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“He Kura Māori, he Kura Hāhi, he Kura Katarika, he Kura Motuhake mō te iwi.”

Hato Paora College: A model of Māori Catholic education.

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A thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
of the University of Otago, Dunedin
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Abstract

Church initiated and operated Māori secondary boarding schools have existed in Aotearoa in various forms since the arrival of the missionaries in the early 19th century. Since their inception, they have contributed significantly to the development of Māori society, particularly in the production of dynamic Māori leaders who have had a compelling influence on their communities, wider Māori society and in some instances on the nation state. This thesis will examine the Society of Mary’s establishment of Hato Paora College, Feilding, as an example of a Māori Catholic secondary boarding school.

The first part contains four general chapters that provide relevant background information to the establishment of Hato Paora. The first identifies key aspects of a Māori Catholic world view and Māori Catholicism. Chapter two traces the arrival, and subsequent development, of the Catholic Church in New Zealand as a mission to Māori. The next chapter looks more specifically at the history of the Society of Mary in New Zealand and the development of the Diocese of Wellington, particularly their Māori missions, under their authority. Finally, Chapter four chronicles the situation of Māori within the New Zealand education system since its inception.

Part two of this thesis contains eight chapters that present a detailed case study of Hato Paora. The exploration of the type of educational environment provided by
Hato Paora College begins in Chapter six with the examination of its foundation. Chapters seven and eight look at the philosophies and administration of each of the six rectors. The two succeeding chapters describe the defining characteristics of the school, its Māori character and its Catholic character. Chapter eleven evaluates how this school has influenced the boys who attended, using interviews with a representative sampling of old boys. Chapter twelve concerns the relationships that the College early established with the Māori communities that it belongs to.

In the final chapter, a model will be presented as a plan for the future of the school. This philosophical model attempts to provide a guide for Hato Paora, using Kaupapa Māori theory as the basic framework, while still retaining the ideals and philosophies of the College’s Marist founders.
Preface

This thesis adheres to the orthographic conventions of Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, the Māori Language Commission. Macrons have been used to mark vowel length where applicable but not in direct quotes, which are written as they appear in the original source. The spelling of Māori words follow those in Williams’ *Dictionary of the Maori Language* and John Moorfield’s *Te Aka: Māori-English, English-Māori Dictionary and Index*.

This thesis is written in English and I have chosen to italicise Māori words, excluding direct quotes and proper nouns, throughout this thesis. This is to reduce ambiguity with words that have been adopted from Māori into English with a changed or restricted meaning. It is not to indicate that the words are “foreign”, i.e. from another country, just that they are from a language that is not the one being used in this thesis. A translation of the word will also be provided when it first appears in the text. A glossary, including all these words, can be found at the end of the thesis.

Much of the primary material used in this thesis comes from the Society of Mary Archives, Wellington. These include biographical index cards of all Society religious staff, some of which have been used in this work. Two collections at the Marist Archives (SPM 1 and SPM 2) contain specific material related to Hato Paora such as correspondence between the various rectors, provincials and other
Society staff, documents related to the establishment of the school such as minutes from the annual Māori mission conferences and Education Department reports on the College. The archives also provided other resources such as copies of the *Marist Messenger* newspaper and a variety of unpublished essays and papers relevant to this topic written by members of the Society.

Hato Paora College Yearbooks, from both the Society of Mary Archives and Hato Paora College, have been used extensively throughout this thesis. Because most of the articles contained therein are not attributed to an author, I have referenced the Yearbooks under the name of the priest who was Rector at that time. I realise that the Rector himself may not have written the article, or that another staff member may have been the editor of the Yearbook. However, in most cases I do not have conclusive evidence one way or the other. Where I am aware of the authors’ identities I have used their names instead. Many of the Yearbooks do not number their pages but where able I have included these in the reference.

Most of the photographs used were taken by the author from 2000. While they are intended to illustrate a discussion of the school’s buildings and development, the reader should be aware that the contemporary appearance or location of such structures has sometimes changed dramatically over the years. As a result some descriptions taken from the Yearbooks or other sources may not completely match the appearance in the accompanying photograph.
He mihi

He mea hanga, ko Papatūānuku te paparahi, ko ngā maunga ngā poupou, ko te rangi e titiro iho nei te tuanui.

Pihanga Tohorā titiro ki Te Ramaroa.

Te Ramaroa titiro ki Whiria, ko te paiaaka o te riri, ko te kawa o Rāhiri.

Whiria titiro ki Panguru, ki Papata, ki te rākau tū papata i tū ki te Tai Hauauru.

Panguru Papata titiro ki Maunga Taniwha,

Maunga Taniwha titiro ki Tokerau,

Tokerau titiro ki Rākaumangamanga,

Rākaumangamanga titiro ki Manaia,

Manaia titiro ki Tūtāmoe,

Tūtāmoe titiro ki Maunganui

Maunganui titiro ki Pihanga Tohorā.

Ko te wharenui tēnei o Ngā Puhi nui tonu.

He mihi tēnei ki a rātou kua wehe atu ki tua o te ārai, ki a koutou haere, haere, haere atu rā. E mihi kau ana ki ōku whanaunga kua mene atu i ahau e mahi ana i tēnei tuhinga roa. Nō reira, tōku koroua i te taha o taku whaea, tōku kuia i te taha o taku matua me tōku whaea kēkē, Mae, tae noa atu ki ngā mate katoa o te whānau, anei ngā mihi ki a koutou. Mai i te kura, ko tō mātou hoa pūmau kua hinga moata mai, a Rāniera. Moe mai, e hoa, kōrua ko tō kōtiro. Ko te mea whakamutunga ko te Pihopa, ko Max, e kore koe e wareware, e Pā. Kore rawa e
wareware i a au taku kī taurangi ki a koe. Nō reira, haere atu koutou katoa ki ngā ringaringa o te Matua kaha rawa.

Āpiti hono tātai hono te hunga mate ki a rātou, āpiti hono tātai hono tātou ki a tātou.

My first acknowledgements must go to my two supervisors, Associate Professor Michael Reilly and Professor John Moorfield. Michael, you have supported and guided me through this journey from the beginning. I have always enjoyed our wide ranging conversations and think that they have helped with my intellectual development. I am sincerely grateful for all the extra time and effort that you have always been prepared to offer. Ū, you have stepped in during this crucial writing phase and despite all other obligations you have got through all the reading and provided timely constructive feedback. Ki a kōrua, ōku kaiārahi, kei te mihi aroha.

To all of the staff of Te Tumu who have helped me in so many different ways, I hope that in time I can reciprocate your maraaki. Te Tumu herenga waka, Te Tumu herenga tāngata tēnā rawa atu koutou katoa.

Without the participation of the interviewees this thesis would not have been possible. Kei te mihi atu ki a koutou aku tuākona. I hope that I have done justice to your thoughts of and feelings for our school. Although I have already
mentioned Bishop Max in my acknowledgements to those that have passed on, it is appropriate that I again thank him for his participation and support for this thesis. Without his consent I would not have proceeded. Throughout this journey I have come across other old boys of the College and inevitably we have discussed my PhD: their excitement and support of this work has provided me with the motivation to continue and reaffirmed the importance of completing it. Nō reira, ki te whānau whānui o te kura, anei aku mihi ki a koutou.

I am especially grateful to the staff of the Society of Mary Archives, Wellington: Brother Gerard, Father Quinn and Ken for their professional help and warm hospitality. Your help, particularly in the last two years, in allowing me access to your archives and helping me find and collate primary material has been instrumental in the production of this thesis: ki a koutou, tēnā koutou.

To John and Miria, Stu and Jen, Tom, Hiria and JoJo and Stephan it is truly a pleasure to have become part of your family. You have opened your homes time and time again, providing transport and feeding me when I have been conducting research. You have always shown a genuine interest in my work. It has made this journey that much smoother having you all living in such close proximity to Hato Paora. For your endless manaaki I thank you. Closer to home, I must acknowledge John and Debbie for their support and guidance as we have adjusted to becoming parents and marrying whilst doing the PhD. Thanks guys. Ko Ngāti Ruamā, ko Ngā Rauru, ko Ngāti Toa hoki tēnā koutou.
Ki te hoa, Rawinia, nāu i para te huarahi māku. E hia kē mai ngā tau koe i tautoko, i ārahi i ahau nei. E kore tēnei e wareware i ahau. You have guided and supported me and my family since day one and for this I thank you. You have always been there for advice or as a sounding board for my ideas. I am going to miss having you around, Aunty Winnie.

Writing this thesis has been a difficult time, not only for me personally, but also for all of us as a family. Firstly, I want to acknowledge my Mum and Dad for the commitment and sacrifices that you made to allow me to attend Hato Paora. You have always striven to give us the best and I am thankful for that. When things were not going well in my studies you gave me the time and space to find myself and my direction. Ultimately that led to this thesis. To Cherie (Chazz) for being a wonderful aunty to my boys and a friend to my wife. I always appreciate the little things that you do for my family. Also to Corey who opens his home and always makes time for the boys. To Kirst (Tonz) for being yourself and always bringing a smile to my face, I thank you. No acknowledgement of my family is complete without a mention of my little nephew Danu who brings such joy to all our lives.

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To my boys Caleb and Reuben, you two are my ultimate inspiration for writing this thesis. I have been working on it for your entire lives and though you may not know it now you have both sacrificed so much for this to be completed. I thank
you for the silly little things that you do, for the fun and happiness that you bring
to my life. When I have been down you brought a smile to my face and lifted my
spirits, enabling me to continue. Ki aku tama, aku taonga whakahirahira, tēnā
kōrua.

I save my most important acknowledgement for last. Where to begin? Quite
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my wife. You are my best friend, confidante, lover and over the past years
assistant supervisor. You have been my rock that has helped me weather this
storm. I know that it has been hard having a part-time husband who is either very
vague or very stressed. You have always had my best interests at heart even to the
exclusion of your own, and have striven to ensure that the demands of this thesis
did not negatively impact too much on life at home. I only hope that I am able to
repay your support during the years ahead that we have together. Nō reira, e te
tau, me pēhea te kimi i ngā kupu tika hei whakatinana i ōku whakaaro mōu? Ka
pēnei pea, he nui ōku aroha mōu, e kore e mutu. Tēnā koe e ōku kura pouamau.

Nō reira, ehara taku toa i te toa takitahi, he toa takitini kē.

Ki a koutou katoa, i manaaki, i ārahi, i tautoko i ahau, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou,
tēna koutou katoa.
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**Kupu Whakataki**

**Introduction**

*Ko Īroua te awa,*  
*ko Paroro o te rangi te marae,*  
*ko Tama nui o te ao katoa te wharenui,*  
*Ko Hato Paora te tangata.*

Ōroua is the river,  
Paroro o te rangi is the marae,  
Tama nui o te ao katoa is the meeting house,  
Saint Paul is the person.

This thesis examines Hato Paora College, a Māori Catholic secondary school for boys, located just outside Feilding in the Manawatū region. It focuses on the unique features of this College and how the school influenced the boys who attended it. The thesis covers the initial founding of the school in 1947, through to 1996 when the final Marist Rector left. This is the period when the school was most clearly a Māori Catholic institution. Since then Hato Paora has been led by lay principals and a lay staff and thus it is harder to determine what the true nature of the school is. Despite its continuing adherence to a Catholic ethos, without the Marist community on site teaching and managing the hostel, the nature of the College has inevitably changed. As a result I have chosen to look at the first fifty years of Hato Paora’s existence as a case study in order to develop a Māori educational model that may help guide the School within its changed circumstances today.

---

1 This *pepeha*, or saying, identifies the important cultural characteristics underpinning Hato Paora College, the focus of this thesis.
Personal introduction

I was raised as a Catholic and as a Māori. These have always been my most important personal characteristics. My mother comes from a strong Irish Catholic family located on the West Coast of the South Island, long a bastion of Irish Catholicism. They are very proud of their heritage and Catholicism is a way of life despite there being no permanent clergy in their predominately Catholic community. My father is Ngā Puhi, an iwi (tribe) located in Northland, descended from the ancestor, Rāhiri, and we, my sisters and I, have been raised with understanding of and pride in our Ngāpuhitanga (Ngā Puhi identity). This pride manifested itself in an intense passion within me to learn as much about my Māori heritage as possible even with the often limited opportunities available as I grew up outside the rohe (traditional region) of my iwi. This meant that my connection with my marae and Māori family was completely reliant on my parents’ commitment to return to Northland for holidays as much as possible. I was extremely fortunate that they both made this commitment. However, despite being active and strong in both sides of my identity, for the majority of my childhood these were very much two separate parts of my life. There was some but not a lot of interaction between them. In fact, it never occurred to me that there might be places or communities that had a culture that integrated both Māori and Catholic belief and practice together.

My primary education was at St Mary’s, a Catholic school operated by the Society of Mary, and located in the town of Blenheim in the Marlborough region
at the top of the South Island. This was a standard New Zealand Catholic primary school that catered mainly for Pākehā Catholics. There was little or no incorporation of Māori culture into our religious practice at the school. In fact, we knew more about the Marist mission work in the Pacific and further overseas than about what they did in New Zealand. It was almost as if the Marist order had forgotten their own reason for coming to New Zealand, namely, to serve as a mission to Māori. Within the wider Blenheim Catholic community, however, there were many active Māori Catholics. This sub-community, if you like, met monthly to celebrate Mass in Māori and to support and encourage one another as Māori Catholics. I was also fortunate enough to have two friends in my class at St Mary’s who were going to Hato Paora College for their secondary education. I had never heard of this school, but both of my friends had strong family connections to the College with brothers, uncles and cousins having attended. One of these boys was from Mangamanu marae just north of Kaikōura, a Māori Catholic community situated within the Ngāi Tahu iwi.\footnote{This is significant as this was the southernmost part of the Marist Māori mission station at Ōtaki. The importance of this will be examined later in the study.} With their encouragement I approached my parents and asked if I too could go away to this school. They agreed and I spent five years at Hato Paora completing my secondary education. My time at the College was a revelation to me as for the first time in my life I was in an environment that was both Catholic and Māori in nature. I was the same as all the other boys at the School and this solidarity gave me the strength to do things that I do not think I would have otherwise achieved,
such as attending university. In 1999 I became the first student from Hato Paora College to have graduated from the University of Otago.

The seed for this thesis was sown in a conversation I had with another old boy of the school in 1999 when we discussed our time at the College; in particular, those things we enjoyed and valued and those that we felt could have been done better. At that time the school had received a lot of bad press including coverage on a national current affairs television programme for an alleged culture of bullying at the College. We spoke of where the school was heading at that time and how we thought it could be improved and reclaimed so that it resembled the school that we had known. Central also to our dialogue was the success of our friends and other old boys upon leaving the College and how this success was measured. Should it be based purely on academic achievement or could a school in fact give you more that just an orthodox formal education? I have therefore chosen to write a thesis that examines Hato Paora College from the old boys’ perspective, highlighting the type of educational environment provided by the school and how the experience of attending affected the students. Their thoughts on the school, derived from their own experience, and told to me through interviews, are used to evaluate the stated aims and goals of the Society of Mary as articulated by the College Rectors.
Methodology

The methodology that has been followed throughout this study is one that seeks to highlight and protect Indigenous knowledge. The thesis is located within the framework of the 1993 Mataatua Declaration on Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights of Indigenous Peoples. This Declaration states:

that Indigenous Peoples of the world have the right to self-determination, and in exercising that right must be recognised as the exclusive owners of their culture and intellectual property.

The Declaration also recognises:

that Indigenous Peoples are capable of managing their traditional knowledge themselves, but are willing to offer it to all humanity, provided their fundamental rights to define and control knowledge are protected by the international community (Ka’ai 2003: 15).

The Declaration goes on to list several recommendations:

Recognise that Indigenous Peoples are the guardians of their customary knowledge and have the right to protect and control the dissemination of that knowledge;

Accept that the cultural and intellectual property rights of Indigenous Peoples are vested in those who created them;

Develop in full co-operation with Indigenous Peoples an additional cultural and intellectual property rights regime incorporating the following:
- collective (as well as individual) ownership and origin
- retroactive coverage of historical as well as contemporary works
- protection against debasement of culturally significant items
- co-operative rather than competitive framework
- first beneficiaries to be direct descendants of the traditional guardians of the knowledge
- multi-generational coverage span (Ka’ai 2003: 15).

The thesis also adheres to the research ethics and procedures developed for undertaking research with Indigenous peoples, such as Māori (Ka’ai 2003).
1. The Indigenous community must be consulted about the nature of the research and it is important that they are in agreement that the research may be conducted;

2. All research on or about Indigenous Peoples must be mutually beneficial to that community and the researcher;

3. The researcher, in conducting research in an Indigenous field, has an obligation to regularly inform, consult and update that community throughout the course of the research including the research methodology to be employed and the outcomes of the research;

4. The researcher recognises the honour and privilege of accessing Indigenous knowledge. It should be recognised that some people who may contribute to the research may be chronologically young, but their wisdom is valuable. To adopt an attitude as a researcher that one is merely a vehicle for the expression of Indigenous knowledge in an academic context, provides a sound basis from which to work among Indigenous communities;

5. The researcher accepts unconditionally that there are reciprocal obligations to the Indigenous community in agreeing to their research to proceed. The obligation may well be in terms of unpaid time to undertake a task or several tasks requiring academic expertise for their community. This is based on the Māori notion: 
   Ñō te kōpū kotahi
   i kai tahi, i moe tahi,
   t maht taht

6. The researcher observes Indigenous protocol at all times in the context of conducting research and allow for this in the preparation of their design. This includes the set timeframe not only to negotiate access to the sources of Indigenous knowledge and collect data, etc., but also to take into consideration those cultural events and practices which are mostly unplanned. In the Māori world, this may include te whānau mai o te tamaiti [birth of a child], hura kōhatu [unveiling of a headstone], tangihanga [funeral], te rā o te tekau mā riu [Ringatui religious observation], poukai [king movement gathering], kawe mate [memorial], whakataetae [competition], pōhiri [formal welcome], manuhiri [guests], hui [gatherings/meetings], and ngahau [entertainment]. The researcher must be prepared to participate if that is the expectation of the Indigenous community;

7. The researcher must acknowledge and cite all sources of knowledge in the text of the research;

8. The researcher, on completion of the research with the Indigenous

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3 According to Ka’ai (2003: 16), this text was provided by Professor Wharehuia Milroy. Ka’ai explains that the passage implies that as a collective unit of people operating as a single united source, everything can be accomplished thus advancing a multitude of people.
community, appropriately inform the Indigenous community of the completion of their work in the community and thank them appropriately through *koha aroha* [a gift] which may include *kai* [food], *taonga* [goods], etc;

9. The researcher, on completion of the research document, presents a copy of the document to the Indigenous community from which the information was obtained (Ka'ai 2003:16).

Being an old boy myself of the College has allowed me to engage with other old boys at a level that someone who did not have this shared connection would not have been able to do. This has allowed me to organise interviews with the participants and has ensured that there was already an element of trust in our relationship, one old boy to another. Furthermore, as one of the participants stated, it is only right that someone with actual experience of the school should be in any way evaluating or critiquing it. As a result of this relationship with the participants, I chose to use their interview material verbatim as opposed to rewriting it into a narrative. This allowed their voices to be heard in the form they had spoken to me. I did not wish to overlay their voices with my own interpretation or to obscure it with western themes from the academy; as Dening asserts:

> The real risk is that the painter, in seeking access to an inner self, makes a judgement, pulls qualities we think marginal to the centre, and from his own and personal perspective constructs an image that masquerades as many and objective (Dening 1978: Preface).

Whilst I did not strive for objectivity this comment is a warning that I as the painter of this particular portrait of Hato Paora have borne in mind throughout the writing process. As an old boy of the College I have no desire to separate myself
from the content despite my closeness to the topic. Conversely, however, I do not want my own "inner self" to influence the way in which any of the interview material is portrayed or constructed.

Other examples of these indigenous research procedures in action occurred when individual participants travelled to meet with me, when I would give them a *kohā* (a gift) to recompense them for their expense, in time and money. For me, as the researcher, it was important the participants had control, and I was conscious of ensuring that they were comfortable and fully aware of what I was undertaking. On one occasion, for example, I had arranged an interview with a participant that required a two and half hour car trip for me to get to his hometown. When I arrived he was nowhere to be found, but he left me a note to ring him the next day. This was frustrating for me as the researcher with travel deadlines and the need to find accommodation, but I had to allow for the wishes of the participant. I rang him the next day and the interview went ahead a few days later. Finally, it is the participants that have ultimate control over the interview material and are able to exclude any or all of it as they please.

This research has not been conducted solely with indigenous communities but also with the Society of Mary and, in particular, at their archives in Wellington. As with any community it was important for me to build a relationship with the archival staff. To this end after making initial contact early in the research period I endeavoured to visit the archives at least once a year not just to procure material
but to maintain a ‘face to face’ relationship with them. This reflects the Māori concept of *kanohi kitea* (the face that is seen) or *kanohi ki te kanohi* (face to face) that stresses the importance of physical contact and interaction. The staff at the archives had all had some experience with Hato Paora and once the trust had been built up they were extremely helpful and enthusiastic about the research.

My first point of contact when beginning this research was with the late Bishop Max Māriu S.M., an old boy of Hato Paora College. I went to see him initially in order to ask for permission to do a study on the College, and then to ask for his participation as an interviewee. If he had not given his consent then I would have abandoned the notion of this research topic. He was, however, extremely supportive and enthusiastic about the thesis and this has counted greatly towards my motivation to complete it. His was the first interview conducted and we kept in contact by email throughout the study. He was going to provide a further interview to develop some ideas that had arisen in the course of the research but, unfortunately, he passed away before this could be completed.

Finally, this is a Māori Studies thesis, despite the topic reaching out into disciplines such as History and Education. Māori Studies was first offered as a university subject in 1952 at the University of Auckland and gradually spread to the other universities, arriving at the University of Otago as a major subject in 1990. In general, the programme of study within Māori Studies is divided into the study of the language and the study of the culture. Throughout its history within
the western academy Māori Studies has been viewed with prejudice and seen as inferior to traditional academic disciplines (Mead 1997: 21-6). Māori Studies has been conceptualised and structured from a Māori world view incorporating Māori values, attitudes and knowledge. Ka’ai describes Māori Studies as “a space for undertaking teaching and research which recovers our histories, reclaims our lands and resources, restores justice and preserves our histories and traditions” (Ka’ai in Higgins 2004: 6). As a space within the university it serves to validate Māori knowledge as legitimate in its own right and not as a sub-section of another discipline. Despite this work’s content, and its relationship to other academic disciplines, it is firmly grounded in a desire to preserve the history of Hato Paora in a culturally appropriate manner, also reflected in the research ethics and procedures employed, and the particular structure of the thesis. These intentions place this thesis about the College squarely within a Māori Studies framework.

Milestone Texts

Two books have heavily influenced this thesis. The first, Xavier: A Centenary Portrait by Greg Dening, commemorates the hundred year jubilee of Xavier College in Melbourne. This book had a particular effect on my thinking in regard to the structure and focus of my research. Dening describes his own approach:

I thought to find the school in the rituals of the every day and the every year. These rituals are the sacraments of continuity, small plays that establish a schoolboy’s world. I thought to find the school in the rhetoric of small as well as grand occasions (Dening 1978: Preface).
Through the use of the interviews with old boys I too sought to find the recollections and stories that truly portray the experience of attending Hato Paora. The way in which this book is structured, with chapters on Buildings and Rectors, served to further develop the ultimate order of my work. Structurally, Dening’s use of excerpts from the school song, sermons and school prospectus as maxims at the beginning of the chapters reinforced my own desire to do something in a similar vein. Beyond this, the goal of Dening to write something that was not institutional history inspired and motivated me to attempt the same. I have sought to paint a picture that encapsulates the experience of attending the School from the mundane to the most important occasions and occurrences.

The second influential work was an MA thesis “Whaia te Tika” written by Tata Lawton as a history of Hato Paora to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the school in 1997. Tata Lawton was not only an old boy of the College but had also returned, with his wife and family, to live and work at the College before going on to university study. This thesis provided a significant amount of content for the case study; however, its focus was on giving a lineal account of the development of the College taken largely from interviews with the former rectors, one of whom has since passed away. He looked in depth at the year by year operation of the school using themes of governorship, curriculum, religion, taha Māori, extra-curricular, cadets, old boy’s association, community, amenities and the farm to organise his discussion. Thus it differed significantly from the method that I pursued. As it was the only other work produced related directly to the school, I felt it desirable
to use relevant parts of his research as much as possible so that I could focus on those areas not covered in Lawton’s MA. In the longer term, having two complementary studies provides us with a far greater understanding of the College than either work could have achieved on its own.

The other main group of texts that has been instrumental in the research and production of this thesis is the School Yearbooks. Hato Paora College has produced a Yearbook every year of its existence, excluding 1947, 1948 and 1952. They are, therefore, a wonderful chronicle of the development and yearly operation of the School. These books contain a wealth of information about the school and its students, including sections on academic life, religious life and sporting life. These Yearbooks, particularly during the 1950s and 1960s, contained many articles written by the rectors and staff about their views on Hato Paora, Māori society, the Catholic Church and education. I have drawn freely on their content in order to understand the school’s evolving culture.

**Thesis Outline**

This thesis is divided into two parts. Each part begins with an overview that introduces each chapter contained within that part and explains its main content and its significance to the study.

Part One – *He tirohanga whānui*. This is a group of four chapters that provide an overview of the main social influences on Hato Paora College; namely, Māori Catholicism, the Catholic Church, the Society of Mary and the status of Māori
within the New Zealand education system. Each of these chapters seeks to provide an understanding of the subject content, without going into exhaustive detail, as a background to the case study of Hato Paora.

Part Two – Paroro o te rangi. This part of the thesis is a case study of Hato Paora College and forms the heart of my work. The examination of Hato Paora College is based on various themes highlighted within the school’s haka\(^4\) as being prominent characteristics of the college. Each of these themes will be explored in a particular chapter in order to give a broader understanding of the school, and the education that it provides, while locating each chapter within the cultural framework of the haka. Thus the chapter titles and the maxim used to describe the core content of the chapter are drawn directly from the school haka and are used to frame the thematic discussion. Chapter five begins with the school haka, discussing its meanings and locating it within the subject of Māori haka generally.

Chapter six describes the establishment of Hato Paora College and the key figures in the early history of the school, and their contribution to the establishment of the school. The founding Rector, Father Isaac Gupwell, loomed large in the early life of the College and his period as Rector forms the subject of chapter seven. The subsequent development of the School during the terms of the later rectors is described in chapter eight. The next group of chapters looks at the various important features that make up Hato Paora’s unique character. Chapter nine deals with the school’s Māori character, chapter ten with the school’s Catholic

\(^4\) Haka are traditional Māori chants that are usually accompanied by body actions to emphasis and symbolize the words. Haka are often referred to as “posture dances”. Traditionally there were many types of haka each with its own name, form, function, and importance.
character, and chapter eleven looks at those features that make the school special. These sections draw particularly on the testimonies of the old boys interviewed, as they provide us with insights derived from the perspective of those who experienced the environment firsthand. The case study finishes with the development of a new model of operation for Hato Paora in chapter thirteen. This includes the incorporation of some aspects of Kaupapa Māori theory,\(^5\) as an alternative Māori philosophy of education. This model retains the important characteristics of the school, identified within the case study, but seeks to set out a philosophy that enables the College to go forward with confidence into the future.

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\(^5\) Theory upon which the Māori medium education system is founded, comprised of Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori and Whare Kura.
PART I

HEI TIROHANGA WHĀNUI
Part I “Hei Tirohanga Whānui” – a broad overview. Hato Paora College exists among a web of social influences and the goal of this part of the thesis is to outline those influences that encased and sustained the culture of the school. The first chapter explores the Māori world view, its beliefs and traditions and important cultural concepts. In addition, this chapter discusses a Māori Catholic world view as it applies to education. The second chapter highlights the establishment and expansion of the New Zealand Catholic Church from its mission beginnings until its integration into the wider New Zealand society looking especially at its mission to Māori. Chapter three follows on from the broader historical examination of the Catholic Church in New Zealand and looks specifically at the Society of Mary, its origins, its goals and the Society’s involvement in developing the Wellington Diocese (where Hato Paora was originally located). The operation and development of the Māori missions within the diocese is explored in conjunction with the philosophies of education followed by the Society. This provides a background to the establishment of Hato Paora College as an example of Catholic Māori secondary schooling/education. Chapter four is a historical overview of the establishment of the New Zealand education system, with particular emphasis on the provision of education for Māori. Attention is given to the education of Māori through the early mission schools, the Native Schools system, the denominational boarding schools and finally their integration into the public/state system. The various acts, ordinances and reports that have impacted on the education of Māori are also discussed in order to situate Māori within the New Zealand education system as a whole.
Chapter 1
Katorikatanga – A Māori Catholic World view

Introduction
The intention of this chapter is to describe a number of important ideas that form a part of the Māori world view. Aspects of this world will differ according to tribal affiliation, history or religious beliefs. In this chapter the objective is to focus on the Māori Catholic world view (katorikatanga) as a particular sub-set of the greater Māori world. The cultural concepts forming the fabric of this world view are explored in order to understand the distinctive qualities of the Māori Catholic culture, as a precursor to the later study of Hato Paora College in Part Two.

Traditional Māori Religion
Prior to the arrival of Christianity, Māori had an organised system of understanding the world. This was derived from the belief that the physical and spiritual domains were not closed to one another but in fact connected through the atua\(^6\) and the Māori world view. It was not institutionalised and formalised into various religious denominations as Christianity was but did have its own religious experts and sacred places, dates and observations (Irwin 1984: 75). Religious observations were part of all facets of life and served to regulate Māori society in the place of civil law (Best 1995a: 11).

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\(6\) Ancient ancestors who each held domain over an area of the environment or of humans.
Religious observance was primarily connected with rituals and ceremonies associated with the *atua*. As *atua* pervaded all parts of the environment, there were *tapu* restrictions associated with those areas and the related human activity. *Karakia* (incantations or prayers acknowledging the *atua*) were used to lift or circumvent those restrictions so that people could safely carry out their daily activities (Irwin 1984: 36). For example, fishing incorporated various *karakia* and rituals associated with Tangaroa (*atua* of the sea and fish), while those in bird hunting were dedicated to Tāne māhuta (*atua* of forests and birds). The following figure adapted from Michael Shirres illustrates the major types of ritual *karakia* and their function (Shirres 1997: 71):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Karakia of the major ritual complexes:</th>
<th>For the child</th>
<th>For the canoe</th>
<th>For the kāmara</th>
<th>For the war-party</th>
<th>For the dead</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Karakia</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For the weather</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>For sickness</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For daily work</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For other daily activities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Karakia of minor rituals, and single <em>karakia</em>:</th>
<th>For the weather</th>
<th>For sickness</th>
<th>For daily work</th>
<th>For other daily activities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Karakia</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| *Karakia mākutu*:                             | For curses and overcoming curses |

Figure 1: Division of *karakia*. 
As these examples show, religious practice was part of everyday life in traditional Māori society as Māori used it to navigate their way through their daily tasks whilst adhering to the rules and protocols of mana, tapu and noa. The *karakia* also punctuated the most significant events in a person’s life, from birth to death.

**A Māori world view**

The Māori world view is the way in which Māori conceptualise their world, derived from their history and traditions (Rangihau 1992: 183). These provide the fundamental beliefs and customs that form the foundation of the “social fabric of the culture”. Despite changes and adaptations through interaction with other cultures, these core value systems remain (Marsden 2003a: 34). As Ka’ai and Higgins (2004: 23-4) further explain, there are many key indicators that make up a Māori world view. These include: tribal identity, the land, spirituality, elders, the language, the culture and cultural knowledge. The Māori world view is holistic; it incorporates the idea that the secular and spiritual realms are not closed off from one another. Instead, the realms of the *atua*, of humanity and of the dead are open systems that allow interaction from one to another (Irwin 1984: 5). The Māori world view provides a framework for these interactions between the systems to occur in a correct and safe manner.

This holistic understanding of the world includes the individual and their wellbeing. The parts of the person (body, mind and spirit) all must be working in balance for a person to be whole. If one of these parts is not functioning correctly,
then the wellbeing of the person, and their ability to contribute to society, are adversely affected. Irwin provides the following diagram to explain the “wholeness” of a Māori person (Irwin 1984: 6).

![Diagram: Irwin’s Māori World view](image)

**Figure 2: Irwin’s Māori World view**

*Te tangata* (the person) is portrayed as a triangle with equal sides; each of the sides must be present, and functioning correctly, for the triangle (person) to be whole. Physical, mental and spiritual health are all equally as important. As all three sides of the triangle are connected, one can affect the other. For example, Māori believe that if you violate any of the spiritual laws or regulations, particularly those related to *tapu*, then your actions may have negative physical results such as sickness or death.
Mason Durie develops Irwin’s model further in his own model, Whare Tapa Whā (four sided house). Although it is a model for understanding Māori health perspectives, it provides insights into the larger Māori world view. In contrast to Irwin, Durie adds in a fourth dimension of whānau (family). He compares an individual’s health to the four walls of a house. Each is different but all four are necessary to ensure that the house stands soundly, and thus the wellbeing of the person is protected and maintained (Durie 2001: 69). The inclusion of whānau also supports Irwin’s assertion that identity and a feeling of belonging are very important in a Māori world view; as he puts it, “I belong, therefore I am” (Irwin 1984: 7). Māori place great importance upon belonging and kinship. This is
illustrated in the proverbial saying that likens a wandering man to a dog with no purpose: “he kuri, he tangata haere, kaore tikanga ona aha” (Johansen 1954: 25). Further evidence of the importance of belonging is found in the plural personal pronouns that are used in the Māori language. Unlike English, Māori has four specific ways to say “we, us”, although each has a different emphasis in regard to who is included, as opposed to the more general way these words are used in English. The first, mātou, means “we”, more than three, but excludes the listener, while māua means “we two”. However, tātou (three or more) or tāua (two people) for “we” are all inclusive (speaker, listener and others) (Moorfield 2001: 13). Furthermore, one of the first things Māori do when meeting is to find out where each other are from, and to ask what tribe the other person belongs to (Moorfield 2001: 2-3).

Both of these writers, Durie and Irwin, have used metaphor, a triangle and a whare respectively, as a means of creating models. These metaphors have been used to represent and symbolise a Māori world view. Furthermore, they have used the metaphor as a framework for their illustration and explanation of that world view. Not only is it a representation or symbol of the concept, but it can also provide a visual and intellectual pathway for the analysis and understanding of the concept.
A third model of the Māori world view that expresses Māoritanga through a cultural concept model was developed by John Rangihau, an acknowledged expert on the Māori language and culture. Rangihau’s model (cited in Ka’i and Higgins 2004: 16) locates Māoritanga (Māori cultural belief) at the centre of his world view. Māoritanga is immediately surrounded by the concept of aroha (concern for others), which is in turn surrounded and connected to a series of other Māori cultural concepts. All of the concepts are connected in some way to the others so that none exists in isolation. These concepts included in the diagram can be replaced by other Māori cultural concepts. This again emphasises the holistic nature of the Māori culture and world view. Rangihau’s model shows that while Māoritanga is at the centre of his world view, there is still interaction with other outside societal influences, notably Pākehātanga (non-Māori culture, ideas and attitudes). This can lead to cultural adaptation so that the type of Māoritanga
being defined can be influenced by the type of Pākehātanga it interacts with. This is important in understanding Hato Paora as a Māori Catholic college, since one of the forms of Pākehātanga that has a large influence on the families that send their sons there is Roman Catholicism. In this case, their particular form of Māoritanga is one modified by Katorikatanga (Māori Catholicism). The late Ruka Broughton, a tohunga and acknowledged expert on tikanga Māori, reported this particular modification of te ao Māori in his remarks about the Māori Catholic community of Ohakune: “where there is a strong nucleus of Māori young people staunch in their Katorika roots and their taha Māori” (Broughton in Mead 2003: 33).

Hato Paora was, from its inception, to be a college that catered for Māori Catholics. As a consequence, it needed to provide an environment that incorporated and acknowledged both of these cultures, Māori and Catholic. The following figure, created in conjunction with Dr Rawinia Higgins, adapts the insights of Rangihau and others to provide a model that outlines some of the main components that make up a Māori Catholic world view.
Figure 5: A Māori Catholic world view (Katorikatanga)

On the left is the Māori cultural knowledge derived from ngā atua Māori, while on the right are the religious practices and beliefs of Katorikatanga (Catholicism).
Both of these sides, the Māori and the Catholic, feed into the taha hinengaro (the mind), the taha tinana (the body) and the taha wairua (the spirit) to ensure the wellbeing of the person through the pre-eminent Māori cultural concepts of mana, tapu and noa. These all connect through whakapapa to tikanga and ultimately to the cultural concepts that are fundamental to Māori Catholic education. Overall, this model is intended to offer an insight into a Māori Catholic world view. Each of the elements contained in this diagram will be examined in order to provide an understanding of Māori Catholic cultural beliefs.

Ngā Atua Māori

At the top left hand side of the figure are Ngā Atua Māori. In a Māori world view all things are ultimately derived from the atua. Io was the supreme atua for many iwi and existed in a passive state of nothingness. Eventually he roused himself and began to sow the potential for existence in the nothingness. He then began to recite the “names of the different foundations of things” so that night, light, earth, sky and water could exist. He then created Rangi awatea\(^7\) (the sky father) and Papatūānuku (the earth mother), the primeval parents of all things. From their union came the atua, their children. However, the atua were caught between the eternal embrace of their parents and decided to forcibly separate them (Marsden 2003b: 16-7).

Other traditions exclude the existence of Io and begin instead with Ranginui and Papatūānuku locked together with their children caught between them. They again

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\(^7\) Commonly known as Ranginui.
wanted to forcibly separate their parents with one, Tūmatauenga, wanting to kill them. Eventually Tāne mahuta was able to separate Ranginui and Papatūānuku by lying on his back, bracing himself between his parents, and pushing them apart with his legs. From their separation the world of light was created (Reilly 2004a: 3-4).

Immediately following the separation each of the atua then began to populate the world, their mother, with their offspring. Each of the atua was responsible for the creation of one part of the environment. Best describes the most widely known atua as departmental gods (Best 1995a: 139). These include Tāne māhuta who was the trees and birds, Tāwhirimātea who was the elements, Tangaroa who was the ocean, Rongo mā tāne who was cultivated food, Haumiatiketike who was uncultivated food, Rūaumoko who was volcanic activity and Tūmatauenga who was war and humanity (Irwin 1984: 13-4; Shirres 1997: 27).

Various tribal traditions name other atua and have different traditions relating to the creation narratives. However, the main themes remain constant. Also there are many more specific atua encompassing all parts of creation within larger domains of those already described. For example, Hinemoana was the atua of the ocean water which formed part of the domain of Tangaroa (Best 1995a: 167). All of the Māori cultural concepts are derived from the creation narratives and the interactions and relationships between the atua (Reilly 2004a: 9-12). These are the foundations for the social charter of Māori society, or the Māori world view.
Catholic Religious Belief

At the top right hand side of the figure are Catholic religious beliefs that derive from the teachings and practices of the Roman Catholic Church. The central belief in the Catholic faith is that of the Holy Trinity. According to this belief, God is three divine persons in one but each distinct from the other. These persons are the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit (Salet 1960: 133). The Father is responsible for all creation. It is through his will that all things exist and it is believed that the gift of being is his first gift to humanity (Simmons 1961: 104, Pakipaki 1979: 27-8). His love for humanity is illustrated by the fact that he gave the world his only son through the incarnation, when God was made man, as Jesus Christ. Jesus came to allow humanity to reach eternal life in heaven and be set free from the restraints of sin, pain and death (Simmons 1961: 69-78). The third person of the Holy Trinity was the spirit of Christ, the Holy Spirit (Simmons 1961: 140). The Holy Spirit is the expression of love between the Father and the Son that through its perfection and reciprocity gives rise to the third person: “The love of the Two is fused in Them by the flame of a third love” (Salet 1960: 137). The very centre of the Trinity is divine love, selflessness, which is the essential concept of Christianity (Salet 1960: 138).

In Catholic belief there are two realities that are described as the sacred and profane or spiritual and material. It is the symbols and ceremonies contained in

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8 The sources used in this discussion are from before Vatican II, as this is the period in which Hato Paora was established.
Catholic practice that provide the link between the two (Simmons 1961: 113-4). The most significant of the symbols are called sacraments (Simmons 1961: 116). There are seven sacraments: Baptism, Confirmation, Eucharist, Penance, Anointing, Order and Matrimony. As Simmons explains, the sacraments serve to mark the significant occasions in a person’s life:

In our physical life we are born grow to maturity, are nourished by food and drink, are cured of illness when necessary, marry and so provide for the future of the race, have people appointed in authority over us, and finally die.

In the spiritual life we are born again by baptism; we grow to maturity through the action of confirmation; we are nourished by the spiritual food of the Eucharist; when our spiritual life is threatened by sin we are restored to full spiritual life by confession; the natural contract of marriage is hallowed so as to become an instrument of our sanctification by the sacrament of matrimony; we have people appointed to rule and serve us by holy orders; our natural life is the occasion of the end of our period of life by grace and we are prepared for the passage to new life by anointing (Simmons 1961: 117).

Baptism is the ceremony of entry into the Church, often, but not exclusively, performed during early childhood. Through the cleansing of original sin by water during this sacrament a person is reborn and resurrected into life in the Church (Simmons 1961: 121). Confirmation is a personal commitment to God given by a person who has reached maturity (Roguet 1960: 195, Pakipaki 1979: 14-5). The Eucharist is the gift of the living Christ as bread and wine during Mass (celebration of the Eucharist). It represents complete nourishment of the spirit. The Mass also symbolises a family meal so that not only are you joining with God but also with all who are gathered there (Simmons 1961: 127-8). It is one of the most important rituals in Catholic practice. Mass is essentially the preparation by the congregation for the Eucharist. Penance is a chance for Catholics to receive
absolution for their sins through confession to a priest (Roguet 1960: 201). The sacrament of anointing people who are sick or dying with oil is tied to the belief that the spiritual and material are linked. Catholics believe that sickness is associated with original sin so that by prayer and the use of oil this sin can be absolved allowing the restoration of the person’s health, physical and spiritual (Roguet 1960: 205-6). The sacrament of orders refers to the priesthood. The primary role of the priesthood is to preach and carry the Gospel to all people, conduct Mass and deliver the sacraments. In this role as the dispenser of sacraments they are an intermediary between God and humanity (Simmons 1961: 137). Matrimony is the sacrament of marriage. The union of two people makes them one in the eyes of God to live in happiness and harmony (Roguet 1960: 215).

Beyond the formal practices and ceremonies of the Church, Catholics strive to live their life in a manner that follows the teachings of Jesus Christ in word and in action. This system of morality includes the adherence to moral and theological virtues such as justice, temperance (including humility and modesty), fortitude (including patience), faith, hope and charity (New Advent Catholic Encyclopedia). The essence of this morality is that love must be paramount: love of God, love of yourself and love of all people. All of the prohibitions evoked within this moral code are designed to prevent sins against love, thus allowing this love to grow and infuse all parts of a person’s life (Vann 1960: 282).
Man, Tapu and Noa

In the top centre of the figure are the cultural concepts of mana, tapu and noa. These three concepts are central to any Māori world view, as much of the Māori world is ordered around them. These concepts will be explored from their traditional meanings and also from their meaning and use in the Māori translation of the Bible, in order to understand their range of applications within the Māori Catholic world.

Mana

Mana is defined using many different English words including authority, control, prestige, power and influence (Mead 2003: 29). It is in fact a combination of these but also has more cultural significance than these words suggest. Mana is the indestructible power of the atua and is received at birth. This type of mana is known as mana whakaheke, mana tūpuna or mana tuku iho and was in the first instance acquired through one’s genealogy (Moorfield 2005: 77). Those from the more senior lines receive more mana as their birthright than those from the more junior bloodlines, as these are further removed from the atua (Ka’ai and Higgins 2004:14). The mana of an individual or iwi can also be increased through their actions during their lifetime; this is known as mana whakatīpu or mana tangata. This mana in turn can be inherited by succeeding generations through whakapapa (Mead 2003:51). Mana gives someone the authority to lead, to regulate communal life and to make social and political decisions (Moorfield 2005: 76). In Matthew 3: 11 mana is used to denote might and power “... e haere mai ana i muri i ahau,
mui atu tona mana i toku …, but he that cometh after me is mightier than I …” (Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa 1991: 5). This lines up with part of the traditional meaning of mana.

Tapu

Tapu is often narrowly defined as sacred, holy, forbidden or restricted. Shirres (1997) asserts that there are two types of tapu: intrinsic tapu and extrinsic tapu (the extensions of tapu). Intrinsic tapu is the “potentiality for power” that can be found in all things. It is derived from the *mana* of the *atua* manifested in their creations (Shirres 1997: 33). Everything has *tapu* derived from the *atua* responsible for that part of creation; for example, fish have *tapu* from Tangaroa, and trees have *tapu* from Tāne-māhuta. Extrinsic *tapu* is the system of restrictions, often called extensions of *tapu*, devised to protect the intrinsic *tapu* of each person or object. As nothing exists in isolation, there are constant interactions between the different intrinsic *tapu* of particular beings. The restrictions are a way of considering the respective intrinsic *tapu* and of preventing negative repercussions arising from such meetings (Shirres 1997: 37-8). In Christian texts there are many examples of the use of the word *tapu*. The following example is from the Bible: “I runga i te tapu, i te tika, ki tona aroaro …, In holiness and righteousness before him” (Luke 1:71) (Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa 1991: 124). Another example comes from the celebration of Mass: “kia tika ai te kawenga i enei whakaritenga tapu, To prepare ourselves to celebrate the sacred mysteries” (International Committee on the Liturgy 1969: 2-3). While each
of these definitions are part of tapu they do not fully represent its traditional meanings.

Noa

Noa means free from restriction and is therefore in opposition to extrinsic tapu. Noa can be positive in relation to the meeting of two tapu or negative. If the correct protocols are followed so that the restrictions of tapu are lifted, as with a formal welcome ceremony on the marae, then the outcome is positive. If one tapu overpowers the other, as with someone who has been captured in war, then the outcome for that person is negative (Shirres 1997: 44). Many of the rituals and customs of Māori are designed to lift these tapu restrictions, that is, to whakanoa (make noa). In Matthew 12: 5 noa is used in a similar fashion to its traditional meaning: “... e whakanoatia ana te hapati e nga tohunga i rota i nga temepara i nga hapati, ... on sabbath days the priests in the temple profane the sabbath, ...” (Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa 1991: 25).

Taha Hinengaro

The middle left contains the taha hinengaro, which is the mental side of being, the thoughts and emotions of a person (Durie 2001: 70). Hinengaro on its own is the place within the person where their thoughts, emotions and desires reside (Williams 2005: 51). This side relates to how we conceptualise the world around us. It is our ability to understand our existence using our cultural concepts.
To the right of the taha hinengaro is the taha tinana. Tinana refers to the body or main part of anything. This is illustrated by the phrase taken from 1 Corinthians 15: 44 that states: “E whakatokia ana he tinana maori, It is sown as a natural body” (Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa 1991: 389). It also alludes to something that is real and tangible as opposed to an apparition or an intangible object (Williams 2005: 419). It is therefore the physical dimension emphasising that a person must be physically healthy to function. The concepts of tapu and noa are tied to this idea, as a violation of the restrictions surrounding tapu can result in physical illness or damage (Durie 2001: 71).

To the right of the taha tinana is the taha wairua, which is spiritual awareness or belief. It is the ability to understand the relationships between people and the environment through the atua. It includes the belief in concepts such as tapu, noa and mana and the way in which these can affect one’s health or wellbeing. Taha wairua includes the belief in God and the associated practices but it is not necessarily limited to this (Durie 2001: 70). Its use in Catholic practice is also associated with the word spirit: “Na te maru o te Wairua Tapu, By the power of the Holy Spirit” (International Committee on the Liturgy 1969: 8-9). However, it is also used for the soul of a person as illustrated in Acts 4:32: “Kotahi ano ngakau, kotahi ano wairua o te mano o te hunga whakapono, And the multitude
of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul” (Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa 1991: 265).

**Whakapapa**

Below the *taha tinana* is *whakapapa*, which is a key concept, as it provides the link between all parts of creation from their common foundation with the *atua*. *Whakapapa* literally means to lay one thing upon another, and usually refers to generations (Barlow 2005:173). It refers to genealogy, lineage and descent (Moorfield 2005: 200). All things have a *whakapapa* and it is by this means that the Māori world is ordered.

The social structure of traditional Māori society was organised by *whakapapa* as a person’s descent lines from the *atua*. *Whakapapa* determined their *mana* and thus their social status. The *rangatiratanga* (leadership) of each social grouping was dictated by descent from the *atua* (Ka’ai and Higgins 2004: 14). The *ariki* (paramount chief) led the *iwi* (tribe). They came from the most senior bloodlines, and were thus most closely descended from the *atua*, and possessed the greatest *mana*. The *rangatira* (chief) led the *hapū* (clan – sub-tribe) and came from more junior chiefly bloodlines. The *tūtiūa* were commoners and were the farthest removed from the *atua*. The *taurekareka*, at the bottom of the social structure, were war slaves relegated to the most menial tasks and deemed to have no *mana* (Ka’ai and Higgins 2004: 14). Besides *whakapapa*, *rangatiratanga* in traditional Māori society could be acquired by various means: usurping the authority of an
incompetent leader, migrating to new lands, by marriage, or inheriting the mana of someone who had achieved leadership other than through whakapapa (Mahuika 1992: 44). Leadership could also be achieved through the display of particular qualities. These included: economic skills in food production and supply, knowledge of warfare and proficiency in peaceful skills such as hosting guests, oratory, traditional knowledge and diplomacy. Through proficiency in these areas, leaders were able to achieve or acquire more mana; conversely if they lacked in these areas their mana would decrease (Ka’ai and Reilly 2004: 91-2).

Another important aspect of rangatiratanga concerned the people’s role in bestowing upon their leader the right to rule. To assume leadership a person needed whakapapa, ability, and the acceptance of the people. Angela Ballara asserts that traditional leadership was more a case of “first among equals than dictators” (Reilly 2006: 46-7).

Tikanga

Below whakapapa in the diagram is tikanga which refers to the traditional values, customs and protocols of Māori (Williams 2005: 416). It is through the link that whakapapa provides with the atua that these tikanga exist. They are derived from mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge systems) that have been built up over many generations. Tikanga essentially serves to regulate behaviour within the Māori world by providing rules and protocols (Mead 2003: 11-4). Tikanga has two levels: the conceptual and the practical; it is both the concept that focuses on the
ideas of the custom and the actual practice of the custom (Mead 2003: 22). Tikanga generates a series of cultural concepts forming part of katorikatanga.

*Tika*

*Tika* means to be direct or straight, right, just, fair and correct (Williams 2005: 416); the word *tikanga* is derived from it. This understanding of *tika* is illustrated in the celebration of Mass: “He mea tika, he mea pai rawa, It is right to give him thanks and praise” (International Committee on the Liturgy 1969: 14-5). *Tika* is thus a concept that is applicable to the practice of all Māori tikanga, where appropriateness and correctness are paramount (Mead 2003:25). *Tika* is about maintaining the relationships between all things in an appropriate and fitting manner so that the respective mana and tapu are acknowledged. If these relationships are not ordered correctly then a violation is considered to have occurred. An example of the practice of *tika* is to begin a *hui* (meeting, gathering) with a *karakia*, thus acknowledging the mana and tapu of God and those attending the *hui* (Tate 2002: 45). Although in modern times *karakia* are Christian prayers in Māori, the practice stems from reciting traditional *karakia* before and after any activity.

*Tuakana/Teina*

*Tuakana* and *teina* are the senior and junior bloodlines which determine how much mana a person initially receives. The first born receives the most and each further sibling receives less in relation to their birth order until you reach the last
born (Mead 2003: 42). These concepts are also used to describe the relationship between siblings and kin which is organised around mutual concern and cooperation. Tuakana/teina relates also to the concept of whanaungatanga (relatedness/kinship) which through whakapapa allows us to make links with other people and to build and share an identity (Tate 2002: 41). Whanaungatanga through shared beliefs describes a common link felt amongst Māori Catholics. It could also describe the common bond experienced between students, past and present, of Hato Paora.

Aroha

Aroha is an all encompassing concern and love for the world and all that it contains: people, the environment, birds and animals. It is a genuine concern for other people and their wellbeing (Barlow 2005: 8). Aroha includes a range of emotions like charity, empathy, compassion, joy and pride. It can also include ideas of pity, grief and yearning (Johansen 1954: 250). In Luke 6: 35 aroha is used: "Engari kia aroha ki o koutou hoc whawhai ..., But love ye your enemies..." (Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa 1991: 139), thus confirming an understanding of love as central to its meaning. In the Mass, however, aroha is used slightly differently: "Aroha mai ki a matou, Have mercy on us" (International Committee on the Liturgy 1969: 18-9). An individual’s ability, however, to exercise aroha is related directly to their own well-being. So a person who is diminished (taha wairua, taha hinengaro, taha tinana, taha whānau) in any way is less able to express aroha (Tate 2002: 47). Aroha should be directed
according to *tika* so that our *aroha* for others does not have negative effects. An example of this would be a parent who spoils their child, in an attempt to show *aroha*, to the point where the child cannot be guided or reprimanded and so does not understand what is the true or *tika* way to act (Tate 2002: 48).

*Manaaki*

*Manaaki* is derived from the word *mana* and concerns hospitality towards other people. It also refers to protecting, supporting and caring for others (Moorfield 2005: 76). In this respect it can be seen as an extension of *aroha*. However, it is concerned not just with feeling love but also with the act of displaying it through giving or helping (Johansen 1954: 27). This concept is particularly important in regard to the treatment of guests to the *marae* where the provision of *manaaki* to the visitors is considered paramount (Barlow 2005: 63). In fact the expectation is that the guests will be treated as if they are relatives and this will be evident by the *manaaki* extended to them. *Manaaki* was especially important in traditional society, as it was through its provision that people could live communally in harmony, as *manaaki* promoted solidarity among kin (Johansen 1954: 27-8).

*Manaaki* also means to bless in Catholic usage: “*Manaakitia enei motu me nga iwi*, That you bless our country and its people” (International Committee on the Liturgy 1969: 10-1). However, within Christians texts generally there seems to be a preference for the use of *atawhai* (affection, courtesy), which has a similar meaning, when *manaaki* could be used.


_Utu_

_Utu_ is often erroneously defined as revenge. Whilst seeking revenge for a transgression is one part of _utu_ it has a more positive characteristic as well. _Utu_ also encompasses the idea of reciprocity so that acts of kindness or love must also be repaid. While acts of hostility and violence can spiral out of control through vengeance and reprisal, so too can acts of kindness and hospitality as one repays another (Patterson 1992:62). _Utu_ was important as it helped maintain balance and harmony between individuals and groups within traditional Māori society, often through gift exchange or hostilities. Also it was not necessarily the author of the action that was held accountable but it could be the whole group (Moorfield 2005: 186). In this case, a third party might have been harmed or held accountable for the actions of one of their relatives, regardless of whether they knew of the original action or even of how closely related the party was to the offender, again showing how Māori viewed an individual as connected to each of their kin. Examples of the use of _utu_ in the New Testament focus on the idea of a positive repayment (Matthew 5: 46): “_Ki te aroha hoki koutou ki te hunga e aroha ana ki a koutou, he aha te utu e riro i a koutou? …_” For if you love them which love you, what reward have ye?” (Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa 1991: 10).

**Conclusion**

The combination of the Māori and Catholic cultures contribute to the development of a new culture that has elements of both. This new culture, Māori Catholicism or _Katorikatanga_, becomes not only the way in which the community
lives but also the way in which it views the world. Māori cultural practice and belief is still a large part of this culture, with the rituals and ceremonies on the marae, such as tangihanga (funerals), pōhiri (formal welcome) and hosting manuhiri (guests) still holding an important place within the community. However, as an example of Katorikatanga in action, Catholic prayer and associated ritual instead of those directed towards ngā atua Māori are used in concert with these more traditional Māori practices. As Henare argues:

While Māori refer to Christianity as whakapono, faith and beliefs, it should not be presumed that the new religion has supplanted either the world view or significant ritual practices contained in traditional religion. On the other hand, the Bible, Māori Christian theology and liturgical forms of prayer and worship, are an accepted part of Māori life (Henare 1996: 208).

In fact the incorporation of pagan rituals into Catholic practice is not confined to New Zealand but is a feature of Catholicism worldwide. Even the use of holy water in Catholic ritual is ultimately derived from pagan belief and practice (Simmons 1961: 160-1). Katorikatanga not only determines the structure of its own beliefs, taking parts from both te Ao Māori and te Ao Katorika, but it also manifests this physically in cultural and religious practices.

Katorikatanga is a way of life, a community with a particular set of beliefs and customs, which extends to the way in which they raise their children and the type of education they desire. As with most Catholics, education is of high importance. The needs, however, of Māori Catholics cannot necessarily be met by the traditional institutions provided by the Church, particularly in regard to education. A specific type of educational environment is required that incorporates the
Katorikatanga of its students into its philosophy and operation. The New Zealand Catholic Church has established three schools: Hato Petera College, St Joseph’s School for Māori Girls and Hato Paora College, to provide such an environment.
Chapter 2

He Tīmatanga

Ko te tīmatanga, ko te Hāhi ...
The Church was the beginning ...

Introduction

The taha wairua or Katorikatanga is an important part of what makes Hato Paora College unique. This belief in Catholic as well as Māori traditions is part of the Māori culture that exists in many, mainly rural, Māori Catholic communities. The Catholic Church itself arrived in New Zealand in the early nineteenth century. This chapter will examine the New Zealand Catholic Church from then to the present day. It will highlight the establishment and expansion of the Church from its mission beginnings until its integration into the wider New Zealand society. This includes the Church as a mission to Māori and the later relationships that developed with Māori. Important historical figures and events will be described, in order to provide an understanding of the institutional development of the Church here in Aotearoa.

Early history

The first Catholics to visit New Zealand arrived before the Church’s mission was established. They included members of the crew of the Endeavour, in the first instance, and the various sailors in the European ships which visited Aotearoa during the early period of Pākehā visitation and settlement. The Endeavour, commanded by Captain James Cook, landed in Poverty Bay on 8 October 1769.
with several Catholic crew-members on board (King 1997: 31). Following this, on 17 December of the same year a French ship, *Saint Jean Baptiste*, also arrived in New Zealand, captained by a devout Catholic, Jean Francois Marie de Surville, and anchored in Doubtless Bay. Included in the ship’s crew was a chaplain, Father Paul Antoine Leonard de Villefeix. It was Father de Villefeix who is considered to have performed the first Church service in New Zealand on Christmas Day 1769 (King 1997: 36).

From the 1790s sporadic and often temporary settlement began as gangs of sealers started to work in and around Fiordland and the Foveaux Strait. Numerous escaped and former convicts from Australia also found their way across the Tasman Sea, many of them Irish Catholics, who settled in New Zealand. In the 1820s and 1830s many Irish settlers migrated from Australia to Hokianga, Kaipara, the Bay of Islands, the Firth of Thames and the Bay of Plenty. However, during this time the Catholic Church still had no official presence, as there were no permanent Catholic clergy stationed in New Zealand. Instead, Catholicism was to be found in the changing population of early visitors and settlers as well as some Māori who had acquired the faith by this stage. The influence of these settlers and the faith that they brought with them was increasing as efforts were made to transmit the faith to the Māori they lived amongst. Subsequently, marriages also began to take place between Māori and settler (King 1997: 36-9).
The first Catholic missionary effort in the South Pacific was driven by the Irish Captain Peter Dillon and the French priest, Gabriel de Solages. Captain Dillon, who had travelled throughout the Pacific from 1809 to 1828, observed the active missionary work of the Protestant Churches in the Pacific and wanted to see his own Catholic Church active in this part of the world (Simmons 1978: 8-10). In 1828 on a trip back to Europe Dillon approached the Rector of the Irish College in Paris about a Catholic mission to the South Sea Islands. He was referred to Father De Solages, who had already approached the Society for the Propagation of the Faith for support in establishing a mission to the South Sea Islands and this had been approved with some minor conditions. On 10 January 1830 the Prefecture Apostolic of the South Sea Islands was formally established and Father de Solages was appointed Prefect Apostolic of the South Sea Islands (Wiltgen 1979: 48).

However, due to the premature death of Father de Solages on 8 December 1832 the office of the Prefect Apostolic of the South Sea Islands became vacant (Wiltgen 1979: 101). The Prefecture Apostolic of the South Sea Islands was eventually divided in two, being reconstituted as the Vicariate Apostolic of Eastern Oceania and the Vicariate Apostolic of Western Oceania. A French priest, Jean Baptiste Francois Pompallier, was appointed Bishop of the Vicariate Apostolic Western Oceania on 30 June 1836 (Wiltgen 1979: 125). New Zealand was included in the Vicariate Apostolic, and the Society of Mary, also known as
the Marists, was assigned the task of supplying Bishop Pompallier with missionaries (O’Meeghan 1988: 40).

Support for the establishment of the mission was also forthcoming from within New Zealand from Catholic settlers such as Thomas Poynter, an Irish Catholic settler from the Hokianga, actively seeking the appointment of Catholic clergy in New Zealand. He travelled to Sydney in 1835 and 1836 to request the appointment of a priest to minister to the New Zealand Catholics. However, his requests were denied due to insufficient resources (Taylor 1936: 5-6). In 1837 he visited Sydney for a third time and this time he was informed that missionaries were on their way to establish a Catholic mission in New Zealand.

The Roman Catholic Mission to New Zealand officially began with the arrival of Bishop Jean Baptiste Francois Pompallier at the Hokianga Harbour on 10 January 1838 (Thomson 1969: 166). He was accompanied by Father Catherin Servant and Brother Michel, both of whom belonged to the Society of Mary (Simmons 1978: 11). They stayed as guests of Thomas Poynter in his house at Totara Point, which he lent them until they were able to build the mission station at Papakawau. Although the Catholic Church was a late arrival to New Zealand in comparison to its leading Protestant rivals, Bishop Pompallier was the first bishop of any denomination to permanently reside in New Zealand (Simmons 1978: 11).
Throughout the first year of his residence in New Zealand Pompallier and his staff travelled extensively around Northland preaching and conducting Mass, in both Māori and English (King 1997: 49-52). Interest in Catholicism was shown by Māori communities from the Hokianga, Mangakāhia and Mangonui, all having had prior contact with the Catholic faith through interaction with Catholic settlers (Simmons 1978: 13). This promising start led Pompallier and his companions to regard the prospects of their mission with enthusiasm and optimism.

Further priests and brothers arrived in 1839 to staff the Roman Catholic Mission to New Zealand (Simmons 1978: 13). With the additional staff, Pompallier began mission stations at the Bay of Islands and Totara North (5 January 1840), with the Bay of Islands station becoming the headquarters for the New Zealand Mission. This resulted from Pompallier's observations of the large amount of traffic through the eastern port, in comparison to the Hokianga, and the navigability of the East Coast. The situation of the British Resident, Captain James Busby, at Waitangi also added to the appeal of the Bay of Islands (King 1997: 52).
On 8 December 1839 Fathers Viard, Petit-Jean, Comte and Chevron and Brother Attale arrived in New Zealand (Simmons 1978: 14). Pompallier now had enough staff to spread the influence of the Mission further southward. He, Father Viard and Brother Michel visited various French settlers and Māori communities at Tauranga, Matamata, Ōpōtiki and Whakatāne and established a station at Tauranga. As more groups of missionaries arrived from Europe Pompallier was able to steadily extend the influence of the Mission southward (Pompallier 1888: 77).
Of obvious concern to Pompallier at this time was the annexation of New Zealand by the British and the effects this might have on his Mission. Pompallier visited Captain Hobson on 30 January 1840, to discuss the creation and signing of a treaty between Māori and Great Britain and to seek assurance that once Britain gained sovereignty over New Zealand the Catholic Church would be allowed to remain and continue its Mission to the Māori (King 1997: 52-3). At this meeting Pompallier gained an assurance that the Catholic faith in New Zealand would be protected by the Governor alongside the Anglicans, the Wesleyans and traditional Māori religion (O’Meeghan 1988: 104).

Throughout Pompallier’s tenure as Bishop the Mission struggled with financial difficulties. However, while Pompallier was absent from New Zealand retrieving the body of Father Peter Chanel, who had been killed on the island of Futuna, these financial difficulties increased. The situation was so drastic that the priests left in charge sent letters to Jean Claude Colin, the Superior of the Society of Mary in France, criticising the way in which Pompallier was managing the Mission. This was the beginning of intense difficulties between Pompallier and the Marists, both in France and New Zealand. When Pompallier returned to New Zealand in August 1842 there was a marked escalation in the controversy between the Bishop and the Marists (Simmons 1978: 18-21). Pompallier sent letters to Colin accusing him of interfering in the management of the Mission and he also wrote to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith in Rome about this issue.
Colin replied by accusing Pompallier of trying to gain control of the Oceania-based Marists and broke any connection the Bishop had with the Society of Mary. Despite this break the Missionary work continued (Simmons 1978: 21).

Throughout his tenure Pompallier followed a philosophy for the evangelisation of Māori that can be found in the “Instructions pour les Travaux de la Mission” that he wrote in 1841. The instructions contained two main themes. The first was that traditional Māori protocols and habits were to remain undisturbed so long as they were compatible with Catholic Church doctrine (Girdwood-Morgan 1985: 3). The second explained the way in which Catholic missionaries were expected to behave during interaction with other non-Catholic Christian missionaries and their teachings. Pompallier subscribed to a gradualist approach regarding the introduction of Catholic morality to the Māori through an understanding of Māori society, its practices and rituals, and by showing kindness and setting a good example (Simmons 1978: 22). He thought that the missionaries should build on the “good things” already found in the Māori way of life and attempt to slowly change those habits that offended them or their Catholic views.

The missions in the north had made a promising beginning but with the start of the northern war, between Māori and the British, in 1845, the missions began to struggle and continued to decline over the next 30 years (Simmons 1978: 23). The mission in Auckland, however, steadily progressed for both Māori, particularly in the Waikato region, and Pākehā. A notable achievement was the opening of St
Mary’s College, North Shore, as a boarding school for Māori boys in 1848 (Simmons 1978: 24).

By 1850 the European population in New Zealand had reached 22,000. This was an increase of about 20,000 in only ten years. It had reached 59,000 by 1858 (Simmons 1978: 28). Many Catholic settlers were amongst this huge population increase of Europeans. Their spiritual needs were tended to by the Māori Missioners, but soon the need for specialist European stations became apparent, particularly in the built-up areas of Auckland and Wellington.

A European station was founded in Auckland in October 1842 with Father Petit-Jean as resident priest (Simmons 1978: 29). The number of Catholics, particularly Irish Catholics, greatly increased in the region with the advent of the government funded Fencible settlements of former British soldiers in Howick, Panmure, Ōtāhuhu and Onehunga, which acted as a buffer against attack from the Māori living to the south of Auckland (Simmons 1978: 30).

With the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 and organised European migration, settlements grew throughout New Zealand and eventually some evolved into permanent towns. Port Nicholson (Wellington) began as a New Zealand Company settlement and it was primarily through the efforts of one of its directors, Lord Henry Petrie, that the Catholic Church was initially established there (Simmons 1978: 31-2). Lord Petrie brought Father O’Reily out from Ireland
in 1843 to serve as his family chaplain but instead he was seconded into the New Zealand Mission by Bishop Pompallier and given charge of Wellington. The following year Father Comte was sent to assist Father O'Reily and the former was assigned to care for the needs of the Māori living in the region.

Following his consecration as Bishop in 1846 Father Viard returned to New Zealand to assume the leadership of the Mission in the absence of Bishop Pompallier, who was in Europe presenting his new plan for the Mission (Simmons 1978: 30). The eventual outcome of Pompallier's trip was that New Zealand was divided into two dioceses, Auckland and Port Nicholson (Wellington) (Simmons 1978: 35-8). Pompallier, with secular priests, maintained control of the Auckland Diocese while Viard, with the Marists, assumed control of the Port Nicholson (Wellington) Diocese.

**Auckland Diocese**

From the 1850s the Diocese of Auckland began to take shape with the opening of the first suburban Church, the Church of the Immaculate Conception, and the establishment of the first Catholic newspaper, *The Independent*. Bishop Pompallier bought a property in Ponsonby, which he named Mount St Mary's, as a base for his operations. Also, the Catholic focus on education was continuing with the opening of a boarding school for girls at Mount St Mary’s by the Sisters of Mercy, who ministered to Māori and European alike but who were especially concerned with the needs of Māori and half-caste children (Simmons 1978: 40). A
boarding school for Māori children, known as the Nazareth Institute, was also founded (King 1997: 76).

At this time there were five priests working in the Māori Missions in the south of the Auckland Diocese at Rangiaowhia, Ōpōtiki and Tauranga. The most successful of these mission stations was that at Rangiaowhia which had a large church and a successful school. The rest of the clergy were based in Auckland with those settlements north of Auckland, Māori and European, being visited only periodically by the priests (Simmons 1978: 43).

This positive development ended in the Diocese with the escalation in hostilities between Māori and the settler government that resulted in the eventual outbreak of the New Zealand Wars in 1860. Trade was restricted and Auckland no longer had access to the plentiful supply of food from the Māori villages lying to the south, resulting in an economic depression (Simmons 1978: 45). Another result of the war was the necessary abandonment of many of the mission stations throughout the North Island, including Rangiaowhia, Whakatāne and Ngāruawāhia (Simmons 1978: 46). Following the end of the wars, the old Māori missions were once again staffed, but the bitterness, on both sides, resulting from the wars meant that these missions now catered more for the Catholic settlers than for Māori (Simmons 1978: 48).
The economic slump in the north caused by the moving of the national capital to Wellington, in 1865, and the New Zealand Wars, which continued on into the early 1870s, were to spell the end of Pompallier's reign as Bishop of Auckland. The Diocese was in a state of financial crisis and Pompallier decided to travel to Rome in the hope of raising the funds necessary to keep the Diocese solvent (King 1997: 79). Whilst in Europe Pompallier received the news that many of his personal effects and Church property had been sold by his creditors and that other allegations had been levelled at his conduct, both personally and professionally. Bishop Pompallier resigned from his office on 23 March 1869 and returned to Paris to see out his final years of life (Simmons 1978: 49). Jean Baptiste Francois Pompallier died on 1 December 1871. Despite his faults and the manner in which his career ended, Pompallier's contribution to the Catholic Church in New Zealand is immeasurable and he was noted as having a genuine love and concern for the Māori people. This is evidenced by the desire of Māori Catholics to have the remains of Pompallier interred in the Hokianga. They petitioned Rome for the remains and when granted, in 2003, a group travelled to Rome to accompany the remains to New Zealand. Upon arriving in New Zealand, the remains were taken around the country so that all Māori Catholics could acknowledge Pompallier before his final interment.

Thomas Croke succeeded Pompallier as Bishop, being appointed in 1870. Croke, through various cost-cutting and revenue-producing measures, was able to quickly increase the revenue generated by the Diocese. He was able to re-acquire the
property lost by Pompallier and increase, in general, the assets of the Diocese (Sweetman 1993: 104; Simmons 1978: 69-71). Croke focused on meeting the needs of his mainly Irish immigrant congregation and ignored the needs of Māori within the diocese. He had little time for the non-Irish Catholic traditions represented in New Zealand through the work of the Marists and Benedictines (Sweetman 1993: 104-5). It wasn’t until 1879 that his successor, Bishop Steins, was appointed. Due to poor health, Steins lasted in the position for only a year although during his brief reign he put a strong emphasis on the Catholic schools and reestablished the Māori mission under Father James McDonald, who made a huge contribution to the Māori mission within the Diocese (Simmons 1978: 71-3).

In 1882 Bishop John Edmund Luck became the fourth Bishop of Auckland. This was the time in the history of New Zealand, and the New Zealand Catholic Church, that frontier colonial settlements and life began to give way to larger and more permanent towns and cities (Simmons 1978: 74-5). Bishop Luck was responsible for bringing the Mill Hill Fathers to Auckland in 1886 to work in the Māori Missions in the south of the Diocese, and they eventually took charge of the Missions in the north of the Diocese as well (King 1997: 124).

**Wellington Diocese**

On 1 May 1850 Bishop Viard arrived in Port Nicholson, or Wellington, with his Marist staff to begin work in the new Diocese. There were already good numbers of active Catholics in the Diocese through the work of various people in
Wellington, Nelson and Akaroa and the Māori Mission at Ōtaki. There was still much work to be done, however, in developing the rest of the South Island and large areas in the North Island, like the Hawkes Bay, Wanganui and Wairarapa, which were part of the Diocese (Simmons 1978: 51).

Education continued to be a central focus of the Marists in their new diocese with a school for Māori and half-caste children opened at Ōtaki in 1850 (Keys 1968: 82), and another in the Marist Sisters St Mary’s convent in Wellington (King 1997: 80). They also sustained the school in Nelson, originally opened in 1848, and a boarding school for boys which was opened in the Nelson presbytery. A boarding school for Māori girls, the Providence of St Joseph, was opened in the Hutt Valley in 1852 (Keys 1968: 88), while the Wanganui Mission was also established that year (Keys 1968: 94).

The situation in the Wellington Diocese was to change drastically, both financially and demographically, in 1861 with the discovery of gold in Otago. There was a huge influx of people into the region as thousands of hopeful miners arrived to test their luck. A large number of these miners were Irish or Irish-Australian Catholics (Simmons 1978: 55-6). Gold was also discovered across the Southern Alps on the West Coast in 1864, and the resulting influx of miners hastened the development of the Catholic Church in this region (King 1997: 87).
Expansion was continuing throughout the diocese. In Hawke’s Bay Father Forest established a base at Meeanee and continued to service both the Māori and European settlements in the region (Simmons 1978: 57-8). Although the New Zealand Wars in the Taranaki and Wanganui regions had disrupted the mission work of the Church, there was still work to do in the ministering to the Catholics among the British soldiers in these areas. The Catholic priests stationed in these areas at this time tended to function primarily in the role of chaplains to the military (Simmons 1978: 59).

In 1868 Bishop Viard visited Rome to discuss the potential establishment of a third diocese, among other things. Agreement was reached between him and the Marist order, and it was decided that a third diocese would be established based in Dunedin (King 1997: 89). Patrick Moran was appointed as the first Bishop of this new diocese. New Zealand now had two Irish Bishops in Moran and Croke, which reflected the demographic make-up of the New Zealand Catholic Church. As a result of the goldrushes and governmental immigration policies, a significant portion of the New Zealand population was now Irish. As a consequence, the New Zealand Catholic Church population began to take on the characteristics of an Irish Church (King 1997: 93).

Following the death of Viard in 1872 (King 1997: 90), Francis Redwood was appointed Bishop of Wellington. Initial settlement was still occurring in many parts of the Wellington Diocese and so the Diocese remained in a period of
development (Simmons 1978: 78-82). A notable event was the establishment of a Marist seminary at Meeanee in 1890. The Māori missions in the Wellington Diocese also began to develop again as Father Melu took over the Ōtaki Mission in the early 1880s, opening churches in Ōtaki, Kauangaroa, Poroutāwhao, Mangamaunu, Oahau, Awahuri and Paraparaumu over a twenty-year period (Simmons 1978: 82-3). The St Joseph Sisters, with Suzanne Aubert as their leader, were sent to work in the Wanganui River Mission, where they established a convent at Jerusalem in 1883. The St Joseph Sisters left the Mission after a year and Suzanne Aubert created her own order that was eventually named The Daughters of Our Lady of Compassion and continued the work of the Māori mission in the region in combination with the Māori missioners (Simmons 1978: 83).

In Wellington a secondary boarding school for boys, St Patricks College, staffed by Marist Fathers, was opened on 1 June 1885. Also important in an educational context was the arrival of the Marist Brothers in 1876 to open and teach in primary schools for boys (King 1997: 101). On 13 May 1887 Wellington became an Archdiocese, signalling that the New Zealand Catholic Church was moving out of the missionary phase (Simmons 1978: 83-4).

In the 1880s discussion took place between the New Zealand Bishops and their superiors in Rome regarding the establishment of a fourth diocese in New Zealand. On 13 May 1887 Father John Grimes became the first Bishop of the new
Diocese of Christchurch, despite some opposition to the promotion of an English Marist to a diocese comprised mainly of Irish Catholics (O’Meeghan 1993: 179-180). The Diocese was made up of Canterbury, Westland, south-west Nelson and the Chatham Islands. These areas had previously been part of the Diocese of Wellington (O’Meeghan 1993: 180).

**Twentieth Century**

At the end of the nineteenth century, only 62 years after Pompallier’s arrival, there were four Catholic dioceses in New Zealand centred on Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin. Churches and schools had been established throughout all of these dioceses as the Church expanded and became a permanent part of the evolving New Zealand society. Both the Mill Hill Fathers in Auckland and the Marists in Wellington were by this stage firmly entrenched in their mission work among Māori.

The late nineteenth and early twentieth century was a period of change in which the Catholic Church in New Zealand, and New Zealand as a nation, strove to move out of a colonial period and erect a permanent and more stable society (Simmons 1978: 92). Bishop Verdon, the new Bishop of Dunedin, immediately set about establishing a seminary in New Zealand and on 3 May 1900 he opened Holy Cross College in Mosgiel, near Dunedin (Simmons 1978: 89). The primary focus of the New Zealand Catholic Church at this stage in its history was on the education of its children.
1914 saw the outbreak of the First World War and this greatly affected the Catholic Church worldwide. All Catholics in New Zealand had to face the common hardships and tragedy of war, but more importantly, they were beginning to identify more readily with the ANZACs and New Zealand as opposed to the European country of their origin (Simmons 1978: 95). Notably, in 1916 Matthew Brodie, the first New Zealander to be made a Catholic Bishop, became the Bishop of Christchurch (King 1997: 142).

During this period, in the early 1900s, the Māori people began to recover from the land wars of the 1860s–70s and the various epidemics that had ravaged their population in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The Māori missions of the Marists and the Mill Hill Fathers began to feature again within the Church (Simmons 1978: 92). The fourth Bishop of Auckland, H W Cleary, became the first bishop since Pompallier and Viard to learn to speak Māori. He placed a renewed focus on the Māori missions within his diocese and eventually, in 1928, opened St Peter’s Rural Training College on the North Shore that was later to become Hato Petera College for Māori boys (King 1997: 136). This boarding school was to provide Māori catechists for the Catholic Church. In 1946 the Marist Brothers offered to staff the school and give the students a complete secondary, as well as a religious, education (McSweeny 1954: 91-2). This was aimed at preparing the boys for the professions and equipping them with the religious knowledge to be “good” Catholics and examples to other Māori.
During the 1930s, the primary focus of the Church remained that of increasing the number of churches, religious vocations and schools. St Kevin's, Ōamaru, was established in 1927 and St Patrick's, Silverstream, in 1931 (King 1997: 157). The Catholic Church was focused inwards and its members participated more in the Church society than in the general New Zealand society (Simmons 1978: 100). Any participation in secular or non-Catholic organisations, such as Boy Scouts or Girl Guides, met strong disapproval. This attitude led to the establishment of a separate Catholic society within New Zealand. Catholic libraries, dances, football clubs and tennis clubs, among other ventures, served to further isolate Catholics from the rest of New Zealand (Simmons 1978: 101). However, Māori Catholics who lived in mainly rural areas did not necessarily form part of these Church organisations.

In 1935 Redwood, the Bishop of Wellington (King 1997: 162), died and was replaced by Archbishop Thomas O'Shea. Although Bishop O'Shea himself was a Marist, he led the Wellington Diocese away from a reliance on the Society of Mary and more towards dependence on secular priests (Van Der Krogt 1996: 375). Another notable event during the 1930s was the establishment of the first order of Māori nuns, the Sisters of Mary, at Waitaruka in North Auckland (Simmons 1978: 103). This order was a “success” and in 1952 the Sisters of Mary became Marist Sisters. It appears as though this may have been an experiment to see if Māori women were capable of becoming “real” nuns, given
that they were obviously expected to partake in a trial period before being formally accepted as Marist Sisters (Simmons 1978: 103).

During World War II the focus of the entire country, including the Catholic Church, moved to the war effort. An important moment for Māori Catholics occurred near the end of the war, on 17 December 1944, when the first Māori priest, Wiremu Te Āwhitu, was ordained a Marist in Napier. Āwhitu came from Ōkahukura, near Taumarunui, and attended Ōkahukura school, where he came under the influence of the headmaster R.A. Watson, an English convert to Catholicism. Watson worked with the Mill Hill Fathers to provide religious instruction to the local children, and in 1931, with the support of Watson and the Mill Hills, Āwhitu was able to attend St Peter’s Māori College in Northcote. From there he attended St Patrick’s College, Silverstream, to complete the required academic preparatory course before entering the seminary. At St Patrick’s Āwhitu also came under the influence of the Māori Missioner, Father James Riordan. In 1936 he entered the Marist Seminary at Greenmeadows (Māriu 2000: 512). Following his profession Father Āwhitu worked in the Marist Māori missions in the Archdiocese between 1945 and 1989, including time at Meeanee, Pakipaki, Normanby, Waitara and Hiruhārama before retiring to Ōkahukura. In retirement he actively supported the establishment of the Catholic marae, Whānau Maria, at Ōkahukura (Māriu 2000: 513).
In the decade following the War, the Church refocused on its building programme “to fulfil the aim of a place in a Catholic school for every Catholic child” (Simmons 1978: 106). During this period also the laity developed in its new active role, socially and politically, within the Church. This was highlighted by the activities of the Catholic Youth Movement, the Christian Family Movement, the Legion of Mary, the St Vincent de Paul Society, Catholic Social Services, the Holy Name Society, the Catholic Women’s League, the Homemakers and the Children of Mary. Despite the vigour of these movements and associations, the administration of the parish and its schools was still very much the domain of the Bishops and their clergy (Simmons 1978: 107-8).

The dire situation of the Catholic school system was now very noticeable, as it became obvious that in the 1960s the number of Catholic children of school age would double and there were not enough religious staff available, nationally or internationally, to meet the increasing demand (Simmons 1978: 108). The schools, formerly staffed almost entirely by members of religious orders, now began to employ more lay teachers to meet the increasing demand, leading to increased operational costs for the schools, as their salaries were higher than those of religious staff (Simmons 1978: 108).

The post-World War II period saw the migration of Māori from their traditional rural homes into the towns and cities in search of work. The Church was required to meet the different demands of Māori now that many were urban based. Urban
Māori centres were established and Māori speaking priests, the Mill Hill Fathers in Auckland for example, were moved to minister to the increasingly urban based Māori people (Sweetman 1998: 289). This was also a time of large-scale immigration from the Pacific Islands. Priests were once again required to be brought in to serve these new immigrants and their particular spiritual needs. Culturally, the New Zealand Catholic Church had to change greatly in this period as it became firstly bi-cultural and then more multi-cultural in nature (Simmons 1978: 110).

The major event in the Catholic Church, worldwide, in the twentieth century was the Second Vatican Council held during the years of 1962 to 1965. The Council was concerned with modifying the Church so as to enable it to survive in the changing world. Various changes occurred, including the introduction of more practical habits for nuns, the saying of Mass in English and Māori instead of Latin, and changes in the internal layout of Churches, with the altar being turned to face the congregation (King 1997: 180). The Vatican II reforms were to alter markedly the appearance of the Church and its forms of worship; some older hymns, considered to be archaic, were replaced with new ones that included reference to New Zealand, the sacrament of confession was reconstituted as reconciliation, and the cardinal virtues were highlighted over the ten commandments (King 1997: 180). During the 1970s, due largely to Vatican II, the Church began to really develop into a New Zealand institution rather than something that had been transplanted here from Europe. This was noticeable in
the decreasing number of Irish-born clergy and religious and a corresponding rise in New Zealanders filling these positions. Increased responsibility was also given to lay church members in the administration of the Church and spiritual leadership (King 1997: 181). Significant also in this period was the 1968 appointment of Archbishop McKeefrey as New Zealand's first Cardinal (Simmons 1978: 113).

Following the developments of the 1970s, the 1980s were a time in which the Māori membership and their influence in the Church began to be more apparent, with an increasing use of the Māori language in worship, an overall increase in the number of Māori clergy and the ordination of a Māori Bishop, Father Max Takuira Māriu, in 1988 (King 1997: 181). He was the auxiliary Bishop of Hamilton but also had responsibility for all Māori Catholics and Māori issues that affected the Church. Māori were beginning to question their place in the Church and how this related to their own rituals and values or tikanga Māori. Further to this was the establishment of Te Rūnanga o te Hāhi Katorika to advise the Bishops on Māori matters and the situation of the Treaty of Waitangi as one of the key principles upon which the New Zealand Church should be founded (King 1997: 182).

In 1980 change was made to the structure of the New Zealand Catholic Church with the creation of two new dioceses. The Diocese of Hamilton, under Bishop Gaines, was created from the southern regions (Waikato, Bay of Plenty, King Country and East Coast) of the Diocese of Auckland. The Diocese of Palmerston
North was made up of the northern regions (Manawatū, Hawkes Bay, Wanganui and Taranaki) of the Archdiocese of Wellington and placed under the leadership of Bishop Cullinane (Diocese of Palmerston North 2006; Diocese of Hamilton 2006). Further changes have occurred in the demographics of the New Zealand Catholic Church since the 1990s, when there was a large increase in the numbers of New Zealand Catholics who were neither Irish nor Māori in origin following the arrival of further waves of migrants (King 1997: 183-4).

![Figure 7: New Zealand dioceses from 1980. Source: Ewart 1989: 18.](image-url)
Conclusion

The Catholic Church in New Zealand began unofficially with the many visitors and early settlers aboard the exploration and trading vessels that came to New Zealand in the early period of European contact with Aotearoa. Following this the official Catholic Mission to New Zealand was established by Bishop Pompallier and the Society of Mary. As the settler population increased and European settlement spread throughout the country, the Catholic Church, and its Protestant rivals, also spread nationally, building mission stations, churches and schools as the more permanent religious systems began to be established and stabilised, eventually producing the system of dioceses and parishes that we now have. By the second part of the twentieth century the New Zealand Catholic Church was permanently entrenched in New Zealand society as a whole and had reached a certain maturity, signalled by the existence of the six dioceses, their associated system of parishes, and the appointment of a Cardinal.

Despite the fact that the New Zealand Catholic Church was founded for the benefit of Māori, as European settlement intensified the Church became predominately Irish in nature and orientation. This created tension between those of the clergy that held to the mission ideals of the church and those who wished to minister to the settler congregation. Ultimately, this meant that Māori Catholics were largely ignored and neglected by the predominantly Irish Bishops and clergy, leaving Māori marginalised as second class members within a Church
originally established for their benefit. This situation began to be rectified only in the last couple of decades.
Chapter 3

Te Rōpū o Meri - The Society of Mary

Introduction

In the history of New Zealand Catholics, the Society of Mary has played a vital role since the early days of Pompallier’s mission. The following chapter will examine more specifically the Society of Mary, its origins, its goals, the development of the Wellington Diocese under their authority and lastly, its participation in Catholic education, especially for Māori. The operation and development of the Māori missions within the diocese will also be explored, in conjunction with the philosophies of education followed by the Society. The intention is to provide a broader institutional survey of the Society which ultimately established Hato Paora College.

The priests of the Society of Mary had originally been assigned the responsibility of staffing the Mission to the Western Pacific under the jurisdiction of Bishop Pompallier, and later, were further instructed to accompany Bishop Viard to staff the newly formed Diocese of Wellington (Weir 1989: 4-5). The Marist’s initial brief and responsibility in New Zealand, and then in the Diocese of Wellington, was to minister and evangelise amongst Māori. However, as resources dwindled due to the rapidly increasing European settler population, the priorities of the Church authorities changed, as did the role of the Marists in New Zealand as they attempted to meet the needs of Māori and settler alike. This struggle between
meeting the needs of the Māori or those of the settler population will be discussed in this chapter in relation to the situation of the Māori Mission undertaken by the Marists in the diocese.

**Society of Mary in New Zealand**

The Society of Mary assumed the responsibility for the recently formed Wellington Diocese on 1 May 1850. The Diocese, at that time, encompassed the entire South Island and the lower North Island including the provinces of Hawke’s Bay, Manawatū, Taranaki, Wairarapa, Wanganui and Wellington. Their responsibility included the town-based parishes as well as the mainly rural orientated Māori missions that they had created and maintained within the Diocese. These Māori missions, and the people who comprised them, were a large focus of the Society’s effort, firstly in New Zealand generally, and then in the Wellington Diocese specifically, following their arrival in New Zealand with Bishop Pompallier.

The Society of Mary grew from the desire of a group of young seminarians in Lyons, France, in the early nineteenth century, to found a large religious Society that would include priests, brothers, sisters and laymen (Marists in New Zealand 1985: 18). Eventually the group was given the task of preaching missions to the mountain parishes of the diocese of Belley, and in 1830 they were granted the right to elect an official Central Superior of their group, Father John Claude Colin (Marists in New Zealand 1985: 19). In 1833 Colin, and others, travelled to Rome
to attempt to formalise the establishment of the Society, but the Vatican would not approve the creation of such a large organisation and so the proposed Congregation was instead split into its various groups of fathers, brothers and sisters, still linked in name and spirit (Marists in New Zealand 1985: 19). So in 1836 the Society of Mary was formally established and acknowledged by the Church. In that year also they were assigned the task of staffing the newly formed Vicariate of Western Oceania. The key apostolic endeavours of the Society highlighted by Father Colin were:

1) Work of the missions
2) Work of teaching

All these targets were to play important parts in the history of the Marist Fathers in New Zealand.

On 25 March 1889 Rome granted the charter to establish the New Zealand-based section of the Society as its own independent Marist Province of the Society of Mary. This meant that the New Zealand part of the Society was no longer entirely dependent on the European leadership but was given the opportunity to develop on its own (Society of Mary 1979: 27). This was in part designed to match the recognition granted the New Zealand Catholic Church as a whole when it was made into an ecclesiastical Province of its own governed by a hierarchy. The hierarchy would be led by the New Zealand Archbishop rather than falling under the jurisdiction of an Australian-based archbishop, as had been the case during the
foundation years of the New Zealand Catholic Church. Establishing a Marist Province relieved the Marist bishops from the administrative responsibilities for the Society, a dual role they had had to perform during the missionary period of the Church. Therefore in 1889 Father John Leterrier assumed the position as the first Provincial of the New Zealand Province of the Society of Mary (Ewart 1989: 27). The growing number of dioceses in New Zealand during this period meant that the New Zealand Province had to accept the responsibility for the new Diocese of Christchurch, which had previously been part of the Wellington diocese area, and the parishes and missions contained within them.

**Society of Mary and Education**

The Society of Mary has a long association with education, stretching back to the original founding Marists in France. Many of the initial members of the order, and those attached to the brotherhood established by Marcellin Champagnat, were teachers in a small seminary/secondary school in the Lyons-Belley area of France from whence the order originated (Ewart 1989: 19). They have long considered that education and evangelisation are intimately linked (Bergin 1989: 19). In fact the very reason for the Society's founding was missionary, to take the Gospel to all people, uniting them as one under its teachings. The founder, Father Jean Claude Colin, firmly believed that the most important work that the Society was involved in was education, as this was the means of ensuring the salvation of the world through the scriptures (Murphy 1986: 2-3).
As a result of this belief, one of the Marist's foremost goals upon their arrival in New Zealand was the establishment of schools as a means of further transmitting Catholic doctrine. Primary schools were established throughout the Mission and efforts, usually temporary or fruitless, were made to establish secondary schools as well (Bergin 1989: 19). Success in this area finally came with the decision by Bishop Redwood to establish a substantial secondary school for boys in Wellington. In 1885 St Patrick's College provided the opportunity to create an educational institution that harboured the same values that were to be found in the Catholic home. A boarding school could also provide the opportunity for students to participate in the life of a religious community. The College was seen as vital to the continuation of the Marist Province, as it provided an avenue by which the Society in New Zealand could produce its own priests to minister in New Zealand without being a burden on the global Society as a whole, or dependent on what resources and funds might be available (Durning 1989: 52).

Following the establishment of St Patrick's, the Marist Fathers increased their participation in secondary education with the opening of St Bede's College, Christchurch (1911), and later St Patrick's, Silverstream (1931), St Patrick's High School, Timaru (1938), St John's College, Hastings (1941), St Augustine's, Wanganui (1944), Hato Paora College, Feilding (1947), and Pompallier College, Whangārei (1971) (Goulter 1989: 110). The regular establishment of these schools, especially in the middle decades of the twentieth century, emphasises the important place of these schools in the Society's plan. They became the means of
spreading and consolidating the faith in New Zealand through the education of its youth, or at least of its young men. Hato Paora College was clearly seen as an integral part of the expansion of this system, aimed at young Māori men in the Wellington Diocese.

From the later 1960s the face of Catholic education began to change, especially as a result of Vatican II, with schools amalgamating, and changes being introduced in both the general curriculum and in Christian doctrine. Added to such internal shifts, the New Zealand educational policy underwent dramatic change with the introduction of “Tomorrow’s Schools” education reforms, in the 1980s, and the changes these engendered. These changes created an education system that was decentralised, placing the responsibility for the operation of schools with the school itself and the community that it served. However, it also served to marginalise Māori, and other minorities, as the majority, in this case Pākehā, assumed control of the various schools (Hokowhitu 2004: 191-2). Throughout this changing climate, the goal of the Catholic (Marist) schools remained the same, namely, to produce students who remained in the Church after they had finished school (Goulter 1989: 113).

Formation

With the creation of the New Zealand Province of the Society of Mary in 1889, the first training house was established in Wellington to begin the formation of Marists in New Zealand. Until this point all candidates for the Marist priesthood
had been trained overseas. However, this house soon became too small and training was relocated to the Hawkes Bay mission station at Meeanee, where it took on the name of St Mary’s Scholasticate (Bonisch 1989: 28-9). The first ordinations at Meeanee occurred in 1893 when four priests took their vows. The Scholasticate remained there until 1909, when it was moved to nearby Mount St Mary’s at Greenmeadows due to the frequent flooding of the Tūtaekūrī River at Meeanee (Bonisch 1989: 60-1). The seminary remained here until the 1990s, when it was transferred to Auckland, where it now operates in conjunction with another seminary (formerly Holy Cross Seminary in Mosgiel) and the Te Hēpara Pai Theological College.

Originally the Scholasticate and the Novitiate, a retreat often in the second year of study to more fully understand Marist History and spirituality, were both conducted at Mount St Mary’s. In 1923 the Novitiate was transferred to a property that was purchased at Awahuri in the Manawatū named “Highden”. This meant that priesthood candidates could now physically retreat for their year-long reflection (Bonisch 1989: 67-8).

**Marist Māori Mission**

The original mission to the Māori was very successful in their goal of baptising Māori and thus turning them to the Catholic faith, but when the Church turned away from its Māori communities, these groups were left with little or no contact with clergy. The following discussion will begin with the reinstitution of the
Marist mission to Māori towards the end of the 1870s, following this period of abandonment. The Māori Mission in the Wellington Diocese during the 1870s and 1880s was based at the three primary mission stations: Pakipaki in the Hawkes Bay Mission, Hiruhārama in the Wanganui Mission and Pukekaraka in the Ōtaki Mission.

_Hawkes Bay Mission_

The effective abandonment of Māori in the Diocese meant that the maintenance of the faith among Māori was left to the various Māori catechists, such as Werahiko of the Wanganui River (Bergin 1986: 2), for a period lasting between fifteen and twenty years in most areas. The situation of the Māori Mission was dire by 1868, with Suzanne Aubert at Meeanee the only full time Māori Missioner in the Diocese. This abandonment was a consequence of the New Zealand Wars and racial conflicts of the 1860s in which many Māori Catholics were killed, and their churches and mission stations destroyed. Some Catholic Māori abandoned their faith (Bergin 1986: 1-2). Added to these negative factors, Bishop Viard and later Archbishop Redwood were more concerned with ministering to the ever-increasing Pākehā settler population than to the Māori (Bergin 1989: 30). By 1877 not one of the 33 Marists stationed in the Diocese was working full time among Māori (Bergin 1986: 8).

This was the situation in Hawkes Bay until 1879 and the arrival of Father Soulas from France to help staff the Māori Mission in that area. His appointment was the
beginning of a more concerted effort by the Diocese to minister to Māori in the Hawkes Bay area with the appointments of Fathers Melu and Lepretre and visits from Father Delach at his base in Ōtaki, over the next twenty years (Bergin 1989: 30-1). Soulas began instruction from Aubert in the Māori language and began to train new Māori catechists, to add to current catechists such as Rāniera, Hoani Tokotoko and Hohepa Te Toko, who had sustained the work of the mission without any support from the bishops or clergy (Bergin 1986: 9). Sister Suzanne Aubert had transferred from Auckland to Hawkes Bay in 1871 due to her desire to work among Māori and was the Māori Missioner at Pakipaki in the absence of a priest (Munro 1992: 80-96). There were approximately 120 Catholics among the Māori of the area and the largest concentration was to be found in Pakipaki. Soulas was transferred to the Wanganui mission in 1883 and was replaced by Father Melu, who was based in Pakipaki in 1885. Father Lepretre arrived in 1886 (Bergin 1989: 31).

Wanganui (Hiruhārama) Mission

As in the Hawkes Bay, the Wanganui region had largely been ignored following the early days of the Māori mission, despite the appeals during the 1870s of many Wanganui river chiefs and catechists, including Taiwhati, Werahiko, Atarea and Poma, to reestablish the mission (Bergin 1986: 12). This changed dramatically in 1883 with the appointment of Father Soulau, two Sisters of St Joseph of Nazareth, later to be replaced by the Third Order Regular of Mary, and Suzanne Aubert to Hiruhārama on the Whanganui River (Bergin 1989:32). Suzanne Aubert, or Sister
Mary Joseph, played an important role in the revival of the Māori mission within the diocese, firstly in Hawke’s Bay, and later at Hiruhārama on the Wanganui River. Aubert was transferred to Hiruhārama because she was fluent in Māori, as well as a capable nurse, with a good medical knowledge (Tennant 1993: 16-7). In 1892 she became the first Superior of the Daughters of our Lady of Compassion, formerly the Third Order Regular of Mary, based at Hiruhārama. The effect of the support that Aubert and her sisters gave to the Marist Māori missioners is noted by Tennant (1993: 17):

The activities of the sisters were crucial to the success of the Marist mission, providing a vital element of female support absent from almost all the previous Catholic missionary efforts in New Zealand.

The arrival of Father Soulas, Aubert and her sisters, and their achievements, produced a revival of interest in the Catholic faith amongst Māori, with many new baptisms and the building of new churches in Māori communities.

The combination of the religious, educational and health services that the mission team provided is considered to have been an important factor in the success of the Wanganui Mission during this period. This approach was one that was favoured by Marists in other parts of the Pacific, though it was not generally followed in New Zealand. Another notable factor was the continuing efforts of the various Māori catechists in the area who had worked for decades keeping the Catholic faith alive among Māori in the Diocese. In fact, the strict religious observance by many Māori of Hiruhārama closely resembled that of a religious order (Bergin
In 1886 Father Cognet joined Soulas and the Mission and was based at Rānana on the Whanganui River, which had many families that had long supported the Catholic faith. Notable among them were the Haami, Pauro and Te Patu families who were all to play a part in the eventual establishment of Hato Paora College in Feilding in 1947. Cognet travelled widely upon horseback visiting the Māori Catholics of the area.

Because of the vast geographical size and the time that it took to travel, on horseback and by boat, within the mission many villages would only see a priest a few times a year. Therefore, it often fell to the Māori catechists to keep the faith alive among the people by conducting regular weekday and Sunday prayers until
such time as a priest returned to provide the sacraments (Bergin 1986: 43). Father Cognet once referred to the catechists as their most precious resource. Thought was given to the creation of a school to train Māori catechists to assist in the work of the mission. However, due to a lack of personnel and resources, this was never established. Some potential catechists were sent to St Patrick’s in Wellington and Sacred Heart College in Auckland in an attempt to create future catechists and Catholic leaders (Bergin 1986: 44).

In 1904 Father Malliard returned to the Wanganui River mission from the Taranaki mission and later in 1906 was replaced by Father Jean-Marie Vibaud. Vibaud focused his attentions on the Waimarino and Moawhango areas of the mission district, ministering to the Māori and settler Catholics of those areas, although there were concerns raised that he ministered to the settlers to the detriment of Māori (Bergin 1986: 102-3). Vibaud concentrated his efforts on the Wanganui River region of the Mission and eventually he developed his relationship with the Māori people to such a degree that he was invited to attend a traditional whare wānanga (house of learning) and learn the traditions and whakapapa of the Wanganui River people (Bergin 1986: 105-6). Vibaud, as editor of Whare Kura, a Māori language Catholic publication, also promoted the blending of Māori and Christian theologies, particularly Māori ideas of tapu, as a response to the Rātana movement⁹ (Bergin 1986: 107). He argued that a better

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⁹ Religious movement that incorporates Christian and Māori beliefs established by Tahupōtiki Wiremu Rātana in early 20th century.
understanding of Māori spirituality and its incorporation into Christian practice would aid in the evangelisation of Māori (Bergin 1986: 107).

Otaki Mission

In 1885 Father Melu was appointed to the Otaki Mission and was later joined for a short while by Father Cognet. The Otaki Mission had not had a full time priest since Comte in 1854. These two conducted the usual mission business of spreading the faith through baptism and the other sacraments, once again travelling extensively on horseback (Bergin 1989: 35-7). Of particular importance to Melu at this time was the building of churches in partnership with the Māori communities throughout the mission district and he achieved notable success in this activity (Bergin 1986: 54-8).

Melu and Delach also began to create some initiatives that were entirely new among mission practices in New Zealand. Most notable of these initiatives were regular hui of Māori Catholics. The first was held in 1894 to mark the golden jubilee of the Otaki Mission and they continued into the twentieth century, organised by Delach in collaboration with leading Māori Catholics, and held throughout the Mission. These hui were used to bring together the many Catholic Māori groups from within the Mission to discuss issues related to the faith and how Māori enacted this faith in their lives. They were seen as “a central expression of Catholic Māori Mana” (Bergin 1989: 37-9).
Māori Catholic Churches opened throughout the Ōtaki Mission, but perhaps more significant was the building of a *wharenui* (meeting house), opened in 1904, beside the presbytery at Pukekaraka. The *wharenui* was named "Roma" to highlight its links to Rome and the Catholic Church, and the *marae* in front of it was named for the Virgin Mary, as was a second *wharenui* that was eventually built beside it (Bergin 1989: 37). These initiatives provided a combination of both Māori and Catholic beliefs that allowed Māori to express their Catholic faith in a more Māori fashion, a unique idea at that particular time in the Church’s history, but one that harked back to some of the ideas originally professed by Bishop Pompallier (Bergin 1989: 39). More importantly, these *hui* seemed to significantly encourage Māori participation and understanding in their faith through the incorporation of some of their traditional cultural concepts and practice. Father Delach was also responsible for the establishment of the Catholic newspaper, *Whare Kura*, in 1909, which he used to reply to critics of the church and the Māori mission (Bergin 1986: 117-119).

Unfortunately, this period of hope and promise ended with the removal of Father Delach from the Mission by the co-adjutor, Archbishop O’Shea, who saw little use in the *hui* and was critical of Delach’s use of mission funds. Delach was transferred to the Hawkes Bay in 1914, despite vigorous protest from Māori and Pākehā Catholics from within the Mission district, and was then sent back to France. Over one hundred Māori Catholic elders gathered to petition his return, but he was to remain in France until his eventual death in 1949 (Bergin 1989: 39).
Delach’s removal contributed to the decline in the activities of the Mission, which again fell back on its Māori lay leadership and catechists.

This was the situation across the Diocese in 1939 when the Mission House at Ōkato, in Taranaki, was reopened and staffed by Fathers Francis Wall and James Durning. They faced a task entirely different from that of their predecessors as they battled the residual bitterness of the nineteenth century land wars and the 1918 influenza epidemic in which more Māori died as a proportion of the population than did Pākehā (King 2003: 316). This event had a serious adverse effect on the national Māori population. These factors meant there were no longer large Catholic communities to visit, only individual households or small groups from which to revive the Catholic faith among Taranaki Māori (Kerins 1989: 90-2).

**Post World War II**

Elsewhere within the mission district the Pukekaraka hui were reconstituted by Father Riordan, in about 1944, and he also began to push for the establishment of a college for Māori boys. These hui were now an Easter gathering known as Hui Aranga and were held throughout the archdiocese, hosted by various Federated Catholic Māori clubs. They became an important focus of Catholic Māori identity, particularly among the Wanganui Māori (Bergin 1986: 135). The Pakipaki Mission was reopened and the Taranaki Mission was divided into two, centred on Ōkato and Normanby as mission activity again intensified, supported
by both the Society of Mary and Archdiocesan authorities. The Church had finally accepted that the Māori population was growing and as a culture were no longer destined for extinction (Kerins 1989: 92).

In the late 1960s, the Mission still did not have an official policy relating to the form and function of the Mission. This was largely due to the reluctance of the missioners to attempt to integrate their Māori congregations into the formal established parishes, as was the wish of many of the bishops. This reluctance arose from the Māori missioners’ belief that the parishes could not appropriately deal with the different culture and lifestyle of Māori (Hekiera 1989: 97). Although there was no official policy, there was a sameness of spirit and purpose among the Māori missioners “akin to policy”, which focused on helping Māori “achieve standing and position, to find identity in a Catholic faith” (Hekiera 1989: 97).

In the 1970s some of the mission areas changed their name from Māori Mission to Māori Pastoral Care in an attempt to highlight that “there is so much of faith that is Universal (Catholic) but that needs the culture of a people to be meaningful in place and time” (Hekiera 1989: 99). As Māori, they sought to participate in determining their role within the Church, by seeking to inculturate the Church itself. The rise of the ministry movement following Vatican II, and the Māori ministry movement under the banner of Ahi Kaa in the 1980s, gave substance to this philosophy as did, more significantly, the ordination of Max Takuira Māriu.

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10 This is a term related to continued possession of, or authority over, land. In this context it can be seen as an assertion of authority over Māori Catholics’ role and participation in the Church.
S.M. as the first Māori Catholic Bishop in 1988. Bishop Māriu had been heavily influenced by two orders of Māori Missioners, the Mill Hill Fathers from the Auckland and Hamilton Dioceses, and the Marist Fathers during his time as a student of Hato Paora College, and leading up to his profession as a Marist priest (Hekiera 1989: 99-100). In the mid-1980s a delegation of Māori Catholics travelled to Rome for an audience with the Pope, where they requested the installation of a Māori bishop in New Zealand. The Pope did not confirm whether this would be possible, but in due course Māori Catholics did get their bishop (Lawton 1996: 184-5).

With the installation of an obvious Māori leader within the Church, the situation of Māori has changed, in that it is now the Māori Ministry and Māori members themselves who are defining their own role and participation in the Church, rather than the bishops or Māori missioners. This is evidenced by the development of a Catholic Māori Pastoral Plan for New Zealand driven by Bishop Māriu in his role as the leader of all Catholic Māori (Hekiera 1989: 99-100).

An overriding theme of the Māori mission, particularly from 1880 to 1920, was the harsh conditions under which the Māori missioners operated. They were poorly resourced both financially and in terms of staff, which meant that vast distances, often over rugged and inhospitable terrain, were covered as the missioners attempted to attract new followers and continued to service those who were already Catholic. The Marist staff were handicapped by the fact that most
members of the Society chose the easier assignment of working in the mainly Pākehā parishes instead of within the missions. As a consequence, the then provincial superior, Father Regnault, noted in 1914 that the Society had not made the necessary sacrifices by preaching the gospel to Māori. The Māori mission had been sacrificed in the interest of the Pākehā majority and their needs (Bergin 1986: 111-112).

Notwithstanding the efforts and endeavours of the Marists themselves, it was the obvious commitment to Catholicism by the various Māori communities in the Archdiocese that was to prove of most importance to the establishment of Hato Paora College as a Marist secondary school. This is clearly evidenced in the actions of the Māori catechists who kept the faith alive in their individual areas, despite little, and often no, contact with clergy for long periods of time, especially in the 1850s and 1860s. These men, as much as anyone, are responsible for the continuation of the faith in their small rural communities, and their actions helped to frame the way the faith was seen by Māori. Examples abound of the extreme measures taken to keep the faith alive. Because of the work done by these catechists, the clergy, when they did finally return, often found people who had maintained their Catholic religious observances and remained knowledgeable in Catholic doctrine.

Examples of the spiritual leadership of the Māori Catholic catechists in their communities, whilst not widely acknowledged, can be found throughout the
country. In the far north, Father James McDonald recorded that when he visited some communities in the Hokianga that had not seen a priest in ten years, the faith was still being kept alive through the work of catechists, such as Heremia Te Wake of Panguru (King 1997: 123). In the Marist Mission there is the example of Werahiko of Koroniti, who for the fifteen years that his village was without a priest rang the Catholic prayer bell morning and night even though only he responded to it (Bergin 1986: 46). Other supporters and catechists in the Wanganui region during the 1870s and 1880s were Taiwhati of Hiruhārama and Atarea and Poma of Kauaeroa, who actively petitioned the Church for the return of the Missioners to their region (Bergin 1986: 12).

As the New Zealand Catholic Church itself grew, there were parallel developments in the ongoing Māori mission work, initiated in the first instance by the Marist Fathers and later distributed among other Orders as the nation and the Church expanded. However, as history will show, this work for Catholic Māori was often sporadic and dependent on the priorities of the various levels of Church government, especially regarding the needs of non-Māori church members. The Society of Mary continued to work in New Zealand, based initially in the original Diocese of Wellington, but they were eventually spread among almost all the dioceses as the latter were further divided and reconstituted. The Marist Fathers had particular responsibility for the Māori missions in the Wellington Diocese and established Hato Paora College in 1947 as an educational option for the Māori Catholics of the Diocese.
Philosophy of Marist Education

“God’s children, confided to us.” Father John-Claude Colin

Hato Paora College is a Marist school and so it is important to examine the Marist philosophy on education as the foundation philosophy of the school. How the Society of Mary approaches the education of youth will be slightly different from that of other Orders within the Church due to their own unique characteristics, history and ideology, whilst still drawing from the wider Catholic ideas, philosophies and traditions related to education. Although there is no official philosophy of Marist education as such, this does not mean that the Society with its long history and focus on education has not attempted to define what their philosophy is and how this affects their approach to education. The following examination of the Marist philosophy uses a document created by the Society in an attempt to define their approach to education and the major characteristics and themes of that approach.

The Marist philosophy draws, in the first instance, from the broader ideology of Christian education, and more specifically Catholic education. This means that the education provided is focused towards both God, the goal of salvation, and humanity, producing a student capable of contributing to their own community (Blasoni 1971: 3). Furthermore, the education system or school must be part of the world of the Church, but also of society as a whole, not separate in its organisation and operation. This is to ensure that the student learns to integrate the
Catholic ideals into their “real” lives and not just learn in isolation in a protected Catholic environment (Blasoni 1971: 3).

Within this, the Catholic school and its students are acknowledged as having different intrinsic values and a different world view from other schools, while the Marist school is again slightly different from the generic Catholic model (Blasoni 1971: 5). This means that the school is not only academically orientated but is also concerned with the moral and religious development of the students (Society of Mary 1979: 2).

The foundation of the philosophy of Marist education is a continuation of the ideal created by the founder of the Society, Father Jean Claude Colin, which was to cover all aspects of Marist life and conduct. In essence, the Marist was to be self-effacing, humble and unseen (Blasoni 1971: 6). This conduct was expected to be carried into the classroom and to create a teaching pedagogy that was student rather than teacher focused. It expected the teacher to draw out the students rather than simply trying to impose the knowledge on them (Blasoni 1971: 6). As the Society was missionary in origin, and the founder considered education to be a valuable tool for this missionary ideal, the success of Marist schools in terms of the Society’s own goals of evangelisation very important.

According to Father Colin, the Marist school was to create an atmosphere that allowed the student to learn through immersion rather than just his studies, so that
the ideals and values of the school were part of the overall culture of the school and not just something that was taught in the classroom (Blasoni 1971: 6). This atmosphere was to be enhanced by a relaxed, easy-going demeanour projected by the Marists whilst still maintaining their authority. This personal approach aimed at understanding the student as an individual and providing for their well-being as an individual (Blasoni 1971: 7).

The Marist approach/philosophy to education concepts is distinguished by the individual components of personalism, community and the family spirit. The concept of personalism emphasises that the student needs to be considered as a whole and that their needs, whether intellectual, social, religious, emotional or physical, must be met. This ideal is underpinned by the perceived desire of the student for self-respect and the way in which this desire can be met through the interaction with others and their attitudes towards the student. The value or self-esteem that the student has is regarded as being directly related to the expectations and attitudes of others towards them. Therefore, the opportunity must be provided for the student to experience success and gain self-respect, thus improving the student’s own self-concept; a combination of self-respect, self-esteem and self-worth (Blasoni 1971: 7).

The goal of community as a characteristic of the Marist approach has two main objectives. Firstly, it seeks to create unity, or a sense of community, within the school as a whole between both the staff and the students. Secondly, it looks for
the idea of unity between the school community and the wider community of the Church and society as a whole (Blasoni 1971: 8). In general, the Marist philosophy in education tries to acknowledge and affirm the situation of the school within the wider community, or communities, in which it exists. By encouraging participation in these communities, the potential for success is enhanced within the school. This creates a situation in which a Marist school stands, facing outward towards the community that it serves.

The family spirit engendered in this system is an extension of the atmosphere of the school, which itself originates from the spirit of religious community created by the Marist teachers upon which the school is founded. This spirit accepts that each student is different and attempts to adapt to and understand these differences. This spirit is seen merely as an extension and continuation of the family spirit found in the homes of the individual student, and this relationship is further enhanced through frequent interaction between home, school and community (Blasoni 1971: 8-9).

Overall, the Marist philosophy of education can be seen as a continuation of the original educational ideals of the founder of the Society, Father Colin. It aims at providing an education that meets the total needs of the student, by striving to be flexible and adaptable in this ever-changing world, whilst still retaining its Catholic world view (Blasoni 1971: 12). It proposes an education environment that is about acceptance and belonging similar to that of the family. Ongoing and
frequent interaction between the school and the parents of the students is central to the provision of this type of education, further enhancing the idea of family (Blasoni 1971: 9). The relationship between the school, the students and the communities they belong to is also important due to the outward-facing orientation of the Marist school which demands that the school not stand in isolation but interact with and be a part of the communities that it belongs to.

Conclusion

The Society of Mary came to New Zealand to spread the Catholic faith among Māori. They established Māori missions throughout the country in the first instance and then focused their efforts on the Diocese of Wellington later. These missions took the Catholic faith to the Māori in their own communities and many of these communities took on the faith, making it part of their own culture. However, as the Church grew and developed and competition for resources increased, the focus of the Society shifted more to the Pākehā population. Despite this, the Marist Māori Missions continued with many Māori communities continuing to adhere to the faith, led by Māori catechists, even though they rarely saw clergy. Eventually this commitment by Māori and the Marist Māori missioners led to the establishment of Hato Paora College to provide Catholic secondary education to Māori boys.
Chapter 4

Māori Education

Introduction

Education in New Zealand did not begin with the arrival of the missionaries and early settlers. The notion of education, or schooling, was not a foreign concept to Māori in pre-contact society. This study will therefore begin with a description of the traditional Māori education system before providing an historical overview of the establishment of the modern New Zealand education system, from its earliest missionary origins to its current structure. A particular focus will be placed on the education of Māori through the early mission schools, the Native Schools system, the denominational boarding schools, and finally, integration into the public/state system. The various acts, ordinances and reports that have impacted on the education of Māori will also be discussed in order to situate Māori within the New Zealand Education system as a whole.

Traditional Māori Education System

Before the arrival of the early European explorers, settlers and missionaries Māori already had an established, stable learning process, provided at a hapū and āhu level. Disregarding the small differences in what was taught and the names used to describe the different parts or levels of these systems, these schools basically taught the same material and used a similar pedagogy.
Traditionally the education of a child began from birth in the home (Buck 1982: 356). As there were often three or more generations living together, the grandparents would take over the responsibility of the child’s education. This education involved practical knowledge as well as tribal history, folklore and their language (Buck 1982: 258). The young learnt by observing and participating in the communal life of the family, learning by experience (Rangihau 1992: 183). This childhood education was conducted in the home, but as children grew older or displayed significant aptitude in a particular area of knowledge they were entered into a more formal specialised system of education. The education of the young adults would be continued under the guidance of an expert in this specialised knowledge area, whether it was woodcarving, fine weaving or military instruction through to learning tribal lore (Buck 1982: 361-2).

This system of education comprised schools of learning, often referred to as *whare wānanga,* and were found throughout the country. S. Percy Smith asserts that:

> the Whare Wananga was a place where all important histories were collected – it dealt with the Gods, the heavens, the stars, the suns, the moons, the kauwhanga [levels] of the heavens, the winds, the clouds, and extending down to Papa-tua-nuku (The Earth), and all things pertaining thereto as also to man, and all subjects that were considered as appropriate to be taught ...

(Smith 1915: 264).

These *whare wānanga* were held in high regard by Māori, with the varied teachers or *tohunga* who taught in the school of learning holding high rank within

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11 Whare Wānanga and Wānanga are some of the Māori terms also used to identify tertiary education institutions in contemporary New Zealand society.
their respective *iwi* or *hapū* (Best 1924: 64-5). Not only were the people and place of learning held in high regard but also the process of learning itself; as Best (1924: 65) noted, people “cannot conceive the feeling old-time Māori had for knowledge”.

Different *iwi* and *hapū* had different names for their schools of learning and sometimes different names for particular sections of the schools that dealt with specific forms of knowledge. In the Tākitimu tribal region, schools that taught the knowledge related to *mākus* were known as *whare maire*, whereas the place where solitary or one-on-one type teaching/learning took place was known as *whare pōrūkuruku* (Best 1959:9). In the Mātaatua tribal region, the *whare maire* were the schools in which tribal lore was taught, and the *whare takiura* was the place for the more specialised “superior” knowledge. In Taranaki, the *whare wānanga* was the place in which the more specialised and advanced knowledge was taught while the tribal lore was taught in the *whare kura* (Best 1959: 11). In the South Island, the tribal historical traditions and knowledge pertaining to war and agriculture were transmitted through the *whare kura* and *whare pūrākau*, while the knowledge pertaining to the magic arts was transmitted through the *whare tōhunga* (Best 1959: 28). Regardless of the particular name of the schooling system, these *wānanga* were widespread and were the obvious focus for the transmission of specialised knowledge, both secular and non-secular in nature.

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12 To inflict physical and psychological harm and even death through spiritual powers.
Tāne nui a Rangi is attributed with ascending into the heavens and returning with the knowledge that was taught in the school of learning, contained in *ngā kete o te wānanga*, or the three baskets of knowledge (Best 1959: 11). These baskets each contained a different type of knowledge pertaining to the physical and metaphysical worlds. It was the knowledge contained in these baskets that formed the content or curriculum taught in the *wānanga* system. It is noted that these baskets are known by various names, but despite these differences the contents of these baskets are generally agreed upon.

Examples of the differences in the names of the baskets can be found in Best (1959), who contends that the *kete aronui* contained knowledge that was good, peaceful and related to humane endeavours, whereas the *kete tūātea* contained evil knowledge such as that related to warfare and *mākutu*, and the *kete tūāuri* the ritual knowledge that was extremely *tapu* (Best 1959: 11). By contrast, Buck (1982) asserts that the *kete uruuru matua* contained the knowledge described as goodness, love and peace, the *kete uruuru rangi* contained prayers, incantations and ritual, whilst *kete uruuru tau* (or *tawhito*) contained warfare, agriculture, woodwork and earth work (Buck 1982: 448-9).

Another division within the knowledge taught and contained in the school of learning is that of *kauwae runga* and *kauwae raro*. The *kauwae runga* was the celestial knowledge, such as the lore and knowledge regarding Rangi-nui and Papatūānuku, their offspring, cosmology and all matters concerning the heavens.
The *kauwae raro* dealt with the knowledge concerning the land and the people, such as migration narratives, historical traditions and tribal history (Best 1924: 69; Smith 1915: 28).

With the arrival of the European missionaries and settlers and the introduction of their own education systems, the *wānanga* system began to fall into disuse as Māori started to use the newly imported system. The last session of the *whare wānanga* in Wairarapa is reported as being during 1865, while the last session held in the South Island occurred in 1868 (Best 1959: 27). However, tribal *wānanga* did continue to operate in a more limited capacity and were still running in the twentieth century. For example, Reverend Māori Marsden, an acknowledged expert on *tikanga Māori*, attended a tribal *whare wānanga* in Northland prior to and after World War II (Royal 2003: xi).
European style Schooling

The following figure provides a timeline for the introduction of schooling systems to Māori (Adapted from Simon 1993: 4).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year Range</th>
<th>Description</th>
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| 1816-1840s | **Mission Day Schools**  
Litersity in the Māori language |
| 1847-1867  | **Mission Boarding Schools Subsidised**  
By the Government (if following conditions met)  
1. Religious training  
2. Industrial training  
3. Instruction in the English language  
4. Subject to government inspection |
| 1867-1969  | **Government-Run Village Primary Schools**  
(Known as ‘Native Schools’) |
| 1877-1887  | **Public Schools**  
Māori were also legally entitled to attend public schools. |
| 1969       | Native Schools system disbanded and integrated into Public School System. |

Figure 9: Schooling for Māori

*Mission Schools*

Education for Māori in New Zealand was initially provided by the various churches that had established missions in New Zealand. They strongly believed that literacy was an important tool in evangelising to indigenous people (Openshaw et al 1993: 29). Thomas Kendall established the first mission school at Rangihoua in the Bay of Islands district of Northland on 16 August 1816 (Barrington and Beaglehole 1974: 10). Kendall was a lay member of the Church
of England’s Church Missionary Society (CMS) that arrived in New Zealand in 1814 under the leadership of Samuel Marsden (King 2003: 140). As the mission consolidated in New Zealand, mission stations were set up in Kerikeri and Paihia, all still in Northland, each with their own school. Kendall’s school at Rangihoua closed in 1818 due to a lack of supplies but, was reopened following the 1823 arrival of Henry Williams, who put new stress on the importance of schools. By 1828 there were 111 Māori pupils in the three mission station schools. Further schools followed these. However, attendance at schools in general was inconsistent until the 1880s (Barrington and Beaglehole 1974: 16-8).

The Wesleyans arrived in 1822 and established a mission station at Whangaroa, just north of the Bay of Islands. Almost immediately they built schools in the area, but like the Anglicans they were faced with a largely unenthusiastic Māori population. Due to an outbreak of hostilities among Māori in 1827, the Whangaroa Mission was abandoned and the missionaries sought refuge in the Bay of Islands. In 1829, following an agreement with the CMS, they relocated to the Hokianga on the west coast in order to avoid direct competition between the two missions (Barrington and Beaglehole 1974: 19; Openshaw et al 1993: 29).

The Catholics, led by Bishop Pompallier, also set themselves up in the Hokianga upon their arrival in 1838. Due to their relatively late arrival, in comparison with their Protestant rivals, the Catholic Church seemed more focused on establishing mission stations and generating new converts as quickly as possible, rather than
establishing schools. This could be further attributed to the lack of staff in the Catholic mission, as a result of which, they were required to cover large distances and areas, often on foot or by horseback, to spread their beliefs. The first Catholic school was opened in the Pākehā settlement of Port Nicholson (now Wellington) as late as 1847 (King 1997: 68).

Māori indifference to the schooling being offered by the missionaries changed in the early 1830s when a growing enthusiasm, particularly for reading, was noted by missionaries of all denominations. This enthusiasm spread beyond the villages with mission stations to those without as Māori who learnt to read took the new skill to other villages and taught the inhabitants (Barrington and Beaglehole 1974: 20-2). The expansion of literacy was such that by 1840 some Māori could read in almost every village in the North Island (Openshaw et al 1993: 29). It was estimated that about half the adult population at this time was literate to some degree. The mission schools reached their peak in the late 1830s and early 1840s, when in the words of the missionaries: “they began to resemble the appearance of Country Day Schools in England” (Barrington and Beaglehole 1974: 20-2). This situation was, however, short-lived. During the 1840s, Māori interest in schooling declined steeply as the new colony became embroiled in hostilities between the Crown and Māori (Sorrenson 1992: 151-2).

State Funding 1847
In 1845 Sir George Grey, a staunch believer in schooling as a transmitter of Victorian values, became Governor. Grey proposed to create a more formal system of education than that provided by the missionaries. He did not, however, wish to create an entirely new system; rather, he wished to provide financial support to the mission schools if they met certain criteria (Barrington and Beaglehole 1974: 43-4). The proposed funding of the schools was part of the wider governmental Native policy aimed primarily at alienating Māori land (Simon 1994: 55). In 1847 an Education Ordinance was passed by the Legislative Council to be applicable to all children but primarily for Māori and half-caste children. The Ordinance provided state funding for the existing mission schools as long as they:

- taught religious education
- taught industrial training
- consented to annual government inspection
- used English as the medium of instruction and communication (Barrington and Beaglehole 1974: 43-4).

This Ordinance was the first step towards a national system of schooling. It also inaugurated a policy of assimilation, as now all schooling was to be conducted in English.

The Ordinance also encouraged the establishment of denominational boarding schools as a means of ensuring attendance and providing the opportunity to teach
Christian values and behaviours. It was believed that by isolating the students from their families they would more readily be able to learn English, and European modes of behaviour (Barrington and Beaglehole 1974: 45-6). By 1852 the CMS had several boarding schools operating at their mission stations, some for boys and others for girls. The boys’ schools gave the students industrial and agricultural training, whilst the girls’ schools trained them in domestic duties (Barrington and Beaglehole 1974: 49).

Native Schools 1867-1969

The growth of the mission schools came to a halt during the 1860s New Zealand Land Wars. The mission schools were in fact also completely abandoned by Māori. These wars effectively began over the Waitara land purchase dispute and eventually were to engulf almost all of the central North Island. The land confiscations that followed, even against those who had remained neutral, left Māori feeling bitter towards the colonial government and severely retarded the development of the colony (Sorrenson 1992: 153-160). The colonial government realised that even with state funding the Church mission schools did not have the finances to support a national system of schools for Māori ( Openshaw et al 1993: 39). As a consequence, after the wars the Government sought to establish its own system of schooling for Māori.

The Parliamentary debates that surrounded the 1867 Native Schools Bill give a clear insight into the purpose of these schools from the Government’s point of
view. Some Parliamentarians appeared to have genuine concern for Māori (Simon 1998: 11). However, most considered it appropriate to use assimilation as a means of “civilising” Māori. The schools would be used as a form of social control. Money spent on schools would save spending on jails and the military. Schools would only be established where Māori not only requested them but also provided resources (Openshaw et al 1993: 40). Comments were made during the debates that Māori needed to be either “exterminated” or “civilised”, with civilisation supported in order to lessen the drain on the colonial finances. They believed that the Māori language was an “imperfect medium of thought” which therefore needed to be replaced by a more “perfect” language in schools, namely English. It was upon such paternalistic and racist ideals that New Zealand’s first national system of schools was formally established (Openshaw et al 1993: 40).

In 1867 the Native Schools Act was passed, allowing for a system of secular village primary schools known as Native Schools to be established (Simon 1998: 11). The Act decreed that if a Māori community wanted a Native School, then they needed to establish a committee and formally request one. The community also had to be able to provide land for the school, pay half the cost of the building and a quarter of the teacher’s salary. The establishment of schools progressed slowly, with only 13 schools operational by 1870. This prompted the Government to enact an amendment to the Act in 1871 (Native Schools Amendment Act 1871) which relaxed the financial responsibility for Māori. If they were unable to pay for the buildings and teacher’s salary then they were obliged to supply the land
only (Simon 1998:11; Openshaw et al 1993: 42). Māori responded favourably to these changes, and the number of schools established increased rapidly throughout the 1870s (Openshaw et al 1993: 42).

By 1879 there were 57 Native Schools, mainly in the far north and eastern parts of the North Island, those places least affected by the Land Wars of the 1860s (Simon 1998: 12). However, in those areas affected by the Wars and resulting land confiscations Māori were still suspicious of the Government and it was not until the mid-1880s that schools were opened in Taranaki, Waikato and the King Country (Openshaw et al 1993: 43; Simon 1998: 11). Resistance to the schools also came from the new Māori religious and political groups that sought to assert Māori sovereignty. Te Kooti Arikirangi, a religious leader, warned his followers in the Bay of Plenty that their children would be “injuriously affected” if they attended the schools. In Taranaki Te Whiti, a religious leader, also prohibited his followers from sending their children to the schools as he sought separation from the Pākehā. Despite this, most resistance had been overcome by the 1900s, when some 100 schools had been established in most regions (Openshaw et al 1993: 44).

_Education Act 1877_
In 1852 New Zealand ceased to be a Crown Colony governed from Britain. The country was divided into six Provinces, each with its own Provincial Council. These Councils assumed responsibility for, among other things, education in their province. As a result of these changes, the various education systems developed differently in each Province. Inequalities between the systems occurred. By the 1870s there was general dissatisfaction with the quality of education provided, particularly in the North Island where the economic effects of the Land Wars were still being felt (Simon 1994: 42). These concerns led to the passing of the Education Act 1877, which established a “national, free, secular and compulsory state-funded system of primary schools”. A Department of Education was established with ten regional Education Boards that were to administer the schools.

In 1879 control of the Native Schools was moved from the Native Department to the Department of Education. The public schools were administered by the regional Education Boards. However, the Native Schools were under the direct control of the Department (Openshaw et al 1993: 44). Ultimately all of the Native Schools were to be integrated into the new public school system once the students were sufficiently “Europeanised” (Simon 1998: 12). Despite this intention, many Native Schools remained outside the public system, despite the level of “Europeanisation” of their students, because the Māori school communities preferred to remain under departmental rather than Board control (Simon 1998: 13).
Native Schools Code

In 1880 the Department of Education appointed James Pope as the first Organising Inspector of Native Schools. His first major task was to produce the Native Schools Code 1880 for the schools (Simon 1998: 13; Openshaw et al 1993: 46). This Code was to regulate the establishment of schools, the selection of teachers, the conduct of the schools and the school curriculum (Openshaw et al 1993: 46). The major points included in the code were:

- That the role of the teacher went beyond simple school instruction and instead they were to be “exemplars” of European life through their actions in the community.

- That married couples were to be employed as teachers. The husband as master and the wife as sewing mistress. They were to be examples of the “ideal nuclear family”.

- The curriculum was to include English language instruction (reading, writing and speaking), rudimentary arithmetic and geography. It also incorporated parts of European culture that would make Māori “good citizens”.

- All teaching was to be in the medium of English, although there was some allowance for junior classes to speak Māori until the students were sufficiently proficient in English (Simon 1998: 14-6).

It became official policy in the early part of the twentieth century that only English could be used, in any capacity, at the schools (Simon 1998: 16).
The curriculum at the schools throughout their existence placed a heavy emphasis on practical skills. Simon (1998) asserts that the schools were not aimed at extending their pupils academically but rather to making them law-abiding citizens. Upon completing their education they would enter labouring-class roles within the society (Simon 1998: 17). From 1909 the syllabus at the Native Schools was regularly modified until 1929, when the schools adopted the same syllabus as the public primary schools. However, throughout this period there was still a focus on manual and practical education for Māori attending the Native schools. It was still the Government’s belief that the future for Māori lay in a rural setting working the land (Openshaw et al 1993: 50).

Scholarships were provided for the most proficient Māori children so that they would have the opportunity to attend one of the denominational secondary boarding schools. By 1887 there were four officially recognised denominational boarding schools: St Stephens at Auckland and Te Aute in Hawke’s Bay, which were Anglican schools for Māori boys, Hukarere Protestant Girls’ school and St Josephs Providence (Catholic) in Napier for girls (Barrington and Beaglehole 1974: 163). The government provided what were effectively scholarships for able students to go beyond Standard IV (approximately 12 years of age) by attending one of these boarding schools. In 1898 Native Schools began to offer an education higher than Standard IV. As the Native Schools spread, the government ruled that children should be sent to the Native School in their area rather than to the
denominational boarding schools (Barrington and Beaglehole 1974: 164-6). This also meant that these colleges could now focus on developing their secondary education departments. Despite being run by the various churches, these boarding schools were subject to inspection by the Inspectors of Native Schools and as such were treated as Native Schools by the Department of Education. Essentially, this meant that these schools also had to offer a mainly manual and practical curriculum (Simon 1998: 18-9).

The case of Te Aute College in the early twentieth century is a good example of the way the Department exerted power over these denominational boarding schools. Te Aute College was established near Napier in 1854 by the Anglican Church. By 1890 Te Aute had built a reputation for providing an education to its students that was an equivalent to an English grammar school. Led by its Headmaster, John Thornton (1878–1912), the school had prepared its students to succeed in the New Zealand Matriculation Examination, which was required to gain entrance to university. This aim of getting its students to matriculation standard was condemned by the Education Department, who considered such a use of resources wasteful (Openshaw et al 1993: 52). The Department wanted Te Aute to introduce compulsory study of agriculture and woodwork and to cease instruction in Latin and Algebra. None of their students should be studying towards Matriculation and any students that demonstrated academic ability were to be transferred to one of the European boys’ secondary schools (Openshaw et al 1993: 53). A Royal Commission was convened in 1906 to examine the curriculum
offered at the College. Debate raged between the Department, educational experts, the Headmaster of Te Aute and prominent Māori leaders (all old boys of Te Aute). The end result, predictably, was a report that recommended that Te Aute focus on “manual and technical instruction in agriculture”. By 1922 Te Aute had 600 acres of land that was farmed by boys enrolled in the agricultural course. However, this course was unpopular among the students, with most still choosing to study for Matriculation (Openshaw et al 1993: 54-5).

Denominational boarding schools continued to be established into the twentieth century, with Queen Victoria School for Māori Girls (Anglican) in Auckland in 1903, Turakina Māori Girls School (Presbyterian) in Wanganui in 1905, which was later moved to Marton, Hikurangi College in Clareville (Wairarapa) in 1903, Waerenga-a-Hika mission school near Gisborne and Te Waipounamu Māori Girls’ College near Christchurch in 1909. By 1913 there were 10 schools offering secondary education for Māori (Barrington and Beaglehole 1974: 171).

From 1931 education for Māori changed as guidelines for integration were incorporated into native schooling, as opposed to those that previously focused on assimilation. These guidelines dictated Māori education policy throughout the 1930s and early 1940s. They were supposed to encourage Māori children to learn about and value their own culture. Guidelines were issued to the Native Schools by the Department of Education, instructing them to incorporate meeting the needs of the students and communities (as defined by the teachers). However,
despite attestations of change in policy within the schools, the clear focus was still on manual and practical training for Māori. The Māori language was still not part of the curriculum nor was it allowed to be spoken at school by the students (Openshaw et al 1993: 61-4). Overall, the changes seemed to be minimal and remained chiefly at the policy level, rather than being enacted within the schooling environment. In some areas the changes were regarded as “rhetorical in nature” (Openshaw et al 1993: 62).

The first Labour Government, which came to power in 1935, initiated significant changes in several policy areas, notably employment, housing and education. The Minister of Education, Peter Fraser, stated that:

The government’s objective, broadly expressed, is that every person whatever his level of academic ability, whether rich or poor, whether he live in town or country, has a right, as a citizen, to a free education of the kind for which he is best fitted and to the fullest extent of his powers. So far is this from being a mere pious platitude that the full acceptance of the principle will involve the reorientation of the education system (quoted in Simon 1994: 67).

Labour wanted the education system to expand and they wanted to enhance access to it at both the primary and secondary school levels. To this end they reopened two teachers training colleges that had closed during the Depression, lowered the school starting age from six to five, abolished the Proficiency Examination (set at Standard VI) in order to improve access to secondary education, increased teachers’ salaries, and restored kindergarten and adult education grants. They increased funding for school maintenance, materials, libraries, crafts, the correspondence school system, bus transport for isolated students and, most
importantly, for Māori education. The reformist Labour Government also presided over the shift away from a policy of assimilation in Māori education (Chapman 1992: 359).

In 1941 the first Native District High Schools were established at Te Araroa and Ruatōria on the East Coast of the North Island. These high schools were to provide Māori with post-primary education options other than those offered by the denominational boarding schools. The schools modelled themselves on the public district high schools and aimed at providing some of their students with the academic qualifications to enter professions. The rest of the students were to get adequate practical and manual education to gain employment in their communities (Openshaw et al 1993: 66). By 1960 there were 10 Māori District High Schools spread throughout the North Island. The only real difference between them and ordinary district high schools was that the Māori language was offered where possible (Barrington and Beaglehole 1974: 234-5).

In the years following World War II there seemed to be a change of Pākehā attitudes towards Māori. This was due in large part to the deeds of the 28th Māori Battalion that had fought with such distinction across the battlefields of North Africa and Italy. An example of this change was the move from the use of the term “Native” to “Māori” in all official nomenclature. From now on the school system was known as the Māori Schools System (Simon 1998: 18-9). At the same time the migration of Māori from rural communities to urban centres accelerated.
The secondary manufacturing and processing industries were booming, creating employment opportunities for Māori (Openshaw et al 1993: 69). As Māori had systematically been prepared through their education for labouring employment roles, their post-war urbanisation was extremely rapid (Simon 1994: 72). In 1945 15% of Māori lived in urban areas and by 1975 76% did. The flow-on effect of this urban migration was a decrease in the number of children attending Māori schools (Openshaw et al 1993: 69).

*The Hunn Report 1960*

In 1960 J.K Hunn, Acting Secretary for Māori Affairs, was commissioned by the Department of Māori Affairs to write a report on the state of Māori within New Zealand society. Hunn was a clear advocate for the integration of Māori and Pākehā. He defined integration as “to combine (not fuse) the Maori and pakeha elements to form one nation wherein Maori culture remains distinct” (Hunn 1961: 15). However, distinct did not mean that Māori could continue to live in their own cultural manner, rather, that the fittest Māori cultural elements might be preserved. Hunn defined those features of Māori culture worth conserving - languages, arts, crafts, and the marae - describing them as “the chief relics” (Hunn 1961: 15). Hunn believed that children could more readily be integrated by attending school away from their parents’ influence. He therefore supported the idea that it would be best if all Māori children attended public schools where they could interact with Pākehā children, rather than the Māori schools. He called for the transfer of the remaining 157 Māori schools to Education Board control (Hunn
1961: 25). Hunn’s report resulted in a further investigation in 1962 in which Māori education was elevated to an area of national concern.

*The Currie Report 1962*

In 1962 a Commission on Education led by Sir George Currie was set up to review the education system, particularly in relation to equality of opportunity. This somewhat complacent Report noted that the system was progressing well towards the goal of equal opportunity of education. However, it did acknowledge that there were some inequalities and identified four groups that faced inequalities, one of which was Māori (Simon 1994: 70). The major recommendation to arise in regard to this inequality was that Native Schools (now known as Māori Schools) should be abolished and transferred to Board control, thus becoming public schools.

Too many [Māori children] live in large families in inadequate sized and even primitive houses, lacking privacy, quiet, and even light for study: too often there is a dearth of books, pictures, educative material generally, to stimulate the growing child (quoted in Openshaw et al 1993: 74).

Whilst this abolition was made in the name of egalitarianism, Māori children in public schools in fact were treated with “indifference or hostility” if they did not fit into the Pākehā-orientated system. Ironically, the advancement of Māori education was better served in general within the Māori Schools system than by Public Schools (Simon 1994: 71-2).
In the late 1950s and early 1960s Māori Schools were gradually transferred to Education Board control. In 1967 the government announced that all Māori Schools would be transferred. In February 1969 the last 105 schools were transferred, thus heralding the end of the Māori Schools system that had existed since 1867 (Simon 1998: 19). Now all children, Māori and Pākehā, other than those in private schooling, were to be schooled in the one system.

1969 and beyond

The results of 100 years of an education aimed at producing labourers and farmhands and the effects of urbanisation can be seen in the following employment table, which clearly highlights the static situation of Māori within the “blue collar” occupations (Adapted from Chapman: 261):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Māori</th>
<th>1951 Total</th>
<th>1966 Total</th>
<th>1971 Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional and Technical Administrative and Managerial Clerical Sales workers Total white collar</td>
<td>4.9 1.2</td>
<td>7.8 1.8</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.8</td>
<td></td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.3</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.0</td>
<td></td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.0</td>
<td></td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.0</td>
<td></td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>29.8</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.9</td>
<td></td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.9</td>
<td></td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.6</td>
<td></td>
<td>32.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service workers</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural, forestry and fisherman</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>39.6</td>
<td>16.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Production workers</td>
<td>47.0</td>
<td>52.5</td>
<td>49.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport equipment Operators, labourers</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not classifiable</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total blue collar</strong></td>
<td><strong>75.1</strong></td>
<td><strong>96.2</strong></td>
<td><strong>70.3</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NB. Because of re-classification of occupations in 1971, the 1971 percentages are not entirely comparable with those of preceding censuses.

Source: Social Trends in New Zealand (NZ Dept. of Statistics, Wellington, 1977), pp. 173-4

Figure 10: Percentage distribution of male employment by major occupational group, 1951–71

As these figures show, the State education system was not allowing Māori to move into the better paid employment, instead keeping them in the manual and unskilled occupations. In fact, in 1969 the largest percentage of Māori passing School Certificate and University Entrance came from the Māori church boarding schools, despite their low numbers of Māori students (Barrington and Beaglehole 1974: 238).

Taha Māori programmes were introduced in selected schools in 1975. The programme was intended to add “strands to the existing curriculum” and was “not to appear as a new subject” (Jenkins with Ka’ai 1994: 155-6). It was intended to be non-threatening and integrated into all other curriculum subjects. In essence,
anything that related to a Māori or things Māori could be constituted as incorporating Taha Māori. There were limited expectations on the students and teachers to speak Māori; in fact most, if not all, of it was taught in English. The limited nature of the content meant that the ability to converse in Māori was not necessary to complete the programme. The programme included basic Māori greetings, limited Māori vocabulary, myths and legends, and popular Māori songs (Jenkins with Ka’ai 1994: 155-6). The structure and content of this programme seems to relate directly back to what Hunn in 1961 thought would be appropriate Māori content in state schooling.

The fourth Labour Government that came to power in 1984 initiated a school curriculum review that sought public opinion on the state of the education system. This produced some very different responses. The political left believed that there needed to be bicultural and bilingual education options. The liberals wanted multi-cultural education that provided “equality of opportunity” for all. The political right, however, wanted a return to education based on meritocracy\(^\text{13}\) (Simon 1994: 73). The major result of this review was the Picot Report that was commissioned in 1987 to review education administration.

This report aimed to reconcile the differences in expectation raised by Labour’s 1987 Curriculum Review. It recommended that the education system should be “radically restructured”, reducing central control and empowering local school

\(^{13}\) This is an ideology that selects children, through mechanisms such as group intelligence tests, on the basis of presumed differences in ability and rewards them differentially in terms of their achievements. See Simon 1994 pp 47-8.
Boards of Trustees. These reforms, derived from this report, were set out in *Tomorrow's Schools*, the government’s education policy. The education system was still concerned with “equality of opportunity”, but this was now expressed as “equity” – equality of results. However, there was still an emphasis on “efficiency” and “standards” as the government tried to appease both the left and the right (Simon 1994: 74-5).

The 1980s and 1990s have been marked by the reassertion of control by Māori over their own education. Believing that the state education system has failed and continues to fail them, some Māori have opted to develop their own schooling system. This is a system of Māori language medium schools run according to Māori pedagogy. It includes Te Köhanga Reo (early childhood centres), Kura Kaupapa Māori (Māori-medium primary schools) and Whare Kura (Māori-medium secondary schools). After over 140 years of mismanagement by the state, many Māori see it as the best chance for a culturally appropriate education system (Jenkins with Ka’ai 1994: 164-6). These schools were established based on Kaupapa Māori theory, which aims to validate and legitimise being Māori within the education system. It incorporates Māori language, culture, knowledge and values, creating an environment that makes the students comfortable.

**Conclusion**

This chapter has traced the development of the New Zealand education system, with particular emphasis on the provision for and treatment of Māori. From this
examination it is obvious that throughout its existence the State education system, in its various forms, has largely failed Māori. Policies of assimilation and later integration aimed to replace Māori culture with that of Pākehā through education. At best, Māori cultural elements were given a limited tokenistic place in the curriculum, but they were never valued or central to Māori education. Education policies that sought to limit Māori to particular fields of employment through the provision of limited types of education largely confined Māori to the manual and practical “blue collar” fields of employment. Virtually all Māori became part of New Zealand’s working class, subordinate to a Pākehā professional elite. Despite various changes and reinventions, this education system has consistently struggled to meet the needs of Māori. Given that this system has not validated their culture or identity, Māori children have struggled to succeed in New Zealand society. This has led to the development of an independent Māori medium system of schools comprising Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori and Whare Kura. This system of schooling is seen by many Māori as offering the best hope of educational success in the future.
PART II

PARORO O TE RANGI
The title of Part Two, Paroro o te Rangi, is the full Māori name for the site upon which Hato Paora College was established. Parorangi is the shortened version of this name and is often what Hato Paora was referred to as, particularly in its early existence. Paroro o te Rangi is actually the name of an area close to Hunterville where the Short family owned a property. It was named by Mātangi, an early Māori explorer, who crossed the mountains from the Wairarapa to hunt for birds. His pursuit led him through the Manawatū and Rangitikei districts, where he named many places. When the Short family bought their property on Kimbolton Road, the site of Hato Paora, they also brought with them the name. The name refers to noises sounding like echoing thunder from the heavens, or in another version the flutter of birds’ wings (Gupwell 1961:14-5, 1988:66-7). This name has fallen into disuse in recent times and it is because of this that I have used it as a way of summing up the history of this school and the education that it offers to Māori Catholics.

The examination of Hato Paora College will be based on various themes highlighted within the school’s haka as being prominent characteristics of the college. Each of these themes will be explored in a chapter in order to give a broader understanding of the school, and the education that it provides, while locating each chapter within the cultural framework of the haka. Thus the chapter titles and the maxim used to describe the core content of the chapter are drawn directly from the school haka and are used to frame this thematic examination.
Chapter Five “Ka Whāia rā” explains why the examination of Hato Paora College has been structured using the school’s haka. The first part of the chapter examines the form and function of haka in Māori society before examining the meaning and use of the school haka, “Ka whāia rā”. Chapter Six, “Parorangi”, begins with the establishment of Hato Paora College, looking at it as an example of Māori Catholic secondary schooling. Particular attention is paid to describing the key figures who helped set the school up. This chapter ends with the official opening day of the College. “Ihaka” is the Māori name used for Father Issac Gupwell, the founding Rector of Hato Paora College. His life and enormous contribution to the College cannot be underestimated. Chapter Seven commemorates his continuing place in Hato Paora. Chapter Eight, “Ngā Rangatira”, looks at the five rectors who followed after Father Gupwell. Their tenures are explored using the themes including the administration of the school, the staff, new buildings and the situation of the farm. Chapter Nine, “He Kura Māori”, explores the taha Māori, or Māori element, of Hato Paora’s character. The Māori side of the school is looked at in terms of the curriculum, the participation of the students in tikanga Māori and the physical environment at the College. Its companion Chapter Ten, “He Kura Katorika”, describes the taha wairua, or Catholic element, of Hato Paora’s character. Chapter Eleven, “He Kura Motuhake”, draws from the interviews of old boys of Hato Paora who talk about those elements which make this college a special school. Chapter Twelve, “Te Whānau Whānui”, is concerned with the Māori communities with which Hato Paora College is connected. Finally Chapter Thirteen, “Whāia te Tika”, looks towards the future by developing a model for
Hato Paora College now ten years on from the withdrawal of the Marists from its operation. This chapter examines Kaupapa Māori theory as an alternative Māori philosophy of education and applies parts of this theory to a new model for Hato Paora.
Chapter 5

**Ka Whāia rā**

*Taku whakamāramatanga tēnei mō taku kura nei e ...*  
... This is my explanation of my school ...

**Introduction**

For Greg Dening (1980: 5),

there are two ways of looking at society ... One is to construct a model of it out of the generalised perceptions of the observer or of the actor... The other way of looking at society [is to use] a social map on which everything had its place (Dening 1980: 5).

For the study of Hato Paora I have chosen to disregard any “formal” model or theory and instead have based it around an important Māori cultural art form, the *haka*. Like a number of schools, Hato Paora possesses its own *haka*, “Ka whāia rā”, which gives expression to the values of the College. This forms the “social map” on which I have arranged all the chapters comprising this study. To begin with, I will survey the place and forms of *haka* in traditional and modern Māori society before looking at Hato Paora’s own *haka*.

**Haka**

*Haka* are traditional Māori chants, usually accompanied by body actions to emphasis and symbolise the words. *Haka* are often referred to as “posture dances”. As with all parts of the Māori world the *haka* has a particular *whakapapa* (genealogy). According to legend, Rā, the sun, had two wives called Hine raumati and Hine takurua. These two entities were the embodiment of summer and
winter. Rā and Hine raumati had a son called Tāne rore. During summer it is possible to see a trembling of the air just above the ground. This is believed to be Tāne rore dancing or performing for his mother. This quivering appearance is called *te haka a Tāne rore*, the dance of Tāne rore (Best 1996: 118). This story is further supported in *Tuhoe: The Children of the Mist* with Rā being named Te Manu i te rā and where the following *whakapepa* is provided (Best 1996: 787).

\[
\text{Te Manu-i-te-rā} = \text{Raumati} \\
| \\
| \\
| Tāne rore \\
\]

Figure 11: Whakapapa of haka

The earliest reference to a *haka* group is to the women of the chief, Tinirau. A son had been born to the chief Tinirau and, according to custom, he had sent for a *tohunga* to perform a *tohi* rite over the newborn infant. The *tohunga* Kae came to perform the *tohi* for Tū-huruhuru, the son of Tinirau. Once this was completed, Tinirau lent Kae his pet whale, Tutunui, to return home. Upon his arrival home, the treacherous Kae killed and ate Tutunui. Upon realising the fate of his pet, Tinirau sent a group of women to capture Kae. These women were the best dancers among the people of Tinirau. Kae could be recognised by his overlapping teeth, but for these to be visible Kae had to laugh. Thus the women’s group performed for Kae and his people, ending their performance with a *haka*. This
was well received and it caused Kae to laugh, thereby allowing the women to identify him. By means of *karakia* he was rendered unconscious and later was spirited away from the village. Back at the home of Tinirau, Kae was killed and the death of Tutunui avenged (Reed 1961: 80).

There are many other Māori myths and legends that involve the use of *haka*, which serve to emphasise the importance of *haka* in Māori society. These myths and legends illustrate the many and varied uses of *haka* in traditional times. It can be used as a means for attracting a mate, as in the story of Te Kahureremoa and Taka kōpiri (Kāretu 1993: 17). Te Kahureremoa was betrothed, by her father, to a neighbouring *rangatira* but instead wished to marry Taka kōpiri, a *rangatira* of Waitaha from Te Puke (Orbell 1991: 202). Upon arriving at the village of Taka kōpiri the Waitaha people welcomed her and held a large feast for her that night. At this feast Te Kahureremoa stood and performed a dance with such grace and beauty that Taka kōpiri fell in love with her (Kāretu 1993: 18). In another story, the brothers Tama te kapua and Whakatūria stole breadfruit from the *rangatira*, Uenuku. Whakatūria was caught and held prisoner in a meeting house. While his captors practised their *haka*, Whakatūria taunted them that he was a superior performer. They accordingly freed him to demonstrate his skill at *haka*. He then asked his captors to open the front door so that he might cool down from his exertions. They did so and he began to perform again, slowly edging his way to the door. Once outside, Whakatūria and his brother shut the door, trapping his captors, and so made their escape (Kāretu 1993: 16).
The first recorded encounter between Māori and European occurred on 18 December 1642, when the Dutch boats Heemskerck and Zeehaen, captained by Abel Janszoon Tasman, called at Te Taitapu or Golden Bay in the northern part of the South Island (Salmond 1991: 22). The Dutch boats were met by two Māori waka with the men calling in a loud, rough, hollow voice and blowing on an instrument that sounded like a Moorish trumpet. Salmond concludes that this was probably a haka of challenge accompanied by a pūtātara, a shell trumpet. The haka and the pūtātara were being used to challenge these strange ships, signalling that they were alert to the Europeans' presence.

The next encounter of significance was that between Captain James Cook and Māori in 1769. Captain Cook was sent to observe the transit of Venus from Tahiti. After this he went to search for the much discussed southern continent (Smith 1985: 14). The first encounter took place at Tūranganui a Kiwa on the east coast of the North Island on 9 October (Salmond 1991: 126). Captain Cook and two of his officers, along with Joseph Banks and Daniel Solander, led ashore a large armed party of officers, seamen and marines. They were met by a group of fifty to one hundred Māori, who began to perform a haka. All of the performers were armed with spears and short clubs and jumped from side to side as they performed. The Māori are described as showing the whites of their eyes, lolling out their tongues and singing in a strong hoarse voice, all of which are important characteristics of haka.
Types of haka

Traditionally there were many types of haka, each with its own form, function, and importance. This is further emphasised by Arapeta Awatere, a renowned practitioner of haka who states that:

Each class and sub-class has its own convention: its own style of actions, postures, accoutrements, and presentation, and fulfils a social function in a social situation, be that situation physically actual and factual or be it, in the mytho-poetic mind, there and then, an imagined, symbolic one (Awatere 1975: 513).

Although haka as a whole are often erroneously cited as war-dances, it is the peruperu that is the true “war-dance”. It was performed on the battlefield when the war party came face to face with the enemy. The peruperu is described as the fiercest haka due to where and when it was performed, and the physical and mental conditioning of the performers.

Hard conditioning makes the warriors physically and mentally fit to perform this dance which has the psychological purpose of demoralising the enemy by gestures, by posture, by controlled chanting, by conditioning to look ugly, furious to roll the fiery eye, to glare the light of battle therein, to spew the defiant tongue, to control, to distort, to snort, to fart the thunder of the war god upon the enemy, to stamp furiously, to yell raucous, hideous, blood-curdling sounds, to carry the anger, the peru, of Tuamatauenga, the ugly-faced war-god, throughout the heat of battle (Awatere 1975: 514).

It was one of the main psychological weapons used by warriors and so they prided themselves on its performance (Kāretu 1993: 37).
Tūtū ngārāhu, also known as ngārāhu, tū ngārāhu, and whakarewarewa, and by some tribes as whakatū waewae, were performed by the young warriors in front of the elders and experienced warriors before embarking on war (Kāretu 1993: 39). This type of haka was used to test the young warriors’ readiness for battle through their ability to perform the haka. Northern tribes also use this particular type of haka in their rituals of welcome (Kāretu 1993: 39). Armed dancers perform whakatū waewae, but unlike the peruperu and tūtū ngārāhu, there is no jumping (Kāretu 1993: 40).

Ngeri are short haka usually performed without weapons and set actions. This allows the performers to use actions that they deem appropriate to accompany and emphasise the words. They are primarily used as an exhortation to urge the group
on towards communal or set goals (Kāretu 1993:41). Both manawa wera and pōkēkā are similar to ngeri in that they do not have set actions. Where they differ is that Tūhoe perform manawa wera at tangihanga or hura kōhatu. Pōkēkā, which are peculiar to the iwi of Te Arawa, are physically similar to the manawa wera but are performed at a variety of occasions (Kāretu 1993: 42-3). Kaioraora are chants used to vent hatred and are often described as abusive, defamatory or derisive haka. Kaioraora means “to eat alive”, which illustrates the depth of feeling involved in these compositions.

Haka pōwhiri are the haka performed during the rituals of encounter to welcome visitors onto the marae. This type of haka varies from tribe to tribe, but often includes performances by male and female, both individually and together. It can also include the performance of other types of haka such as haka taparahi, whakatū waewae or tūtū ngārahu (Kāretu 1993: 44-5).

Haka taparahi are the most common haka performed, always without weapons (apart from the kaea (leader)), and at some stage the performers will lower themselves to the ground. The haka taparahi is used as ceremonial haka, as opposed to a war dance, often for marae based ritual (Kāretu 1993: 58). Māori increasingly use this type of haka to address the social and political issues of the day. An example of this type of haka is Poropeihana from the East Coast tribe, Ngāti Porou. This haka addresses the issue of prohibition and Māori reaction to this law. Dancers perform this haka using uniform actions, without weapons, and
usually in straight, evenly spaced rows, all of which are characteristics of the *haka taparahi* classification.

Figure 13: Āpirana Ngata leading a *haka taparahi*. Source: *National Library of New Zealand*. PAColl-3060

Most types of *haka* continue to be used in contemporary society, but with changes in lifestyle and technology some are performed more than others. In contemporary society the *haka*, whilst still performed for most of the traditional purposes, now have many other uses. This is tied in part to its status as an icon of New Zealand culture and its subsequent performance by non-Māori New Zealanders; for example, the performance of *haka* before and after sports events. Part of this phenomena has been the creation of school *haka* that are used primarily before rugby matches or at school assemblies. Many of the private schools, including Catholic ones, have used *haka* for many years and this has spread to many of the
state schools as well. However, upon closer inspection a lot of the texts of these *haka* are often nonsensical or have little meaning. Despite this these *haka* do still remain an important part of these schools' identities.

**Ka whāia rā**

The school *haka* of Hato Paora College is "Ka whāia rā", a play on the school motto "Whāia te tika", "pursue righteousness, encouraging the pursuit". It is a *haka taparahi* and was composed by Morvin Simon, then the Māori language teacher at the College, around 1979. This *haka* is performed by the school at most important ceremonies and functions. It describes the important features and characteristics of the College and as such is used to identify the performers and the school. The words chanted by the leader of the *haka* are italicised, in Māori and English, while the words chanted by the rest of the group have been left in normal type. Each stanza of the *haka* is followed by a translation of the words.

*Kia whakatā hoki taku kura e*  
Kura, kura taku kura e

My school rests  
My school, my school

*Arā, whakapapatia ake ko Te Reinga kawe atu heke iho nei i raro rā*  
Aue, ūmata mai nei taku kauae rangatira i roto i te hinengaro ā ha hā  
Arā kia whakariterite aī te kāhui tapu ki te hanga ake ki runga  
He kura Māori, he kura Hāhi, he kura Katorika, he kura motuhake mō te iwi e

*The connection to Te Reinga descends down below*  
My chiefly domain began in the mind  
The Society prepared to build it  
A Māori school, a Church school, a Catholic school, a special school for the people
Ka rere te wawata, ka hua ai te moemoea, hei tīmata taku kura e
He aha tenei? Ko te mana pea?
Ka tatū ai whakaaro, ka tau kāinga whakatauki rawa tana kī
He kōrero tuku iho, he kōrero tū tonu, he kōrero mana tonu e

The desires flew, and the dreams bore fruit, my school was established
What is this? Is it mana?
The consent was reached, a home established and the saying became a proverb
A saying passed down, a saying used now, a saying that is always prestigious

Arā piki ake heke itho koinei te pourongo whakaahuatia ake rā
Ka whai, ka whai, ka whāia rā
Ka whāia ko te tika, ka whāia ko te pono, ka whāia ko te mana e
Pupū mai ana e te puna o te ngākau
Te aroha ki runga mō ngā mahi tīpuna i mahia ake nei e ō tātou pirihī
Tīmata mai i mua whai ake ki muri

Through ups and downs this symbol is explained
Pursue, pursue, pursue
Pursue righteousness, pursue truth, pursue prestige
The well of the heart bubbles
Love to the surface for the work of our priests
That they began in the past and continue to do so

Ko wai te rangatira he tīmata?
Ko Kapuera, ko Kapuera
Ko wai te rangatira tuarua?
Ko Pā Tereine, Ko Pā Tereine
Ko wai te rangatira tuatoru?
Ko Pā Kūtana, Ko Pā Kūtana
Ko wai te rangatira tuawhā?
Ko Rōpata, Ko Rōpata
Ko wai te rangatira tuarima?
Ko Pā Hēmi, Ko Pā Hēmi
Ko wai te rangatira whakamutunga?
Ko Pā Haki, Ko Pā Haki
He kōrere he ariki
He kōrere he tīpua kia whakahaupae te whakaahua, hua, hua te whakaahua

Who was the founding Rector?
It was Gupwell, it was Gupwell
Who was the second Rector?
Father Delaney, Father Delaney
Who was the third Rector?
Father Curtin, Father Curtin
Who was the fourth Rector?
Father Robert (Lee), Father Robert

Who was the fifth Rector?
Father James (Gresham), Father James

Who was the final Rector?
Father Jack (Smith), Father Jack

A vessel, a chief
A vessel, a foreigner that supports the founding/operation (of the school)

Taku whakamāramatanga tēnei mō taku kura nei e
Hato Paora kia mau, kia ita, kia mau, kia ita, īta, īta
Toitū ko te kupu
Whāia, whāia ko te tika ki runga ake ki runga ake ki runga
Ka tū, ka piki, kia eke rā eke, eke
Haramai te tokī
tēnā hui e, tēnā hui e
hui e, hui e
taiki e hi!

This is my description of my school
Hato Paora grab hold, hold tight, grab hold and hold tight
The word is permanent
Pursue, pursue righteousness up above
Stand, climb, rise up
Here comes the axe
Draw it together, draw it together
Together, together
It is done!

The first line of the haka talks of the school resting; this refers to the traditional practice in the performance of haka taparahi of the group going to the ground in a resting position before the commencement of a performance. The first stanza of the haka describes the Society of Mary’s desire to establish a Māori Catholic secondary school. Its key characteristics are defined as: a Māori school, a Catholic school, a special school for the people. The following stanza alludes to the choice of the school motto and how this is a catch cry for the College. This is made explicit in the first lines of the next stanza that articulate the motto and

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1 I have translated this haka and it may not therefore fully capture the thought of the composer.
acknowledge the efforts of the Society and its priests. The recitation of *whakapapa* is important in Māori society and the next stanza lists the Rectors of the College as the leaders or *rangatira* of the school. This also highlights the conception of the school as a *whānau* or kin group led by *rangatira*. Their support and effort is acknowledged in not only establishing the school but also managing it. The final stanza is an exhortation to the School, and presumably all who are connected with it, to hold true to the things that are Hato Paora. The *haka* ends with a traditional chant that is used to draw everyone together in a single purpose.

**Conclusion**

“Ka whāia rā” as the School’s *haka* encapsulates all the important aspects of the College in a Māori cultural art form. It recounts the genesis and establishment of the School and highlights the identity of Hato Paora as a Māori Catholic college. More importantly, this *haka* provides a culturally appropriate framework for the examination of Hato Paora’s history. It will form my “social map” where everything has an appropriate place. Thus each chapter opens with a line from the *haka* which introduces the reader to the principal theme of the chapter.
Chapter 6

Parorangi

*Ka rere te wawata, ka hui ai te moemoeā, hei tīmata taku kura e.*
The desires flew, and the dreams bore fruit, my school was established

Introduction

Figure 14: Hato Paora College entrance. Source: Nathan Matthews.

From Feilding one travels 10 kilometres along the Kimbolton Road until one arrives at the stone gateway that marks the entry to Hato Paora College, Paroro o te Rangi. The tree-lined driveway is flanked on both sides by lush Manawatū farmland. The trees and bush encircle the entire school, including hostel, school buildings, dining room and playing fields, totally obscuring the view from the road and the outside world. As one proceeds up the 100 metre long driveway, carved Māori sentinels watch your passing, until finally one turns at the end of the drive and arrive at Parorangi.
Having brought the reader to the doors of Hato Paora, in this chapter I will trace the initial establishment of the College by the Society of Mary, looking particularly at the important personalities and occasions involved in the creation and opening of the College. Like any institution, setting up this College involved its founders in various issues and tasks that had to be completed before the place could become operational. Their achievements are remembered here.

**Foundations**

During the 1930s Pope Pius XI stated his desire for the intensification of mission activity in order to increase religious vocations among the indigenous populations of the world. This aligned well with the Society of Mary’s long held desire to establish a secondary school for Māori boys in the Archdiocese of Wellington (Gupwell 1949a). There were many reasons for the Society to establish a
secondary school for Māori. At that time the Society of Mary had a good record of producing religious vocations at their other New Zealand Catholic colleges. It was hoped that they could achieve similar results with a Māori Catholic College in line with the Pope’s wish for the intensification of mission activity. The Society also wanted a Māori Catholic College to produce Māori leaders who were firmly grounded in the Catholic faith, and who could then return to their communities as leaders to aid the proliferation of the faith in those communities (Riordan nd: 33-4). Furthermore, it was hoped that the College would provide suitable Catholic Māori husbands for the young Māori women who had attended St. Josephs Māori Girls College. These potential unions could again aid in the proliferation of the faith among Māori (Riordan nd: 33-4). Perhaps more importantly, the College would also give Māori Catholic families in the Archdiocese a viable Māori Catholic schooling option for their sons. This would serve to eliminate the practice of families sending their boys to the Anglican school of Te Aute, which at that time was the only Māori Christian option for families in the lower North Island. This also reflected the general desire of the Church to lessen the disproportionate number of Catholic children then attending New Zealand state schools (Riordan nd: 33-4).

In 1935 Reverend Father Hurley, the New Zealand Provincial of the Society of Mary, wrote to the Superior General of the Order to request permission to establish a College for Māori boys within the Archdiocese of Wellington. Consent, with the following conditions, was granted in 1938:
a) The Diocese must take responsibility of the College
b) Building and grounds must be Diocesan property
c) Father General is quite agreeable to your supplying the staff and taking the management of the establishment (Geaney 1940).

The Superior General’s assent and that of Archbishop O’Shea, who was visiting the Superior General when he received the request, meant that the task of establishing the College could now begin in earnest.

*Father James Riordan*

In 1935 the Provincial approached Father James Riordan to take charge of the local Māori Mission. He also charged Riordan with the task of establishing the new College. James John Riordan was born in Waipawa, Hawkes Bay, on August 6, 1896. He began his education with the Sisters of St Joseph of the Scared Heart in Meeanee and later at the Marist Brothers’ School in Wanganui. In 1913 he went to St Patrick’s College in Wellington and in 1916 he entered the Marist Scholasticate, Mount Saint Mary’s, Greenmeadows (Marist Messenger 1959a: 19). He made his religious profession there in 1919 and in 1922 he was ordained a priest by Archbishop Redwood (Marist Messenger 1959a: 20).

He was appointed to the Wanganui Mission in 1923, which made him the first New Zealander to go straight into mission work after their ordination, and only the second to enter Māori mission work. His second appointment was to the Ōtaki
Mission, where he served as missioner and parish priest from 1930 to 1935. He was then transferred to the Hawkes Bay Mission, again as both Māori missioner and parish priest (Marist Messenger, 1959b: 17). Riordan was a zealous worker and made it his duty to ensure that Pākehā Catholics were aware of the Māori Mission that he believed was treated as the “Cinderella mission”. He made continuous appeals from the pulpit for understanding and financial support for the missions (Marist Messenger 1959a: 20). One of Father Riordan’s prime objectives was the establishment of a Māori priesthood, and he endeavoured to make Catholic secondary education available to as many Māori as possible through the Marist colleges. Ultimately he believed that the only real chance for the creation of substantial Māori vocations was through the establishment of a Māori college for boys (Marist Messenger 1959a: 21).

Father Riordan was to feature prominently in the establishment of Hato Paora College. The task assigned to him was to take more than a decade to come to fruition, but it is a tribute to his hard work and perseverance that the school was able to be established in this timeframe, especially given the wartime pressures on the availability of resources and funds. His dedication can be seen in the censures he received for canvassing financial support through the Marist Messenger which the Society of Mary authorities deemed to breach the vow of humility (Greaney 1944a). The Society believed that the Archbishop had not yet formally endowed them with the responsibility, including fundraising, for the school. However, this was remedied when the Archbishop authorised Provincial Greaney to receive
subscriptions for the establishment of the College (Greaney 1944b).

**Planning the School**

The goal of the school, as outlined by Riordan, was primarily to give Māori boys the opportunity to attain Matriculation standard or the Commercial Examination. However, there was also to be a particular emphasis on technical and agricultural skills in line with official education policy for Māori students, who then lived in largely rural communities. Added to these secular goals was the teaching of Catholic values and principles through Christian doctrine classes and the opportunity of participating in the life of a religious community whilst at the college. This was to be accomplished while maintaining a Māori character about the school through the teaching of the Māori language and aspects of the culture, including participation in Māori cultural practices and the creation of Māori traditional art forms throughout the school site (Riordan nd: 33-4).

By 1940 The Society of Mary considered that the time was right to fully pursue their desire to establish a Māori secondary school. At this time the then Labour government was prepared to offer financial assistance for Māori education, and with the end of the Depression in the 1930s, Māori themselves were increasingly keen on education. With no Māori Catholic education options, Māori Catholics were sending their children to Te Aute (Anglican College). The Society felt that no more time could be lost for fear of missing funding opportunities or losing

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2 Matriculation permitted entry to one of New Zealand’s university colleges while the Commercial Examination was administered at the end of the third year of secondary education focussing on subjects including typing, shorthand, spelling, English and Mathematics.
In 1946 a Trust Board was established to help Father Riordan facilitate the founding of the College. Riordan himself suggested the members of the Board. Each of them brought a specific expertise with them, as the following list of Board members shows: Mr. D. Cullinane, a Barrister and Solicitor from Feilding; Mr. D. Burke, a retired building contractor from Awahuri near Feilding; Mr. O’Donnell, a dairy farmer from Feilding; Mr. T. Kennedy, a sheep farmer from Hastings; Mr. J. Hape, a sheep farmer from Dannevirke; and Mr. R. Tahi Taapa, a dairy farmer from Rānana, Wanganui (Riordan 1946a). The Board was comprised of four Pākehā (Cullinane, Burke, O’Donnell and Kennedy) and two Māori (Hape and Taape). Riordan also suggested that Mrs Rora Iwakau-Fernandez be appointed as matron, as she was a certified nurse, a local Māori rangatira, and a proficient manager of domestic activities. Among them he believed that the members of the Board, including himself, had the experience and expertise necessary in all the areas related to the establishment of the College.

One of the first tasks of the Board was to find a suitable site for the proposed College. Many potential sites throughout the Archdiocese were to be examined and declined by the board and Father Riordan (Lawton 1996: 26-8). Amongst them was a property at Meeanee, one of the earliest Marist missionary sites in New Zealand, which consisted of fifty acres situated near the local church. This area has a good climate and is situated close to the main roads. Its close proximity
to Meeanee also meant that the Board would be spared the expense of building a church. However, there were also important disadvantages, notably the area’s vulnerability to drought, a lack of existing buildings and concerns that the use of the church would be subject to the wishes of the Meeanee parish priest. Other concerns were the close proximity of other Māori schools, in particular St Josephs College for Māori Girls, and the likely moral concerns this raised, as well as the well known Te Aute College, seen as a direct competitor. Another property near Hāwera was also considered. It consisted of 94 acres, which was soon to be vested in the Archbishop of Wellington for the Marist Māori Mission and particularly for the establishment of a College for Māori boys. There were several important advantages to this property. There would be no competition from other schools in the region, while Taranaki’s pastoral economy would favour a school where agriculture was to form a key part of the curriculum. Another property in Dannevirke was also considered. It had existing buildings and plenty of land, as well as being centrally located within the Marist Māori Mission. Another six other sites throughout the Archdiocese were examined; however, none of them fulfilled all of the expectations and criteria of the Trust Board (Lawton 1996: 27–9). Finally, the Short Estate, known as Parorangi, a Romney Sheep Stud farm at Cheltenham near Feilding, became available. It was examined and found to have all the necessary features to successfully establish the college. Parorangi consisted of 749 acres, 48 paddocks, a large 35-room dwelling, a ten-room dwelling, a seven-room dwelling, two five-room dwellings, a brick office, large brick stables, a granary, manure sheds, wooden stables, electricity plant and a woolshed. This
site was proposed to the annual Conference of Marist Māori Missionaries in 1946 and a recommendation to go and view the property was accepted. A committee was appointed consisting of Father Riordan, Father Venning and Father Dynan to act on behalf of the conference with regard to examining the suitability of the property. On June 3 the committee of Māori Missioners, Father T. Heffernan, the Provincial of the Society of Mary, Father M. Burke and Mr. D. Burke inspected the property and were impressed enough to recommend purchasing the property (Riordan 1946a).

Parorangi was considered to have many advantages for the establishment of a College, as it was situated in the heart of the Marist Māori Mission territory, had numerous buildings and excellent farm land. Furthermore, the close proximity of Massey Agricultural College and Feilding Agricultural High School allowed for specialist teaching assistance, while its location within the Province of Wellington would also enable prospective students to gain financial assistance from the charitable McCarthy Trust\(^3\) (Riordan 1946b). There were, however, significant disadvantages: the homestead needed major renovation and rewiring, the climate was sometimes variable, transportation for domestic staff to and from the school was problematic, new classrooms had to be built, while the land itself required expert land management to ensure good agricultural outputs. Despite these negative factors, the Board considered that the advantages outweighed the

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\(^3\) This Trust was set up upon the death of Thomas George McCarthy, brewer, of Wellington on 19 August 1912. The income from the Trust was to be distributed among charitable or educational institutions, operating in the provincial district of Wellington. The Catholic Archbishop is one of the governors of the Trust.
disadvantages, and in September 1946 the purchase of the property was agreed upon between the Trust Board, the Society of Mary and the Archdiocese. The property and stock were purchased and vested in the Archdiocese of Wellington, while the Society of Mary was to assume the operational responsibility for the College (Riordan 1946b).

On 8 September 1946 Father Issac Gupwell was appointed by the Provincial Council which controlled the Society of Mary in New Zealand as the first Rector of the as yet unnamed Catholic Māori Boys College, and was instructed to set about the task of establishing the College at Parorangi. Gupwell was chosen for the position because of his teaching experience, his experience in the Māori mission and his keen interest in the Māori language and culture. He was to be assisted by Fathers Riordan and Dynan in the preparation of the College site and the purchase of school equipment. Central to his role was to be the development of school policy (Heffernan 1946).

Father Gupwell was concerned not only with the physical aspects of the school but also with those intangible qualities that are intrinsic to any school and the way in which it operates. O’Donnell (2001: 191) identifies the features that help mould the identity of a school. These include the founding tradition, the vision, the model of spirituality, history, aims and objectives, past expressions of faith, customs, model of action, philosophy, core values/belief systems, heroes and symbols. All of these features contribute to creating the special personality of the
school and are derived from the original vision of its founders. These intrinsic aspects include the creation of a unique culture at the school that incorporates the founding vision, values and the philosophies. Augmenting these are the important symbolic physical aspects such as the school motto and crest and other symbols found on the school property proper or related to the school. With this in mind one of the early tasks for Father Gupwell, in preparation for the opening of the new College, was the selection of appropriate cultural artifacts and symbols by which to focus the school and to aid in the creation of the school’s culture and spirit. These symbols also served to evoke loyalty and pride in the school and to emphasise further the desired culture and spirit of the school community (O’Donnell 2001: 126-8). One of these, as identified by Riordan, and reaffirmed by Gupwell, was to include the Māori and Catholic cultures in a school environment.

The choice of a suitable name for the College was to prove contentious, but after a lengthy period of debate the Māori Missioners chose Saint Paul as the patron of the College. Riordan himself had suggested that the school be named in the memory of Bishop Viard and come under the patronage of the Most Holy Names of Jesus and Mary (Riordan 1946a). Further debate ensued over which Māori form of Saint Paul’s name should be chosen, as there was concern expressed that the form favoured by some was in fact Protestant in origin. Finally, after much deliberation the school was named Saint Paul’s Māori Boy’s College or Hato Paora College in its Māori, and more commonly used, form. Saint Paul was
chosen because he was a warrior who converted to the Christian faith. The Māori missioners believed that such a figure reflected well the warrior nature of the Māori (Lawton 1996: 32).

The combination of the school’s name, crest and motto embody the aspirations of the Rector and his staff for the type of College Hato Paora would be and the educational environment it would provide for its students. The language in which they were articulated also highlighted the culture and spirit that the school proposed to create. Symbols are a large and important part of Catholic worship and religious practice and are equally as important in all Catholic institutions, including schools. To Father Chris Duggan, the Vice-Rector, fell the important task of arranging the school crest. He chose the symbols of the stream, spur, sword and spirit (Gupwell 1988: 69). This crest represents the founding philosophy and spirit of the school. For Parorangi the chosen symbols were the shield of faith, the book of knowledge and the sword of spirit. The crest and its significance were described in the 1949 School Yearbook:

Our Coat of Arms outlines in miniature the life and spirit of Parorangi. On the shield of Faith the Book of Knowledge and the Sword of the Spirit. [sic] Paul, the warrior, is set as the model. We hope to inculcate something of his virtues and spirit at Parorangi symbolized by the lines of the Oroua4 and the Spur, symbol of Parorangi’s greatness in the agricultural and pastoral sphere (Gupwell 1949a).

The crest combines all the features that Gupwell and his staff considered important to the success of the College.

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4 The river running along the south eastern boundary of the school property. In Māori culture physical elements such as rivers or mountains are important parts of one’s identity.
The motto of any school is significant in that it evokes the spirit of the founding traditions and vision of the school (O’Donnell 2001: 126). It does this not only in the words contained within it but also the language in which it is stated. Combined together these forge and strengthen the meaning and significance of the motto as a rallying point and directive for the community. “Whaia te Tika” (pursue righteousness), was chosen by Father Gupwell as the school motto and it was appropriately taken from Saint Paul’s letter to Timothy (2 Timothy: 2, 22):

Oma atu i nga hiahia taitamariki: whaia te tika, te whakapono, te aroha, te rangimarie, e koutou tahi ko te hunga e karanga ana ki te Ariki i roto i te ngakau ma (Lee 1978:19).

Flee thou youthful desires; and pursue righteousness, faith, love, peace with those who call on the Lord out of a pure heart (Gideon International 1986: 388).

Significantly, the motto is in Māori, rather than English or Latin, thus proposing a Catholic educational environment which encompassed and acknowledged the Māori culture of the students and their communities whilst still adhering to a
Catholic world-view. Father Gupwell explains the reason he chose this as the motto and its significance in the 1949 Yearbook.

“Whaia Te Tika,” is the motto, Follow the Right. To be true to it these boys will indeed need the protection of the shield of Faith; they will need that weapon the sword of Spirit born of knowledge if they are to cleave an unwavering path to the vision of God which is their destiny (Gupwell 1949a).

Setting up the College

On 27 February 1947 Father Gupwell arrived at Parorangi to begin what must have seemed the daunting physical task of establishing a college on an old farm site that in many parts could only be described as derelict. Gupwell spent his first night at Hato Paora with no light, fire or sanitation on a bed borrowed from Phil Corliss, who had been employed to manage the school farm (Gupwell 1947a). He assembled the bed by candlelight and settled in for the night. Early the next morning he cleaned out an old coal/wood range and got it going. This was how he existed for the next six months until electricity was installed (Gupwell 1988: 68). He could hear the possums that inhabited the walls and ceiling moving about; nonetheless, he was very happy to be there. He conducted his first mass on the school site on 1 March 1947. Gupwell recorded these first days of his at the school in a notebook and described his writing as the beginning of the “Song of Parorangi” (Gupwell 1947a).

This account of Gupwell’s introduction to Hato Paora and his first few days spent at the College site underlines the dedication he brought to the task of establishing a school for Māori Catholic boys. It is this sort of commitment that Hato Paora
was built on and without this dedication the school would probably have always remained a dream. Through his actions Gupwell also embodied the ideals of behaviour and personality aspired to by the Marists since their inception.

Figure 17: Main “Ihaka” house taken 4 April 2006. Source: Nathan Matthews.

Of major concern to Gupwell was the state of the roof of the largest dwelling, whose brick tiles had corroded and leaked in many places, making habitation almost impossible (Gupwell 1988: 70). Father Gupwell enlisted the help of his aunt’s husband, Ollie Sporle, who was a building contractor, and his business partner, Ben White, to begin the necessary repairs, alterations and general preparation of the school site. This included the transformation of the buildings into dormitories, a kitchen, classrooms and a chapel; in fact, this task was to keep Ollie busy for the next fifteen years as the school continued to grow and was
constantly remodelled and updated. While he was paid for his work, he went above and beyond what anyone would expect from a contractor, as the School also became part of his life (Gupwell 1988: 68). The amount of effort expended by Ollie Sporle for Hato Paora, and the regard in which he was held, is evidenced by the fact that the entire school attended his funeral at St Brigid's Church in 1966 in Feilding, and then provided a guard of honour at the cemetery (Delaney 1966: 75). In 1967 this was again evident when his wife, Agnes Sporle, died and the whole school attended her funeral in Feilding and held a special service in the school chapel, attended by members of her family (Delaney 1967: 31).

Gupwell admits he was extremely fortunate that Monsignor McRae recognised the urgent need for building materials and resources and gave Gupwell free rein over the finances to hasten the establishment of the College. The alternative would have meant constant applications in writing to Rome for approval before he could purchase the necessary materials; a time-consuming process that might have ended all hopes of getting the school operational (Gupwell 1988: 68). Such financial support highlights how much importance the Society of Mary placed at this time on expediting the establishment of the College and how far they were prepared to go towards fulfilling that goal.

The school farm was to play an extremely important role in the history of Hato Paora College. It was expected to help support the school and limit the operational cost to the Archdiocese. In the early days of its existence the school catered for
boys who could not afford to go to any other schools. They came from the Mission Stations up the Wanganui River and from the Mission Station in Ōtaki. The farm was used to subsidise the school, and vegetables were grown there to help keep the cost of attendance down (Gupwell 1988: 71). In addition to providing vital income to the school, the farm was also used to give the boys practical agricultural and pastoral experience (Gupwell 1949).

**The Opening of Hato Paora College**

The annual Māori Mission Conference was held at Parorangi in July 1947 with a primary focus on organising the official opening of Hato Paora College. The Diocesan authorities had decided that they wished Cardinal Gilroy, Archbishop of Sydney, to open the college, and as he would be visiting New Zealand in October, Labour weekend was considered the most suitable option. Each of the priests in attendance was given duties so as to relieve some of the pressure from Father Gupwell (Minutes 1947: 60). Also the *tangata whenua* formed a committee to assist Father Gupwell with organising the opening and providing workers for the catering and hosting of the opening day visitors (Lawton 1996: 36). It was agreed that the opening day would be a one day event, with the morning primarily for the Māori people and the afternoon for the Pākehā visitors. The Māori representatives from the various districts would arrive in time for a 10am Mass, and dinner would be provided for the clergy. The official blessing of the college would take place before the clerical dinner. There would be a Māori speaker for the afternoon function and a Māori hymn was to be sung at Benediction, by a combined
Ohakune and Otaki choir. The opening was to be announced as an open invitation in all parish churches (Minutes 1947: 60).

At the conference, Fathers Gupwell and Riordan got into an argument in regard to the role and responsibilities of the Rector. Father Gupwell asserted that as Rector he had authority and control over all College affairs and it was for him to make proclamations about the College or its activities (Minutes 1947: 61). This dispute over jurisdiction in relation to the school and its operation was ultimately to conclude with the termination of Riordan’s physical and practical association with the school. Despite this, he always remained a staunch and energetic supporter of the College from his post in the Māori mission.

The opening was a huge occasion with approximately 3000 people in attendance. Māori from around New Zealand, including Wanganui, Hawkes Bay and Otaki, attended. They were welcomed by Ngāti Kauwhata, the tangata whenua, and they then combined to prepare to welcome the Cardinal, clergy and other dignitaries, including the Prime Minister and Attorney General (Lawton 1996: 37). The tangata whenua arrived on Saturday night and stayed at the school so that they would be ready to help with the welcome the following morning.

The official welcome began at about 11 o’clock with a wero (ritual challenge) and speeches by Kereama Te Ngako of Ngāti Raukawa and Tutete Otene Kereama and Toroa Ngātau of Ngāti Kauwhata. However, despite careful planning, the
opening day did not proceed completely to plan, as the programme was interrupted by a downpour so severe that the rest of the ceremony had to be abandoned. The dignitaries and clergy were relocated inside the main house to continue with some of the planned activities (Gupwell 1988: 72-3). A notable feature of the opening ceremony and the opening day as a whole was the support provided by the local Māori communities, both Catholic and non-Catholic, for the organisation and execution of the celebrations. This support was to be an important feature of Hato Paora’s early years as those communities embraced the school as their own.

The blessing and dedication of the College was held in the College chapel, performed by the Cardinal and assisted by Father Faone of Tonga and Father Wiremu Te Āwhitu. This was followed by entertainment by students of St Joseph’s Māori Girls’ College. Fathers Gupwell and Riordan made speeches of welcome and thanks following the dedication. However, concern for those still outside in the inclement weather prevented an opportunity for reply or continued speechmaking (Lawton 1996: 39).

The kind of student envisaged at the school can be found in the prospectus that was developed at the opening ceremony and consequently published in the school magazine of 1949. The school was for Māori Catholic boys who had passed the sixth standard. The course of studies was designed to prepare students for the School Certificate Examination, as well as to provide an alternative course for
those who would not benefit from a purely academic training. The courses offered included Christian Doctrine, Māori Language, English, Elementary Mathematics, Latin, General Science, Practical Agriculture, Carpentry and Joinery, Arts and Crafts and Book-keeping. The prospectus was written in both Māori and English, in line with the school's orientation (Gupwell 1949a). This was a significant departure from common practice in the 1940s. Despite policy and rhetoric about integrating Māori culture and language into the school environment, the reality then was that most schools still did not offer Māori language as a subject option, nor used Māori as a normal medium of communication. The prospectus was circulated, initially amongst those in attendance at the Opening Day. It was then circulated more widely around the Marist Māori Mission by the Māori Missioners as they set about recruiting students for the coming school year.

With the opening of the College, Father Riordan fades from any direct contact with Hato Paora as he had discharged his task of facilitating the establishment of the College, which now came under the control of its new Rector. However, he did remain in his role as a Māori Missioner, a key figure in the recruitment of students for the College and he was often invited to preside over various school functions. Father Riordan is remembered in his obituary, taken from the Marist Messenger and reprinted in the 1959 Hato Paora College magazine, as a zealous, passionate man who had real concern for the Māori people and actively attempted to have their culture and approach to life incorporated into the practice of the faith (Gupwell 1959: 49-51). The importance of his contribution to Hato Paora can be
found in the naming of one of the current dormitories in his honour. The
dormitory was founded in 1990 and bears the name Riatana, which is the Māori
language form of Riordan. Bishop Max Māriu, accompanied by elders of Ngāti
Kauwhata, performed the official blessing of the building, which included a
portrait of Father Riordan that hung in the main foyer. This blessing was
completed by a performance of the school *haka*, “Ka whāia rā” (Gresham 1990:
120-2).

Figure 18: Riatana dormitory 4 April 2006. Source: Nathan Matthews.

By the end of 1947 only 27 boys, from an anticipated target of 60, had been
recruited for the school. However, a national outbreak of poliomyelitis in 1948
delayed the start of the school year, and when school did resume in March the
first intake numbered 48 boys, 21 of whom were third formers, and all of whom
were from within the Archdiocese (Lawton 1996: 41).
Conclusion

With the official opening by Cardinal Gilroy on 27 October 1947, Hato Paora was now a reality for the New Zealand Catholic Church, the Society of Mary and, more importantly, the Māori Catholics of the Archdiocese of Wellington. The establishment of the College was the realisation of a long-term goal for the Fathers of the Society of Mary. The school would educate young Māori Catholic men in the faith and in the State education curriculum, with the intention of creating well-balanced leaders who would return to their communities (Gupwell 1949). The founding Rector Father Gupwell, and the succeeding Rectors, along with their Marist staff, now assumed the duty of operating and maintaining the
Significantly, it had taken the Society of Mary 100 years, from the time they first assumed control of the Diocese of Wellington, to the opening of Hato Paora, before they were able to provide a secondary schooling option for Māori Catholics within their diocese. By contrast, the Anglican Church had four colleges for Māori operational by 1903 (Te Aute, St Stephens, Hukarere and Queen Victoria), whilst in the same period the Catholic Church had only one (St Joseph’s Māori Girls’ School). There were none available for Māori boys until Hato Petera was opened in Auckland in 1928 (McSweeny 1954: 231). During the same era the Society had established St Bede’s College, Christchurch, in 1911; St Patrick’s, Silverstream, in 1931; St Patrick’s High School, Timaru, in 1938; St John’s College, Hastings, in 1941; and St Augustine’s, Wanganui, in 1944, all prior to offering a school primarily for Māori boys within the diocese. Despite coming to New Zealand in order to bring the Catholic faith to Māori, the Society of Mary had in fact tended the needs of the dominant non-Māori Catholic population throughout the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Hato Paora now gave the Society in the Wellington Archdiocese the opportunity to renew their early commitment to the tangata whenua of Aotearoa.
Chapter 7

Ihaka Kapuera - Father Issac Gupwell

Ko wai te rangatira hei tūmata? Ko Kapuera, ko Kapuera!
Who is the founding rector? It is Gupwell!

Introduction

This chapter is the first of two that will examine the tenures of the various Rectors of the College. The first chapter will focus on the founding Rector, Issac (Ike) Gupwell, while the second chapter will explore the tenures of the other five Rectors. Father Gupwell is the outstanding figure in the early history and thus he warrants a chapter of his own. This chapter will explore his personal background, and personality, philosophy of education, the development of the school under his leadership, and his impact upon the boys of Hato Paora.

Father Issac Gupwell 1947–1964

Early Life

Father Gupwell was born on 5 March 1909 in Palmerston North and baptised on 19 March. His family then moved to Foxton, where Gupwell was raised and schooled at the Brigidine Sisters Primary School from 1913 until 1916-1917. His family was very poor, so upon completion of primary school, at the age of twelve years, Gupwell left school and worked at various jobs locally. In the 1920s, whilst working in the Wellington suburb of Naenae, Gupwell was persuaded to attend the Diocesan Seminary in Mosgiel near Dunedin, despite having no secondary education. From there he went to the Marist Seminary in Greenmeadows and
ultimately the Marist Novitiate at ‘Highden’ in the Manawatū (Gupwell 1988: 65). Gupwell was professed as a Marist on 2 February 1933 and ordained a priest on the 30 June 1937 at the Basilica in Wellington by Archbishop O’Shea. He spent two years teaching at St Bede’s College in Christchurch and then spent time teaching at St Patrick’s College in Wellington, whilst continuing his studies at Victoria University of Wellington (Gupwell 1988: 67).

From St Patrick’s Gupwell joined the Marist Māori Missions, at which time he fell ill and was hospitalised. Following this he was stationed at the Meeanee parish in 1940 for a few months, where he had a lot of interaction with St Joseph’s Māori Girls’ College. From Meeanee he transferred to the Wanganui Mission and it was here that Father Gupwell was able to further develop his interest in and knowledge of the Māori language and culture, an interest that stemmed from his time in the seminary, where he began to study the language. He struck up a good relationship with the Māori of the Wanganui Mission, particularly the people of Pūtiki, and greatly increased his knowledge and understanding of the Māori language and culture. He was acknowledged as having a real passion for the Māori language, and his fluency was almost that of a native speaker. While at Hato Paora he developed a Māori grammar book to aid the teaching of Māori to the students (Haami 2006). It was during 1946 while working in Wanganui that Father Gupwell was approached to found the new Catholic secondary school for Māori boys (Gupwell 1988: 67).
**Gupwell as Rector**

Early in his term Father Gupwell applied for total control in the day-to-day decision-making of Hato Paora. He felt that the proposed establishment of committees to help oversee the running of the school would become cumbersome and hinder the school's development. The Archbishop and Provincial of the Society of Mary agreed to his request and granted him the authority to act without written permission from Rome or Wellington, to speed up the development of the school (Gupwell 1988: 70). However, as the school was operated by the Archdiocese on an overdraft, it was still necessary for him to seek confirmation that there were funds available as he needed them, and he also had to submit regular reports to the Society of Mary with regard to all the operational activities at the college (Lawton 1996: 41-2).

Gupwell believed that by having complete authority, he could ensure the speedy development and continued smooth operation of the College. This was not always supported by other staff members, but during his tenure as Rector this was the way the school was operated. On top of this he assumed many of the other roles of responsibility within the College structure such as the Bursar, Discipline Master and Spiritual Director, Procurator and Community Superior (Lawton 1996: 42). This meant that he had control of both the school and the Society of Mary community that lived and worked there. He was eventually relieved of some of these responsibilities as his tenure progressed: Father Atkin was appointed Community Superior in 1959 with Gupwell as his Vice Superior. However, for
the majority of his tenure Father Gupwell assumed almost total control over the School's affairs, as well as the governance of the Marist Fathers on the staff (Spillane 1959).

The School's curriculum and early years

The curriculum was intended to offer as wide a range of activities as possible to allow for the “special needs” of the Māori boys in an education system that was otherwise very Eurocentric in orientation. Gupwell believed that the curriculum should be fashioned so as not to restrict the boys to a purely academic education focused primarily on the attainment of School Certificate, but rather, it should allow them to develop over a range of subjects, both theoretical and practical. He also believed that each boy, “once given a real opportunity, can take and use the best in our culture and remain proud to his heritage as a Maori” (Gupwell 1949a).

He also supported the idea that a college was not just a place where students received tuition to pass examinations, but a place in which students could receive many other valuable life skills (Gupwell 1953). On top of the standard curriculum, the students were taught the modern methods of farm work, not always with parental approval, cabinetmaking and repairs and other manual tasks around the school site (Gupwell 1949a). The repair and renovation work that the boys participated in was intended, firstly, to train the boys in various practical skills, and secondly, to allow for the continued physical development of the school at as little cost to the school, and Archdiocese, as possible.
The second year of its existence as an operational college saw the further development of Hato Paora's own individual, and unique, identity. The Rector noted that a "school spirit" was becoming apparent, with the school and students developing a personality (Gupwell 1950).

Parorangi has an atmosphere, a spirit that is the sole justification for its existence. This was engendered by the early boys and staff; it is something quite unique; it has to do with Maoriness which is something I cannot define other than a special gift from the God of love to a people especially chosen (Gupwell 1973: 9).

Hato Paora was different not only in spirit. Its curriculum continued to differ to some extent from the standard New Zealand Education Department curriculum. Besides Christian Doctrine, the school gave particular attention to the English language, largely in response to the number of the students attending Hato Paora at that time who lacked any primary schooling. English was therefore taught so that the students would be more comfortable in the wider New Zealand context. However, the Māori language was also promoted so that they could continue to operate in their own whānau context (Gupwell 1950). This blending of Māori, New Zealand and Catholic cultures contributed to the creation of the unique personality of Hato Paora, and differentiated it from other schools, both state and religious. In March 1952 the school was inspected for the first time by the Department of Education. The inspectors were generally impressed with the performance of the staff and thought that the school provided an excellent model for Māori education (Lawton 1996: 48).
During the early years of the College there was one standard curriculum, containing the educational requirements of the Education Department together with some special subjects. This was designed to help the boys attain School Certificate, and beyond, whilst providing a more practical education in agricultural knowledge for those who desired it. Alterations to the curriculum were planned so that students with an interest in the agricultural knowledge would also be able to study towards School Certificate from a specifically designed curriculum. The proposed courses of study were:

Option one: English, Māori, Chemistry, Book-keeping and Drawing and Design.

Option two: English, Māori, General Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Design and Drawing.

This was an attempt to provide the non-restrictive curriculum for the students as promised in the early years of the college (Gupwell 1954). In this year also the first students at Hato Paora, Archie Taiaroa and Bernard Haami, passed School Certificate.

In 1954 there were 94 boys on the school roll. Perhaps because of the growing roll, that year the existing system of clubs that each of the students belonged to was transformed into a more formal house system. The names chosen for the houses were the four traditional Māori atua: Tangaroa (atua of the sea),

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5 The first public examination for secondary students in New Zealand at this time. Usually at the end of the third year of secondary education.
Tawhirimātea (*atua* of the elements), Rongo mā Tane (*atua* of cultivated food and peace), and Whiro (*atua* of evil). Every boy in the school was assigned to one of the houses and they competed, for points, across a wide range of school activities, including *kapa haka*, sports and classwork. Each week the banner of the house that was leading was flown on the flagpole (Gupwell 1955: 24). Central to the operation of these houses were the leadership roles performed by the senior boys in each house. It was their job to prepare the house for the various competitions. The following carving and painting completed by students in 1976 depicts the four *atua* that the houses are named for.

![Figure 20: Painting, that hangs in the school wharenui, representing the house atua. Photo taken 11 April 2006. Source: Nathan Matthews.](image)

Just three years later the school roll had expanded to 165. Due to a lack of beds and space, it looked likely that at the rate of increase in boys seeking admission not all would be able to be accommodated in the following year (Gupwell 1957b:
5). This ongoing increase in the number of boys wishing to attend Hato Paora was a good sign, but there was still a continuing trend of too many boys arriving at Hato Paora with little or no formal primary education. This obviously affected their chances of achieving academic success at the College. It also made it more challenging for the school to provide an opportunity for academic success. That Gupwell kept taking them in and giving them an education, despite their slower progress, highlights his commitment to developing a school where academic attainment was not the sole measurement for a boy’s life at Hato Paora. The continuing focus on religion at Hato Paora was evidenced in the annual celebration of confirmation at the school, when thirty-six boys were confirmed that year (Gupwell 1957: 31). Promotion of the Māori language and culture was still evident at the College in the continuation of daily Māori language classes and the inter-House competitions in *whaikōrero* and *kapa haka* (Gupwell 1958: 9).

*Educational philosophy*

Father Gupwell had a clear vision of the purpose of the College. He saw the role of the school as not to destroy but to preserve, hence we see a continuing focus not only on Christian Doctrine and the Catholic religion but also on the study of the Māori language and the integration of the Māori culture into School and religious life (Gupwell 1963: 7). Māori culture was integrated into the school’s entire philosophy and was not just a school subject. Gupwell believed that by such means the school would provide an educational framework that maximised the opportunity for academic success of Māori boys. His philosophy began to have
tangible successes, with boys from Hato Paora going on to further studies at university and teachers training college (Gupwell 1963: 7). However, he did not believe that this type of achievement was the ultimate example of the success of the school:

... Parorangi has not become as have so many schools obsessed with the examination complex – a learning factory. There is something indefinable about the place, a freedom from tension, that makes life enjoyable for everybody. I think it is a Maori atmosphere tempered and sublimated by the contribution that we with our back-ground of Christian tradition make towards the general effect (Gupwell 1962: 6).

The 1950s and 1960s was a time in New Zealand education history when the focus was on the integration of Māori. Father Gupwell agreed that Māori must learn the skills to put us on an equal footing with other New Zealanders, but he believed that we had to retain our own Māori character. He believed that the real delay in integration had been Pākehā reluctance to learn anything about the Māori culture and way of life. In his opinion this study of things Māori by Pākehā would hasten integration in New Zealand, not impede it (Gupwell 1963).

Gupwell’s philosophy arose from his perception that the New Zealand education system presumed certain cultural and intellectual experiences foreign to Māori children (Gupwell 1961: 8). By creating a school environment resembling the boys’ home life, he believed he could increase the opportunity for success. He believed that Māori did not have to forsake their world to become Christians, nor should Hato Paora sacrifice the study of Māoritanga (Gupwell 1963).
At the end of 1964 the Reverend Father Issac Gupwell S.M. ended his Rectorship. He had led Hato Paora for eighteen consecutive years since its initial foundation in 1947. As the first Rector, he had had many tasks to fulfil, including supervision of the school’s day-to-day running, its curriculum, amenities and finances (Gupwell 1964). But perhaps the most important of his tasks was the creation of a school spirit, an atmosphere that permeated all parts of Hato Paora school life. This was achieved not only by focusing on the practical application of the Catholic faith in the students’ lives, but also by showing an appreciation of the Māori language and culture outside the curriculum, in everyday school life.

Figure 21: View of “Ihaka” house from the left hand side of photo 6. Photo taken in 2005. Source: Nathan Matthews.

Throughout his tenure as Rector, Gupwell held to his belief that Hato Paora had to offer its students and their families much more than just a book-based education. His thoughts are summed up in two pertinent quotes. The first illustrates his
thoughts on success:

The College has much more to offer by way of attainment than the mere passing of examinations, and to allow them to loom too largely can easily spoil a boy’s school life and retard real development (Gupwell 1950).

The second quote illustrates his thoughts on what a school experience should involve:

It is my firm belief that the moment a college becomes a place in which students merely receive tuition and strive to pass examinations it ceases to justify its existence (Gupwell 1953).

These philosophies were the foundation upon which Hato Paora was established, and from which its identity and spirit were created. Over 800 boys attended Hato Paora during Father Gupwell’s tenure, and perhaps one of the best examples of his philosophy and his attitude towards the boys and their families remains that not a single boy was ever turned away because his parents could not pay the full tuition fees (Gupwell 1964). This is illustrated by Simon who recounts that:

My Dad died while I was in 5th form sitting School C and so when I came home I didn’t go back to school for 2 or 3 weeks and Father Gupwell said, “what’s happening?” and my mother said, “Well, Pa, I can’t afford to send him anymore. There are two after him and so we might have to flag his career to make way for the ones coming behind him”. Father Gupwell said, “Don’t worry about the money. You send him back and we will worry about that later” (Simon 2004).

Actions such as this gained Gupwell much respect and goodwill within Catholic Māori society. Evidence of this standing in the Māori community was shown at his Sacerdotal Silver Jubilee, where he received tributes from elders of Ngā Puhi,
Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Tuwharetoa, Rongowhakaata and Ngāti Kahungunu for his work in educating their sons and grandsons (Gupwell 1962: 12).

In his sermon, given at the forty year jubilee of the school, Father Kinsella, a long term Hato Paora staff member, paid homage to the efforts of Father Gupwell in establishing the school. He reflected on the type of place that Hato Paora was and some of the reasons for its uniqueness:

What did I find? It was very different from any place I lived in. Fr Gupwell had a great sensitivity to the needs of the boys. After all Parorangi was their home away from home. When the routine was getting to them there would be a beautiful day – what about a Rector’s half-holiday? Extra films. Great! A real cure for the blues.

Taha Maori was taken for granted. Maori language was very important as was the growth of aroha in the Hato Paora family. Tatou tatou! We had the Education Department Inspectors in 1953 – they didn’t look too kindly on Maoritanga – there were more important things. Fr Gupwell, however encouraged, praised, promoted things Maori …

We were way out in the country, but Fr Gupwell and those founding boys and Staff members built a College by sacrifice. Fr Gupwell cooked for the boys for four years, did the washing, built the baths. The most important things here were the boys.

We priests used to be corrected if we were too ‘pakeha’ in our ways. The great thing about Fr Gupwell was that he established the spirit of Parorangi – a spirit that is uniquely Hato Paora, a deeply Christian spirit, a profoundly Maori spirit.

I have a deep gratitude that I was there in those early days - a deep gratitude to Fr Gupwell and the other priests on the Staff – a deep gratitude to the boys who enriched me immensely just by being Maori and encouraged to be Maori. That was not easy forty years ago (Kinsella in Gresham 1987).
This clearly explains the type of man Father Gupwell was and what he gave to the school and its boys.

Staff

Although the Rector had the overall responsibility for the operation of the school, the staff that supported him were just as important. During Gupwell’s tenure there were several priests who worked at the College for a considerable time. From 1954 Father Bernard Atkins was an important member of the staff; he was responsible for much of the spiritual leadership within the school and the Marist community. At various times he held the positions of Procurator, Spiritual Director, Vice-Superior and, in 1960, Religious Superior. Father Robert Lee and Father Paddy Kinsella began at the school in 1953 and both worked through, and beyond, Father Gupwell’s tenure. For much of this period Father Lee was the Master of Studies and the Master of Discipline. Because of these roles, old boys noted that “occasionally they feared him, often we dodged him, but always we respected him” (Gresham 1981: 22). Father Kinsella was extremely interested in the Māori language and culture, becoming a fluent speaker of Māori and teaching the Māori language at the College. He also learnt and taught the art of Māori carving. He was involved in all aspects of school life, from the academic and sports (he coached rugby and cricket) through to the spiritual, when as Spiritual Director he was responsible for implementing the changes decreed by Vatican II (Delaney 1970: 25-6). Father Kinsella’s contribution to the school is recognised in the naming of one of the dormitories in his honour.
A significant event occurred in 1961 when Father Wiremu Te Äwhitu, the first Māori priest, joined the staff. This gave the boys the opportunity to see and interact with one of their own who had taken up the religious vocation; no doubt it was hoped that he would inspire others.

Another valued staff member, Father M Tomasi, joined the staff firstly from 1955–58 and then again in 1961. Father Tomasi was acknowledged as an excellent rugby and cricket coach and held the position of Sportsmaster at the school. This role was important in a boarding school so that the boys had plenty of recreational activities to fill their time. Father Tomasi was a very dedicated man who worked tirelessly during his time at Hato Paora (Curtain 1972). As Lawton recalls:

... this is the type of priest that Father Tomasi was. If you act like a man he will treat you like a man, if you act like a kid you will get treated like a kid. “Tata you are probably going to be here for 5 or 6 years. In that time you are going to do something that you are never ever going to be caught for and when you do, remember this, Bend over” and I got three [strikes with the cane]. That’s the sort of fulla that he was (Lawton 2004).

There were also Marist brothers who joined the staff and were invaluable at relieving some of the workload from the priests by picking up much of the work in the kitchen and laundry, as well as general caretaking duties around the school. The brothers during Gupwell’s tenure were Alfred (1962), Martin de Porres (1962–64), Peter (1962–68) and Gerard (1964–67) (Gupwell 1962–1964).
Simon reflects on the staff that were at the school during his time:

The staff were all priests and brothers, marvellous people absolutely dedicated and they are very strong people, their integrity was unquestionable. Strong in their sport and everything and you have been through it yourself so you have an inkling. More so when I was there because there was no lay teachers; all priests and people totally dedicated to the life of Christ and spending their lives for Christ doing things for Māori (Simon 2004).

School Farm

The farm, during Father Gupwell’s tenure, was extremely important. In the first instance it provided the school with revenue that by his own account allowed the College to continue to operate. He also saw it as a good way to relieve the boredom that could come from having classwork only to consume the students’ time (Gupwell 1953: 23). The farm consisted of two dairy farms and one large sheep and crop farm at this time.

Simon considered the farm as important in developing skills other than those usually associated with school work and life:

That was because in those days [the School] was still pushing animal husbandry. It was still a farm school. There were three different farms operating off the school property, two dairy farms and a sheep farm. So we did all the killing. We did the killing for the school, we did the garden, the plots all those sort of things. Where the football field is now the paddock over was all in spuds and we looked after all of those and looked after the garden and we learnt about life-skills. The agriculture boys did the shearing and the fencing, we did all the ploughing. We learnt to up our driving skills and pulling extra implements such as ploughs, harrows and all those types of things. So for us it was already a university even while we were at school; a university for preparing us to go out of the school into other things (Simon
Haami remembers the farm being an integral part of school life:

"Certain boys were given areas on the farm to look after. The dairy boys for the top and the back dairy farm. We used to get up early for Mass, go and do the milking and worked with the seasons really (Haami in Gresham 1987)."

Apart from the revenue that it earned, the farm also supplemented the school diet so that honey was provided, jam made from fruit grown in the school orchard, fresh eggs, and fruit and vegetables grown in the fields and glasshouse. Mr Tom Bradley was in charge of the sheep farm from 1948 until 1964. He managed to double the amount of sheep that Parorangi could carry during his time as he improved the condition of the land. In his farewell Mr Bradley made special note of the boys and the immense help that they had been and the great pleasure that he had derived from working with them (Delaney 1965:35). The back dairy farm was closed down in 1964 and the top dairy farm in 1969.

**Conclusion**

Much of what Hato Paora College became has been due to the influence of the founding Rector, Father Issac Gupwell. Father Gupwell was assigned the task of taking a rundown farm and its amenities and transforming it into a College for Māori boys. More importantly, he was to define the philosophy upon which the school would operate and in doing so created the special atmosphere or character of the school. Gupwell was well aware of this part of his role and gave special
consideration to the type of school that Hato Paora would be and the values and ideals it would embrace. With his retirement, the period of physical and spiritual establishment of Hato Paora College ended and a period of further consolidation and development began as the new Rector strove to build upon the foundation laid by the early staff and students.

Father Gupwell’s attitudes and his actions during these formative years had an immense impact upon the boys who attended the school. Morvin Simon recalls the Rector:

The man wasn’t only a teacher, he was all sorts. He was the cook, the gardener, the tractor driver, the harvest master, and then he would take his uniform off at 9 o’clock and go to class and that would go from nine until three and at quarter past three he would change the uniform again and put his gumboots on and go out and chase the kids around the football field. That went through to about 5 o’clock or 5.30. At 6 o’clock there was tea, 7 o’clock take study until 9 and then hadn’t finished yet. 9 o’clock go up to the dorm, shower everybody and put them all to bed and that’s Fr Gupwell. From waking us up at 5 o’clock in the morning he finishes way up at 11 o’clock, 12 o’clock at night. That’s a 18 hour day, 19 hour day everyday. So you have to say that we were the beneficiary of that sort of commitment and dedication and I certainly know that for myself. He will always be my mentor and he will always be the person to whom I look to spiritually because he was just such a great teacher, a great man and a great teacher. That’s how we perceive him (Simon 2004).

His effect on Pat Haami can be seen in his reluctance to comment on the Rector:

Hard to talk about a priest and he’s gone too. To talk about him now that he is gone is too hurtful for me (Haami 2006).
Father Gupwell is buried on the top of Pukekaraka overlooking the Ōtaki Māori Mission Station in the company of other Māori missioners. Like Pat Haami I was reluctant to take any photos of his final resting place due to what I believe is his *mana* and *tapu*.
Chapter 8

Ngā Rangatira - The Rectors

... mō ngā mahi tīpuna i mahia ake nei e ō tātou pirihī...
... for the work done by our priests ...

Introduction

Hato Paora College has had six Rectors, beginning with the founding Rector in 1947 and ending with the sixth and last Rector in 1996, who has since been succeeded by various lay Principals. As the overall leaders of the school physically and spiritually, the various Rectors, through their actions and philosophies, have contributed immensely to the type of school that Hato Paora was and is. How it has operated in its various spheres of existence, spiritual, cultural and academic, has also been largely dictated by these men.

This chapter will examine the tenure of each of the School’s Rectors who succeeded Father Gupwell. This examination will be thematic as it explores each Rector’s personal background, personality and their achievements whilst leading the College including the significant developments in regard to the administration of the school, the farm, staffing and the school buildings. Their overall contribution to the many facets of life at Hato Paora and the effect their involvement had on the College as an entity will also be examined in regard to its development as a viable education option for Māori. Various significant events within the School, the Church and the New Zealand education system will be referred to, to provide some contextualisation for each Rector’s actions and
philosophies.

**Father Noel Delaney 1965-1971**

The second Rector of Hato Paora College was the Reverend Father Noel T. Delaney. He was born in 1922 in Wairoa, a small rural northern Hawkes Bay town, which has a large and prominent Māori population. Delaney was very comfortable with the Māori culture and language due to his upbringing in this environment where Pākehā interacted regularly with Māori, much like his predecessor Father Gupwell. Father Delaney had his primary education at Maru Maru State School before attending St Patrick’s, Silverstream, from 1935–1940 (Delaney nd). Father Delaney attended the Marist Seminary at Mount St Mary’s, Greenmeadows, where he studied the Māori language and was ordained in 1948 (Delaney nd). Whilst at the seminary Delaney, along with other students, attended the opening of Hato Paora, where he was moved by the significance it held for the Society of Mary and Māori Catholics (Lawton 1996: 85).

His first posting upon completing his studies at the seminary was to teach at St. Bede’s College, Christchurch, where he remained for two years. Following his time at St. Bede’s Father Delaney became a staff member at Hato Paora from 1950 until 1953. He fitted in well to life at Hato Paora, excelling as a coach of various sports, teaching music and developing a good rapport with boys.
However, he clashed with Father Gupwell over decision making at the college and the Society was required to step in and mediate between them. This mediation ended amicably. However, it did result in Father Delaney being transferred to St Patrick’s, Silverstream. There he gained his BA degree from Victoria University of Wellington while teaching and supervising a dormitory at St Patrick’s where he worked for ten years, from 1954–1963, until he was appointed to St John’s College, Hastings, in 1963, where he taught for one year (Delaney: nd). He returned to Hato Paora in 1965, as Rector, with much teaching experience and a working knowledge of both the Pākehā and Māori Catholic secondary schooling environments. This put him in good stead for assuming control of Hato Paora.

Father Delaney was determined to continue the growth and development of Hato Paora upon the strong foundations laid down by Father Gupwell. He wished to continue the philosophy of the college as determined by his predecessor (Lawton 1996: 87). He was fortunate in inheriting a staff, notably in Fathers Lee, Atkins, Tomasi and Kinsella, who were extremely experienced in working at Hato Paora, and who understood both the expectations and needs of the students and their families. They provided continuity not only in the day-to-day operations of the school but also in the philosophy that the school operated by. They were also well equipped to aid Delaney in his goals of improving the school socially and academically (Lawton 1996: 86).

Much of Delaney’s tenure was affected by the uncertainty and concern that arose
from Pope Paul VI's Second Vatican Council and the changes that its decrees demanded. The decrees were an attempt to bring the Church into the twentieth century through a variety of measures. Of importance for the Society of Mary was the focus on their presence in New Zealand as an integral part of the New Zealand Catholic Church and their desire to increase the development and participation of Māori Catholics and their leaders (Lawton 1996: 88). In accordance with the decrees of Vatican II there was a heavy emphasis placed at Hato Paora on preparing the boys for a life as Christian Māori men, through the sacraments, Christian Doctrine classes, prayer and the direction of the religious staff. In fact the students spent about 15 hours of the week involved in religious instruction or chapel (Lawton 1996: 90). To help with their own personal direction, each student chose a counsellor from among the priests to help guide and counsel them in their time at the school. There were also junior and senior religious retreats held during each year to further advance the boys' knowledge and understanding of the Catholic faith and its practical application (Delaney 1966: 21).

1971 was Father Delaney's last year as Rector of Hato Paora. His tenure saw a continuation of the founding spirit and philosophies of Hato Paora, with a stronger emphasis on academic performance. This led to an increase in the scholarly achievement in the public examinations, as well as an increase in participation in tertiary education by Hato Paora old boys. This achievement was, however, tempered by external pressures from government to return the school to a technical education environment, which was reflective of government
educational policy for Māori through the 1950s and 1960s. To the credit of Father Delaney and his staff, Hato Paora College at that time was considered, by Māori, to offer stability and moral standards that most other Māori and state colleges did not. Father Delaney was extremely fortunate during his tenure that he inherited staff who were very capable and experienced in working at Hato Paora. These qualities were sustained by the new staff who joined the school under his leadership. His leadership style, whilst differing from Gupwell’s almost totalitarian approach, was just as effective, and Hato Paora grew and flourished whilst under his control.

Who was the third Rector? It was Father Curtain ...

**Father M Curtain 1972-1977**

At the beginning of 1972 Father M.V. Curtain became the third Rector of Hato Paora College. Father Curtain was born in Greymouth in 1932, a town with a small Māori population. He attended St Patrick’s College, Silverstream, from 1946-1951 before entering the seminary (Curtain nd). From the seminary he returned to St Patrick’s as a teacher in 1959 and then was posted to St Bede’s College, Christchurch, from 1960-1971. Whilst teaching at St Bede’s, Curtain completed a BA at Canterbury University (Curtain: nd). From St Bede’s he was appointed the Rector of Hato Paora, by Father Hickey, the Provincial of the Society of Mary, despite having no prior experience in the Māori Missions or Māori education. This lack of experience did concern Curtain but as all vocational
matters rested with the Provincial he had little choice in the matter. The Provincial felt that Hato Paora should be treated the same as any other Marist school and produce similar results. He seemed to believe that if the academic side of the school was going well then the school as a whole would too. However, it soon became evident that this was not necessarily true in the case of Hato Paora, and that Curtain was the wrong man for the Rectorship (Lawton 1996: 109-10). He had little understanding of working with Māori or in a Māori context and this meant that he was heavily reliant on the counsel of others, such as staff members and members of the Māori community.

Despite his concerns and his minimal experience Father Curtain was extremely fortunate, as was Hato Paora, that he was ably supported by staff with great experience: Fathers Atkins, Lee, McGovern, Gledhill and Kingi. In addition to this he had the support of local kaumātua and an old boy, Morvin Simon, who was appointed to the staff in 1975. Even with this support Curtain still struggled with Māori issues and a Māori school context and this would ultimately lead to his resignation in 1977 (Lawton 1996: 109).

In the Rector’s report of 1974 it was stated that the goal of Hato Paora was to create a place that not only recognised and respected the Māori culture, but attempted to foster it through a focus on the student’s cultural identity and the preservation of that culture within the context of the gospel teachings (Curtain 1975). The school aimed to create young Māori men who were not only able to
take their place on the marae but were also comfortable in both the Māori and Pākehā worlds. These aims were an obvious continuation of those followed by both Gupwell and Delaney before him.

The Society of Mary wanted a continued focus, as during Father Delaney’s tenure, on academic achievement and for tikanga Māori to be revitalised at Hato Paora. The focus on academic achievement is highlighted in the school prospectus:

... The subjects taught are designed to prepare students for School Certificate and University Entrance and Bursary Examinations, and to provide an additional course for such as would not benefit from a purely academic training ... (Curtain 1972).

The revitalisation of tikanga Māori at Hato Paora is best illustrated in the physical developments initiated during Delaney’s tenure and continued throughout Curtain’s. This included the redevelopment of the school chapel as a Māori Catholic space, with the adornment of Māori carving and artwork inside reflecting the Māori and Catholic nature of the school. In addition the Hato Paora College marae was formally developed.
Figure 22: The marae (clear area in middle of picture), wharenui (large building to the left) and the school chapel (directly in front) taken in 2006. Source: Nathan Matthews.

Father Curtain finished his term as Rector at the end of 1977. During his tenure Hato Paora had continued to improve scholastically to the point where it “had earned a reputation as an academically sound school” (Lawton 1996: 141). This is illustrated in the increasing numbers in the sixth form, from twelve in 1975 to twenty in 1977, and a consistently higher number in the seventh form than in previous years. This had culminated in the procurement of an “A” bursary by a Hato Paora student for the first time in the College’s history.

The main problem for Father Curtain during his tenure was his inexperience in dealing with Māori issues in a Māori context. Until his appointment the Rector had had the power to make all decisions relating to the College, although still accountable to the Society of Mary and Archdiocese of Wellington. However, Curtain was not always able to operate in this fashion due to his lack of knowledge in relation to Māori issues. This made him reliant on the advice and

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6 Final public examination in secondary education, usually at the end of fifth year, at this time.
direction of others, which was not guaranteed to be the best or most correct advice. He came from a Eurocentric background and had neither experience of teaching at Hato Paora or of working in the Māori Missions to prepare him for the role. Despite this, Curtain was still expected to lead Hato Paora into the next level of its development as a College. He also did not possess the charisma that was evident in the first two Rectors and this left him somewhat distant from the students. However, he did work hard to lift the level of academic achievement in the school and met with some success. This is particularly evident in the number of old boys that were entering the armed forces, working in the state sector, and attending university. Hato Paora old boys were re-entering society as leaders. At the end of his six year tenure Curtain admitted that it was time for a change in the direction and philosophy of the school and he submitted his resignation (Lawton 1996: 141). He was reassigned to St Patrick’s, Wellington, where he taught until being appointed Rector of St Patrick’s, Silverstream, in 1981 (Curtain: nd).

*Ko wai te rangatira tuawhā? Ko Pā Rōpata ...*  
Who was the fourth Rector? It was Father Bob ...

**Father Robert Lee 1978-1980**

In 1979 Father Robert E. Lee took over the leadership of Hato Paora and became the fourth Rector of the school. With the resignation of Curtain, the Society was left with three of their colleges without rectors and few replacements on hand. Initially Father Ryan, the Provincial of the Society, wished to reappoint Father Delaney to the role of Rector. However, the staff at Hato Paora considered that
this would be a backward move and, following deliberation with Father Ryan, it was decided that Father Lee would take control of the college (Lawton 1996: 164).

Father Lee was born in Hāwera, Taranaki, in 1925. He attended the state primary school in Waitōtara, Wanganui, and Convent in Waverley, Taranaki. He then attended Wanganui Technical College and then St Patrick’s, Silverstream, before entering the Seminary at Greenmeadows. He was ordained a Marist in 1950 at Greenmeadows. Following his ordination he taught for two years at St Bede’s, Christchurch. He became a staff member at Hato Paora in 1953 (Lee nd). This was the beginning of twenty-six years of association with Hato Paora, initially as a teacher, then as the Rector, which was broken only by two years spent as a parish priest in Nelson in 1966-1967 before resuming as a teacher at Hato Paora again in 1968.

His appointment as Rector was seen as desirable by both the Society and the Catholic Māori community due to his long association with the school as a teacher. Added to this was the fact that he succeeded a Rector who had not been comfortable in the Māori Catholic schooling environment. His appointment could be seen as an attempt to allay any fears that may have existed following Father Curtain’s tenure. Of concern to some was Lee’s age. He was 53 at the time of his appointment, compared with Gupwell who was 38 years old when appointed, Delaney who was 42 years old, and Curtain who was 40 years old. The amount of
energy he would be able to bring to the position because of his age was the main concern. However, the overriding sentiment towards his appointment was one of satisfaction due to the continuity his appointment provided. Father Lee had begun at Hato Paora under Father Gupwell and had worked under Delaney and Curtain before becoming Rector (Lawton 1996: 143-4).

A new initiative at the College was the establishment of the Parents, Teachers and Friends Association in 1979, which was dedicated to supporting Hato Paora both physically and spiritually. This was more of a formalisation of pre-existing relationships as a means of improving co-ordination and productivity. The Parents, Teachers and Friends Association was responsible for organising such events as working bees, gala days and the annual Senior Dinner, which was a formal dinner held towards the end of the year for the senior students, many of whom would not be returning to the College (Lee 1979). The establishment of the association highlighted the drive, during Lee’s tenure, for a closer relationship with the wider school community and an increase in their participation in school life.

Another large issue during Lee’s tenure was the changing attitudes of Marist priests with regard to their priorities and motivation for joining the Society. The position of the Society of Mary, and the Catholic Church itself worldwide, had changed dramatically as a result of Vatican II and this affected staffing at Hato Paora as some members of the Society began to move away from the original
missionary ideals of the order. This change in attitudes made it harder to attract qualified religious teaching staff from within the order to Hato Paora (Lawton 1996: 164-5). Many preferred to teach at St. Patrick’s, Silverstream and St. Bede’s, Christchurch, which might be seen as more prestigious and more comfortable for Pākehā priests, since these places were predominately “white” schools. This in turn made it necessary to employ more lay staff, both teaching and non-teaching, which obviously changed the school environment. It also meant Hato Paora risked receiving staff members who were not wanted by other Society of Mary colleges and were sent to Hato Paora. In other words, the College risked becoming a poor Māori relation to the Society’s other schools. Despite these pressures and tensions, Father Lee’s tenure as Rector, whilst short, was one of stability with increased achievement both academically and culturally. He led by consensus, consulting with staff and the Māori community.

*Ko wai te rangatira tuarime? Ko Pā Hēmi...*  
Who was the fifth Rector? It was Father James ...

**Father James Gresham 1981-1990**

In 1981 Father James Gresham became the fifth Rector of Hato Paora College. Father Gresham had long desired to work in the Māori missions, because of an interest in learning about the Māori world which developed during his time in the seminary. Father Gresham was born in Geraldine in 1940, where he received his primary education. He then attended St Bede’s, Christchurch. He attended the seminary at Greenmeadows and was ordained at Geraldine in 1965 (Gresham nd).
Following his ordination Father Gresham requested placement in the Māori missions but was refused permission and instead was instructed to go and teach. He taught at St Patrick’s, Silverstream, in 1966 and at St John’s, Hastings, from 1967-72. Father Gresham had 1973 off for study and completed his BA at Victoria University, Wellington, where as part of his studies he learnt the Māori language. He was then posted to St Augustine’s College, Wanganui, from 1974-1977 where he taught the Māori language. In 1978 he transferred to Hato Paora as an English, mathematics and carving teacher, becoming the Rector in 1981 (Gresham nd). Father Gresham spent nine years as the Rector of Hato Paora before transferring to become the Rector of Pompallier College, Whāngarei.

During this period of great change the Society of Mary came to realise that they could not maintain their commitment to both Catholic education and parish work. In 1987 a survey was conducted within the Society and it was decided that they could not fully commit to all of their existing colleges. They chose three schools to resource fully in terms of staff: St Bede’s, Christchurch, St Augustine’s, Wanganui, and Pompallier College, Whangarei, none of which were dedicated to providing education for Māori. Hato Paora and the other Society of Mary Colleges would receive religious staff if there were any available (Lawton 1996: 178). Obviously this was a big blow to Hato Paora, with serious potential to affect its philosophy of providing a Catholic Māori education within a school environment.
During Father Gresham's tenure as Rector Hato Paora experienced huge changes as the school integrated into the State education system and met its obligations under this system. Perhaps more seriously still, the changes in terms of the Society of Mary's commitment to the school were to have most serious consequences, with an increasingly lay staff taking responsibility for sustaining a Māori Catholic education environment. Despite these changes, students themselves experienced greater freedom than ever before, with the Rector having less decision-making power, as it became shared between the Trust Board and the Church. Physically the school changed immensely at this time as the necessary upgrades and renovations were completed under the terms of the integration agreement.

_Ko wai te rangatira whakamutunga? Ko Pā Hāki..._  
Who was the final Rector? It was Father Jack ...

**Father Jack Smith 1991-1996**

In 1991 Father Jack Smith was appointed as the sixth Rector of Hato Paora College. Father Smith was the first old boy and Māori Rector of the college. He was born in Wairoa, Hawkes Bay, in 1939 and attended Hato Paora from 1954 until 1956 before entering the Mount St Mary's Seminary at Greenmeadows in 1957 to train as a religious brother. He completed his training and took his religious vows, becoming a brother in the Society of Mary in 1959. Not long after this he decided to begin his training to become a priest and went and studied in Australia until his ordination at Tākitimu Marae in Wairoa in 1977 (Smith nd).
Upon his ordination he became the seventh Māori Catholic priest and the fourth from Hato Paora College. From 1978 until 1987 Father Smith worked on the staff at Hato Paora as the Master of Discipline before taking sabbatical leave and going to Boston to study theology. Upon his return he was posted to St John’s College in Hastings as a Māori teacher until his appointment as Rector of Hato Paora in 1991 (Smith nd).

Father Smith’s appointment was also notable because he was not the Society of Mary’s candidate for the post but instead was supported by the College Trust Board and the Māori section of the Church, including the Māori Bishop, Bishop Max Māriu. This support was a clear indication to the Society that Māori Catholic were unhappy with their decision not to fully staff Hato Paora. Once again it was apparent that Māori were being marginalised within the New Zealand Catholic Church.

Father Smith’s intentions were fully illustrated in his inaugural Rector’s address where he stated that,

Hato Paora is a Māori College, preserving and teaching Māori values and language. It is my hope that Te Reo Māori will blossom among our youth. Language, the clothing of any culture, preserves a particular way of life and will enhance one’s ability to step confidently into this bicultural land of Aotearoa (Smith 1991: 9).

He obviously intended to promote wholeheartedly the Māori component of the school’s character as a means of preparing the students for post-school life. This idea was very much in line with the emerging thinking of Māori nationwide in
regard to immersion teaching as a means of retaining both the Māori language and culture. His plan would have put Hato Paora at the very cutting edge in terms of Māori immersion education, as it would offer an option that ran twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week.

Father Smith now began to act on his inaugural speech. In 1992 Kōtuku Tibble, an old boy who attended between 1977 and 1980, was appointed as the Head of the Māori Department, with the aim of converting Hato Paora into a total immersion Māori language school. Initially, an immersion unit was established to cater for those students that had previously been educated at Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori, with the goal of eventually expanding this programme into the entire school population (Lawton 1996: 213). By separating these students into the unit the school could provide an almost total Māori language environment, greatly enhancing their opportunity to gain and retain the Māori language. However, Smith had not consulted with staff about his plans and this caused much friction, as many Pākehā staff felt surplus to College requirements and wondered what role they could fulfil in the school that Smith envisioned (Lawton 1996: 213).

Father Smith finished his tenure as Rector in 1996 and was replaced by Mr Henare George, who had fulfilled the role of Principal of the College during Father Smith’s absences. Father Smith was the last Rector of Hato Paora College. From then on the school was led by lay Principals following the effective
withdrawal of the Society of Mary from its operation. Hato Paora College as it had existed for the previous 49 years was no more and a new type of College prepared to meet the challenges of the future.

Staff

While the individual rectors have been central to the operation of the College, the staff that supported them played just as important a role in the success of Hato Paora. Father Gupwell had a relatively small staff during his time at the school, being one of four priests on site during the first year. By his final year this had increased to 10.

As Hato Paora increased in size during the tenure of Father Delaney, the Society of Mary continued to be committed to the school. In 1966 there were two religious brothers and six Marist priests employed at Hato Paora College. This was a large commitment of resources by the Society of Mary in comparison with their other missionary activity throughout the world at that time (Delaney 1966: 21). There were some important additions to the staff during Father Delaney’s tenure. Father McGovern (1966–1971) joined the staff and held the important role of Prefect of Studies during his time but, as with all religious staff, gave his time to all facets of Hato Paora life, such as coaching rugby and cricket (Delaney 1965-71). Father D. Gledhill joined the staff in 1967 and stayed until 1978 (excluding a study year in 1973). He was noted as having an extremely good rapport with the boys and for being extremely enthusiastic and energetic, never
doing anything by half measures. This is evidenced in the high level of proficiency he attained in the Māori language and culture and his considerable expertise and skill at Māori carving, learnt from the master carver Moni Taumaunu (Curtain 1978: 36). In 1970 Father Karaitiana Kingi, the second old boy priest of Hato Paora, joined the staff. Again, as with Father Te Awhitu, this afforded the boys the opportunity to interact with a Māori priest, but this time he was from their own school. Father Kingi had great teaching ability and the boys responded enthusiastically to him. He also brought with him a deep understanding of the Māori language and culture (Delaney 1970: 26).

The quality of the religious staff during this period is commented on by Lawton:

But for me it was those priests at the college, Father Bernie Atkins, Father Mick Tomasi, Dave Gledhill, Karaitiana Kingi when he was still a priest, Tommy McGovern, Father Lee, Father Doherty and they all had something special (Lawton 2004).

Again in this period as in that of Father Gupwell, a number of Marist brothers worked at the school taking over the important, but very time-consuming tasks of kitchen duties, working in the laundry and maintaining the school grounds. They were Brother Sebastian (1966), Brother Leo (1967-69), Brother Alban (1968-71), Brother Pius (1970-77) and Brother Mark (1971-75).

1966 was an extremely significant year for Hato Paora, as it employed a lay teacher for the first time in its history. He seems to have made a lasting
impression on the boys that he taught, as Māriu attests:

I suppose one of the guys that stands out for me in my mind was a guy by the name of Ron Thacker. He was the first lay teacher at Hato Paora, he came from the Air force, he came to the College and he taught mainly Mathematics and Social Studies. So him being there with all the priests and brothers meant we had some really good staff, really capable guys (Māriu 2002).

Ron Thacker, in much the same way as the religious staff, involved himself in all parts of school life, coaching rugby and cricket, taking boys tramping and helping out with general repairs around the school. In fact his whole family became part of the whānau of Hato Paora:

But there was some lay teachers too like Ron Thacker and his wife Diane. I can’t speak highly enough of those two. They were hugely dedicated Catholics very pious people, ten or so kids, I think. They spent just as much time at the school as they spent at home with their kids. You like to think that in some way you helped them when they bought out the kids by looking after them (Lawton 2004).

Thacker makes mention of the many times that boys would push the pram around for his wife and him, or of the times the boys would walk down to his house to deliver tins of fruit at Christmas time (Gresham 1985: 15). His rapport with the boys is further evidenced in this recollection by Lawton:

Ron Thacker, I will always remember Ron Thacker. We used to play cricket in the quad; broomsticks for your bats and the big rubbish bins for wickets and so it was a pretty good target, but you became so good that it was hard to get you out. Every now and again a window suffered, a tennis ball got smashed through a window. Well, Ron Thacker used to fix up the windows. He used to go and get the glass and clean it all up. Of course the boys used to help him, but one winter it was really bad and the amount of windows that got broken. It was too wet to go any where else. This particular day he must have replaced six windows all various sizes and he just finished the last one and one of the guys [did] a beautiful hook straight through the window so
Ron turned around and grabbed the tennis ball and I thought he was going to let rip. But what did he do? He came over and bowled the fulla out. He played cricket for the rest of the afternoon. We couldn’t get him out (Lawton 2004).

Father Curtain started his tenure in 1972 with an extremely experienced staff who had taught for long periods at Hato Paora, but most of them left during his Rectorship, so that by the mid 1970s the school possessed a relatively inexperienced staff. Father McGovern left in 1972; Father Atkins, who started at Hato Paora in 1954, finished in 1975; and Father Karaitiana Kingi also left in 1975 (Curtain 1972–1977). Furthermore, there was an increasing number of lay teachers now on the staff. In 1972 lay teachers made up 2/12 of the teaching staff, while five years later they made up 5/19. This was the beginning of a longer term trend. Perhaps the most important change in the staff during this period was the employment of Morvin Simon in 1975 as Māori teacher. Morvin was a former student and Head Prefect of the College and he was to have a considerable influence on the taha Māori of Hato Paora.
The number of lay staff, and staff as a whole, at Hato Paora increased during this
period in the late 1970s. This was partly in response to the building and staffing of the new dining hall and partly the result of more lay teachers joining the teaching staff. The employment of lay staff was particularly needed at Hato Paora at this time to cope with the growing school roll and the strain this placed on school resources, financial and human. However, religious staff remained in the majority and all the positions of responsibility were still held by the Society of Mary (Lee 1978-1980). Important religious members of staff included Father Doherty and Father Gordon who had worked at the school through Father Curtain’s and now Father Lee’s tenure. New staff arrived, including Father Smith, Father Bergin, Father O’Donnell, Father Gresham and Father Crotty. They were to lead Hato Paora through its next period of development under Father Gresham.

The trend towards lay staff at the College increased during the 1980s. In 1981 there was a total teaching staff of 16 equally divided between religious and lay staff. There was one old boy on the teaching staff. In 1990 there was a total of 25 teaching staff, of which only eight were religious; the remaining 17 were lay staff. Of the 17 lay staff, three were old boys (Gresham 1981, Gresham 1990). A notable member of the teaching staff was Father Crotty, who worked at the school throughout Gresham’s tenure. Chief among Crotty’s achievements was to revive the school musical “Paora” in 1985 and to produce the musical/drama “Te Tiriti Tapu” based around the Treaty of Waitangi in 1990 (Gresham 1990: 22). Father O’Donnell, who taught at Hato Paora in 1977-1979 and returned in 1986, carried on the tradition of priests teaching the art of carving to the students of Hato Paora
(Gresham 1990:19). Again all of the priests at the College at this time lent
themselves to all activities at the school, as Wilson explains:

They were not only qualified as teachers but also dorm parents. Pretty amazin
fullas really. They were involved in everything rugby coaches, athletic coaches, swimming coaches, teachers, wrote up the magazines, photographers, they did everything (Wilson 2002).

The effect of the withdrawal of the commitment to Hato Paora by the Society of Mary can be seen in the rapid withdrawal of religious staff. At the time of Father Smith’s appointment in 1991 there were 46 staff members at Hato Paora, seven of whom were religious staff. By 1995 the school had grown to 50 staff, but Father Smith was the only remaining member of the Society of Mary (Smith 1991–1995). Many old boys of the school began to question whether Hato Paora remained a Catholic school. They wondered what differentiated it from any other state school (Lawton 1996: 225).

![Figure 25: Number of religious compared to lay staff, in 1991 and 1995. Source: School Yearbooks 1991 and 1995.](image)

The situation changed drastically in the 1990s in terms of staff. This was perhaps the most significant period in the School’s history, as by the beginning of 1993 the entire teaching body was made up of lay members. The Society of Mary, in
line with their policy of resourcing only selected schools, had systematically moved their priests to other schools over the preceding two years. A result of this withdrawal Dormitory Parents were introduced into the hostel. These were the parents of current or former students, who lived on site and took responsibility for the management of the dormitories. They were “surrogate” parents for the boys and were able to maintain the *Katorikatanga* in hostel life.

**Administration**

The administration of the school was solely the responsibility of the Rector when the school was first established. However, over time this was devolved to other members of the staff.

A notable change in the administration structure occurred in the mid 1970s, when the Society of Mary set up an Advisory Board, later named the Board of Management. Its job was to assist the Rector and staff in the planning, development and maintenance of the school and its facilities. The Board was made up of local people interested in the wellbeing of the school, some parents and College representatives. The Board was particularly involved in large projects such as building the new dining hall and updating the College’s water system (Lee 1978: 93). From this time the Rector did not have the power to make autonomous decisions. In fact he was obliged to enact the wishes of the Board.

In 1980 Hato Paora College became the property of the newly created Palmerston
North Diocese. The Bishop, Peter Cullinane, became the Proprietor of the College as part of his role as Diocesan leader (Lawton 1996: 159). This was also the period in which discussions were taking place for the integration of Catholic schools into the state system. Continuing discussion between the Diocese, the Society and the Education Department in relation to Hato Paora’s future created an atmosphere of uncertainty under which Lee and his staff were forced to work (Lawton 1996: 165).

Father Gresham was to lead Hato Paora through a time of great change in the wake of the 1975 Private Schools Conditional Integration Act, which allowed privately run schools to be integrated into the state education system. This was to cause great change to the Catholic schooling system as its schools became integrated into the state education system and thus eligible for state funding. The newly integrated schools would be governed by a Board of Governors and partially funded by the Government (Lawton 1996: 169). The Deed of Agreement regarding Hato Paora was signed between the Government and the Bishop of the Diocese of Palmerston North, Peter Cullinane, in 1983. The government would fund the teachers’ salaries, and the operational costs and maintain teaching facilities and school grounds. The school and church would continue to fund the college hostel, staff, facilities and maintenance (Lawton 1996: 169).

A special clause was included in the integration agreement to protect the special character of Hato Paora College:
The Special Character of the School is that it is a Roman Catholic boys’ Secondary Boarding School established principally but not exclusively for Māori boys in which Māori language, culture and traditions are promoted. The boarding establishment which is attached to the School forms an essential element in the life of the School. The said School was established for the Roman Catholic community of the Diocese of Palmerston North which promotes and supports the School and of which the School is part, to provide and to continue to provide Education with Special Character ... (Deed 1983: Clause 5).

Thus within the integration agreement the status of Hato Paora as a school established primarily to educate Māori Catholic boys was protected. The culture and practices of those boys in the school environment was also protected, allowing the continuation of the College in line with the aspirations of its founders.

An integration report was conducted on Hato Paora, by the Ministry of Works and the Department of Education, to assess whether Hato Paora was physically the equivalent of a State School. This report found that some of the buildings were structurally unsound, there were too many classrooms and the school lacked specialist teaching facilities such as laboratories for science and physics. The Government provided the school with subsidised loans to make the necessary upgrades, and in 1986 these were changed to suspensive loans to help the school meet its financial obligations (Lawton 1996: 159-70).

The Management Board of the College was replaced by the Board of Governors, in line with the requirements of the Integration Act, and it took over the
responsibility for the buildings, grounds, staff and overall standard of education at
the college. The Board of Governors was made up of four representatives of the
Diocese, five representatives of the parents, one representative of the Wanganui
Board of Education and one teachers’ representative, all for a term of three years

In 1986 a Trust Board was established by Bishop Cullinane to help Hato Paora
remain financially viable and the title of the school was ceded by the Catholic
Church to the Trust Board in an attempt to get government financial assistance by
clearly showing that any additional funding would be going to the school itself,
not the Catholic Church (Lawton 1996: 171). This obviously changed the role of
the Church in regard to Hato Paora, and Bishop Cullinane outlined this new role
in a letter to the Trust Board, 9 April 1987:

1. The Trust Board will be entitled and allowed to operate with
appropriate autonomy;
2. I acceded to those who argued that the asset is best retained in its
present form, i.e. as a farm, but should it appear, after a sufficient
period of time, that the College’s financial needs can be better met by
changing the asset into a different form of investment, then I retain the
right to take that step, for the sake of the College’s viability;
3. Likewise, in order to ensure that the College will always function
in the best interests of Maori education, I retain the right to wind up
the Trust if it fails to perform in the best interests of Maori education;
4. For the sake of carrying out this continuing commitment of the
diocese, I will appreciate being kept fully informed of the Board’s
operations (Lawton 1996: 172).

With the advent of the Board of Trustees, which managed the running of the
College, and the College Trust Board, which directed the development of the College, Father Smith’s role was that of an administrator and facilitator rather than a teacher (Lawton 1996: 209).

**Farm**

Hato Paora has always relied heavily on the school farm as a source of revenue and for supplementary food. Tom Bradley was the first Manager of the school farm. He ended his association, after seventeen years, with the Hato Paora farm at about the same time as Father Gupwell’s retirement from the College proper. He was replaced as Farm Manager by Ray Curnow, who immediately set about diversifying some of the farm operations. The relationship between the new Rector and new Farm Manager differed significantly from that shared by Bradley and Gupwell. Father Delaney allowed Curnow to run the day-to-day operations of the school farm with little interference (Lawton 1996: 106). This was indicative of the differing styles of leadership between the first and second rectors. Where Gupwell was more autocratic in his approach, Delaney was more prepared to allow others their independence within their individual roles and responsibilities.

The management of the school farm changed in 1977 when Charles Murray and his wife Agnes took over its operation. All of the Murray sons had attended Hato Paora, so Murray and Agnes were no strangers to the school. They continued to operate the five-year plan developed by Ray Curnow in relation to the grazing and cropping of the farm (Lawton 1996:140). At the end of 1979 Charlie Murray
retired as the Manager of the school farm. The costs of running the farm had risen as stock prices had fallen, and farm equipment needed to be replaced. In addition, the boys no longer assisted on the farm, which increased the amount of labour required of Murray. He was replaced by Mike Shearman. The Advisory Board decided that the farm should move away from sheep farming and into cattle, bulls in particular. This move was prompted by the steady market price of bulls. It allowed the school to plan for the future by providing increased profit margins (Lawton 1996: 163-4).

In the 1980s the school farm was converted to raising bulls, managed by Michael Shearman. Following this the farm was leased to Lamb XL, a subsidiary of the New Zealand Dairy Board, which imported exotic breeds of sheep. It became a quarantine farm with restricted access, managed by Steven Moss. This lease provided the Trust Board with stable returns, which allowed them to plan for the future and to manage the school’s debt accrued from the need to upgrade the school’s facilities in order to conform to the integration agreement (Lawton 1996: 205).

**Building**

Following the initial establishment and development of the College under Gupwell, the tenure of Father Delaney was a period of expansion and consolidation, with new buildings, the renovation of old ones, and the beautifying of the School’s grounds (Tomasi in Curtain 1973). Physically the school
developed further. The new assembly hall was built in 1965 and adorned with new carvings in 1969, the old hall was transformed into the library in 1968, a new science laboratory was built in 1965, with a second storey added above it in 1969, as well as landscaping around the swimming pool, chapel, new assembly hall and the old science laboratory (Delaney 1968: 9).

At the beginning of the tenure of Curtain, Hato Paora was almost 25 years old and the school had an assembly hall, new classrooms, a swimming pool, tennis courts, a dining room block, and, of course, dormitories (Curtain 1972). The school site and buildings continued to be redeveloped and upgraded throughout its existence, with the notable additions of Riatana dormitory, tennis and basketball courts in 1991, the development of the marae in the early 1990s and a new gymnasium in the mid 1990s.

The physical redevelopment of the school continued in the late 1980s and early 1990s and in 1996 the Trust Board finally received confirmation from the Catholic Education Board’s building committee that Hato Paora would receive funding to build a new library and gymnasium in accordance with the integration agreement signed in 1983 (Lawton 1996: 211). This was largely due to the appointment of Robin Hapi, an old boy of Hato Paora and Trust Board chairman, to the Catholic Education Board’s building committee, finally bringing to a close an integration period that had lasted over 13 years for the College.
Academic Developments

Gupwell’s focus was not entirely on the academic side of the school’s life. It was important, but not necessarily the most important aspect. Father Delaney, however, put more of an emphasis on the value of academic qualifications and a disciplined approach to school life (Lawton 1996: 86). As a result of this there was an increase, throughout Father Delaney’s tenure, in the number of students passing the public school examinations, particularly School Certificate. The Education Department conducted its second inspection of Hato Paora College in 1968 (Education Department 1968: 108). The school received a positive report in view of the ten School Certificate passes and two University Entrance passes of 1967 and the general academic achievement throughout the school. However, the principal recommendation of the report was that Hato Paora should establish a technical course to prepare its students for entry into the Māori Apprenticeship Training Scheme (Education Department 1968: 108). This focus on technical education was part of the wider government policy on Māori education and was obviously going to have an effect on the academic achievement of students at Hato Paora College.

This lasted until 1973, which saw the end of the streaming of classes at Hato Paora as the curriculum moved away from a technical to an academic one (Lawton 1996: 112). Academically, the school was having success with boys awarded University Entrance,7 Sixth Form Certificate,8 Higher School Certificate9

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7 Qualification gained in fifth year of secondary education that allowed entry into university.
and School Certificate. The introduction of an oral examination as part of the process of assessment for School Certificate Māori in 1975 also aided the academic achievement of many of the boys. It created a trend of continued improvement in the number of passes for School Certificate Māori at Hato Paora that grew in the following years. In academic terms, the college was still developing, with an “A” bursary obtained for the first time by a student of Hato Paora College. 27 boys gained entry to the sixth form and in 1977 there were 28 in that form, many of whom were expected to gain entry into the seventh form (Curtain 1978).

Father Lee continued the focus on improving the school academically and this bore fruit in 1979 when 25 boys passed School Certificate, three passed University Entrance and two received ‘B’ Bursaries (Lawton 1996: 146). This was Hato Paora’s strongest year to date and was a product not only of Father Lee but also of Fathers Curtain and Delaney who had preceded him.


8 Certificate usually completed in fourth year of secondary education.
9 Certificate for completing five years secondary education.
New core subjects of Calculus, Statistics, Physics, Economic Studies and Geography were also added to the school’s curriculum.

Academically, the College began to expand its curriculum in the 1990s to meet the needs of the students and to provide an education that was at least the equivalent to that being offered by other state secondary schools. This had not always been the case at Hato Paora, where its smaller student numbers meant there were not always enough resources to teach the range of subjects available in state schools. Hato Paora continued to offer English, Mathematics, Māori, Science, Social Studies, Art, Carving and Religious Education as core subjects in its curriculum. These subjects were now joined by Technology Education, Computer Studies, Horticulture, Auto Engineering and Physical Education (Lawton 1996: 212).
School Jubilee

An important occasion in the history of Hato Paora was the 1973 silver jubilee, when a letter was received from the general administration of the Society of Mary. This letter, from the Pope, was printed in full in the 1973 school magazine. It illustrated the goals and accomplishments of the school from the Society’s perspective.

.... When our founder sent the first Marists to New Zealand it was to bring the gospel to the Maori people. The missionaries laboured successfully under the driving force of the Marist zeal. Changing times have brought additional needs for the Maori race but the Society of Mary has been able to adapt itself to serve these. The Maori people is now called upon to take its place in a New Zealand society that is no longer exclusively theirs; yet at the same time it must remain conscious of its Maori heritage. It is particularly through suitable education, such as that given at Hato Paora College, that this can be carried out.

During its 25 years of life the College has steadily grown in stature and in deserved reputation. It has had the loyal support of Maori parents who esteemed their sacrifices worthwhile if their sons could learn the way of life that Hato Paora was there to teach. But they gave this because the College showed itself efficient and dedicated to its educational and formative work. ... (Curtain 1973).

This letter supports the ideal of the Marist Fathers as missionaries to the Māori people. Highlighted too is the focus on an education system and school environment that incorporated not only Catholic values but also the Māori culture of the students. The letter also notes other important characteristics of the school and particularly the society in which it existed, such as the fact that Māori have to exist in a world that is not “exclusively theirs”. It was hoped that an education at Hato Paora would enable the students to operate in that society whilst still retaining their own heritage, or Māoritanga. The support and sacrifice of the
students' parents and communities were also acknowledged in allowing their children to attend the college.

Perhaps one of the most significant of these comments in this jubilee year was that made by the founding Rector, Father Issac Gupwell:

... Twentyfive years have gone by. What has been achieved? Shall I look up the records and see how many have passed School Certificate, University Entrance, Higher Leaving? Shall I say this is the measure of our success? God forbid! I'd hate to think that I had spent so much of my life in dedication to such a shoddy value... (Gupwell 1973).

These comments are interesting in light of the considerable focus then being placed on public school examinations and their results at the College. This later focus appears, from Father Gupwell’s comments, to be at odds with the founding principles and philosophies he had instituted at Hato Paora. Gupwell’s strongly held beliefs may have arisen from his own life experience, of having gone to work without secondary education, and learning the Māori language and culture as an adult.

**Conclusion**

Mr Henare George, an old boy and first lay Principal, articulated his philosophy for the school in the 1995 School magazine:

The special Catholic character based on the Marist philosophy of selflessness, service to others, quiet achievement and hard work has always been part of the college. The Māori Language and culture have also been among the cornerstones Hato Paora was built on. The present philosophy of
the school is derived from the shared beliefs and values of the early Marist community of Priests. Their hopes and aspirations in providing an educational curriculum for young Māori boys... To produce leaders who are confident and competent in a Māori environment and equally at home in a Pakeha (European) world (George 1995).

Despite the span of five decades and the multitude of educational and societal changes that these encompassed, the philosophy of education adhered to at Hato Paora College remains deliberately based on the ideals and beliefs of the Marist Fathers and their founder, Jean Claude Colin. From the establishment of the school under Father Gupwell through to the sixth and final Rector, Father Smith, and his successor, Henare George, the philosophy of the school has remained essentially the same, despite differences in focus and practice affected by internal and external factors.

These five Rectors of Hato Paora each faced his own different set of difficulties and challenges in operating Hato Paora in its various spheres of existence, often finding themselves at the mercy of government policy or changing social realities. However, each attempted to do what he felt was best for the school and its students given his own particular skills and abilities. Obviously, the Rectors did not maintain and operate the school in isolation and had committed, hardworking staff members working alongside them who also would have had an effect on these particular aspects of the school. However it was the Rectors, particularly in the first 35 years of existence, that ultimately dictated the operation and focus of the school and the education it would provide.
Chapter 9

He Kura Māori - A Māori School

Introduction

Hato Paora is a College with two distinctive characteristics, its Māori character and its Catholic character, derived from the Marist ideals. As stated in the Integration Agreement, Hato Paora

... is a Roman Catholic boys' Secondary Boarding School established principally but not exclusively for Māori boys in which Māori language, culture and traditions are promoted (Lawton 1996: 169).

This quote highlights the two important dimensions of the school. Bishop Max Māriu emphasised these aspects when he asserted that the spiritual side and the Māori side of the school were enduringly important:

I think there were always two things that were important to us at the College, taha wairua and taha Māori, which is why we were a Māori boys College (Māriu 2002).

Both of these ideas support the foundation ideals of Father Riordan and his desire to create a school that taught Catholic values and principles, as well as the Māori language and culture with an emphasis on active participation in both (Riordan nd: 33-4). Father Gupwell further emphasised these ideas in the early years of the College’s operation.
Not surprisingly, Gupwell associated taha Māori with the uniqueness of spirit he observed forming at Hato Paora (Gupwell 1950). His intention was to create an environment that included both the taha Māori and taha wairua in a complementary relationship that would form an atmosphere, or wairua, different from that found anywhere else. So the wairua that made Hato Paora unique drew directly from the taha Māori and the taha wairua of the school and its students. To understand Hato Paora it is important to understand these two aspects and how they are incorporated into the school environment and how they relate to one another within this environment.

The situation of Hato Paora, and other Māori schools similar to it, within the New Zealand education system has always been tenuous, as many perceive them to be irrelevant or divisive. These schools that incorporate tikanga Māori have not always been entirely accepted into the New Zealand education system. In fact the status and inclusion of schools that are ostensibly Māori within the education system has been widely debated since the inception of a national secondary school system. There are many opinions and points of view in this debate in regards to separatism and their detrimental effect on the integration of Māori into New Zealand society. Father Gupwell expressed his views on these ideas in the 1959 School Magazine:

There are some people who see no need for special schools for Maoris. They see in them a hindrance to the complete integration with the European population. Apart from the fact that we provide a secondary education for a great many boys who without our help would receive none, it appears that there is and always will be a place for Maori schools (Gupwell 1959).
Gupwell’s various remarks demonstrate that he believed *taha Māori* would improve social integration, not impede it. He realised the cultural assumption underpinning education did not reflect Māori experiences and that Hato Paora would. Unlike Gupwell and other Marists at Hato Paora, most educationalists in the 1950s and 1960s in New Zealand believed that Māori needed to be integrated into Pākehā society. This meant that schooling should be almost entirely Eurocentric in its orientation with only a superficial inclusion of Māori content. Seen in this light, Gupwell and his successors were quite radical, believing that both Māori and Catholic values and ideals should form integral parts of the school environment, thereby reflecting the boys’ home communities, and providing the students with greater opportunity for success.

This chapter will examine *te taha Māori*, the Māori side, of Hato Paora College in order to highlight the importance of this aspect in producing a distinctive type of secondary schooling. Understanding this pre-eminent characteristic of the school will enable a better comprehension of the educational philosophy of Hato Paora College. This characteristic will be measured using tangible examples of how *tikanga Māori* was and is incorporated into everyday school life and the way in which this affects the students and their schooling experience.

**Curriculum**

The first of these tangible examples is the school curriculum. From its inception
the Hato Paora curriculum differed in important respects from that set by the New Zealand Education Department. Originally there was a particular focus on the English language, due largely to the fact that many of the students attending Hato Paora in its early years lacked any primary schooling and often needed remedial work in this particular area to ensure that they were able to cope with the remainder of the secondary curriculum. This was also instituted so that the students would be comfortable in the wider English-speaking Pākehā society. There was also a particular focus on the Māori language so that the students would have their own language available to them as part of the school environment. This would enable them to continue to operate in their own whānau and iwi context upon completion of their secondary education. In addition to these subjects students attended Christian Doctrine classes in order that they would return to their communities as Catholic males and leaders. This was always a primary goal of the school (Gupwell 1950).

From the students’ point of view the Māori language was seen to be especially important within the curriculum that was offered at the school: We were taught Māori as a central part of the curriculum ... (Mariu 2002).

This same point is made in 1955 in an article entitled “Introducing Sons of St Paul”, written by Margaret Hughes and published in the School Year Book. She stated that within the school the primary focus in the curriculum was Christian Doctrine, with Māori language as the next priority (Hughes in Gupwell 1955).

The compulsory study of both the Māori and English languages has continued at the College. Despite an aspiration to include Māori in the everyday life of the
College, the reality has not always matched the ideal:

Maori language was pushed in class but I don’t think it was pushed to the extent that it is now. I think that it wasn’t really in the wider college life (Wilson 2002).

During his time at the College, Dean Wilson (1986–1990) thought that the compulsory teaching of the Māori language did not immediately produce an immersion situation in the everyday life of the students, with the English language continuing to dominate (Wilson 2002). He also noted that only a very proactive group of students used the Māori language amongst themselves outside the confines of the classroom (Wilson 2002).

Despite these shortcomings, the emphasis on Māori as a core curriculum subject for all students was quite different from most New Zealand secondary schools, which did not teach Māori even when there were sizeable numbers of Māori at the school. That situation began to change only in the 1970s (see chapter four).

In 1991 the Rector, Father Smith, attempted to change the orientation of the school to meet the needs of the growing number of students educated at Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori, by converting Hato Paora into a total immersion Māori language school (Lawton 1996: 213). The Rector was reacting to the perceived needs of the wider Māori community. This initiative followed the renaissance of the Māori culture, initiated in the 1970s, that led to the establishment of Māori language immersion early childhood, primary and secondary schools (see chapter four). Whether or not these were also the needs of
Māori Catholics in general or not are unclear. However, as staff from the Society of Mary were now unavailable, it seemed a suitable direction for the school to move in.

**Tikanga Māori (Māori cultural practices)**

Formal Māori language classes contained in the curriculum were not the only avenue by which the Māori culture was incorporated into school life. Gupwell believed that the Māori students of Hato Paora did not have to forsake their Māori culture to become a Catholic. Instead he sought to incorporate Māori culture into school and religious life (Gupwell 1963). The practical application of Māori cultural practice into the school environment is important if the school is to provide a schooling experience that genuinely integrates both Māori and Catholic traditions, giving each a significant position and role within the operation and function of the school. This integration was to be found throughout the culture of the school as it attempted to provide an educational framework that maximised the opportunity for the academic success of the students (Gupwell 1963:7). *Taha Māori* took various forms in the school culture, most notably *kapa haka* performance and competitions, *whaikōrero* (formal oratory) competitions, the carvings and Māori paintings which adorned College buildings, participation in *marae* practice and the production of the annual bilingual College Yearbook.

*Kapa Haka and Whaikōrero*

*Kapa haka* performance has always been an important part of the *taha Māori* of
Hato Paora,

... we learnt tikanga through whaikōrero competitions and kapa haka competitions. We were having kapa haka competitions back in the days before anyone else had even heard of it (Mariu 2002).

These performances were given to external audiences in and around Manawatū and Wanganui and further afield during promotional tours and during the internal house kapa haka competitions. This house system of competition was integral to the continued high standard of Māori performing arts at the College.

... we had the house system, Tangaroa, Tāwhirimatea, Rongo and Whiro; those were the houses at the College. The whole school was divided up into houses and according to our houses we would compete in everything from athletics to taha Māori (Mariu 2002).

This division of the student body led to highly competitive contests across a number of cultural and sporting activities, including kapa haka and whaikōrero between the houses, and produced a high standard of kapa haka performance at the school.

The standard of performance at Hato Paora was evidenced in 1981. The Senior A kapa haka group won all categories, except the poi, in which they came second to St Joseph’s Māori Girls’ College, at the Ikaroa District Polynesian Festival, further enhancing the College’s reputation in this field (Williams 2006). Although not everyone viewed competition outside the College as necessary:
When we were at school you performed to perform, for the *ihi* and *wehi* inside you, aye. But now there’s all that competitive thing. Which makes me wonder because I heard and I can remember Pā Morv say that you don’t need to go in competitions. That was the Hato Paora philosophy but now we seem to have jumped on the bandwagon and joined in with everyone else. ... That’s one thing that eats away at me seeing that we’re seen to compete in things a lot more (Wilson 2002).

These comments are notable because they recall the original Marist ideals of humility and remaining unseen, and not pursuing praise or glory (see chapter three). Wilson suggests that more recently the school has departed from these ideals. Such remarks by an old boy stress the way the Marist philosophy and ideals were applied at the college. Nonetheless, *kapa haka* performance was a practical and appealing means for students to learn the traditional knowledge of the Māori. In fact the way in which the environment created at Hato Paora helped to instil pride through knowledge in the cultural identity of the students is noted by Faloa (2002):

Before I came here I was hopeless at *tikanga Māori* I remember before I came here we were at a marae and they had a tangi on and the *kaikōrero* was speaking from the *mamuhiri* and because I didn’t know *tikanga* of the *marae* being a little kid I ran right across in front of him. ... Then when I came here I learnt the *tikanga* of *pōwhiri*, *tikanga* of *whaikōrero*, *wero*, karanga, anything to do with a *pōwhiri*. And from that I learnt other stuff like *hakas*; before I came here I only knew one *haka* and that was “Ka mate”. So coming here certainly helped me out with my Māoritanga. And I think that is what I have got most from coming here is my Māoritanga (Faloa 2002).

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1 *ihi* is often defined as a combination of authority, charisma, essential force, excitement, pride, nobility, and awesomeness. It is the embodiment of Māori values and the ultimate in human qualities (Kruger, 1984). The performance of oratory, *haka* or *waiata* allows this force to manifest itself in the performer. When *ihi* is present in an artistic event, it is the achievement of perfection. It is an awe-inspiring occasion that commands the respect, attention and empathy of the audience (Kruger 1984: 230).

2 *Wehi* is described as a strong spiritual and emotional response, often a response of “reverential fear, respect and awe” effected by *ihi* (Kruger, 1984: 231). In relation to *haka* and *waiata*, *wehi* is the response of awe to the manifestation of *ihi* in the performer or performance.
The inclusion of the cultural practices of pōhiri and tangihanga and the student participation in these obviously aided in this student’s development of his cultural identity. This provision of cultural identity is directly linked to Gupwell’s vision for a school that included both the taha Māori and taha wairua in order to assist the development of the young Catholic Māori men. It gave them a foundation from which to enter the wider Māori and New Zealand society. This idea is further articulated by Faloa in relation to his educational experience upon leaving Hato Paora, where he attended a state secondary school and saw Māori students who rebelled and gave up on their education because they were not confident in their identity and not affirmed in the school environment. Faloa views the acquisition of his cultural identity as an important part of his experience at Hato Paora which he was able to take away with him in his post-college years (Faloa 2002). This is a good example of one of the tangible benefits of attending Hato Paora and of the environment that it provides. Clearly, Father Gupwell succeeded in implementing his vision of the school as a place that did more than just prepare students to pass examinations.

Students were able to learn the tikanga of their ancestors through the learning and performance of Māori song and haka and participation in the cultural practices that utilise these art forms. This cultural practice extended to whaikōrero competitions that were held inside the school as part of the house competitions and outside the school at regional and national secondary levels. The success of the incorporation of the Māori culture into the school was evidenced when Robert
Kerehoma won the national korimako³ speech contest in 1974, a first for Hato Paora (Curtain 1974). In fact, traditional Māori cultural practices were such an integral part of school life that the boys would often spend their free time finishing a carving, kōwhaiwhai or piupiu, or practising a haka or action song rather than other more recreational activities that would have been considered the norm for teenage boys (Curtain 1973).

**Physical Environment**

The early 1970s was a watershed for taha Māori at Hato Paora, as the school began to undergo a period of cultural and spiritual revival (Delaney 1971). Despite a long-standing aspiration to provide and maintain a high standard of Māori cultural practice and knowledge beyond reproach from Māori, the appreciation and understanding of tikanga Māori had begun to diminish at the school. The Rector at that time, Father Delaney, wished to reestablish the former status and appreciation for tikanga Māori at the school. This goal involved

... the opportunity of worshipping God in an environment that was conducive to a fuller expression of themselves as Maoris... (Delaney 1971).

It led to some important tangible, and intangible, developments for the College. The first was the emphasis on strengthening the knowledge and practice of tikanga Māori at Hato Paora. This involved the commissioning of a carved Māori altar for the chapel from Moni Taumaunu and Wī Mou. Moni Taumaunu especially was to have a great impact on Hato Paora. He originally came to Hato

³ National secondary school Māori speechmaking competition.
Paora almost by accident:

Aunty Polly Taumaunu who came because Karaitiana [Father Karaitiana Kingi] and them needed a cook, the priests needed a cook ... But that relationship bore fruit and her husband who was a master carver, Moni, Uncle Moni came to pick her up one day and the boys were all gone and the priests were having their lunch on the other side of the old house. He rang the bell and Father Atkins came and Uncle Moni stood there and said that he had come to get his wife. So Father Atkins took him in and made him sit down got him a kai and just that simple act told him that these are special people and he presented the College with a carved waka and the haka trophy, the runner up trophy, the kaea or whatikorero trophy. This all happened in one term where he turns up with all of these things. Six or ten taiahas so when we had big pōhiri and the boys would do the wero, then he stayed on and taught. He left taonga there from the East Coast like various haka and waiata ... (Lawton 2004).

Another part of the legacy left by master carver Moni Taumaunu was his collaboration with Father Gledhill. Father Gledhill learnt much of the art of carving from Taumaunu and was then able to teach the art to the students in the ensuing years. This situated carving as one of the core activities at the school.

Figure 27: Altar in the Hato Paora school chapel 2005. Source: Nathan Matthews.
The meaning of the carvings on the altar are explained in the 1974 Yearbook:

... it is based on three principal concepts:
- The pare (the door lintel of Kaitaia) involved with removing of the tapu on those closely associated with it;
- The paepae (from a pataka in the Auckland Museum) incorporating the idea of feeding the people and hospitality;
- The mere intertwined form of strength and the necessity to battle against evil in life.

At the foot is the sun, the principle of life and above this is Christ the source of true life. All knowing and all powerful in His words he upholds man during the tension of good and evil. The relationships in man’s life are symbolised by the intertwining manaia. All find vitality and hope in the Eucharist as do the Spirits passed who are remembered in the manaia supporting the table (Curtain 1974: 26).

Upon completion of the altar and the subsequent celebration of Mass, Father Delaney addressed the congregation, in Māori, formally opening Hato Paora as a “Guest-Marae” and allowing its use by all Māori on a formally constituted basis (Delaney 1971). Hato Paora now had its own formal Māori identity:

... Ko Tama-Nui-o-te-Ao-Katoa te wharenui, ko Hato Paora te Kai-hautu-Kai-tiaki, Tipuna ano, Ko Parorangi te Marae, Ko Te Ropu Rangatahi Te Iwi eee... (Delaney 1971).

... Tama-Nui-o-te-Ao-Katoa is the meeting house, Hato Paora is the guardian leader, ancestor also, Parorangi is the marae, the youth is the people ...
The following descriptions from the 1973 School Year book explain the meaning of the carvings adorning the front of the wharenui/school hall:

The symbolism of the carvings flow from the title of the house Tama Nui o te Ao Katoa! The central tekoteko⁴ figure is Christ giving to men in the cross he carries in his arms his central message that within the acceptance of the sufferings of our lives is to be found the only true peace and happiness on earth and our final union with Him in heaven. The koruru⁵ on which he stands is the head of the house — once again Himself — who is the source of the mana of Parorangi. The manaia⁶ on either side of the koruru symbolize the teaching of Christ written in the bible and entrusted to the care of the Church. The mouth of the manaia extends to the head - upoko in Maori — which is also the title of the chapters of the Bible. The head also extends from the body in the form of a hand. The Bible then is opened with the hand and read with the mouth. The next set of manaia on either side is the symbol of peace, rangimarie. The intertwined figures symbolise the unity of men flowing from the message of Christ but also being an essential pre-requisite for the understanding and extension of his teaching. ‘Aroha’ is the message of the

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⁴ Carved figure that stands at the apex of the wharenui.
⁵ Carved face directly below the tekoteko, usually represents an ancestor.
⁶ Stylised carved figures.
manaia on the paparapa. Head to head is the essential note of aroha, namely, from one person to another … The amo represent four great missionary saints of the Church: St. Peter, the first Apostle, St. Paul, the Apostle to the Gentiles and our Patron; St. Francis Xavier, Apostle to the Indies; St. Peter Chanel, a Marist Father, Apostle of Futuna and the Pacific who together with Francis Xavier are the patrons of the missions in New Zealand. These four important figures are standing on the ornate koruru faces which symbolise knowledge and wisdom, particularly of the teachings of Christ as expressed in peace and love, as true foundation of life and work. The pare above the door indicates the character of the people of the marae. In these figures are found the warrior spirit of the Maori people expressed in the waiatas and modern action songs in facing the suffering and demands of life (Curtain 1973: 52-3).

Physically as well as philosophically Hato Paora was now a Māori school.

Throughout the school site there were symbols of the school’s Māori nature. Even the bell for indicating when class started or finished was Māori in appearance.

Figure 29: School bell tower standing to the front right of the wharenuī, 2006. Source: Nathan Matthews.

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7 Ends of the bargeboards, commonly called raparapa.
8 Upright posts holding up the maihi.
9 Carved lintel above the doorway of a wharenuī.
The figure on top of the bell tower is Matangi, the explorer who gave the region many of its place names, including Paroro o te rangi. The *manaia* figures along the front are from Wanganui and depict Matangi's many travels (Curtain 1976: 17).

With the introduction of the new altar to the chapel, people from around the country were also approached to add *tukutuku* (ornamental lattice work), *kōwhaiwhai* (painted designs) and other carvings so that the chapel could become a true Māori Catholic space. Carvers from the East Coast offered their services, as did weavers from Gisborne and Wairoa, while girls from St Joseph's Māori Girls' College offered to do the sanctuary panels (Delaney 1971). The redevelopment of the school chapel culminated in 1974 when it was rededicated and blessed. The chapel had been renovated and adorned with *kōwhaiwhai*, paintings, new carvings and the fully carved altar as the centrepiece (Curtain 1974). This was the culmination of many years of work and dedication from people, both religious and lay, Māori and Pākehā, from throughout New Zealand. Hato Paora now had a physical heart that was both Catholic and Māori.
In light of this revitalisation of tikanga Māori at Hato Paora perhaps it is not altogether surprising that Kerry Te Kanawa was accepted into the Māori Carving Institute at Whakarewarewa in Rotorua in 1974, a first for Hato Paora. Te Kanawa was followed in 1975 by Christopher Gerretzen (Lawton 1996: 121).

*Expressions of cultural renaissance*

The cultural renaissance of the College did not end with the redevelopment of the chapel. Moni Taumaunu, one of its carvers, was instrumental in the reemergence of other Māori cultural practices within the school. During his time at Hato Paora he exerted great influence right across the school as he spent a lot of time teaching the boys various types of haka, mau rākau (traditional weaponry use), aspects of whaikōrero and carving. Many of these haka are still performed at the college to this day. Taumaunu’s work was recognised at the official rededication of the
school chapel where he was presented, by the Pro Nuncio, with a medal from the Pope usually reserved for heads of state and national leaders (Curtain 1974: 31).

The efforts of Taumaunu were also supported by Mrs A. Nahona, who travelled regularly during this time from her home in Wanganui to teach “Ngā mahi a ngā Tupuna”. Local Māori from Feilding also taught action songs and traditional Māori knowledge to the students (Delaney 1971). This input led to a house cultural competition that was vastly improved from those held earlier, with over 1000 people attending the competitions (Delaney 1971).

Culturally, the school continued from strength to strength during the 1970s, driven in particular by Morvin Simon, the old boy who joined the staff in 1975 as Māori language teacher. The annual Junior and Senior House Cultural Competitions continued, with notable increases in the number of original compositions, and in 1978 the senior choir won the Manawatū Schools Choral Competitions. A notable exhibition of their talent was a rendition of the song “Wooden Heart” by Elvis Presley, which they presented in five-part harmony and in English, German and Māori (Lawton 1996: 150-1).

*Paora – Warrior of God*

Another example of this cultural revival was the production of the musical drama *Paora* in 1973, a first for Hato Paora, as part of the 25th jubilee celebrations. The

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Aggie Nahona is a well known Māori Catholic from the Whanganui river. She was extremely active in the Catholic Church and a staunch supporter of Hato Paora College.
musical was a portrayal of the life of Saint Paul seen as a Māori. The play itself was in three acts, each comprising two scenes. These acts followed Saint Paul as he witnessed the death of Saint Stephen, was converted to Christianity, was proclaimed the Apostle of the Nations and was finally executed. The musical was presented in Māori and English and used traditional waiata and haka (that had been adapted to the theme) and original music and song as the performance medium (Curtain 1973: 29).

The first performance was in the Palmerston North Opera House before being performed in Wanganui, Hastings and Wellington. Each performance was watched by over 1000 people. The final performance in Wellington was dedicated to Cardinal McKeefry, who died on the day of the performance and was to have been the honoured guest at the performance that evening (Curtain 1973: 29). Paora was a good example of the evolving use of Māori language and culture in concert with other cultural practices and performance forms by the College. This musical was an extension of the ongoing traditional Māori cultural practices practised at the school, such as kapa haka, whaikōrero, Māori language classes, and the teaching and learning of the ritual of the marae (Curtain 1973).
To mark the celebration of the re-dedication of the school chapel, *Paora* was performed again in 1974 in Palmerston North. An interval and a new scene were added to this version (Curtain 1974: 31). In 1984 the school decided to revive the musical. Father Delaney, the original music composer, and Aggie Nahona, who had translated the Māori text, agreed to return to support the performance. The musical was staged in 1985 in Palmerston North and in the Michael Fowler Centre in Wellington. The production was very much a community affair, with the wider school whānau pitching in to help. Parents from Wellington and Hawkes Bay organised the venues and ticket sales. Old boys (who were part of the original performance) such as Tata Lawton, Manu Tukapua, Shane Ngaia, Kelly Lawton, Eddie Lawton and Peina Taituha all gave their time to help tutor and play the guitars during the musical. The original script was used with only
small extra parts added in (Gresham 1985: 75-6). *Paora*, now part of Hato Paora culture, was again performed at the Michael Fowler Centre, Wellington, in 1997 to celebrate the school’s 50th jubilee.

Many of the songs and haka composed for *Paora* became important parts of the Hato Paora repertoire and endured at the school for decades. The following is an example of one of these songs:

Paora nau rā whakawhiti te moana ngā moutere
Whakakotahi ngā iwi katoa
I roto i ngā whakahau o te Atua
Tukua iho e koe te mana o te Ariki
Me ngā tipuna ... ki te marae nei
Ki Parorangi e.

Paul, you have crossed the sea and islands,
Uniting all people together, through God’s command.
You send forth the prestige of God
And the ancestors, to this marae
To Parorangi (Curtain 1974).

1990 was the 150th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi between Māori and the British Crown. Hato Paora decided to produce a musical, in similar vein to *Paora*, but based on the events leading up to the signing of the Treaty. Again many of the staff and old boys were involved in preparing the boys of the senior school for the production. As with *Paora*, the various parents’ groups organised venues and accommodation. The musical was performed in the State Opera House, Wellington, and the Regent Theatre, Palmerston North, to audiences of about 1000 each (Gresham 1990: 60-3).
The School Yearbooks

A survey of eight sixth formers printed in the 1968 School Yearbook provides a useful insight into the thoughts and attitudes of the students in relation to the taha Māori of the college. As a group they thought that the greatest advantage in attending Hato Paora was the opportunity to learn to speak and understand the Māori language and culture, which helped preserve the culture. By gaining an education augmented by Māori cultural knowledge and Christian doctrine, they believed they were gaining skills that would help them become leaders in their communities.

I feel that my character has been moulded - as a leader perhaps - with a good education, a deeper knowledge of Maoritanga, Christian teaching etc., and so I am proud to be branded as a man from Hato Paora College (Delaney 1968).

Valuable socialisation skills were also gained through living in the boarding school setting with other Māori boys of a similar age. When asked about the advantages of learning the Māori language the boys spoke of an increased cultural pride. They believed that learning the language helped them to retain their Māoritanga. They also thought that in order to properly understand Māori people a person had to be able to understand their language. The boys felt, in general, that they had some obligation to return to their communities to help lead their people upon completion of their time at Hato Paora: “Inasmuch as I should be an example of what an educated Māori youth can get our people’s sights raised above what I consider the labour force”. Finally, they all believed that as long as there were Catholic Māori boys that needed to be educated, then a school like
Hato Paora would continue to be useful (Delaney 1968).

The Māori content in College life is also remarked upon by then current students in the 1973 School Yearbook. T.R. Hema commented on the benefits of attending Hato Paora:

A College must have discipline. I must admit Now that this is one aspect that I have to be most thankful for as it has definitely had a lasting and beneficial effect on my life. I do not think it was the fear of God or the cane, or the fear of the prefects' due books that altogether kept law and order on the campus. Basically, I think it was the deep down understanding that all the Fathers had for the Maori, his way of life, home background, changing moods, etc. (Hema in Curtain 1973).

Finally, Hema notes that Hato Paora,

... has been remarkably successful in providing for the spiritual, educational, cultural and recreation needs of succeeding generations of Maori boys ...(Hema in Curtain 1973).

Robin Hapi also remembered his thoughts about the various sporting, religious and Māori content of school life; recalling the time spent at Hato Paora as “the best years of one’s life”. He paid tribute to the priests and brothers of the school for their efforts at Hato Paora over the past twenty-five years (Hapi in Curtain 1973). Both of these students considered that the school, and the priests who operated it, gave an education which included a holistic social, religious and cultural knowledge.

The Yearbooks themselves provide a good example of the centrality of the taha
Māori of the school. During Gupwell's time the Yearbooks were almost completely bilingual with the articles and reports written in Māori and then translated into English. The use of Māori in the Yearbooks did diminish over time, probably due to the language proficiency of the various Rectors and their staff. However, the Māori language still continued to feature prominently throughout being used for the headings and sub-headings, and the inclusion of some bilingual articles and Māori artwork.

**Conclusion**

Father Kinsella, a long term staff member, reflected in his jubilee sermon that Hato Paora was different from any place he had lived or worked in before. It was a place where the priests were expected to do their utmost to relate to and direct the boys in a way appropriate to Māori. He said they would be chided as being “too Pākehā” by the then Rector Father Issac Gupwell if they lapsed from time to time. The school was built through the hard work and sacrifices of the early staff and students. Father Gupwell, through his attitude and example, created a unique atmosphere at Hato Paora, “... a spirit that is uniquely Hato Paora, a deeply Christian spirit, a profoundly Maori spirit ...” (Kinsella in Gresham 1987).

The Māori culture and language were important to Father Gupwell. He had made sure that they maintained an important place in Hato Paora school life, continually encouraging and promoting things Māori. It was upon this philosophy that the taha Māori of the school had been constantly encouraged and enacted as a means
of creating a unique schooling environment.

Throughout its existence the school has attempted to provide an educational environment that incorporates the Māori language and culture of its students. This has been achieved through the inclusion of Māori language as a curriculum subject, the promotion of Māori cultural knowledge and practices, such as pōhiri, whaikōrero and kapa haka, and the physical adornment of the school site with Māori artwork and forms. This approach has provided an environment in which the students have felt comfortable whilst being able to learn, formally and informally, about tikanga Māori. There is evidence that whilst adhering to the College’s founding principles and philosophies the school has attempted to evolve and adapt to cater to the changing needs of the students and communities that it serves. This can be seen in the emphasis placed on the Māori culture during the 1970s; an emphasis that reflected what was happening in Māori society in general at that time. Similarly, the attempt to adapt the College into a total immersion school reflects the educational ideas of the 1990s. These attempts have not always been wholly successful, or in fact entirely what the students and their communities may have wanted. However, the evidence suggests that this has been, since its inception, a school that has incorporated a strong taha Māori culture into its everyday existence as a corporate entity.
Chapter 10

He Kura Katorika - A Catholic School

...he Kura Hāhi, he Kura Katorika...
... A Church school, a Catholic school ...

At its core ... religion is the representation by rite, myth, and symbol of the presence of the sacred power by virtue of which all regions and dimensions of human existence are knit together in a fabric of interwoven significance and value (Irwin 1984).

Introduction

The previous chapter looked at the role of taha Māori in the life of Hato Paora. This chapter explores the taha wairua, the second distinctive attribute of Hato Paora, with a particular focus on how taha wairua manifested itself in the school environment and the general activity of the school. Examples of taha wairua will be discussed, including its place in the school curriculum, the practical application of the Catholic faith at the school, and the creation of vocations. These two main attributes of the College are the subject of a special clause that was included in the integration agreement to protect the special character of Hato Paora College. This clause declares that the school is for Māori boys where the Māori language and culture and Catholic values and character are promoted (Lawton 1996: 169).

A speech made by Waho Tibble, representing parents of Hato Paora students, to the Minister of Māori Affairs, the Honorable D. MacIntyre, during his first official visit to the school in 1972 gives insight into the motivation of some for sending their sons to Hato Paora:
Why do I want my sons to attend Hato Paora? Because I am a Catholic Maori Parent. Catholicism and religion are dirty words to many people as they imply disciplined and controlled living. ... The education I want for them is here at Hato Paora. First, they are taught by dedicated men. Men dedicated to relive the life of Christ, setting the example, not by words and without financial reward, of self sacrifice and humility, of faith, hope and charity. Secondly, they are given the opportunity of learning and acquiring these virtues. Thirdly, they are taught Maori principles in the modern context, that there is a place today for things Maori, that the Maori way of life has relevance, that self respect for others were, and still are, truths (Tibble in Curtain 1972: 16-7).

The Catholic element of Hato Paora is important and, as evidenced in the quote, is part of the reason that parents choose the school for their sons.

**Curriculum**

The first examples of *taha wairua* at Hato Paora can be found in the original school curriculum. This curriculum reflected the different focus of Hato Paora from other, particularly State, schools. Besides a particular emphasis on the English and Māori languages at Hato Paora, the School’s curriculum required the study of Christian Doctrine (Gupwell 1950). The Christian Doctrine classes, as they were known in the earlier period, but which are now called Religious Education or Christian Living, are aimed at presenting the students with the Catholic world view through scripture, prayer and hymns. By learning about these elements of Catholic religious tradition the students acquire the knowledge and skills to incorporate the Catholic faith and practices into their everyday lives (O’Donnell 2001: 131-2).

Māriu (2002) relates his experience of Religious Education at Hato Paora:
Religious education down there was a lot during my years at school ... So I suppose if you talk to a lot of guys they will say that they were spiritualised out. More God than they needed and in some ways that may have been true ... And even back then religion classes tended to be boring, as they still are if you speak to guys today (Māriu 2002).

All of the old boys interviewed acknowledged that Religious Education was a compulsory part of the school curriculum. For some this taha wairua was an important aspect of their life.

Classes during the week, RE [Religious Education] was a part of class every single day. We had a five day timetable so it was set and you knew when it was (Wilson 2002).

Religious content in the school at that time was good, it wasn’t forced on you. I firmly believe that if you want to be Catholic you have to want to do it, you’ve got to love to do it. Not so much to be forced on you, because if it is forced on you then I believe it to be false .... I enjoyed RE, ... (Faloa 2002).

Another factor that Hato Paora offers as part of their education package is RE – religious studies. Religion is an important part of the Māori world (Mihaere 2002).

Religious Education was aimed at letting the students explore Christian belief and prayer and find ways of incorporating those ideals into their lives. It also taught the scriptures, but again the focus was on taking that knowledge and making it a part of how a student behaved and interacted with others.

**Tikanga Katorika (Catholic practices)**

From its inception the school has focused strongly on the development of a Catholic atmosphere and character. This practical application of the Catholic faith was achieved through not only the teaching of Christian doctrine, but also a
Right into the 1990s the celebration of the sacraments of Baptism and Holy Communion were marked by special Masses. Bishops Max Māriu and Peter Cullinane also presided over the annual celebration of Confirmation (Lawton 1996: 215). These special Masses often included girls from St Joseph’s Māori Girls’ College who biannually would travel to Hato Paora for Confirmation (Gresham 1988: 112).

Religious Observation

Attendance at Mass and other prayer meetings in the Chapel has always been an important part of life at Hato Paora College. In 1955 the normal religious day of a student followed a set routine. The boy’s day would begin with the reciting of three “Hail Marys”, followed by school Mass. During the day the “Angelus” and the “Rosary” were recited at specified times. For the “Rosary” two decades were expected in the morning, two in the evening and one in private. In addition to these the whole school would gather in the chapel for evening prayers and Holy Confession was also available to the students each morning and evening. Finally, at the end of the day three “Hail Marys” were again recited by each boy (Gupwell 1955).

By 1970 this routine had changed so that the third formers had compulsory Mass each weekday. The fourth formers had to attend three specified weekday Masses.

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11 A prayer dedicated to Mary, the mother of Jesus.
12 Another prayer also dedicated to Mary, the mother of Jesus.
13 A system of prayer where “Hail Marys” are grouped in tens (decades), also includes an “Our Father”, a prayer dedicated to God, between each decade and other prayers including the Angelus.
various times throughout the week. Morning prayers continued each day in the chapel with a scripture reading, a prayer, intercessory prayers and then a hymn. Evening prayers were held in the individual dormitories each evening (Lee 1979).

Wilson (1986–1990) describes a timetable that, whilst still clearly focused on the practical application of the faith, is significantly less demanding than that described for the 1970s and by Māriu.

Chapel at night, did we have chapel at night? I think we had chapel on a Wednesday night, you could go to study or go to chapel on a Wednesday night. You had prayers in the dorm, it wasn’t compulsory to go to prayers in the chapel at night. We also had Sunday Mass and we had Benediction on Sunday nights, it was every Sunday at 7 o’clock. Mass was every Sunday, the whole school. That was the layout of the day (Wilson 2002).

In the 1990s with the removal of Society of Mary staff from Hato Paora the availability of Catholic spiritual practices was obviously limited, as they had to rely on the services of a chaplain from the Society of Mary’s Feilding Presbytery. There was still compulsory Mass on Sunday, but a second service was offered during the week only if the chaplain was available. Morning prayers were held each weekday morning, led by the prefects and supervised by the chaplain and the old boys on staff (Lawton 1996: 215). Catholic principles and practice were still a priority at Hato Paora, with the Sacraments of Confirmation and first Holy Communion continuing to be held annually, Mass each Sunday, and Religious Education classes. However, from 1981 to 1990 the average number of hours spent in religious observance by the students dropped from 8 hours a week to about 2 hours a week (Lawton 1996: 182). By 1993 when there was no priest,
other than the Rector himself, residing on the school site, and the hours devoted to prayer may have been even less.

**Retreats**

As with many other Catholic schools, Hato Paora offered the opportunity for the students to attend religious retreats. These retreats began at Hato Paora in the early 1950s and were usually held off-site, either at local *marae* or Society of Mary facilities such as the Highden Novitiate. The retreats were a chance for the students to partake in more intensive religious instruction given by the religious educator, usually a priest. The early retreats were used to help prepare the boys for the various sacraments. An example of this occurred in 1951 when the retreat was facilitated by Father Cahill from the Marist Māori Mission, during which five boys were baptised, seven received first Holy Communion and Confession and 23 were confirmed (Gupwell 1951: 33-4).

Religious retreats continued to be a standard part of the Hato Paora school calendar. In 1970 a religious retreat was held at the beginning of the second term, led by Father A. Hazelzet, a Mill Hill priest who had worked for 40 years in the Māori Mission in North Auckland. At the end of the retreat the entire Mass was conducted in Māori for the first time at Hato Paora. The chief celebrant was Father Hazelzet, assisted by the other priests on staff (Delaney 1970: 6). Annual religious retreats were still held at local *marae*, including Kauwhata, Aorangi, Te Hiiri and Te Tikanga (Tokorangi). In 1980 the fifth form went to Kauwhata whilst
the sixth and seventh forms stayed at Te Tikanga (Tokorangi) (Gresham 1980: 35).

Figure 32: View of Aorangi marae near Feilding through the waharoa (entrance). Photo taken in May 2006. Source: Nathan Matthews.

Figure 33: Catholic Church to the right of Kauwhata marae near Feilding. Photo taken in May 2006. Source: Nathan Matthews.

Other marae that had a connection with Hato Paora would also offer their facilities for religious retreats. An example occurred in 1987 when Ruaka marae at Rānana on the Wanganui River hosted the fifth form retreat (Gresham 1987: 18-21).
Feast Days

The celebration of various feast days of saints was also an important part of life at Hato Paora. It began in 1949 with a celebration to mark the Feast of Saint Paul, the Patron of the school. The aim was to mark the day as special and thank Saint Paul for his watchful care (Gupwell 1949a: 27). These celebrations developed to include those of Saint Paul and Saint Peter on 29 June, after whom the two Māori Catholic boys’ secondary schools are named, and All Saints on 1 November. Māriu explains that,

We had feast day celebrations especially the Feast Day of St Paul the Patron Saint of Hato Paora. We always had a hākari and a day off back then. These days you have to fit into the wider system so you can’t take days off like we used to. We used to have a special dinner on the feast of St Paul as well, Mass and then dinner afterwards. It was always a good evening because it was entertainment as well, we provided our own entertainment, we had some good guys on the guitar, music wise, and some could act, really good off the cuff (Māriu 2002).

Wilson also recalls the celebration of feasts during his time at the school (1986–1990):

St Paul’s day and All Saints day they were really the only feast days we celebrated, those are the main ones that I can remember. You had Palm Sunday and all of that in the chapel but other than that, that’s all I can remember (Wilson 2002).

These feasts, involving the whole school, commenced with Mass and then followed with a feast in honour of the appropriate Saint, and often included cultural kapa haka performance as well.
Catholic Groups

Another initiative within the school was the development of a Chapter of the Legion of Mary.\textsuperscript{14} The Chapter started in 1973, from an idea of Father King. The Legion of Mary sought to encourage the world’s youth to behave like young Christians, selfless in their service to the community and their families. The Hato Paora chapter was known as “Maria Whaea Takakau o te Ao Katoa”, or “Our lady of the whole world” (Curtain 1978: 31). The Hato Paora members helped around the school in their own time in an attempt to make school life easier for everybody, staff and students alike. They visited a local widow and helped clear scrub on her property and also helped with some of the stock work on her farm (Lee 1978: 31). They also visited the children of St Dominic’s School for the Deaf in Feilding to spend time with the children at that school (Curtain 1976: 52). The Legion of Mary continued to operate at the school, with 40 members recorded in 1978 and 29 members in 1979 (Curtain 1978: 31).

In 1980 the Marist Third Order, a similar group to the Legion of Mary, was established by Father Crotty, which met, talked and prayed about spirituality in life at Hato Paora. Eventually this new group superseded the Legion of Mary, as they were similar in orientation (Lee 1980: 36).

In 1990 a junior conference (group) of the St Vincent de Paul Society was established at the school by Father Brian Quinn. The aim of the group was to visit

\textsuperscript{14} The Legion of Mary is an international Lay Catholic group of men and women. It was founded in 1921 in Dublin, Ireland. The main objective of the Legion is for members to develop their personal holiness, through prayer and by supporting the Church’s work, and that of others, with the help of Mary.
with elderly people in Feilding and offer them some company or do small chores such as mowing lawns or cutting hedges to help them out. The boys also had to commit to attending prayer meetings to reflect on what they were doing (Gresham 1990: 130-1).

Religious Vocation

One of the foundation objectives of Hato Paora, as with all Catholic schools, was the creation of Māori vocations. In fact Hato Paora has been the most successful of the Māori Catholic colleges in relation to this goal. Whereas Hato Petera College, opened in 1928, has contributed two Māori priests, Hato Paora by contrast has contributed four of the country’s seven Māori Catholic priests, despite existing for only fifty years as a Marist operated school. Father Gupwell stated in the 1958 School Yearbook that getting boys to enter the religious life was one of the important measures of success for the school, given that the salvation of Māori souls was the main purpose for the school’s existence (Gupwell 1958: 8).

That year the first two old boys of Hato Paora entered religious life. They were Joe Paurini and Jack Smith, who were professed as temporary brothers in the Society of Mary, taking the names Brother Adrian and Brother Sebastian respectively. Another former student, Charlie Tūmoana, was also nearing the completion of his studies for joining the priesthood, again in the Society of Mary, although he did not finish them. Of these three, Jack Smith became the first old
boy religious of Hato Paora when he professed as a brother in the Society of Mary on 16 December 1959 (Gupwell 1958: 8).

Five years later, in 1964, Father Robert Harwood, from Taranaki, was ordained, becoming the first old boy priest. He took the name Pā Hēkiera (Lawton 1996: 55). The second old boy priest, Karaitiana Kingi of Te Reinga near Wairoa, was ordained in 1969 at Tākitimu marae in Wairoa. He was head boy at the college in 1961, and despite coming from a Ringatū background he entered the Society of Mary seminary upon finishing school. In 1970 he was appointed to the staff at Hato Paora, where he taught Māori language and religious education (Lawton 1996: 91).

Figure 34: Ordination as Bishop of Max Māriu at Te Pā o te Aroha marae, Tokoroa, in 1988. Source: Society of Mary.

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15 A religion begun by the Māori prophet Te Kooti that blended traditional Māori customs and Christian belief.
On April 30 1977 a third old boy, Max Māriu, was ordained a priest of the Society of Mary at his marae in Waihī village on the shores of Lake Taupō. This was followed later in the same year by the ordination of Jack Smith, formerly Brother Sebastian, as a priest in the Society of Mary at Tākitimu marae in Wairoa (Lawton 1996:116-117). About a decade later, a very important day for both Hato Paora and Māori Catholics arrived when in 1988 Father Takuira Max Māriu was ordained as the first Māori Catholic Bishop at Papa o te Aroha Marae in Tokoroa. 110 students and staff travelled to the event to help celebrate this special occasion for the College, Māori Catholics and the Catholic Church as a whole (Lawton 1996: 185). This event signalled the increasing assertiveness of Māori Catholics, a delegation of whom had travelled to Rome to request the appointment of a Māori Bishop. The Māori Lay Ministry under the banner of Waka Aroha strove to gain a more active role within the Church (Lawton 1996: 184-6).

Figure 35: Māori Vocations in the Catholic Church to 1996. Source: Nathan Matthews.
Physical Environment

School Chapel

Figure 36: Crucifix in Hato Paora Chapel. Photo taken 2005. Source: Nathan Matthews.

As discussed earlier, the College, as with most other Catholic schools, is rich in physical symbolism. This begins with the chapel and the symbols of the statues, the altar, the crucifix, the paintings and carvings contained therein recalling and affirming the Catholic origin of the school. The school chapel was redeveloped during the early 1970s and was rededicated on 10 November 1974 by the Pro Nuncio, Archbishop Angelo Acerbi. Māori Catholics from all over the North and South Islands travelled to attend and celebrate the occasion (Curtain 1974: 29). It became a space that clearly amalgamated the Catholic and Māori characters of the school.
Figure 37: Tabernacle (pātaka) standing to the right of the altar in school Chapel. Photo taken in 2005. Source: Nathan Matthews.

The tabernacle at Hato Paora is in the form of a traditional pātaka (traditional food storage house). The tekoteko figure on top represents God while the maihi (bargeboard) figures on the sides symbolise eating the Eucharist. The main figure over the doorway, that is lit by the light, represents Jesus Christ. The amo (carved poles supporting the bargeboards) watch and guard the tekoteko, while the paepae (horizontal board) is both welcoming and a challenge to be worthy of the sacrament. The Tabernacle stands on two ponga (native ferns) from the school property (Curtain 1974: 26).

To the right and left of the sanctuary stand the poupou\textsuperscript{16} (to the right of the tabernacle in Figure 38):

\textsuperscript{16} Carved wall figures; side posts of a meeting house.
The bottom figures represent the Maori people... The small figures in between the legs with *patu* or *mere* show the attitude of young with old. The *manaia* figures around the heads are the spirits who are the personal guardians of the people. The middle figure on the right is St. Peter Chanel. In his right hand he holds the Scriptures and around his neck is the Christian symbol, the cross (Curtain 1974: 27).

Figure 38: Carving of Saint Peter Chanel on *pou* to the right of the tabernacle. Photo taken in May 2006. Source: *Nathan Matthews*.

The middle figure on the *poupou* to the left is Saint Paul (not illustrated), who in his right hand carries a *toki* (adze/axe), which by the way he is carrying it indicates that he is a chief. His hand is by his mouth, which indicates that his words “are the true source of life for the boys of the College”. The top figures represent the parable of the loaves and fishes but also allude to the Māori cultural concept of *manaaki* (Curtain 1974: 27).
The font containing the Holy Water is described as presenting a challenge to those entering to pray, often reluctantly. The font is made of a single free-standing figure that is the representation of a person holding a _patu_ (short club) standing as a sentry. Water also has the ability to lift the impediments to prayer (Curtain 1974: 28).

There are pillars that stand to the left and right of the stained glass window in the centre of the back wall (see Figure 37). The pillars have one main carved figure in the centre and then above and below are lesser carved figures. The left central figure is Mary, the Mother of God, with Jesus at her breast. Above and below her are her handmaidens. The right central figure is St. Joseph holding a chisel. Above and below him are his helpers (Curtain 1974: 27).
Beyond the chapel itself are the various symbols that can be found throughout the school property, including a grotto dedicated to Mary, as well as sculptures and pictures, which adorn many of the school buildings. The Grotto of Our Lady of Lourdes was dedicated in a ceremonial blessing by Father Riordan in 1954 (Gupwell 1954). It was used at various times for religious observances such as a candlelight procession by the whole school, followed by prayer, in honour of Mary (Delaney 1966: 21).

Figure 40: Grotto dedicated to Mary outside of main building “Ihaka”. Photo taken in 2005. Source: Nathan Matthews.
Directly outside the main building “Ihaka”, in the part of the building formerly occupied by the Marist community, is a statue of Saint Paul, reaffirming the Patron of the school.

Figure 41: Statue of Saint Paul outside the main school building “Ihaka”. Photo taken in 2005. Source: Nathan Matthews.

Figure 42: Painting of Jesus Christ in main school office. Photo taken in 2005. Source: Nathan Matthews.
This painting of Jesus Christ is on the wall directly inside the main entrance, in the foyer of the school office. It is a stylized portrayal of Jesus as a Māori in a Māori setting. A mountain that appears to be Taranaki is visible in the background and Jesus is standing in front of a wharenui adorned in traditional Māori attire. All of these symbols visually and physically define the school site as both Catholic and Māori.

Conclusion

Since it was established, Hato Paora has obviously been a school that promoted Catholic knowledge and ideals by incorporating them into everyday life. It created an environment that physically and philosophically manifested Catholic ritual, tradition and belief. This in turn allowed for the development of the taha wairua of the school. The Catholic faith was given expression through the frequency of the students’ participation, and the number of hours spent in prayer and worship. Despite these achievements, and the ongoing commitment of the College to a distinctively Māori Catholic faith, the Church had come to accept that it could no longer be involved in the school’s religious life. Some of the schools it chose to continue staffing, notably St Augustine’s, may have been influenced by practical considerations. Lawton contends that “St Augustine’s was chosen, and I’m convinced that it was because they knew that they were going to combine St Augustine’s and Sacred Heart into Cullinane College as it is now” (Lawton 2004). While the Society of Mary hoped staff would be forthcoming for abandoned schools, such as Hato Paora, in reality such resources were never found. This was
obviously a big blow to Hato Paora and its philosophy of providing a Catholic Māori education and school environment. It also indicated how far the Society of Mary had moved away from its missionary beginnings in Aotearoa and its original commitment to ministering to Māori.
Chapter 11

He Kura Motuhake – A Special School

..., he Kura motuhake mō te īwi ...
..., a special school for the people ...

Introduction

This chapter will introduce six Hato Paora old boys, who represent a cross section of the students who have attended the school from its opening in 1947 until the final Rector, Father Jack Smith, left in 1996. At least one of the participants attended the college in each of the five decades that it has existed. A short biography of each of the old boys will be provided to give some background about where they came from, and their families’ involvement with the Church and College. The interviews will be divided into main themes to give further clarity to the Hato Paora old boys’ thoughts about the school and the time they spent there. During the interviews the participants volunteered various ideas, which have been organised for convenience under the following topics:

- Qualifications gained
- Skills acquired
- Identity
- Reciprocity
- Reflections of Hato Paora

As much as possible the actual words of the old boys themselves will be used so that their voices are heard as they were presented in the interviews. The thoughts and comments of each of the old boys will be used to help us understand how
successful or appropriate this type of education option was for Māori Catholic boys. In essence, this chapter will focus on those things that make Hato Paora College a special school based on the opinions of the old boys interviewed.

Old Boys

Patrick Haami

Pat Haami lives in Wanganui and works as a cultural adviser for Good Health Wanganui (the local District Health Board). He is a foundation student of Hato Paora, part of the first intake of boys in 1948. His final year as a student at the College was 1952.

I was born in a little place called Ranana, a place which breathed Catholicity. My mother and father were normal, hardworking, farming parents ... I was born in March, 1933, on the feastday of St Patrick. This is why I was given the name Patrick. Maori Missioner, Fr James Riordan, S.M., gave me this name ... (Haami in Gresham 1987).

Pat explains how he came to attend Hato Paora:

I went to school in Ranana in those days the school was known as the Sacred Heart of Jesus school ... As schooling – a great teller of the future – always came up and talked about things. He asked my Dad to send me to Parorangi ... Other boys were asked too ... So it was Fr Riordan who asked my Dad. Dad was a great friend to all the priests on the River and when Fr Riordan suggested the idea – that’s how I came to Parorangi (Haami in Gresham 1987).

Pat has been involved with the College throughout his life, supporting and attending numerous school celebrations and functions, such as jubilees. He sent his sons to Hato Paora and has since had grandsons attend the school.

Morvin Simon

Morvin Simon lives in Wanganui, where he teaches Māori language and tikanga
at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa. He is also a renowned composer of Māori music and tutor of kapa haka (Māori performing arts).

I was born on the 7th of July 1944 to my mother Mary Whanarere and my Dad John Simon. My dad is from Ngāti Apa, one side of him is from Whangaehu just out to the south of Wanganui here and his mum was Raina Ranginui and she’s from Matahiwi also from the river. My mother is from Kaiwhaiki. Both of her parents were established there at that time. In fact many of us were brought up by our maternal grandfather. His name was Te Rama Whanarere. He was, like all the old people, anxious that we all go to school and, like Ngata before him, Tikina ati ai ngā rākau a te Pākehā to glean from the world those things that are required to take us through both societies and to do well and be comfortable in both. Furthermore, once we have been educated to bring that education home to help the people, to move forward (Simon 2004).

Morvin attended Hato Paora from 1959 until 1964. He was Headboy in his last two years and Dux of the College in his final year. Morvin attended Hato Paora primarily as a result of the influence of the Marist Māori Mission:

... much of the push was by way of the Māori mission, missioners who were people like Fr Caulfield, Fr Fuohy, Fr Cleary all of these guys, Fr Wall for the whole of the South Island ... Our Catholic standing, our background, their association with our parents and grandparents and so it was inevitable that these priests would suggest well maybe you should come to this school Hato Paora in Feilding or go to our school in Auckland you know which was Hato Petera (Simon 2004).

He has remained a staunch supporter of the school since he attended, and has returned to teach at the school, tutoring the school kapa haka groups and sending his own sons to the College.

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17 A Māori tertiary education provider.
18 Sir Apirana Ngata, a renowned Māori leader of the early 20th century who encouraged Māori to learn both their own and Pākehā forms of knowledge.
19 Grab hold of the tools, technology and knowledge of the Pākehā.
Ken Mihaere

Ken Mihaere was a student at Hato Paora from 1963 until 1968. He was Headboy of the College in his final year. He comes from the Urewera region of the North Island and affiliates to the Tūhoe ki Kahungunu tribe. He is a Catholic and like Morvin Simon was recruited by the Māori Missioners, who celebrated monthly Mass at his home. He recalls that,

Like all the students that were at the primary school we all had to attend boarding school, so while the farmers’ sons and daughters went off to Gisborne Boys High, Gisborne Girls High, Napier Boys and Napier Girls, my parents being Catholic and for myself being Catholic I was approached by one of the priests of Hato Paora who went around with the Māori Missioners and he stated in no uncertain terms that “you are coming to Hato Paora”. And so that was the beginning of my knowledge or understanding about Hato Paora (Mihaere 2002).

Ken returned to Hato Paora to teach in 1984 and is still a member of staff at the college. He also sent his son to Hato Paora.

Max Māriu

Max Takuira Māriu was the Auxiliary Bishop to the Diocese of Hamilton and also had responsibility for Māori Catholics and issues pertaining to Māori within the New Zealand Catholic Church. Unfortunately, Bishop Māriu passed away at the end of 2005 before any further interviews could be conducted with him.

I was born in Taumarunui in 1952. I grew up at Little Waihī on the shores of Lake Taupō. I spent my primary school years at St Joseph’s Convent School in Little Waihī and 1966 was my first year at Hato Paora. I was there until 1970, which was my final year. My home region was Little Waihī; Ngāti Tūwharetoa is my main tribe. I have tribal affiliations to Wanganui, Tainui,
Maniapoto. I suppose if you looked close enough there’s tribal relations with everyone (Māriu 2002).

Bishop Max became involved with Hato Paora firstly through his family’s long involvement with the school and Church:

I had quite a few older cousins and my older brothers were at Hato Paora so it was decided that I would attend. My family have always been strongly involved in the Church going back to my ancestor Kerehi who was the first Tuwharetoa to become a Catholic (Māriu 2002).

Later he became a staff member from 1980 until 1982 and finally, as Bishop, he supported the College wholeheartedly by providing religious, cultural and social leadership.

*Tata Lawton*

Tata Lawton is 47 years old and currently lives in Wellington where he works for the Department of Conservation. He provides the following biographical details,


Tata is Catholic and was,

... born and bred in Feilding. I went to college in 1971 and finished there in the sixth form in 1975. ... Even though I live in Feilding no day students so just like everyone else at the start of term I went in those gates and didn’t get back out the gates until the end of term. My younger brother went there and he started in 1975 and finished in 1978. A number of cousins from home who all went to Hato Paora and Hato Paora actually played a big part of our life growing up (Lawton 2004).
Tata is from Ngāti Kauwhata, under whose mana Hato Paora was established. They have always supported the school in many ways, including sending their boys there for their education.

Māhanga Williams

Māhanga Williams was a student at Hato Paora from 1982 to 1984. He returned for two years as a hostel staff member in 1996. Māhanga has strong ties to the College:

I am Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Te Āti Haunui a Pāpārangi, Ngāti Rangi, Ngā Rauru, Ngāti Ruanui, Ngāti Tama and Muaūpoko. I had heaps of cousins from here go to the school from the Tukupua whānau, the Te Awhe whānau from Taranaki and the Matthews family from the river, the Mareikura whānau (Williams 2006).

With Māhanga’s genealogical ties to the Wanganui he explains the status of Catholicism in his extended family:

Catholicism has been a strong part of our whānau because of our connections back home to the river, but also strong connection down here with Pukekaraka. Which is where Gupwell is buried. One of the strong influences around here was Father Wall who used to come around here and visit all the whānau. He was a big influence on a lot of our boys going there. Because of our Hāhi [Church] connections being Katoriko (Williams 2006).

Mahanga has continued his family commitment to the school:

My son has gone through Hato Paora and completed five years and now I have two nephews who are living with me who are at Hato Paora. So I am still very in touch with Hato Paora and I am part of the new Old Boy’s Association (Williams 2006).

Dean Wilson

Dean Wilson was a student at Hato Paora College from 1986 to 1990. He returned
to the school as a staff member in 1999 and worked at the school as a Physical Education teacher until 2002. He comes,

... from Levin, Horowhenua and my tribal affiliation is Muaūpoko, Ngāti Kuia and Te Arawa (Wilson 2002).

Dean is a Catholic whose family has had a long association with the Church:

My father's been long involved with the Church. He went to the seminary with a few of the priests from around the place and my grandfather was very much involved with the Church. He went to school with a few priests still involved with the Church (Wilson 2002).

Further to this many of Dean's family have attended Hato Paora. Dean was motivated to come back and work at the school as a means of giving back to the College.

Kahurangi Faloa

Kahurangi Faloa was a student at Hato Paora College from 1991 to 1993 and is currently a staff member at the College. His tribal affiliation is with Ngāti Tūwharetoa and the island of Niue. Kahurangi comes from the Hepi family that has been particularly strong in its support of Hato Paora:

... my grandfather was here on the opening day. He's my namesake and he made a vow to Ihaka [Gupwell] that day that he was going to send all of his sons here. So every year since the school has been open we've had someone in our family attend the school. I think that there has only been one year when there hasn't been someone from our family attend school. From my grandfather I'm third generation and I've got my younger brother and my first cousin and a few second cousins here and we all descend from my grandfather (Faloa 2002).
Kahurangi is Catholic and he explains that,

... my grandfather was a staunch Catholic. He brought all his children up as staunch Catholics, I was brought up by my grandmother and hence I'm a staunch Catholic as well. My son is baptized a Catholic and I believe the Catholic values are a good model for life (Fako 2002).

The old boys that have been interviewed come from different backgrounds and eras, with Hato Paora College as the common link between them. Each has his own reasons and motivations for attending the College but all have continued to be involved with the college, one way or another, beyond their years of schooling. However, certain key ideas are contained in almost all of their interviews. Most of these old boys come from families that have a strong Catholic faith. They have sent many of their children to Hato Paora over the generations that it has existed.

Furthermore, the families seem to have had a strong relationship with the priests of the Māori mission, who recruited some of these boys to the school. An extension of this can be seen in the commitment made to Father Gupwell by the Hepi family. This sort of commitment is linked to the Māori idea of whānau, whereby the priests of the mission were really considered to be part of the family, the community, and so Hato Paora was also.

Themes

Qualifications gained

The old boys interviewed have all done well academically, with all of them completing tertiary education qualifications. This is equally impressive given that
at the time Morvin Simon was at the school there were very few students who remained for the whole five years of secondary education.

So we did School C and UE, Higher School C and all those sort of things. In my last year 1964 I was the total seventh form which shows you how much it has grown. Because people just didn’t come back after their sixth form year. They went out to work to do this or that. I went back to a seventh form year because I had a particular thought in mind. So that was me in my Dux year although it was Dux by default (Simon 2004).

Later in that same decade Ken Mihaere came to school unable to read and went on to tertiary education. He states that when he came...

... to Hato Paora I discovered very quickly that I couldn’t read ... So having discovered the fact that I wasn’t able to read very simply I asked myself the question “I’d like to learn to read” and that was the beginning, I guess, of a very rich and rewarding education experience ... I have since gone on, spending six years as a student of Hato Paora, I have gone on completing a Bachelor of Arts Degree at Victoria University in Maori and education, have completed also a Master of Education Administration Degree at Massey University and have gone on to do a Diploma in School Management because that’s been my educational journey (Mihaere 2002).

This story highlights one of the educational problems that Hato Paora has had to combat since its inception, with many of its students having little or no primary education because they lived in remote rural areas. However, as Ken Mihaere’s case illustrates, the school was able to rectify such poor educational backgrounds and give students a chance to pursue new journeys in life.

Faloa explains that not only did his time at Hato Paora allow him to go on to tertiary education but it also provided his motivation to succeed:

My qualifications are a full year advanced diploma in Toi Hou Kura, it’s the equivalent of a degree, and a one year diploma in Teaching in Christchurch.
My inspiration to complete my diploma in teaching was the chance to return and teach at Hato Paora and to get the opportunity to do that straight away is a dream come true for me (Falco 2002).

Bishop Max Māripū gained sufficient secondary qualifications to go on to tertiary education but the route he chose was different. He entered the seminary in 1975 to begin his study for the priesthood.

I got a good all round education and with the limited staff that they had down there. My qualifications: I got School Certificate and University Entrance. From there I went to the seminary in 1975 and started studying for the priesthood. It was a big step; I’ve still got the Bible that my sixth form schoolmates gave me before the end of the year (Mariu 2002).

The examples of these old boys show how the school provided opportunities for them to attain secondary qualifications. Judging from their testimonies, the school environment meant that such qualifications were gained in a way that suited Māori youth; something that the State education system has struggled to achieve since its inception.

Skills Acquired

The skills that the old boys acquired at the school are another important part of their education, as they needed more than just formal qualifications to succeed in New Zealand society. Early in its existence the School provided the boys with opportunities to learn about farm work.

That was because in those days the school was still pushing animal husbandry, it was still a farm school. There were three different farms operating off the school property, two diary farms and a sheep farm. So we did all the killing, we did the killing for the school, we tended the garden, the plots, all those sort of things. Where the football field is now the paddock over was all in spuds and we looked after all of those and looked after the
garden and we learnt about life-skills. The agriculture boys did the shearing and the fencing, we did all the ploughing. We learnt to up our driving skills and pulling extra implements such as ploughs, harrows and all those types of things. So for us it was already a university even while we were at school, a university for preparing us to go out of the School into other things (Simon 2004).

The interviewees stress that the most important skill they acquired at Hato Paora was the development of a body of social skills:

I think that that was a major thing for me, getting on with other people with different people... and plenty of trips and that was a good thing for me as well, you know, travelling around meeting other people in more like a network as you met other people. If you went to another area and mentioned such and such a person, ah yeh, I went to school with him (Wilson 2002).

This is further supported by Bishop Māriu:

Meeting new people socially. I was there in the late sixties and early seventies and, if you look back, Māoridom was going through huge changes and I think we were beginning to come out of our shells as Māori in the early 1970s (Māriu 2002).

These changes in the 1970s refer to the growing political and social awareness of Māori as more of us gained secondary education qualifications and university attendance increased. No longer were we necessarily prepared to continue as manual “blue collar” labourers only. There was also an increased interest in our own culture and lobbying to have it recognized in mainstream Aotearoa/New Zealand society. This would ultimately culminate in the establishment of Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori education.

Wilson felt that the school had a balance that encouraged the development of skills:
I think the skills we gained through having a balance at school, you know, like it wasn’t totally focused on one thing. It was pretty spread out over all things. Even though a lot of us, you know, still loved playing rugby you still had a balance, you were on par with every other student in every other school I think. You had your academics, you had your culture, you had your sport and it was all pushed equally. And it was backed by the Principal and pressed, it wasn’t just one thing. It gave me a lot of confidence (Wilson 2002).

However, another of the old boys who did research on Hato Paora for a Master of Arts Degree has a slightly different view derived from that research and he reports:

One of the things that I found in my research was a number of negative things about going to Paora. One was social skills, the graces where there you could hold yourself up but often your shyness could cancel that out. What I found with other old boys in my research was that you had to get haurangi to talk to girls and we all know that that’s no good for a relationship. Going into Pākehā environments, and I mean that as in alien environments, and a good example is going to Varsity (Lawton 2004).

Overall, the old boys considered that the school provided them with valuable social skills beyond those subjects taught in the formal curriculum. However, this is tempered by Lawton’s comments that many of the boys, whilst being able to handle themselves, were not as prepared as they could have been for environments other than what they were used to at Hato Paora. The culture change he refers to concerns the shift from one that recognized and affirmed Māori Catholic identity/culture to the dominant New Zealand culture founded upon Eurocentric ideals. Many old boys he talked to found that difficult. This was particularly so when dealing with institutions, such as universities, which possess distinctive cultures and modes of behaviour foreign in their cultural orientation to

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To be inebriated.
the one experienced in a whānau-based environment such as Hato Paora provided.

Identity

Some of the old boys, particularly those who attended the school more recently, raised the notion of identity as an important theme. This was related to both cultural and social identity and could be an indicator of the social issues that affected the boys attending the school, and Māori society in general, in terms of urbanization and its consequences. Many no longer lived in their whānau or tribal region, as their parents and grandparents had moved into the towns and cities, seeking employment. Often the family ties were not kept up and so some of the students attending Hato Paora, particularly in the 1970s and 1980s, might not have had a good understanding of their culture.

For one old boy of that time his identity was firmly rooted in his status as an old boy:

... it gave me a bit of identity as far as, I'm proud to say I came here I suppose. I can identify myself with others from other schools, hey you went to Paora aye I'm from your era, and that's cool... (Wilson 2002).

Bishop Max Māriu described this identity “as an old boy of the College” as providing him with a “network” (Māriu 2002); thus the collegial bonds of the school assisted to provide strength and affirmation for the old boys as they continued their chosen careers. Another aspect of this identification with the school was the idea of a cultural identity as intimated by Faloa:
Before I came here my cultural identity was a bit shocking. I was brought up with Pākehā, Tokelauans, Samoans, Tongans so I was from a multi-cultural background. And coming to a school where there is only one culture, I was proud to be a Māori before, but I didn’t really know what to be proud about. When I came here I knew what I was proud about (Faloa 2002).

As he explains, the development of this cultural identity further affected other parts of his personality and self-esteem:

From being at a Māori school made you confident as well. Some of our Māori students, and I see it in other schools, their confidence is not too great ... Coming from a Māori school; and going to a school up in Gisborne they labelled me as just another Māori and put me at the back of the class. So I sat at the back and did all my work topping the class, but the only reason I did that was because I was confident. Confident in myself and I got the confidence from being here [at Hato Paora]. I could see my peers in the class who had been at the [Gisborne] school a while had been hammered and they showed their frustration by rebelling, being talkative, distracting other students. One thing I am very thankful for is my cultural identity (Faloa 2002).

Lawton also alludes to the cultural identity that was created through participation that led to competence in tikanga Māori:

The culture, as far as whaikōrero, for me that was the beginning, Paora grounded me on just about everything. It was the first time I learnt to whaikōrero, the first time I learnt to wero. Being part of the big pōhiris at school, that’s the first time I’d been involved in those things. All it did was set you up for the rest of your life and you actually didn’t realize it until you left (Lawton 2004).

The creation or affirmation of identity in one form or another seems to be an important part of what Hato Paora provides for its students. Hato Paora provides an environment in which being Māori and doing things in a Māori way is normal. Further, it is also normal in that place to be a Catholic and to participate in that culture. Combined together these elements created for the students a sense of
psychological well-being. This is not surprising given that Hato Paora provides one of the few educational environments in which being Māori and Catholic is normal.

Reciprocity

Reciprocity, the idea of utu, is a key cultural concept in the Māori world. It encapsulates the idea of repayment (see chapter one). This is expressed by the old boys in regard to the opportunities provided them by Hato Paora, whether educationally, culturally or socially. Simon states that:

I suppose my going back there to help with the culture for many, many years back at the school and it was really about saying thank-you to those fullas giving us an opportunity. It was really that sort of thing that was underpinning our commitment to making sure that the kapa haka was seen by the world view as right up there with any school (Simon 2004).

Thus Morvin Simon explains his, and his family's, 30 year commitment to teaching kapa haka at Hato Paora. Mihaere too has a similar motivation:

What motivated me in returning to teach at Hato Paora was the fact that I wanted to give back to the Marist Fathers for the education that they had given me by assisting our own Māori students. It is almost as if I was paying back the debt that I felt obliged to ... So going back as a student here at Hato Paora we were educated totally by Marist priests and they dedicated their whole lives to promoting young Māori men. I’m very grateful for what they assisted me in, providing I guess a second home for me, a stepping stone for me from the remote Ureweras (Mihaere 2002).

Again the notion of the priest committing and caring for his community is alluded to. This seemed to be a feature not only of the priests from Hato Paora but also of the members of the Marist Māori Mission. For some, the expectation of repayment was explicitly espoused by those who were sending their boys to the
When I left it took a couple of years to sink in but then I realised what my kura [school] had done for me. I remember my kuia saying to me back when I was a tauira [pupil] at the kura that when I left I should give back to the kura. At the time I didn’t understand what she meant (Williams 2006).

The idea of reciprocity was expressed not only as repayment to the school and its priests but also as a commitment to the next generation of students at Hato Paora, to ensure their success:

Because of what I’ve experienced here and because of what I love is why I am back here ... I tell the boys here everyday, “Bay, you’re lucky to be here, because here you have an identity, you’re not just a number. I know you, you’re Nicholas Doyle. You’re a cheeky little bugger. Sometimes you need a clip round the ears but I know who you are. You’re mischief and you need to be kept an eye on. I understand you”. That’s what I want to give back to the school (Faloa 2002).

Faloa here is not describing an incident of actual physical punishment. In fact his remarks strikingly resemble Tata Lawton’s recollection of Father Tomasi’s words, who dispensed punishments, not to harm or humiliate, but to instil a stern but loving idea of discipline into young boys who occasionally got into mischief. Faloa thus reflects on an older form of discipline and classroom management commonly found in Catholic schools a couple of decades ago. It was a physical culture – a kind of masculinity – that suited many of the boys at Hato Paora. The form of discipline Faloa recollects is, in some senses, a metaphor for the kind of stern but paternal care dispensed by generations of Marist Fathers at the College. Faloa’s description, like Tata Lawton’s of Father Tomasi, show the underlying love and respect that animated relations between the Fathers and the boys at Hato
Reflections

Each of the old boys was asked to provide some reflections on their experience at Hato Paora. This was intended to add to the overall picture that had been created but also to allow them to add anything that they felt was significant or important in a study of the school. Below I have quoted some of the most important and poignant, that fell outside the themes examined previously, but which help understand the nature of Hato Paora, its environment, and the old boys’ perspective of it. Pat Haami reflects on the effect of being a foundation student of the College:

My years there was more of a foundation, workmen, and not only me it was all of us. The clever ones stayed in and did the classwork. The non-brainy ones helped on the farm or with building. Doing this early work made us feel like it was really our school, we were helping to build it ... It was great. It was a good life for me, I enjoyed my five years there. I would never take that away. It’s what you make of it I think, out of the school when you go there. You will be what you are. It helped me achieve what I wanted to do within myself. It was a special place to me (Haami 2004).

I have got no negatives whatsoever even when I got whacked on the bum with the cane. It was all good because it availed the opportunity to develop and grow up with every other waka, every other hapū and iwi around the motu [island] that you forged friendships with, friendships that you take to the grave. It has been a great place and it still is a great place. It really is about how we give it the opportunity to develop its own persona (Simon 2004).

Positive was completing school, getting through those five years sticking together with the others for five years. Gaining a lot of friendships and I think I was really being prepared to actually walk out the gates. We were looked after quite well by our priests (Wilson 2002).
Both Simon and Wilson focus their thoughts on the friendships that they gained, obviously placing importance on the strength of these friendships forged over the many years spent living together for 24 hours a day seven days a week. Faloa also makes mention of friendships and the opportunity to grow into a man in the school environment:

Whether you like them or not they are almost like your brothers, aye. You bond together like brothers, if you see them in ten years time you are so glad to see them like how I was with you this morning. It doesn’t matter what age you are or if you are like four years older or four years younger you’ve still got that bond because you shared that experience together and that part of your life. That part of your life is when you are learning a lot of things, you’re growing up. When you change from a boy to becoming a young man. So that’s what I learnt as a student here ... My experience here was obviously positive and I think it changed my life a lot (Faloa 2002).

Bishop Māriu makes the following tribute, recalling the School’s effect on his life and his choices:

Huge, enormous, if I hadn’t gone to Hato Paora I don’t think I would have gone on and become a priest. Huge effect on my career, my personality, my personal development, my spirituality. I deepened my personal spirituality as a result of attending Hato Paora (Māriu 2002).

Hato Paora was established with a shared goal that included the creation of Māori priests. In the case of Bishop Māriu the school was extremely successful. Williams also shares some important and personal information in relation to the effect that Hato Paora had on his life choices:

I look back at my life and if I hadn’t have gone to Hato Paora I would have been patched up\(^\text{21}\) in a gang. That’s the path I was heading down. Whereas when I went to Hato Paora it opened a new world for me (Williams 2006).

\(^{21}\) This term means that someone has passed initiation and is a full member of a gang.
In returning to the title of this chapter and the maxim used to describe it, the following words of Lawton are significant:

The school is special, not was special, but is special. The reason it's special is because there is still something that that school can offer ... I think that it is simple. Where do you want your students to be? Adapt everything to that. Adapting to the needs of the students. I think it can be molded into what those priests and old people wanted but for today's times (Lawton 2004).

The changes referred to by Lawton are particularly related to the fact that the school is no longer staffed by the Society of Mary, being run instead by a Principal and lay staff. The adaptation to this change is what is important to him so that the school still adheres to the founding principles and philosophy despite the very different circumstances. He sees the school as being as significant today as when it was established and that it can serve its purpose today in the same spirit as it always has.

As an old boy of Hato Paora, I can also reflect on the effect that attending the College had on me. Hato Paora had a profound effect because it provided an environment that acknowledged and promoted not only my Catholic faith but also my Māori culture. This was important as I had been schooled in the Catholic education system my whole life, but little attention had ever been paid to learning about Māori. When I arrived at the College I found myself in a place that was so obviously proud to be Māori that it made it easier to deal with leaving home and living in a boarding school setting. We had a pōhiri on the first day where the staff and students of the school welcomed all the new staff and students so immediately you were part of the community, the whānau, of the College.
Going to chapel, attending Mass, receiving the sacraments and having Religious Education was just part of what you did at school. Everyone accepted this and there was no feeling of it not being “cool”; it was part of your life. As with all parts of College life, you were expected to fully participate. Overall, this meant that being a Māori Catholic was “normal” at Hato Paora. There are very few places in New Zealand where this is so.

Finally, I too developed friendships that continue to this day. Friendships that can only be created when you effectively live with people 24 hours a day, seven days a week for five years. This extends out into the greater old boy network that exists and continues to affirm the bond between former students of the school. This thesis is my utu, my way of repaying the College.

**Conclusion**

This chapter has been about the old boys and their thoughts about the school and what it provided for them. Each is different in his experiences. However, various themes ran through all of the interviews. The qualifications that allowed most of the old boys to commence tertiary education, and the social skills gained by the old boys were important to many of them. They spoke about the effect Hato Paora had on their cultural identity, as Māori Catholics, and on their social identity as old boys. An important theme was the feeling of indebtedness the old boys felt towards the school and the priests that inspired them to find ways of repaying it.
Finally, they spoke of their own personal feelings about the College and what made it a special school to them. Bishop Max Māriu finished his interview by returning to Father Gupwell and the type of school that he envisioned Hato Paora being when he established it:

... I think the main thing for me at the College I always go back to the article that Father Gupwell wrote in the Silver Jubilee School Magazine in 1973 I think he summed a lot of it up, “Hato Paora is a family that needs to be looked after” and while today in the 90s, well into the new millennium, education seems to be about success and how well you do and the qualifications you get at the end of the day though, I think it is about our taha wairua and our taha Māori. And while qualifications are important they are not the whole. That's what Father Gupwell was saying in the 1973 Jubilee magazine. I think he would shudder to think that he spent so many years of his life working at something that would be measured by those ideas of success (Māriu 2002).

These words reiterated clearly the type of school that Father Gupwell envisioned as the founding Rector, and many of the thoughts and reflections presented in this chapter seem to support the fact that Hato Paora was a place such as Gupwell desired. It was a school where Māori boys could get a standard formal education, but it was also a place where they could gain so much more, spiritually and culturally, as Māori men and as Catholics.
Chapter 12

Te Whānau Whānui - The Community

Introduction

Father Gupwell stated at the school’s 40th jubilee celebrations:

Now, it’s not the buildings that have made this place. It’s been the boys here, the Staff here … the boys, that’s what this place is all about … people. He tangata, he tangata, he tangata (Gupwell in Gresham 1987).

This chapter will highlight the communities, the people, that Hato Paora belongs to. It will establish where the students that attended the College came from. This will help to lay the foundation for the closer examination of Hato Paora and the education that it provides. The first part will examine the importance of the community in the development of the school culture, including the influence of the various cultures contained in those communities. The second part describes the role played by Ngāti Kauwhata, Ngāti Raukawa and Rangitāne as the tangata whenua of the region in which Hato Paora was established. It will assess their reaction to the setting up of the school and their subsequent support and commitment to the College. The people Gupwell referred to also included the other communities that formed part of the Marist Māori Mission and who therefore were part of Hato Paora. How they supported the school by sending their boys to Hato Paora forms another element of this story.
The role of the community in the operation of any school is important. However, the community is also extremely significant in the development of a school’s culture. The following model illustrates the various contributing cultures that impact on a Māori Catholic Secondary School (adapted from O’Donnell 2001: 169).

Figure 43: A Model of the Special Character of a Māori Catholic Secondary School
Hato Paora College, as an example of Māori Catholic secondary schooling, thus exists within a web of influences. The most immediate are the wider New Zealand education system, the Society of Mary and the School's own Māori Catholic communities. But beyond these loom larger structures, notably Aotearoa/New Zealand society, the Church and Māoridom in general. Each of these social structures contributes to and influences the type of school that the College is. As O'Donnell (2001: 168) explains:

The unique nature of each Catholic school is shaped by the complex interrelationships and dynamic tension between distinctive religious and secular contributing cultures, a confluence of cultures - rivers of meaning that flow together, giving substance to the unique special character of its culture.

It is the combination of these cultures that makes the school unique. Despite similarities in the contributing cultures, no two schools can be exactly alike, as it is the combination, or the confluence, of these cultures that determine the School's unique culture. By understanding the communities that the students are drawn from, we can better understand the school as a social institution:

No organisation exists in a vacuum, and schools are no exception. They owe their existence to the communities from which they draw their students and, in providing for the education of these students, they work within a complex network of groups, individuals, and organisations (O'Donnell 2001: 171).

As a part of this network the school is directly affected by its interaction with the community. The community to a certain degree influences the form of school, contributing to the culture and nature of the school. This is because membership
of these communities provides the specific cultural features that make the school unique:

The cultural dimensions of New Zealand society, its education system, the Roman Catholic Church, and the religious order that established the school all influence, therefore, the individual school ... (O’Donnell 2001: 168).

O’Donnell asserts that it is the blend of the various contributing cultures that creates a school’s environment. For Catholic schools she cites these cultures as societal, educational, Catholic and the founding order (O’Donnell 2001: 170). A school such as Hato Paora, however, is also heavily influenced by the Māori dimension of its character. This taha Māori differentiates such a school from other Catholic educational institutions.

**Tangata Whenua (local people, people of the land)**

Hato Paora belongs to all the iwi and Māori Catholics of what was formerly the Archdiocese of Wellington, but is now the Archdiocese and the Diocese of Palmerston North. Three iwi in particular have a unique relationship with the School because it was founded on land that was traditionally under their authority. Thus they are the tangata whenua of the College. Primarily this is Ngāti Kauwhata, who are the tangata whenua in the region surrounding the town of Feilding. However, for Hato Paora the tangata whenua also include the Rangitāne, whose field of traditional influence includes the nearby city of Palmerston North. To the north-west of the school lie the lands under the authority of Ngāti Kauwhata’s kin, Ngāti Raukawa.
Ngāti Kauwhata

Ngāti Kauwhata reside in the area including the town of Feilding and the site of Hato Paora on Kimbolton Road. Their principal marae are Te Iwa at Awahuri, Kauwhata at Kai Iwi and Aorangi, both just out of Feilding. Ngāti Kauwhata descend from the Tainui waka, whose people include the Waikato iwi. In the 1820s they emigrated from Waikato as part of the Ngāti Toa and Ngāti Raukawa alliance led by the chief, Te Rauparaha. They had many battles with the prior occupants, Rangitāne and Ngāti Apa, before eventually making peace, sealed by marriages between the tribes. Ngāti Kauwhata originally settled in the Awahuri area close to the Ōroua river. Later they expanded to Aorangi and Kai Iwi, both close to present day Feilding, and established marae and communities there.

Ngāti Raukawa

Ngāti Raukawa are also from the Tainui canoe and migrated south from their home at Maungatautari in the Waikato region under their chief, Te Whatanui (Stokes 2002: 14-5; Jones 1995: 324). They joined their Ngāti Toa allies, under the leadership of Te Rauparaha, in his conquest of the Rangitākei, Manawatū and Horowhenua regions. Ngāti Raukawa settled mainly in the Horowhenua district, but some also remained further north in the Manawatū and Rangitākei regions.

Rangitāne

The principal ancestor of the Rangitāne tribe was Whātonga, a chief who arrived on the Kurahaupō canoe captained by Ruatea (McEwan 2002: 3). The canoe
landed at Nukutaurua on the Māhia peninsula in Hawke’s Bay, and the various crew members dispersed across the Hawke’s Bay and Wairarapa regions (McEwan 2002: 15). Rangitāne was the grandson of Whātonga, and his people controlled the area, through war and marriage, including Heretaunga (Hawke’s Bay) down to Dannevirke and into the Wairarapa (McEwan 2002: 26-7). With the expansion of the Ngāti Kahungungu tribe southward, Rangitāne also sought to establish themselves in new territory, crossing the Tararua-Ruahine mountain range into Manawatū in approximately 1575AD (McEwan 2002: 51). At the time of Te Rauparaha’s first expedition into the region in 1819-20, the Rangitāne tribe controlled the Manawatū region, as well as older occupation sites on the eastern side of the Ruahine-Tararua mountain range in the Dannevirke, Woodville and Wairarapa areas. There was much warfare between Te Rauparaha and his allies and the tribes of the lower North Island. Eventually Te Rauparaha established himself at Kapiti Island, just off the coast line of the Horowhenua and Porirua districts, primarily at the expense of the previous occupants, Muaūpoko, Ngāti Apa and, to a lesser extent, Rangitāne (McEwan 2002: 131-2).

These Māori communities, identified as tangata whenua, have supported the College throughout its existence. This began with the support provided by Ngāti Kauwhata for the opening day celebrations, when a committee of local Māori was established to assist in organising the day. The tangata whenua also arrived the day before and stayed at the school to assist in the preparations for the opening
and the hosting of the visitors. A central figure in the support provided for the
College in its early days was Mrs Bunty Cowan:

I spent time with a great lady in Feilding, Mrs Bunty Cowan … a great Catholic from the Lawton family … She looked after the clothing. Kept an eye on what was needed in the kitchen, preserving fruit, making jam. A great asset to the College in the practical side of things, helping Fr Gupwell, caring for manuhiri. All background work cheerfully done, keeping the College going, supporting the Rector, Fr Gupwell (Haami in Gresham 1987).

Her influence is further explained by her nephew Tata Lawton:

Like I said, our family had been attached to the school forever, my father’s oldest sister Bunty Cowan was the local general who used to marshal all the Ngāti Kauwhata families and the Rangitane families from Palmerston North to come out and help the priests when there were big occasions, just to give the priests a break because they were there for 24 hours a day right from the time we came in until the time we left and after cleaning up after us (Lawton 2004).

The welfare of the priests is noted by Lawton above, which again highlights the idea that the priests were part of the community and had to be cared for and supported. Throughout Hato Paora’s existence the tangata whenua have continued to support the school in many ways, from attending events and providing speakers for official welcoming ceremonies, to providing cultural advice and leadership, and offering their marae for the College’s use. Many members of Ngāti Kauwhata over the years have also worked at the school as teaching, kitchen, laundry and grounds staff, continuing this relationship with the school.

Ngāti Raukawa too have continued to support the school by the appointment of Rory Fernandez Iwikau from Tokorangi marae as the first matron at the College.
The Iwikau family also often came and looked after the boys in a number of other ways (Haami in Gresham 1987). Like Ngāti Kauwhata, they have promoted the use of their marae and provided further support and leadership when able and appropriate, particularly in regard to cultural matters.

Father Kinsella recalls the relationship with the tangata whenua in his 40th jubilee sermon:

The local Maori people, Ngati Kauwhata Raukawa mainly, had a big part in the preparations for this day. We have not forgotten that Tangimoana Rakatau adopted the priests of the College and made us whangai\textsuperscript{22} of Ngati Kauwhata (Kinsella in Gresham 1987).

This is extremely significant, as it meant that not only were Ngāti Kauwhata agreeing to the establishment of the College, but they were also in fact taking responsibility for it by “adopting” the priests into their tribe.

**Ngā Iwi Katorika (the Māori Catholic communities)**

While Hato Paora has a special relationship with the Māori Catholic communities in its immediate vicinity, it has also developed strong ties with other groups. The College was originally established to provide a Catholic secondary education for the Māori boys of the Archdiocese of Wellington, and later the Diocese of Palmerston North. The students therefore have largely been drawn from the Marist Māori Mission situated in these dioceses. Throughout its history students

\textsuperscript{22} Adopt, adopted child
have consistently come from these Māori Catholic communities situated in and around Ōtaki (Levin), the Whanganui River and Hawke’s Bay.

**Statistical Analysis**

The following statistical analysis will examine the changing origins of students at Hato Paora, taken at five yearly intervals.

![Figure 44: Origin of students by region 1954. Source: School Yearbook 1954.](image)

In 1954 the school roll showed that the boys attending the College came mainly from Taranaki (18%), Wanganui (21%), Manawatū\(^23\) (23%) and Hawke’s Bay (22%). Thus, fully 84% came from the regions surrounding the College. The remaining students came from other unspecified regions, merely recorded under the heading “various” (16%). Thus, in the first six years of the School’s existence

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\(^{23}\) Including the Rangitikei and Horowhenua districts.
the boys were evenly divided between the provinces that were serviced by the Marist Mission in the lower North Island. This is not altogether surprising, as the Missioners themselves were the primary recruiters for the College at that time. For example, Pat Haami, who attended the school during this period, came from up the Whanganui River and was recruited by Father Riordan.

By 1960 Taranaki (9%) and Wanganui (16%) were still contributing similar proportions of boys to the school, though down from earlier years. For example, Morvin Simon, came from the Whanganui River at this time. The King Country (15%), however, had by now become an important contributor, despite the fact that they were part of the Mill Hill Fathers' Māori Mission based in the Auckland Diocese, and thus perhaps more closely tied to Hato Petera College, North Shore (Auckland). However, Hawke's Bay was at that time providing over one third
(35%) of the students to the College. These students came largely from the small town of Wairoa and the Māhia Peninsula.

Figure 46: Origin of students by region 1965. Source: School Yearbook 1965.

In 1965 the largest contributor to the school was still Hawke’s Bay (31%), with many of the boys still coming from Wairoa and the Māhia Peninsula. Ken Mihaere, who attended Hato Paora at this time, came from this area. Wanganui again provided a similar proportion to 1960 (5%). The King Country (10%) and Manawatū (13%) each contributed a similar sized cohort of students. Interestingly, the number of boys from Taranaki (7%) had decreased and was now almost equal with those coming from the East Coast (5%). Approximately 81% of students came from within the Marist Māori Mission, while the remaining 19%
came from beyond the missions. This would indicate that Hato Paora was developing a reputation among Māori Catholics nationwide.

By 1970 the Manawatū was by far the largest provider (34%). Tata Lawton came to the College from nearby Feilding in the Manawatū. Wanganui (11%) and Hawke’s Bay (13%) were still prominent, and for the first time a significant portion of the boys were coming from the South Island (9%). This is significant because the Ōtaki Mission Station used to extend down to Kaikōura, which is near the top of the South Island, in the southernmost part of the Marlborough region. The data suggests that Māori Catholic families were now reconnecting themselves with the north. For the first time Wellington (1%), the largest city in the traditional catchment area of Hato Paora, had also begun to register as a provider
of students to the school. Overall about 83% of students came from the Marist Māori Mission, while 17% came from beyond the mission.

![Figure 48: Origin of students by region 1976. Source: School Yearbook 1976.](image)

By 1976 most students came from the three regions Manawatū (20%), Wanganui (16%) and Wellington (14%). The rise of Wellington as a major supplier of students is important, as this is the beginning of a long-term trend throughout the 1980s. This was a result of the urbanisation of Māori throughout the preceding decades as the overall demographic of Māori changed from mainly rural to urban. Hawke’s Bay (12%) and Taranaki (10%) both continued to contribute significantly. King Country contributed only four percent, though amongst these pupils was Max Māriu, who came from Waihī near Lake Taupō and later became New Zealand’s first Catholic Māori Bishop.
1982 resembles 1976, with a reasonably even distribution of 23 percent of students coming from the Manawatū region. Māhanga Williams came from Levin to the College in this year. Wellington (16%) had by now settled into becoming a large contributor, registering the second highest number of students at this time. Wanganui (14%) and Hawke’s Bay (13%) continued to provide large numbers to the College. The students coming from areas beyond the Marist Māori Mission were widespread, with boys originating from a variety of different towns and regions in the upper North Island.
In 1988 the largest contributors were once again Wellington (24%) and Manawatū (23%). Dean Wilson came from Levin in the Manawatū region to the College in 1986. Hawke’s Bay (18%) again provided a substantial number of boys. However, Wanganui, a traditional stronghold for the College, provided its smallest percentage of students in the school’s history, five percent less than in 1982, registering only nine percent of the total school population. The South Island (5%) continued to maintain its contribution to the school population, and those students coming from areas outside the Marist Māori Mission (13%) remained at a similar level to the preceding years.
In 1991 Manawatu (22%), Hawke’s Bay (21%) and Wellington (23%) accounted for 67 percent of the students. Kahurangi Faloa came from Wellington to the College. However, it is significant that his family originated from the King Country and had previously sent many students to the school. Students from places other than the usual regions also made up 21 percent of the boys, the most ever, and increased by eight percent from 1988. Wanganui’s contribution again decreased over this period, now supplying only four percent of the student population. The urbanisation of previously rural Māori families suggests that Wellington’s students were in at least some cases connected to Hato Paora’s traditional catchment. In fact, an analysis of the family names of many of the students coming from Wellington, and other urban areas, confirms that many of them were genealogically connected to the traditional catchments.
Since its inception students attending Hato Paora have come primarily from the Archdiocese of Wellington and the Diocese of Palmerston North. One of the main trends visible in the preceding analysis is the changing distribution of the students from rural to urban centres.\textsuperscript{24} This is particularly relevant with regard to the increasing influence of Wellington city and the decline of the Wanganui region. However, as in the case of Kahurangi, this urban migration did not necessarily mean that the families stopped sending their sons to the College. Instead, they had simply moved to the larger cities such as the Wellington urban area. In 1954 the student population had come overwhelmingly from rural New Zealand (including small provincial towns).

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{urban_rural.png}
\caption{Urban–Rural origin of students attending Hato Paora 1954-1988.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{24} This includes: Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, Hamilton, Palmerston North, Whangarei, Napier, Hastings, Gisborne, New Plymouth, Wanganui, Levin.
By 1970, whilst the majority of the students still came from rural areas, there had been a clear increase in those originating from urban areas (the cities and larger provincial towns). This was indicative of national trends where Māori were increasingly moving to urban centres in search of employment. By 1988 the transformation was complete, with most of the College’s students now coming from urban areas. Again this mirrors national trends, although a sizeable number of the students at Hato Paora still came from the surrounding rural areas.

_Māori Catholic Community Support_

The support that the various Māori Catholic communities have shown Hato Paora since its establishment has been instrumental in its ability to provide for their sons. This assistance is clearly visible throughout the history of the College, beginning with the support shown on the official opening day by Māori Catholics from across the lower North Island, who travelled en masse to the school to celebrate the opening. There are many other examples of this continuing support for the College.

Another example is the _tōtara_ timber used for the carvings that are mounted on the front of the _wharenui_ at Parorangi, which were a gift from the Ngāti Tūwharetoa people in 1967. The timber was chosen, and its delivery to the school arranged, by Kātene and Tom Hepi of Taumarunui, whose sons attended the school. What was left over from the carvings was used to carve the new altar for
the chapel (Curtain 1973: 52). The timber for the carvings added to the marae ātea in 1994 was taken from the Kiwitea stream, close to the school, and donated to the College by local Māori and Pākehā (Smith 1994).

A further example is Aggie Nahona, who was a staunch supporter of Hato Paora and the Marist Māori Mission. In fact she taught some Marist Māori missioners to speak Māori while they were based at Hiruhārama on the Wanganui River (Gresham 1990: 7). Throughout her life she assisted the College in any capacity she could, from providing pātere for the musical Paora, to judging the school kapa haka competitions, to teaching tikanga at the College. She also sent her sons to the college.

Many of the annual school activities could not take place without the support of the wider school community. Examples of this are the annual religious retreats that are often held at various marae. The various performances of “Paora” and the performance of “Te Tiriti Tapu” could not have happened without the support of the community. The school galas are entirely reliant on the donations of the community as well as their attendance and custom, as Father Lee noted in 1978 when he wrote that the “wider school community pulled together for gala” (Lee 1978: 20).
Second generation

Perhaps the best indication of a community’s acceptance and support is the attendance of their own sons at the College. This often involved the families in enormous sacrifices, as Tata Lawton recalls:

But even that didn’t cover the expense and for my last year I paid my own fees because I had my brother there at Paora and my sister at St Joe’s. Two years before we had two girls at St Joe’s and me at Paora. wasn’t as bad as the Tibbles. That’s miracle stuff getting their family through the schools, but it shows you the dedication of a lot of those families like the Hepis, some of those Wanganui river families have been sending their boys there since the College started. That was virtually the only money they got and was being paid to send their boys to school and there were a lot of families like that (Lawton 2004).

Many families had more than one child at Hato Paora, and sometimes St Joseph’s Māori Girls’ School, which is a huge commitment given the socio-economic position of most Māori in New Zealand.

As the school developed, this commitment by the families was added to by old boys of the College who in their turn sent their own sons to be educated at Hato Paora. The first of these “second generation” students was Lance Cashell, who began at the College in 1968. His father Jock was in the first intake of students in 1948 and attended until 1950 (Delaney 1968). In 1971 there were eight boys at the school who were second generation Hato Paora students. They came from the Pauro, Te Whaiti, Patrick, Kerehoma and Grant families (Curtain 1971: 25). In 1978 there were 24 second generation boys at the College. These boys were from the Haami, Winterburn, Moana, Nicholls, Murphy, Albert, Matehaere, Nahona, Simon, Mei, Matthews, Marsden, Hurunui, Peni, Miratana and McAlister families.
(Lee 1978: 92). Many of these families had long associations with the school and of particular note are the families from the Whanganui River, such as the Pauro, Haami, Nahona, Simon and Matthews families. Pat Haami and his brothers chose to send all of their sons to the College, and in Pat’s case grandsons also:

We have sent all our sons and grandsons to the school, just couldn’t sustain the very last one. My brother had five, I had three, another had two, John had three, all our boys went. All of us went there (Haami 2006).

As a boy you have no choice but to attend the school that your parents have chosen. However, as men these old boys of the School chose to send their sons to the school based on their own experiences of the College. This is a clear statement about their feelings towards the School and the value of the education that it provided for them.

**Conclusion**

A school is inextricably linked to the community that it serves. This chapter has described the communities that Hato Paora, as a Māori Catholic school, is part of. Membership in these communities contributes to the uniqueness of the College. Not only does the College draw its students from these communities but they also influence the type of school that Hato Paora is. As a Māori school Hato Paora has a strong relationship with the tangata whenua, Ngāti Kauwhata, Ngāti Raukawa and Rangitāne, in the area where the College is situated. Other Māori communities in the catchment of the school, the Marist Māori Mission, have contributed significantly to the school. They have supported the College in a myriad of ways over and above just sending their sons to the school. Some
families have made an almost total commitment, sending their sons and grandsons to be educated at Hato Paora. Many old boys of the school chose to send their own sons to the College. The supreme level of support for the College by its communities indicates the esteem in which the school as an institution is held, including the priests who formerly ran it, and the value of the education it still provides.
Chapter 13

Whāia te Tika – Pursue what is right

Ka whai, ka whai, ka whāia rā, ka whāia ko te tika, ka whāia ko te pono, ka whāia ko te mana e.
Pursue what is right, pursue what is true, pursue prestige.

Introduction

Since the withdrawal of the Society of Mary from Hato Paora in the mid-1990s, the College has been forced to seek its identity and its place in the world. It has struggled to maintain its sense of identity as a Māori Catholic school due to this weakening of the *taha wairua* and *Katorikatanga*. This chapter will provide a philosophical model that attempts to guide Hato Paora into the future while still retaining the vision and ideals that were important to Father Gupwell and Māori Catholics when the school was opened. *Kaupapa Māori* theory will be examined as an educational theory that supports and encourages Māori language and culture in the schooling environment, in line with previous discussion of the school’s *taha Māori*. The chapter will look at a series of Māori educational contexts which draw on *Kaupapa Māori* theory. These include Te Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori, Wharekura, Wānanga, as well as mainstream applications of this theory. The chapter will end by developing *Kaupapa Māori* theory for a boarding school setting in such a way that it is able to retain its special character, or *taha wairua*.

This chapter does not seek to denigrate the work that has been done at Hato Paora since 1996, nor the efforts that people have put into the school; rather, it aims to find a way in which the school can move into the future in a positive fashion.
fact the realisation of this model, or one similar to it, would place Hato Paora at the cutting edge of *Kaupapa Māori* education in New Zealand, as it would be the first school, religious or secular, to offer it in a boarding/hostel setting. But, more importantly, it would provide Hato Paora with a redefinition of its identity and safeguard its cultural heritage as a Māori Catholic College.

**Kaupapa Māori Ideology**

*Kaupapa Māori* ideology or theory arose in the early 1980s as Māori strove to gain some control or autonomy over their destiny within New Zealand society. Its development arose from the Māori cultural renaissance that began in the early 1970s. *Kaupapa Māori* is a philosophical doctrine that incorporates the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values identified with Māori society. “It informs Māori about the way in which they best develop physically, spiritually, emotionally, socially and intellectually as a people” (Ka’ai 2006a). It derives from a Māori understanding of the world (see Figure 4: Rangihau’s Cultural Concept Model) and the location of Māori within that worldview. It determines the way in which a Māori academic, teacher or student can research, assess or teach in a culturally appropriate and safe manner (Ka’ai 2006a). As Smith asserts:

The ‘real’ revolution of the 1980’s was a shift in the mindset of large numbers of Maori people – a shift away from waiting for things to be done to them, to doing things for themselves; a shift away from an emphasis on reactive politics and an emphasis on being more proactive; a shift from negative motivation to positive motivation. These shifts can be described as a move away from talking simplistically about ‘de-colonisation’ (which puts the colonizer at the center of attention) to talking about ‘conscientisation’ or ‘consciousness-raising’ (which puts Maori at the center) (Smith 2003).
"Kaupapa Māori" ideology is a broad theory that can be applied to any business, organisation or institution. It is not confined just to educational initiatives, although these have been the most visible and now hold an important place in Māori society. "Kaupapa Māori" ideology has been used as a resistance strategy to the control exerted over Māori by Pākehā and as such has been used in Te Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori immersion schools (Pihama et al 2004: 9). These schools are the Māori solution to the enduring lack of success of Māori students within the State Education system (Smith, G. 1995: 183). According to Smith, there are six key elements to "Kaupapa Māori" ideology instituted in "Kaupapa Māori" schooling:

1. The principle of self-determination or relative autonomy which means that Māori are able to make decisions based on our own cultural, political and social beliefs.
2. The principle of validating and legitimating cultural aspirations and identity so that Māori language and culture are central to the environment; being Māori is normal.
3. The principle of incorporating culturally preferred pedagogy so that the pedagogy used is one that maximizes the potential for success by incorporating Māori culture.
4. The principle of mediating socio-economic and home difficulties so that through a positive schooling experience the students have the potential to succeed despite socio-economic factors.
5. The principle of incorporating cultural structures which emphasises the "collective" rather than the "individual" such as the notion of extended family which means that the schooling of the children becomes the collective responsibility of the whole whānau.
6. The principle of a shared and collective vision/philosophy where all of the schools operate on a shared philosophy that is articulated within "Te Aho Matua" (Smith 2003: 8-10).

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25 See page 309.
Te Kōhanga Reo

Te Kōhanga Reo are early-childhood centres that immerse the children in the Māori language and tikanga. The name literally means “the language nest”, which comes from the Māori word kōhanga meaning nest or birthplace (Williams 2005: 124). In the 1970s the Sociolinguistic Survey of Māori Language Use, conducted by Richard Benton on behalf of the New Zealand Council for Educational Research, showed that the Māori language was facing imminent death due to a decline in the number of competent speakers. This survey provided the catalyst to mobilise Māori, and the resulting initiative was Te Kōhanga Reo. Te Kōhanga Reo aims to provide a Māori language immersion environment that also incorporates and validates tikanga Māori and taha wairua. Furthermore, as they are Māori initiatives, it is the whānau that have control over decision making. The teaching and learning methods used in the centres are also those culturally preferred by Māori (Smith, G. 1995: 185-6). Te Kōhanga Reo was described by Dr Pita Sharples as being “the most important educational initiative of the twentieth century” (Smith, G. 1995: 186).

The first Kōhanga Reo was established in 1981 in Pukeatua, Wellington (Smith, G. 1995: 185). However, they were not allowed full state funding until 1990, when those that met the standards and licensing criteria applied by the Ministry of Education could receive funding equivalent to that received by other early childhood centres. Until then government financial assistance was made up of a $5000 establishment grant and then administration grants of $18,000 per annum.
This was obviously meagre funding given that it was based on an average of 15 children per Kōhanga Reo and 1.5 staff salaries were expected to come from this funding (Nepe 1991: 72-3).

The growth of Te Kohanga Reo from their initial establishment until the early 1990s is charted in the figure below, adapted from Graham Smith (Smith, G. 1995: 185).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>240</td>
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<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>326</td>
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<td>1987</td>
<td>480</td>
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<td>1988</td>
<td>520</td>
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<td>1989</td>
<td>570</td>
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<td>1990</td>
<td>616</td>
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<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>630</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>719</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>809</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 53: Growth of Te Kōhanga Reo Centres.

In 1993 49% of all Māori children that attended early childhood education were enrolled in Te Kōhanga Reo (Smith, G. 1995:186). By 1998 this had fallen to 40% of all Māori children in early childhood centres, although this was still a significant number and in fact represented proportionally a larger number of children, as there were far more Māori children in early childhood education in general (Te Puni Kōkiri 2006). The number of children attending Te Kōhanga Reo and the success the centres were having at producing fluent Māori speakers
meant that there was soon demand for a similarly orientated primary school system (Smith, G. 1995: 187).

**Kura Kaupapa Māori**

Kura Kaupapa Māori are Māori language immersion primary schools that continue the philosophies and ideologies of Te Kōhanga Reo. They were established to give graduates of Te Kōhanga Reo the opportunity to continue their learning in a Māori language and culture immersion environment. Like Te Kōhanga Reo, they too use Māori preferred teaching and learning methods such as group learning and support, positive reinforcement and the sharing of knowledge. The curriculum taught conforms to the national primary school guidelines, but there is a strong emphasis on Māori language and culture (Smith, G. 1995: 188).

The first Kura Kaupapa Māori was Te Kura o Hoani Waititi, which was formally established in Glen Eden, Auckland, in 1985. Like Te Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori were originally funded by the whānau of the schools themselves. The inclusion of Kura Kaupapa Māori as an official schooling type in the Education Amendment Act 1989 meant that state funding and responsibility for the schools increased (Smith, G. 1995: 189-90). In February 1991 there were 11 state-funded Kura Kaupapa Māori throughout New Zealand, with five of these situated in Auckland. There were also another three Kura operating but still seeking State approval (Nepe 1991: 87). By 1998 the number of State-funded
Kura Kaupapa Māori had increased to 60 nationwide that catered for 4,501 children (Te Puni Kōkiri 2006).

*Te Aho Matua*

The philosophy that underpins Kura Kaupapa Māori is contained in the statement *Te Aho Matua*. This philosophy is divided into six sections that focus on ensuring the holistic development of the students (Nepe 1991: 41). *Te Ira Tangata* acknowledges that all of the children have their own tribal ancestry that is sacred and should be respected. This concept also relates to the holistic nature of the Māori world view and envisages that all aspects of the child need to be nurtured and taught for the most positive outcomes (Nepe 1991: 42-4). *Te Reo* affirms the importance of the Māori language as the medium of instruction and communication and as the transmitter of *kaupapa Māori* knowledge. Furthermore, this concept acknowledges the importance of all languages and strives to ensure that children leave the schools conversant in Māori and English (Nepe 1991: 44-5). *Ngā Iwi* promotes development of the child so that they can return to help their own *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* (Nepe 1991: 45-5). *Te Ao* acknowledges that whilst the *whānau* is the first world of the child and the Māori world is immediately beyond this, the future of the child may not lie in these domains. Therefore the school is responsible for ensuring that the children can understand and operate in the wider world (Nepe 1991: 46-7). *Āhuatanga Ako* concerns the incorporation of Māori pedagogy that includes cultural concepts such as *tuakana, teina, manaaki* and *mana* (see chapter one). The role of the *whānau*, particularly that of parents
and grandparents, in the learning process is also described (Nepe 1991: 48-52). Finally, *Te Tino Uaratanga* describes what the graduate from Kura Kaupapa Māori should be like, that is, their skills, abilities and personal attributes (Nepe 1991: 52-3).

In 1994 a Kura Tuarua, a secondary school based on *Kaupapa Māori* philosophy, was also established at Hoani Waititi marae in Auckland (Mead 1997: 55). This was a success and so further Kura Tuarua or Wharekura have been established throughout the country. These are essentially extensions of Kura Kaupapa Māori, as they are operated on a similar philosophy and obviously exist to cater for graduates of Kura Kaupapa Māori. Often these schools are composite ones that include both the Kura Kaupapa Māori and the Wharekura on the same site.

Immersion or bilingual educational models are not confined just to New Zealand but can be found throughout the world. Te Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori are based on the Heritage model that is particularly focused on language revitalisation. Other examples of this model are found among the Navajo and Hualapia people in the United States of America, the Inuit in Canada, the Saami in Norway and in Hawai‘i (May et al 2004: 74). The other models allow for factors such as differing entry age of learners into immersion and the level of immersion used. Overall, there are regional differences in how these schools operate related to the various social and economic contexts of the communities and countries in which they exist. Some key facts that have arisen from research into
immersion language learning are; that younger learners are no more or less likely to have success acquiring proficiency than older learners; those that learn in childhood have higher levels of proficiency than those that begin learning later, but older learners can still become highly proficient; and older students learn more quickly in a formal classroom setting than younger learners. Finally, the length of exposure to the new language is critical to the learner’s success (May et al 2004: 16).

Wānanga

The Education Amendment Act 1990 allowed for the further development of a kaupapa Māori education system, with the creation of tertiary level kaupapa Māori based institutions called Wānanga. This has resulted in the creation of two tribal wānanga, Te Wānanga o Raukawa26 and Te Wānanga o Awanuiārangi,27 as well as the pan-tribal Te Wānanga o Aotearoa28 that has campuses throughout New Zealand. The defining characteristics of Wānanga are that Māori tradition, Māori custom and the Māori language are a high priority within the entire institution. Unlike Te Kohanga Reo, in Kura Kaupapa Māori and Wharekura, not all of the curriculum is delivered in Māori. However, there is a strong emphasis on the learning and use of the language. Furthermore, the curriculum derives from a Māori world view and incorporates the teaching of Māori knowledge as it

26 The main campus is in Ōtaki and this wānanga is primarily focused on the traditions and knowledge of Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Toa and Te Ati Awa.
27 This wānanga is in Whakatāne and focuses on Ngāti Awa tradition and knowledge.
28 This was originally a Ngāti Maniapoto initiative.
relates to all fields of study, whether that be history, traditional arts or health (Mead 1997: 57-62).

**Kaupapa Māori in mainstream Universities**

*Kaupapa Māori* is not limited to only these forms of Māori education initiatives, but is also the basis for many Māori structures that operate within mainstream educational and social institutions. An example of this is the various Māori Studies departments and schools found in New Zealand universities. Professor Ka’ai, the Dean of Te Tumu, the School of Māori, Pacific and Indigenous Studies at the University of Otago, states that:

Māori Studies at the University is a space for undertaking teaching and research which recovers our histories, reclaims our lands and resources, restores justice and preserves our language and traditions within a culturally specific framework called, *Kaupapa Māori* ... herein lies the theories generated by Indigenous scholars and *tohunga* [experts] who have constructed models to explain a Māori way of thinking (epistemology) and a Māori way of doing things within the western academy (Ka’ai 2006a: 2).

Whilst these Departments operate in the mainstream or non-Māori environment, they also function from the basis of *kaupapa Māori* ideology as their philosophical doctrine. However, Māori Studies within the Western academy has a dual role: one is to educate their students and the other is to educate the institution that they belong to (Ka’ai 2006a: 3). *Kaupapa Māori* dictates not only the type of curriculum and the way in which it is delivered, but also the way in which the Department or School of Māori Studies interacts with the wider institution. Mead describes the role of Māori Studies as indigenising the institutions, and as such it is important that Māori studies is recognised as its own
academic field and not placed under the authority of other subjects such as anthropology, sociology or education (Mead 1997: 57). Despite this argument, even now Māori Studies units in the New Zealand universities are often still under threat of being subsumed by other subject areas. An example of this was the failed attempt by the University of Waikato to amalgamate the School of Māori Development, Te Pua Wānanga Ki Te Ao, into the Faculty of Education in the late 1990s (Ka‘ai 2006a).

**Kura Motuhake**

Whilst Te Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori have developed as the main type of Māori language and culture orientated schools, there have also been other similar types of schools. These also emerged from the Māori renaissance and, like *Kura Kaupapa*, they provide a primary/secondary education for Te Kōhanga Reo graduates. The main difference is that these other schools do not follow *Te Aho Matua*, as is required by the Ministry of Education to be designated a Kura Kaupapa Māori. Instead, they cater for the special character of their students and in most cases, this refers to their tribal ancestry. Due to the pan-tribal nature of Kura Kaupapa Māori, some *whānau* or *iwi* have chosen to establish these other schools that operate not only under *Kaupapa Māori* theory but also under a specific *iwi* kaupapa. These schools are officially known as Kura Motuhake (special character schools), but in practice they are *kura-ā-iwi* (tribally based schools). Under section 156 of the 1989 Education Act, Kura Motuhake are schools “that have a character that is in some way or ways different from that of
ordinary state schools". For most of the current Kura Motuhake their different character is their *iwitanga*, that is, their distinctive *iwi* identity.

The following are examples of some of the Kura Motuhake that are currently operating. Te Kura o Hirangi is a total immersion *kura-a-iwi* in Tūrangi for children from five years of age to 18. It focuses on *Tūwhareтоatanga*, that is, being Ngāti Tūwharetoa, and teaches "*ngā tikanga o te iwi*" (the knowledge and customs of that *iwi*). Its philosophy is also based on the cultural practices and beliefs of Ngāti Tūwharetoa (Te Kura o Hirangi 2006). Te Kura-a-Iwi o Whakatupuranga Rua Mano is a primary and secondary tribally based school in Ōtaki. It was opened in 1999 and aims at providing an education for graduates from Te Kōhanga Reo that is *Kaupapa Māori* based (Te Kura-a-Iwi o Whakatupuranga Rua Mano 2006). Te Kura Kaupapa Motuhake o Tawhiuau is a *kura-a-iwi* in Murupara. It focuses on teaching *Ngāti Manawatanga* (the tribal identity of Ngāti Manawa) and operates under the traditional protocols and practices of Ngāti Manawa (Education Review Office 2006). There are also examples of *kura-a-iwi* that operate at the early childhood level such as He Oranga Pounamu, which is based at the Christchurch Polytechnic Institute of Technology and functions under Ngāi Tahu protocol, using the Ngāi Tahu specific dialect (Ka’ai 2006b). Te Wharekura o Rakaumangamanga in Huntly, which is the largest *Kaupapa Māori* school in New Zealand, catering for

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29 Tribal group of the Lake Taupō area.
30 The tribal groups of this area are Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Toa and Te Āti Awa.
31 The tribal group of this area in the Bay of Plenty.
32 The tribal group for the South Island excluding the northernmost section.
approximately 400 students. The important point is that all of these schools adhere to *Kaupapa Māori* but utilise and adapt it according to their own special character, as opposed to Kura Kaupapa Māori that are more generic and homogenous in orientation.

**New Model – Te Kura Katorika Motuhake o Hato Paora**

The development of Kura Motuhake from the larger Kura Kaupapa Māori system provides a good example of the way in which *Kaupapa Māori* can be adapted to allow for the special character of a school. This will be the basis for the development of a philosophical model for Hato Paora College as a Kura Katorika Motuhake, a special character Māori school whose defining point of difference is its Catholicism or *Katorikatanga*. This will effectively be a continuation of the philosophy started by Father Gupwell, but will firmly situate the school within a theoretical framework for the future. This model will also follow the thoughts provided by the old boys, particularly Lawton, that the school needs to adapt to the needs of the students, and their communities, but still remain true to the philosophy of the early Marists who staffed the school and of Māori Catholics (Lawton 2004).

The metaphor I have chosen for this model is that of a traditional *wharenui*. *Wharenui*, as part of the *marae*, are the place where most important events of a Māori community take place. The *wharenui* is likened to the body of an ancestor. The front of the *wharenui* consists of the *kōruru* (carved face) from which the
maihi (bargeboard) extend like welcoming arms to the amo (support posts). At the ends of each of the maihi are the raparapa (fingers of the ancestor) (Higgins and Moorfield 2004: 74-5). For this model the ancestor that this wharenui represents and whose likeness is portrayed in the front is obviously Hato Paora. The tāhuhu is the ridgepole that runs the length of the house and is the spine of the ancestor. The heke (ribs) descend from the tāhuhu to the top of the pou (carved wall figures, usually of ancestors). Three main posts support the tāhuhu and these are the pou tāhū (front post), the pou tokomanawa (centre post), and the pou tuarongo (back wall post) (Higgins and Moorfield 2004: 74-5).

This model will consider Kaupapa Māori theory as the tāhuhu of this whare; it will provide the philosophy for the operation of the school. However, the Māoritanga used will be based upon Māori Catholic ideals and beliefs, or its Katorikatanga. The heke that descend from the tāhuhu are all of the past rectors, staff, the laity and supporters of the College. The heke represent their efforts, dreams and expectations of the school. These join to the pou, that is, the Māori Catholic people and communities that have supported the College since its establishment. As traditional pou represent various iwi and ancestors, so too do the pou of this wharenui. The pou tuarongo represents the pre-eminent characteristics of taha Māori and taha wairua as defined in earlier chapters. While these are similar to the kaupapa Māori of the tāhuhu, they are specific to the context in which they were created, that is Hato Paora College. The pou tokomanawa, the heart of the whare, is the founding Rector, Father Gupwell. The
environment and spirit he created is central to the development of this model. Finally, the pou tāhū symbolises the school old boys who hold particular importance in this model, as they are expected to fulfil many roles and increase their participation in the life of the College in the years after graduation. Overall, the goal of this model is to provide a plan by which Hato Paora staff and administrators can continue to deliver quality education in the unique environment described by the old boys interviewed, now that the Society of Mary no longer staffs the School.

Figure 54: Front of wharenui. Source: Ka’ai et al 2004: 74.
Figure 55: Inside wharenui. Source: Ka’ai et al 2004: 75.

Tāhuhu - Kaupapa Māori (Katorikatanga)

The Kaupapa Māori theory adapted to include and recognise the Māori Catholic faith of the students and their families provides a framework for the operation of the school from a Māori world view. Increasingly, students previously educated at Te Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori and Kura Motuhake are attending the School. Therefore this will provide an opportunity to meet this demand and to react to the needs of other Māori Catholics. Furthermore, it is a continuation of the desire expressed by Father Smith, the last Marist Rector, in the early 1990s. The Māori language is central to Kaupapa Māori and it has also always held an important position at Hato Paora. Therefore there are two potential options that could be adopted by the College and its communities.
Option A: this model proposes, much like Father Smith, to systematically develop Hato Paora into an immersion boarding school. As with Smith, this would also begin with a select number of class groups, namely, those students who had previously attended Kura Kaupapa Māori or Kura Motuhake or who were proficient in te reo Māori. They would receive their instruction in Māori only. The rest of the school would increase their usage of Māori as the students moved to the next level or year group so that by the final year of schooling all would be taught in an immersion environment. Throughout, English would be offered as a core subject and would be taught in English. Similar to Kura Kaupapa Māori and Wharekura the proficiency of the teachers will dictate which subjects are taught in Māori and to what level. As more students came to the school with Kura Kaupapa experience, more classes would begin in the immersion part of the school. However, there would still be a place at the College for those who had not been immersion educated, as a lack of knowledge of the Māori language should never impede a boy attending Hato Paora. Instead, opportunities would be provided to learn the language and culture at the School, as there have been since the School’s opening. As such, this proposes a transitional model of bilingual or immersion education, rather than a heritage model that is common in Kura Kaupapa Māori, Kura Motuhake and Wharekura, where the aim is for the early stages of schooling to be in English. As the students move upwards, so there is a greater use of Māori (May et al 2004: 72).
Option B: the language would still be used as much as possible throughout the daily life of the school, but not exclusively as in the immersion model. This would line up with the way in which Wānanga approach the use and learning of the language. The main change here would be a philosophical one whereby it would be explicitly stated that the goal was to use Māori as widely as possible in the everyday operation of the school but not necessarily as the medium of instruction in the classroom. This option then would be particularly aimed at the hostel and its operation as a (mainly) Māori speaking institution. Hostel staff would need competence in Māori. However, they would also be expected to model Katorika behaviour, including the important cultural concepts previously discussed. The goal is to provide an environment permeated with Katorikatanga where not only the culture but also the language is valued. This description clearly promotes the employment of old boys in roles within the hostel.

Despite the many advances that have been made in kaupapa Māori education, there are still many places in New Zealand where it remains either limited to Kōhanga Reo or not available at all. When I attended Hato Paora in 1988 there was only Te Kōhanga Reo available in my hometown of that time, Blenheim. Now, 18 years later, this is still the case. So a boy coming from such a town would not have had the benefit of a Kura Kaupapa Māori or Kura Motuhake education but would still deserve the right to attend Hato Paora. Such an experience would be easily embraced by Option B, or a variation of it.
Beyond the incorporation of the language into the school environment, there are the ideological concepts that are found in *Te Aho Matua* and which underpin *Kaupapa Māori* in Kura Kaupapa Māori. Many of these are already part of the ethos of Hato Paora and it is important that they remain such in order to validate as normal the culture and identity of being a Māori Catholic. These concepts ensure that Māori culture is incorporated into the pedagogy, regardless of the language of instruction, and encourage students to succeed despite factors such as their family’s socio-economic status. This again reflects the open door policy practised by Gupwell and others who refused to turn any student away on the grounds of their ability to pay.

These options are in no way definitive but merely a blueprint for the future, and are very much reliant on consultation with the appropriate communities, as will be explained in the action plan later in this model.

*Pou tuarongo - Taha Māori*

Observance of Māori cultural practice has always been a part of life at Hato Paora and this needs to continue so that the students are learning about their culture through experiencing it and participating in it. The opportunity to continue to tour the country experiencing the customs and protocols of different iwi, competing in regional and national *whaikōrero* and *kapa haka* competitions, allow the students the opportunity to live their culture. More importantly, at the school itself the *whaikōrero* and *kapa haka* competitions as well as the participation in *pōhiri* must
continue to take pride of place. Beyond these the Māori world must be opened up to the students so that opportunities to partake in traditional Māori art forms such as *taonga pūoro* (traditional Māori musical instruments) and *mau rākau* (traditional weaponry use), which have only sporadically been offered at the College, are provided alongside those that are currently available, such as *whakairo*, to maximise the chances available to learn and participate in the culture. The incorporation of the culture into the school environment will ensure that the Māori cultural concepts discussed in Chapter One will still be apparent in the operation of the School. It will continue to ensure that boys leaving Hato Paora will be culturally competent and continue to be able to offer their abilities and leadership back in their own communities.

*Pou tuarongo - Taha Wairua*

The Catholic side of the school and its practice must remain an integral part of College life. As has been shown in earlier chapters, this is one of the characteristics that helps make Hato Paora unique. There must therefore continue to be a focus on the celebration of the sacraments and attendance at Mass and daily chapel. The celebration of feast days of those Saints important to the school helps to maintain the College’s unique identity and to allow the students to participate in another type of religious observance. Perhaps the practice that would most ensure the survival of the school’s *Katorikatanga* are the annual religious retreats. These remain important for several reasons: first, they provide the boys with the opportunity to reflect on their *taha wairua*; second, the students
have the opportunity to engage with clergy, something they cannot do at the College; and finally, these retreats introduce the students to living in a Māori environment, the marae. Such retreats combine elements of taha Māori and taha wairua, both important to maintaining the students’ own Māori Catholic identity. The unique relationship that the priests at Hato Paora formerly had with the students and their families is something that may have been lost with the removal of the priests from the school site. However, in order for Hato Paora to remain a Māori Catholic school, the provision of religious and pastoral care, and the opportunity to interact with a priest during the course of daily life, are extremely important. Whether the priest is from the Society of Mary or not, the presence of permanent religious staff is crucial to the continuation of the goals and ideals of the College. Perhaps even one of the current Māori priests would be suitable if the Society is unable to meet this obligation. As this idea is not likely to be fulfilled given the current conditions, then it falls to the laity, Māori and Pākehā, to maintain the incorporation of the important Māori and Catholic values of manaaki, aroha and tika into the Hato Paora environment.

Pou tāhū - Old Boys

The key to the development of Hato Paora as a Kura Katorika Motuhake rests largely with the old boys. As has been demonstrated with the use of the interview material provided by some old boys, their perspective on the school is unique. It comes from their own lived experience. It is an understanding of the College that cannot be replicated. It is crucial in providing a link between the philosophies and
ideals that have existed at the school under the Society of Mary and Hato Paora as it is today. Bishop Māriu had a strong belief that the future of the school relied on the old boys becoming more active in the support and operation of the school. To this end he initiated the development of a Foundation that would allow the old boys to contribute financially to the College on an annual basis. Unfortunately, this never came to fruition and still remains in the planning stages. Māriu believed, as do those old boys who have participated in this study, that the old boys of Hato Paora have a duty, a responsibility even, to repay the school for the opportunities that it provided to them. This can be realised in a variety of ways. For example, alumin could offer themselves for nomination to positions on the governance body of the School, provide internships for the students in their workplace to mentor students and provide financial support for scholarships to attract and/or retain boys to and within the school. The old boys are the pou of this model and thus it is imperative that they return to the school as teaching and hostel staff. To this end, attempts must be made to encourage current students to attend tertiary institutions with the express purpose of then returning to the school, as Wilson, Mihaere and Faloa have done. This is a strategy that has been used at Te Wharekura o Rākaumanga to ensure that they have staff who are familiar with the environment at that school (Māhuta 2005). Furthermore, the old boys are aware of and proficient in those things that may be called the tikanga of the school. This includes not only the formal customs and protocols that are followed during religious and cultural observation, but also those practices in the
less formal areas such as the importance of the house culture and preserving the reputation of the College.

While Bishop Māriu’s proposal for a Foundation did not go forward, in 2006 the idea was picked up by Atawhai Tibble and Māhanga Williams and re-developed into an Alumni Association. The goal is still to encourage old boys to support the association financially so that a fund can be developed in order to support the school; for example, by contributing to the upgrade and maintenance of school buildings and by purchasing school transport. The intention is to create a position that would facilitate the operation of the Association and to help source funding from government and private agencies. The Association wants to have a space, including facilities for cooking and overnight accommodation, on the school site so that old boys feel they have somewhere to stay if they wish to visit the College. The initiators of this Association hope that such a structure will further encourage the greater presence at the school by old boys (Tibble and Williams 2006).

Clearly, this is also an opportunity for the tuakana (the old boys) to step in and nurture and provide for their teina, the current students of the College.

The old boys of the College can no longer sit back and let others carry the burden of maintaining the school. The old boys must be prepared to take up leadership roles in all facets of the school’s life. Many have done this over the years, but all too often they have worked as individuals with little support from other old boys. There has not been a coherent strategy by which the old boys could help the
school in the most effective and beneficial manner. Their ability to provide the leadership back to their own communities is crucial, for only they can serve as \textit{kaitiaki} (guardians) of the philosophies and traditions that are distinctly Hato Paora.

\textit{Action plan}

This model is about trying to determine what path is best for the school in the future. As such it concerns all who are involved with the College. Therefore, the plan resulting from this research is about consultation and dialogue with these communities and institutions. I have my model with potential options to present, but these are flexible and only ideas, a starting point for dialogue. Firstly, the current staff, whether hostel or teaching, and those involved in administration, the Board of Trustees and the Trust Board, need the opportunity to provide input. Ngāti Kauwhata, the \textit{tangata whenua} of the school, and the Māori Catholic communities in the Diocese, such as those in Hawke's Bay and up the Whanganui River, need to be able to provide their vision of the direction that the school should take. This extends to Māori Catholics in general, but specifically to those in Wellington who provide so many students to the College. It is proposed that Te Hui Aranga\textsuperscript{33} would provide a good opportunity to allow such consultation and dialogue to take place. Finally, the Diocese itself, including the Bishop as Proprietor, obviously is instrumental in any planning for the future of Hato Paora.

\textsuperscript{33} Annual gathering of Māori Catholics from the Archdiocese and the Diocese of Palmerston North held around Easter.
From this consultation the best pathway for the school, and its communities, can be determined.

**Conclusion**

Times have changed considerably since Hato Paora was established immediately after World War II. For 50 years the school was operated by the Society of Mary, who assumed almost all the operational, teaching and hostel responsibility. However, for various reasons they withdrew from the College in the early 1990s and this has meant that the school was staffed entirely by lay people, excluding the Feilding-based chaplain. This monumental change obviously affected the way in which the school operated and the education that it provided. This left some old boys questioning whether it was still in fact a Māori Catholic school (Lawton 2004). The Society will never be able to staff the College as it did in the past. For Hato Paora to retain its own unique character the responsibility now falls to the old boys. The old boys have direct and personal experiences of the School and the education that it provided, which puts them in an ideal position to replicate and continue its provision for the next generations. Their influence can also help prevent the school being changed in such a way that it is no longer the place envisioned by Gupwell and the Māori Catholic communities who supported his vision. As Wilson explains:

> I’ve been here for four years and I see people come in and they think that they can change it overnight. They change so many things, so many of the good traditions of this place. There are so many traditions but you need to get rid of the bad ones and keep the good ones. So often they get rid of the bad ones but lose the good ones as well (Wilson 2002).
This chapter has provided a model for the future of Hato Paora College that is based on Kaupapa Māori theory but incorporates Katorikatanga. It seeks to maintain as much as possible of those things that make the College special, particularly the taha Māori and taha wairua. Hato Paora, like most of the Māori Church schools, are under constant threat from government and Church authorities, as evidenced by the closure of the Anglican Church schools of St Stephens School and Queen Victoria School for Māori Girls in the 1990s. This model hopes to aid in avoiding a similar fate for Hato Paora. As an old boy of Hato Paora I do not want my College to be described in the words of the ancient proverb: “Ka ngaro ā moa te iwi nei”, “the people will disappear like the moa” (Mead & Grove 2001: 171).
Conclusion

Metaphors and models have featured prominently throughout this work and I turn to these again to conclude this thesis. In his book Xavier Dening speaks of painting and portraits and the responsibility of the painter. He wished to produce a portrait that fully encapsulated life at the school from the most important events to the most mundane; one that was influenced as little as possible by his own opinions or experiences. During his first days at Hato Paora, Father Gupwell began to record the establishment of the school and referred to this as the “Song of Parorangi”. I have used the school haka as a “social map” for the analysis of Hato Paora and the model of the wharenui in my attempt to map a future for the College. Each part of the wharenui has its own significance as a symbol of the people and communities that support the school.

As a father of two boys I now often reflect on the type of school I would like them to attend and what to me should be its key characteristics. A school should be many things. It obviously should provide an education, but it should also imbue the students with skills and values, and affirm and legitimise their identity. In identifying the education I desire for my sons I return to the wharenui; however,
this time the three main pou only shall be employed. They represent the three central themes that have flowed throughout this thesis and that I also consider to be imperative in an educational environment.

Pou tuarongo - Rangatiratanga

The qualities and skills that a person acquires as part of their overall education are important. Therefore the pou tuarongo is rangatiratanga. Leadership has always been a key aspect of all Church boarding schools. They were places that provided the opportunity to develop Māori Christian leaders that could return to their communities. In regard to Hato Paora, this was specifically leaders modelled on Marist ideas of behaviour, particularly those of humility and modesty. The school aimed to provide good Catholic men who could return to their communities as good fathers and husbands, positions from which they could provide leadership among their own whānau and communities. These boys were also Māori, and the school understood and expected that these future community leaders would be culturally competent. Not only did the school seek to provide Marist but also Māori ideals through the incorporation of the culture, and its cultural concepts, in the school environment. The expectation that the more senior students would provide religious leadership, such as leading prayers in the morning or doing readings during Mass, and cultural leadership as house leaders teaching and tutoring kapa haka, and social leadership as school/dormitory prefects helping with the daily operation of the College, all provide examples of how the ideas of tuakana, teina and manaaki were part of the school environment. The description
of the Rectors as “rangatira” in the school haka further emphasises their role, and that of the priests on staff, as models of behaviour for Māori youth. It also highlights the conception of the school as a kin group operating upon the social and cultural mores associated with such communities. Gupwell believed that the success of the school should be measured by more than just academic achievement. The provision of good fathers and husbands, imbued with an understanding of their culture and their faith, who would be active leaders in their communities, was as important as examination passes. This integration of Marist and Māori values remains a central part of the school’s philosophy today.

**Pou tokomanawa - Katorikatanga**

Paramount for me is the affirmation of my sons’ identities as Māori Catholics. Thus the heart, the *pou tokomanawa*, of their education is *Katorikatanga*. Central to my understanding of the uniqueness of Hato Paora is its *Katorikatanga*. Through the development of its *taha Māori* and *taha wairua*, the school is an extension of the culture of the Māori communities that made up the Marist Māori mission and continue to provide the students for the College. From the time of the arrival of missionaries, various Māori communities have taken on the Catholic faith and made it a part of their own culture, to the extent that even a lack of clergy did not extinguish their faith, with Māori catechists continuing religious observances within their communities. This devotion is something that developed over time as these communities chose what was best for them and then made it part of their identity. It is a specific type of educational environment that
incorporates the *Katorikatanga* of its students into its philosophy and operation. It therefore provides all the opportunities to participate in Catholic religious practice, such as receiving the sacraments or having Religious Education as part of the curriculum, that a regular Catholic school would. However, this religious life has often been expressed within a Māori context, such as celebrating Mass in Māori or having religious retreats at *marae*. In addition, the school has always incorporated *tikanga Māori* into school life so that students have the opportunity to participate and become competent in their culture through learning the Māori language, learning *kapa haka*, hosting and attending *pōhiri*, attending *tangihanga* and staying on *marae*. Being a Māori Catholic means that you are a religious minority within a marginalised ethnic group, since most Christian New Zealanders, including Māori, adhere to Protestant faiths. There are few opportunities to be in an environment that acknowledges both the Catholic and Māori dimensions and promotes the belief that these are normal.

**Pou tāhū – Education**

Since the inception of European style education in New Zealand, Māori have struggled to fit into the state driven education system. Not all systems fit everyone. We need therefore a variety of options to ensure that our children succeed no matter what their upbringing, religion or culture. *Kaupapa Māori* theory is a powerful tool that helps equip us with the ability to provide these options through its flexibility as a framework, particularly in regard to the type of Māori values and beliefs that can be included. In the case of Hato Paora it should
affirm the students’ *Katorikatanga*. The curriculum, as much as possible, should reflect the cultural and religious background of the students. From the beginning at Hato Paora this has meant the compulsory study of Māori alongside Religious Education, and the offering of *whakairo* as a subject. But the education and process of learning at the College has always extended beyond the classroom, so that boys learned practical skills helping around the school, whether outside on the farm or in the kitchen and laundry. Being part of a boarding school community for most of the year teaches important behaviours. Communal living encourages the development of important social skills as you interact and get to know other boys from diverse backgrounds. The importance of sharing, forgiveness, humility, thoughtfulness and discipline are all part of successful dormitory existence. These are intangible outcomes that cannot necessarily be replicated in day school environments. Learning through participation in community life is as important as the learning that takes part in the classroom. As a consequence it is important to develop a philosophical model for Hato Paora that is based on *Kaupapa Māori* theory while still including the important religious and cultural values as described by the old boys of the school. This will ensure that my sons will have the opportunity to experience an educational environment with a special character, both Māori and Catholic.

Despite the immense changes and challenges faced by Hato Paora, especially after the withdrawal of the Society of Mary, the school still seeks to provide the education and spiritual values envisaged by its founders and Māori communities.
In reflecting on a suitable school for my two boys all I really ask for is an educational environment that gives Māori Catholic boys the opportunity to succeed.

_Haramai te toki_
_tēnā hui e, tēnā hui e_
_hui e, hui e_
_taiki e hī!_

Here comes the axe
Draw it together, draw it together
Together, together
It is done!
### Glossary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amo</td>
<td>Upright support post of the front of a wharenui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ariki</td>
<td>Paramount chief, high chief, leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aroha</td>
<td>Love, pity, compassion, affection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atua</td>
<td>Ancestor with continuing influence, God, supernatural being</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hāhi</td>
<td>Church, religion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haka</td>
<td>Vigorous dances with actions and rhythmically shouted words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haka pōwhiri</td>
<td>Haka of welcome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haka taparahi</td>
<td>Ceremonial haka in which the performers descend to the ground at some stage during the performance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hapū</td>
<td>Section of a tribe, clan, sub-tribe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haurangi</td>
<td>Be drunk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heke</td>
<td>Rafter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hinengaro</td>
<td>Seat of thoughts and emotions, mind, intellect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hura kōhatu</td>
<td>Unveiling of a headstone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ihi</td>
<td>Feeling of excitement, thrill, fear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iwi</td>
<td>Tribe, nation, people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iwitanga</td>
<td>Tribal culture and identity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaea</td>
<td>Leader of a haka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaikōrero</td>
<td>Speaker, narrator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kaioraora</strong></td>
<td>Abusive <em>haka</em> of hatred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kapa haka</strong></td>
<td>Māori performing arts or performance group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Karakia</strong></td>
<td>To recite ritual chants, recite a prayer, incantation, prayer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Karanga</strong></td>
<td>Ceremonial call of welcome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Katorikatanga</strong></td>
<td>Māori Catholicism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kōruru</strong></td>
<td>Carved face on the gable of a <em>wharenui</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kōwhaiwhai</strong></td>
<td>Painted scroll ornamentation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Maihi</strong></td>
<td>Bargeboards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mākutu</strong></td>
<td>To inflict physical and psychological harm through spiritual powers, spell, incantation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mana</strong></td>
<td>Prestige, authority, control, power, influence, status, spiritual power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Manaaki</strong></td>
<td>To support, take care of, give hospitality to, protect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Manaia</strong></td>
<td>Stylised carved figure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Manawa wera</strong></td>
<td>Type of <em>haka</em> performed in rituals to the dead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Māoritanga</strong></td>
<td>Māori culture, practices and beliefs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Marae</strong></td>
<td>Open area in front of <em>wharenui</em>, but often in modern Māori includes the complex of buildings around the <em>marae</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mātauranga</strong></td>
<td>Knowledge, education, wisdom, understanding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mau rākau</strong></td>
<td>Māori weaponry use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mere</strong></td>
<td>A short, flat weapon of stone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Motu</strong></td>
<td>Island, country</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ngeri</strong></td>
<td>Short <em>haka</em> without set actions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Noa Be free from extensions of *tapu*, profane, unrestricted, ordinary.

Paepae Threshold of a house.

Pākehātanga Culture, practices and beliefs of New Zealanders of European descent

Paparapa (raparapa) Carved ends of the *maihi*

Pātaka Traditional storehouse raised upon posts

Patu Weapon, short club

Peruperu War *haka*

Piupiu Type of skirt made of flax

Pōhiri Ceremony of welcome, ritual of encounter

Poi Light ball on string

Pōkēkā Rhythmic *haka* without actions

Pōnga Silver tree fern

Pou, poupou Pole, pillar, post

Pou tāhū Front wall support post

Pou tokomanawa Central support post

Pou tuarango Back wall support post

Pūtātara Conch shell trumpet

Rangatira Chief, noble, esteemed person

Rangatiratanga Sovereignty, chieftainship, leadership

Rangimārie Peaceful

Reo Language
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Taha</td>
<td>Side, part</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tāhuhu</td>
<td>Ridge pole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tangata</td>
<td>Person, human being</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tangata whenua</td>
<td>Local people, hosts, people of the land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tangihanga</td>
<td>Funeral, rites for the dead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tapu</td>
<td>Be sacred, prohibited, restricted, under atua protection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taurekareka</td>
<td>Captive taken in war, slave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Aho Matua</td>
<td>Philosophical doctrine of Kura Kaupapa Māori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teina</td>
<td>Junior line, junior relative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tekoteko</td>
<td>Carved figure on gable of wharenui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tika</td>
<td>Be correct, true, fair, just, accurate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tikanga</td>
<td>Custom, protocol, procedure, practice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tinana</td>
<td>Body, be real, actual, the main part of anything</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tohi</td>
<td>Ritual ceremony over a child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tohunga</td>
<td>Expert, skilled person, priest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toki</td>
<td>Axe, adze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tōtara</td>
<td>Large native tree, podocarpus totara, podocarpus cunninghamii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuakana</td>
<td>Senior line, senior relative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tukutuku</td>
<td>Ornamental lattice-work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tūtūā</td>
<td>Person of low birth, commoner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tūtū ngārahū</td>
<td>Haka performed before going to battle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ūpoko</td>
<td>Head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Translation and Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utu</td>
<td>To repay, pay, make a response, avenge, revenge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waiata</td>
<td>Song, to sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wairua</td>
<td>Spirit, soul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waka</td>
<td>Canoe, allied tribes descended from a canoe that came to New Zealand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wehi</td>
<td>To be awesome, be afraid, fear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wero</td>
<td>Ceremonial challenge at pōhiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whākōrero</td>
<td>Formal oratory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whakairo</td>
<td>To carve, carving</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whakapapa</td>
<td>To lie flat, recite in proper order, lineage, genealogy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whānau</td>
<td>Family group, extended family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whanauangatanga</td>
<td>Relationship, kinship, connection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whare</td>
<td>House, building, residence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wharenui</td>
<td>Meeting house, large house</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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