PROTECTION OF AUTHOR’S COPYRIGHT

This copy has been supplied by the Library of the University of Otago on the understanding that the following conditions will be observed:

1. To comply with s56 of the Copyright Act 1994 [NZ], this thesis copy must only be used for the purposes of research or private study.

2. The author's permission must be obtained before any material in the thesis is reproduced, unless such reproduction falls within the fair dealing guidelines of the Copyright Act 1994. Due acknowledgement must be made to the author in any citation.

3. No further copies may be made without the permission of the Librarian of the University of Otago.
MATAORA BAY NATIVE SCHOOL:
Cross Cultural Perspectives in a Rural Setting
1903-1930.

By Cybele Locke.

A dissertation submitted for the degree of B.A. (Hons)
University of Otago
New Zealand
1995
Acknowledgements:

I would like to thank Tony Knight for introducing me to this topic and for facilitating my exploration of the Bay. Thank you Michael Reilly for your supervision and encouragement. I would like to express my gratitude to Agnes Ainsley who willingly shared with me some of her history and breathed life into the memories of going to school at Mataora Bay. Thank you Mrs. O'Keeffe for permitting us to explore the school and the beach. It helped a great deal to know of the further study of Native Schools being carried out by the Education Department at Auckland University, thank you Dr. Judith Simon. Thank you Michael King for sharing with me some of your knowledge of Mataora Bay. Lastly, thank you Joss Debreceny for being involved in the whole process of writing this dissertation, from beginning to end.
Contents

Introduction: A Place to Stand. He Tuurangawaewae. 6

Chapter One: In Search of a School. E Tipu e Rea... 14

Chapter Two: From the Inside Looking Out. Te Nohoanga ki Roto. Te Tirohanga ki Waho. 27

Chapter Three: Inside the School. Kei raro i te haki o te Paakeha, kei runga i te whenua Maaori. 37

Chapter Four: Hard Times. An Outsider Looking In. Te Wa o te Taimaha. Te Taihou e Titiro ana ki Roto. 49

Chapter Five: Standing Within a Community. Te Tuunga ki Roto i te Whaanau. 64

Bibliography 71
List of Figures

Figure 1. View of Mataroa Bay from the top of the valley. ........................................ 5

Figure 2. Standing upon the head land, Mataroa Bay stretches northward before me. ...... 5

Figure 3. William Bird, Inspector of Native Schools, penned this sketch when he visited Mataroa Bay in 1905. .......................................................... 8

Figure 4 View of the school from the Teacher’s house. .................................................. 26

Figure 5 View of the Teacher’s house, standing in the doorway of the school. ............ 26

Figure 6 Closeup of Mataroa Bay Native School. ......................................................... 36

Figure 7 A picture of Miss Handcock and her class, taken in 1908, the first year that Mataroa Bay School. ................................................................. 36
Figure 1. View of Mataroa Bay from the top of the valley.

Figure 2. Standing upon the head land, Mataroa Bay stretches northward before me.
Introduction: A Place to Stand. He Tuurangawaewae.

The white sands of Mataora Bay stretch between two headlands, and remain as a resting place where the hills meet the sea. Nestled within these hills lies a valley that is the tuurangawaewae for those Ngaati Porou people whose tuupuna tended and lived upon this land. This community of people are now scattered but the care for the land continues by those managing the Mataora Block for the Tribal Incorporation. Beds of lilies and old rose bushes may be the only evidence of the Ngaati Porou settlement that lived here from the 1880s to the late 1950s but the wairua of these tupuna still sing to their mokopuna, who return at Christmas to camp beneath the shade of the pohutukawa trees.

It is the words of those who were involved in this community, and those who visited, that convey best the sense of how this place once lived. Te Kani Poata brought Michael King to Mataora Bay, and together their voices bring Mataora Bay to life:

"Close to the beach was a collapsed meeting house. As we walked among these ruins, Te Kani spoke of his early life there: who had lived in which house, where the vegetable gardens were, the routines for fishing off the beach, where in the bush behind they had taken pigeon and kiwi for the pot. He also pointed out an enormous pohutukawa halfway along the beach which covered the burial site of an earlier people. 'There's taonga there. And bones,' he said, 'And if anybody touched them they drowned. Or suffered some other catastrophe.'"¹

Over a period of five years, from 1903 to 1908, different people from this community wrote to the Department of Education or members of parliament, requesting a Maaori school (or Native school as they were called then) to be built in this valley at Mataora Bay. There were many delays but finally, in 1905, Inspector of Native Schools, William Bird, made a surprise visit to Mataora Bay to survey the lie of the land and to check on how many school-aged children resided at Mataora. This is a description he gave to the Inspector General of Schools:

"Mataora Bay is a small inlet in the Bay of Plenty Coast and is reached by road to Whangamata for some distance, and by a narrow, and in worst weather, dangerous track for the rest. The settlement is not a large one,

there being only eight or nine houses. Further north, about one mile and a half away is another small settlement called Whiritoa. The people are Ringatus (Hauhaus) and were at religious service when I arrived.2

Bird also enclosed a map he had drawn of the area (Figure 3).

According to Te Kani Poata and Agnes Ainsley, who have both lived and spent time at Mataora, this block of land was gifted by the Hauraki tribes on the peninsula to those Ngaati Porou people who wished to use the land as a resting place for their canoes, during the nineteenth century.3 King adds also, that this land was gifted to Ngaati Porou by way of thanks for their assistance in fighting Ngaa Puhi and as a place of call to trade. In the wider picture, these gifts of land at Mataora Bay and at Kennedy's Bay assisted the settlement of other East Coast Maaori on different parts of the Coromandel peninsula and provided homes for those Arawa survivors of the eruption at Tarawera during the 1880s.4 Mrs Agnes Ainsley recalls that a chief called Ngaati Hako, had two daughters and one daughter wished to marry a Ngaati Porou man. In order for them to have a home together, Ngaati Hako gave them Mataora Bay to settle on.5 Mrs Ainsley does not know of any others who remember this story but as part of the progression of East Coast settlement, this incident has significance. According to the title looked at on 26th July, 1906, the Memorial of Ownership was held by Ropata Ngatai and 79 others, dated 23rd June, 1880.6

3M. King, and R. Morrison, The Coromandel, p.16.
4King adds also, that this land was gifted to Ngaati Porou by way of thanks for their assistance in fighting Ngaa Puhi and as a place of call to trade. In the wider picture, these gifts of land at Mataora Bay and at Kennedy's Bay assisted the settlement of other East Coast Maaori on different parts of the Coromandel peninsula and provided homes for those Arawa survivors of the eruption at Tarawera during the 1880s.4
5Mrs Agnes Ainsley recalls that a chief called Ngaati Hako, had two daughters and one daughter wished to marry a Ngaati Porou man. In order for them to have a home together, Ngaati Hako gave them Mataora Bay to settle on.5
6Mrs Ainsley does not know of any others who remember this story but as part of the progression of East Coast settlement, this incident has significance. According to the title looked at on 26th July, 1906, the Memorial of Ownership was held by Ropata Ngatai and 79 others, dated 23rd June, 1880.6
Figure 3. William Bird, Inspector of Native Schools, penned this sketch when he visited Mataroa Bay in 1905.
In his conversation with Te Kani Poata, Michael King established that generations before, Mataora Bay was named after a demi-god who brought the gift of tattooing from Te Po, the underworld, to Te Ao, the world of light. Tame Poata, the father of Te Kani Poata, was the last tohunga at Mataora Bay, who died there in 1942, the last Māori traditional moko artist. Mrs O'Keeffe, who helps manage the farm at Mataora Bay, relates the name Mataora to the role of this Bay as a resting place to become 'well' or to 'live'. This more literal translation of Mataora conveys the sense of peace and tranquillity that pervades this place, a place which is home for the O'Keefes.

For another perspective of Mataora Bay, I turn to the words of a Paakeha women who visited Māori settlements at Mataora, Parakiwai and Whangamata, over a period of years. Mrs L. P. Wheeler lived for a long time in the Coromandel, in different places between Waihi and Whangamata. She related all her experiences in a book called *The Patchwork Quilt*, which was published in 1970. She reminisces:

"A well laid out and well kept Māori village, is how I remember Mataora in the days that we used to go there. I recall an arched gateway at the entrance to a lane which led to the beach. Even today I can still picture Jimmy Rangi, aged about 15 or so, standing at that gate calling, "A penny for the gate". So we paid our toll before we went through. I don't know if it was a little enterprise of his own or not.

Father used to take an interest in the settlement and organised sports meetings - and did those middle-aged Māori men love running races! The girls home on holiday from Queen Victoria Māori Girls' College would sometimes be seen walking elegantly in footwear early in the day, but would revert to their happy barefooted state very quickly."

Agnes Ainsley, who lived at Whiritoa while she went to Mataora Bay School in 1936-1938 relates:

"I was born down there [Mataora Bay] in a raupo hut and there were the Kereopas, the Poumakos, quite a little village....We often went over from Whiritoa and stayed the weekend down there and our parents all got together and reminisced from when they were children or about wherever they came from.

---

7 M. King, and R. Morrison, *The Coromandel*, p.16.
8 Mrs O'Keeffe, personal conversation, 10th June, 1995.
Meanwhile we decided we'd have a swim in the sea and got a hiding at night. It was quite a good little community down there for a while and then gradually the families started seeking employment and moved away."

"We all moved into Waihi, so that the men could work in the mine,' said Te Kani 'And when that closed in the early 1950s, a lot of them went on to Auckland. But they have their beginnings here those families. This is their turangawaewae. Everything that's good and bad about them comes from this place."\(^{10}\)

This dissertation centres around relationships, primarily between a Maaori School and the community at Mataora Bay, who desired and gave support for this school, from its conception to its demise. Five years is a long time to wait for the Department of Education to put into action their promises of the erection of a school. Yet this persistence manifests itself in the fact that the only original buildings left standing at Mataora Bay are the schoolhouse and the teacher's house. Relationships between people, between communities, and between structures of society involve levels of power, often unevenly distributed, contested, exchanged and with-held. Across cultural boundaries there is often a battle for control, whether intentional or unintentional. These points of conflict were disputed at Mataora, revolving around issues that the Maaori community, the Native School Teachers and the Department of Education played a role in. It is the pattern of these relationships that tell a story.

It is the nature of this dissertation that the structure should form a pattern, also based on relationships. Although there are chronological elements within this text, I want to set out the chapters of this dissertation spatially, beginning within the boundaries of Mataora Bay before moving outwards to the role of the Department of Education and then inwards to the place of the school and the teachers who came to live there. Between the local and the global, communications were made across cultural boundaries which moved as contestations of positions of authority were played out.

I have begun at the beginning, with a description of the community at Mataora Bay as it was. Through the juxtaposition of the voices of Te Kani Poata and Michael King, Agnes Ainsley, William Bird, and Mrs Wheeler, the scene has already been set. Juxtaposition is a tool that has been used successfully by academics such as

\(^{10}\)M. King, and R. Morrison, *The Coromandel*, p.17.
Judith Binney and Jeff Sissons, in an attempt to give their subjects a chance to speak from another cultural standpoint without being subordinated to other more 'official documented texts'.\textsuperscript{11} By laying the words of these people close to each other, I wish them to speak to each other and to the reader. I have deliberately obscured the place of the school in this setting, as this will come later, in Chapter One.

Motivation is the central theme of my first chapter and I aim to introduce the Maaori community in more depth as well as the role of different members of the Department of Education. The relationship between these groups of people unfurls as the motivations of each group for the erection of a Maaori School at Mataora Bay becomes clear. The school stands, looking out down the valley at a number of small houses that shelter the community, in their midst the meeting house beside an old ngaio tree, and beyond, the sea.

Chapter two places these questions of motivation for a Maaori school into a wider context as I examine the more general nature of the Native Schools System as it operated between 1879 and 1930. The connection is made between the local and the global.

Chapters Three and Four will introduce the first four female teachers who each came and spent time teaching at Mataora Bay School and the school curriculum they taught. I will focus on their role as Paakehaa women in a Maaori community, and how issues of ethnicity and gender difference would have affected them and the children they taught. The role of the inspectors and the insights they provided will be explored. It is the inter-relationships between the community, the Department of Education, the teachers and their students that spans the breadth of these chapters. Levels of local Maaori autonomy in relationship to their school fluctuated throughout the years between 1908 and 1927, and were often contested by the Department of Education. Each teacher also played a role in this contestation for power, whether culturally, educationally or economically. But there also lies within different incidences, a place for support to grow, and the respect was often mutual from the community to their teacher, from the teacher to the community. However, she always remained an outsider looking in. The Department lay outside this locality, brought within the hills at Mataora during the Native Schools Inspector's yearly visits. The issue of general training for Native School teachers, and more

general experiences of the teachers within this system gives a valuable backdrop to the specific experiences of the teachers at Mataora Bay.

The last chapter acts as a conclusion, beginning with a comparison to the last teacher at Mataora Bay School and the differing position he held within the community, through his kin and knowledge of things Māori. The change in the Native Schools policy as a whole in 1930 parallels the changes at Mataora Bay, although the same issues of health, discipline, communication and the meeting of two worlds continued to dominate the years from 1930 until 1956, when Mr Hamlin locked the schoolhouse door for the last time.

Lastly, by way of introduction, I want to place myself within this text. I have been given a gift, the gift of a story to tell. The decision of how to tell this story has been a difficult one, one which involves claiming who I have been influenced by. I found it difficult to leave so many stories out of this history, related by the school log books and various letters, and I felt the novelist Jeanette Winterson expressed this well in the following words.

"And when I look at a history book and think of the imaginative effort it has taken to squeeze this oozing world between two boards and typesets, I am astonished. Perhaps the event has an unassailable truth. God saw it. God knows. But I am not God. And so when someone tells me what they heard or saw, I believe them, and I believe their friend who also saw, but not in the same way, and I can put these accounts together and I will not have a seamless wonder but a sandwich laced with mustard of my own."\(^{12}\)

Trinh T. Minh-ha negates the separating out of history and story:

"When history separated itself from story, it started indulging in accumulation and facts. Or thought it could. It thought it could build up to History because the Past, unrelated to the Present and the Future, is lying there in its entirety, waiting to be revealed and related.... As long as the transformation, manipulations or redistributions inherent in the collecting of events are overlooked, the division continues its course, as sure of its itinerary as it certainly dreams to be. Story-writing becomes history-writing, and history quickly sets itself apart, consigning story to the realm of tale, legend, myth, fiction, literature. Then, since fictional and factual have come to a point where

they mutually exclude each other, fiction, not infrequently, means lies, and fact, truth."\textsuperscript{13}

Reading the work of Jeff Sissons encouraged me to try and locate the other discourses lying within the story given by the narrator and to discover the authority held by those the story involved: "Historical truth is revealed through dialogue and debate must always remain to a certain extent negotiable and dependent upon the relative mana of the speakers."\textsuperscript{14} The opinions and perspectives of different members of the community who lived at Mataora Bay often remained obscured, and it is too late to ask for answers now when many people are long gone.

I have taken notice of elements such as class and race or ethnicity as underlying definitions of identity within this history and extended this analysis by using categories of gender especially to explain the role of the teacher at Mataora Bay. The shelter of rural isolation often gave the teachers and the community a chance to shift the boundaries of power from their centre in Wellington or Auckland and to negotiate the rules set by the Department of Education.

Judith Binney defines Māori concepts of history: "Māori history is structured around kin. Whānau (the extended family) and hapū (the functioning tribal unit) are the basic concerns of tribal history. It is the whānau which gives identity to the individual, and the tipuna, the ancestors, are the source, in turn, of its mana. History is told in these terms. It is defined by family and by whakapapa. It is concerned with the holding and the transference of mana by successive generations."\textsuperscript{15}

There were different cultural perceptions of history experienced at Mataora Bay and this became obvious as the stories given by people in the community and the teachers at the school house flatly contradicted each other. However, there was room for negotiation across cultural boundaries and this comes to light in the text.

\textsuperscript{13} T. T. Minh-ha, \textit{Woman Native Other}, Bloomington, 1989, pp.119-120.

\textsuperscript{14} J. Sissons, \textit{Te Waimana. The Spring of Mana}, p.287.

\textsuperscript{15} J. Binney, 'Māori Oral Narratives, Pakeha Written Texts', p.18.
Chapter One: In Search of a School.

E Tipu e Rea...

"Gentlemen, We the undersigned respectfully request that you establish a school for the Maori children at Mataura [Mataora] Bay East Coast. The Bay is 9 miles from Waihi, where the nearest school is situated, and there are 26 children of school age in the district within one mile of the proposed site for the school. Mr Piripi Waipapa offers a site of three acres in any part of his land which may be selected by the agent of the board. Mr Piripi Waipapa."

This letter began a five year process in which the Maori community at Mataora requested a Native School be built upon their land. Letters of response came fairly regularly from the Department of Education, however, proposed actions such as a visit by a School Inspector, surveying, approval of the land, the erection of a school and finally, the delegation of a teacher to Mataora remained, for a long period of time, frustratingly out of reach. The series of correspondence that took place introduces members of the community at Mataora, reflects their mana, and the relationship between those people and the Pakeha members of the community who assisted them with their quest for a school. Many wrote in Maori or through local Pakeha who were to some degree bi-lingual and could express the wishes of concerned members of the Mataora Bay community.

Motivation:

The question of motivation arises. Why did the Maori community want a native school and why did the Department of Education eventually comply with those wishes? I would suggest that for this Ngaati Porou community, the school was part of a settlement process, in an attempt to keep people together, for cultural, economic and social survival. This was a two-fold process, where cultural survival meant on one hand keeping the whanau together on their own ancestral lands, and on the other, desiring their children to have access to Pakehaa knowledge and power. Here lay the beginning, for these people at Mataora, of an attempt to straddle two worlds, a Maori world and a Pakehaa world.

1Piripi Waipapa to Members of the Board Of Education, 8th September 1903, Buildings and Sites, BAAA 1001/329a, National Archives (NA), Auckland.
What motivated the Department of Education to build and resource a Native school at Mataora Bay grew out of such policies as assimilation of Maaori people, that was, to educate them in Pakehaa values, language, customs and knowledge systems. The ideologies behind the policy of assimilation has a clear history in this country since colonisation by white people began in the early nineteenth century. Lord Russell instructed Governor Hobson in 1840:

"The education of youth among the aborigines is of course indispensable to the success of any measures for their ultimate advancement in social arts, and in the scale of political existence....I trust...the education in the colonies of the children of European settlers, will not be permitted to obstruct the complete attainment of an object which might seem so little adapted for polemic debate, as to the best method of imparting religious and other knowledge to the children of the native New Zealanders.\(^2\)

The main instigators representing the Mataora Bay community in their request for a school were Piripi Waipapa, Hohepa Moengaroa and Henare Mareroa. Piripi Waipapa, claimed ownership of the land proposed as a site for the school, while Hohepa Moengaroa played a leading role by relentlessly petitioning the Government and the Department of Education for a Native School Inspector to visit Mataora as quickly as possible. The motivation of using the school to keep the community in one place speaks out loudly in a letter written by Moengaroa two years after the first request for a school was penned: "Should you not be able to in a seasonable time we will have to leave our place here and shift to some other district where we will be able to send our children to school."\(^3\)

William Bird, the Inspector of Native Schools arrived at Mataora in 1905. He wrote of this visit as a surprise, for the reason that there would no opportunity for Maaori (he called them natives) to collect extra children from elsewhere to make a good impression. No mention was made of the fact that the people at Mataora had been waiting for two years for this visit. This is how he saw the site offered by Maaori for the school.

"The site offered is a suitable one, consisting of three acres of fairly flat land on a small eminence at the back of the settlement. The soil is fairly good and was formerly cultivated by the people....Timber for a school could be got from

---


\(^3\) H. Moengaroa to the Education Department, 10th January 1905, BAAA 1001/329a, NA, Auckland.
Tairua some distance North of Mataora and can be landed on the beach....If the Department agrees to put a school here, it should be a small school similar to those at Parapara and Paparore....The presence of the children in the place at the time of my unexpected visit seems to point to the permanency of the settlement.⁴

Bird goes on to give examples of how long people had been staying at Mataora. It would seem that the criteria of the Education Department for setting up a Native School was firstly, that there were enough children in the community who would go without schooling otherwise, to make the building of a school worthwhile, and secondly, that the land given by the community was good land and it would not cost too much to erect a school building upon. Bird seemed concerned that the community was permanent, and that the numbers of school-going children were maintained.⁵

What concerned the Māori community at Mataora, primarily, was the impact on their children if they grew up without a Paakeha education in a society that was becoming increasingly dominated by Pakeha, English-speaking people. Hohepa Te Moengaroa and Henare Mareroa wrote in June, 1906, "kia matau Tamariki kei roto i Te porirangi o Te matauranga kore e noho ana."⁶ The Crown Translator interpreted this as, "our little ones who are growing up darkness and ignorance."⁷ Education was seen as desirable by those Ngaati Porou at Mataora, especially as they lived a life of subsistence, catching what they could in the sea as their main livelihood. Education was a tool for their children to make a living in the future.

One of the leading figures on national scene, encouraging the learning of Paakeha things as well as Māori things was Apirana Ngata. Ngata descended from Ropata Wahawaha who had led troops against the Pai Marire and Te Kooti during the New Zealand Wars, establishing a history of loyalty to the Crown. Ngata continued in this tradition, attempting to improve living conditions for his kin through the Paakeha political system.⁸ Apirana set an example for his people to follow and many people from Ngaati Porou were determined to education their children in Paakeha schools to enhance their standing and life chances. Waipapa sent a letter to the Minister of Education on behalf of the Māori community requesting a

⁵Ibid.
⁶Hohepa Te Moengaroa and Henare Mareroa to the Honourable Minister of the Schools, 23rd June 1906, Buildings and Sites, BAAA 1001/329a.
⁷Ibid.
teacher be sent so that teaching could begin in a tent, until the building was erected. Mareroa, on behalf of the community, also offered to fund the labour of the building of the school if the materials were provided. A response from the Department of Education was slow as investigations were going on regarding the distance from Mataora Bay School to Wharekawa Native School at Whangamata. It was discovered that the schools were far enough away from each other to have no effect, so Bird gave the go ahead for a small school to be erected at Mataora Bay. However, not before another visit by an Inspector had been planned for 1907.

A crucial aspect to the success of the erection of a native school at Mataora was the support of local Paakehaa, and the letters they wrote of their own accord or on behalf of those Maaori, for whom te reo Maaori (Maaori language) was their native tongue. Some local Paakehaa, who lived in Waihi, or who visited regularly sympathised with the Maaori community and their impatience with the Department of Education. David Leach and Captain Gilbert Mair, from Waihi both took part in this process and requested a school as quickly as possible, as more white children had moved into the area. Gilbert Mair wrote from Whanganui:

"I think it is a pity that in a small settlement such as this, that the Education Department cannot see its way to make a start in a small scale. An expenditure of about 100 pounds would put up a building sufficiently large for present requirements. Good second class well seasoned kauri timber can be obtained from Tairua - quite good enough for all purposes, for seven or eight shillings per hundred feet. Mataora is a beautiful healthy pretty place, and I know of more than one teacher who would gladly take charge of a school built there."

Mair also reflects on the perception of Mataora as a healthy place, of some spiritual significance. Little is known of David Leach but Captain Gilbert Mair was a well-known figure. He grew up with a sound knowledge of Maaori language learnt while helping his father purchase kauri gum at Wahapu in the Bay of Islands. He surveyed native lands during the early 1860s before joining the Waikato Regiment when fighting began on the East Coast in 1865. He pursued Waikato tribes at

---

9 P. Waipapa to the Minister of Education, 10th January 1906, Buildings and Sites, BAAA 1001/329a.
10 H. Mareroa to the Secretary for Education, 11th June 1906, Buildings and Sites, BAAA 1001/329a.
11 David Leach to the Honourable Minister for Education, 26th July 1906, Buildings and Sites, BAAA 1001/329a.
Rotorua and Te Kooti through the Urewera with the Arawa contingent, being promoted to captain in 1870. After the war he acted as a native interpreter for the House of Representatives and Government agent at Tauranga, purchasing land in several districts. He was a full ranking Arawa chief and after retiring he farmed land at Waiotapu and Bay of Plenty. This is when he would have supported the community at Mataora Bay in establishing a school.\(^{13}\) He was bilingual and had much standing in both a Paakeha and a Maaori world.

The persistence of those at Mataora Bay was reflected when a letter was sent on behalf of Maaori from the actual surveyors who had been employed by the Department of Education to survey the land at Mataora for the school. Hoszard and Hoszard wrote: "The natives interested in this school have asked us to communicate with you and find out if possible when a start is to be made on the school building."\(^{14}\) Maaori used every opportunity to barrage the Department with requests. For this kind of support Maaori at Mataora Bay must have nurtured good relationships with some Paakeha living close by in Waihi, and even further afield. If those from Mataora spoke and wrote in Maaori, one wonders if many Paakeha who lived close to communities like Mataora could converse bi-lingually. It is an interesting paradox that this bi-lingual communication was to be undermined by the native school curriculum set up by the Department of Education with the aim of producing English-speaking Maaori students at the expense of the Maaori language. However communication was established at this point in time, those Ngaati Porou elders certainly conveyed their message very clearly for the benefit of their children.

Communication was a vital issue to the people of this settlement and meant that one of their major motivations for sending their children to a native school was to teach them to become bi-lingual, with the emphasis on English. What they could not foresee was the danger of removing the status and practice of te reo Maaori. H. D. Morpeth, who resided in the Waihi Clerk's Office, wrote on behalf of Henare Mareroa and other Maaori in the community, to the Prime Minister in Wellington, emphasising the point that they wanted a school teacher who could speak Maaori.\(^{15}\) Language was survival in a small rural community of this nature, especially where the only other Paakeha were a day away on horse-back.

\(^{14}\) Hoszard and Hoszard to the Secretary for Education, 21st December 1906, Buildings and Sites, BAAA 1001/329a.
\(^{15}\) H. D. Morpeth to the Prime Minister, 27th February 1908, Buildings and Sites, BAAA 1001/329a.
Communication with the Department of Education seemed just as difficult. In 1907, the Native School Inspectors, William Bird and Justin Porteous returned to Mataora Bay to find 25 school-aged children still waiting for a school. They also agreed that 17 miles by track from Mataora to Wharekawa was too far for children to walk to school in the morning and evening. A school at Mataora was given the official sanction, after the Inspectors were reassured of student numbers for the school by Captain Gilbert Mair.\(^{16}\) Sanctioning from Paakehaa supporters was held in high regard by the School Inspectors, looking to protect the financial investment they were about to make. What was not stated by those two gentlemen was the considerable investment this settlement was prepared to invest to provide access to the Paakehaa world for their children.

There was one objection to the proposed school at Mataora Bay which came to hand from H. Poland, MP who wrote to the Department of Education from Paeroa, Thames.\(^{17}\) He gave absolutely no reasoning for his objection and his opinion was disregarded. The frustration that this process caused the community at Mataora Bay was summed up in a letter written by Henare Mareroa. In response to the Department's continual delays, formalities and lack of directness, he wrote: “E hoa, Tena koe. E kore au e pai ki tenei kura no te mea ka nui nga tau ka nui nga horihori i kite nei ahau.”\(^{18}\) (“I will not be happy about this school because for many years I have heard many lies.”) The reply from Mr Gibbe, the Secretary for Education, was another formality with little reason being given for the many delays.\(^{19}\)

Three acres of land was made a free gift to His Majesty the King on 31st January, 1907 for the purpose of a Native School. This transfer was sanctioned by an investigation of the Native Land Court confirming that the Mataora Block was in favour of Ropata Ngatai and 79 others, dating from 23rd June, 1880.\(^{20}\) This transfer of land happened a good year before the first teacher arrived at Mataora Bay, April 3rd, 1908. This transaction at such an early date signals how eager the Education Department was to obtain land in comparison to how slow-moving they were in building a school and sending a teacher. Although no direct explanation for the delays in the erection of a school at Mataora was given to the people who lived

---

\(^{16}\)William Bird to Secretary of Education, Memo 14th December 1907, Buildings and Sites, BAAA 1001/329a.
\(^{17}\)H. Poland to the Minister of Education, 5th December 1907, Buildings and Sites, BAAA 1001/329a.
\(^{18}\)Henare Mareroa to the Secretary of Education, 30th July 1907, Buildings and Sites, BAAA 1001/329a.
\(^{19}\)Gibbe (Secretary of Education) to Henare Mareroa, 21st August 1907, Buildings and Sites, BAAA 1001/329a.
there, there were some comments in regard to this problem in the *Appendices to the Journals to the House of Representatives*:

“There are many causes tending to create delay in the establishment of schools and the erection of the buildings which are not apparent to outside observers. It is not always convenient for an officer to proceed to a particular locality immediately upon receipt of an application: the case must wait until he next visits the district. The survey of the site of three or four acres is frequently delayed from a similar cause, and the formal acquisition of the site, after survey has at length been completed, takes up considerable time.”

What appears to be the problem, from these comments, is a shortage of Department of Education staffing, that is, school inspectors and a very slow bureaucratic process to effect the establishment of land claims.

Paakeha motives of assimilation of Maaori into a Paakeha world-view and their accumulation of Maaori land have long been viewed by Maaori as intimately connected. However, Maaori also had their political motivations in regard to land. Although establishing a school at Mataora meant giving 3 acres of land to the Crown, the school became a way for the Maaori community to hold on to their greater land title, called the Mataora Block. While there was a school in the area, people were more willing to stay and have their children educated there, and the place became a focus for government assistance in the guise of financing the upkeep of the school and renovations, which provided the community with another way of surviving economically. Further signs of this motivation appeared when Henare Mareroa applied for a road to be formed out of the bridle track that led from the Maaori settlement to the road that led to Whangamata. With easier access to the community came the hope of survival as the community would become less isolated and people could find work further away while still living at Mataora. The fact that there were 'whites' or Europeans using this track seemed to be regarded by Maaori as a reason the government might provide the funding for the road.

From the evidence available it seems that often the Maaori community at Mataora and the employees of the Department of Education were talking at cross purposes. Maaori reached out to access Paakeha power and knowledge from a firm grounding in their own cultural world, speaking te reo Maaori, living their own

21 *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (AJHR), 1909, E-3, p.3.
22 H. D. Morpeth to the Prime Minister, 27th February 1908, Buildings and Sites, BAAA 1001/329a.
tikanga. Yet economically, Maaori were severely disadvantaged. Displaced by the New Zealand Wars, alienated from much of their lands and with their own economic structures eroded, they looked for new ways to survive. Those men working in the Department of Education were motivated by polices that sought to consolidate the power of the new Paakeha settler government, and one of the tools used to accomplish this, was to educate Maaori who lived on the outskirts of Paakeha society to think, act and speak in a Paakeha way. By denying Maaori their right to difference they were blind to a Maaori reality. I want to explore the issue of ownership and what this meant in two different settings, a Maaori and a Paakeha one.

Ownership:

The question of ownership of the school at Mataora Bay lies at the heart of the relationship between the Department of Education and this community of Ngaati Porou people. To attempt to build a sense of what Mataora Bay school meant to those who lived at Mataora, one needs to return to the Maaori language itself, and words such as rangatiratanga, mana, te ate, hau, and wairua. This is Keri Hulme's description of the Maaori human body and soul.

"You are made up of several bodies. There is your body of flesh. This is rendered alive by the impersonal vital force, hau - which is mostly translated as 'breath' or 'essence'. Your emotions and affections reside in the liver, te ate (old people will still pat their stomachs and say things like, 'That really touched my heart, dear'). You have a personal power or property called mana, which is partly inherited, partly decreased or increased by your own actions. Your mana cloaks and shields you, and can ward off bad influences. It can, however, be affected by other people's actions. Then, you have a wairua - an unseen double, a soul-shadow, your own spirit. This is absolutely personal to you: it is your spiritual essence."23

Rangatiratanga can be translated as ownership or sovereignty and is intimately tied to people's mana, meaning, in some senses, their authority or control. Rangatiratanga in relationship to land was a fundamental issue for Maaori, everywhere, and at Mataora: E kore au ngaro, he kaakano i ruia mai i Rangiatea. (I

am not lost, for the seed was sown in Rangiatea). Land or whenua is central to a Maaori ethos. Descended from Papatuanuku (the earth mother) and Rangiatea (the sky father), Maaori trace their ancestry from this beginning to the present day. This spiritual connection takes form by acts such as the returning to the land of a newborn baby’s placenta, also called te whenua. To hold on to their language and culture meant to hold on as spiritual guardians to the land they were also descended from. No matter how much influence a Paakeha way of life had upon the people at Mataora, these beliefs were held sacred. I will relate some incidences that indicate who Maaori regarded as the owners of their school and in which contexts this ownership and mana changed.

Henare Mareroa, with the support of others, played a big role in the establishment of Mataora Bay School. As a rangatira (chief, with implied prestige or mana) of this community his mana would have increased with the establishment of the school. He was remembered after his death as the person who obtained the school and therefore, of giving the children of Mataora a chance to be educated. His wife was distressed at the thought of "Henare's school" being threatened with closure in 1913 as she wanted to have her children educated there.

Hohepa Moengaroa was also regarded as owning Mataora Bay School for his part in the process of its attainment and this comes to light in the following incident. Shortly after the school started up at Mataora, Hohepa Moengaroa moved his entire family to Wharekawa, the neighbouring native school. The other kaumatua in the community, Henare Mareroa and Wiremu Ngatoto (who was the first chairperson of the school committee) responded with anger and frustration. The Department of Education continually threatened the community at Mataora with closure of the school if pupil attendance numbers dropped. When Moengaroa moved his family away he effectively almost halved the number of student at Mataora Bay School. Journeys were made to Wharekawa to try and persuade Moengaroa to come back, or at least keep his children at Mataora Bay School but when this had no affect, these men called in Paakeha laws to try and resolve the matter. Henare Mareroa wrote and asked the Department to send "nga ture mo nga tamariki e kore e tae mai ki te kura mo nga matua o nga tamariki pera." ("the laws for children not coming to

---

25 There are countless citations in Maaori literature that give the depth and meaning of these beliefs and values in a far more comprehensive way than I have here.
26 Lilian Church to the Education Department, 22nd February 1914, Buildings and Sites, BAAA 1001/329b, NA, Auckland.
school, for the parents of those children")\textsuperscript{27} As a ploy to bring Moengaroa back to Mataora this was doomed to failure as Paakehaa laws only determined that Maaori children went to school, not which school they went to.\textsuperscript{28} How Moengaroa was viewed by the community in regard to ownership of the school comes out in a letter written by Wiremu Ngatoto, complaining bitterly about the departure of Moengaroa:

"We believe Moengaroa the owner of this school because he has nine children. I don't want the Mataora School to break up with no trouble. I believe that land is not belong to him and the people also not belong to him and the school you know about it you ought to sorry to us and the school."\textsuperscript{29}

Ownership seems judged in terms of the numbers of children going to the school and what stake someone had in the land at Mataora Bay. The fact that Moengaroa's claim to land at Mataora was questioned, signals the feeling expressed by others of his betrayal regarding the upkeep of the land by his moving to Wharekawa and removing support for the school. The grief felt by the School Committee, at how their school's existence had become endangered with only 12 to 14 children left to attend, came through many letters written by different members on behalf of the community. The difficulty of finding other children to bring the roll up was spoken about in a letter from Henare Mareroa: "Yes, we will be strong if you will send some food rations for the children who will take the place of the children of Te Moengaroa. If you are not strong we cannot be strong. Our strength will end with the twenty children."\textsuperscript{30} The difficulty in economic terms, of supporting enough children at Mataora to bring the roll up to thirty, became apparent. The Department supported the community's efforts, in word, to increase roll numbers, but did not accept any responsibility to assist the community financially.

How the Maaori community saw the Department of Education's role of ownership in regard to the school comes to light in a letter from Wiremu Ngatoto: "Kei te tuku atu aha[\textsuperscript{i}] a koe he haki mo te kura - he tohu tenei kia mohiatia e te tangata he mana no te kawanatanga no te kura." ("I am presenting you with a flag for the school - This is a sign which will be recognised by people as the mana from the

\textsuperscript{27} Henare Mareroa to the Secretary of Education, 30th November 1908, Buildings and Sites, BAAA 1001/329a. Translated into English by Department of Education.
\textsuperscript{28} Secretary for Education to Wharepapa Perepe, 12th February 1909, Buildings and Sites, BAAA 1001/329a.
\textsuperscript{29} Wiremu Ngatoto to William Bird, 25th January 1909, Buildings and Sites, BAAA 1001/329a.
\textsuperscript{30} Translation of Henare Mareroa to the Secretary for Education, 23rd February 1909, Buildings and Sites, BAAA 1001/329a.
This description of the relationship between the community at Mataora and the government, symbolised by a flag, implies a sense of partnership or contract, from a Māori perspective. The fact that the flag was gifted by Ngatoto in recognition of the government’s mana over the school, hints at a complex understanding of ownership. The distinction between words such as kawanatanga and mana have their origins in Te Tiriti o Waitangi. The first article of Te Tiriti granted kawanatanga or governorship to the British Paakeha Queen while the second article confirmed Māori sovereignty (tino rangatiratanga) over their lands, homes and treasured possessions. By using the word kawanatanga instead of mana in the first article, Māori rangatira rightly believed they were granting the shadow of the land to the Paakeha Queen while the substance of the lands they belonged to remained with them.32 Haki, or flags, have a deep symbolic meaning in Māori history. Flags were flown by He Whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni, the United tribes of New Zealand when they signed the declaration of independence in 1835.33 Hone Heke uttered a challenge to the position of the Crown when he chopped down the flagpole flying the British flag at Kororareka in the Bay of Islands, on four different occasions between 1844 and 1845. Marshall Sahlins has argued that for Māori, this flagpole resembled a tuuaahu, a fenced alter used by their tuupuna to claim their tribal lands, a place to sanctify the passing on of mana through knowledge (mana matauranga) of Māori whakapapa, history and spirituality, in a controlled environment. To remove the flagstaff, flying the British flag, meant a direct challenge to the mana of the Paakeha Queen.34 Hone Heke felt that Te Tiriti had been dishonoured by Paakeha and that the European flag flew as a symbol of Paakeha colonisation of Aotearoa. If the European flag flew above Mataora Bay School in recognition of the mana of the Paakeha government invested in the school, the gift of the flag by Ngatoto symbolised the land that lay beneath the school, also gifted by him and the rest of the community in return for that school. This flag honoured the relationship between Ngaati Porou at Mataora Bay and the Paakeha Government. In contrast to this understanding, those in the Education Department regarded the British flag as proof of their sovereignty and control over the school at Mataora Bay which in itself was regarded as a tool to assimilate Māori into a Paakeha world view. John Porteous, a Native School Inspector, commented in 1927: “The Native village

32 R. Walker, ‘From the Treaty of Waitangi as the Focus of Māori Protest’, Te Ao Marama 2, pp.63-64.
schools have played a most important part in removing the prejudice of the Maori people towards the pakeha and his ways, and have rendered signal service in the civilisation and general uplift of the Maori race...”

The threat of closure of the school remained a continual problem for those living at Mataora Bay. Surviving financially was always hard and this went largely unrecognised by the Department. The teachers at Mataora were the ones who helped to deal with these problems, or at least came to recognise them more intimately as did those Pakeha whose children attended the school. Issues of health, discipline and the continual upkeep of the school were responded to in different ways by those people on the School Committee, as they represented the needs of their children and the wider community. The question of rangatiratanga and those who stood with mana in this community changed over time. Those roles were contested by different members of the community, the teachers themselves and those from the Department of Education who issued the laws for the school. The gap between the theory of those laws and the actual practice, in an isolated rural community, where the school teacher may have been the only white person, plays a large part of this history. Relationships were never static and misunderstandings were frequent.

35 Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives (AJHR), 1927, E-3, p.8.
Figure 4 View of the school from the Teacher's house.

Figure 5 View of the Teacher's house, standing in the doorway of the school.
By describing the wider parameters of the place of Mataora Bay School within the Native School system, I intend to give a clearer insight into the web of meaning surrounding issues of control and authority between the players in this story. The anthropologist, Clifford Geertz quotes Max Weber, "that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun," and he takes culture to be those webs.1 Geertz further commented "Ethnography is thick description. The ethnographer is in fact faced with...a multiplicity of complex conceptual structures, many of them superimposed upon or knotted into one another, which are at once strange, irregular and inexplicit, and which he [she] must contrive somehow first to grasp and then to render."2 Geertz defined the characteristics of ethnographic description: The ethnographic process is interpretative, it uncovers the 'said' of each social discourse, recovering this discourse from a perishing occasion, rendering it fixed in time. Lastly, ethnographic accounts are microscopic and relate small events.3 The difficulty lies in how these small facts speak to larger culture scapes and issues such as identity, ethnicity, gender, revolution and religion. Geertz calls this process dialectic tacking, where cultural structures and symbols are drawn out of the smaller ethnographic setting, into a wider context, to give more than one cultural meaning to issues such as power, authority and control.4 Tacking between the local and the global uncovers different perspectives and relates the gaps between the theory of ideas and their practice. The lives of those who lived at Mataora Bay were shaped by the local knowledge passed down by their tuupuna, their identity shaped by their relationship to their kin, who interacted with other whaanau and hapuu in neighbouring communities, with whom they exchanged gifts and defended territories. From this setting Maaorireacted to the increasing numbers of Paakehaa populating the Coromandel Peninsula. The policies of the Paakehaa settler government were complied with, negotiated or ignored through this process of contact. A school at Mataora Bay brought a Paakehaa institution into their midst. Laws made in Wellington affected the community more directly. Assimilation policies in education impacted upon those Ngaati Porou people at Mataora Bay, bringing new cultural and social values into the heart of this valley, creating a

1C. Geertz, 'Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture', in, The Interpretation of Cultures, London, 1975, p.5.
2Ibid, pp.9-10.
3Ibid, p.20.
tension between new Paakehaa ways and their identity as Ngaati Porou, as Maaori, in a changing world.

Paakehaa Government policies such as assimilation and Maaori land accumulation, were perceived differently by the Mataora Bay community and the Department of Education in the early years of the turn of the century. The historical context for this relationship needs some explanation, approached from a wider perspective, beyond the boundaries of one small beach in the Bay of Plenty.

The policy of assimilation through education adopted by the Native Department, and later the Department of Education, was an attempt to pass on to Maaori certain forms of European knowledge and skills and to indoctrinate those communities with the customs and practices of Europeans. These notions lay as a back drop to the development of the European-controlled Native School system for Maaori. Judith Simon describes this process as involving two closely embraced concepts; one concerning European humanitarian and paternalistic protectiveness towards Maaori; and the other, a strong desire to civilise Maaori into a European cultural framework. Economic self-interest motivated the second concept, and historically has tied the acts of civilising another race by cultural domination with the accumulation of that race's resources, ensuring Paakehaa economic domination. Hugh Carleton, Member of Parliament advocated in 1862: "If we attempt to hunt them into education as we have hunted them into selling their lands, a spirit even of resistance will naturally be engendered. Make education part of the Runanga; give the direction of it to themselves; let them feel it is their own work. Once conscious of being free agents they will take European advice and assistance readily".

The period of the 1850s and 1860s was a time of crisis, in terms of relations between Maaori and Paakehaa. The Paakehaa Governor, Sir George Grey, attempted to acquire more Maaori land for the increasing numbers of Paakehaa settlers arriving in New Zealand and Maaori responded to those attempts in various ways to protect their sovereignty and lands, from within their different iwi or hapuu (tribal) structures. While Waikato tribes moved towards establishing the Kingitanga (King Movement), other tribes turned to prophets or rangatira of great leadership ability to defend their tribal boundaries against the Paakehaa Queen and her troops, and against those traditional tribal enemies who also threatened their

6 AJHR, 1862, E-4, p.17.
mana whenua (control over their lands). European humanitarian views were subsumed within the desire to claim British sovereignty and win land for the settlers who kept arriving by the boat load, and civil war broke out in New Zealand during the 1860s. The wars were not a straight-forward national battle between Māori and Pākehā. For example, some Ngaati Porou warriors journeyed to assist the Kingites with a Tai Rawhiti (East Coast) contingent, including Whaanau a Apanui, Whakatooohea and Ngaati Awa, and were forced to go on the offensive at an attack by an Arawa taua (war parties), defending their soil at Rotoiti, while other Ngaati Porou fought for the British Crown, with government forces or alone under Pākehā or Māori captains. Each hapū had their own motives for the part they played in the New Zealand Wars, seeking to hold on to their mana over their lands through their relationships with allies of a varied nature.

The Pākehā government played this war at more than one strategic level. Government troops were sent into the King Country to war while the Government constructed laws to alienate Māori from their lands. This tactic was used directly when the 1863 Settlements Act was legislated enabling the Government to confiscate Māori lands if it was found that the Māori owners were 'rebels'. The Native Land Act instituted in 1862 abolished Crown pre-emption rights to buying Māori land enabling European settlers to purchase directly from Māori. Legislation was created to individualise Māori land titles, to enable purchasing to be simpler for Pākehā purchasers, which aimed to break the Māori cultural concept of communal ownership of land. The Native Land Court was set up in 1865 to facilitate Māori disputes over who these individual owners of their lands were and alienate Māori from that land. Māori land became easily accessible to the Crown and Pākehā settlers through those legal processes, while lawyers stood to make financial gain from their Māori clients. These assimilation processes promoted rather than arrested the decline of the Māori population. As Pākehā slowly began to dominate at an economic, legal and political level, Māori were marginalised to the outskirts of society, in a geographical and political sense.

8 J. Simon, Policies on Maori Schools, p.2.
One of the causes of Māori depopulation at this time were the epidemics of diseases, such as typhoid and whooping cough, respiratory diseases and gastric disorders which Māori had little immunity to.\textsuperscript{13} Depopulation further resulted from social disorganisation and continuing loss of land.\textsuperscript{14} Sorrenson relates examples like the Waikato where there were population increases under the stable conditions provided by the Kingitanga in the seventies. Decreases in population accompanied purchases of individual interests in land by the Government in places like the King Country during the 1890s.\textsuperscript{15}

Paakeha domination was not a simple process however, and Māori resistance took many forms. Contact with Paakeha was a haphazard affair and those Māori who were more isolated from this contact, whose land base and cultural systems had been less affected by cross cultural interplay, survived this period better. However, most useable Māori lands were in Paakeha hands by the 1890s.\textsuperscript{16}

"The only way that the colonisers can exculpate themselves is in the hope that the natives will do the decent thing and die out, or if they survive, become assimilated. But assimilation is not a real option, because the coloniser as the oppressing class has created a dichotomy of white dominance and brown subjugation. In creating that dichotomy, the coloniser thinks he has created a unified society. The illusion of national unity is maintained by the ideology of one people. But the oppressed know, as did the Māori leaders, that they must struggle for their liberation, and a basic component in that struggle is their own consciousness of themselves as an exploited class defined upon the basis of ethnicity."\textsuperscript{17}

Māori resistance took different forms and there were attempts to form pan Māori movements. The Kotahitanga (Māori Parliament) was set up by rangatira (tribal leaders) from North Auckland, the East Coast and Hawkes Bay during the 1880s and 1890s in recognition of the fact that Māori needs were not being recognised by the Paakeha Government and that local tribal leaders should retain their own laws enacted on the marae to care for their people, along similar lines to the Irish model of Home Rule.\textsuperscript{18} The Kingitanga (King Movement), its central strong hold being

\textsuperscript{13}A. Parsonson, 'The Pursuit of Mana', p.161.
\textsuperscript{15}Ibid, p.194.
\textsuperscript{17}R. Walker, \textit{Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou. Struggle Without End}, Auckland, 1990, pp.151-152.
the Waikato-Maniapoto tribes, was also set up as a parallel system to the rule of the British Queen, and attempted to promote Maaori unity as a way of protecting their lands in the King Country, and holding on to sovereignty.\(^{19}\) Other movements of a more separatist nature were developed in these decades by Maaori spiritual leaders such as Te Witi o Rongomai and Tohu Kakahi at Parihaka, Taranaki and later, Rua Kenana in the Urewera. However, as those leaders were continually ignored, imprisoned and dispossessed by Paakeha government officials and troops, Maaori began to realise that another way to keep resisting was to learn how to use the Paakehaa political system itself.

"Maori embraced schooling as a means to maintaining their sovereignty and enhancing their life-chances, the government, in making provision for that schooling, sought control of Maaori and their resources."\(^{20}\) In accord with the Government's agenda of assimilation, financing of Maaori schooling required a replacement of Maaori culture with that of the European. Maaori withdrew much of their support from the mission schools during the 1860s, as they realised that the schooling was not enhancing their life-chances.\(^{21}\) The government responded by setting up village day schools in 1867, as a parallel to the public primary schools, a system that became known as the Native Schools.

The Government's underlying belief in assimilation can be seen in the three principles that dominated native education policy from its formative years. J. C. Richmond, Minister of Native Affairs, suggested the implementing of a government-subsidised national system of secular day schools for Maaori, that would run alongside the public school system (this was called a dual system, not a mono-racial system). The three principles were, firstly, that Europeanisation or assimilation of Maaori was necessary to 'civilise' Maaori, secondly, schools were to be used to maintain social control and lastly, that education would only be provided where and when Maaori asked for it and were willing to commit their own resources to this new education system.\(^{22}\) Judith A. Simon, an educationalist, comments that those aims of the State lay in direct opposition to those Maaori seeking access to European knowledge. Maaori wanted to know what knowledge lay behind the European power-base and how they could use this knowledge for

\(^{20}\)J. Simon, Policies on Maori Schooling; pp.4-5.
\(^{21}\)Ibid, p.8.
themselves, however, education officials sought to limit this access by controlling how much, and when, Maaori were allowed to access European information.²³

Paakeha were offering the teaching of the English language, however, this was to be at the expense of Maaori language. Education officials determined the curriculum of the Native Schools, employed the teachers and sent their officers, yearly, to inspect the way the school was run within Maaori communities. An extension of this assimilation policy was the encouragement of the replacement of the traditional extended family with the Paakeha model of the nuclear family by using the life style of the native school teacher as an example. The connections between this form of acculturation and the individualising of Maaori land titles by the Native Land Court became extremely apparent to different Maaori communities.²⁴ Ranginui Walker calls this a "campaign of cultural invasion" by the state, right into the heart of Maaori communities.²⁵ The ideology of assimilation was rationalised along racial and class lines, that is, what colour skin Maaori had and the different ways they chose to live, therefore, what best occupations Europeans regarded Maaori as being fit for.²⁶ I would also suggest that European controls were acted upon along gender lines, where different roles were spelt out for Maaori boys and girls, with Maaori girls having even less of a chance to gain access to European knowledge.

The different groups of Maaori and Paakeha who had either allied as pro-Pakeha, anti-Pakeha or remained neutral in the New Zealand Wars had different reactions to the setting up of the Native School system, depending on how each group felt about the new settler government and how they interpreted the motivations of new government officials. For those Maaori communities who had remained isolated and relatively unscathed from European settlement, surviving both the New Zealand Wars and the resulting confiscation of Maaori lands by Paakeha, the setting up of a native school in their communities seemed an excellent opportunity to gain access for their children to the social and economic means of the Paakeha. However, those Maaori communities whose anti-landsellingleagues had eventually been broken through individual land dealing and land confiscation, namely, those from the Waikato, the King Country and Taranaki, viewed the government initiative with suspicion and hostility. Many Maaori turned inwards to their own religious and

²³J. Simon, State Schooling For Maori, p.2.
political leaders to retain what was left of their autonomy. For these reasons, Maaori communities were slow to start negotiating with the Native Department for the erection of a school upon what remained of their land.

Education officials sought to deal with the slow growth of the Native Schools by making exceptions for those Maaori communities who could not afford to pay the complete subsidy required, instead accepting gifted land for the school. In 1879, the Native School system came under the control of the Education Department and the power of policy-making was given to the new Inspector for Native Schools, James Pope (many Maaori called him Te Pope), in 1880. He was of the view, along with many contemporaries of his time, that the Maaori race was dying out, and he sought a way to extend the Native School curriculum from just book-learning, to improve health and living conditions. Those ideas were firmly based in assimilation, as Pope regarded his main object as "to bring an untutored but intelligent and high-spirited people into line with our [European] civilisation." Pope reported his frustration at the impact of the separatist movement led by the religious leader, Te Kooti, upon native schools in the Bay of Plenty. Te Kooti prophesied that Maaori children would be 'injuriously affected' if they came into contact with Paakeha teachers and children, if they instituted a native school. Similar opposition was upheld by Maaori in Taranaki who lived at Parihaka. One extract from a Maaori school record related: "Te Kooti visited Omaio seeking men to help in his battles. The school suffered tremendously during his visit and immediately afterwards the children did not attend, and in some cases Te Kooti insisted that certain children should remain absent. When Te Kooti moved on he took older boys from the school." However, by the turn of the century, one hundred native schools had been established.

Providing another school system for Maaori children (although European children were allowed to attend native schools and vice versa) was based upon two concerns. The first was that Maaori needed special attention to be educated up to a level with European children and secondly, it was felt that because Maaori needed special tuition in the English language and as they lived in isolated and rural environments, needed their own staffing arrangements and school curriculum. The curriculum that Pope designed in 1880 included components of personal and community

---

28 Ibid, p.47.
29 Ibid, p.44.
hygiene, health and living standards. These aspects were regarded as important as book-learning.\textsuperscript{32} Academically, the school curriculum was similar to the public school curriculum except that history, elemental science and formal grammar were omitted. The focus of instruction was reading, writing and speaking English language, arithmetic and geography. The Native Schools Code allowed for some initial instruction from Maori into English for the junior classes, but on the whole the Maori language was banned from the classroom. It was acknowledged that native school teachers should have some rudiments of Maori language but because of the difficulty of obtaining teachers for this system, the majority were uncertified and untrained. The ideology of assimilation remained embedded within the native school system until the 1930s and meant that "culturally different" was regarded as "culturally inferior". It was believed that Maori were suited to their rural subsistence living environment, thus schooling provided practical (agricultural) and vocational training.\textsuperscript{33} Maori were not only encouraged to adopt another cultural understanding of the world but the schools acted as a social control, training students to lead their lives as labourers in a Paakeha class hierarchy.\textsuperscript{34} The curriculum was supported by Dr Pomare, a member of the 'Association for the Amelioration of the Maori Race' and Apirana Ngata, a leading spokesperson for the Association who both regarded the curriculum as consistent with the destiny of Maori people.\textsuperscript{35} Rural isolation did have some advantages for Maori. Native schools existed within the context of a Maori community, and the survival of the school lay at the hands of the Maori School Committee who supported the school, the status of the teacher and the behaviour of their children. Cultural change was a two-way process and in order for a Paakeha teacher to teach within a Maori cultural environment, she had to learn about the lives of those she lived along side, to communicate and negotiate the different sets of rules they both understood life by. Paakeha assimilation policies were compromised practically at a local level.

"The survival of the Maori as a distinctive group in New Zealand was due to the gradual elimination of disease and the main social disturbances resulting from European contact. This survival was stimulated wherever Maoris retained distinctive elements of their own culture while gradually adjusting themselves to the material aspects of European life. The Maori people have rejected rapid assimilation with its accompanying destruction of their own culture."\textsuperscript{36}

\textsuperscript{32}Ibid, p.46.
\textsuperscript{33}Ibid, p.49.
\textsuperscript{34}J. Simon, \textit{Policies on Maori Schooling}, p.9.
The Coromandel was one of the lesser affected areas by the New Zealand Wars and major Māori land confiscation. Ngaati Porou along the East Coast had retained most of their land and turned to the leadership of Apirana Ngata and others in the Young Māori Party to continue to find ways to hold on to their own culture while adjusting to another. Land was confiscated from those living in the Bay of Plenty, picked for its fertility and strategic locality rather than because of the part played by those tribes (who occupied the land) in the wars. 290,000 acres of Māori land was confiscated in Tauranga in 1863, of which 240,250 acres was finally purchased. Māori were eager at Mataora Bay to have a Māori school in their community, to learn the ways of the Pakeha. Mataora Bay School would often have been regarded as 'their own' by those living at Mataora even though the Department of Education set the curriculum and dictated the rules. Those rules were challenged over time, as specific events arose at Mataora that necessitated the teacher to waive the rules in order to meet the needs of her pupils at an isolated rural primary school such as Mataora Bay. How the different teachers dealt with the conflicting 'rules' of the Department and the community they lived within was a continual learning process and these issues will be explored in the following chapter.

Figure 6 Closeup of Mataora Bay Native School.

Figure 7 Picture of Miss Handcock and her class, taken in 1908, the first year that Mataora Bay school.
Chapter Three: Inside the School. Ke i raro i te haki o te Paakehaa, kei runga i te whenua Maaori.

“When we consider the remoteness of most of the schools and the difficulty of access fifty years ago, we can imagine the responsibility thus imposed upon the native-school teacher. There were, of course, no telephones, no telegraph-stations, in many parts indeed, no roads connecting with the outside world, and in this isolation the teacher was left with his charges, with only the annual visit of the Inspector. He was the only one to whom the Maoris could look for guidance and assistance, and upon whom they could rely in times of sickness or stress. If he were the right man in the right place, he thus acquired a very considerable standing with the people. He settled disputes in the village, advised the people in business, wrote their letters and attended to their health, and in various ways made the school the centre of humanity.”

In the following chapters of Mataora Bay School, the focus is upon four school teachers, who taught between the years 1908 and 1927. From this starting point unfolds the development of the teacher’s relationships to their students, their student’s parents and the Inspectors of Native Schools. The difference between the idyllic and paternalistic role of the native school teacher portrayed by Native School Inspector, William Bird, and the reality of the situation becomes painfully obvious when it is understood that the first four teachers at Mataora Bay were single Paakehaa women. This means that not only did different cultural understandings come into play, but the question of gender remains to be considered as well. To explain the use of the term gender in this context I refer to definitions established by Leonie Pihama and Diane Mara: They describe gender as the construction of what it means to be a ‘boy’ or a ‘girl’ in terms of what beliefs, values, roles, expectations and practices are associated with being a ‘boy’ or a ‘girl’ within a cultural context. Notions of gender are linked to constructs of power in society, with a layering affect of roles for men and women attributed differing status’s in society that are further defined along cultural and class lines. A Maaori woman, of a low economic status, generally has been made invisible in the history of this country, with the main focus resting on Paakehaa middle-class men. In relation to these power structures, te reo Maaori (Maaori language) has been subordinated to the English language; this will be discussed with regard to the Native Schools.

1 W. Bird, ‘Social Work in Native Schools’, in, Education Gazette, April 1, 1931, p.60.
curriculum. Furthermore, subjects seen as appropriate for women directed them towards lives as wives and mothers: for men, the education system fostered their role as ‘breadwinners’. Roles in the education system for young Māori men and women were further restricted, in line with their perceived place as inferior on the social scale in terms of their race or culture, and they were encouraged to fulfil lower economic positions, generally as unskilled labourers. Bearing this in mind, female teachers who spent years of their lives at Māori schools are, not surprisingly, absent from history books.

To give an overview, Miss Georgina Handcock was Head teacher at Mataora Bay School from 1908 until 1912, before she left to go and teach at Waihua Native School. She had resigned from a Native Mission School at Okoha, Pelorus Sound to come to Mataora Bay. She possessed no teacher’s certificate and her sister Miss Martha Handcock resided with her at Mataora, acting as an assistant when student numbers required it. Miss Lilian Church taught from 1912 until 1915, coming from Mangamuka Native School, where she had been an assistant teacher. She transferred from Mataora Bay to a native school at Parapaia. She was aided by an assistant teacher called Miss Isobel Raureti, from 1912 to May, 1913, then another assistant teacher called Miss McLeod until the close of 1913. Miss Church was replaced by Miss Annie Hall who taught at Mataora until 1922 as a sole teacher. Miss Barbara Hay was the last female teacher to reside at Mataora, terminating her posting in 1927. The last teacher to supervise Mataora Bay School was Mr. George Hamlin, who taught from 1927 until 1956. He was married when he arrived at Mataora Bay, and had many children who eventually went to school there. He was part Māori and had studied at Te Aute College. His standing within the community at Mataora Bay will be discussed in a later chapter.

Mrs. Wheeler recalled her visits to Mataora Bay:

“We used to visit the Misses Handcock, two sisters who were the first schoolteachers at the Bay. When they left they gave Viv and me some of their books, including some of Milton’s works and separate plays by Shakespeare which I have kept solely for sentiment’s sake as I have a complete set in Shakespeare. There was another pakeha teacher whose name evades me and a Miss Raureti who used to come over and sing to the wheezy old harmonium of an evening. Mr. Hamlin was the last schoolteacher at Mataora. The Whiritoa Maori children used to go to school there...”

This remains as one of the few direct eye witness accounts of these teachers from an outsider's perspective, all other sources come from letters and reports written by the teachers themselves, Inspectors, Department of Education officials and members of the Mataora community. Together these documents create an image of the major issues that faced those teachers at Mataora Bay School, of a more practical nature than what had been described as their duties by the Department of Education.

The curriculum designed by the Department of Education for the Native Schools was put in place by James Pope, who became Inspector of Native Schools in 1880 and was given the power of policy-making, after Native Schools were transferred to the Department of Education in 1879. The curriculum included instruction in English, reading, writing, spelling, geography, arithmetic and sewing for girls. Later, in 1897, health, drawing, singing and drill were added to this curriculum, and extended further to handwork, gardening, simple toolwork for boys and sewing and elementary housekeeping for girls in 1904. There were concessions to Māori language and culture, for example, the junior classes were allowed to use Māori in order to understand English while the Department acknowledged that some rudiments in Māori language should be known by teachers. Nevertheless, those measures were tokenistic and because obtaining teachers for the native schools was so difficult, most were not trained or certified at all, and had no knowledge of Māori language.

What is particularly striking about correspondence by the teachers of Mataora Bay to the Department was the complete absence of discussion upon the subject of Māori language. The teaching of English to Māori children who spoke Māori as their first language was an incredibly difficult process, with little direct guidance being given by the Department. A comment from a teacher at Waiomio Native School gave a more honest impression of what the teaching conditions were like: “It is impossible to teach children properly under these conditions. Hunger and cold occupy their minds rather than lessons. The English language with which they are taught during the day is dropped when they are at home. Next day English has totally escaped their memory.” I am sure that the women who taught at Mataora also felt this way and this sense of frustration appeared in relation to issues of discipline, ill-health in the community, communication, living conditions, and in dealing directly with Māori cultural observances such as tangi and hui. The

5 AJHR, 1909, E-3, p.7.
6 Ibid.
difference in approach by this community to many matters of life would have been confusing to those Paakehaa women teachers who tried to maintain their own cultural way of life as an example to their students.

The only reference to the speaking of English by Maaori pupils was made by Annie Hall in 1917. She documented her pupil's carelessness in the pronunciation of English words and gave examples such as: “He won't like to do it” meaning “he does not want to do it” as being often used. She criticised rapid speaking also, where the ends of words were lost, such as, “b-nan-in” referring to “pen and ink”. Inspector Bird reported in 1909 that “No mistake should be passed over by the teacher in the case of English - The difficulty is made greater owing to the fact that several of the pupils have acquired a stock of 'pigeon English'. In the outside life of the kainga Miss Handcock is doing important work and the people appeared to me to appreciate her kindness towards them and their children.”

It was how the teachers communicated to the community at Mataora that was intriguing, as Maaori language was never spoken about in the records of this school unless in relation to the difficulty of teaching English. Most of the children who went to this school would have arrived speaking Maaori as their first language, so it would make sense that if those children were learning English by listening and speaking in the classroom, surely the teachers at Mataora learnt a small amount of Maaori by communicating with their parents at the pa. As Miss Handcock and Miss Church had taught at other native schools and continued to do so after teaching at Mataora Bay, one would assume they had some ability to communicate with the Maaori communities they lived within. However, the instruction in English as the only language option at the native schools soon changed this situation and even communities living in the Bay of Plenty, as isolated as this one, began to deny their children access to Maaori language in the hope that learning English would come easier. Mrs. Agnes Ainsley, who grew up at Whiritoa and went to school at Mataora Bay during the 1930s commented that listening to the kaumatua at the meeting house, singing waiata and telling stories in Maaori was like listening to 'double-dutch'. Some children were taught te reo Maaori at home but Agnes' parents wanted her and her brothers and sisters to learn English and so grow up in a Paakehaa world.

8 A. Hall, 19th February 1917, Mataora Bay Log Book, BAAA 1003/2a, National Archives, Auckland.
9 A. Hall, 2nd March 1917, Mataora Bay Log Book, BAAA 1003/2a, NA, Auckland.
11 Interview with Mrs. Agnes Ainsley, Monday 12th June, 1995.
Wiremu Parker, from Ngaati Porou recalled that on the East Coast there were ten Māori villages where all children spoke Māori as their first language. He felt that parents and children alike believed that the primary purpose of going to school was to learn English. If you were punished in the classroom or the playground for speaking Māori you were greeted at home with: "Kaitoa! Mahara koe i tukua koe ki te kura ki te aha, ki te ako rā i te reo Ingarihi." (Serve you right! Why do you think you were sent to school, to learn the English language of course!).\(^{12}\) It was widely believed by Māori that school was for speaking English and home for speaking Māori. Apirana Ngata wrote on behalf of the Te Tai Rawhiti electorate: "Dear Mr. Fraser, In reply to your letter, the question you pose is one that I have raised with my people of the Tairawhiti [Eastern electorate] and the reply has always been the same - we send our children to school to learn the ways of the Pakeha."\(^{13}\) However, while Apirana Ngata and other Māori leaders advocated the understanding of the English language, they did not deny the need for Māori children to have access to their own cultural heritage. "The best equipped Māori today must be bilingual and bicultural" was another remark by Ngata regarding this issue.\(^{14}\)

Health:

The issue of ill health in the community runs through the history of this school and was surrounded by differing cultural interpretations of prevention and cure. The levels of poverty at Mataora Bay influenced the way Māori dealt with their sick children, when their medical remedies failed to work upon Pakehaa diseases and there was no money to send their sick ones to hospital. Travel was by horse-back to the main road, and Māori remained suspicious of Pakehaa medical cures from doctors and nurses, in a strange environment, spiritually and culturally bereft of anything Māori. Māori Councils were set up by the Government in 1900 with Apirana Ngata playing his part as the secretary of those councils from 1902 to 1904 and Maui Pomare becoming the first Māori Health Officer assisted by Peter Buck. They aimed to form district health councils to improve sanitation and living conditions for Māori villages through the support of local Māori inspectors and nurses. Buck gave an example: "Without doctors and medicines, the ravages of introduced diseases in the early days were frightful. The Māori tohunga could only

\(^{13}\) Ibid.  
practise his own treatment. The disease spirits of the white man would not obey his exhortations to leave, and immersion in water to wash away tapu resulted in adding pneumonia to the already heavy burden of suffering.\textsuperscript{15}

Miss Georgina Handcock:

Miss Handcock reacted to the sickness of one of her pupils at Mataora Bay by removing the nine year old girl, Rina from her home and nursing the child with her sister, Martha, at the Handcock's house. The attitudes of Inspector William Bird and Georgina Handcock to Rina's whaanau at the pa first came to light in a letter to the Secretary of Education. Mr Bird commented that Miss Handcock had removed the child because she was "practically starved and neglected".\textsuperscript{16} He went on, "The child in question is practically an orphan her father having deserted the mother who is married again and lives some distance away."\textsuperscript{17} Bird was very concerned that the teacher should not have to pay for the trip to the doctor in Waihi, where it was discovered that Rina had rheumatic fever and pneumonia, and should approach Maaori living at the pa first before attempting to get financial assistance from the Health Department. Georgina Handcock continued to nurse Rina for three months in her house concluding that "if then Rina regains health and strength we will be thankful as by then some of those people will, perhaps, have learned how we value a life."\textsuperscript{18} These comments draw a picture of Maaori living at Mataora as having little value for Rina's life, neglecting her when she was ill with no family to call her own. These attitudes came through in an article that was written for the\textit{New Zealand Times} by the Secretary for Education, Mr Gibbes, who clearly used the incident to promote the self-sacrificing nature of the native school teacher and promote the Paakehaa way of life as a better way of life.\textsuperscript{19}

In early June, the whaanau at Mataora did offer to pay for Rina's medical expenses. From all accounts, money was extremely hard to come by for those who lived there, and the community size fluctuated as people came and left in labouring parties, searching for gum digging, bush clearing, farming, tree-felling and road digging jobs. Gardens and the sea at Mataora were used to gather food day-by-day and the land was cultivated to grow crops. Many children were looked after by the whaanau at Mataora to enable them to attend school while their parents lived further

\textsuperscript{15}Te Rangi Hīroa, \textit{The Coming of the Maori}, Wellington, 1966, p.409.
\textsuperscript{16}W. Bird to the Secretary for Education, 19th May 1909, Buildings and Sites, BAAA 1001/329a.
\textsuperscript{17}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{18}G. Handcock to W. Bird, 6th June 1909, Buildings and Sites, BAAA 1001/329a.
\textsuperscript{19}\textit{New Zealand Times}, Wellington, 18th June 1909.
afield, where they found work. The whaanau (extended family) was a close knit group of people, who lived in a few houses grouped together around the meeting house, called the pa. The children attending the school came from the Hirama, Pokai, Wharepapa, Ngapo, Rangihika, Mareroa, Tapiata, Hauraki, Hamanu, Slade, Ratapu and Tukua families. This context of subsistence living and communal living values were not often considered by the Department of Education.

The first time Georgina Handcock asked to be removed to another teaching vacancy was directly related to the incident of Rina's illness. At the beginning of August, Rina was prescribed fit to be moved to hospital by the local Waihi doctor, Dr. Craig and the whaanau arrived to take Rina home. In Georgina Handcock's words: "They would not listen to reason and this is not a hopeless case for all she needs now is the doctor's attention which they are denying her by the action they have taken." This denial could have been made for a number of reasons. Firstly, suspicion of Paakeha hospitals as an alien environment that was more likely to bring about death rather than health and the fact that hospitals cost a lot of money which the whaanau did not have. Many Maaori also objected because they were not allowed to accompany the patient and stay with them in hospital, and visiting hours were limited. Whatever their reasons, the whaanau at Mataora were challenged by Maaori living at Whiritoa, who were also family to Rina, for the way the principles of the teacher had been disregarded caused the government to become indignant with the community at Mataora. They suggested to those at Mataora that they should listen to the rules of the teacher and the doctor for the sake of the school because they did not want the teacher to move to another school where the people would be more inclined to listen to her demands. This letter gives an insight into the kinds of tension that could build up around issues relating to the need to trust in another way of doing things, a Paakeha way of doing things, in order to maintain a school at Mataora Bay. From this letter came an insight of the love and care that was felt towards Rina by whaanau at Whiritoa and Mataora.

Miss Handcock was not removed to another school at this stage but it became clear that she was left feeling extremely upset by the incident and undervalued by the community. The Department of Education held the community under close observation and inspection reports gave examples of what the community should and should not be doing for the school. These suggestions were linked closely to

---

22 Te Rangihika te Kawau, 8th September 1909, Buildings and Sites, BAAA 1001/329a.
numbers of children attending Mataora Bay School and when numbers fell the threat of closure was a constant reminder to the community of the power of the Department to remove the school. This attitude was espoused by Bird in his first report on the school in 1908. "There do not seem to be many children available for the school and many of those who come do not belong to the place but are borrowed. I think the Department should keep a tight hold on these people and any falling off should serve as the occasion of a warning."23 Those people who made up the School Committee, Wiremu Ngatoto, Henare Mareroa, Wiremu Ahiwera, Kihauraki and Ranga Tukua, were held responsible for the upkeep of the school grounds by the Department, almost as though they were under obligation to do so. Bird commented: "The parents do not show that active interest which one looks for and which in the circumstances the Department has a right to expect."24 These expectations involved free labour by the community towards the upkeep of the school grounds, clearing scrub and planting grass seed.

Miss Georgina Handcock was eventually allowed her transfer to another school at the end of 1911. William Bird stated: "Miss Handcock will at the end of the current year have completed nearly four years here. Her work has shown that she is deserving of consideration and as there are features connected with this school that render it a somewhat arduous place her claim to transfer should now receive favourable consideration."25

Miss Lilian Church:

Miss Lilian Church also spent much of her time nursing sick children which involved her in the Mataora Bay community. She wrote about her visits to the pa, where many of her students were recovering from illnesses; as a result of which school progressed fairly irregularly. She spoke of meeting the children's parents and being aware that some were leaving with their parents once recovered from being sick, returning a month later, or not at all. In a similar way to Miss Handcock, she also nursed one girl at her house during the early weeks of February, 1913. She sent her assistant teacher, Miss Raureti to find the child's father, Mr. Slade, as the girl was staying with Miss Church while her guardian at the pa, Wharepapa Perepe was away. She related her awareness of how the whaanau at Mataora would react when they found out how ill the child was, by taking her away, and she resolved to tell Mr. Slade quickly so that the child could stand the

24 Ibid.
journey. Miss Church appeared less agitated by the behaviour of the community in times of illness than Miss Handcock, and more involved with people down at the pa.

An issue closely related to health, was the issue of tangihana in the community. In some confusion, Miss Church wrote to the Department of Education requesting rules for how long children were allowed to be absent from school when attending this observance. The School Committee had requested that the school be closed for a few days as they needed their children home to catch fish and sell in Waihi to provide money for two tangi that had taken place within a short space of time of each other. Shortage of money in the community became an issue along side Māori cultural practices such as a tangi, where the community grieved for their dead loved ones, necessitating the provision of hospitality for other members of the whānau who returned home to mourn. The teacher had already granted the time off school because of excellent attendance by the students generally and inquired from the Department policy on how to make this decision in the future. The response of the Department portrayed little understanding of the importance to Māori of holding tangi on the death of their loved ones. Mr Gibbes, Secretary for education replied: "Unless special reasons the Department is opposed on general principles to keeping the school closed for occasions of this kind, and does not think it wise to encourage Māori sentiment in this direction."

This response reflected the assimilation policies of the Department in regard to discouraging Māori cultural values and perspectives and promoting a Pākehā way of life. The belief in centralised control from the Department in terms of governing the native schools was reinforced by the assertion that the school was not to be closed on any circumstance without the Department's express sanction. Time off for 'funerals' was limited to half a day.

Tangihana drew people together to farewell their dead. Chief mourners (usually close female relations) kept vigil over the corpse, wailing and lamenting the deceased and those gone before. There were speeches of welcome to visitors who responded by directing their remarks to the tupeapaapaku (corpse) as if they still lived before acknowledging their welcome. They were housed and fed by the tangata whenua of that land as long as the tangi lasted. This process went on for a few days and in traditional times it may have lasted two to three weeks. Māori felt

---

26 Miss Church to Secretary for Education, 24th July 1912, Buildings and Sites, BAAA 1001/329a.
27 Secretary for Education to Miss Church, 31st July 1912, Buildings and Sites, BAAA 1001/329b.
that death was a gradual process. The hakari, or funeral feast, concluded the farewell after the body had been buried.\textsuperscript{29}

Typhoid cases broke out in September that year and Lilian Church left her new assistant teacher, Miss McLeod, to supervise classes during the day while she nursed people at the pa. There were five cases of typhoid at that stage with three school children having temperatures of over 102 degrees. As a result of these illnesses she wrote to the Department of Education asking permission for the time she was taking off from teaching. It appears that a nurse was sent by the Health Department for two or three days but that Lilian Church felt responsible for the welfare of her students: "It is only for the school children I would stay out. (if it spreads among the adults I could not manage them) and as some of them are not looking well, and may get ill enough to require attention, I thought it better to report it to the Department, and obtain permission to do what can be done for them."\textsuperscript{30} Lilian Church's commitment to the community, outside of her teaching duties seems to stem more out of real compassion than a sense of moral duty, in regard to the assimilation policies of the Department of Education. The sense of trust in her by members of the community comes to light in the following incidences.

During October of that same year Lilian Church shut up the school without the permission of the Department and took a schoolboy to Waihi, to the doctor. His guardian gave her permission to take him there and it would seem that the only hope the teacher had of getting the boy to go was if she went with him herself. Having her there, would have made going to a strange place durable and as it turned out, he needed an instant operation on his knee. It is difficult to know what people at Mataora thought about Paakehaa doctors but I will relate an incident told to me by Mrs Ainsley about how her knee was looked after when she had an accident at Whiritoa in the early thirties. She spoke of an old lady called Himoata who could hardly speak English, with a moko and two walking sticks, who if you did not answer her, would hook you with one of them. Agnes Ainsley fell out of a tree and put her knee out of joint, and this woman spoke to Agnes' mum and grandmother in Maaori. "Mum was saying something and this old kuia yanked my leg ah, and I

\textsuperscript{29}R. Walker, \textit{Ka Whawhai Tona Matou}, pp.74-75.

\textsuperscript{30}Miss Church to the Secretary for Education, 18th September 1913, Buildings and Sites, BAAA 1001/329b.
screamed like anything and half an hour later I could go for a swim in the lagoon, she pulled it back in. You don't do that any more do you?"31

Two paths of medicine now lay open to those children growing up at Mataora Bay, yet racist attitudes remained the norm for many Paakeha who had their culture endorsed by the state, and it was not surprising that Maaori families were hesitant to risk another health system that had no understanding of what it meant to be Maaori, in Aotearoa, in the early twentieth century. The teachers at Mataora Bay, even if they did not understand why, knew Maaori had different ways of approaching issues such as health, and in this regard, rules of the Department of Education had to be broken. The other incident where Lilian Church broke department rules was in early 1914, when she took a four-year-old child who had chickenpox to the doctor in Waihi, with the child's aunt before the child's mother changed her mind.32 It seemed permission from Maaori parents to administer Paakeha, medicinal remedies often rested on the fact that the teacher would accompany the child into a strange Paakeha environment in order to do this.

Lilian Church was very concerned about the prevailing illnesses in the community and the fact that three of her students died during the year. She also was aware of how strongly people felt about their school at Mataora Bay and the difficulties of keeping the roll numbers up so that the Department would continue to keep the school open. She encouraged the Department in to implement Boarding Allowances for people at Mataora who were acting as guardians to children staying there in order to go to school. This allowance was an experiment by the Department where 2/6 were paid a week to guardians of children who because of long distances, bad roads or want of conveyance had to live away from home in order to attend school. It would seem that the Department agreed to pay Boarding Allowances to parents at Mataora taking responsibility for children whose birth parents were elsewhere as long as they agreed not to share the allowance among all the families at the pa. Miss Church assured the Department that she had the community's agreement on this.33 The issue at stake here was the Department's enforcement of a completely alien way of life upon this Maaori community. They did not subsist as a nuclear family unit with individual livelihoods. They survived by relating to each other as an extended family, sharing and exchanging food

31 A. Ainsley, Oral Interview, interviewed by Tony Knight, Marise Boldy, Racheal Thompson and Andrew Watson, 31st October, 1989.
32 Miss Church to the Secretary for Education, 4th February 1914, Buildings and Sites, BAAA 1001 329b.
33 Miss Church to W. Bird, 11th March 1914, Conveyance and Board, School Transport, BAAA 1001/865d, National Archives, Auckland.
collected from the valley and the sea, and income collected from selling crops and kaimoana in Waihi. The children stayed with different families at different times, so it would have made sense to share the Boarding Allowance. The Department used the teacher to find out how the allowance was spent, leaving her in a vulnerable position, torn between alliances to her employer and to those she worked amongst.

The Inspectors continued to arrive at Mataora Bay yearly, to check upon the teacher, her assistant, the children and their parents. The reports give an indication that the children worked hard at school and were keen to learn. Lilian Church and Miss Raureti were given glowing reports on their zealous working habits, enthusiasm and high ideals. The comment upon the wider community was that they could be justly proud of their school, although the same warnings were given about finding more pupils to attend Mataora Bay School. Interestingly enough, it would seem that Moengaroa had finally returned his children to Mataora Bay School and it would be interesting to know how this came about. Unfortunately, this story is probably lost for ever.

Lilian Church's time at Mataora Bay came to close finally at the end of 1914, through a series of illnesses, probably caught from the people she nursed. She suffered from a brief bout of typhoid in September, 1913 and in 1914, after spraining her ankle, she spent three weeks to a month in hospital with influenza. The Department gave quite unclear messages to Miss Church regarding her return to Mataora in 1915, and this was probably because of the fall in roll numbers to twelve. The community at Mataora Bay had another struggle on their hands to keep their school open and to find another school teacher.

\[34\text{Inspection Reports, 1912-1914, Buildings and Sites, BAAA 1001/329b.}\]
"New Zealand is a former British colony and British modes of colonisation, including schooling, have had a powerful influence over the ways in which Māori people have been structured out of their 'tino rangatiratanga' or status as sovereign people and into a Pakeha New Zealand society as an underclass. State schools have been significant sites for struggle for Māori people because of the clear intentions of colonial administrators to use education as an instrument of colonisation and cultural annihilation. Suppression of Māori language, knowledge and culture was regarded as a necessary condition for becoming civilised."

Chapter Four continues the history of Mataora bay School through the eyes of Miss Annie Hall and Miss Barbara Hay. These teachers faithfully recorded their experiences in school log books giving a more detailed description of life as experienced at Mataora Bay. Reaching through their words, searching for the perspectives of the people they dealt with on a daily basis poses problems in terms of locating voices that are not directly present. However, those experiences of the School Committee, parents and students involved need some explanation, provided by insights from more general historical studies. Little has been written in terms of the teachers' knowledge of Māori beliefs and values, language and life experiences. It became clear that there was a severe lack of training and guidance by the Department of Education and teachers were placed in schools and left to survive as best they could, supported by letters and a yearly visit from a School Inspector.

Propaganda written by the Department of Education appeared in the Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives and Education Gazettes speaking in rapt tones of the guiding spirit and unflagging energy of the native school teacher. Often teachers did perform admirably in Māori communities and this work continued to be highly commended but what was not mentioned was the lack of support or practical instruction for teaching children who grew up speaking another language, with different value systems, often with little money, surviving on what their land provided. In 1914, 86% of native school teachers were uncertified.\(^2\) Barrington commented: "But life for the teachers themselves could be hard and

---

demanding, working as they often were in isolated and unfamiliar surroundings... For many years, they were paid on a lower scale than teachers in public schools, and some taught in buildings that were little better than shelters against wind and rain. Secretary of education, E. O. Gibbes commented: "During epidemics of sickness or shortage of food many have sacrificed themselves beyond knowledge or belief." But where are the voices of the teachers themselves upon these matters? When spoken of, native school teachers were by and large spoken of as though they were men. If women were mentioned in this occupation, it was as teacher's wives, unpaid, but knowledgeable in matters of health and hygiene, as befitted their place in this system.

Research has begun into the native schools system, locating the experiences of Māori communities, Māori and Paakeha teachers and their students. The information I am about to relate only reflects the experience of a few teachers in the native schools system but gives an insight into their motivations for teaching in native schools that has long been missing from history books. A progress report put together by Judith Simon, Kuni Jenkins and Kay Morris Matthews provides summaries of interviews conducted with native school teachers regarding issues of recruitment, guidance and training for those men and women who entered this profession. Motivations for entering the service ranged from a choice to make a commitment to Māori things, a pragmatic choice based upon limited options or as the only means, during the depression, of securing a job. Sixteen Paakeha teachers were interviewed, of those, five entered the service by a clearly made choice. During the 1930s, women who were married were denied positions as teachers in public schools and the native schools system provided dual appointments for married couples and had the attraction of a house attached. Most Paakeha who joined the service lacked knowledge of Māori language or tikanga. For some, their experience led them to a strong commitment to Māori concerns while for others this time was but a brief interlude in their lives. With the Department of Education concerned to fill teaching vacancies rather than worry about the suitability of applicants, the lack of knowledge of most teachers was hardly surprising.

6 Ibid, p.16.
7 Ibid, p.17.
The teachers interviewed all felt they had received little practical guidance on what to teach and how to go about it in a Māori school. They felt a lack of rapport with the School Inspector and often felt that advice they offered was not worth heeding.\textsuperscript{8} The Inspector was inclined to decide which schools were to be approved or disapproved of and they promoted what they felt was good practice, often controlling teacher's careers. Lesson plans were suggested in the Teacher's Monthly Guide to which the teachers could subscribe but it was more likely that teachers taught each other through journals that they contributed to like Te Waka Māori, started up in 1915. Because of the lack of contact, many teachers had a considerable amount of autonomy in how they ran their school.\textsuperscript{9} Annie Hall was a sole teacher at Mataora Bay School and the only white person to live there during that time. For all her prejudices, and the tensions that arose, she had her part to play in this community and her presence was appreciated.

**Miss Annie Hall:**

In reply to a very concerned letter from Te Rangiwhaia Kereopa, requesting a teacher be returned to Mataora Bay School and the promise of more children to attend the school, William Bird wrote: "Kei te rapu mahita ahau me tatari nga tarariki ki a ia. Manu."\textsuperscript{10} (I am endeavouring to find a teacher: let the children await him/her. Bird.) Miss Annie Hall was sent to teach as a sole teacher at Mataora.

During this period of time, the school roll fell to its lowest. Sickness and death was prevalent within this small community and influenza swept through the countryside all around. If there was not a tangi at Mataora, then the whaanau was off to Paeroa or Waihi to weep for relations who had died there. Annie Hall spent a lot of time at the pa, attending to illnesses, obeying Department instructions to close the school at various times in an attempt to stop influenza from spreading. Annie Hall sprayed the school house, teacher's house and the meeting house and other dwellings at the pa with disinfectant trying to prevent infection. The school holidays began early at Mataora Bay, in November, 1918, and ended the following January. The Department of Education explained:

\textsuperscript{8} Ibid, p.18. 
\textsuperscript{9} Ibid, p.21. 
\textsuperscript{10} Bird to Kereopa, 25th January 1915, Buildings and Sites, BAAA 1001/329b, National Archives, Auckland. 
\textsuperscript{11} Ibid.
"On account of the influenza scourge which swept from one end of the Dominion to the other towards the close of the year, Native schools in common with other schools were closed down as a precautionary measure against the disease. In the case of many Maori settlements the isolation created great difficulties in coping with the epidemic, and as a consequence the Maori people suffered severely....Magnificent work in organising relief and attending to the sufferers was done by the teachers, who, with few exceptions, responded to the call of duty, and there is no doubt that by their knowledge of the conditions, their standing in the communities, and by their self-sacrificing efforts many lives were saved."\(^{12}\)

It was not until June, 1920 that Mataora Bay was hit hard by influenza. It began with the children at the pa suffering from bad colds. Annie Hall came and nursed them every afternoon with cough mixture. She asked the adults there to move the beds off the ground where it was damp, and they created sack beds for them, hanging from frames to help ease their coughs. However, by mid June nine children were absent from school with feverish colds, their parents and guardians suffering from worse symptoms. Dr. Brown arrived from Waihi to pronounce the illnesses as mild influenza. The influenza pandemic of 1918 took the lives of at least 1,130 Maori, four times the number of European people who died.\(^{13}\)

Tuberculosis, typhoid fever, dysentery and diarrhoeal and respiratory diseases continued to affect groups of Maori all over the country well into the thirties.

During this period of four years, from 1918-1920, whooping cough and mumps were other diseases that spread through the community, disrupting school days and numbers attending school were limited. Absence from school was caused by a variety of reasons. Annie Hall sent disobedient children home as a disciplinary method to keep control in the classroom, but generally the children stayed away to attend a tangi in their community or a neighbouring one, to go fishing or shooting to provide food for a tangi, or to look after a sick parent or relation. Tuesday and Patara George lost both their guardian at Mataora Bay when Mrs. Huatahi died in Waihi hospital, their great-grandmother died in Paeroa and their mother became very ill at Paeroa, leading to the removal of the children from school and their father's resignation from the School Committee before they moved.

\(^{12}\) AJHR, 1919, E-3, p.11.
\(^{13}\) M. King, 'Between Two Worlds', p.281.
The roll fell slowly from 13 children in 1915 to 8 children in 1921, before increasing to 12 in 1922. Seventeen children had been promised to prompt the Department to reopen the school in 1915 but five families left Mataora Bay when they became impatient with the Department or decided to look elsewhere for work and a place of schooling for their children. Te Rangihika and his wife had seven children boarding with them for which they received a boarding allowance. They were Sophy Slade, Rangi Slade, Tom Cook, Uretapu, Rawiri, Rutawa, all from Parakiwai, nine or ten miles away. Whare Hepi boarded with Tapiata Tuaitie and Hana Hamanu was an orphan who lived with a blind kuia (elder woman).

One of the central issues that recurs throughout the log book that Annie Hall kept during these years was discipline. From entries made periodically of the children's behaviour at school, it would appear that Annie Hall regarded them as inherently lazy and that she was determined that they should be reformed and made to work hard. She was very strong willed and enforced her authority in school matters fairly harshly. Her first encounter was with the eldest boy in the school, Dick Rangihika, whom she reported as continually giving trouble, being defiant and showing off in front of his father and calling her "a big lie". In a letter to the Department of Education she outlined some of his behaviour and times when he had continually disputed her authority in the classroom. On arriving home at Mataora Bay, his father, Rangihika Kereopa took the boy's part saying that it was all fuss. Rangihika requested an inquiry of the children which was denied by Miss Hall and he wrote to the Government to complain. Hall ended her letter: "Dick Rangihika is thoroughly lazy, will not work himself, and is now trying to prevent the others from doing so."15

Rangihika Kereopa's letter to William Bird told another story. He complained about Annie Hall's conduct in her relations with the community, stating baldly that she spoke badly to them. He expressed his horror at the harsh physical punishment she inflicted upon the children, whipping them with a thick branch, giving between four and eight strokes. If she disliked a student she would not give them work for 2 to 5 days and charged for torn books. Rangihika Kereopa criticised Annie Hall for deciding which children would make scholars, giving them her attention, rather than encouraging all her students to work. He said: "But for my keen interest in school work I would at once keep all my children away."16 He had hoped that his son Dick would pass right through primary school and go on to secondary and he held Annie

14 Annie Hall to the Secretary of Education, 22nd October 1915, Buildings and Sites, 1001/329b.
15 Ibid.
Hall accountable for the student's lack of learning, contrasting her work to that of her predecessors.\textsuperscript{17}

Unfortunately, Rangihika's perspective was disregarded by Bird who took the teacher's part, believing her description of the affair. He found it unacceptable that a boy could be so rude to his teacher and challenge her authority.\textsuperscript{18} As a consequence Richard Rangihika's name was removed from the roll at Mataora Bay School. The way the community retaliated against this judgement was to refuse to transport Miss Hall's mail backwards and forwards from Waihi. This left her in a very vulnerable position, cut off from the outside world. She was the only white person living in the community and she was not able to get mail out from October 11th until November 25th.\textsuperscript{19} One of the other duties of the native school teacher was that she was expected to locate another white person to witness the mark or signature of a Maori person when she was the paying officer. Being the only white person at Mataora Bay this just was not possible so she was allowed to indicate that no other European person was available and pass on the papers.\textsuperscript{20} The innate superiority of Europeans and their way of life was continually confirmed by the decisions of the Department of Education, directed through the native school teacher. Those directions left Annie Hall in some difficulty.

Annie Hall used other methods besides physical punishment to ensure her students worked. She kept them after school to finish work, sent them outside for a while if they misbehaved and contacted their guardians and parents to enlist support for her methods. When resistance was met from parents regarding the punishment she was exacting, she told them not to interfere with school duties, and required the children to stay away from school until she got agreement from them.\textsuperscript{21} These actions caused resentment in the community and reluctance to provide firewood and repairs for the school.

Cleanliness was another issue that Annie Hall took exception to especially regarding the girls. She sent them away in the mornings to wash their bodies if she was not satisfied with their appearance. She described Hana Hamanu as being "dirty and in rags", in a log book entry in September, 1918, and put this down to her

\textsuperscript{17}ibid.
\textsuperscript{18}W. Bird to Rangihika Kereopa, 19th November 1915, Buildings and Sites, BAAA 1001/329b.
\textsuperscript{19}Annie Hall to Secretary for Education, 25th November 1915, Buildings and Sites, BAAA 1001/329b.
\textsuperscript{20}Letters between Annie hall and the Department of Education, July 1918, Buildings and Sites, BAAA 1001/329b.
\textsuperscript{21}Log Book by Annie Hall, 7th November 1918, Maori School Log Books, BAAA 1003/2a.
No other factors seem to have been considered by Miss Hall as to the reasons for the lack of a "decent frock". This crusade to make Hana and another girl Urutapu (the older girls at the school) cleaner and tidier went on right through October. She even cut off a piece of Hana's hair on early November because she decided it was unclean. Standards of cleanliness were set upon by Annie Hall as an integral part of the teaching program and she refused to teach the girls if she felt they did not meet her standards. She did not take issue with the boys to this extent, assigning different roles to the boys and girls in her class. Working roles around the school were often divided along gender lines: such as the girls would clean the inside of the school while the boys kept the grounds tidy and chopped wood for the school. Handwork was often designed differently, with drawing for girls while the boys completed gardening work. Their gardens were separated although it was not clear if they grew different plants. One comment that stood out in an inception report by Mr. Porteous was his surprise that Annie Hall taught the boys to sew as well as the girls. This straying outside of conventional European role models for children was frowned upon. These roles continued beyond their school years and often the boys left to become farm hands or work for the railways while girls left to perform duties at home.

Often the children were unsettled at school when their parents or guardians were away. Five of the children had been living in a house by themselves for three years, cared for by different relations who stayed with them while Mr. Slade was away. Annie Hall felt that this was leading to their unruly behaviour. She was referring to the fact that the adults from Mataora travelled around through the district looking for work, moving often, leaving the children to continue their schooling at Mataora with those families who stayed behind to keep the ahiaka (home fires) burning and care for the school children. Mrs Cook (Marceroa) was away in Waihi a lot which left Naera there to look after the children and Annie Hall felt that he spoilt Henry Marceroa. Annie set up a meeting with the School Committee and sought agreement to have the children punished by them if their disobedience continued at school. She also made sure that Riaki was living with Mr and Mrs. Cook, as she felt this would discipline his behaviour at school somewhat. Annie Hall had quite set ideas, similar to the Inspectors on how children should be brought up and she disapproved of the fluidity of their movements between family members and different living arrangements. There were disagreements among the families on living arrangements also, and Annie Hall related an instance when Mr Slade

---

removed Sophy and Rangi Slade from the care of Rangihika Kereopa because he felt that Sophy was doing more than her share of the housework. Annie Hall did not seem to comprehend the nature of the tension, but felt that Mrs Rangihika had caused some argument between the Slades and the Tawhas.25 The Department of Education did use the native school teacher to check up on those members of the community who had children boarding with them to make sure Department rules were being followed, and that the children really did come from distances too far to travel backwards and forwards from school on a daily basis. This type of policing would also have caused some tension between the teacher and the community at Mataora Bay.

Although the Department of Education sought to discourage the authority the School Committee felt they possessed in relation to the school, Annie Hall's harsh disciplinary methods were challenged by the Department on the following occasion. During the year 1922, Annie Hall attempted to have Henry Mareroa expelled for continued disobedience and for hitting the little ones.26 Her letter of explanation to the Department of Education was greeted quite differently than from the time she removed Richard Rangihika's name from the roll. The letter from the Department read: "The school's business to educate is not fulfilled by this expulsion. There must be a better way....and the plea of inability to enforce obedience to your orders can, I am afraid, only be regarded as evidence of weak control and discipline."27 Annie Hall's behaviour was reprimanded and Henry Mareroa was readmitted. Hauraki also wrote to the Department complaining about the lack of consultation with the School Committee over this issue and was coldly informed that it was the decision of the teacher and the Department to expel a pupil but that the Department had decided to give him a second chance to regulate his conduct.28 Annie Hall's disciplinary methods may have been disapproved of but this reprimand was not to be seen by the community as support for their opinions on the matter.

The position of Chairperson on the School Committee tended to indicate who had some standing in this Māori community, and who was willing to carry the responsibility of supporting the school. Others on the School Committee helped collect firewood for the school, delivered mail, did repairs, discussed discipline

25 Annie Hall to the Department of Education, 3rd April 1916, Conveyance and Board, BAAA 1001/865d.
26 Annie Hall to Secretary of Education, Buildings and Sites, BAAA 1001/329b.
27 Secretary of Education to Annie Hall, 20th September 1922, Buildings and Sites, BAAA 1001/329b.
28 Secretary for Education to A. Hauraki, 21st September 1922, Buildings and Sites, BAAA 1001/329b.
issues and visited the school regularly. This support did seem to rest upon levels of economic well-being experienced by the community, much to the frustration of the teacher when times of hardship afflicted the Bay. Other native schools also suffered at times of famine and illness, an example being the Waimana Native School which was established in 1898. The people of Te Waimana requested aid from the Department of Education in response to a famine caused by flooding in 1904. The only answer from the Department was the replacement of the existing school teacher by another. No food was sent.\(^{29}\)

Naera Patutahi was Chairman at Mataora Bay Native School from 1916 to 1918, and he had a great interest in the children's work and checked on them regularly but Annie Hall felt he did not do enough for the school in terms of fetching firewood and doing repairs, and complained bitterly about his lack of support for the school. He was an elderly man and these chores were performed instead by Mr Slade, when he was there, and Huatahi Hoani, who were other members of the School Committee. Mr Slade became the Chairperson in 1919 and 1920. Although Annie Hall continued to complain about the lack of work that Naera Patutahi did for the school. She regarded the School Committee as comprising of the people who would carry out chores for the school and support her disciplinary measures with the children. However, the people on the Committee saw themselves as having some say in the decisions made concerning the school, a reflection of their position as formal communicators between the community and the school. This assumption came to light in disputes over the authority of the teacher in disciplinary matters concerning Richard Rangihika and Henry Mareroa. Kawau Kereopa, who continued to lobby the Department of Education, promising an increasing school roll to ensure the survival of the school, was elected Chairperson in 1921, replaced by Mr. Tamihere in 1922.

From information in the yearly inspection reports, Annie Hall followed the prescribed school curriculum fairly strictly, between bouts of illness and absence. Efficiency was the main description of Annie Hall's teaching ability. As she taught during the last years of the war, there were many hoistings of the school flag, saluting and patriotic songs like God Save the King were sung with gusto. In handwork classes the children made their own flags to hang from their houses at the pa. The wider world was brought closer when incidents such as the strikes at Waihi during 1918 delayed the inspector's visit for a day and the first suspicion that peace had been declared on November 12th, 1918, was when whistles could be heard.

from the mines at Waihi blowing from 10am onwards. Mr Slade arrived with a
newspaper from Waihi and Annie Hall rang the school bell loud and long, bringing
her pupils up the hill at a run. Peace rejoicing was tied up with the flying of the
New Zealand flag and singing songs such as "Recessional", "Peace on Earth" and
"God Save the King".

Celebrations of peace were held by the wider community as well. Several visitors
arrived at the pa, the chief guest being an uncle who had lately returned from
France. This hui began at 9.30 in the morning and went on until midnight. The
children spent the day fishing and shooting and in the evening were entertained with
stories of the war by their uncle, the soldier. Annie Hall only stayed for the
morning at this hui, but from her record of the day she seemed pleased that her
students had a happy time. On other occasions the whole community came up to
the school and celebrated ANZAC days with a short address from Annie Hall
followed by singing. These different ways of celebrating were recognised by both
the community and the teacher, and support, no matter how small, was appreciated.
Gardens were also regarded as a great success at school with one cultivated by the
boys, the other by the girls. Much interest was shown by people from the pa as they
were cultivating more of their land and everyone was interested in crops.
Unfortunately, the soil around the school was very poor so the school gardens at
this time consisted mainly of flowers.

For such a small school, a number of pupils persevered with their studies and
attempted to gain scholarships to enter secondary schools. By the reaction of
Rangihika to the actions of Annie Hall when she expelled his eldest son, the
children at Mataora were obviously encouraged to keep learning Paakehaa language
and knowledge. Sophy Slade gained a scholarship to Victoria Girls College in
November 1917 but the problems lay with finding enough money to pay for her
clothes so she could attend this school. Annie Hall finally located an older brother
of Sophy who agreed to pay her expenses so no outlay remained for the old
people. Hana Hamanu also gained a scholarship to the same school in 1919 with
similar clothing problems. She was written about in a report from Inspector
Porteous: "I understand she is an orphan and is practically the slave of the people
with whom she lives." Whether this perspective reflected the relationship between

---

Log Book, 12th November 1918, Maori School Log Books, BAAA 1003/2a.
Log Book, 12th November 1918, Maori School Log Books, BAAA 1003/2a.
Annie Hall to J. Porteous, 2nd November 1917, Buildings and Sites, BAAA 1001/329b.
Hana and her family at Mataora, is difficult to ascertain, however, Hauraki gave her permission to go to Victoria School and she gained admission the following month.

The reasons for the departure of Annie Hall from Mataora Bay were not clear but she suffered from pneumatic influenza for eight weeks through September and October, 1922. She left fairly soon after her illness and the incident regarding Henry Mareroa. About this time the Bjerring family arrived at Mataora Bay school from Denmark, the first family to attend and support the school for any length of time who were not Maaori.

Miss Barbara Hay:

Mataora Bay School remained closed from before Christmas until July 1923. During that time Kristen Bjerring and Hekeira Tamihere kept up a concerted effort to ensure a new school teacher was sent to Mataora Bay to keep up the studies of their children. When finally Barbara Hay was sent by the Department to set up the school again, the roll numbered nine, five Danish children and four Maaori children. Both the Department and the teacher were concerned about this lack of numbers when at least thirteen children had been promised. A letter of complaint was written by the Department to Edward Slade upon this matter.36 He responded by informing the Department of four children waiting to come from Whangamata but that there was no guardian available presently to care for them while they were attending school.37

Underlying this threat of closure of the school was the question of land. Waiting for the school to close and the "natives" to move on, leaving Mataora Bay up for lease, was a man named Mr W. H. Carter. He hoped to become the leasee and wanted to negotiate with the Department for the use of the school buildings upon the School Reserve. No definite arrangements had been met and the Board of Education was requested to keep the matter confidential. Who Mr. Carter had been talking to at Mataora bay was not mentioned.38 This proposal did not stay confidential for long and by February, 1924, Kristen Bjerring was writing to the Department pleading that the school not be closed as more children were expected soon by the "natives" and that the teacher would like to stay as the children liked

36 Department of Education to Edward Slade, 11th December 1923, Buildings and Sites, BAAA 1001/329c.
37 Slade to the Department of Education, 30th December 1923, Buildings and Sites, BAAA 1001/329c.
38 Carter to the Board of Education, 24th November 1923, Buildings and Sites, BAAA 1001/329c.
This whole episode was confirmed by a comment made by School Inspector, G. M. Henderson:

"A Maori Ngaroto Hauraki who is trustee for the 200 acres or so of native land at Mataora Bay has practically concluded a lease of the land to a returned soldier called Carter. This will probably mean that the Maoris will leave the place and the school will have to be closed. In the event of this happening the present teacher would be a suitable person to send to any other grade one school that may be vacant."40

Hekeira Tamihere and Kristen Bjerring were determined that the school would not be closed and their wish was granted. The Department decided to give the school a fair trial, and Tamihere remained Chairperson of Mataora Bay School. Members of the School Committee, including Nirau and Kristen Bjerring supported Tamihere and visited the school regularly, attending to the work of their children and their school gardens. Hauraki moved with his family, including Henry Mareroa, to Kennedy's Bay in December that year and the threat of the land being leased to Mr. Carter disappeared. Kawau Kereopa, Kristen Bjerring, Naera Patutahi, Tawha Poumako, and Korohiko Uretua supported Hekeira Tamihere as Chairman of the School Committee over the next few years. School repairs always presented a difficulty when supplies cost money. Flooding of the school several times during torrential rains destroyed the spouting and damaged the roof of the schoolhouse. The Committee analysed the repairs needed and enquiries were made to the Department. Bjerring supplied many trees for the school grounds, including eucalyptus and pines. The community were not happy about clearing the scrub from the school grounds for free but the Department were determined that this duty was evidence of their "interest" in the school. The Department saw their role as governor of the school while the School Committee were required to maintain the school.

Barbara Hay kept to the same subjects as the curriculum demanded but put much effort towards interesting the students in nature lessons. The bush surrounding the school provided many hours of study of native birds and plants. The school gardens were maintained and they grew a variety of fruit and vegetables including six rows of climbing peas, carrots, strawberries, rock and water melons. Kumera was planted later but was a poor crop as the soil was very dry. Arbor Day provided a

---

39 Bjerring to the Department of Education, 22nd February 1924, Attendance Retruns, BAAA 1001/329c.
time to fill the grounds with trees, and ngaio and puriri trees were replanted from the bush. Roles for the boys and girls at school were still separated when it came to cleaning duties and handwork lessons. The boys would be given jobs like mending the school style and chopping wood while the girls were sent to attempt nature sketches or create paper flowers. Lessons were taken out of doors when the weather was fine and Miss Barbara Hay seemed fairly relaxed about children visiting the school twice a week if they lived at great distances. She soon realised how much the children enjoyed being read aloud to. "They are all deeply interested in Ballantyre's books...The characters are living people to them and they listen most attentively while I read."  

Barbara Hay attended to various illnesses during her time at Mataora Bay School, including mild appendicitis, coughs, measles and sores upon some of the children's hands and legs. The Department regularly sent supplies of cough mixture, disinfectant, bandages, boracic powder and sulphur ointment for the teacher to attend to sickness in the community. Barbara Hay became concerned with Rutaua Tawha's behaviour at school and she decided he was "mentally afflicted." His guardian Kawau Kereopa responded by removing the boy from school and taking him to live in Whangamata. The other health issue Miss Hay became involved in was the failing eyesight of Annie Tawha, who was a nine year old girl who found it very difficult to write. Miss Hay contacted her guardian, Kawau Kereopa but he spoke very little English and he did not think he could understand the doctor. Miss Hay went in his stead and it was discovered Annie had a congenital cataract. As her parents were very poor they could not afford to send Annie to Auckland Hospital to have the cataract removed, Miss Hay asked the Department for assistance. They replied that they had no funds for this matter and suggested she contact the Department of Public Health and the Native Department in Wellington. This episode ends here with no mention of whether the money was found. Failing eyesight was a problem suffered by many of the children at Mataora Bay but there was no money for hospital bills and many were left untreated.

The school opening was delayed in at the beginning of 1925 and 1926 because of illness. The summer holidays were extended into 1925 because of an epidemic of infantile paralysis which had wrecked cruel effects on the surrounding district. The children at Mataora Bay were not affected however. The beginning of the school
year was delayed in 1926 because Miss Hay was ill. Miss Hay did not appear to spend as much time in the community attending sick children as Miss Hall did but she visited parents and guardians to give advice and medicines that may not otherwise have been available.

One very sad event was experienced at the beginning of July, 1926. Naera Patutahi died. Barbara Hay gave her diagnosis of his death as senile decay, so no post-mortem was deemed necessary in regard to the spread of any fatal illnesses. Everyone attended a brief meeting at the pa to say good bye and express their regret before leaving for Paeroa for Naera's tangi. Later that year Wikitoria Tawha gave birth to a son and everyone gathered for the naming ceremony. Where there was death there was also life.

Barbara Hay and the Inspector, G. M. Henderson were supportive of the community in their desire to keep the roll numbers up and the school open. Barbara Hay wrote to the Department on their behalf requesting boarding allowances for Rangi Slade, James Douglas and Ellen Slade Douglas, Annie and Rataua Tawha, during 1924. Mr Henderson commented: "There is a family of five children living at Parakiwai that would come to this school if the Department made an allowance for their board. There is no other school that they can attend and their present home is six miles or so from Mataora Bay." He asked the teacher to follow this up to see if they were entitled to allowances. It would seem that Justin Caughley, the Director of Education did not hold this issue in similar regard. He replied: "The utmost care must be taken in connection with this boarding business, lest some of the Maori people collect children in order to secure the boarding allowances." Exact living conditions and distances from different native schools were measured by constables sent out by the Department to enforce boarding allowance rules.

These kind of harsh attitudes to living conditions that most Maori experienced in a rural setting were also reflected in employment conditions, or lack of, during the 1920s. Maori farming was difficult, and loans to develop the land denied so it remained often easier to work as a casual labourer on more well-developed farms (generally Paakeha-owned). As the depression hit in the 1920s, Maori were some of the first to be laid off, making up about 40% of the unemployed by the beginning.
of the 1930s. Relief work was more difficult for Maaori to apply for and they were paid less than Paakehaa unemployed. It was thought that as they were mostly unemployed anyway, they could continue to live off the land.49

Miss Barbara Hay resigned from teaching at Mataora Bay School on 28th February, 1927.

From the documents available it would seem that these teachers were never really at home in this community. They always stood slightly aloof, upholding the curriculum and code of the native schools system, bridging the gap between the Maaori community at Mataora and the Paakehaa world outside in the towns. There were times when the rules of the Department were broken, the school was shut in order to care for sick children or allow for events in the community that could not be denied. However, there is never any real sense of the teachers regarding any of the people at Mataora as friends and they usually referred to the families there as 'the natives', 'the Maoris', 'the other'. Support was given but there was no real hint from their records of attempts to understand different aspects of Maaori life. Responses to the teachers from different members of the community fluctuated through time and depended upon the issue at stake. Support was given for the knowledge those women imparted to their students but there was never any sense of the teachers belonging to the community, or existing within the community. This aloofness is accentuated by a comparison to the last teacher posted to Mataora Bay School. He is described in the next chapter which brings the history of this school to a close.

49 M. King. 'Between Two Worlds', p.287.
Chapter Five: Standing Within a Community. Te Tuunga ki Roto i te Whaanau.

"Oh he was a rotten teacher because we weren't allowed to say one Maaori word on the playground or we got the cane. And if he couldn't find his cane which we made very conveniently disappear, he had to go out and break a branch off a tree. No, he was a good teacher, he was a good teacher."\(^1\)

George Hamlin arrived at the Bay in April 1927 to take up his position as the local school teacher. Because of a number of factors, George Hamlin became part of the community at Mataora Bay, he married into the whaanau and became close friends with the people who lived there. He became an insider in a way that his predecessors had not.

George Hamlin grew up in Wairoa and was descended from a missionary family through his father's side of the family and a Maaori family through his mother's side. George Hamlin's great grandfather, James Hamlin sailed over to New Zealand with his wife Elizabeth on the same boat as William Williams in 1826. They gave birth to many children and it was the eighth child named Josiah who grew up and married Maria Isabella Rawlinson. Their son, Reginald Osbourne Hamlin married Papa Emaline Winiata and their third child was George Hamlin, born on 8th November, 1899.\(^2\) George's father died when he was nine so he spent a lot of time growing up with his Uncles, Kingi, Watene and Albert. He worked for Watene Winiata while he attended primary school delivering milk and later worked with horses. George won a scholarship to Te Aute College from where he was later recommended by the Head Master for a teaching position at Mataora Bay School. When George arrived at Mataora Bay he was already married to a woman called Olga Mary Nicholson and they had one child called Mati, who opened her eyes to the world in 1925.\(^3\)

On arrival at Mataora Bay, George Hamlin reported in his log book that the school was in much disrepair and over the next two years he worked very hard, with the help of parents, students and the School Committee, to repair the classroom, order the grounds, plant flowers, trees and make pathways. He cleared the back paddock for the children to keep their horses. As the school was transformed, he noted that

\(^1\) A. Ainsley, *Oral Interview*, interviewed by Tony Knight, Marise Boldy, Racheal Thompson and Andrew Watson, 31st October, 1989.
\(^2\) Hamlin Family Tree. 1826-1986. Compiled by Hamlin family.
\(^3\) George Hamlin's Personal Diary, pp. 91 and 98.
the children began to take more pride in their work. In 1928 the school roll began to increase and Mr. Hamlin located a manuka pole from the bush to act as a new flag pole for the school. He commented: "the hoisting ceremony caused intense jubilation - the children circled the flag-pole and the villages paraded in the front of the meeting house. Perhaps it was the novelty of seeing the school flag waving once again in the breeze that brought much excitement, more so in view of its dreary nine years absence." Recurring celebrations around the flag pole had become an integral part of the community's life which had developed as a result of the erection of a Māori school at Mataora Bay. The flag waving in the wind symbolised a new pathway for the future, straddling two worlds, a Māori and a Paakeha world.

George Hamlin taught the prescribed curriculum within the school, following the guidelines given by the Department of Education. Māori language was banned from the school even though George Hamlin spoke Māori himself and the children were disciplined in regards to this rule (see quote above). The double standard for Agnes Ainsley when she attended Mataora Bay School in 1936 was that although they were punished for conversing in Māori, Hamlin taught his students about the Māori Wars, waiata, poi, haka and the day always began with a karakia. These contradictions reflected a change within the Native Schools System and it is this change that deserves some discussion.

Māori had survived the turn of the century unassimilated, and as the failure of Department policies became apparent new educational aims were recommended by the Education Department. These aims were encouraged by educational theories presented to the Department along side Māori cultural revival initiatives encouraged by Apirana Ngata. K.G. Chapple, an educationalist, advocated that the Department stop giving Māori the education of his "white brother" and recalled the wisdom of Bishop Julius to support his argument: "Don't try to make English men and women out of them. Train the girls to grow into helpful wives for Māori men and train the Māori lads to be decent, industrious, law-abiding Māori husbands." These suggestions led to a change in the Native Schools curriculum where certain elements of Māori culture were allowed to be included. These elements were labelled traditional myths and legends, arts, crafts and music. Māori language was

---

5 Log Book, 5th May 1928, Māori School Log Books, BAAA 1003/2c.
not included.\textsuperscript{7} The \textit{Education} Journal commented: "The curriculum was broadened to include the old Maori songs, arts and crafts, games and dances, and more emphasis was laid on practical education to fit the pupil to take his place in the community...The plan has been to retain in the schools all those features of the old Maori culture which are worthy of preservation."\textsuperscript{8} The judgement of which elements of Maori culture were worthy of preservation was regarded as a Department prerogative. Douglas Ball, the new Inspector, commented that "The assimilation policy had been 'ruthless in its repudiation of the indigenous culture'"\textsuperscript{9} He expressed a desire to stimulate racial pride in Maori by bringing this policy into native schools.

John Barrington regards that new policy as inadequate because of the lack of training for teachers, the lack of a proper syllabus, with a 'bits and pieces' approach to Maori culture, with a distinct lack of Maori teachers. Economic influences such as the depression meant there was little funding from the government to provide for practical tools to implement characteristics of Maori culture and once again, Maori language was excluded.\textsuperscript{10} However, Barrington used native school log books to recapture the perspectives of many different Maori communities and how they were able to facilitate this new policy, especially where there were Maori in the community who could come in and teach haka, waiata, whakairo, weaving and other skills. How widely corporal punishment continued in schools for speaking Maori remained unclear and was often unrecorded, although Douglas Ball is recorded as discouraging this treatment of Maori children as he moved around the country-side.\textsuperscript{11}

There remained an emphasis on a practical education for Maori, split into specific gender roles in terms of the types of work Maori men and women were expected to take on in adult life. The older boys were trained in woodwork, metalwork and horticulture while the girls were trained in cooking, washing, ironing, dress-making, home craft and mothercraft. These skills were seen as part of the regeneration and integration of Maori into New Zealand society. Maori were encouraged to become civilised (that is, like Europeans) though only in the role that Pakeha saw fit for Maori to play, that was, to lead Maori boys on to be farmers and Maori

\textsuperscript{10}Ibid, pp.169-170.
\textsuperscript{11}Ibid, pp178-179.
girls to be good farmer's wives. Māori were to be socialised along perceived racial, class and gender lines by humanitarian Pākeha educators.

George Hamlin arrived at Mataora Bay to implement these changes in the curriculum which explains the contradictions felt by Agnes Ainsley in terms of what Māori things were allowed to be taught. He also became a lay preacher in the Anglican Church, involved in baptising, marrying and burying people. Agnes Ainsley remembered him as someone people looked up to, as a person who could help out with problems. George Hamlin had a traumatic experience in 1929 with Issac Hauraki and Rutaua Tawha (at least Rutaua had studied at Mataora Bay School and by this stage would have been in his early twenties). They ran adrift at sea for two days in the Bay of Plenty before being saved. George Hamlin felt he, Issac and Rutaua owed their lives to God after that experience and he recalled it as a time that "we did pray, as perhaps never before". Issac Hauraki and his family were to become life long friends with the Hamlins.

Within the classroom, George Hamlin began to provide cups of hot cocoa at lunchtimes during the winter and the crops that grew in the school garden were distributed to the community in times of need. School events like school concerts and picnics became the norm. Hekeira Tamihere helped out with organising the adults to prepare vocal, instrumental and haka items for the Mataora Bay School Concert while Mrs. Hamlin prepared the children's poi dances and Mr. Hamlin was in charge of musical sketches and monologues. This concert was held inside the schoolhouse; however, in 1931 the school concert was performed at Waihi Beach, in Mrs. Kennedy's hall. George Hamlin facilitated an interweaving of two different values systems at Mataora Bay.

Daily inspections were held to check if the children had clean handkerchiefs and dusters, and he spoke well of his student's in terms of their efforts to work hard. With some encouragement two of the Tamihere children were sent off to secondary schools on scholarships by 1931.

George Hamlin's wife Olga died in 1934 after suffering from a defective kidney, a few months after giving birth to a baby boy, who they named Daron. At the stage when she died they had four children, Mati, Mihi, George and Daron. Olga was

14 George Hamlin's Personal Diary, p.91.
15 Log Book, 29th September 1928, Maori School Log Books, BAAA 1003/2c.
buried at Ruahine cemetery by Rev. Harawira Hadfield of Thames and the funeral feast was held at Mataora Bay. However, during the August holidays that year, George Hamlin's people invited him home to Wairoa to hold a "Kawe Mate" for Olga, to lament and tangi for her. George Hamlin continued to live by the customs he inherited from his mixed parentage.

Fanny Poata (Fanny Porter) married George Hamlin on 11th May, 1935. Her father was Tame Poata (Tom Porter), the local tohunga and moko artist at the Bay and Te Kani Poata was her brother, the man who described the setting of Mataora Bay at the beginning of this dissertation. By marrying into the community he became tied to the people there in a way that the previous teachers never were. They had many children together and they all attended Mataora Bay School.

Agnes Ainsley talked about the school curriculum during the thirties and the involvement of peoples' mothers in the school. There were talks given on sewing and Mrs. Fanny Hamlin would take them across to the teacher's house and demonstrate cooking lessons. Carving was practiced along with other woodwork techniques and the students took many walks through the bush specifying native shrubs in terms of their medicinal properties. Agnes proudly spoke of being good at distinguishing the plants for medicines as her Dad had taught her that Māori lore. There were also the history lessons on the beach where they learnt about the arrival of canoes. Yet they continued to be denied access to Māori language. Agnes Ainsley commented: "We weren't allowed to sit and listen to the old kaumātua because my Dad always said I had a big nose. Well if you don't ask questions how can you learn? We were shooed away. This to me is how our generation lost contact with our roots, they'd speak Māori and we weren't allowed to speak it at school. My Dad didn't believe in us learning or speaking Māori either which made it worse."

The changes that George Hamlin brought to Mataora Bay were mirrored by the policies changes of the Department of Education. As a man he had a role to play in repairs of the school that the female teachers before were discouraged from acting upon. Their role outside the classroom had been woven around nursing and creative handwork. George Hamlin's requests for building materials were supported and complied with fairly quickly by the Department while the female teachers before him could only access materials if the promise of labour by men in the

---

16 George Hamlin's Personal Diary, pp.91-92.
17 A. Ainsley, Oral Interview, 1989.
18 Ibid.
community had been obtained. Hamlin had missionary zeal in his blood as a Christian and was married to a capable woman who could teach sewing and cooking classes. He possessed all the characteristics that the Department regarded as essential for performing well in the Native School System. The fact that he was part Maaori under the new curriculum changes was seen as a positive influence in the community.

George Hamlin locked the schoolhouse at Mataora Bay for the last time in 1956. Those families who had lived in the valley had slowly moved away to find work in the mines at Waihi or further afield in Auckland. Yet the land remains with those families and many return through the summer to camp on the beach or in the teacher's house itself. Hamlin has left a comprehensive record of his time at Mataora Bay and his log books recall many insights into the life of this rural Maaori community as it was. However, they remain for further study. Instead let me reflect upon those teachers before Hamlin, who graced this landscape with their presence, in whatever forms that may have taken. As a young Paakehaa woman myself, who also passed through this landscape, I wished to portray a little of their experiences through this work and the reality of teaching in the Native Schools System.

Georgina Handcock became distressed by cultural misunderstandings regarding health. Lilian Church possessed warmth and the community trusted her to take their little ones into Paakehaa medical care yet she did not register the more intimate details of these peoples' lives, their Ringatu religious services, their problems or their celebrations. Annie Hall was determined to remain in authority in regard to the community whose children she was employed to teach and her lack of respect earned her rough treatment in return. Barbara Hay supported the community in receiving boarding allowances to enable them to keep children at Mataora, and the roll numbers up, but she was also used as a police(wo)man by the Department to check up on those families to make sure they were spending their allowances 'appropriately'. Often these women were caught in the middle between their employers and the people they lived amongst. The Department of Education controlled their teaching positions and their salaries yet often the people at Mataora controlled the entry of goods and mail from outside the community. They also controlled the collecting of firewood that kept their school teacher warm. These powers were not always used as tools to resist another's authority but they could make life uncomfortable for a woman living in an isolated community far away from her relations and friends. The families at Mataora, the Haurakis, Tamiheres,
Kereopas, Mareroas, Moengaroas, Tawhas, and Slades, to name but a few, possessed a fierce love for this place, a sense of belonging and desired to retain their land. This influenced the ways they looked after each teacher who stayed at Mataora Bay, supported their decisions and at times questioned their beliefs behind the authority that the teachers wielded as that power clashed with something precious: an identity as Maaori, as Ngaati Porou belonging to Mataora Bay.

The events recorded here are but a few strands of history linking the lives of people who passed through, in and around Mataora Bay. The telling of the past remains incomplete and my perceptions of the interactions that took place here are laid down to await negotiation, additions and criticisms. The shadows of those women who came to Mataora Bay, seeking to impart knowledge of European language and concepts, passed briefly across the landscape. Where they came from and where they came to remains as another story to be told. Yet the substance remains, the land rolls gently to meet the sea and the beach continues to provide a resting place for those Ngaati Porou returning to enjoy the beauty of this tranquil valley.
Bibliography

Primary Sources:


Ainsley, A., Oral Interview, interviewed by Cybele Locke, 12th June, 1995.

Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives: 1862.
1909.
1919.
1923.
1927.

Buildings and Sites Correspondence, BAAA 1001/329a, 44/4 Part 1, Mataora Bay, 1903-1910.

Buildings and Sites Correspondence, BAAA 1001/329b, 44/4 Part 2, Mataora Bay, 1911-1916.

Buildings and Sites Correspondence, BAAA 1001/329c, 44/4 Part 3, Mataora Bay, 1917-1927.

Conveyance and Board, School Transport, BAAA 1001/865d, 44/8, Mataora Bay, 1914-1940.

Maori School Log Books, BAAA 1003/2a, Mataora Bay, 1917-1922.

Maori School Log Books, BAAA 1003/2b, Mataora Bay, 1923-1924.

Maori School Log Books, BAAA 1003/2b, Mataora Bay, 1924-1931.

Registers of Admission, Progress and Withdrawal, (Maori Schools), BAAA 1004/3b, Mataora Bay, 1908-1956.

George Hamlin's Personal Diary.


'Kennedy Bay School Centennial 1894-1994. Little Snippets From the Past'.

New Zealand Times, Wellington, 18th June 1909.

O’Keeffe, personal conversation, 10th June, 1995.

Secondary Sources:


Bird, W., 'Social Work in Native Schools', in, Education Gazette, April 1, 1931, p.60.


Walker, R., 'From the Treaty of Waitangi as the Focus of Maori Protest', Te Ao Marama 2, Auckland, 1993.

