Simpson, James	Miner		Untraceable
Simpson, Mary	Married		Untraceable
Simpson, William	Miner		Untraceable
Sorenson, Julius August	Boot Repairer		Untraceable
Sorenson, Louisa Harriet	Married		Untraceable
Stokes, Alice Amelia	Married	Death of her father, William R. Cook at Westport noted in <i>Grey River Argus</i> 6 March 1923, notes that she was one of six daughters and three sons. Notes that he came to NZ "as a youth". Ancestry.Com is more specific	Charleston, NZ
Stokes, Oliver Fitzmaurice	Miner	Ancestry.Com	Cambridge, New Zealand

Tanfield, Charles Harold	Guard	Charles Harold Tanfield (known as Harry) was born in Onehunga, Auckland, NZ according to Ancestry.Com. He was married to Flora (Flo). Anglican Marriage Certificate of his son, Victor Thomas Tanfield, Mar 30, 1923 indicates the son was also born in Auckland.	Auckland, NZ
Tanfield, Flora	Married	Ancestry. Com indicates she was born in NZ. She was married to Charles Harold Tanfield (known as Harry) Anglican Marriage Certificate of her son, Victor Thomas Tanfield, March 30, 1923 indicates the son was born in Auckland.	NZ
Tanfield, Mary Ellen	Married	Ancestry.Com. Ancestry. Com indicates she was Mary Ellen Burt (known as Nell), wife of Victor Thomas Tanfield	Ohinewai, NZ
Tanfield, Raymond Claude	Coal Miner	Brother of Victor Thomas Tanfield (Ancestry.com)	NZ
Tanfield, Victor Thomas	Store Assistant	Anglican Marriage Certificate of Flora Tanfield's son, Victor Thomas Tanfield, March 30, 1923 indicates the son was born in Auckland. Ancestry.Com also indicates he was born in Auckland, N.Z.	Auckland. NZ
Taylor, Dorothy	Spinster		Untraceable
Taylor, Florence	Married		Untraceable
Taylor, Giles	Clerk		Untraceable
Thompson, Bertha Madglena	Married		Untraceable
Thomson, Isa Ima	Married	Presbyterian Marriage Certificate for her own marriage, Sep. 15 1915. Ancestry.Com confirms this	Auckland, N.Z.
Thomson, James Robertson	Engineer	Presbyterian Marriage Register 1913-20, for his marriage, Sep 15 1915 states Otago though Ancestry. Com suggests he was born in Palmerston South	Shag Point, Otago. NZ
Thomson, Thomas	Mine Manager	Known to be brother of James Thomson above. Assumed to have been born in NZ like his brother (father was Scots).	NZ
Tollan, Matthew Robert	Miner	Ancestry.Com gives his dob as 1897 in Denniston	Denniston. MZ
Trew, Bertha	Married	Ancestry.Com and Anglican marriage certificate for her own marriage June 24, 1914	b. 1889 Hawes, Yorkshire, England
Trew, Henry George	Carpenter	Ancestry.com and Anglican marriage certificate for his own marriage June 24, 1914	Oct. 1886 West Norwood, Surrey, England
Ward, Thomas	Undecipherable		Untraceable
Wardrope, Ellen	Married		Untraceable
Wardrope, James	Miner		Untraceable
Watson, Ernest	Miner		Untraceable
Wearne, Richard	Mine labourer		Untraceable

Westfield, Charles Henry	Mine Manager	Ancestry.Com	Sutton, Northhamptonshire, England
Westfield, Margaret Jane	Spinster	Ancestry.Com lists her as born in NZ in 1892	New Zealand
Westfield, Sarah Jane	Married	Ancestry.Com cannot supply birthplace	Untraceable
Woodward, George Thomas	Miner	Ancestry.Com	Wolverhampton Staffordshire, England
Woodward, Nora	Married	Ancestry.Com	Wolverhampton Staffordshire, England
Young, John	Miner		Untraceable
Young, Margaret	Married		Untraceable
Young, Mary Black	Married		Untraceable
Young, Thomas	Mine Deputy		Untraceable

APPENDIX 3

Glen Massey miners, mine-related occupations, other non-professional villagers and their spouses on Electoral Rolls for Raglan Electorate for 1935, and their country of birth (where able to be discovered)

Name (Surname followed by given name(s))	Occupation as listed on electoral roll	Source of information re Country of birth	Country of birth (where able to be discovered)
Alker, Ethel Agnes	Married	Ancestry.Com enquiry – email 20/10/2024 confirming she was born in NZ, her father from County Tyrone, Ireland, her mother Sydney, Australia	NZ
Alker, Ralph	Coalminer	Auckland Museum Online Cenotaph entry for Edward Alker (killed at Chunuk Bair, Gallipoli), gives R. Alker (brother) of Glen Massey as next of kin. Edward was born in Wigan, England. Reasonable inference that Ralph was as well. Confirmed by email 21/10/2024	Pemberton, Wigan, Lancashire England
Alker, Robert James	Unemployed	Ancestry.Com enquiry – email 21/10/2024 confirming he was son of Ethel and Ralph. A fair assumption therefore that he was NZ-born	NZ
Andrew, Robert Wilson	Miner	Ancestry.Com	Whitburn, Linlithgowshire Scotland
Annereau, Ben	Dairy Factory Asst. 1931 and 1935.Coalminer	Ancestry.Com His name and names of his two sons, enable a reasonable inference on a family tree identified on this website	Middlesbro, Yorkshire, England
Atkinson, John	No occupation		Untraceable
Beever, Ben	Coalminer	Presbyterian Marriage Register 1933-1937 for his son Fred's marriage, 25 Jan. 1933	Glossof, Derbyshire, England, UK
Beever, Mary Ann	Married	Presbyterian Marriage Register 1933-1937 for her son, Fred's marriage, 25 Jan. 1933	Glossof, Derbyshire, England, UK
Bennett, Beatrice May	Married	NZ Cemetery Records 1800-2007	NZ
Bennett Elizabeth Mary	Widow		Untraceable
Bennett, Thomas	Miner		Untraceable
Blair, Nesta	Married		Untraceable
Blair, Robert	Coalminer		Untraceable
Brown, Annie	Married	Ancestry.Com identifies Mary Anne 'Annie' Adams as spouse of John Weare Brown, and also as mother of John Reece Brown	Treorchy, Rhondda Cynon Taff, Wales

Brown, Catherine	Married	Ancestry.Com lists John Brown Sr's second marriage in 1914 to Catherine Marshall Atkinson in 1914	Untraceable
Brown, Edward Marsden	Engine Cleaner	Ancestry.Com identifies him as b. at Seddonville, Buller, West Coast New Zealand, New Zealand. He was the son of John Weare Brown	Seddonville, Buller, West Coast New Zealand
Brown, Ethel May	Married	Possibly / probably wife of Henry Brown or John Brown Jr	Untraceable
Brown, Eva	Married	Possibly / probably wife of Henry Brown or John Brown Jr	Untraceable
Brown, Henry	Miner	Ancestry.Com for John Brown also gives dob as 1882 for Henry Brown, his brother	Glenbuck, Lanarkshire, Scotland
Brown, John Jnr.	Fireman Deputy	Listed as son of John Brown Sr in Ancestry.Com	NZ
Brown, John Weare	Miner	Ancestry.Com identifies Mary Anne 'Annie' Adams as spouse of John Weare Brown, and also as mother of John Reece Brown	Yarley, Somerset, England
Burnie, Eunice	Married	Methodist marriage certificate of her own marriage, Jul 26 1933. (She was formerly Eunice Brown, b. NZ)	Seddonville, NZ
Burrows, Alfred	Miner		Untraceable
Burrows, Dorothy	Married		Untraceable
Burrows, Leonard	Labourer	Ancestry.Com identifies that he was born 8 August 1900 .in Palmerston North, NZ. He married Marjorie Chubb on 25 Jun 1925	NZ
Burrows, Marjorie	Married	Ancestry.Com identifies that she was born 26 Jul 1905 in Toko, Stratford, Taranaki, NZ. She married Leonard Burrows on 25 Jun 1925	NZ
Caldwell, Benjamin	Miner	Ancestry.Com identifies him as born about 1900 at Westhoughton, Lancashire, England. He married Violet Naylor in 1928	Westhoughton, Lancashire, England.
Caldwell, Violet	Married	Ancestry.Com identifies her as Violet Naylor, born in Hindley, Lancashire, England, who married Benjamin Caldwell in 1928 in NZ	Hindley, Lancashire, England
Clague, Robert Finley	Weighman	Ancestry.Com	Lonan, Isle of Man. UK
Collins, Stuart Easton	Married		Untraceable
Collins, Vernon George	Engine Driver	Ancestry.Com – closely matched details e.g. engine driver	Eltham, Taranaki, NZ
Connew, Arthur	Miner	Ancestry.Com indicates he is the son of Mary Bowen/ Brown Connew and John Robert Connew, and brother of Frederick Connew	South Island, NZ

Connew, Dorothy Bessie Gurney	Widow	Ancestry.Com lists her as the wife of Arthur Connew, b. 19 Feb 1903 but no indication as to where born	Untraceable
Connew, Elsie Beatrice	Married	Ancestry.Com lists her as the wife of Frederick Connew, b. May 1901 in Mountain Ash, Glamorgan, Wales (nee Hayes)	Mountain Ash, Glamorgan, Wales
Connew, Frederick	Miner	Ancestry.Com lists him as the brother of Frederick Connew	Aorere, South Island, New Zealand
Connew, John	Miner	Ancestry.Com lists him as John Robert Connew,	Aorere, Tasman, NZ
Connew, Mary Brown	Widow	Wife of John Connew, nee Mary Brown Hawthorn, m John Robert Connew at Puponga 25 Feb 1904. Mother of Arthur Connew b. 1906	Burnbank, Lanark, Scotland
Connew, Myrtle Jane	Married		Untraceable
Cook, Hannah	Widow	Ancestry.Com	Egremont, Cumberland, England
Cooke, Reginald Spencer	Miner	Ancestry.Com gives his dob as 24 Dec 1906 at Hunslet, Yorkshire West Riding.	Hunslet, Yorkshire West Riding
Corness, John	Coal Miner	Presbyterian Marriage Register for his son, Thomas, 12 April 1944	Westhoughton, Lancashire, England
Crackett, James Robert	Miner	Ancestry.Com gives his dob as 1904 at Seaton Hirst, Northumberland, England. Joseph Henry Crackett was his brother	Seaton Hirst, Northumberland, England
Crackett, Joseph Henry	Miner	Ancestry.Com gives his dob as 17 Jun 1910 at Seaton Hirst, Northumberland, England. James Robert Crackett was his brother	Seaton Hirst, Northumberland, England
Crackett, Minnie	Married	Ancestry.Com indicates she was the mother of James Robert Crackett and Joseph Henry Crackett	Longhirst, Northumberland, England
Cumming, Jane	Married	She was probably the wife of John Cumming.	Untraceable
Cumming, John	Fireman	Brother of James Cumming. National Library Record https://natlib.govt.nz/records/22370746 . Ancestry.Com and email confirms both were NZ born	NZ
Cumming, Stephen Fleming	Miner	Ancestry.Com indicates he was the brother of John Cumming, both born at Waimangaroa, Westland, New Zealand	NZ
Davies, Hazel	Married	Ancestry.Com gives her dob as 20 Dec. 1898 at Waimangaroa, Nelson, New Zealand. One child born at Burnetts Face, another at Denniston	Waimangaroa, Nelson, New Zealand
Davies, Sydney	Miner	Ancestry.Com gives his dob as 25 Mar 1889 at Lambton, NSW, Australia. He married Hazel Winnifred Henderson 26 Nay 1916 in Te Awamutu	Lambton, NSW, Australia
De Corte, Jeanie Francis	Married	Methodist Marriage Certificate for her own marriage Mar 27 1925	Green Gains, Scotland

Dockerty, Samuel Valentine	Miner	Ancestry.Com gives his dob as about 1887 at South Shields, Durham, England. Married Doris Jane Hammill 1920 at Nightcaps	South Shields, Durham, England
Dockerty, Doris Jane	Married	Ancestry.Com identifies her as born Doris Jane Hammill about 1900. Lived at Chilton, Durham England in 191, emigrated to NZ 1915	Chilton, Durham England
Duck, William	Miner	Ancestry.Com identifies him as son of George Marwood Duck of Glen Massey.	Huntly, NZ
Evans, Pearce	Miner	War record on Online Cenotaph lists his next of kin on embarkation as a sister living in Wales. Inferred he too was born in Wales	Londu, Glamorganshire, Wales
Fitzgerald, Nora Teresa	Spinster		Untraceable
Fleming, Margaret	Married		Untraceable
Fleming, William	Miner		Untraceable
Gair, Isabella	Married	Methodist Marriage Register for her son, Robert's marriage, Jan 10 1915	Egremont, Cumberland, England or Seghill, Northumberland, England according to Ancestry.Com
Gair, James	Miner	Untraceable for some reason on Ancestry.Com, but from personal knowledge, almost certainly the son of Mathew Gair	England
Gair, John George	Trucker	Ancestry.Com gives his dob as 01 Mar 1909 at Netherton Colliery, Northumberland, England. He was the son of Mathew Gair and Isabella Gair	Netherton Colliery, Northumberland, England
Gair, Margaret	Married	Methodist Marriage Certificate for her own marriage, Jul 21, 1923	South Hetton, England
Gair, Matthew	Miner	Methodist Marriage Register for his son, Robert's marriage, Jan 10 1915. Ancestry. Com says he was born Jul-Sep 1872 at Netherton Colliery, Northumberland, England	Egremont, Cumberland, England or Netherton Colliery, Northumberland, England
Gair, Robert	Miner	Methodist Marriage Certificate for his own marriage, Jul. 21 1923	Netherton, England
Geddes, Roberta	Married	Ancestry.Com gives her dob as 19 Dec 1900 in Bathgate, West Lothian, Scotland, Married Thomas Geddes on 08 June 1926	Bathgate, West Lothian, Scotland
Geddes, Thomas	Mine Manager	Ancestry.Com gives his dob as 1898 in Slamannan, Stirlingshire, Scotland. He married Roberta Brodie on 08 June 1926, daughter born in Huntly, Waikato	Slamannan, Stirlingshire, Scotland

Geddes, William Johnston	Blacksmith	Ancestry.Com gives a possible identification: He was William O'Grady, though he took his mother's name Johnstone as his middle name, possibly when the family changed their name to Geddes.	Slamannan, Stirlingshire, Scotland?
Gilbert, Alfred	Machineman	Ancestry.Com gives his dob as 9 Nov. 1894 at St Giles, Edinburgh, Midlothian Scotland. Also gives date of his marriage to Alison Wood Hutchinson Harley as 1918	St Giles, Edinburgh, Midlothian, Scotland
Gilbert, Alison Wood Hutchinson	Married	Ancestry.Com gives her dob as 1886 in Newington, Edinburgh, Midlothian, Scotland	Newington, Edinburgh, Midlothian, Scotland
Giraud, Mary Alice Ann	Married		Untraceable
Giraud, William	Miner		Untraceable
Gorman, Margaret	Married	Ancestry.Com can give her birth date (around 1893) but no birth place	Untraceable
Gorman, Thomas	Miner	Ancestry.Com identifies him as born about 1858 in Cavan, Ireland. His marriage to Margaret Fraser was his second marriage	Cavan, Ireland
Grant, Mary Margaret	Married		Untraceable
Gregory, Alice May	Married		Untraceable
Gregory, James	Miner		Untraceable
Hammill, Marshall	Miner		Untraceable
Hammill, Sarah Elizabeth	Married		Untraceable
Henderson, James	Miner	According to Ancestry.Com, he was James Charles Dennison Henderson, son of Janet Muir Henderson and Thomas Henderson	Brunnerton, New Zealand
Henderson, Janet	Married	According to Ancestry.Com, Thomas Henderson married Janet Muir in Oamaru, 1885. She died in Glen Massey in 1948	Cambusnethan, Wishaw, Lanarkshire, Scotland
Heslop, Gwendoline	Married	Methodist Marriage Certificate for her own marriage Jul 27 1929	NZ
Heslop, William	Miner	Methodist Marriage Certificate for his own marriage Jul 27 1929	Burnett's Face, NZ
Hughes, Margaret Catherine	Married	Ancestry.Com identifies a Margaret S. Morgan, b. Armagh, Northern Ireland, who married Michael Hughes in Glasgow in 1921. Apart from middle initial, S, all other details fit	Armagh, Northern Ireland
Hughes, Michael	Coal Miner	Ancestry.Com identifies he was born about 1887 in Coatbridge, Lanarkshire, Scotland	Coatbridge, Lanarkshire, Scotland
Kelly, Elizabeth	Married		Untraceable

Kelly, Joseph	Miner		Untraceable
Kerr, Catherine	Married	Auckland Star 9 Jul., 1929 in article about accidental shooting of David Kerr's son by his father while rabbit shooting, indicates the family arrived from Scotland three years previously	Scotland
Kerr, David	Quarryman	Auckland Star 9 Jul., 1929 in article about accidental shooting of David Kerr's son by his father while rabbit shooting, indicates the family arrived from Scotland three years previously	Scotland
Kerr, Isabella	Married	Based on details for David and William Kerr, assumed she was the wife of William	Untraceable
Kerr, William	Labourer	William was named as the brother of the boy killed: Auckland Star 9 Jul., 1929 in article about accidental shooting of David Kerr's son by his father while rabbit shooting, indicates the family arrived from Scotland three years previously	Scotland
Kilburn, Andrew Harry	Miner	Ancestry.Com locates him as born 1900 in Yorkshire. Departed for NZ aged 13, married Rebecca Elisabeth Shanks 1929	Leeds, Yorkshire, England
Kilburn, Rebecca, Elizabeth	Married	Ancestry.Com records her marriage in 1929 to Andrew Harry Kilburn, and locates her birthplace as Scotland	Scotland
Lang, Henry	Miner		Untraceable
Lang, Jane Ann	Married		Untraceable
Lang, William Laws	Miner		Untraceable
Learmonth, Alexander Ross	Miner	Ancestry.Com lists him as b. 1884 at Glentunnel, Selwyn, Canterbury, NZ. Married Eliza Ellen Transit (Nellie) Woolf 1906	Glentunnel, Selwyn, Canterbury, NZ
Learmonth, Eliza Ellen	Married	Ancestry. Com. Wife of Alexander Ross Learmonth. B. Eliza Ellen Transit (Nellie) Woolf, married 1906	Motueka, New Zealand
Lees, Mary	Married	According to Ancestry.Com, she married Robert Lees in 1912 in Shotts, Lanarkshire, Scotland	Carluke, Lanarkshire, Scotland
Lees, Rachel	Married	Methodist Marriage Certificate for her own marriage, 8 August 1924	Penicuik, Scotland
Lees, Robert	Miner	Ancestry.Com says Robert was a coal miner who married Mary in Scotland. He was the brother of Peter Lees	High Riggend, New Monkland, Lanarkshire, Scotland
Leitch, Annie	Married	Ancestry.Com suggests she was b. Annie Sim in 1873 in Scotland, and married Peter Leitch in Scotland, and gave birth to a son, Thomas	Scotland

Leitch, Peter	Miner	Ancestry.Com suggests he was born in 1872 in Inverkeithing, Fifeshire, Scotland and married Annie Sim in 1873 in Scotland. They had a son Thomas.	Inverkeithing, Fifeshire, Scotland
Lister, Dinah	Married	Methodist Marriage Certificate for her own marriage 26 Jan. 1918	Egremont, England
Lister, James	Miner	Methodist Marriage Certificate for his own marriage, 26 Jan. 1918	Kirkcaldy, Scotland
Longmuir, Sarah Jane	Married	Ancestry.Com confirms she was Sarah Jane Burt (1907-1988) who married Richard Johns Longmuir in 1926	Hamilton, New Zealand
Longmuir, Richard Johns	Trucker	Ancestry.Com confirms he was b. 31 January 1905 in Hamilton, Lanarkshire, Scotland	Hamilton, Lanarkshire, Scotland
MacFarlane, Duncan	Miner	Personal Knowledge and <i>Waikato Times</i> article 17 November 1934, confirms Duncan McFarlane came to NZ from Scotland wight years previous (i.e. 1926). Gwyneth Jones P.179, states he was born in Lanark, Scotland	Scotland
Macfarlane, Mary	Married	Wife of Duncan McFarlane. Personal knowledge. Gwyneth Jones P.179, states she was born in Shotts, Scotland	Scotland
Martin, Helen	Married	Ancestr.Com. She married Walter Martin in 1926. B. Bathgate, Westlothian Scotland	Bathgate, Westlothian Scotland
Martin, Walter	Miner	Ancestry.Com lists him as Walter Stanners Martin, b. 3/3/1902 at Kirkness, Scotland, and d. 1972 at Glen Massey. He married Helen Fleming Wood in 1926	Kirkness, Scotland
McCurdy, Daniel Richard James	Engine Driver		Untraceable
McIntyre, Alice	Married	Possibly wife of Thomas McIntyre	Untraceable
McIntyre, Doris Elizabeth	Married	Matches the name details of the woman being divorced on the grounds of adultery with George McIntyre Jr. 8 March, 1929 (<i>Waikato Times</i>). She must have subsequently married George McIntyre Jr. Her first marriage is stated as having been in London	London, England
McIntyre, George Snr	Miner	Ancestry.Com lists him as b. St Helens, Lancashire, England. He married Anna Robinson in 1896. Their son, John was born in 1897	St Helens, Lancashire, England
McIntyre, George Jnr	Miner	Plausible that he is the grandson of George McIntyre Sr. and the son of John McIntyre. That would fit with George McIntyre jnr. Being cited as co-respondent in divorce case, 8 March 1929 (<i>Waikato Times</i>) brought by Kenneth Boyd against Doris Elizabeth Boyd. Decree nisi was granted. See Doris Elizabeth Boyd, above	NZ

McIntyre, Hannah	Married		Untraceable
McIntyre, Isabella	Married		Untraceable
McIntyre, John	Miner	Ancestry.Com lists him as son of George McIntyre (1870-1943) (Sr?) and married to Eva Naomi Collis and born at Denniston, Buller, West Coast, New Zealand. John lived from 1897-1968	Denniston, Buller, West Coast, New Zealand
McIntyre, Thomas	Lorry Driver	Possibly husband of Alice McIntyre	Untraceable
McIntyre, William	Miner	May be the brother of George McIntyre, b. 1886 at Plattsburg, NSW, Australia	NSW Australia
McKay, Edward Alexander	Coal Miner		Untraceable
McKenzie, David	Miner	Death Notice in <i>New Zealand Herald</i> 18 Dec. 1941 for his mother, Jessie Laing McKenzie, Leven, Fifeshire, Scotland. Specifies David lives at Glen Massey	FifeShire, Scotland
McKenzie, Elizabeth Williamson	Married	Ancestry.Com clarifies she was the wife of David Lain McKenzie (m. 1925). It was her second marriage	Methil, Fifeshire, Scotland
McKinnon, Donald	Butcher	<i>Waikato Independent</i> 29 December 1934. Mr Donald McKinnon Glen Massey lost his father also Donald McKinnon who had been born in Isle of Skye. Scotland. The father had come to NZ aged 19	NZ
McLaren, Elizabeth	Spinster		Untraceable
McLaren, Mary	Married		Untraceable
McVeigh, William	Labourer		Untraceable
Miller, Gavin	Miner		Untraceable
Mills, Fred John	Miner		Untraceable
Mitchell, Edith	Married	Ancestry.Com Born about 1890, NZ	NZ
Mitchell, George Arbuckle	Miner	Ancestry.Com Born. 2 June 1888 Wallsend, West Coast, NZ	NZ
Montford, William Snr.	Miner	Ancestry.Com identifies him as father of William Montford Jr. born in Denniston	Broughshare, Skerry, Antrim, Ireland
Montford, William Jr.	Miner	Presbyterian Marriage Register for his own marriage on 11 April, 1936	Denniston, NZ
Morris, Harry	Miner	Anglican Marriage Certificate of the marriage of his daughter, Lillian, June 27 1932	Leigh, England
Morris, Rose	Married	Anglican Marriage Certificate of the marriage of her daughter, Lillian, June 27 1932	Leigh, England

Morwood, John	Miner	Anglican Marriage Certificate of his son's marriage, Dec 27 1933	Westfield, West Lothian, Scotland
Morwood, John Robertson	Mine Worker	Anglican Marriage Certificate of his own marriage, Dec 27 1933. Confirmed by Ancestry.Com	Westfield, West Lothian, Scotland
Morwood, Margaret	Married	Anglican Marriage Certificate of her son's marriage, Dec 27 1933	Westfield, West Lothian, Scotland
Morwood, Thora Marjorie	Married	Ancestry.Com confirms John Robertson Morwood married Thora Marjorie Mills in 1933 in New Zealand	Ngāruawāhia, Waikato, New Zealan
Muir, Bessie	Married		Untraceable
Muir, Hugh	Miner		Untraceable
Naylor, Abraham James	Unemployed	Ancestry.Com Huntly, North Island, New Zealand	NZ
Nelson, David	Miner	9 July 1927. Inserted In Memoriam Notice for his mother who passed away at Denniston, July 10, 1926. Inferred he was born in NZ	NZ
Owen, Fletcher	Miner	Ancestry.Com	Distington, Cumberland, England
Owen, Hannah	Married	Ancestry.Com	Durham, Northumberland, England
Ruskovich, Vincent	Labourer		Untraceable
Russell, Catherine	Married	Ancestry.Com Birth NZ 1890	New Zealand
Russell, Hugh	Miner	Ancestry.Com Birth NZ 1876	New Zealand
Russell, Hugh Jr	Grocer	Son of above	New Zealand
Slaven, Daniel	Miner	Ancestry.Com identifies him as born at Denend, Cardenden, Fife in 1904	Denend, Cardenden, Fife, Scotland
Smith, Eliza Jane	Married	Personal knowledge of researcher and husband of George Wilson Smith below	Scotland
Smith, George Wilson	Miner	Personal knowledge of researcher and Memory from Geordie Smith in Gwyneth Jones, <i>The End of an Era: The History of the Coalmines and Village of Glen Massey and the Surrounding Districts</i> . Gwyneth Jones Private Publication, Printing Publicity Printing Limited, 2010. P. 169	Scotland
Sunnich, Joseph	Miner		Untraceable
Swales, Ethel Robinson	Married	Ancestry.Com identifies her as Wife of Henry Clemshaw Swales, b. 22 Sep 1894 in Auckland, NZ	Auckland, NZ
Swales, Henry Clemshaw	Electrician	Ancestry. Com identifies he was born 4 August 1891 in Auckland. He married Ethel Rebecca Kneebone on Mar 30, 1921	Auckland, NZ

Tanfield, Charles Harold	Guard in 1925 and 1931 Retired	Charles Harold Tanfield (known as Harry) was born in Onehunga, Auckland, NZ according to Ancestry.Com. He was married to Flora (Flo). Anglican Marriage Certificate of his son, Victor Thomas Tanfield, Mar 30, 1923 indicates the son was also born in Auckland.	Auckland, NZ
Tanfield, Emily Josephine	Married	Ancestry.Com indicates she was married to Raymond "Ray" Claude Tanfield	Bermondsey, London, United Kingdom
Tanfield, Flora	Married	Ancestry. Com indicates she was born in NZ. She was married to Charles Harold Tanfield (known as Harry) Anglican Marriage Certificate of her son, Victor Thomas Tanfield, March 30, 1923 indicates the son was born in Auckland.	NZ
Tanfield, Raymond Claude	Miner	Brother of Victor Thomas Tanfield (Ancestry.com)	NZ
Taylor, Giles	Clerk		Untraceable
Thomson, Annie	Married	Wife of William Thomson. Emigrated from Kirkaldy, Fife, Scotland. Met and married William Thomson in NZ	Kirkaldy, Fife, Scotland
Thomson, Isa Ima	Married	Presbyterian Marriage Certificate for her own marriage, Sep. 15 1915. Ancestry.Com confirms this	Auckland, N.Z.
Thomson, James Robertson	Engineer	Presbyterian Marriage Register 1913-20, for his marriage, Sep 15 1915. Ancestry. Com suggests he was born in Palmerston South	Shag Point, Otago. NZ
Thomson, Samuel	Miner	Son of William and Annie Thomson	NZ
Thomson, William	Miner	Gwyneth Jones, P. 181 states he was the son of William and Annie Thomson	NZ
Thomson, William Snr.	Miner	Gwyneth Jones, P. 181 states he emigrated from Hamilton, in Glasgow, Scotland	Hamilton, in Glasgow, Scotland
Trew, Bertha	Married	Ancestry.Com and Anglican marriage certificate for her own marriage June 24, 1914	b. 1889 Hawes, Yorkshire, England
Trew, Henry George	Carpenter	Ancestry.com and Anglican marriage certificate for his own marriage June 24, 1914	Oct. 1886 West Norwood, Surrey, England
Watson, Ernest	Miner		Untraceable
Waugh, Leonard Wilson	Trucker	Ancestry.Com. Married Margaret McCaw Morwood	Birmingham, Wellington, NZ
Waugh, Margaret McCaw	Married	Ancestry.Com	NZ
Westfield, Charles Henry	Mine Manager	Ancestry.Com	Sutton, Northhamptonshire, England

White, Albert Edward	Miner		Untraceable
Williamson, George	Miner	Marriage Certificate of his daughter Mary Hamilton Williamson, 23 Dec. 1938, also born in Scotland	Armadale, West Lothian, Scotland
Williamson, Jeanie	Married	Marriage Certificate of her daughter Mary Hamilton Williamson, 23 Dec. 1938, also born in Scotland	Armadale, West Lothian, Scotland
Williamson, Mary	Married		Untraceable
Williamson, Robert	Coal Miner		Untraceable
Woodward, George Thomas	Miner	Ancestry.Com	Wolverhampton Staffordshire, England
Woodward, Joseph Henry	Miner	Ancestry.Com	Wolverhampton, Staffordshire, England
Woodward, Nora	Married	Ancestry.Com	Wolverhampton Staffordshire, England
Young, Thomas	Mine Deputy		Untraceable